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A Contrastive Study of the Grammatical Structures of Aymara and Cuzco Kechua

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A Contrastive Study of the Grammatical Structures of Aymara and Cuzco Kechua

By

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## ABBREVIATIONS

|       |              |
|-------|--------------|
| A.    | Aymara       |
| excl. | exclusive    |
| incl. | inclusive    |
| K.    | Cuzco Kechua |
| p.    | person       |
| pl.   | plural       |
| sg.   | singular     |
| Sp.   | Spanish      |
| sub.  | substantive  |
| vb.   | verb         |



## 000 INTRODUCTION

## 010 Previous studies

Synchronic studies of Aymara and Kechua date from the post-conquest era when Dominicans, Jesuits and other orders, following in the footsteps of the conquistadores, began to proselyte the Inca nation to Christianity. In 1560, twenty-eight years after Pizarro had entered Peru, the first Kechua grammar was published in Valladolid, Spain by the Dominican friar, Domingo de Santo Thomas. Later, in 1603, the first Aymara grammar came off the press in Rome, authored by the Jesuit, Ludovico Bertonio. Both works, as might be expected, followed the Latin grammatical mold, but not slavishly so. Bertonio's grammar, especially, achieved a modicum of success in dealing with the language on its own terms, resulting in one of the best descriptive linguistic works of that era.

As efforts by the Catholic Church to convert the native peoples increased, so also did publication of grammars, vocabularies, catechisms, confession manuals, prayers, hymns, instructions for the extirpation of native religion, and so forth. Paul Rivet and Georges de Crequi-Montfort, in their monumental four-volume work, Bibliographie des langues aymará et kičua (1951, 1952, 1953 and 1956), list some

fifty-seven publications during the first century after Pizarro's arrival. They fix the total number of known religious and secular works in or about Aymara and/or Kechua through the year 1955 at 4,384. More recent bibliographies, which also include diachronically slanted research, push that staggering figure even higher (Loriot 1964; Hoijer, Hamp and Bright 1965; Stark 1965; and Parker and Stark 1970-73). This vast amount of published literature makes Aymara and Kechua two of the most studied languages in the western hemisphere.

#### 020 Genetic affiliations

Aymara is a member of the Jaqi language family, together with Jaqaru and Kawki. Jaqaru is spoken in Tupe, a village located in the highlands of Peru about 150 miles southeast of Lima, in the department of Lima, province of Yauyos. There are 2,000+ speakers whose children are still learning the language. Kawki is spoken in the same area as Jaqaru but is now moribund. (See Hardman 1966, 1972.)

Kechua dialects are spoken up and down the Andean mountain chain from southern Colombia to northwestern Argentina. According to recent scholarship (Parker 1963, 1969 and Torero 1964, 1972), two main branches developed from Proto-Kechua: Branch A (Torero's Branch II), including the dialects of Ecuador,

northern Peru, Ayacucho, Cuzco, Bolivia, Argentina, and the central Peruvian coast (described by Domingo de Santo Thomas in his 1560 grammar, but now extinct); and Branch B (Torero's Branch I), including the dialects spoken in the central Peruvian departments of Ancash, Huanuco, Pasco, Junin, and part of the department of Lima. Extensive phonological and some lexical differences exist between the two branches. Their grammars, however, contain equivalent categories in almost all cases.

Attempts to establish a genetic link between Aymara and Kechua<sup>1</sup> began in 1888. It was at the VII International Congress of Americanists in Berlin that H. Steinthal (1890: 465) first affirmed the two languages to be genetically related and the mutual exchange of loans to be secondary. Brinton (1891: 216) was more cautious: "I have thought it best to treat of the Aymara as a distinct linguistic stock, although the evidence is steadily accumulating that it is, if not merely a dialect of the Kechua, then a jargon made up of the Kechua and other stocks." He went on to add: ". . .the decided majority of its radicals have no affinity with Kechua, and betray a preponderating influence of some other stock. What this may have been must be left for future investigation."

The grammatical parallelism of the two languages was emphasized by Uhle (1912: 319), although he stopped short of positing a genetic relationship. Jijon y Caamaño (1943: 604) also emphasized the grammatical similarities, concluding that the two languages were related.

At mid-century, Mason launched the hybrid term 'Kechumaran' to designate what he termed "the yet unproved but highly probable sub-phylum consisting of Kechua and Aymara" (1950: 196). He was impressed by the many close similarities of morphology and phonetics, but added that approximately three-quarters of the lexical roots were completely different while the remaining quarter were obviously related and probably borrowed by one or the other language.

Nida (1953: 7) denied genetic relationship: "Many Aymara roots occur in common with Quechua with which there has been much interborrowing through many centuries. Despite the many common words and some remarkable similarities in the structure of words, Quechua and Aymara are regarded by linguists as belonging to entirely different families." McQuown (1955: 561) was more to the point: "Arguments from morphology alone, unsupported by a substantial corpus of lexical material in which regular sound correspondences from language to language are demonstrated,

can never be conclusive." All the evidence published to that date, he noted, need indicate nothing further than that one language had borrowed from the other.

In 1968, Orr and Longacre took up McQuown's challenge to provide evidence of regular sound correspondences in their controversial paper "Proto-Quechumaran". This paper had two avowed purposes: 1) to show that Proto-Kechua had aspiration and glottalization (based on 520 reconstructions from nine dialects: Putumayo, Colombia; Riobamba, Quito and Tena, Ecuador; Huaras, Ayacucho and Cuzco, Peru; Cochabamba, Bolivia; and Santiago del Estero, Argentina), and 2) to show that Aymara and Kechua were related genetically (based on 255 Aymara - Proto-Kechua sets). Only a small slice of their data was included in the paper.

To establish aspirated and glottalized stops in Proto-Kechua they refuted previous scholarship (Parker 1963: 248 and Torero 1964: 463-4) which assumed that the glottalized and aspirated stops of Cuzco and Cochabamba reflected Aymara substratum rather than inheritance from Proto-Kechua. Such an assumption had been made because only those dialects geographically contiguous with Aymara (i.e., Cuzco and Cochabamba) have a series of aspirated and glottalized stops and affricates. Orr and Longacre

argued: "Much is made of the fact that only one laryngealized stop (i.e., glottalized or aspirated) occurs per word in Kechua and that such stops occur only in roots, while in Aymara they occur several times anywhere in the stem-affix string. This, it is claimed, indicates that the Kechua laryngealized stops are a restricted and hence imported feature. This is, however, a non-sequitur. An inherited feature may become restricted and eventually lost; restricted distribution is no evidence of importation" (529). Aspirated and glottalized stops and affricates (as in the present-day dialects of Cuzco and Cochabamba) were then reconstructed at five points of articulation for Proto-Kechua.

Orr and Longacre then reconstructed Proto-Kechumaran in which they posited stops (simple, aspirated and glottalized) at six points of articulation. They added a domal  $*t̤$  series to explain the Aymara /t/ : Kechua /c/ correspondence, as in A. /quta/ : K. /quca/ 'lake', and A. /tunka/ : K. /cunka/ 'ten'. No evidence was offered for an aspirated domal  $*t̤^h$ , and only scanty evidence for a glottalized domal  $*t̤^ʔ$ .

To adequately handle the fact that present-day Cuzco and Cochabamba Kechua may have only one laryngealized consonant per root where Aymara may have one,

two or more, the same number of laryngealized consonants as appear in the Aymara form were reconstructed for the Proto-Kechumaran form. O. and L. then stated the following rule: "On the Kechuan side, a dissimilation of laryngealized phonemes (to unlaryngealized) affects the second laryngealized phoneme of any Kechumaran form" (549).

There are three major faults with the Orr and Longacre paper. First, though an effort is made to base the reconstructions on as many lexical items as possible from the so-called 'intimate' portion of the vocabulary (due, of course, to the view that such items are less subject to borrowing), the great majority of the sets come from the 'cultural' segment of the lexicon (an area where borrowing can flourish, given the right circumstances). Another problem with their paper is that only one dialect of Parker's Branch B (Torero's Branch I) was included in making the reconstructions. Not one dialect of this branch contains the crucial series of aspirated and glottalized stops. Lastly, O. and L. completely ignored Jaqaru and Kawki, sister languages of Aymara. Thus, they pitted one language of the Jaqi family against one branch (plus one dialect of the second branch) of the Kechua family and reconstructed a proto-language. The particular languages chosen to serve as the basis

for reconstruction were precisely the ones which have been in the most intimate contact over many centuries.

Two years later, in 1970, Yolanda Lastra de Suarez approached the problem of genetic relationship from the morphological angle. She used the method of reconstruction of positional categories (as first proposed in Hymes 1955). According to this method, if two languages agree as to the order of morphemes within a word and the meaning of the categories represented by the morphemes (not in the form of each morpheme), the languages are genetically related. Though hampered by a small corpus of Aymara data, she made an analysis of the order and meaning of suffixes on nominal and verbal stems in both languages. The results, charted graphically at the end of the article, showed that some suffixes of equivalent function and meaning in the two languages occur in the same order. She argued that this was further evidence for their genetic relationship.

Serious attempts to link Aymara and Kechua with linguistic stocks outside the Andes have occurred twice, but have never been followed up by other scholars. Swadesh (1956, 1969), using lexicostatistics, proposed the establishment of phyla with great time depth. Analyzing vowel and consonant interchange,



reduplication, affixation and lexical items from his basic word list, he joined Penutian, Kechumaran, Mayan, Tarascan, Zuni and Coconucan into the giant phylum, Penutioid. Some years earlier, Harrington (1943) argued that Kechua was a farflung outlier of Hokan.

Recently, Gary Parker (1973: 109) quite effectively put a damper on claims for a Kechumaran proto-language. Stating that the two languages had been in intimate contact for a very long time, he concluded that unless a clear way of distinguishing loanwords from proposed cognates in the genetic sense was hit upon, there would never be a consensus of opinion regarding the question of genetic relationship. He also stated that this problem was based on another as yet unresolved problem, i.e., the reconstruction of Proto-Kechuan and Proto-Jaqi phonologies, an investigation which has been hampered by the lack of solid field work with many of the Kechuan dialects of Branch B<sup>2</sup>.

The Jaqi and Kechuan language families are a classic example of the general problem of genetic relationship between languages in contact.

### 030 The Aymara and Kechua peoples

The heaviest concentration of Aymara speakers

today is found on the vast, windy altiplano surrounding Lake Titicaca. Located at an altitude of upward from 12,500 feet above sea level, this bleak tableland is sharply delimited in three directions by natural barriers. To the west and to the east lie respectively the Maritime Cordillera and the Cordillera Real of the Andes. Between these two mountain chains, rivers drain first into Lake Titicaca then south into Rio Desaguadero, and, finally, into Lake Poopo, where their waters are eventually lost in the salt swamps of Uyuni. These swamps form the permanent southern boundary of the Aymara.

This territory includes the southern half of the department of La Paz, the department of Oruro and the northwestern part of the department of Potosi in Bolivia, and the provinces of Puno, Chucuito, and Huancane in the department of Puno, Peru. Scattered Aymara speakers live in the western portion of the department of Cochabamba, Bolivia; in sections of the departments of Arequipa, Moquegua and Tacna in southern Peru; and in the department of Arica, in northern Chile. A minimum figure for the number of Aymara speakers today would be 1,250,000<sup>3</sup>.

Speakers of the Cuzco dialect of Kechua, according to Rowe (1950), live in the departments of Cuzco, Puno (up to the limits of Aymara), Arequipa

(part) and Apurimac (east of a north-south line drawn through the city of Abancay, a transitional area of undetermined width between the Cuzco and Ayacucho dialects). Sola and Cusihuaman (1967) estimate the number of Cuzco speakers at 1,000,000. This estimate would seem to be correct. My research indicates a figure of slightly over 1,000,000.<sup>4</sup>

The Aymara and Kechua peoples are predominantly rural and engaged mostly in agricultural pursuits. The potato, native to the Andean region, is the staple food crop. Maize and barley are other important food crops raised in the higher altitudes. Coca, peppers and fruits are cultivated in the sub-tropical Bolivian yungas and in the Peruvian mountain valleys. Herding of sheep, llamas and alpacas occurs generally on the punas.

#### 040 Theoretical orientation of this study

As the discipline of linguistics enters the last quarter of the twentieth century, it emerges from a decade during which the domain of known linguistic facts has spread far beyond the reaches of all current and foreseeable formal theories. Linguists need all the help they can get to cope with these facts, and for this reason it is important to realize that there is no particular 'way' to do linguistics. Rather, there are various research strategies, some more pro-

ductive at given times than others.

As George Lakoff has noted (Parrett 1974: 152-3), theory construction and verification is an important mode of doing linguistics, but not necessarily the most important. It is fashionable these days to be a theorist, an act of hubris or worse to be a descriptive linguist. I think this attitude is unfortunate. Linguistic description is not yet a science; it is an art. Sadly, it is an art that has begun to die just when it should be flourishing most. The reason is that it is still widely believed that grammars of little known languages should be formal and follow some particular theory. But as work done during the past decade shows, no linguistic theory is adequate to deal with most facts. All formal descriptions allow for only those facts that happen to be able to be dealt with by the given formalism. Any description of a language today which adheres strictly to some grammatical theory will not describe most of what is in a language. Worse still, as formal theories are discarded in favor of more productive ones, as is happening at an ever increasing rate, those linguistic descriptions based on such theories will become increasingly less useful.

I think the time has come for a return to the tradition of informal language descriptions written

in clear prose so that such descriptions will still be useful and informative when present theories are long forgotten. Such descriptions, in addition to providing much new food for thought, can raise entirely new issues. Older problems, never definitively resolved, will then be disposed of because they are no longer felt to be worth worrying about. New issues that are more general, more interesting, or more difficult have come along to take their place.

The present work, a contrastive study of the grammatical structures of Aymara and Cuzco Kechua, follows no particular theoretical model. It is an informal description, written in clear prose, of many of the grammatical similarities and differences between these two languages.

#### 050 Purpose of this study

The purpose of this study is to see if there is any grammatical basis for claiming a genetic relationship between Aymara and the Cuzco dialect of Kechua. It will focus primarily on the suffixes in each language, their semantic features and internal syntax, since most aspects of Aymara and Kechua grammar are characterized by some suffixation process. Chapters on phonology and word structure will lay the groundwork for a detailed comparison of individual suffixes from the four classes of postpositions common

to both languages - substantival, verbal, thematic and independent. The listing will be as exhaustive as my sources have allowed.<sup>5</sup> A final chapter will sum up the similarities, and determine if they are cumulative enough to warrant the conclusion that the two languages are genetically related.

## 100 PHONOLOGY

## 110 Root syllable structure

The structure of root syllables is a useful starting point in comparing and contrasting the phonologies of Aymara and Cuzco Kechua. All root syllables in both languages contain a vowel nucleus flanked potentially by consonantal pillars. In Kechua, however, a consonant occurs obligatorily in root initial position; in Aymara, a vowel occurs obligatorily in root final position. Deviations occur in Spanish borrowings where virtually the whole range of Spanish syllable initial and medial clusters are found (depending, of course, on the degree of bilingualism of the speaker). Intervocalic single consonants are regarded as syllable initial. Medial consonant clusters (see 160) are disyllabic.

Initial and medial syllables in Aymara may begin and end in either a consonant or a vowel: (C) V(:) (C). Final syllables are always CV. In Kechua, all root syllables require an initial consonant plus vowel sequence; an optional consonant may then occur to check the syllable: CV(C). Initial consonant clusters and vowel clusters (other than vowel length in Aymara) do not occur in either language.

## 120 Canonical shapes

### 121 Roots

The majority of Aymara roots have the shape CVCV(CV). A large number take CVCCV,<sup>1</sup> while most remaining roots are VC(C)V. The first consonant in a cluster is almost always a sonorant. There are other roots with different and longer shapes, but these are rare and are probably frozen compounds no longer analyzable into their constituent morphemes. Examples of the latter are: /aqaɽpu/ 'quinua flour' and /p'asanqaɽa/ 'toasted corn'.

As in Aymara, so too in Kechua the majority of roots take the shapes CVCV(CV) or CVCCV.<sup>1</sup> Unlike Aymara, however, Kechua has a large number of the shape CVC(CVC). Other forms, longer and less frequent in occurrence, are CVCVCVCV, CVCCVCV, CVCCVCCV and CVCVCCV. Examples of the latter shapes are: /hamut'ira/ 'spy, secret lookout'; /haytara/ 'divorce'; /wayɽunk'u/ 'clown that does certain risky tricks or stunts'; and /qaraywa/ 'lizard'. Roots of the form C<sub>1</sub>V<sub>1</sub>C<sub>1</sub>V<sub>1</sub> are numerous and represent almost all of the possible consonant-vowel combinations.<sup>2</sup>

### 122 Suffixes

A majority of Aymara suffixes have the canonical shape CV. A lesser number have CVCV. Two other forms



occur only rarely: CCV (/ -mpi/ 'and, with') and VCV (/ -iri/ 'agentive').

Kechua suffixes display a wider variety of canonical shapes than do those in Aymara. Like the latter, Kechua has many suffixes of the forms CV and CVCV. Other shapes include: CVC (many substantival and independent suffixes), CVCVC (/ -ñiraq/ 'like'), CVCCV (/ -rayku/ 'because, on account of'), CCV (/ -ysi/ 'help to VERB'), CCVC (/ -ntin/ 'all together') and CCVCV (/ -ykaca/ 'continual repetition').

### 130 Phonemic inventory

The striking similarity between the sound systems of Aymara and Cuzco Kechua has been noted by many investigators and is one of the reasons that so many hasty attempts have been made to establish a genetic relationship. Charts 1 and 2, the phonemic inventories of Aymara and Cuzco Kechua respectively, illustrate that of the twenty-six consonant phonemes of each language, twenty-five are identical: three series of stops and affricates (simple, aspirated and glottalized) at five points of articulation: bilabial /p/, /p"/ and /p'/, dental /t/, /t"/ and /t'/, palatal /c/, /c"/ and /c'/, velar /k/, /k"/ and /k'/, and uvular /q/, /q"/ and /q'/; two fricatives: alveolar /s/ and glottal /h/; three nasals: bilabial /m/,



|                   | Bila. | Den. | Pal. | Vel. | Uvu. | Glott. |
|-------------------|-------|------|------|------|------|--------|
| <b>Stops</b>      |       |      |      |      |      |        |
| Simple            | p     | t    |      | k    | q    | '      |
| Aspirated         | p"    | t"   |      | k"   | q"   |        |
| Glottalized       | p'    | t'   |      | k'   | q'   |        |
| <b>Affricates</b> |       |      |      |      |      |        |
| Simple            |       |      | c    |      |      |        |
| Aspirated         |       |      | c"   |      |      |        |
| Glottalized       |       |      | c'   |      |      |        |
| <b>Fricatives</b> |       |      |      |      |      |        |
|                   |       | s    |      |      |      | h      |
| <b>Nasals</b>     |       |      |      |      |      |        |
|                   | m     | n    | ṇ    |      |      |        |
| <b>Laterals</b>   |       |      |      |      |      |        |
|                   |       | l    | ṽ    |      |      |        |
| <b>Flap</b>       |       |      |      |      |      |        |
|                   |       | r    |      |      |      |        |
| <b>Semivowels</b> |       |      |      |      |      |        |
|                   | w     |      | y    |      |      |        |
| <hr/>             |       |      |      |      |      |        |
| <b>Vowels</b>     |       |      |      |      |      |        |
|                   |       | i    | u    |      |      |        |
|                   |       | a    |      |      |      |        |

Chart 2. Phonemic inventory of Cuzco Kechua  
(after Rowe 1950).

alveolar /n/ and palatal /ɲ/; two laterals: alveolar /l/ and palatal /ʎ/; one alveolar flap /r/; and two semivowels: bilabial /w/ and palatal /y/. Kechua lacks the uvular fricative /x/ of Aymara, while Aymara does not share the glottal stop /ʔ/ of Kechua. Each language has /i/, /a/ and /u/ as vowel phonemes. Vowel length occurs only in Aymara.

### 131 Consonants

For contrasting the allophonic variation and distribution of consonant phonemes in Aymara and Kechua, the most fruitful point of departure is the root, bare of all suffixation and viewed in isolation. This is due to the fact that on the Aymara side a complex system of morphophonemics is triggered when suffixation occurs resulting in the dropping of vowels and the medial clustering of more than two consonants. When such clusters occur, definition of syllabicity becomes extremely difficult. Obvious syllabic peaks occur on vowels, but the exact configuration of syllables containing morphophonemic consonant clusters will have to await more precise acoustic analysis.

#### 131.1 Stops and affricates

All stops and affricates in both languages occur prevocally in root initial position. There are no initial consonant clusters. In interior syllable

initial position, all stops and affricates may occur in Aymara, but certain restrictions exist in Kechua.

1) Since laryngealization (= aspiration or glottalization) may occur only once per root in the Cuzco dialect, the interior syllable initial position of a root is restricted to a non-laryngealized stop or affricate if laryngealization occurs previously in the root. 2) Medial syllables never begin with aspirated or glottalized consonants if the initial syllable begins with a stop (Torero 1964: 463-4).

3) If /h/ occurs root initially and a stop or affricate occurs in medial syllable initial position, that stop or affricate may be either simple or glottalized, but not aspirated. On the other hand, if /ʔ/ occurs root initially and a stop or affricate occurs in medial syllable initial position, that stop or affricate may be either simple or aspirated, but not glottalized. This process of dissimilation has been noted by Carenko (1975).<sup>3</sup> 4) Aspiration and glottalization occur syllable initially only.

In syllable final position, stops and affricates are very rare in Aymara. Two examples have been found, both with /c/: /pacpa/ 'self' and /q"acq"a/ 'rough'. No consonants occur root finally. In Kechua, the syllable final position may be occupied by the fricativized allophones of any one of four stops:

/p/, /t/, /k/ and /q/.<sup>4</sup> The fricativized allophones of /k/ and /q/ may also occur root finally.

Bilabial. A. /p/, /p"/ and /p'/, the simple, aspirated and glottalized voiceless bilabial stops respectively, are invariable. Examples: /pata/ [páta] 'over, on top of'; /p"ata/ [p<sup>h</sup>áta] 'cooked corn (crushed)'; /p'ata/ [p'áta] 'tearing with the teeth'.

K. /p/ has two allophones: [θ], voiceless bilabial fricative, which occurs syllable finally, and [p], voiceless bilabial stop, which occurs elsewhere. K. /p"/ and /p'/ are invariable. Examples: /hapra/ [háθrá] 'almost blind'<sup>5</sup>; /pata/ [páta] 'upper part of something; mountain peak; over, on top of'; /p"ata/ [p<sup>h</sup>áta] 'bursting; burst kernels of wheat, corn, etc.'; /p'ata/ [p'áta] 'the tearing or rending of something by the teeth'.

Alveolar. A. /t/, /t"/ and /t'/, the voiceless dental stops (simple, aspirated and glottalized, respectively) are invariable. Examples: /tanta/ [tánta] 'meeting'; /t"ant"a/ [t<sup>h</sup>ánt<sup>h</sup>a] 'old, used (said of inanimate objects)'; /t'ant'a/ [t'ánt'a] 'bread'.

K. /t/ has two allophones: [θ], voiceless interdental fricative which occurs syllable finally, and [t], voiceless dental stop which occurs elsewhere. K. /t"/ and /t'/ are invariable. Examples: /q'atqa/

[q'áəqá] 'Qatqa' (toponym); /tata/ [táta] 'father' (< Sp. tata 'father'); /t"ata/ [t<sup>h</sup>áta] 'a violent and somewhat unexpected shake given to a person'; /t'ata/ [t'áta] 'said of hands with six fingers or feet with six toes'.

Palatal. A. /c/, /c"/ and /c'/, the voiceless palatal affricates (simple, aspirated and glottalized, respectively) are invariable. Examples: /haca/ [háča] 'tear drop; cry'; /c"ama/ [č<sup>h</sup>áma] 'something all crumbled up'; /hac'a/ [háč'a] 'big, tall; long-suffering'; /c'ama/ [č'áma] 'strength'.

K. /c/, /c"/ and /c'/, the voiceless palatal affricates (simple, aspirated and glottalized, respectively) are invariable. Examples: /cucu/ [čúčv] 'very dry'; /c"ucu/ [č<sup>h</sup>účv] 'a native from the Collao region around Kutapanpas or Chunpiwillkas; natives who wear white pants'; /c'ucu/ [č'účv] 'round black seeds from a sapindaceous tree grown in the valleys'.

Velar. A. /k/, /k"/ and /k'/, the voiceless velar stops (simple, aspirated and glottalized, respectively) are invariable. Examples: /wikuña/ [wikúɲa] 'measure (thumb to index finger)'; /wik"uña/ [wik<sup>h</sup>úɲa] 'a vicuna, sheep or llama to masticate'; /wik'uña/ [wik'úɲa] 'vicuna'.

K. /k/ has two allophones: [x], a voiceless velar fricative which occurs word and syllable finally, and

[k], a voiceless velar stop which occurs elsewhere.  
 K. /k"/ and /k'/ are invariable. Examples: /c'ipik/ [č'ípIx] 'instantaneous movement'; /pukyu/ [p'úxyu] 'fountain, spring of water'; /kaca/ [káčá] 'messenger'; /k"aca/ [k<sup>h</sup>áčá] 'callous and dirty skin'; /k'aca/ [k'áčá] 'elegance, distinction and grace in behavior and appearance'.

Uvular. A. /q/, /q"/ and /q'/, the voiceless uvular stops (simple, aspirated and glottalized, respectively) are invariable. Examples: /laqa/ [láqa] 'fast, rapid'; /manq"a/ [mánq<sup>h</sup>a] 'inside'; /laq'a/ [láq'a] 'dust, earth; tasteless'; /manq'a/ [mánq'a] 'food, meal'.

Examples illustrating the /k/ - /q/ distinction in A. are: /anka/ 'eagle', /anqa/ 'outside'; /k"ak"aña/ 'to stutter', /q"aq"aña/ 'to twist'; /hiwk'i/ 'smoke', /hiwq'i/ 'toasting pan'.

K. /q/ has two allophones: [x̥], a voiceless uvular fricative which occurs syllable and word finally, and [q], a voiceless uvular stop which occurs elsewhere.  
 K. /q"/ and /q'/ are invariable. Examples: /Tiqt"i/ [t'Éxt<sup>h</sup>I] 'recent wound, open sore'; /yuraq/ [yúráx̥] 'white'; /qawa/ [qáwá] 'breast of a bird'; /q"awa/ [q<sup>h</sup>áwá] 'glance, look'; /q'awa/ [q'áwá] 'manure, cow-dung'.

Examples illustrating the /k/ - /q/ distinction



in K. are: /kaka/ 'maternal uncle', /qaqa/ 'rock, boulder'; /k"aTa/ 'an opening or wound similar in shape to the mouth; a small slice of something taken by cutting in thin pieces', /q"aTa/ 'the sprinkling of a liquid by hand'; /wak'a/ 'hare lip', /waq'a/ 'crazy'.

Glottal. K. /ʔ/, the voiceless glottal stop, occurs word initially only. Example: /ʔima/ [ʔíma] 'what, which'.

Not all scholars agree on the phonemic status of the glottal stop in Kechua. It was Harrington and Valcarcel (1941) who initially stated that the Cuzco dialect has a glottal stop, followed by Rowe (1950) and most recently by Carenko (1975). It is true that phonetically the glottal stop is not always present. Some Kechua roots actually do begin with a vowel, the glottal stop being deleted. I am persuaded, however, to posit an underlying phonemic status for the glottal stop by the argument of Carenko (1975), i.e., that a relationship exists between a root initial vowel or a root initial /h/ and the type of laryngealization that may occur on the initial stop of the medial syllable. He noted that in the same root, when /h/ occurs root initially, no aspirated stop or affricate occurs, and that when a vowel occurs root initially, no glottalized stop or affricate occurs.

### 131.2 Fricatives

The three fricatives in Aymara, /s/, /x/ and /h/, have differing positions of occurrence. /s/ and /h/ occur root and syllable initially and syllable finally. /x/ does not occur root initially but may occur syllable initially and finally. In like manner, Kechua /s/ and /h/ differ somewhat in their positions of occurrence. They both may occur root and syllable initially; only /s/ occurs root and syllable finally.

A. /s/ has three allophones: [š̺], a voiceless palato-alveolar fricative which occurs before or after the voiceless palatal affricates within word boundaries or across them; [ç], a voiceless palatal fricative which occurs after /y/ or /ñ/; and [s], a voiceless alveolar fricative which occurs elsewhere. Examples: /kawc sarxapxi/ [káwč šarxáp̺xe] 'where have they gone to?'; /ñuñsuña/ [ɲuɲçúɲa] 'to complete feeding at the breast'; /saraña/ [saráɲa] 'to go'; /pʰisna/ [pʰísna] 'light in weight'.

K. /s/, a dental fricative (voiceless) is invariable. Rowe reports a somewhat high tongue position (1950: 140).<sup>6</sup> Examples: /sipas/ [síp̺ás] 'girl between fifteen and twenty'; /ʰisqun/ [ʰísqon] 'nine'.

A. /x/, a voiceless uvular fricative ([x]), and A. /h/, a voiceless glottal fricative ([h]), are

sometimes pronounced with varying amounts of friction. This is especially true in the case of /h/. It is sometimes forcefully articulated, the friction occurring in the velar region, thus producing [x]. Most often, though, it is [h]. Examples: /c"uxTu/ [č<sup>h</sup>óxʌʋ] 'ear of corn'; /c'ixi/ [č'é<sup>h</sup>xe] 'spotted white and black (said especially of cows)'; /c"uhTu/ [č<sup>h</sup>úhʌʋ] 'caretaker or watchman's hut in the fields'; /c'ihí/ [č'íhi] 'grassy plot'.

K. /h/, a voiceless glottal fricative, is invariable. Examples: /hanp'atu/ [hānp'á<sup>h</sup>ʌʋ] 'frog'; /muhu/ [m'úhʋ] 'seed'.

### 131.3 Nasals

The three Aymara nasals, /m/, /n/ and /ñ/, occur root and syllable initially; only /m/ and /n/ occur syllable finally. In Kechua, the distribution of nasals is identical to that in Aymara, with one additional position of occurrence: /m/ (rarely) and /n/ may also occur root finally.

A. /m/ and /ñ/ are invariable. A. /n/ has two allophones: [ŋ], a voiced velar nasal which occurs before the velar and uvular series of stops and (optionally) in word (not root) final position, and [n], a voiced dental nasal which occurs elsewhere. Examples: /maya/ [máya] 'one'; /naya/ [náya] 'I'; /tunka/ [túnka] 'ten'; /ña/ [ná] 'already'.

K. /m/ and /n̄/ are also invariable. K. /n/ has two allophones: [ŋ], a voiced velar nasal which occurs root finally and interior syllable finally before /p/, /k/, /l/, /T/, /m/, /n̄/, /q/, /r/, /s/, /w/ and /y/, and [n], a voiced dental nasal which occurs elsewhere. Examples: /mama/ [mámá] 'mother'; /hamTu/ [hámʌu] 'toothless'; /ranram/ [ránrám] 'alder tree'; /hatun/ [háʈuŋ] 'big'; /nina/ [níná] 'fire'; /maña/ [máɲá] 'order, petition, request'.

#### 131.4 Laterals and flap

The two Aymara laterals, /l/ and /T/, and one flap /r/ occur syllable initially and finally; only /l/ and /T/ occur root initially. /r/ occurs root initially in Spanish borrowings (which are beyond the scope of this study) and is slightly sibilant in that position. On the Kechua side, /l/, /T/ and /r/ are found in all positions of occurrence: root/syllable initial and final. /T/, however, occurs only rarely in root final position. Examples:

A. /ali-/ [áli-] 'grow' (plants only); /aTi-/ [áli-] 'dig'; /ari/ [ári] 'file'.

K. /lap*"*i/ [láp<sup>h</sup>I] 'skin that covers the back down to the groin'; /wanpal/ [wáɲpáI] 'seedbed, tree nursery'; /Tap*"*i/ [ʌáp<sup>h</sup>I] 'the act of tempering, softening, calming'; /c'inkiT/ [č'íŋkiʌ] 'clear, trans-

parent'; /rap*"*i/ [rǎp<sup>h</sup>I] 'leaf'; /kuntur/ [kʷntʷr] 'condor'.

The flap and both laterals in each language are invariable.

### 131.5 Semivowels

The semivowels of Aymara, /w/ and /y/, appear in all positions of occurrence: root initial and syllable initial and final. Likewise, K. /w/ and /y/ occur in all possible positions: root/syllable initial and final. Both phonemes in each language are invariable. Examples:

A. /watiri/ [watíri] 'one who darns, a darning';  
/yatiri/ [yatíri] 'one who knows everything, a knower,  
a diviner (of sicknesses)'.

K. /'awa/ [ʔáwǎ] 'thread prepared for weaving';  
/quqaw/ [qóqǎw] 'cold cuts, victuals that a traveler  
carries for eating on a trip'; /'aya/ [ʔáyǎ] 'cadaver';  
/qatay/ [qǎtǎy] 'brother-in-law; son-in-law of man or  
woman'.

### 132 Vowels

The three-vowel phonemic configuration found in Aymara is identical to that in Cuzco Kechua;<sup>7</sup> the allophonic variation differs slightly. The high, front unrounded vowel /i/ is realized as [i] in Aymara but as [I] (lower high, front unrounded) in Kechua. Examples:

A. /pari/ [pári] 'hot' (said of rocks or metal);  
 K. /kusi/ [kʷski] 'fallow'.

The low, central unrounded vowel /a/ is realized as [a] in Aymara, but as [ǣ] (a low, central unrounded vowel which is slightly fronted) in Kechua. Examples: A. /para/ [pára] 'forehead'; K. /kuska/ [kʷskǣ] 'equal, level, flat'.

The high, back rounded vowel /u/ is realized as [u] in Aymara, but as [ʊ] (a lower high, back rounded vowel) in Kechua. Examples: A. /paru/ [páru] 'color of toasted wheat'; K. /kusu/ [kʷskʊ] 'a more or less bright shade or hue'.

The high vowels, /i/ and /u/, when preceding or following consonants articulated in the uvular region, are lowered. This influence may travel across fricatives (in Aymara only) and resonants. Examples: A. /ciqa/ [čéqa] 'straight, true'; /pimq'i/ [pémqʰe] 'pus'; /pisqa/ [písqa] 'five'. K. /q'inti/ [q'éntɪ] 'hummingbird'; /p'inqay/ [p'éŋqay] 'shame'; /c'iqtay/ [c'éxtay] 'to split'; /q'umir/ [q'ómɪr] 'green'.

When preceding or following palatal consonants, the high vowels in Kechua are normally raised. Examples: K. /niy/ [níy] 'to say'; /c'uɬmiy/ [č'úʎmiy] 'to get out of a dangerous situation'; /'antay/ [ʔántay] 'my copper'.

In both languages, this palatal influence may

partially override that exerted by the uvulars, i.e., a vowel will not be lowered as much. Examples:

A. /ñiq'i/ [ɲíq'e] 'mud'; K. /Tuqsi/ [ʔúxsɪ] 'departure'.

Infrequently, stressed vowels are lowered and unstressed vowels are reduced to schwa in Aymara. Unstressed final vowels in Kechua are also sometimes lowered or reduced to schwa.

### 133 Vowel length

Phonemic vowel length occurs in both Aymara and Jaqaru (Hardman 1966) and can be reconstructed for Proto-Jaqi. On the Kechua side, it occurs in some dialects of Branch B (in the departments of Ancash, Huanuco, Pasco, Junin and part of Lima) but nowhere in Branch A. Torero (1964) has reconstructed vowel length for Proto-Kechuan.

In Aymara, vowel length in roots is rare. Some examples are: /ca:ka/ [čá:ka] 'dried stem'; /caka/ [čáka] 'bridge'; /ku:rmi/ [kú:rmi] 'rainbow'; /ya:la/ [yá:la] 'friend'.

Two other types of vowel length occur in the language. The first is grammatical length. Some tense and verbalizer morphemes consist only of length or contain length as one of their phonemes. Examples: /sara:/ [sará:] 'I will go' (sara- 'go', -i '1-3 future'<sup>8</sup>); /c'ik"i:tati/ [č'ík<sup>h</sup>i:táti] 'Are you smart?' (c'ik"i

'smart', -i 'verbalizer', -ta<sub>4</sub> '2-3 indefinite'<sup>8</sup>, -ti 'yes/no interrogative').

The second form of grammatical length is /-aya/ reduction. The phoneme sequence /-aya/, when it occurs word finally and before a consonant in the following word, reduces to /-a:/. This occurs only in phrases, never in citation forms. Words that commonly undergo this reduction are: /maya/ 'one', /ma: warmi/ [má: wármí] 'one woman'; /paya/ 'two', /pa: wisTa/ [pá: wísʔa] 'two wooden spoons'; /k"aya/ 'that over there', /k"a: quta/ [k<sup>h</sup>á: qóʔa] 'that lake over there'.

The independent pronoun, /naya/ 'I', is reduced to /na-/ before /-naka/ 'general plural' to give /nanaka/ 'we (excl.)'. It is optionally reduced before /-ru/ 'goal relational', giving /nar/ or /nayar/. /-waya/, a verbal derivational suffix indicating 'action at a distance', is also optionally reduced to /-wa/.

Because of /-aya/ reduction and the automatic placement of stress on the penultimate vowel (see 140), vowel length is justifiably seen as a sequence of two syllables, each composed of a vowel. This explains why words ending in grammatical length still conform to the rule for placement of word stress in the language. Since primary word stress occurs on the penultimate



syllable, words with long vowels can be seen as having primary stress on the penultimate of the two identical vowels.

#### 140 Stress

In both languages, primary stress falls on the penultimate syllable of the word. The deceptive situation in Aymara, where morphophonemic processes cause final vowel elision, is not a counter example - stress placement occurs before the vowel is dropped. Example: /naway(a) hupar(u) c'uq curta./ 'I gave him the potatoes.'

Secondary accents mark every alternate syllable counting back from the primary accent. With suffixation, the primary stress shifts so that it always falls on the penultimate syllable.

Both language, however, do contain exceptions where the primary accent falls on the ultimate syllable. In Aymara, the imperative inflection /-m/ '2-3', as in /sarám/ 'Have him go', and some inflections in the contrary-to-fact paradigms have primary stress on the final vowel. In Kechua, a primary accent on the ultimate syllable occurs in three places: 1) on interjections (/cutún/ 'alright!' [said when one ceases to argue because the point is incontestable], /putún/ 'Whew, what a stink!'), 2) on words which are marked by certain exclamatory suffixes (see 619), and

3) on the morpheme /'arí/ 'yes'.

#### 150 Metathesis

Some roots in both languages have alternate pronunciations which involve the process of metathesis. A majority of the examples involve resonants. Examples from Aymara include: /cilwi ~ ciwli/ 'baby chick'; /k'anwa ~ k'awna/ 'egg'; /caṭwa ~ cawṭa/ 'fish'; /qiṭwa ~ qiwṭa/ 'gull'; /qarwa ~ qawra/ 'llama'; /t'arwa ~ t'awra/ 'wool'; /pirwa ~ piwra/ 'bin'.

Kechua examples are: /lamran ~ ranram/ 'alder tree'; /qaraywa ~ qaraway/ 'lizard'; /yuraq ~ ruyaq/ 'white'.

As the Kechua example for 'lizard' illustrates, a -wy- cluster is apparently so cacophonous to the ears of native Kechua speakers (it occurs nowhere in my corpus), that it is always avoided. Thus, when the cluster -yw- was metathesized, the -y- was pushed all the way to the end of the word allowing for the intrusion of -a- and resulting in a more harmonious sequence. Note also that in the example for 'alder tree', not only do the -m- and -n- metathesize, but l and r alternate (freely, it would appear) in word initial position.

One example of metathesis in Aymara involves a fricative: /c"axwa ~ c"awxa/ 'pile of rock'.

A final example, this one in Kechua, involves two stops, the first simple and the second aspirated, in which the aspiration does not metathesize but the stops do. A metathesis of the aspiration would violate the phonotactics of laryngeal stops. Example: /rakt"a ~ ratk"a/ 'thick'.

#### 160 Root consonant clusters

For both Aymara and Cuzco Kechua, the general rule for consonant clustering in roots is: clusters occur medially and are composed of two consonants.<sup>9</sup> These clusters (the listing which follows is not exhaustive) may be divided into six classes based on consonant type, beginning with the most frequent (Class I) and ending with the least frequent (Class VI). Each class, in turn, is subdivided into specific clusters common to both languages, and clusters which occur in one or the other of the languages.

No generalizations can be drawn since the cluster patterns are skewed. This often happens when contrasting two languages which have experienced a great deal of mutual diffusion.

The most frequent cluster type is resonant + stop. In the first slot, only /ṇ/ does not occur in either language; in the second slot, only k. /ʔ/ does not occur. Examples from both languages follow each cluster.

## CLASS IA - RESONANT + STOP

Clusters common to both Aymara and Cuzco Kechua:

|     |                                                                                                                                                             |
|-----|-------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| nt  | A. /anti/ 'pink'; K. /'inti/ 'sun'                                                                                                                          |
| nt" | A. /lunt"ata/ 'thief'; K. /Tant"u/ 'shadow'                                                                                                                 |
| nt' | A. /yant'a/ 'test'; K. /hant'arqa/ 'the position of being flat on your back'                                                                                |
| nc  | A. /anca/ 'a lot'; /c'uncu/ 'savage'                                                                                                                        |
| nc' | A. /hanc'a-/ 'be cross'; K. /hanc'i/ 'waste pulp, badly chewed food residue'                                                                                |
| nk  | A. /anka/ 'eagle'; K. /kanka/ 'barbecued meat'                                                                                                              |
| nk" | A. /ank"a/ 'lower jaw'; K. /Tank"a/ 'pink'                                                                                                                  |
| nk' | A. /k'ank'a/ 'rooster'; K. /hank'a/ 'lameness'                                                                                                              |
| nq  | A. /anqa/ 'outside'; K. /c'unqa/ 'a strong suck to cause liquid to come into the mouth'                                                                     |
| nq' | A. /manq'a/ 'food'; K. /hanq'u/ 'native silver, antimony'                                                                                                   |
| lt  | A. /hilita-/ 'grow'; K. /q'alti/ 'the shaking of a liquid while being carried'                                                                              |
| Tp  | A. /aTpaqa/ 'alpaca'; K. /c'uTpa/ 'sarcophagus; funerary tower constructed by the Incas for burial purposes'                                                |
| Tp" | A. /c'aTp"a/ 'chaff of cereals'; K. /'iTp-a-/ 'hold or carry something in the lap of a skirt'                                                               |
| Tp' | A. /siTp'a/ 'thin, fine sheet or plate'; K. /haTp'i/ 'a scratch'                                                                                            |
| Tk  | A. /c'iTk'a/ 'medecinal herb'; K. /c'uTku/ 'bulbs or small roots similar to small white onions that are usually eaten in salads'                            |
| Tq  | A. /qiTqa-/ 'write'; K. /paTqu/ 'cheat, swindler, fake, fraud'                                                                                              |
| rp  | A. /irpa-/ 'take by the hand; guide someone'; K. /'irpa/ 'the branding of cattle'                                                                           |
| rt  | A. /warta-/ 'throw out'; K. /pirta/ 'hang-man, executioner'                                                                                                 |
| rk  | A. /arka-/ 'pursue'; K. /kirku/ 'boiled and sun-dried lupine'                                                                                               |
| rk" | A. /mirk"a/ 'freckles'; K. /wark"a/ 'balls that form on the wool of sheep, llamas, etc. upon contact with the mud and dung in the corrals where they sleep' |
| rk' | A. /sirk'i/ 'wart'; K. /hamark'u/ 'the fruit of the stem of potatoes, similar to green cherries'                                                            |
| rq  | A. /marqa-/ 'carry armful of wheat, straw, etc.'; K. /'irqi/ 'small child'                                                                                  |

|     |                                                                                                                   |
|-----|-------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| rq' | A. /mirq'i/ 'old, used' (said of inanimate objects); K. /lirq'u/ 'cross-eyed person'                              |
| wt  | A. /awti/ 'drought; autumn'; K. /tiwti/ 'very delicate thread or cord'                                            |
| wc  | A. /k'iwca/ 'liver'; K. /hawca/ 'cruel, in-human'                                                                 |
| wc' | A. /Tawc'i-/ 'carry mud dough, etc.'; K. /hawc'a/ 'wrinkle; crease, rumple'                                       |
| wk  | A. /awki/ 'father' (when old); K. /c'iwka/ 'violent and continual escape of a liquid'                             |
| wk' | A. /hiwk'i/ 'toasting pan'; K. /mawk'a/ 'worn out from use'                                                       |
| yp  | A. /taypi/ 'middle, center'; K. /huypu/ 'long stone tied to a stick and used to break up dirt clods'              |
| yt' | A. /sayt'u/ 'something tapered more than ordinary'; K. /hayt'a-/ 'kick'                                           |
| yc  | A. /ayca/ 'raw meat'; K. /c'uycu/ 'said of bodies from which liquid is dripping'                                  |
| yk  | A. /tayka/ 'mother, old lady'; K. /c'uyku/ 'said of a narrow and twisted opening'                                 |
| yk' | A. /wayk'a/ 'garlic'; K. /hayk'a/ 'how much'                                                                      |
| yq  | A. /ayqu-/ 'moan, groan'; K. /q"ayqa/ 'dizziness or illness caused by breathing in an area surrounding a cadaver' |

Clusters attested only in Aymara:

|     |                                                                           |
|-----|---------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| mp  | A. /ampara/ 'arm, hand'                                                   |
| mp" | A. /c'amp"a/ 'crowd, mob'                                                 |
| mp' | A. /lump'a/ 'pure'                                                        |
| mt  | A. /amta-/ 'remember'                                                     |
| mk  | A. /samka-/ 'dream'                                                       |
| mk" | A. /lamk"a-/ 'touch; poke'                                                |
| mq" | A. /pimq"i/ 'pus'                                                         |
| nc" | A. /anc"ita/ 'right now'                                                  |
| nq" | A. /manq"a/ 'inside'                                                      |
| lp" | A. /t'alp"a/ 'flat, plane'                                                |
| lt' | A. /hilt'a/ 'what is left over, surplus'                                  |
| Tt  | A. /qaTta-/ 'begin'                                                       |
| Tc" | A. /aTc"i/ 'grandson, granddaughter'                                      |
| Tk' | A. /k'uTk'u/ 'narrow'                                                     |
| Tq' | A. /maTq'a/ 'throat'                                                      |
| Tq" | A. /c'uTq"i/ 'hard, solid'                                                |
| rp" | A. /larp"a/ 'a kind of sickness accompanied by an extreme loss of weight' |
| rq" | A. /c'arq"u-/ 'mix'                                                       |

|     |              |                                  |
|-----|--------------|----------------------------------|
| wc" | A. /c"iwc"i/ | 'baby chick'                     |
| wk" | A. /kawk"a/  | 'where' (indefinite place)       |
| wq" | A. /qawq"a/  | 'how much, how many'             |
| wq' | A. /hiwq'i/  | 'smoke'                          |
| yp" | A. /huyp"i/  | 'frost; winter, freezing season' |
| yp' | A. /hayp'u/  | 'afternoon'                      |
| yk" | A. /huyk"u/  | 'blind, ignorant'                |

Clusters attested only in Cuzco Kechua:

|     |                |                                                             |
|-----|----------------|-------------------------------------------------------------|
| mc  | K. /c"amci/    | 'crushed maize for feeding chickens'                        |
| np  | K. /c'unpi/    | 'chestnut-colored'                                          |
| np' | K. /hanp'atu/  | 'frog'                                                      |
| lt" | K. /walt"a/    | 'diaper'                                                    |
| lq  | K. /c'ulqi/    | 'said of skin that is limp and drooping'                    |
| Tt" | K. /'iTt"a/    | 'lazy'                                                      |
| Tc  | K. /c'uTcu-/   | 'water to gush out of something that is soaking wet'        |
| Tc' | K. /haTc'inku/ | 'stuffed intestines'                                        |
| rp' | K. /wirp'a/    | 'lip'                                                       |
| rc  | K. /c'irci/    | 'crying child'                                              |
| wt' | K. /lawt'i/    | 'said of butchered meat which is thin and phlegmy'          |
| wq  | K. /tawqa/     | 'well stacked pile of something'                            |
| yt  | K. /c'uytu/    | 'oval-shaped'                                               |
| yc" | K. /layc"u-/   | 'wind or roll yarn between the thumb and the little finger' |

In addition to RESONANT + STOP, Kechua has STOP + RESONANT. The fricative allophones of the respective stops always occur in the first slot of this combination.

CLASS IB - STOP + RESONANT

|    |            |                                    |
|----|------------|------------------------------------|
| kn | K. /tiknu/ | 'zenith, highest point in the sky' |
| kñ | K. /ñukñu/ | 'nectar, an exquisite delicacy'    |

|    |                                                                             |
|----|-----------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| ky | K. /hukya/ 'a sudden change of countenance'                                 |
| km | K. /mukmu/ 'bud'                                                            |
| kT | K. /c'ukTa/ 'hut'                                                           |
| kr | K. /pikri/ 'overflowing; that which is put into an already full receptacle' |
| kw | K. /p'ikwa-/ 'leave in a mad haste; escape violently'                       |
| pT | K. /hapTa/ 'discourteous, insolent'                                         |
| pñ | K. /q'apñu/ 'bumped, bruised'                                               |
| pr | K. /hapra/ 'almost blind'                                                   |
| tm | K. /p"atma/ 'each part of a division, mathematical fraction'                |
| qm | K. /c'uqmi/ 'a blow with the fist'                                          |
| qñ | K. /c'uqñi/ 'gum on the edge of the eyelids after sleeping'                 |
| ql | K. /laqla/ 'loud mouthed; garrulous'                                        |
| qT | K. /TaqTa/ 'the smoothed-off part of a piece of wood'                       |
| qw | K. /Tiqwi/ 'said of dough that is runny or that falls apart'                |
| qy | K. /qaqya-/ 'belch'                                                         |
| qr | K. /c'uqri/ 'rotten sore, scab'                                             |

The next most frequent cluster type is RESONANT + RESONANT. Here again, /ñ/ does not occur in cluster initial position.

## CLASS II - RESONANT + RESONANT

### Clusters common to both Aymara and Cuzco Kechua:

|    |                                                                                                    |
|----|----------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| nw | A. /kinwa/ 'grain var.' (small); K. /winwi/ 'affected movement' (generally of the hips)            |
| Tw | A. /caTwa/ 'fish'; K. /q"aTwa/ 'crumbled up straw that easily adheres to things'                   |
| rm | A. /arma-/ 'forget'; K. /qarmin/ 'shoulder blade; the cartilage that binds the ribs to the breast' |
| rw | A. /irwaqa/ 'shore'; K. /qarwin/ 'that part of the stomach near the spleen'                        |
| wn | A. /k'awna/ 'egg'; K. /qawna/ 'male child who has only sisters and no brothers'                    |

|    |                                                                                                                                                      |
|----|------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| wl | A. /ciwli/ 'baby chick'; K. /tiwli/ 'extremely thin thread'                                                                                          |
| wT | A. /cawTa/ 'fish'; K. /TawTi/ 'a thorny bernadesia plant with both red and white flowers, the latter thought to have curing power against pneumonia' |
| ym | A. /aymara/ 'Aymara'; K. /c'uyma-/ 'drain'                                                                                                           |
| yn | A. /aynaca/ 'down the hill; south'; K. /qayna/ 'another time, last time, a previous day'                                                             |
| yr | A. /hayra/ 'lazy'; K. /hayra/ 'slow, lazy, dull'                                                                                                     |
| yw | A. /aywi-/ 'several to go walking'; K. /haywa-/ 'reach'                                                                                              |

Clusters attested only in Aymara:

|    |                                               |
|----|-----------------------------------------------|
| lw | A. /cilwi/ 'baby chick'                       |
| rl | A. /parla-/ 'speak' (from Sp. <u>parlar</u> ) |
| wr | A. /yawri/ 'big needle'                       |

Clusters attested only in Cuzco Kechua:

|    |                                                                    |
|----|--------------------------------------------------------------------|
| mñ | K. /ñamña/ 'one who eats little from lack of appetite'             |
| mr | K. /hamra/ 'innocent, simple, unwary'                              |
| my | K. /hamya/ 'insipid, without taste'                                |
| mT | K. /hamTu/ 'toothless'                                             |
| nl | K. /lanla/ 'fond of novelty'                                       |
| nT | K. /TanTa/ 'plants luxuriant with verdure'                         |
| nr | K. /ranram/ 'alder tree'                                           |
| lm | K. /q'uлма/ 'trick'                                                |
| Tm | K. /c'uTmi-/ 'get out of a dangerous situation'                    |
| rñ | K. /ñarña/ 'a stupid, whimpering child'                            |
| wm | K. /rawma-/ 'prune'                                                |
| wñ | K. /qiwna/ 'a kind of tree whose wood is an excellent combustible' |
| yñ | K. /hayñacu/ 'stud in a herd of llamas or vicuñas'                 |
| yT | K. /hayTi/ 'triumph, victory'                                      |

The next class is composed of STOP + STOP clusters



and occurs mainly in Kechua, where the initial slot, as in Class IB, is the respective fricative allophone. Only three STOP + STOP clusters have been discovered in Aymara.

### CLASS III - STOP + STOP

#### Clusters common to both Aymara and Cuzco Kechua:

qc' A. /yuqc'a/ 'daughter-in-law'; K. /huqc'a/ 'a marvelous herb that has attributed to it properties for the dissolving or softening of rocks'

#### Clusters attested only in Aymara:

cp A. /pacpa/ 'self'  
cq" A. /q"acq"a/ 'rough'

#### Clusters attested only in Cuzco Kechua:

pt K. /c'ipta/ 'scheming young ladies with slight bodies'  
pt' K. /hapt'a/ 'fistful' (quantity)  
pc K. /q"apci/ 'delicate, fine, elegant'  
pc' K. /Tapc'a-/ 'snatch a handful of something'  
pq K. /hipqa/ 'unpeel something'

tk K. /pitka/ 'litter, stretcher, bier'  
tk" K. /ratk"a/ 'thick'  
tk' K. /hutk'u-/ 'drill, puncture, make a hole'  
tq K. /q"atqi/ 'bitter'  
tq" K. /ñutq"u/ 'brains'

kp K. /pikpi/ 'nocturnal bird very similar to a little owl'  
kt K. /c'ukta/ 'basting stitch'  
kc K. /pikca/ 'the chewing of coca to extract the juice'  
kc' K. /Tikc'a/ 'soft leaves of the quinoa plant; food prepared from the quinoa leaves'

qp K. /paqpa/ 'grey hairs'  
qt K. /c'uqta/ 'ugly, deformed'  
qt" K. /Tiqt"i/ 'recent wound, open sore'  
qt' K. /laqt'u/ 'prepared maize chewed with difficulty in order to ferment'  
qc K. /c'uqcu/ 'continual desire for a liquid upon drinking it'

qc" K. /maqc"i/ 'a washing or cleaning done  
with water only'

Less frequent are clusters which contain a fricative. Naturally, because Aymara has three fricative phonemes (/s/, /x/ and /h/) which may participate in a cluster, and Cuzco Kechua has only one (/s/), clusters of this type are more common in the former language than in the latter. Fricatives may combine with resonants (Classes IVA and IVB), stops (Classes VA and VB) and rarely with other fricatives (Class VI).

#### CLASS IVA - FRICATIVE + RESONANT

##### Clusters common to both Aymara and Cuzco Kechua:

sT A. /wisTa/ 'wooden ladle'; K. /wisTa/  
'wooden ladle'

##### Clusters attested only in Aymara:

sn A. /p"isna/ 'light in weight'  
xñ A. /c"uxñā/ 'green'  
xT A. /c"uxTu/ 'ear of corn'  
xr A. /c"uxri/ 'blow, wound'  
xw A. /c"axwa/ 'pile'  
hm A. /c"ihma/ 'pillow'  
hT A. /ahli-/ 'choose'  
hr A. /t"uhru/ 'staff, cane, stick'  
hw A. /lihwana/ 'hoe'

##### Clusters attested only in Cuzco Kechua:

sm K. /'ismu/ 'rotten, putrid'  
sñ K. /c'isña/ 'larva of the meat fly'  
sl K. /k"uslu/ 'scraped smooth, shaved bald'  
sw K. /kiswar/ 'poplar tree'

#### CLASS IVB - RESONANT + FRICATIVE

Clusters common to both Aymara and Cuzco Kechua:

- ms A. /kimsa/ 'three'; K. /kimsa/ 'three'
- ws A. /hawsa-/ 'call over'; K. /Tawsa/ 'phlegm, mucus; slobber'
- ys A. /haysa-/ 'accept'; K. /quysu/ 'said of clothing that is too long, does not fit well, and almost, if not actually, drags on the ground'

Clusters attested only in Aymara:

- ns A. /ansa-/ 'yawn'
- ls A. /halsu/ 'east'
- rs A. /arsu-/ 'talk back'
- wx A. /c"awxa/ 'pile'

## CLASS VA - FRICATIVE + STOP

Clusters common to both Aymara and Cuzco Kechua:

- sp A. /c'uspa/ 'small purse in which coca is kept'; K. /c'uspa/ 'small purse for coca, coins, etc.'
- st' A. /ist'a-/ 'listen, hear'; K. /last'a/ 'thin sheet of something, resulting from pressing or squeezing'
- sk A. /aski/ 'good, well, just'; K. /c'usku/ 'gruff, angry'
- sk" A. /k"usk"a/ 'continuous, equal'; K. /Tusk"a/ 'slippery'
- sk' A. /k'ask'a/ 'sour'; K. /husk'a-/ 'sow seed'
- sq A. /p"isqa/ 'five'; K. /'isqun/ 'nine'
- sq' A. /Tusq'a/ 'even, smooth'; K. /wisq'a-/ 'close something'

Clusters attested only in Aymara:

- sp" A. /musp"a-/ 'wonder'
- st A. /aristu/ 'jail cell, dungeon'
- xt A. /axta-/ 'loathe'
- hc" A. /c"ihc"i/ 'large hailstones'

Clusters attested only in Cuzco Kechua:

- sp' K. /hasp'i-/ 'scratch'

## CLASS VB - STOP + FRICATIVE

Clusters attested only in Cuzco Kechua:

- ks     K. /Taksa/ 'fearful, scared; frightful, terrible'
- ps     K. /Tapsa/ 'thin' (like a linen cloth or a piece of paper)
- qs     K. /Tuqsi-/ 'leave, depart'

## CLASS VI - FRICATIVE + FRICATIVE

Clusters attested only in Aymara:

- xs     A. /axsara-/ 'fear'
- hs     A. /t"uhsa/ 'stinking, smelly'

## 170 Morphophonemics

The striking resemblances between the phonemic systems, the root syllable types, the canonical shapes and the root consonant clusters of Aymara and Cuzco Kechua are matched by an equally arresting number of differences in the surface form of words, especially as regards the clustering of consonants. This is due to the extensive system of morphophonemic processes that are at work in Aymara, a system characterized chiefly by the fact that suffixes govern the shape of morphemes in contact with them, causing those morphemes to either drop or retain their vowels.<sup>10</sup> This results in the medial clustering of more than just two consonants in the Aymara word; the upper limits are not

known. Clusters of three, four, or five consonants are not rare. The following example has six: A.  
 /haniw hiskt'ksmati/ 'I didn't ask you'.

#### 171 Aymara

Morphophonemic alternations in Aymara are conditioned phonologically, morphologically and syntactically. Hardman-de-Bautista et al. (1974) were the first to describe them in detail. Much in this section is based on their pioneering work.

##### 171.1 Phonological

All suffixes beginning with /h/ may reduce to aspiration when preceded by a stop or affricate. This happens relatively often with /-ha/ 'divide or split up the action or the complement' and /-hama/ 'like'. In stems such as /uk"ama/ 'so, like that' and /ak"ama/ 'so, like this', combinations of /uka/ 'that' and /aka/ 'this' plus /-hama/ respectively, a fusion of the two morphemes has actually occurred.

Suffixes with initial /i/ (the only vowel in suffix initial position) require a preceding consonant since vowel clusters are not permitted. Examples:

- |       |    |         |                                          |
|-------|----|---------|------------------------------------------|
| (A-1) | a. | p"ayiri | 'one who cooks'                          |
|       |    | p"aya-  | 'cook'                                   |
|       |    | -iri    | 'agentive nominalizer'                   |
|       | b. | yatiri  | 'one who knows, a diviner of sicknesses' |
|       |    | yati-   | 'know'                                   |

-iri                    'agentive nominalizer'

A final /u/ on a root or suffix will dominate any initial /i/ in a following suffix. Example:

- (A-2) a. katuri                    'fisherman'  
           katu-                    'fish'  
           -iri                    'agentive nominalizer'
- b. hak"uri                    'one who counts'  
           hak"u-                    'count'  
           -iri                    'agentive nominalizer'

When a geminate consonant cluster results from vowel deletion, one of the consonants may be dropped. Example:

- (A-3) haniw yatkti.                'I don't know.'  
       haniw yatkti.                'I don't know.'
- hani                    negative  
       -wa                    personal knowledge  
       yati-                    'know'  
       -ka<sub>2</sub>                    non-completive aspect  
       -ta<sub>3</sub>                    1-3 indefinite  
       -ti                    negative

When /c/ is other than the final consonant in a cluster, it becomes [s].

- (A-4) sarcta. ([sársta]) 'Surely I went.'  
       sara-                    'go'  
       -ci                    suppositional mood  
       -ta<sub>3</sub>                    1-3 indefinite

When a morpheme begins with or consists of vowel length, it must follow a vowel. If a lengthened vowel is followed by a suffix requiring a preceding

consonant, the effect of that demand is to shorten the lengthened vowel, not delete it.

#### 171.2 Morphological

The vast majority of morphophonemic alternations are morphologically conditioned due to the fact that most suffixes in the language govern the shape of morphemes in contact with them. This government is of seven types:

- 1) Suffixes which require a consonant to precede and follow.
- 2) Suffixes which require a vowel to precede and follow.
- 3) Suffixes which require a vowel to precede and a consonant to follow.
- 4) Suffixes which require a consonant to precede and a vowel to follow.
- 5) Suffixes which require a consonant to precede and permit either a consonant or a vowel to follow.
- 6) Suffixes which require a vowel to precede and permit either a consonant or a vowel to follow.
- 7) Suffixes of complex, indeterminate and/or undetermined morphophonemic status which permit consonants or vowels to precede or follow.

When a government type requires that a consonant follow a given suffix, as in (1) and (3) above, the final vowel of the suffix is dropped. When a government type requires that a vowel follow a given suffix, as in (2) and (4) above, the final vowel of that suffix is retained. When a government type permits either a consonant or a vowel to follow a given suffix, the following suffix determines whether the final vowel is

dropped or retained. Throughout this study, where suffixes are dealt with individually, their morpho-phonemic government type will be specified by number as per the classes aforementioned. For example, -ta<sub>5</sub> 'participial nominalizer' (2) preserves its own vowel and requires a vowel to precede it, as in

|       |                  |                                 |
|-------|------------------|---------------------------------|
| (A-5) | q'ipitawa        | 'the readied load for the back' |
|       | q'ipi-           | 'carry on the back'             |
|       | -ta <sub>5</sub> | participial nominalizer (2)     |
|       | -wa              | personal knowledge (7)          |

This suffix can be contrasted with the homophonous morphemes, -ta<sub>2</sub> 'upward directional' (5) and -ta<sub>4</sub> '2-3 indefinite' (4). -ta<sub>2</sub>(5) requires a consonant to precede it and permits either a vowel or a consonant to follow, i.e., it allows the following suffix to determine whether it retains or drops its own vowel. -ta<sub>4</sub>(4) also requires a consonant to precede, but always retains its own vowel. Example:

|       |                  |                                |
|-------|------------------|--------------------------------|
| (A-6) | q'ipttawa.       | 'You picked up the back pack.' |
|       | q'ipi            | 'carry on the back'            |
|       | -ta <sub>2</sub> | 'upward directional' (5)       |
|       | -ta <sub>4</sub> | 2-3 indefinite (4)             |
|       | -wa              | personal knowledge (7)         |

A certain degree of class patterning may be found among the suffixes. Many substantival suffixes, for example, belong to classes (5) and (6). A subset of these, the relational suffixes, belong to classes



(1), (2), (3) and (4), that is, they specify both the preceding and the following environments. Verbal suffixes belong to classes (5) and (6), while most verbal inflectional suffixes belong to classes (1), (2), (3) and (4). The latter are major conditioners of other suffix shapes. Independent suffixes belong to classes (6) and (7). Nominalizers and verbalizers do not pattern as a class.

### 171.3 Syntactic

When substantive roots or nominalizations of verb roots containing three or more vowels enter into more complex syntactic constructions, the final vowel is dropped. Examples:

- (A-7) a. c'iyar p'isi      'black cat'  
           c'iyara        'black'  
           p'isi          'cat'
- b. manq'añ muntwa.    'I want to eat.'  
           manq'a-            'eat'  
           -ñā                infinitive nominalizer (6)  
           muna-             'want'  
           -ta<sub>3</sub>                1-3 indefinite (1)  
           -wa                personal knowledge (7)

The complement of the verb is marked by an obligatory deletion of its final vowel. Also called "zero complement" in the literature (Hardman-de-Bautista et al. 1974: 300), this verbal object "completes" the sense of the verb which it immediately precedes (see

331.2). Throughout the body of this work and in the suffix glossary, the complement relational will be indicated by  $-\emptyset$ . Example:

|       |              |                           |
|-------|--------------|---------------------------|
| (A-8) | quTq curitu. | 'He gave me the money.'   |
|       | quTqi        | 'money'                   |
|       | $-\emptyset$ | complement relational (1) |
|       | cura-        | 'give'                    |
|       | -itu         | 3-1 indefinite (4)        |

Within the sentence, all phrase final words drop their final vowels. If a speaker hesitates or pauses for air at the end of a phrase, the vowel is retained.

## 172 Kechua

The morphophonemic alternations in Cuzco Kechua are much fewer in number than those in Aymara. Some phonological and morphological alternations exist; there is no evidence for syntactically motivated variations.

### 172.1 Phonological

Some suffixes have one form (a) when preceded by a consonant, another (b) when preceded by a vowel:

| (a)                        | (b)      |
|----------------------------|----------|
| -mi personal knowledge     | -n       |
| -si non-personal knowledge | -s       |
| -pa possession relational  | -q, -qpa |

Other suffixes have two shapes which appear to be

in free variation. Sola and Cusihuaman (1967: 7-18) report the -ypari ~ -rpari alternation. The others may be found attested several times in various entries in Lira (1944). It may be that they come from sub-dialects within the Cuzco dialect area or from different social registers, in which case they would be better explained as dialect variations. Examples:

- |    |                        |                                                                                                       |
|----|------------------------|-------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| 1) | -na <sub>3</sub> ~ -ra | removal and action reversal (see 522)                                                                 |
| 2) | -ca ~ -nca             | action causative (see 521)                                                                            |
| 3) | -ypari ~ -rpari        | resultative aspect (see 411.24)                                                                       |
| 4) | -raya ~ -ra            | durative aspect (see 413.21)<br>The <u>-ra</u> variant is similar to <u>-aya</u> reduction in Aymara. |
| 5) | -ykaca ~ -kaca         | continual repetition (see 413.23)                                                                     |
| 6) | -niraq ~ -ñiraq        | 'like' (see 350)                                                                                      |

Sola and Cusihuaman (1967: 3-1) also report a few stems which have two or more freely alternating shapes. Some stems involve an intervocalic velar or uvular aspirated stop as per the following examples:

- |    |                         |                      |
|----|-------------------------|----------------------|
| 1) | 'aq"a ~ 'axya           | 'chicha' (corn beer) |
| 2) | mik"u- ~ mihu- ~ mihyu- | 'eat'                |
| 3) | 'uk"u ~ 'uhu            | 'interior'           |
| 4) | pukyu ~ puhu            | 'spring' (of water)  |

Less frequent stem alternations are:

- |    |                   |         |
|----|-------------------|---------|
| 1) | miTma ~ wiTma     | 'wool'  |
| 2) | wat'iya ~ wat"iya | 'bake'  |
| 3) | yawar ~ rawar     | 'blood' |
| 4) | rap'i ~ rap'a     | 'leaf'  |
| 5) | haTp'a ~ 'aTpa    | 'earth' |

This last alternation, haTp'a ~ 'aTpa, is a good example of the cooccurrence restrictions in morphemes which begin with /h/ or /'/. Note that in haTp'a, glottalization occurs, whereas in 'aTpa, the glottalization is dropped. This is an example of the fact that in Kechua, if laryngealization occurs in a word with an initial /h/, it must be glottalization. In like manner, if the word has initial /'/, the laryngealization type must be aspiration. Because \*'aTp'a would violate this restriction, the glottalization on the /p/ had to be dropped.

## 172.2 Morphological

The morphological alternations in Cuzco Kechua can be divided into four groups. The first involves the verbal derivational suffix, -mu 'cislocative/translocative directional', which becomes -m when it immediately precedes -pu, 'benefactive'. This avoids the cacophony of successive syllables with bilabial consonant + /u/. Example:

|       |          |                          |
|-------|----------|--------------------------|
| (K-1) | 'apa-    | 'carry'                  |
|       | 'apamu-  | 'bring'                  |
|       | 'apampu- | 'bring for someone else' |

Secondly, when -ku<sub>2</sub> 'reflexive' immediately precedes -mu 'cislocative/translocative directional' or -pu 'benefactive', it becomes -ka. Examples:

|       |           |                                                               |
|-------|-----------|---------------------------------------------------------------|
| (K-2) | 'apa-     | 'carry'                                                       |
|       | 'apaku-   | 'behave oneself or conduct oneself in such and such a manner' |
|       | 'apakamu- | 'bring something for oneself'                                 |
|       | 'apakapu- | 'return that which was brought to its origin or source'       |

When a substantive root ends in a consonant and is followed immediately by a personal possessive suffix (-y 'my', -yki 'your', -n 'his, her, its', -yku 'our - excl.', -ncis 'our -incl.', -ykicis 'your - pl.' or -nku 'their'), the possessor suffix (-yuq), the distributive suffix (-nka), or the substantival suffix meaning 'all, together' (-ntin), the empty morph, -ni, must intervene. Examples:

|       |                   |                             |
|-------|-------------------|-----------------------------|
| (K-3) | a. qarmin         | 'shoulder blade'            |
|       | qarminniy         | 'my shoulder blade'         |
|       | b. 'iskay         | 'two'                       |
|       | cunka 'iskayniyuq | 'twelve'                    |
|       | c. 'isqun         | 'nine'                      |
|       | 'isqunnintin      | 'nine together, nine total' |
|       | d. 'isqunninka    | 'nine for each person'      |

The final group is composed of the verbal derivational suffixes -yku<sub>2</sub> 'intensifier/motion inward' and -rgu 'rapidity/facility' which become -yka and -rga respectively when they immediately precede -ri 'inceptive aspect', -ci 'person causative' or -ysi 'assistive'. Examples:

- (K-4) a. qaTari- 'begin'  
qaTariykaci- 'order something begun'
- b. 'ancaya- 'worsen' (in health)  
'ancayarqaci- 'allow a sickness to progress without limit, not impede its advance'

## 200 STRUCTURAL OVERVIEW

A comparison of the morphological genius of Aymara with that of Cuzco Kechua discloses remarkably similar structures. Both languages are agglutinative in nature, with suffixation being the chief grammatical process. Reduplication and compounding also occur, but to a lesser extent. The structural elements of the word in each language are a root, which always occurs first and which may stand alone, and one or more ordered suffixes. Based on the type of suffix which may be appended, roots are divided into three major form classes: substantive, verb and particle. Substantive and particle roots are free; verb roots are bound. The suffix types are substantival, verbal, thematic and independent.

In this study, a root is defined as the primitive bare of all suffixation. A stem is then a root plus one or more suffixes, none of which may be thematic. A theme is a root or stem plus one or more thematic suffixes.

## 210 Root classes

## 211 Substantive

In both Aymara and Cuzco Kechua, substantive roots include the traditional subclasses of noun, pronoun (personal and demonstrative), adjective (attributive,

quantitative and demonstrative), adverb (temporal and locative) and interrogative (except the verbal interrogatives, kamsaña 'what to say' and kamacaña 'what to do' in Aymara). They are distinguished from verbs and particles by the fact that they take substantival suffixes, all of which are derivational in nature. In addition, they may take independent suffixes. They experience a class shift to verb when any of a subclass of thematic suffixes (the verbalizers) are attached. Examples of substantive roots are:

|       |            |            |
|-------|------------|------------|
| (A-1) | a. waṭpa   | 'chicken'  |
|       | b. naya    | 'I'        |
|       | c. wila    | 'red'      |
|       | d. waranqa | 'thousand' |
|       | e. aka     | 'this'     |
|       | f. hic'a   | 'now'      |
|       | g. taypi   | 'middle'   |
|       | h. kuna    | 'what'     |
| (K-1) | a. waṭpa   | 'chicken'  |
|       | b. nuqa    | 'I'        |
|       | c. puka    | 'red'      |
|       | d. waranqa | 'thousand' |
|       | e. kay     | 'this'     |
|       | f. kunan   | 'now'      |
|       | g. cawpi   | 'middle'   |
|       | h. 'ima    | 'what'     |

## 212 Verb

The verb roots in both languages are distinguished from substantives and particles by the fact that they take verbal suffixes, both derivational and inflectional. They also take independent suffixes. They



experience a class shift to substantive when any of a subclass of thematic suffixes (the nominalizers) are attached. Examples of verb roots are:

- |       |          |                                               |
|-------|----------|-----------------------------------------------|
| (A-2) | a. muna- | 'want, love'                                  |
|       | b. Taki- | 'be sad'                                      |
|       | c. cuTu- | 'soften something hard and dry by wetting it' |
| (K-2) | a. muna- | 'want, love'                                  |
|       | b. Taki- | 'be sad'                                      |
|       | c. cuTu- | 'soften something hard and dry by wetting it' |

All verbs in Cuzco Kechua, when inflected, preserve intact the radical. The same rule does not apply in Aymara, for many verbal inflections require a consonant to immediately precede them. This causes the final vowel of the verb root to drop. One verb in Aymara has only one vowel: sa- 'say, tell'. When an inflection requiring a preceding consonant is affixed (e.g., -ta<sub>3</sub> '1-3 indefinite' (1)), the result is an unacceptable initial consonant cluster: sa- + -ta<sub>3</sub> = \*sta. When this occurs, si- or hi- (in free variation) is preposed to the form. In the example above, this gives sista or hista 'I say to him, her, them'.

### 213 Particle

Particle roots are distinguished from substantive and verb roots by the fact that they may take only independent suffixes. Frequently they occur with no

postpositions attached. Examples of particle roots are:

- |       |         |             |
|-------|---------|-------------|
| (A-3) | a. hani | negative    |
|       | b. hisa | 'yes'       |
|       | c. ampi | 'please'    |
| (K-3) | a. mana | negative    |
|       | b. 'ari | 'yes'       |
|       | c. 'ama | prohibitive |

#### 214 Ambiguous

A number of roots in both Aymara and Cuzco Kechua are ambiguous as to form class, that is, they may take either substantival or verbal suffixes. Examples of ambiguous roots are:

- |       |           |                   |                    |
|-------|-----------|-------------------|--------------------|
| (A-4) | a. amuca  | 'bud of a flower' | (substantive root) |
|       | b. amuca- | 'be in bud'       | (verb root)        |
|       | c. c'aqa  | 'drop'            | (substantive root) |
|       | d. c'aqa- | 'drip, leak'      | (verb root)        |
| (K-4) | a. 'aka   | 'excrement'       | (substantive root) |
|       | b. 'aka-  | 'defecate'        | (verb root)        |
|       | c. t'ika  | 'flower'          | (substantive root) |
|       | d. t'ika- | 'flower'          | (verb root)        |

In like manner, there are a few suffixes in both languages which are ambiguous, that is they may modify substantives or verbs. In some cases, a given suffix may be verbal derivational and thematic. Example:

- |       |               |                    |
|-------|---------------|--------------------|
| (A-5) | a. hunt'u     | 'hot'              |
|       | b. hunt'unta- | 'begin to get hot' |

|            |            |
|------------|------------|
| c. apa-    | 'carry'    |
| d. apanta- | 'put into' |

In these Aymara examples, -nta 'inceptive; motion inward' (6) verbalizes a substantive root (a) and modifies a verb root (c). This particular combination of functions in one morpheme is a characteristic shared by many suffixes in both Aymara and Cuzco Kechua.

Other suffixes may be substantival and verbal in nature, but not thematic. An example from Kechua illustrates:

|       |            |                                                                    |
|-------|------------|--------------------------------------------------------------------|
| (K-5) | a. maña    | 'petition, request'                                                |
|       | b. mañapu  | 'a beggar who is insistent, demanding, bothersome and impertinent' |
|       | c. maña-   | 'ask for'                                                          |
|       | d. mañapu- | 'intercede for another'                                            |

The ambivalent root, maña, can either mean 'petition, request' as in (a) or 'ask for' as in (c), the former a substantive root and the latter a verb root. When -pu 'benefactive' is affixed, there is no thematization; rather, simple modification occurs, the first resulting in a free substantive stem (b), the second resulting in a bound verb stem (d).

All suffixes which have characteristics such as those mentioned above will be singled out in the course of chapters 3, 4 and 5.

## 220 Suffix class ordering on roots

The ordering of suffix classes on each of the three root types is practically identical in the two languages here under study. It is shown graphically in Chart 3.

In Aymara, a substantive root is followed in order by substantival, pre-inflectional independents, then post-inflectional independents. A thematic suffix (verbalizer, in this case) may occur anywhere after the root, but before the post-inflectional independent suffixes. In parentheses it is noted that themation is optionally recursive. This means simply that a verbalizer may be followed directly or farther on in the suffix string (but before the second group of independents) by a nominalizer, which may then be followed by another verbalizer, and so on. The maximum number of thematic alternations on a single root has not yet been determined for either language. Illustrations of this recursiveness may be found in 530.

Aymara verb roots are followed in order by verbal derivational, pre-inflectional independent, verbal inflectional and post-inflectional independent suffixes. Recursive themation (this time, nominalization would be first) may occur anywhere after the root and before the verbal inflectional suffixes.

Aymara Substantive

Root + Substantival + Pre-inflectional + Post-inflec.  
 Suffixes                      Independent  
                                          Suffixes                      Suffixes  
  
 Thematic suffixes  
 (recursive)

Aymara Verb

|                   |          |               |          |              |
|-------------------|----------|---------------|----------|--------------|
| Root              | + Verbal | + Pre-inflec. | + Verbal | + Post-infl. |
|                   | Deriva.  | Independent   | Inflec.  | Indepen.     |
|                   | Suffixes | Suffixes      | Suffixes | Suffixes     |
| Thematic Suffixes |          |               |          |              |
| (recursive)       |          |               |          |              |

## Aymara Particle

Root + Pre-inflectional + Post-inflectional  
Independent Independent  
Suffixes Suffixes

### Cuzco Kechua Substantive

Root + Thematic      + Substantival + Independent  
    Suffixes              Suffixes              Suffixes  
                            (recursive)

Cuzco Kechua Verb

Root + Verbal  
Deri.                      + Verbal                      + Independent  
Suffixes                      Inflectional                      Suffixes  
Thematic  
Suffixes  
(recursive)

## Cuzco Kechua Particle

### Root + Independent Suffixes

Chart 3. The ordering of suffix classes on roots in Aymara and Cuzco Kechua.

Aymara particle roots are followed in order by the pre- and post-inflectional independent suffixes.

In Cuzco Kechua, almost the same ordering on each root type occurs. Two differences should be noted. First themation on substantives must follow the root directly; here again, it is optionally recursive. Second, all independent suffixes follow the inflection on verb roots. This differs slightly from the case in Aymara, where a group of three suffixes (-ki 'just, only' (611), -puni 'emphatic' (612), and -raki 'too, also' (613)), the pre-inflectional independents, always occur before the verbal inflectional suffix. All other independents follow it.

### 230 Reduplication

The repetition of the radical is a common grammatical process in both Aymara and Cuzco Kechua. It is employed, with self-evident symbolism, to indicate such concepts as distribution, plurality, repetition, customary activity and added intensity or emphasis. Many examples from Kechua illustrate these concepts.

- |                |                                                                                               |
|----------------|-----------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| (K-5) a. cunta | 'date palm of hard, elastic blackwood used frequently to make bows because of its resistance' |
| b. cunta cunta | 'a stand of date palms'                                                                       |
| c. 'urqu       | 'mountain'                                                                                    |
| d. 'urqu 'urqu | 'mountain chain'                                                                              |

|              |                                   |
|--------------|-----------------------------------|
| e. kiru      | 'tooth'                           |
| f. kiru kiru | 'set of teeth'                    |
| g. kisa      | 'nettle'                          |
| h. kisa kisa | 'place inhabited by many nettles' |
| i. pata      | 'step'                            |
| j. pata pata | 'series of steps'                 |

In Kechua, any state or action that is perceived by one of four senses as being especially vivid is represented by a double reduplication of either the first or second syllable of the verb root. If the consonant in the syllable to be reduplicated is aspirated or glottalized, it is reduplicated without the laryngealization, since only one instance of aspiration or glottalization per word is allowed. The four senses involved are 1) sound, which gives rise to many onomatopoetic formations, 2) sight, 3) smell (rare), and 4) feeling. Examples:

#### Sound

|       |               |                                                                          |
|-------|---------------|--------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| (K-6) | a. taratatay  | 'chickens to cackle'                                                     |
|       | b. cinininiy  | 'to jingle, to tinkle'                                                   |
|       | c. ciwiwiwi   | 'the wind to whistle sharply'                                            |
|       | d. c'aTaTaTay | 'many birds together to warble or to trill'                              |
|       | e. c'iwiwiwi  | 'the wind or a gentle breeze to murmur softly'                           |
|       | f. c'ulululuy | 'water from something soaking wet to trickle copiously'                  |
|       | g. kunununuy  | 'to make a frightening and earthshaking noise or rumble; to reverberate' |
|       | h. qalalalay  | 'the llama to neigh or sound forth'                                      |

|               |                                                                                                                                                            |
|---------------|------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| i. qañañāñay  | 'a dog to bark, whine or cry when it is mistreated'                                                                                                        |
| j. ququruquy  | 'rooster to cock-a-doodle-doo'                                                                                                                             |
| k. k"anananay | 'to bellow or roar with pain'                                                                                                                              |
| l. lap"apapay | 'a flag or piece of cloth to flap in the breeze'                                                                                                           |
| m. q"uTuTuTuy | 'the stomach to make sounds when it is moved around or agitated'                                                                                           |
| n. q"utututuy | 'to growl, to snarl'                                                                                                                                       |
| o. liq"iqiqiy | 'to cook at a full boil (i.e., with much bubbling)'                                                                                                        |
| p. 'ahahahay  | 'to laugh'                                                                                                                                                 |
| q. p"aqaqaqay | 'to pop, to make a loud sound (i.e., the firing of a gun or the popping of corn)'                                                                          |
| r. sut'ututuy | 'to drip without stopping'                                                                                                                                 |
| s. t"iqiqiqiy | 'to crackle, to spark, to sputter like water on a hot iron'                                                                                                |
| t. wihihihiy  | 'to let out with guffaws or horselaughs'                                                                                                                   |
| u. wic'iciciy | 'to shout or to whistle sharply; a pig to grunt or whine sharply while having its throat cut; to screech like an animal going through the slaughter house' |
| v. c"aqaqaqay | 'objects such as keys, eating utensils, plates, etc. to strike against each other'                                                                         |

### Sight

|                    |                                                                                           |
|--------------------|-------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| (K-7) a. cipipipiy | 'to brilliantly shine, to lightening with great light, to twinkle'                        |
| b. c'itititiy      | 'grease, butter, tallow to melt and shine in the presence of heat'                        |
| c. q"amamamay      | 'the fields or plants to be green with luxuriant verdure'                                 |
| d. q"apapapay      | 'to thunder silently'                                                                     |
| e. Tipipipiy       | 'to glimmer, to gleam, to twinkle'                                                        |
| f. k'acacacay      | 'to shine magnificently with very bright colors; a person to be extremely richly adorned' |



- g. p"apapapay 'wings to flutter lightly and without noise; wings to move briskly but quietly'

### Smell

- (K-8) a. putututuy 'to stink a great deal, to be unbearably smelly'

### Feeling

- (K-9) a. k"atatatay 'to tremble from cold or fear'  
 b. winininiy 'wounds or contusions to hurt with much pulsating and throbbing'  
 c. p'itititiy 'to suffer great anguish'

Where suffixes are reduplicated in Kechua, it is usually for the purpose of repetition or added emphasis as in the examples that follow.

- (K-10) qusqu Taqtaqa 'asmanta 'asmanta hatunyayapusyan.  
 'Little by little, the town of Cuzco is becoming bigger.'

|          |                       |
|----------|-----------------------|
| qusqu    | 'Cuzco'               |
| Taqta    | 'town'                |
| -qa      | topic marker          |
| 'asmanta |                       |
| 'asmanta | 'little by little'    |
| hatun    | 'big'                 |
| -ya      | 'become'              |
| -pu      | benefactive           |
| -sya     | progressive aspect    |
| -n       | 3rd p. sg. indefinite |

- (K-11) p"away 'uwihata q"awaririmunki.  
 'Run and have a look at the sheep.'

|        |                                  |
|--------|----------------------------------|
| p"awa- | 'run'                            |
| -y2    | 2nd p. sg. imperative            |
| 'uwiha | 'sheep' (from Sp. <u>oveja</u> ) |
| -ta    | complement relational            |
| q"awa- | 'look at'                        |

|      |                           |
|------|---------------------------|
| -ri  | inceptive aspect          |
| -mu  | translocative directional |
| -nki | 2nd p. sg. indefinite     |

(K-12) cukcaykita rutucicikamuy.  
'Go and have your hair cut.'

|                  |                           |
|------------------|---------------------------|
| cukca            | 'hair'                    |
| -yki             | 'your'                    |
| -ta              | complement relational     |
| rutu-            | 'cut' (hair, wool, etc.)  |
| -ci              | person causative          |
| -ku <sub>2</sub> |                           |
| (→ -ka/___-mu)   | reflexive                 |
| -mu              | translocative directional |
| -y <sub>2</sub>  | 2nd p. sg. imperative     |

The reduplication of radicals in Aymara can be seen in the following examples:

- (A-6)
- |                  |                                |
|------------------|--------------------------------|
| a. q"ixu q"ixu   | 'thunderclap'                  |
| b. t'isku t'isku | 'grasshopper'                  |
| c. kusi-         | 'be happy'                     |
| d. kusi kusi     | 'spider'                       |
| e. k"ari-        | 'cut'                          |
| f. k"ari k"ari   | 'fat extractor' ("boogie man") |
| g. liqi-         | 'knock on the door'            |
| h. liqi liqi     | 'woodpecker'                   |
| i. Tihu-         | 'dazzle'                       |
| j. Tihu Tihu     | 'flash of lightning'           |

I am aware of only a few suffixes which may be reduplicated on the same root in Aymara. The first is -hama 'like' which, when reduplicated, might best be glossed in English as 'like ROOT, more or less'. It occurs directly on the root or stem, is followed optionally by other substantival suffixes, and is then

reduplicated. Examples:

- (A-7) a. k"ithamanakhamas?  
'like who all, more or less?'

|                  |                               |
|------------------|-------------------------------|
| k"iti            | 'who'                         |
| -hama            | 'like' (5)                    |
| -naka            | general plural (6)            |
| -sa <sub>4</sub> | information interrogative (7) |

- b. kunhamhamas?  
'like how, more or less?'

|                  |                               |
|------------------|-------------------------------|
| kuna             | 'what'                        |
| -hama            | 'like' (5)                    |
| -sa <sub>4</sub> | information interrogative (7) |

The causative verbal suffix, -ya, in Aymara may also be reduplicated. The two occurrences of -ya are always juxtaposed and mean 'cause someone<sub>1</sub> to cause someone<sub>2</sub> to VERB'. Examples:

- (A-8) a. yati- 'know'  
b. yatiya- 'inform'  
c. yatiyaya- 'cause someone to inform'  
  
d. hiwa- 'die'  
e. hiwaya- 'kill'  
f. hiwayaya- 'cause someone to kill'

A. -si 'reflexive' may also be reduplicated to intensify personal involvement in the verbal action.  
Example:

- (A-9) a. ayqu- 'moan, groan'  
b. ayqusisi- 'have a great deal of pain'

## 240 Compounding

The composition of radical elements in Aymara and

Cuzco Kechua is generally confined to what might be called a delimiting function, that is, of the two compounded elements one is given a more precisely qualified significance by the other. In both languages, when the compound consists of two or three substantive roots, it is the first element(s) which qualifies. The final element is thus dominant and receives the modification. Examples:

- |        |                   |                                                         |
|--------|-------------------|---------------------------------------------------------|
| (A-10) | a. waka           | 'cow'                                                   |
|        | b. qaTu           | 'offspring, litter'                                     |
|        | c. wakaqaTu       | 'calf'                                                  |
|        | d. ampara         | 'hand'                                                  |
|        | e. quta           | 'lake'                                                  |
|        | f. amparquta      | 'palm of hand'                                          |
|        | g. alaxa          | 'up, north'                                             |
|        | h. paca           | 'world'                                                 |
|        | i. alaxpaca       | 'heaven'                                                |
|        | j. awki           | 'father'                                                |
|        | k. alaxpac awki   | 'god'                                                   |
| (K-13) | a. q'uñi          | 'warm'                                                  |
|        | b. pukyu          | 'spring'                                                |
|        | c. q'uñipukyu     | 'thermal spring'                                        |
|        | d. puna           | 'high mountain plain'                                   |
|        | e. runa           | 'person'                                                |
|        | f. punaruna       | 'an inhabitant of the sierras;<br>an uncultured person' |
|        | g. puka           | 'red'                                                   |
|        | h. yana           | 'black'                                                 |
|        | i. pukayana       | 'very dark red almost shading<br>into black'            |
|        | j. 'atisanka      | 'prisoner'                                              |
|        | k. wasi           | 'house'                                                 |
|        | l. 'atisanka wasi | 'jail'                                                  |

The meaning given to other compounds is not quite so transparent. By metaphorical extension, speakers of both languages have created some that are very colorful, given the meaning of the radicals. Those in Aymara contain either a verb root or a verb stem as the second compounded element, but the resulting word has a strictly nominal, not verbal, function. Examples:

- |                 |                                                          |
|-----------------|----------------------------------------------------------|
| (A-11) a. c'aka | 'bone'                                                   |
| b. acu-         | 'carry in the mouth'                                     |
| c. c'aka acu    | 'a gossip, a tale bearer'                                |
| d. inti         | 'sun'                                                    |
| e. hala-        | 'run'                                                    |
| f. -nta         | inward directional (6)                                   |
| g. -su          | outward directional (5)                                  |
| h. inti halanta | 'west, sunset'                                           |
| i. inti halsu   | 'east, sunrise'                                          |
|                 |                                                          |
| (K-14) a. wawa  | 'child'                                                  |
| b. qutu         | 'pile, heap'                                             |
| c. wawaqutu     | 'mother of numerous children'                            |
| d. 'ayca        | 'meat'                                                   |
| e. sinqa        | 'nose'                                                   |
| f. 'aycasinga   | 'carniverous; one who likes meat and eats it with gusto' |
| g. tuqTa        | 'a trap set in the country to catch animals alive'       |
| h. warmi        | 'woman'                                                  |
| i. tuqTawarmi   | 'whore'                                                  |

A final compound type, occurring only in Cuzco Kechua, consists of a verb or substantive root as the first element and a verb or particle root as the second. The resulting word functions as a verb root with the

second element modifying the first.

Two verb roots and two particle roots have been attested in the second slot of this kind of compound. They are:

- 1) tiya- 'live, inhabit, dwell, sit'
- 2) pasa- 'cross over'
- 3) pata 'on top of; highest point of something'
- 4) mana 'no'

In a sense, they function like suffixes, nuancing the root to which they are juxtaposed. As a compounded element tiya- means 'steadily', pasa- means 'anxiously' or 'worriedly' and occurs only with the verb root yuya- 'think', pata means 'imitatively' and occurs only with the verb root yaca- 'know', and mana (in free variation with -ymana) means 'lacking' (Sola and Cusi-huaman 1967: 7-19, 20). Examples:

- |        |                |                                               |
|--------|----------------|-----------------------------------------------|
| (K-15) | a. saru-       | 'step on'                                     |
|        | b. sarutiya-   | 'trample steadily'                            |
|        | c. q'api-      | 'squeeze'                                     |
|        | d. q'apitiya-  | 'squeeze strongly and steadily'               |
| (K-16) | a. yuya-       | 'think'                                       |
|        | b. yuyapasa-   | 'worry about, be concerned about, be anxious' |
| (K-17) | a. yaca-       | 'know'                                        |
|        | b. yacapata-   | 'imitate'                                     |
| (K-18) | a. kaTpa       | 'strength, energy, vigor'                     |
|        | b. kaTpaymana- | 'lack energy, be weak, decline physically'    |
|        | c. kusi-       | 'be happy'                                    |
|        | d. kusimana-   | 'be filled with sadness'                      |

|                |                                     |
|----------------|-------------------------------------|
| e. t'ika-      | 'flower'                            |
| f. t'ikamana-  | 'stop flowering'                    |
| g. qasi        | 'quiet, tranquil'                   |
| h. qasiymana-  | 'be disquieted, be worried'         |
| i. Tunpaq      | 'pure'                              |
| j. Tunpaqmana- | 'lose chastity, throw decency away' |

## 250 Word order

The order of meaningful elements in Aymara and Cuzco Kechua is, in most respects, similar. The following brief statements, meant only to give an overview, hold for both languages:

- 1) They are postpositional.
- 2) The dominant order of subject, verb and object in declarative sentences with nominal subject and object is SOV. This ordering is not absolutely rigid in either language, but is more so in Aymara than in Cuzco Kechua.
- 3) Qualifying adjectives precede the nouns they modify.
- 4) Circumstantials (time, location, purpose, cause, etc.) may occur before or immediately following the subject, or after the verb. They may not separate the object from the verb. This can be represented formulaically as follows: (C) S (C) O V (C).

Some examples illustrating this word order will be given here. Many more can be found throughout the chapters which follow.

- (A-12)           S           O           V  
ma: yatirix p'isq p"aya:na.  
'A diviner cooked the white quinoa.'
- (A-13)           C           S           O           V  
c"armantix hupax mark sari.  
'This morning he went to town.'
- (A-14)           S           O           V           C  
hiwasax c'uq Tamayuñani q"at sarañataki.  
'We (incl.) will harvest potatoes in order to  
go to market.'
- (K-19)           S           C           V  
haqay mayuqa wiTkamayumanmi c'atakapusyan.  
'That river empties in the Vilcanota river.'
- (K-20)           S           O           V           C  
warmiqa pisiTata kacita curarqan mankaman.  
'The woman put only a little salt into the pot.'
- (K-21)           C           S           O           V  
cay kikin p'uncaypin paykuna t'antata mik"urqanku.  
'That same day they ate the bread.'



## 300 THE SEMANTIC DOMAINS OF SUBSTANTIVAL SUFFIXES

The contrastive description of Aymara and Cuzco Kechua phonology and word structure presented thus far has pointed to an unusually high degree of similarity between the two languages. Only the complex system of Aymara morphophonemics stands out as being sharply divergent. However, as we move into the morphology of both languages, looking particularly at the semantic domains of suffixes, this parallelism diminishes somewhat. We find that the semantic domains of equivalent substantival, verbal, thematic and independent suffixes rarely overlap completely. Generally, the overlap is only partial. Frequently there is no overlap, that is, each language contains suffixes which have no functional or semantic equivalent in the other.

The present chapter deals with the semantic domains of substantival suffixes. These domains include the personal possessives, the plurals, the relationals, the possessor, the ressembler, the augmentative, the diminutive, the includer, and several miscellaneous suffixes from each language which have little or no semantic overlap in suffixes of the other language. A final section will contrast the ordering of individual suffixes on substantive roots in each language.

## 310 Personal possessives

In Aymara, person is expressed by four possessive suffixes representing first, second and third person singular (and plural) and first person plural inclusive: -xa 'my, our (excl.)' (6); -ma 'your' (sg. or pl.) (6); -pa 'his, her, its, their' (6); and -sa 'our (incl.)' (6). These suffixes correspond to the four independent pronouns: naya 'I'; huma 'you'; hupa 'he, she, it'; and hiwasa 'we' (incl.). Examples:

- |       |             |                                     |
|-------|-------------|-------------------------------------|
| (A-1) | a. wist̥a   | 'wooden spoon'                      |
|       | b. wist̥axa | 'my wooden spoon'                   |
|       | c. wist̥ama | 'your wooden spoon'                 |
|       | d. wist̥apa | 'his, her, its, their wooden spoon' |
|       | e. wist̥asa | 'our (incl.) wooden spoon'          |

Person is expressed on substantives in Cuzco Kechua by a series of seven possessive suffixes representing first, second and third person singular, together with first person plural inclusive and exclusive, and second and third person plural: -y 'my'; -yki 'your'; -n 'his, her, its'; -yku 'our' (excl.); -ncis 'our' (incl.); -ykicis 'your' (pl.); and -nku 'their'. These suffixes correspond to the seven independent personal pronouns: nuga 'I'; gan 'you'; pay 'he, she, it'; nugayku 'we' (excl.); nugancis 'we' (incl.); gankuna 'you' (pl.); and paykuna 'they'. Examples:

|       |                |                              |
|-------|----------------|------------------------------|
| (K-1) | a. wist'a      | 'wooden spoon'               |
|       | b. wistay      | 'my wooden spoon'            |
|       | c. wistayki    | 'your wooden spoon'          |
|       | d. wist'an     | 'his, her, its wooden spoon' |
|       | e. wistayku    | 'our (excl.) wooden spoon'   |
|       | f. wist'ancis  | 'our (incl.) wooden spoon'   |
|       | g. wistaykicis | 'your (pl.) wooden spoon'    |
|       | h. wist'anku   | 'their wooden spoon'         |

Because number is not an obligatory category in Aymara, there are no separate suffixes for plural person as there are in Cuzco Kechua. Both languages, however, distinguish a first person plural which includes the person(s) spoken to from a first person plural which excludes the person(s) spoken to. This is known as the inclusive-exclusive contrast in the first person plural and occurs in many language families scattered throughout the world (e.g., Algonkian and Iroquoian in North America, Dravidian in southern India, Malayo Polynesian in the Pacific basin, among others).

### 320 Plural

### 321 General

Number is an optional category in Aymara, being used only for emphasis. The general plural suffix, -naka (6), is found only infrequently in the speech of monolinguals, but the inroads of Spanish, where number is an obligatory category, have caused its more frequent usage in the speech of many bilinguals. -naka pluralizes the preceding root or stem. Examples:

|       |              |                 |
|-------|--------------|-----------------|
| (A-2) | a. wisTa     | 'wooden spoon'  |
|       | b. wisTanaka | 'wooden spoons' |
|       | c. uta       | 'house'         |
|       | d. utanaka   | 'houses'        |
|       | e. utani     | 'house owner'   |
|       | f. utaninaka | 'house owners'  |

In Cuzco Kechua, the general plural suffix, -kuna, is obligatory on independent personal pronouns. Elsewhere it is optional. The plurality of unmarked nouns and pronouns can be understood from the situational context or from some linguistic clue (e.g., verb inflected for plural person, quantifier modifying the noun, etc.). Examples:

|       |             |               |
|-------|-------------|---------------|
| (K-2) | a. pay      | 'he, she, it' |
|       | b. paykuna  | 'they'        |
|       | c. runa     | 'person'      |
|       | d. runakuna | 'people'      |
|       | e. wasi     | 'house'       |
|       | f. wasikuna | 'houses'      |

### 322 Distributive plural

The suffixes which indicate this plural refer to items of the same nature distributed either here and there or in a pile or group. Typical English glosses are 'each, among, between'. In both languages the distributive plural suffixes are -pura and -kama.

A. -pura (5) occurs only infrequently and always on human substantives after -naka 'general plural'.

On the other hand, -kama (7) is of frequent occurrence in Aymara. As the (7) indicates, its morphophonemics are somewhat unusual. A. -kama requires a preceding vowel when it occurs on a two-vowel root, but when it occurs on a root, stem or substantive phrase having three or more vowels, it requires a preceding consonant. Examples:

- (A-3)
- |    |                    |                                                                     |
|----|--------------------|---------------------------------------------------------------------|
| a. | hupanaka           | 'they'                                                              |
| b. | hupanakpura        | 'among them'                                                        |
| c. | hiwasanaka         | 'we' (incl.)                                                        |
| d. | hiwasanakpura      | 'between us' (incl.)                                                |
| e. | pusi               | 'four'                                                              |
| f. | pusikama           | 'each of four'                                                      |
| g. | caca               | 'man'                                                               |
| h. | cacakama           | 'among men'                                                         |
| i. | kimsa pataka       | 'three hundred'                                                     |
| j. | kimsa patakkamawa. | 'Each (orange in a pile of oranges) is three hundred (bolivianos).' |

In Kechua also, -pura and -kama have approximately the same meaning. -pura frequently marks substantives which refer to two or more persons, or to classes of persons, and implies interaction or individual class membership. Examples:

- (K-3)
- |    |           |                                         |
|----|-----------|-----------------------------------------|
| a. | wawqi     | 'male's brother'                        |
| b. | wawqipura | 'between or among brothers'             |
| c. | warma     | 'adolescent'                            |
| d. | warmapura | 'each adolescent (of a class or group)' |



|       |                  |                       |
|-------|------------------|-----------------------|
| (K-4) | micin mik"usyan. | 'The cat is eating.'  |
|       | mici             | 'cat'                 |
|       | -mi (→ -n/V_)    | personal knowledge    |
|       | mik"u-           | 'eat'                 |
|       | -sya             | progressive aspect    |
|       | -n               | 3rd p. sg. indefinite |

### 331.2 Complement

Many verbs describe actions which, by their very nature, imply the coexistence of one or more nominal concepts that serve as surface structure objects. Reading, for example, implies some sort of printed material; winning implies a game or a prize; giving implies a gift (among many other possibilities). Verbs which involve actions of this sort are "completable". The nouns associated with them are their complements. A given verb root may have many complements, while a given complement may occur with many different verb roots.

In Aymara, complements are marked by an obligatory deletion of their final vowel. This relation will be specified by -Ø in morpheme breakdowns throughout the rest of this study. The verbal complement generally occurs after the subject and immediately preceding the verb. Example:

|       |                   |                             |
|-------|-------------------|-----------------------------|
| (A-5) | hupax c'uq t"aqi. | 'He looked for the potato.' |
|       | hupa              | 'he'                        |
|       | -xa4              | topic marker (7)            |
|       | c'uqi             | 'potato'                    |

|        |                           |
|--------|---------------------------|
| -∅     | complement relational (1) |
| t"aqə- | 'look for'                |
| -i     | 3-3 indefinite (4)        |

In Cuzco Kechua, the definition of complement must be extended somewhat. In addition to marking nominal notions which narrowly "complete" the sense of a given verb, Kechua also copies the complement suffix onto certain adverbial notions that give information about the nature of the action with regard to difficulty, admirability, quantity, temperature, color, place or time. These notions are also marked by the goal, source and location relational suffixes to be mentioned in 331.3, 331.4 and 331.8 respectively. The complement suffix in Kechua is -ta as illustrated in the examples below:

- (K-5) a. 'ama 'aq"ataqa quwaycu.  
'Don't give me any chicha.'

|                  |                        |
|------------------|------------------------|
| 'ama             | prohibitive            |
| 'aq"a            | 'chicha' (corn liquor) |
| -ta              | complement relational  |
| -qa              | topic marker           |
| qu-              | 'give'                 |
| -wa <sub>2</sub> | 'me'                   |
| -y <sub>2</sub>  | 2nd p. sg. imperative  |
| -cu              | negative               |

- b. q"iTitan 'unutaqa 'apamurqan.  
'He brought the water dirty.'

|                            |                       |
|----------------------------|-----------------------|
| q"iT <sub>i</sub>          | 'dirty'               |
| -ta                        | complement relational |
| -mi (→ -n/V <sub>-</sub> ) | personal knowledge    |
| 'unu                       | 'water'               |
| -ta                        | complement relational |
| -qa                        | topic marker          |
| 'apa-                      | 'carry'               |



|      |                         |
|------|-------------------------|
| -mu  | cislocative directional |
| -rqa | personal remote tense   |
| -n   | 3rd p. sg. 'he'         |

c. tutatañan wasiytaqa cayampuni.  
'It was already night (when) I arrived home.'

|                  |                           |
|------------------|---------------------------|
| tuta             | 'night'                   |
| -ta              | complement relational     |
| -ña              | 'already'                 |
| -mi (→ -n/V_)    | personal knowledge        |
| wasi             | 'house'                   |
| -y               | 'my'                      |
| -ta              | complement relational     |
| -qa              | topic marker              |
| caya-            | 'arrive'                  |
| -mu (→ -m/_pu)   | cislocative directional   |
| -pu              | beneficiary               |
| -ni <sub>2</sub> | 1st p. sg. indefinite 'I' |

### 331.3 Goal

The goal relational specifies where, at what place, up to how much, into how many (pieces) or with whom or what the action or process communicated by the sentence ends. In the terminology of traditional grammar, it marks the indirect object of transitive verbs as well as the destination of motion verbs, whether that destination is construed as a location or an object. In Aymara, the goal suffix is -ru (2), and in Cuzco Kechua, -man. Examples:

#### as indirect object:

(A-6) a. humaruw c'uq alha:ma.  
'I'll sell potatoes to you.'

|       |                        |
|-------|------------------------|
| huma  | 'you'                  |
| -ru   | goal relational (2)    |
| -wa   | personal knowledge (7) |
| c'uqi | 'potato'               |

|       |                           |
|-------|---------------------------|
| -∅    | complement relational (1) |
| alha- | 'sell'                    |
| -:ma  | 1-2 future (2)            |

- (K-6) a. 'imaymana ruwamusqankuta nuqaman wiTarqanku.  
'They recounted to me what they had gone and done.'

|                   |                                            |
|-------------------|--------------------------------------------|
| 'imaymana         | 'everything'                               |
| ruwa-             | 'do'                                       |
| -mu               | translocative directional<br>'go and VERB' |
| -sqa <sub>2</sub> | thematic nominalizer                       |
| -nku <sub>2</sub> | 'their'                                    |
| -ta               | complement relational                      |
| nuqa              | 'I'                                        |
| -man              | goal relational 'to'                       |
| wiTa-             | 'inform, recount'                          |
| -rqa              | personal remote tense                      |
| -nku              | 3rd p. pl. 'they'                          |

as location goal:

- (A-6) b. markaruw sarta. 'I went to town.'

|                  |                          |
|------------------|--------------------------|
| marka            | 'town'                   |
| -ru              | goal relational 'to' (2) |
| -wa              | personal knowledge (7)   |
| sara-            | 'go'                     |
| -ta <sub>3</sub> | 1-3 indefinite (1)       |

- (K-6) b. kay ñanmi 'uruwambamanqa risyan.  
'This is the road that goes to Urubamba.'

|           |                       |
|-----------|-----------------------|
| kay       | 'this'                |
| ñan       | 'road'                |
| -mi       | personal knowledge    |
| 'uruwamba | 'Urubamba'            |
| -man      | goal relational 'to'  |
| -qa       | topic marker          |
| ri-       | 'go'                  |
| -sya      | progressive aspect    |
| -n        | 3rd p. sg. indefinite |

as object goal:

- (A-6) c. pusiruw k"arha:ta.  
'You will cut it into four pieces.'

|      |                            |
|------|----------------------------|
| pusi | 'four'                     |
| -ru  | goal relational 'into' (2) |

|         |                        |
|---------|------------------------|
| -wa     | personal knowledge (7) |
| k"arha- | 'cut'                  |
| -:ta    | 2-3 future (6)         |

(K-6) c. q"iswatan haykusyani saraman.  
'I'm going down into the valley for corn.'

|                  |                           |
|------------------|---------------------------|
| q"iswa           | 'valley'                  |
| -ta              | complement relational     |
| -mi (→ -n/V_)    | personal knowledge        |
| hayku-           | 'go down into'            |
| -sya             | progressive aspect        |
| -ni <sub>2</sub> | 1st p. sg. indefinite 'I' |
| sara             | 'corn'                    |
| -man             | goal relational 'for'     |

The location goal of a motion verb (e.g., 'town' in 'I went to town', or 'valley' in 'I went down into the valley') is frequently marked as the verbal complement instead of the verbal goal. This occurs when the speaker considers the object or reason for his motion as the prime goal. At this point the location goals "complete" the verb and are consequently marked by the complement suffix. The goal suffix attaches to the substantive which indicates the ultimate object of the motion (e.g., 'corn' in 'I went down into the valley for corn'). The same substantive in identical or similar surface structures may thus serve as either the complement or the goal. Examples:

(A-6) d. mark sara:. 'I will go to town.'  
e. markaruw sara:. 'I will go to town.'

|       |                           |
|-------|---------------------------|
| marka | 'town'                    |
| -∅    | complement relational (1) |
| -ru   | goal relational (2)       |
| -wa   | personal knowledge (7)    |

sara-                    'go'  
-:                        1-3 future (6)

- (K-6) d. q'iswamanmi haykusyani.  
          'I am going down into the valley.'  
e. q'iswatan haykusyani saraman.  
          'I am going down into the valley for corn.'

q'iswa                    'valley'  
-man                     goal relational  
-ta                      complement relational  
-mi (→ -n/V\_)        personal knowledge  
hayku-                   'go down into'  
-sya                     progressive aspect  
-ni<sub>2</sub>                    1st p. sg. indefinite 'I'

In addition to its other functions, K. -man marks temporal goals. Example:

- (K-6) f. watamanqa qusqupin Tank'asaq.  
          '(By) next year, I will work in Cuzco.'

wata                     'year'  
-man                     goal relational  
-qa                      topic marker  
qusqu                    'Cuzco'  
-pi                      location relational 'in'  
-mi (→ -n/V\_)        personal knowledge  
Tank'a-                  'work'  
-saq                     1st p. sg. future 'I'

#### 331.4 Source

The source relation sees the substantive as the temporal or spatial point of origin of the verbal action. It may also indicate the matter on which the action is based (e.g., subject matter of a conversation). The source relation suffix in Aymara is -ta (3), in Kechua -manta. Examples:

(A-7) a. kawkits mistuni? 'Where will he come out from?'

|                  |                               |
|------------------|-------------------------------|
| kawki            | 'where'                       |
| -ta              | source relational (3) 'from'  |
| -sa <sub>4</sub> | information interrogative (7) |
| mistu-           | 'come out'                    |
| -ni <sub>3</sub> | 3-3 future (4)                |

b. p"iryat c'uq alaniña.

'It is necessary to go and buy potatoes from the market.'

|        |                                                        |
|--------|--------------------------------------------------------|
| p"irya | 'market' (from Sp. <u>feria</u> )                      |
| -ta    | source relational (3) 'from'                           |
| c'uqi  | 'potato'                                               |
| -∅     | complement relational (1)                              |
| ala-   | 'buy'                                                  |
| -ni    | translocative directional (6)                          |
|        | 'go and VERB'                                          |
| -ña    | infinitive nominalizer used to indicate obligation (6) |

(K-7) a. qusqumantan kani.

'I am from Cuzco.'

|                  |                           |
|------------------|---------------------------|
| qusqu            | 'Cuzco'                   |
| -manta           | source relational 'from'  |
| -mi (→ -n/V_)    | personal knowledge        |
| ka-              | 'be'                      |
| -ni <sub>2</sub> | 1st p. sg. indefinite 'I' |

b. 'aq"aq saramantan ruwakun.

'Chicha is made from corn.'

|               |                          |
|---------------|--------------------------|
| 'aq"a         | 'chicha'                 |
| -qa           | topic marker             |
| sara          | 'corn'                   |
| -manta        | source relational 'from' |
| -mi (→ -n/V_) | personal knowledge       |
| ruwa-         | 'do, make'               |
| -ku           | passive                  |
| -n            | 3rd p. sg. indefinite    |

### 331.5 Beneficiary/purposive

The beneficiary/purposive relational indicates that an animate substantive is the beneficiary of an

action or state, or that an inanimate substantive is the purpose for an action or state.

In Aymara, the beneficiary/purposive relational, -taki (7), is intimately tied in with the benefactive verbal derivational suffix, -rapi (6). When -rapi occurs on a verb root or stem, the inflection of that verb root or stem reflects the subject-beneficiary relation, not the subject-goal relation as would be the case were -rapi not present. This holds even if there is a goal marked substantive somewhere in the sentence. For example, in the sentence "I gave him the book for you", the Aymara verbal inflection would be 1-2 if -rapi is present in the verb complex, not 1-3, since it is second person that is the beneficiary. Consider the following pair of sentences.

- (A-8) a. humar hupatak c'uq alha:ma.  
           'I will sell you potatoes for him.'  
       b. nayatakiw hupar c'uq alharapita:ta.  
           'You will sell her potatoes for me.'

|         |                            |
|---------|----------------------------|
| huma    | 'you'                      |
| -ru     | goal relational (2)        |
| hupa    | 'he'                       |
| -taki   | beneficiary relational (7) |
|         | 'for'                      |
| c'uqi   | 'potato'                   |
| -∅      | complement relational (1)  |
| alha-   | 'sell'                     |
| -:ma    | 1-2 future (2)             |
| naya    | 'I'                        |
| -wa     | personal knowledge (7)     |
| -rapi   | benefactive (6)            |
| -ita:ta | 2-1 future (5)             |

In (a) above, the substantive marked by -taki does

not figure in the verbal inflection. In the second, (b), where benefactive -rapi occurs on the verb root, it is the beneficiary (marked by -taki) and not the goal (marked by -ru) which enters into the inflectional interaction.

The next two examples illustrate the purposive meaning of -taki on inanimate substantives.

(A-8) c. kunatakis sarta?

'What did you go for?'

|                  |                               |
|------------------|-------------------------------|
| kuna             | 'what'                        |
| -taki            | purposive relational (7)      |
|                  | 'for'                         |
| -sa <sub>4</sub> | information interrogative (7) |
| sara-            | 'go'                          |
| -ta <sub>4</sub> | 2-3 indefinite (4)            |

d. c'uq alañatakiw sarta.

'I went in order to buy potatoes.'

|                  |                           |
|------------------|---------------------------|
| c'uqi            | 'potato'                  |
| -∅               | complement relational (1) |
| ala-             | 'buy'                     |
| -ña              | infinitive (6)            |
| -taki            | purposive relational (7)  |
|                  | 'in order to'             |
| -wa              | personal knowledge (7)    |
| sara-            | 'go'                      |
| -ta <sub>3</sub> | 1-3 indefinite (1)        |

In like manner, K. -paq indicates either an animate beneficiary or an inanimate purpose for the action. In its beneficiary role, -paq is intimately tied in with the Kechua verbal derivational suffix, -pu 'benefactive'. However, as was the case with the respective Aymara suffixes, there are no restrictions

on the co-occurrence of -pu and -paq. Either may occur singly or both may occur together in the same sentence. The following three examples are semantically equivalent but differ as to degree of emphasis.

- (K-8) a. wayk'upunku. 'They prepared food for him.'  
 b. paypaq wayk'unku. 'They prepared food for him.'  
 c. paypaq wayk'upunku. 'They prepared food for him.'

|         |                   |
|---------|-------------------|
| wayk'u- | 'prepare food'    |
| -pu     | benefactive       |
| -nku    | 'they'            |
| pay     | 'he'              |
| -paq    | beneficiary 'for' |

When the beneficiary person is other than third person and -pu occurs on the verb stem, the verbal inflection must reflect the subject-beneficiary relation. Otherwise, it will reflect the subject-complement relation. Examples:

- (K-8) d. nuqapaq wayk'upuwana.  
 'He prepared food for me.'

|         |                              |
|---------|------------------------------|
| nuqa    | 'I'                          |
| -paq    | beneficiary relational 'for' |
| wayk'u- | 'prepare food'               |
| -pu     | benefactive                  |
| -wa     | 'me'                         |
| -n      | 3rd p. sg. indefinite 'he'   |

- e. qanpaq wayk'upuyki.  
 'I prepared food for you.'

|      |                              |
|------|------------------------------|
| qan  | 'you'                        |
| -paq | beneficiary relational 'for' |
| -yki | 1-2 indefinite               |

- f. qanpaq wayk'upusunki.  
 'He prepared food for you.'



-sunki

3-2 indefinite

This rule gives rise to potentially ambiguous sentences such as

(K-8) g. yanapapuyki. 'I helped him for you.' or  
'I helped you for him.'

|         |                |
|---------|----------------|
| yanapa- | 'help'         |
| -pu     | benefactive    |
| -yki    | 1-2 indefinite |

wherein the inflection can indicate either the subject-beneficiary relation or the subject-complement relation depending on whether a person other than third is involved as the beneficiary. Disambiguation results when relation marked substantives occur overtly in the sentence. Example:

(K-8) h. payta qanpaq yanapapuyki.  
'I helped him for you.'  
i. (qanta) paypaq yanapapuyki.  
'I helped you for him.'

|         |                        |
|---------|------------------------|
| pay     | 'he'                   |
| -ta     | complement relational  |
| qan     | 'you'                  |
| -paq    | beneficiary relational |
| yanapa- | 'help'                 |
| -pu     | benefactive            |
| -yki    | 1-2 indefinite         |

### 331.6 Cause

The causative relation specifies a substantive as the cause, reason, or excuse for an event or circumstance. In Aymara, the causative suffix -layku (7)

is used most often when circumstances are not clear or appear contradictory to the observer. It requires a preceding vowel when it occurs on a two-vowel root, but when it occurs on a root, stem or substantive phrase having three or more vowels, it requires a preceding consonant. Examples:

(A-9) a. kunalaykus hutta?

'Whatever possessed you to come?'

|                    |                               |
|--------------------|-------------------------------|
| kun-               | 'what'                        |
| -i <sub>1</sub> ku | cause relational (7)          |
| -sa <sub>4</sub>   | information interrogative (7) |
| huta-              | 'come'                        |
| -ta <sub>4</sub>   | 2-3 indefinite (4)            |

b. yatiqañlaykuw hutta.

'I came in order to learn.'

|                  |                        |
|------------------|------------------------|
| yatiqa-          | 'learn'                |
| -ña              | infinitive (6)         |
| -layku           | cause relational (7)   |
| -wa              | personal knowledge (7) |
| huta-            | 'come'                 |
| -ta <sub>3</sub> | 1-3 indefinite (1)     |

In Cuzco Kechua, the causative suffix -rayku does not imply unclear and/or contradictory circumstances as the Aymara causative does. Rather, it signals a clear and straightforward reason for the event or circumstance. It is best translated 'for, because, in order to'. Examples:

(K-9) a. wakayraykun pastutaqa wiñacikuni.

'I grow pasture for my cows.'

|      |                               |
|------|-------------------------------|
| waka | 'cow' (from Sp. <u>vaca</u> ) |
|------|-------------------------------|

|                        |                                    |
|------------------------|------------------------------------|
| -y                     | 'my'                               |
| -rayku                 | cause relational                   |
| -mi (→ - <u>n</u> /V_) | personal knowledge                 |
| pastu                  | 'pasture' (from Sp. <u>pasto</u> ) |
| -ta                    | complement relational              |
| -qa                    | topic marker                       |
| wiña-                  | 'grow'                             |
| -ci                    | person causative                   |
| -ku                    | reflexive                          |
| -ni <sub>2</sub>       | 1st p. sg. indefinite 'I'          |

- b. kawsayniykitacu nuqarayku curanki?  
'Will you give your life for me?'

|        |                         |
|--------|-------------------------|
| kawsay | 'life'                  |
| -ni    | empty morph (see 172.2) |
| -yki   | 'your'                  |
| -ta    | complement relational   |
| -cu    | interrogative           |
| nuqa   | 'I'                     |
| -rayku | cause relational 'for'  |
| cura-  | 'give'                  |
| -nki   | 2nd p. sg. future 'you' |

### 331.7 Instrument

The instrumental relation specifies some person or object which plays a role in bringing a process or action about, but which is not the motivating force, the cause, or the instigator. It marks something which the subject uses.

The Aymara instrumental suffix is -mpi (6). On non-human substantives it indicates the object used to carry out the action. On human substantives, -mpi occurs when -ya, personal causative verbal derivational (6), co-occurs on the verb stem. The subject of the sentence causes the -mpi marked human substantive to serve as the instrument by which the verbal

action is brought about. Examples:

(A-10) a. lawampiw hirupxi.

'They stirred it with a stick.'

|       |                              |
|-------|------------------------------|
| lawa  | 'stick'                      |
| -mpi  | instrument relational 'with' |
| -wa   | personal knowledge (7)       |
| hiru- | 'stir'                       |
| -p-   | plural (3)                   |
| -xa   | completive aspect (5)        |
| -i    | 3-3 indefinite (4)           |

b. huwantix humampiw c'uq curaya:ta mariyaru.

'John will have you give Mary the potatoes.'

|         |                                 |
|---------|---------------------------------|
| huwanti | 'John' (from Sp. <u>Juan</u> )  |
| -xa4    | topic marker (7)                |
| huma    | 'you'                           |
| -mpi    | instrument relational (6)       |
| c'uqi   | 'potato'                        |
| -Ø      | complement relational (1)       |
| cura-   | 'give'                          |
| -ya     | person causative (6)            |
| -:ta    | 2-3 future (6)                  |
| mariya  | 'Mary' (from Sp. <u>Maria</u> ) |
| -ru     | goal relational (2)             |

In Cuzco Kechua, the suffix -wan marks the instrumental relation. Example:

(K-10) a. cakitakTawanmi runaqa yapunku, wakataq takTawan.

'The men prepare the earth with a foot plow,  
the oxen with a drawn plow.'

|       |                                |
|-------|--------------------------------|
| caki  | 'foot'                         |
| takTa | 'plow'                         |
| -wan  | instrumental relation 'with'   |
| -mi   | personal knowledge             |
| runa  | 'man'                          |
| -qa   | topic marker                   |
| yapu- | 'prepare the earth'            |
| -nku  | 3rd p. pl. indefinite          |
| waka  | 'oxen' (from Sp. <u>vaca</u> ) |
| -taq  | sequential connector           |
| takTa | 'plow'                         |
| -wan  | instrumental relation 'with'   |

## 331.8 Location

As the term suggests, the location relational marks a substantive as the temporal or spatial location of a state or action. It is a relation for which Aymara has nine different suffixes and Cuzco Kechua four. These are listed below with their respective English glosses.

Aymara

- |                     |                           |
|---------------------|---------------------------|
| 1) -na              | 'in, at'                  |
| 2) -kama            | 'as far as, up to, until' |
| 3) -wha             | 'place' (indefinite)      |
| 4) -hita            | 'exactly in a place'      |
| 5) -sa <sub>2</sub> | 'side'                    |
| 6) -kata            | 'across, front'           |
| 7) -tuqi            | 'around'                  |
| 8) -xa <sub>2</sub> | 'over, on'                |
| 9) -:xā             | 'beside'                  |

Cuzco Kechua

- |          |                           |
|----------|---------------------------|
| 1) -pi   | 'in, at, on'              |
| 2) -kama | 'as far as, up to, until' |
| 3) -ni   | 'place' (indefinite)      |
| 4) -niq  | 'approximate vicinity'    |

## 331.81 'in, at'

A. -na (3) and K. -pi are what might be termed the general locational suffixes, that is, they are the ones used most frequently to indicate the general spatial location of a state or action. Additionally, Kechua employs -pi to indicate the general temporal location of the action. The following examples illustrate:

(A-11) a. kawkins uthasta?  
 'Where do you live?'

|                  |                               |
|------------------|-------------------------------|
| kawki            | 'where'                       |
| -na              | location relational (3)       |
| -sa <sub>4</sub> | information interrogative (7) |
| utha-            | 'live, dwell'                 |
| -si              | progressive aspect (6)        |
| -ta <sub>4</sub> | 2-3 indefinite (4)            |

b. hawiran qalanakax uthiti?  
 'Are there rocks in the river?'

|                  |                              |
|------------------|------------------------------|
| hawira           | 'river'                      |
| -na              | location relational 'in' (3) |
| qala             | 'rock'                       |
| -naka            | plural                       |
| -xa <sub>4</sub> | topic marker (7)             |
| utha-            | 'be, exist'                  |
| -i               | 3-3 indefinite (4)           |
| -ti              | yes/no interrogative (7)     |

(K-11) a. warmiqa wasinpi payta caskirqan.  
 'The woman received him into her home.'

|        |                          |
|--------|--------------------------|
| warmi  | 'woman'                  |
| -qa    | topic marker             |
| wasi   | 'house'                  |
| -n     | 'her'                    |
| -pi    | location relational 'in' |
| pay    | 'he'                     |
| -ta    | complement relational    |
| caski- | 'receive'                |
| -rqa   | personal remote tense    |
| -n     | 3rd p. sg. indefinite    |

b. hawa kiṭapin kutipusaq.  
 'I will return next month.'

|               |                       |
|---------------|-----------------------|
| hawa          | 'next, after'         |
| kiṭa          | 'month'               |
| kuti-         | 'return'              |
| -pu           | benefactive           |
| -saq          | 1st p. sg. future 'I' |
| -pi           | temporal locational   |
| -mi (→ -n/V_) | personal knowledge    |

## 331.82 'up to, as far as, until'

The location relational, -kama 'up to, as far as, until', is found both in Aymara and Cuzco Kechua. It is the same as the distributive plural suffix (see 322) and has the same morphophonemics. It specifies both temporal and spatial locations as the following examples illustrate:

- (A-12) a. kawkikamas? 'as far as where?'
- |                  |                               |
|------------------|-------------------------------|
| kawki            | 'where'                       |
| -kama            | 'as far as' (7)               |
| -sa <sub>4</sub> | information interrogative (7) |
- b. c'uqip"inkamaw. 'as far as the potato pile.'
- |       |                        |
|-------|------------------------|
| c'uqi | 'potato'               |
| p"ina | 'pile'                 |
| -kama | 'as far as' (7)        |
| -wa   | personal knowledge (7) |
- c. q"ipurkamaw. 'until another day'
- |       |                        |
|-------|------------------------|
| q"ipa | 'behind, another'      |
| uru   | 'day'                  |
| -kama | 'until' (7)            |
| -wa   | personal knowledge (7) |
- (K-12) a. paqarinkama 'until tomorrow'
- |         |            |
|---------|------------|
| paqarin | 'tomorrow' |
| -kama   | 'until'    |
- b. kay 'unuqa nuqaykuqkaman cayamun.  
'This water reaches up to our land.'
- |                                     |                         |
|-------------------------------------|-------------------------|
| kay                                 | 'this'                  |
| 'unu                                | 'water'                 |
| nuqayku                             | 'we' (excl.)            |
| -q                                  | nominalizer             |
| -kama                               | 'up to'                 |
| -mi (→ - <u>n</u> /V <sub>-</sub> ) | personal knowledge      |
| caya-                               | 'reach, arrive'         |
| -mu                                 | cislocative directional |

-n

3rd p. sg. indefinite

## 331.83 'place' (indefinite)

A. -wha (6) and K. -ni, both meaning a somewhat indefinite place, appear to be semantically equivalent. Neither suffix refers to a specific spot within a given area, but rather to the general area. The following examples illustrate:

- |                  |                                                  |
|------------------|--------------------------------------------------|
| (A-13) a. utawha | 'place or area where the house is'               |
| uta              | 'house'                                          |
| -wha             | 'place' (6)                                      |
| b. akawhanktwa.  | 'Here I am in this place.'                       |
| aka              | 'here, this'                                     |
| -wha             | 'place' (6)                                      |
| -na              | location relational 'in' (3)                     |
| -ka <sub>3</sub> | verbalizer (5)                                   |
| -ta <sub>3</sub> | 1-3 indefinite (1)                               |
| -wa              | personal knowledge (7)                           |
| (K-13) a. wayTa  | 'meadow, pasture'                                |
| b. wayTani       | 'savanna, pampa, considerable extension of land' |
| c. 'armaka       | 'bathtub'                                        |
| d. 'armakani     | 'spa, place for bathing, bath area'              |

Cuzco Kechua has another location relational suffix, -niq, which can be affixed to spatial or temporal terms and refer to the approximate vicinity or time of the substantive. Examples:

- (K-13) e. mayniqpitaq ñawin pukyuri kasyan?  
 'And whereabouts is the source of the spring?'



|                  |                                     |
|------------------|-------------------------------------|
| may              | 'where'                             |
| -niq             | approximate vicinity                |
| -pi              | location relational                 |
| -taq             | sequential sentence connector 'and' |
| ñawi             | 'eye, source'                       |
| -n               | intrusive -n (see 521)              |
| pukyu            | 'spring'                            |
| -ri <sub>2</sub> | follow up interrogative             |
| ka-              | 'be'                                |
| -sya             | progressive aspect                  |
| -n               | 3rd p. sg. indefinite               |

- f. tutaniqpaqña mik"unataqa wayk'usyasaq.  
 'I will be preparing the food for sometime this evening.'

|         |                            |
|---------|----------------------------|
| tuta    | 'night, evening'           |
| -niq    | approximate time           |
| -paq    | purposive relational 'for' |
| -ña     | 'already'                  |
| mik"una | 'food'                     |
| -ta     | complement relational      |
| -qa     | topic marker               |
| wayk'u- | 'prepare food'             |
| -sya    | progressive aspect         |
| -saq    | 1st p. sg. future 'I'      |

### 331.84 'exactly in a place'

In contrast to the meaning of -wha (6), which is indefinite and somewhat vague in specifying a location, the Aymara suffix -hita (5) (which often occurs on the same stem immediately after -wha) specifies a particular spot and is best translated 'exactly in a place'.

When added to the demonstratives, aka 'this' and uka 'that', the initial -h- reduces to aspiration.

Examples:

(A-14) a. ak"itan                      'right here'

|             |                          |
|-------------|--------------------------|
| aka         | 'here'                   |
| -hita       | 'exactly in a place' (5) |
| -na         | location relational (3)  |
| b. akawhita | 'this place' (definite)  |
| aka         | 'this'                   |
| -wha        | 'place' (indefinite) (6) |
| -hita       | 'exactly in a place' (5) |

### 331.85 'side'

A. -sa<sub>2</sub> 'side' (5) occurs most frequently on demonstratives, the interrogative kawki 'where', and the number maya 'one'. It always occurs directly on the root. Examples:

|                     |                                                      |
|---------------------|------------------------------------------------------|
| (A-15) a. aksa      | 'this side'                                          |
| b. kawksa           | 'what side'                                          |
| c. maysa            | 'side of body'                                       |
| d. k"aysat halsuni. | 'It (the sun) will rise from that side (direction).' |
| k"aya               | 'that' (way over there)                              |
| -sa <sub>2</sub>    | 'side'                                               |
| -ta                 | source relational 'from' (3)                         |
| halsu-              | 'rise'                                               |
| -ni <sub>3</sub>    | 3-3 future (6)                                       |

### 331.86 'across, front'

A. -kata (~ -kati) (5) 'across, front' occurs on demonstratives and the interrogative kawki 'where'. It does not occur anywhere in my data but is reported in Hardman-de-Bautista et al. (1974: 241). It is undoubtedly an ambiguous suffix, functioning elsewhere as a verbal derivational suffix or a verbalizer of

substantive roots (see 412.34). Example:

|           |           |                              |
|-----------|-----------|------------------------------|
| (A-16) a. | k"aykatin | 'over there in front'        |
|           | k"aya     | 'over there'                 |
|           | -kati     | 'front' (5)                  |
|           | -na       | location relational 'in' (3) |

### 331.87 'around'

The locational suffix -tuqi 'around' (7) also occurs in Aymara as a substantive root. Its use as a suffix is more frequent, however. When preceded by a two vowel root, -tuqi does not cause the deletion of the final root vowel; when preceded by a root, stem or phrase having three or more vowels, it causes the final vowel to drop. Examples:

|           |               |                        |
|-----------|---------------|------------------------|
| (A-17) a. | yaputuqi      | 'around the field'     |
| b.        | hac'a yaptuqi | 'around the big field' |
|           | yapu          | 'field'                |
|           | -tuqi         | 'around' (7)           |
|           | hac'a         | 'big'                  |
| c.        | c'iyartuqi    | 'around the green'     |
|           | c'iyara       | 'green'                |

### 331.88 'over, on'

The location relational  $-xa_2$  'over, on' (5) is homophonous with three other suffixes in Aymara:

- 1)  $-xa$  'my', personal possessive (6) (see 310)
- 2)  $-xa_3$  completive aspect (5) (see 412.22)
- 3)  $-xa_4$  topic marker (7) (see 616)

They are distinguished one from the other by distribution and morphophonemics. -xa<sub>2</sub> 'over, on' generally occurs together with other relationals as the examples below illustrate.

- (A-18) a. misapatxan            'on top of the table'
- |                  |                                 |
|------------------|---------------------------------|
| misa             | 'table' (from Sp. <u>mesa</u> ) |
| pata             | 'top'                           |
| -xa <sub>2</sub> | 'over, on' (5)                  |
| -na              | location relational 'in' (3)    |
- b. humxata            'about you'
- c. arxata            'about language'
- |                        |                       |
|------------------------|-----------------------|
| huma                   | 'you'                 |
| aru                    | 'language'            |
| -xa <sub>2</sub>       | 'over, on' (5)        |
| -ta                    | source relational (3) |
| -xa <sub>2</sub> + -ta | 'about'               |

### 331.89 'beside'

The last location relational in Aymara is -:xa 'beside' (6). Like -xa<sub>2</sub> 'over, on' (5), -:xa also occurs most frequently juxtaposed to other location relationals. Examples:

- (A-19) a. misxa:xar            'to over beside the table'
- |                  |                                 |
|------------------|---------------------------------|
| misa             | 'table' (from Sp. <u>mesa</u> ) |
| -xa <sub>2</sub> | 'over' (5)                      |
| -:xa             | 'beside' (6)                    |
| -ru              | goal relational 'to' (2)        |
- b. tataxax uta q"ipa:xankaskiwa.  
     'My father is beside the back of the house.'

|                  |                           |
|------------------|---------------------------|
| tata             | 'father'                  |
| -xa              | 'my' (6)                  |
| -xa <sub>4</sub> | topic marker (7)          |
| uta              | 'house'                   |
| q"ipa            | 'behind, back'            |
| -:xa             | 'beside' (6)              |
| -na              | location relational (3)   |
| -ka <sub>3</sub> | verbalizer (5)            |
| -si              | progressive aspect (6)    |
| -ka <sub>2</sub> | non-completive aspect (5) |
| -i               | 3-3 indefinite (4)        |
| -wa              | personal knowledge (7)    |

### 332 Substantive-substantive relations

#### 332.1 Conjunction and comitatio

The conjunctive/comitative relational suffix in Aymara is -mpi (6), in Cuzco Kechua it is -wan. The reader will remember that the instrumental suffixes were, respectively, -mpi (6) and -wan. This should be no surprise; one need look no farther than English to find the same phenomenon. All three semantic relationships specify some sort of substantive or substantive phrase conjunction. -mpi and -wan are never used to conjoin clauses. Independent suffixes (see Chapter 6) serve this purpose.

In the conjunctive relationship, -mpi and -wan attach to all substantives being conjoined. In the comitative relationship, -mpi and -wan attach only to the substantive which accompanies the other(s).

Examples:

- (A-20) a. p<sup>h</sup>isqa t<sup>h</sup>ant<sup>h</sup>ampi pa: caw<sup>h</sup>Tampi manq<sup>h</sup>apxi.  
 'They ate five loaves of bread and two fishes.' (Sociedades Biblicas en America Latina 1969: 205)

|                                   |                                     |
|-----------------------------------|-------------------------------------|
| p <sup>h</sup> isqa               | 'five'                              |
| t <sup>h</sup> ant <sup>h</sup> a | 'bread'                             |
| -mpi                              | conjunctive relational<br>'and' (6) |
| pa:                               | 'two'                               |
| caw <sup>h</sup> Ta               | 'fish'                              |
| manq <sup>h</sup> a-              | 'eat'                               |
| -p                                | plural (3)                          |
| -xa <sub>3</sub>                  | completive aspect (5)               |
| -i                                | 3-3 indefinite (4)                  |

- b. utanimpi:twā. 'I am with the owner of the house.'

|                  |                                     |
|------------------|-------------------------------------|
| uta              | 'house'                             |
| -ni              | 'owner'                             |
| -mpi             | comitative relational<br>'with' (6) |
| -:₂              | verbalizer (6)                      |
| -ta <sub>3</sub> | 1-3 indefinite (1)                  |
| -wa              | personal knowledge (7)              |

- (K-14) a. mamaywan panaywanqa wayk<sup>h</sup>usyankun.  
 'My mother and my sister are cooking.'

|                      |                                 |
|----------------------|---------------------------------|
| mama                 | 'mother'                        |
| -y                   | 'my'                            |
| -wan                 | conjunctive relational<br>'and' |
| pana                 | 'sister of male'                |
| -y                   | 'my'                            |
| -wan                 | conjunctive relational<br>'and' |
| -qa                  | topic marker                    |
| wayk <sup>h</sup> u- | 'cook, prepare food'            |
| -sya                 | progressive aspect              |
| -nku                 | 3rd p. pl. indefinite           |
| -mi (→ -n/V_)        | personal knowledge              |

- b. paykunaqa paywan kasyarqanku.  
 'They were with him.'

|         |        |
|---------|--------|
| paykuna | 'they' |
|---------|--------|

|      |                                 |
|------|---------------------------------|
| -qa  | topic marker                    |
| pay  | 'he'                            |
| -wan | comitative relational<br>'with' |
| ka-  | 'be'                            |
| -sya | progressive aspect              |
| -rqa | personal remote tense           |
| -nku | 3rd p. pl. indefinite           |

In addition to the comitative relationship specified by -wan, Cuzco Kechua makes use of another suffix, -puwan, to mark comitation of a second order, that is, something which has been added, as an after-thought, to a previously stated or implied comitative relationship. Examples:

- (K-15) a. qanpuwanmi risuncis.  
'We will go with you, too.'

|         |                                         |
|---------|-----------------------------------------|
| qan     | 'you'                                   |
| -puwan  | second order comitation<br>'with - too' |
| -mi     | personal knowledge                      |
| ri-     | 'go'                                    |
| -suncis | 1st p. pl. incl. future<br>'we'         |

- b. 'uhupuwanmi hap'irquwan.  
'Besides that, I quickly got a cough.'

|                  |                                           |
|------------------|-------------------------------------------|
| 'uhu             | 'cough'                                   |
| -puwan           | second order comitation<br>'besides that' |
| -mi              | personal knowledge                        |
| hap'i-           | 'get, catch'                              |
| -rqu             | 'quickly'                                 |
| -wa <sub>2</sub> | 1st p. sg. object 'me'                    |
| -n               | 3rd p. sg. indefinite                     |

### 332.2 Possession

The possessive modifier in possessive phrases is

is marked by -na (3) in Aymara and -pa (-q or -qpa after vowels) in Cuzco Kechua. That which is possessed is marked by the personal possessive suffixes already mentioned (see 310). Examples:

- (A-21)
- |                    |                                |
|--------------------|--------------------------------|
| a. nayan utaxa     | 'my, our (excl.) house'        |
| b. human utama     | 'your house'                   |
| c. hupan utapa     | 'his, her, their house'        |
| d. hiwasan utasa   | 'our (incl.) house'            |
| e. hilaqatan utapa | 'the community leader's house' |
- (K-16)
- |                           |                     |
|---------------------------|---------------------|
| a. nuqaq wasiy            | 'my house'          |
| b. qanpa wasiyki          | 'your house'        |
| c. paypa wasin            | 'his, her house'    |
| d. nuqaykuq wasiyku       | 'our (excl.) house' |
| e. nuqancispa<br>wasincis | 'our (incl.) house' |
| f. qankunaq<br>wasiykicis | 'your (pl.) house'  |
| g. paykunaq wasinku       | 'their house'       |
| h. tuqTawarmiq<br>wasin   | 'the whore's house' |

In Aymara, -na (3) serves as both the general location relational (see 331.81) and the possessive modifier relational. The following example illustrates both functions:

- (A-22) human anumax utankaskiwa.  
'Your dog is in the house.'

|                  |                           |
|------------------|---------------------------|
| huma             | 'you'                     |
| -na              | possessive relational (3) |
| anu              | 'dog'                     |
| -ma              | 'your' (6)                |
| -xa <sub>4</sub> | topic marker (7)          |
| uta              | 'house'                   |
| -na              | location relational (3)   |
| -ka <sub>3</sub> | verbalizer (5)            |
| -si              | progressive aspect (6)    |



|                  |                           |
|------------------|---------------------------|
| -ka <sub>2</sub> | non-completive aspect (5) |
| -i               | 3-3 indefinite (4)        |
| -wa              | personal knowledge (7)    |

### 340 Possessor

The possessor suffix in Aymara is -ni (6), in Cuzco Kechua, -yuq. These two suffixes turn the substantive to which they are affixed into a possessor of that substantive.

Examples:

|           |              |                                                       |
|-----------|--------------|-------------------------------------------------------|
| (A-23) a. | ayca         | 'meat'                                                |
| b.        | aycani       | 'butcher'                                             |
| c.        | uta          | 'house'                                               |
| d.        | utani        | 'house owner'                                         |
| e.        | cuyma        | 'heart'                                               |
| f.        | cuymani      | 'old, of advanced age,<br>senior citizen' (idiomatic) |
| (K-17) a. | 'aTpa        | 'land'                                                |
| b.        | 'aTpayuq     | 'land owner'                                          |
| c.        | hunu         | 'million'                                             |
| d.        | hunuyuq      | 'millionaire'                                         |
| e.        | 'imaymana    | 'many things, everything'                             |
| f.        | 'imaymanayuq | 'one who has everything<br>possible'                  |

A. -ni and K. -yuq are also important complex-numeral forming suffixes. The numbers from 11-19, 21-29, 31-39, etc. are formed by the suffixation of these two morphemes to each digit that is not the multiplier of a compound number (i.e., tens, hundreds, thousands). Examples:

- (A-24) a. tunka payani '12'
- |       |               |
|-------|---------------|
| tunka | '10'          |
| paya  | '2'           |
| -ni   | possessor (6) |
- b. tunka kimsani '13'
- c. tunka pusini '14'
- d. pa: tunka pusini '24'
- e. pusi patak pa:  
tunka pusini '424'
- |        |               |
|--------|---------------|
| pusi   | '4'           |
| pataka | '100'         |
| pa:    | '2'           |
| tunka  | '10'          |
| pusi   | '4'           |
| -ni    | possessor (6) |
- f. kimsa waranq pusi  
patak pa: tunka  
pusini '3,424'
- |         |         |
|---------|---------|
| kimsa   | '3'     |
| waranqa | '1,000' |
- (K-18) a. cunka 'iskayniyuq '12'
- |        |                         |
|--------|-------------------------|
| cunka  | '10'                    |
| 'iskay | '2'                     |
| -ni    | empty morph (see 172.2) |
| -yuq   | possessor               |
- b. cunka kinsayuq '13'
- c. cunka tawayuq '14'
- d. 'iskay cunka  
tawayuq '24'
- e. tawa pacak 'iskay  
cunka tawayuq '424'
- |        |           |
|--------|-----------|
| tawa   | '4'       |
| pacak  | '100'     |
| 'iskay | '2'       |
| cunka  | '10'      |
| tawa   | '4'       |
| -yuq   | possessor |
- f. kinsa waranqa tawa  
pacak 'iskay  
cunka tawayuq '3,424'

|         |         |
|---------|---------|
| kinsa   | '3'     |
| waranqa | '1,000' |

When counting numbers above one hundred which end in a ten or a hundred (i.e., 110, 120, 130, 1100, 1200, 1300, etc.), A. -ni and K. -yuq are suffixed to the final number. Examples:

|                         |         |
|-------------------------|---------|
| (A-24) g. patak tunkani | '110'   |
| h. waranq patakani      | '1,100' |

|                          |         |
|--------------------------|---------|
| (K-18) g. pacak cunkayuq | '110'   |
| h. waranqa pacakniyuq    | '1,100' |

In both languages, only the singular form of the noun occurs juxtaposed to numbers. Examples:

|                    |             |
|--------------------|-------------|
| (A-25) a. ma: haqi | 'one man'   |
| b. pa: haqi        | 'two men'   |
| c. kimsa haqi      | 'three men' |

|       |         |
|-------|---------|
| ma:   | 'one'   |
| pa:   | 'two'   |
| kimsa | 'three' |
| haqi  | 'man'   |

|                    |             |
|--------------------|-------------|
| (K-19) a. huq runa | 'one man'   |
| b. 'iskay runa     | 'two men'   |
| c. kinsa runa      | 'three men' |

|        |         |
|--------|---------|
| huq    | 'one'   |
| 'iskay | 'two'   |
| kinsa  | 'three' |
| runa   | 'man'   |

In Aymara, when a number or the interrogative qawq 'a 'how many' refer to human beings, the possessor -ni must be used. I will call this function 'human

enumerator'. Examples:

|                          |                               |
|--------------------------|-------------------------------|
| (A-26) a. kimsaniw sari. | 'Three (people) went.'        |
| b. kimsaw sari.          | 'three (animals) went.'       |
| c. qawq"anisa?           | 'How many (people)?'          |
| kimsa                    | 'three'                       |
| -ni                      | human enumerator (6)          |
| -wa                      | personal knowledge (7)        |
| sara-                    | 'go'                          |
| -i                       | 3-3 indefinite (4)            |
| qawq"a                   | 'how many'                    |
| -ni                      | human enumerator (6)          |
| -sa <sub>4</sub>         | information interrogative (7) |

### 350 Resembler

In both languages, the ressembler suffix is versatile, indeed. A. -hama (5) and K. -hina generally occur as substantival suffixes and, for this reason, have been included here. Less frequently they occur on verb and particle roots, qualifying them as independent suffixes. They may also occur as particle roots meaning 'thus, this way'. As substantival suffixes, they mark a noun as having characteristics similar to some other element, mentioned or implied.

Examples:

|                              |                                 |
|------------------------------|---------------------------------|
| (A-27) a. kunhamas misamaxa? | 'What is your table like?'      |
| kuna                         | 'what'                          |
| -hama                        | 'like' (5)                      |
| -sa <sub>4</sub>             | information interrogative (7)   |
| misa                         | 'table' (from Sp. <u>mesa</u> ) |
| -ma                          | 'your' (6)                      |
| -xa <sub>4</sub>             | topic marker (7)                |

(K-20) runahina puriy. 'Walk like a man (properly).'

|                 |                       |
|-----------------|-----------------------|
| runa            | 'man'                 |
| -hina           | 'like'                |
| puri-           | 'walk'                |
| -y <sub>2</sub> | 2nd p. sg. imperative |

Another suffix in Kechua, -nirag (varying freely with -ñirag), is semantically synonymous with -hina. Example:

(K-21) sunsunirag yukacikusyanki.  
'You're letting yourself be deceived like a fool.'

|        |                                 |
|--------|---------------------------------|
| sunsu  | 'fool' (from Sp. <u>sonso</u> ) |
| -nirag | 'like'                          |
| yuka-  | 'deceive'                       |
| -ci    | person causative                |
| -ku    | reflexive                       |
| -sya   | progressive aspect              |
| -nki   | 2nd p. sg. indefinite 'you'     |

A third suffix in Cuzco Kechua, -sa, also appears to have a similar meaning to -hina. It does not, however, mean 'like' in every case. On many substantive roots it changes the sense of the radical to something very similar to the original meaning as the following examples illustrate.

|                 |                                                         |
|-----------------|---------------------------------------------------------|
| (K-22) a. hak'u | 'flour'                                                 |
| b. hak'usa      | 'white dust the air carries off upon sifting the flour' |
| c. p"uru        | 'feather'                                               |
| d. p"urusa      | 'down'                                                  |
| e. sinqa        | 'nose'                                                  |
| f. sinqasa      | 'deformed nose; appearance or likeness of a nose'       |

g. hawi  
h. hawisa

'oil'  
'thick oil'

### 360 Includer

The notion of includer is generally glossed as 'all' in English. It is necessary to distinguish the Aymara includer suffix, -paca (5), from two other homophonous suffixes:

- |                       |                                     |
|-----------------------|-------------------------------------|
| 1) -paca <sub>2</sub> | 'the same, the very, itself'<br>(5) |
| 2) -paca <sub>3</sub> | inferential mood (5)                |

Notice that all three suffixes are marked (5), that is, they require a preceding consonant. They are distinguished from each other by their distribution. It is oftentimes possible to translate Aymara -kama (7) as 'all', in addition to its other meanings (distributional plural and location relational). In each case, however, the morphophonemics remain the same, i.e., it requires a preceding vowel when occurring on a two-vowel root, a preceding consonant when occurring on a three- or more-vowel root, stem or substantive phrase.

Not unsurprisingly, the includer notion in Cuzco Kechua is also found on the suffix -kama; though here, it is mixed with other notions, all slightly emphatic. Typical English glosses would be 'all, directly, mixed with, purely'. Examples:

(A-28) a. kimsanpacaw sarañani.  
 'All three of us will go.'

|       |                        |
|-------|------------------------|
| kimsa | 'three'                |
| -ni   | human enumerator (6)   |
| -paca | 'all' (5)              |
| -wa   | personal knowledge (7) |
| sara- | 'go'                   |
| -ñani | 4-3 future (6)         |

b. puspacat apani:ta?  
 'Will you bring all four?'

|                  |                             |
|------------------|-----------------------------|
| pusi             | 'four'                      |
| -paca            | 'all' (5)                   |
| -ta              | yes/no interrogative (7)    |
| apa-             | 'carry'                     |
| -ni <sub>2</sub> | cislocative directional (6) |
| -:ta             | 2-3 future (6)              |

c. kuntakkamasa?  
 'What is all this (to be traded) for?'

|                  |                                 |
|------------------|---------------------------------|
| kuna             | 'what'                          |
| -taki            | 'purposive relational 'for' (7) |
| -kama            | 'all' (7)                       |
| -sa <sub>4</sub> | information interrogative (7)   |

(K-23) a. q"arikaman wawaykunaqa.  
 'My children are all boys.'

|               |                    |
|---------------|--------------------|
| q"ari         | 'boy'              |
| -kama         | 'all'              |
| -mi (→ -n/V_) | personal knowledge |
| wawa          | 'baby, child'      |
| -y            | 'my'               |
| -kuna         | plural             |
| -qa           | topic marker       |

b. wanTa papatakama wayk'urqupusayki.  
 'I will cook all the biggest potatoes for you.'

|         |                                                               |
|---------|---------------------------------------------------------------|
| wanTa   | 'biggest and of best quality' (said of agricultural products) |
| papa    | 'potato'                                                      |
| -ta     | complement relational                                         |
| -kama   | 'all'                                                         |
| wayk'u- | 'cook'                                                        |

|        |                   |
|--------|-------------------|
| -rqu   | rapidity/facility |
| -pu    | benefactive       |
| -sayki | 1-2 future        |

- c. kay ñantakamaTa rinki.  
'You must go directly by this road.'

|       |                       |
|-------|-----------------------|
| kay   | 'this'                |
| ñan   | 'road'                |
| -ta   | complement relational |
| -kama | 'directly'            |
| -Ta   | 'just, only'          |
| ri-   | 'go'                  |
| -nki  | 2nd p. sg. indefinite |

K. -ntin also contains a notion of including when affixed to many substantives. Oftentimes, the items included in the derivative are perceived as a unit. When such is the case, -ntin translates best as 'together' or 'all together', etc. The following examples illustrate:

- (K-24) a. hina 'thus, in this way'  
b. hinantin 'all together'
- c. tuta 'night'  
d. tutantin 'all night'
- e. warmi 'woman'  
f. warmintin 'husband and wife'
- g. yana 'lover'  
h. yanantin 'both lovers together'
- i. 'isqun 'nine'  
j. 'isquunnintin 'nine total, together nine'

370 Augmentative and diminutive

371 Augmentative

The augmentative suffixes, A. -rara (6) and



K. -sapa, augment the quantity, not the size, of the substantive to which they are affixed. Thus, for example, 'sandy' becomes 'very sandy', 'thorn' becomes 'very thorny', 'stone' becomes 'very rocky' and so forth. In Cuzco Kechua, two other suffixes, -siki and -suru, alternate on some roots with -sapa. There is no change in meaning. The augmentative suffixes in Kechua may also carry a pejorative connotation.

Examples:

- |        |                             |                                                             |
|--------|-----------------------------|-------------------------------------------------------------|
| (A-29) | a. ñiq'i                    | 'mud'                                                       |
|        | b. ñiq'irara                | 'muddy, full of mud'                                        |
|        | c. wila                     | 'blood'                                                     |
|        | d. wilarara                 | 'bloody, full of blood'                                     |
|        | e. huca                     | 'blame, sin'                                                |
|        | f. hucarara                 | 'sinful'                                                    |
| (K-25) | a. 'aTpa                    | 'dust, earth'                                               |
|        | b. 'aTpasapa                | 'very dusty'                                                |
|        | c. 'ayca                    | 'meat'                                                      |
|        | d. 'aycasapa                | 'very meaty'                                                |
|        | e. qaTu                     | 'tongue'                                                    |
|        | f. qaTusapa                 | 'base, gross; bad speaker'                                  |
|        | g. q"uña                    | 'mucus'                                                     |
|        | h. q"uñasapa ~<br>q"uñasuru | 'boy who walks around with<br>mucus dripping from his nose' |
|        | i. puñuy                    | 'to sleep'                                                  |
|        | j. puñuysapa ~<br>puñuysiki | 'sleepy, sleepyhead'                                        |
|        | k. hunp'i                   | 'sweat'                                                     |
|        | l. hunp'isapa               | 'one who sweats profusely'                                  |

## 372 Diminutive

The diminutive suffix in Aymara, -itu<sub>2</sub> (5), is borrowed from the Sp. diminutive, -ito, and connotes small size and/or endearment. It has been attested fairly frequently on native roots and on Spanish loanwords. No native Aymara suffix contains the diminutive notion.

The diminutive suffix in Kechua, -ca<sub>2</sub>, carries with it a number of affective connotations ranging from endearment and tenderness through mild belittlement to outright insult. Examples:

- |        |            |                                                |
|--------|------------|------------------------------------------------|
| (A-30) | a. caTwa   | 'fish'                                         |
|        | b. caTwitu | 'little fish' (in an aquarium)                 |
|        | c. cuyma   | 'heart'                                        |
|        | d. cuymitu | 'little heart' (in a woven design)             |
|        | e. cikitu  | 'little boy' (from Sp. <u>chiquito</u> )       |
| (K-26) | a. mama    | 'mother'                                       |
|        | b. mamaca  | 'matronly woman, beloved and respected mother' |
|        | c. warmi   | 'woman'                                        |
|        | d. warmica | 'woman of little value or worth'               |
|        | e. wawa    | 'infant'                                       |
|        | f. wawaca  | 'piglet'                                       |
|        | g. munay   | 'to want, to love'                             |
|        | h. munayca | 'pretty, charming'                             |

## 380 Miscellaneous

Miscellaneous suffixes are those in each language

for which I have been unable to find a semantic equivalent in the other. Many of these suffixes are unproductive, that is, they have been attested on only a few roots in their respective language. Some have only been found on one root. When this occurs, I have made no attempt to delimit a semantic domain. Into this category of miscellaneous suffixes, I have put seven from Aymara and eighteen from Cuzco Kechua. They are discussed individually in the sections that follow.

### 381 Aymara

#### 381.1 -paca<sub>2</sub> 'the same, the very, itself'

This suffix is homophonous to -paca 'all' (see 360) and has the same morphophonemics, but differs as to distribution. -paca<sub>2</sub> (5) occurs before certain of the relationals (goal, source, beneficiary, instrument and general location), while -paca (5) occurs immediately following them. Examples:

(A-31) a. uka marpacaw sari.

'He went that same year.'

|                    |            |
|--------------------|------------|
| uka                | 'that'     |
| mar                | 'year'     |
| -paca <sub>2</sub> | 'same' (5) |

|       |                        |
|-------|------------------------|
| -wa   | personal knowledge (7) |
| sara- | 'go'                   |
| -i    | 3-3 indefinite (4)     |

|               |                          |
|---------------|--------------------------|
| b. p"axspacat | 'from all over the moon' |
| c. p"axsitpac | 'from the moon itself'   |

|                    |                          |
|--------------------|--------------------------|
| p"axsi             | 'moon'                   |
| -ta                | source relational 'from' |
|                    | (3)                      |
| -paca              | 'all' (5)                |
| -paca <sub>2</sub> | 'itself' (5)             |

### 381.2 -wisa 'without, lacking'

This suffix has a dialectal alternant, -wisu, found in Qumpi by the shores of Lake Titicaca (Hardman-de-Bautista et al. 1974: 239). It is today not productive, but at the time of the conquest it probably was. Bertonio (1612 [Part II]: 388) lists it as a common preposition [!]. I have found it on four roots in the language today. Examples:

|                 |                               |
|-----------------|-------------------------------|
| (A-32) a. hincu | 'ear'                         |
| b. hincuwisa    | 'hard of hearing, deaf'       |
| c. nayra        | 'eye'                         |
| d. nayrawisa    | 'having bad eyesight, blind'  |
| e. hayu         | 'salt'                        |
| f. hayuwisa     | 'lacking salt' (said of food) |
| g. ina          | 'in vain'                     |
| h. inawisa      | 'too much'                    |

### 381.3 -qata

This suffix is today unproductive. I have found it on two roots but have not been able to pinpoint a meaning. It requires a preceding vowel. Examples:

|                   |                                   |
|-------------------|-----------------------------------|
| (A-33) a. nayra   | 'eye'                             |
| b. nayraqata      | 'in front'                        |
| c. sapaqata mayni | 'each one' (of a group of people) |

|      |                      |
|------|----------------------|
| sapa | 'each'               |
| maya | 'one'                |
| -ni  | human enumerator (6) |

#### 381.4 -ci<sub>2</sub>

This suffix, which requires a preceding consonant, is also unproductive and has been attested on only one root. It may be a borrowing of K. -ci 'person causative' (see 411.11). Example:

|                 |                    |
|-----------------|--------------------|
| (A-34) a. tayka | 'mother, old lady' |
| b. taykci       | 'mother-in-law'    |

#### 381.5 -ka

This is another unproductive suffix which has been attested on only one substantive root. It requires a preceding vowel and allows following suffixes to determine whether it drops or retains its own vowel. Examples:

|                 |                                     |
|-----------------|-------------------------------------|
| (A-35) a. c'ama | 'strong, strength, difficult'       |
| b. c'amaka      | 'darkness, obscure'                 |
| c. c'amakt"api  | 'nightfall'                         |
| -t"api          | scatter outward from a point<br>(5) |

#### 381.6 -ha quantity

Although -ha (5) occurs on several roots in Aymara, it does not seem to be productive. Examples:

|                |              |
|----------------|--------------|
| (A-36) a. wali | 'well, good' |
| b. walha       | 'a lot'      |

|                     |                        |
|---------------------|------------------------|
| c. haniw.           | 'no'                   |
| d. hanhaw.          | 'I don't think so.'    |
| e. mayha mayharakiw | 'a little different'   |
| maya                | 'one'                  |
| -raki               | 'too, also' (6)        |
| -wa                 | personal knowledge (7) |

A. -ha occurs frozen to the demonstrative roots, aka 'this' and uka 'that', and to the interrogative root kawki 'where'. Examples:

|               |              |
|---------------|--------------|
| (A-36) f. aka | 'this'       |
| g. ak"a       | 'this much'  |
| h. uka        | 'that'       |
| i. uk"a       | 'that much'  |
| j. kawki      | 'where'      |
| k. kawk"a     | 'what place' |

It also occurs in the frozen stem qawq"a 'how much, how many'.

### 381.7 -c'a size

A. -c'a (4) is also an unproductive suffix. It occurs on the demonstratives, aka and uka, and on the interrogative kawki. Examples:

|                 |             |
|-----------------|-------------|
| (A-37) a. kawki | 'where'     |
| b. kawkc'a      | 'what size' |
| c. aka          | 'this'      |
| d. akc'a        | 'this size' |
| e. uka          | 'that'      |
| f. ukc'a        | 'that size' |

- g. kawkc'as yapumaxa?  
'What size is your field?'

|                  |                               |
|------------------|-------------------------------|
| kawki            | 'where'                       |
| -c'a             | 'size' (4)                    |
| -sa <sub>4</sub> | information interrogative (7) |
| yapu             | 'field'                       |
| -ma              | 'your' (6)                    |
| -xa <sub>4</sub> | topic marker (7)              |

- h. wawaxex wawam ukc'awa.  
'My child is the same size as your child.'

|                  |                  |
|------------------|------------------|
| wawa             | 'child'          |
| -xa              | 'my' (6)         |
| -xa <sub>4</sub> | topic marker (7) |

|      |                        |
|------|------------------------|
| wawa | 'child'                |
| -ma  | 'your' (6)             |
| uka  | 'that'                 |
| -c'a | 'size' (4)             |
| -wa  | personal knowledge (7) |

### 381.8 -kuca contrastive 'but'

A. -kuca (7) contrasts the grammatical subject of a dependent clause with that of the main clause. It is best translated 'but'. Examples (from Padres de Maryknoll 1969.II: 121):

- (A-38) a. aka yapux haniw suma:kiti, k"akucaw sumaxa.  
'This field isn't good, but that field is good.'

|                  |                           |
|------------------|---------------------------|
| aka              | 'this'                    |
| yapu             | 'field'                   |
| -xa <sub>4</sub> | topic marker (7)          |
| hani             | negative                  |
| -wa              | personal knowledge (7)    |
| suma             | 'good'                    |
| -:2              | verbalizer (6)            |
| -ka <sub>2</sub> | non-completive aspect (5) |

|                  |                        |
|------------------|------------------------|
| -i               | 3-3 indefinite (4)     |
| -ti              | negative (7)           |
| k"aya            | 'that' (over there)    |
| -kuca            | 'but' (7)              |
| -wa              | personal knowledge (7) |
| suma             | 'good'                 |
| -xa <sub>4</sub> | topic marker (7)       |

b. hic"u:rux haniw anca lupi:kiti, masurkucpi:  
lupi:nxa.

'Today it is not so hot, but yesterday it  
certainly was.'

|                  |                             |
|------------------|-----------------------------|
| hic"u:ru         | 'today'                     |
| -xa <sub>4</sub> | topic marker (7)            |
| hani             | negative                    |
| -wa              | personal knowledge (7)      |
| anca             | 'so'                        |
| lupi             | 'sun, heat'                 |
| -:2              | verbalizer (6)              |
| -ka <sub>2</sub> | non-completive aspect (5)   |
| -i               | 3-3 indefinite (4)          |
| -ti              | negative (7)                |
| masuru           | 'yesterday'                 |
| -kuca            | 'but' (7)                   |
| -pi              | exclamatory (7) 'certainly' |
| -:3              | exclamatory (6)             |
| lupi-            | 'be hot' (weather)          |
| -:na             | 3-3 personal remote (3)     |
| -xa <sub>4</sub> | topic marker (7)            |

### 382 Cuzco Kechua

#### 382.01 -nka distributive

This suffix implies distribution of the substantive over an area or among interested parties. It commonly occurs on numbers, and infrequently on ambiguous roots. On the latter it may serve as a verbal derivational suffix. Examples:



- (K-27) a. 'isqun 'nine'  
 b. 'isqunninka 'nine for each one'  
 c. cunka 'ten'  
 d. cunkanka 'ten for each one'  
 e. cuTu 'soaked'  
 f. cuTunka 'semi-soaked with water'
- g. wacunkasunmi cay papataqa.  
 'We have to share up these rows of potatoes  
 (as we harvest them).'
- |       |                             |
|-------|-----------------------------|
| wacu- | 'make furrows'              |
| -nka  | distributive                |
| -sun  | 1st p. pl. incl. imperative |
|       | 'we have to VERB'           |
| -mi   | personal knowledge          |
| cay   | 'these'                     |
| papa  | 'potato'                    |
| -ta   | complement relational       |
| -qa   | topic marker                |

### 382.02 -qi honored status

This suffix occurs on both substantive and ambiguous roots and specifies a status, a position or a vocation that is socially well thought of, honored or revered. Examples:

- (K-28) a. 'uywa 'raising, rearing, nursing'  
 b. 'uywaqi 'tutor'
- c. marq'a 'armful'  
 d. marq'aqi 'godfather or godmother  
 at baptism, person who  
 carries the godchild to  
 the baptismal faunt'
- e. kaca 'messenger'  
 f. kacaqi 'subordinate official'

It occurs on verbal stems as a thematic nominalizer with the same kinds of meanings as above. Examples:

|                     |                                                            |
|---------------------|------------------------------------------------------------|
| (K-28) g. 'atawcaqi | 'one who showers another<br>with happiness'                |
| 'ataw               | 'happiness'                                                |
| -ca                 | action causative verbalizer                                |
| h. curicaqi         | 'adopted son'                                              |
| curi                | 'son'                                                      |
| -ca                 | action causative verbalizer                                |
| i. yacaciqi         | 'teacher'                                                  |
| yaca-               | 'teach'                                                    |
| -ci                 | person causative                                           |
| j. rimapuqi         | 'intercessor, one who speaks<br>or intercedes for another' |
| rima-               | 'speak'                                                    |
| -pu                 | benefactive                                                |

382.03 -ku

This substantive modifier turns a root or stem into a person who has the quality or characteristic associated with that root or stem. The tone of the resulting formation may vary from affectionate to mildly derogatory to out and out insulting. Examples:

|                |                                                        |
|----------------|--------------------------------------------------------|
| (K-29) a. ŋawi | 'eye'                                                  |
| b. ŋawiku      | 'someone with big, beautiful<br>eyes'                  |
| c. capa        | 'spy, bodyguard'                                       |
| d. capaku      | 'bodyguard'                                            |
| e. Taqta       | 'town'                                                 |
| f. Taqtaku     | 'townsperson, villager, rustic'                        |
| g. ciqci       | 'a happy person who smiles<br>a lot showing his teeth' |
| h. ciqciku     | 'someone who flirts by<br>laughing'                    |

|            |                                                                              |
|------------|------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| i. cakca   | 'a bounce that is done with a shaking of the body'                           |
| j. cackaku | 'an inconstant person, someone who likes to go and see the slightest trifle' |
| k. manka   | 'pot made of clay or metal and used for cooking'                             |
| l. mankaku | 'a man who tries to be cook without knowing how'                             |
| m. mama    | 'mother'                                                                     |
| n. mamaku  | 'a coarse, rough, or uncouth woman'                                          |
| o. 'uma    | 'head'                                                                       |
| p. 'umaku  | 'big-headed, head strong, stubborn'                                          |

Less frequently, -ku may also specify a place.

Example:

|                |                                                                  |
|----------------|------------------------------------------------------------------|
| (K-29) q. saya | 'said of anything that is resting vertically or perpendicularly' |
| r. sayaku      | 'stopping place'                                                 |

#### 382.04 -ka

The semantic domain of -ka has been difficult to delimit. Sola and CusiHuaman (1967: 6-13) state that it is rather similar to -ku (see 382.03) which it may occasionally supplant, but this is not borne out in my data. The examples below do not contain any kind of tone (i.e., affectionate, insulting) once -ka has been affixed. The new formations are all related in some way to the radical but contain no common kernel of meaning. Examples:

|           |         |                                                     |
|-----------|---------|-----------------------------------------------------|
| (K-30) a. | 'arma   | 'bath'                                              |
| b.        | 'armaka | 'bathing suit; bathtub'                             |
| c.        | cunka   | 'ten'                                               |
| d.        | cunkaka | 'ten units, denary'                                 |
| e.        | cupa    | 'tail'                                              |
| f.        | cupaka  | 'a certain posterior pro-<br>longation like a tail' |
| g.        | wayra   | 'wind'                                              |
| h.        | wayraka | 'blast of wind'                                     |
| i.        | c'ama   | 'tired or fatigued'                                 |
| j.        | c'amaka | 'a worker who exerts himself'                       |
| k.        | pukpu   | 'bubble'                                            |
| l.        | pukpuka | 'quail'                                             |
| m.        | kiTa    | 'moon'                                              |
| n.        | kiTaka  | 'figure of half-moon'                               |
| o.        | kiru    | 'tooth'                                             |
| p.        | kiruka  | 'dentist'                                           |

### 382.05 -pu benefactive

This suffix is the same as the benefactive verbal derivational -pu (see 411.14). In its present function, -pu attaches most usually to ambiguous stems. It specifies either someone who benefits (broadly interpreted) from an action or indicates the action itself from which someone will benefit. Examples:

|           |           |                                                                          |
|-----------|-----------|--------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| (K-31) a. | hamut'a   | 'counsel, reason, thought'                                               |
| b.        | hamut'apu | 'counselor, one who reasons<br>and deliberates with pru-<br>dence'       |
| c.        | maña      | 'petition, request'                                                      |
| d.        | mañapu    | 'a beggar who is insistent,<br>demanding, bothersome and<br>impertinent' |

|            |                                                                                                              |
|------------|--------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| e. rakra   | 'a big mouthful or a big swallow'                                                                            |
| f. rakrapu | 'glutton; a goose or gander, a duck or drake, or any other such animal that gulps down its food voraciously' |
| g. waca    | 'childbirth'                                                                                                 |
| h. wacapu  | 'a single woman who gives birth illegitimately'                                                              |
| i. kaca    | 'messenger'                                                                                                  |
| j. kacapu  | 'the immediate payment for some service by giving a gift, such as money, food, drink, etc.'                  |

### 382.06 -ya developmental

This suffix is the same as the developmental verbalizer -ya 'become SUBSTANTIVE ROOT' (see 523). When attached to a substantive or ambiguous root, the resulting formation indicates a characteristic, a quality, a color, a size, a consistency, etc. that is somehow less than, smaller than, inferior to, or less developed than that of the radical. Examples:

|                 |                                                                 |
|-----------------|-----------------------------------------------------------------|
| (K-32) a. hatun | 'bug'                                                           |
| b. hatunya      | 'average between what is big and what is small'                 |
| c. puka         | 'red'                                                           |
| d. pukaya       | 'rose-colored, soft red, a color that shades somewhat into red' |
| e. tinta        | 'moth'                                                          |
| f. tintaya      | 'caterpillar or larva of moth'                                  |
| g. yawar        | 'blood'                                                         |
| h. yawarya      | 'watery or very thin blood'                                     |
| i. qilqa        | 'writing'                                                       |
| j. qilqaya      | 'amateur or mediocre writer'                                    |

|            |                       |
|------------|-----------------------|
| k. q"uñā   | 'mucus'               |
| l. q"uñaya | 'thin or clear mucus' |

382.07 -pa<sub>2</sub>

This substantival suffix is homophonous to -pa 'possessive relational' (see 332.2). The two morphemes appear to be related in meaning. -pa<sub>2</sub> adds the notion of something 'belonging to' the radical, as some of the examples below illustrate. It is of relatively frequent occurrence in the language.

Examples:

|                 |                                                                               |
|-----------------|-------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| (K-33) a. hiq'i | 'stomach'                                                                     |
| b. hiq'ipa      | 'suffocation from lack of air'                                                |
| c. kiṭa         | 'moon'                                                                        |
| d. kiṭapa       | 'pertaining to lunations'                                                     |
| e. qara         | 'skin'                                                                        |
| f. qarapa       | 'cuticle'                                                                     |
| g. qunu         | 'torch of straw used to light bonfires'                                       |
| h. qunupa       | 'candlestick'                                                                 |
| i. manca        | 'fear'                                                                        |
| j. mancapa      | 'timidity, cowardliness'                                                      |
| k. misk'i       | 'sweet'                                                                       |
| l. misk'ipa     | 'slight taste' (said of condiments, spices, etc. added to food for seasoning) |
| m. waca         | 'childbirth'                                                                  |
| n. wacapa       | 'time which follows delivery'                                                 |

## 382.08 -ma

This suffix is of relatively infrequent occurrence

in the language. It specifies someone, something or some state that has the radical as an important distinguishing quality or characteristic. Examples:

- |        |            |                                               |
|--------|------------|-----------------------------------------------|
| (K-34) | a. 'isku   | 'lime, calcium oxide'                         |
|        | b. 'iskuma | 'something with a high percentage of lime'    |
|        | c. TuTay   | 'to lie'                                      |
|        | d. TuTayma | 'foolishness, folly'                          |
|        | e. ĩuĩu    | 'nipple, teat, breast, udder'                 |
|        | f. ĩuĩuma  | 'duck'                                        |
|        | g. 'urqu   | 'male'                                        |
|        | h. 'urquma | 'female who has only brothers and no sisters' |

### 382.09 -la mild pejorative

Only three examples of -la occur in my corpus. This suffix preserves the meaning of the primitive, but adds a mildly derogatory tone. Examples:

- |        |            |                                                                                                    |
|--------|------------|----------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| (K-35) | a. hayu    | 'adversary, rival'                                                                                 |
|        | b. hayula  | 'one who speaks without taste, improperly; imprudent'                                              |
|        | c. q"ari   | 'man'                                                                                              |
|        | d. q"arila | 'a man who appears mature in years, but is really young'                                           |
|        | e. macu    | 'old man'                                                                                          |
|        | f. macula  | 'grandfather (endearing term); a dance which is a terrible irony about degenerate old Spanish men' |

### 382.10 -wa

-wa is another substantival suffix whose semantic

field has been difficult to specify, but in all cases it preserves some characteristic of the primitive.

Examples:

|        |            |                                                                             |
|--------|------------|-----------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| (K-36) | a. qilqa   | 'writing'                                                                   |
|        | b. qilqawa | 'library; collection of writings'                                           |
|        | c. qulqi   | 'silver'                                                                    |
|        | d. qulqiwa | 'platinum'                                                                  |
|        | e. quTa    | 'southeast region of the Inca kingdom, the high plain around Lake Titicaca' |
|        | f. quTawa  | 'a very pretty pastoral dance from this region'                             |
|        | g. TapTa   | 'thin'                                                                      |
|        | h. TapTawa | 'placenta'                                                                  |
|        | i. miray   | 'to multiply, to reproduce, to increase in numbers a family or a species'   |
|        | j. miraywa | 'fertile woman, prolific female'                                            |

### 382.11 -su

This suffix occurs only infrequently and seems to more narrowly define the meaning of the radical.

Examples:

|        |             |                                                                 |
|--------|-------------|-----------------------------------------------------------------|
| (K-37) | a. q"uñā    | 'mucus'                                                         |
|        | b. q"uñasu  | 'runny nose or head cold that some animals occasionally suffer' |
|        | c. miTma    | 'wool'                                                          |
|        | d. miTmay   | 'to grow wool' (said of animals only)                           |
|        | e. miTmaysu | 'scarce bristly wool'                                           |



382.12 -tu

This suffix also occurs only infrequently and seems to have the same effect as -su (see 382.11), i.e., that of giving a more specialized meaning to the primitive. Examples:

|                 |                                                                                   |
|-----------------|-----------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| (K-38) a. c"apa | 'bran, residue of sifted flour'                                                   |
| b. c"apatu      | 'coarse siftings of bran'                                                         |
| c. qama         | 'medicinal plant'                                                                 |
| d. qamatu       | 'glaucous nicotine plant'                                                         |
| e. sut'u        | 'drop of liquid'                                                                  |
| f. sut'utu      | 'a larva that attaches to the skin, then penetrates the flesh producing an ulcer' |

382.13 -li

This suffix occurs relatively frequently. It specifies someone who has as a dominant characteristic of his personality or lifestyle that particular quality expressed in the radical. Examples:

|                 |                                                      |
|-----------------|------------------------------------------------------|
| (K-39) a. canca | 'the lifestyle of a homeless person or stray animal' |
| b. cancali      | 'one who is homeless or wandering'                   |
| c. manca        | 'fear'                                               |
| d. mancali      | 'timid, bashful, shy, skittish person'               |
| e. p'inqa       | 'shame'                                              |
| f. p'inqali     | 'one who is timid and easily shamed'                 |

|             |                                             |
|-------------|---------------------------------------------|
| g. t"inti   | 'smothered laugh; sly, crafty laugh'        |
| h. t"intili | 'one who laughs alot smothering his laughs' |

382.14 -īu

This suffix, a borrowing from Sp. -illo, is of relatively frequent occurrence in the corpus but lacks any observable meaning running through all or even some of the derivatives. Examples:

|                 |                                                                                                                                                            |
|-----------------|------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| (K-40) a. c'uti | 'naked'                                                                                                                                                    |
| b. c'utiTu      | 'refined indian that uses pants (16th c. usage); said of those who take off the native costume to conform to the dress of those who are believed superior' |
| c. q"atqi       | 'bitter'                                                                                                                                                   |
| d. q"atqiTu     | 'slightly bitter'                                                                                                                                          |
| e. ṇawi         | 'eye'                                                                                                                                                      |
| f. ṇawiTu       | 'hole used to better distinguish something'                                                                                                                |
| g. wiTu         | 'a dividing or cutting apart of two bones at the joint which unites them'                                                                                  |
| h. wiTuTu       | 'one who is orphaned or poor, miserable and abandoned'                                                                                                     |
| i. siqsiri      | 'slight itch'                                                                                                                                              |
| j. siqsiriTu    | 'name of certain skin diseases characterized by itching'                                                                                                   |

## 382.15 -(n)ti pejorative

This suffix has occurred only rarely in my data and seems to give a pejorative connotation to the radical. Examples:

- (K- 41) a. puqu 'ripe, in season'  
b. puqunti 'fat, middle-aged woman'  
c. qarapa 'cuticle'  
d. qarapati 'dandruff'

382.16 -ru agentive

This suffix has occurred on one substantive root in my data, and functions as an agentive.

**Example:**

- (K-42) a. hamut'a 'counsel, reason, thought'  
b. hamut'aru 'thinker, one who thinks  
profoundly'

382.17 -ci causative

This suffix has also occurred on only one substantive root in my data. It is probably the person causative verbal derivational suffix, -ci (see 411.11), in view of the meaning of the derived form, i.e., something that causes fear. Example:

- (K-43) a. manca 'fear'  
b. mancaci 'scarecrow; phantom to scare away birds or terrorize children'

382.18 -npa temporal or spatial position

When -npa is affixed to a root or stem, the derivative specifies a temporal or spatial position implied in the root. It may also act as a thematic verbalizer on certain substantive roots. Examples:

|                 |                                 |
|-----------------|---------------------------------|
| (K-44) a. qayna | 'another time, a previous day'  |
| b. qaynanpa     | 'the other day, the last time'  |
| c. kinra        | 'side'                          |
| d. kinranpa     | 'inclined position of the body' |
| e. qara         | 'skin'                          |
| f. qaranpa      | 'extra cover'                   |
| g. 'uma         | 'head'                          |
| h. 'umanpa-     | 'turn on its head'              |

### 390 Substantival suffix ordering

#### 391 Aymara

Aymara substantival suffixes are divided into two major groups (see Chart 4). Group 1 occurs immediately after the root and consists of fourteen suffixes whose relative order is less fixed than the following eight suffixes of Group 2. There are some restrictions, however, on ordering in Group 1; the eight suffixes of Group 2 are strictly ordered. Eleven substantival suffixes are of such limited distribution that any determination of their relative ordering is rendered impossible.

The suffixes of Group 1 are the location relationals -sa<sub>2</sub>, -tuqi, -wha, -hita, -xa<sub>2</sub>, and -:xa; the possessor -ni; the general plural -naka; the personal possessives -xa, -ma, -pa and -sa; the instrumental/conjunctive/comitative relational -mpi; and the includer -paca.

| 1                   | 2        | 3       | 4                          | 5                | 6        | 7                 | 8                       | 9                                                          | 10                                                                      | 11                                                         | 12                                 | 13                   | 14 |
|---------------------|----------|---------|----------------------------|------------------|----------|-------------------|-------------------------|------------------------------------------------------------|-------------------------------------------------------------------------|------------------------------------------------------------|------------------------------------|----------------------|----|
| 'side'              | 'around' | 'place' | 'exactly<br>in a<br>place' | 'over,<br>on'    | 'beside' | General<br>Plural | Personal<br>Possessives | Conjunc-<br>tive/<br>Comita-<br>tive/<br>Instru-<br>mental | Goal<br>Source<br>Benefi-<br>ciary/<br>Purposive<br>General<br>Location | Distributive<br>Plural/<br>'up to, as<br>far as,<br>until' | 'the same,<br>the very,<br>itself' | 'like,<br>Complement |    |
| -sa <sub>2</sub>    | -tuqi    | -wha    | -hita                      | -xa <sub>2</sub> | -ixa     | -naka             | -xa                     | -mpi                                                       | -paca                                                                   | -ru                                                        | -kama                              | -hama                | -ø |
| possessor/<br>-u-an |          |         |                            |                  |          |                   | -ma                     |                                                            |                                                                         | -ta                                                        | -paca <sub>2</sub>                 |                      |    |
| en-<br>era-<br>tor  |          |         |                            |                  |          |                   | -pa                     |                                                            |                                                                         | -taki                                                      |                                    |                      |    |
| -ni                 |          |         |                            |                  |          |                   | -sa                     |                                                            |                                                                         | -na                                                        |                                    |                      |    |

Group 1

84

Group 2

Chart 4. Substantival suffix ordering  
in Aynara. (Adapted in  
part from Hardman-de-  
Bautista 1974: 236.)

Those suffixes in Group 2 include the goal, source, beneficiary/purposive and general location relationals (all mutually exclusive) -ru, -ta, -taki and -na respectively; the distributive plural/location relational/includer -kama; -paca<sub>2</sub> 'the same, the very, itself'; -hama 'like'; and lastly the complement relational -∅, which deletes the final vowel of the substantive root, stem or phrase.

The eleven suffixes of limited distribution not included in Chart 4 are the distributional plural -pura; the cause relational -layku; the location relational -kata 'across, front'; the augmentative -rara; the diminutive -itu; -wisa 'without, lacking'; -gata; -ci; -ka; -ha quantity; and -c'a 'size'.

As was mentioned in the opening paragraph of this section, the ordering of Group 1 suffixes tends to vary. In particular, the general plural, the personal possessives, the possessor, and certain of the location relationals (-wha, -hita, -tuqi, -xa<sub>2</sub> and -:xa) all may vary as to their relative ordering. Only one exception to this has been attested: when -wha and -hita occur on the same root or stem, they always occur in the order -wha + -hita. Their order relative to each other is fixed.

An obvious reason for this fluctuation in ordering is scope. The right-most suffix in a suffix string will have within its scope all those suffixes to its left. When a speaker wishes to change the scope of a suffix, he changes its position in the suffix string. This fact is clearly demonstrated in the following examples:

- |        |    |             |                        |
|--------|----|-------------|------------------------|
| (A-39) | a. | waṭpa       | 'chicken'              |
|        | b. | waṭpanaka   | 'chickens'             |
|        | c. | waṭpani     | 'owner of chicken(s)'  |
|        | d. | waṭpanakani | 'owner of chickens'    |
|        | e. | waṭpaninaka | 'owners of chicken(s)' |

The difference in suffix order between (d) and (e) is crucial in making the necessary meaning distinction. In (d), the possessor -ni has within its scope a pluralized root, while in (e) the general plural -naka has within its scope the 'ROOT owner'.

Other examples of order variation cannot be justified by differences in scope. They are apparently the result of stylistic preference. For example, -tuqi 'around' has been attested in different orders with -naka and the personal possessives. In like manner, -naka, although it normally precedes the personal possessives, may also follow them. Consider the following examples:

- |        |    |                |                    |
|--------|----|----------------|--------------------|
| (A-40) | a. | yapu           | 'field'            |
|        | b. | yaputuqinakaxa | 'around my fields' |

|                  |                    |
|------------------|--------------------|
| c. yapuxtuqinaka | 'around my fields' |
| d. yapunakaxtuqi | 'around my fields' |
| -tuqi            | 'around' (7)       |
| -naka            | plural (6)         |
| -xa              | 'my' (6)           |

All three forms have the same meaning and yet there is variation in the suffix ordering. The motivation for such an apparently random ordering of elements cannot be laid to scope as there is no observable meaning difference. More likely, it is a result of stylistic preference.

A few stray observations on order and co-occurrence restrictions:

1) The complement relational (position 14) does not co-occur on the same root, stem or phrase with -mpi (position 9), -ru (position 11), or -paca<sub>2</sub> (position 12).

2) The possessor -ni is mutually exclusive with the location relationals -sa<sub>2</sub>, -wha and -hita.

3) The distributive plural -pura (not illustrated in Chart 4) is known to occur after -naka, the general plural. Any further specification of its order has been impossible due to its relative infrequency in the language.

The following samples illustrate the ordering of substantival suffixes in Aymara. A period (.) is used to mark suffixal boundaries. Numbers indicate





|        |            |                                    |
|--------|------------|------------------------------------|
| (A-48) | 13 14      |                                    |
|        | q'iT.ham.Ø | curi. 'He gave the yellowish one.' |
|        | q'iTu      | 'yellow'                           |
|        | -hama      | 'like' (5)                         |
|        | -Ø         | complement relational (1)          |
|        | cura-      | 'give'                             |
|        | -i         | 3-3 indefinite (4)                 |

### 392 Cuzco Kechua

Substantival suffix ordering in Cuzco Kechua is somewhat less complicated than in Aymara (see Chart 5). The first suffixes on a Kechua substantive are the personal possessives -y, -yki, -n, -yku, -ncis, -ykicis or -nku, followed in order by the general plural -kuna; a mutually exclusive group composed of the two suffixes meaning 'like', -hina and -niraq, and two relational suffixes, -pa 'possession' and -rayku 'cause', the distributive plural -pura; a group of four mutually exclusive relational suffixes, -ta 'complement', -man 'goal', -manta 'source' and -pi 'general location'; the beneficiary/purposive relational -paq; the instrumental/conjunctive/comitative -wan and the second order comitative -puwan, both relational suffixes; and lastly, the versatile -kama. Additionally, -ntin 'all, together' is known to occur after the distributive plural -pura, and the possessor -yug has been attested before -ntin. The location relational, -niq 'spatial or temporal proximity', is known to occur before both -pi and -paq. Any further

| 1                                  | 2              | 3            | 4                   | 5                                  | 6                     | 7                                   | 8                                              |
|------------------------------------|----------------|--------------|---------------------|------------------------------------|-----------------------|-------------------------------------|------------------------------------------------|
|                                    |                | Possession   |                     | Complement                         |                       | Conjunctive/Comitative/Instrumental | Distributive Plural/ 'up to, as far as, until' |
| Personal Possessives               | General Plural | Cause 'like' | Distributive Plural | Goal<br>Source<br>General Location | Benefactive/Purposive | 2nd order co-mitiation              |                                                |
| <u>Singular</u>                    |                |              |                     |                                    |                       |                                     |                                                |
| 1) -y                              | -kuna          | -pa          | -pura               | -ta                                | -paq                  | -wan                                | -kama                                          |
| 2) -yki                            |                | -rayku       |                     | -man                               |                       | -puwan                              |                                                |
| 3) -n                              |                | -hina        |                     | -manta                             |                       |                                     |                                                |
| <u>Plural</u>                      |                | -niraq       |                     | -pi                                |                       |                                     |                                                |
| 1 Ex) -yku                         |                |              |                     |                                    |                       |                                     |                                                |
| 1 In) -ncis                        |                |              |                     |                                    |                       |                                     |                                                |
| 2) -ykcis                          |                |              |                     |                                    |                       |                                     |                                                |
| 3) -nku                            |                |              |                     |                                    |                       |                                     |                                                |
| -yuq Possessor                     |                |              |                     | -ntin 'all, together'              |                       |                                     |                                                |
| -niq Spatial or temporal proximity |                |              |                     |                                    |                       |                                     |                                                |

Chart 5. Substantival suffix ordering in Cuzco Kechua.

specification of order class for these three suffixes has been impossible due to lack of data.

Twenty-two substantival suffixes are of such limited distribution (they only occur immediately on the root in my data) that any specification of their order class has not been possible. These are: -ni 'place' (indefinite); -sa 'resembler'; -sapa 'augmentative'; -ca 'diminutive'; -npa 'temporal or spatial position'; -nka 'distributive'; -qi 'honored status'; -ku 'person with ROOT characteristic'; -ka; -pu 'benefactive'; -ya 'developmental'; -pa; -ma; -la 'mild pejorative'; -wa; -su; -tu; -li 'person with ROOT characteristic'; -tu; -(n)ti 'pejorative'; -ru 'person with ROOT characteristic'; and -ci 'causative'.

The following example sentences illustrate the ordering of suffixes on substantival roots in Cuzco Kechua. Here again, a period (.) indicates suffix boundaries, while a number indicates the order class (see Chart 5).

(K-45)            1 2        3 7                    1 3 7  
                   tiya.y.kuna.q.wan    mama.y.pa.puwan.mi    kay  
                   'aTpaqa.  
                   'This land is my aunts' and also my mother's.'

|               |                               |
|---------------|-------------------------------|
| tiya          | 'aunt' (from Sp. <u>tia</u> ) |
| -y            | 'my'                          |
| -kuna         | plural                        |
| -pa (→ -q/V_) | possessive relational         |
| -wan          | 'and'                         |
| mama          | 'mother'                      |
| -y            | 'my'                          |
| -pa           | possessive relational         |

|        |                                      |
|--------|--------------------------------------|
| -puwan | 'and also' second order<br>comitaton |
| -mi    | personal knowledge                   |
| kay    | 'this'                               |
| 'aTpa  | 'land'                               |
| -qa    | topic marker                         |

(K-46)        1    3 5 7  
 tiyu.yki.q.ta.wan rirqunki.  
 'You must go to your uncle's too.'

|               |                                |
|---------------|--------------------------------|
| tiyu          | 'uncle' (from Sp. <u>tio</u> ) |
| -yki          | 'your'                         |
| -pa (→ -q/V_) | possessive relational          |
| -ta           | complement relational          |
| -wan          | 'too'                          |
| ri-           | 'go'                           |
| -rqu          | rapidity/facility              |
| -nki          | 2nd p. sg. indefinite          |

(K-47)        3 4        8  
 nuqa.q.pura.kama.n cay saraqqa.  
 'Those corn (fields) are all mine.'

|               |                       |
|---------------|-----------------------|
| nuqa          | 'I'                   |
| -pa (→ -q/V_) | possessive relational |
| -pura         | distributive plural   |
| -kama         | 'all'                 |
| -mi (→ -n/V_) | personal knowledge    |
| cay           | 'those'               |
| sara          | 'corn'                |
| -qa           | topic marker          |

(K-48)        5                1 3        5                5  
 karu.pi ka.sqa.y.rayku.pi.n sinci.ta  
 yuyapasamuyki.  
 'I worry about you on account of my being so  
 far away.'

|                   |                       |
|-------------------|-----------------------|
| karu              | 'far'                 |
| -pi               | location relational   |
| ka-               | 'be'                  |
| -sqa <sub>2</sub> | nominalizer           |
| -y                | 'my'                  |
| -rayku            | 'on account of'       |
| -pi               | location relational   |
| -mi (→ -n/V_)     | personal knowledge    |
| sinci             | 'so, a lot'           |
| -ta               | complement relational |
| yuyapasamu-       | 'worry'               |
| -yki              | 1-2 indefinite        |

- (K-49)           2     3     5  
 qan.kuna.hina.manta runayaqmi kani.  
 'I am someone who made something of himself,  
 (though I started) like you all now.'

|                  |                           |
|------------------|---------------------------|
| qan              | 'you'                     |
| -kuna            | plural                    |
| -hina            | 'like'                    |
| -manta           | source relational         |
| runa             | 'man'                     |
| -ya              | 'become'                  |
| -q               | agentive nominalizer      |
| -mi              | personal knowledge        |
| ka-              | 'be'                      |
| -ni <sub>2</sub> | 1st p. sg. indefinite 'I' |

- (K-50)           4     5                               2     5  
 sayay.pura.ta curay cay k'aspi.kuna.ta.  
 'Use those sticks all of the same size.'

|                 |                             |
|-----------------|-----------------------------|
| sayay           | 'size' (vertical dimension) |
| -pura           | distributive plural         |
| -ta             | complement relational       |
| cura-           | 'give, use'                 |
| -y <sub>2</sub> | 2nd p. sg. imperative       |
| cay             | 'those'                     |
| k'aspi          | 'stick'                     |
| -kuna           | plural                      |
| -ta             | complement relational       |

- (K-51)           7     8                               5  
 huq muhu.wan.kama tarpumusuncis papa.ta.qa.  
 'We will go and plant our potatoes only with  
 new seed.'

|         |                                            |
|---------|--------------------------------------------|
| huq     | 'one; new'                                 |
| muhu    | 'seed'                                     |
| -wan    | 'with'                                     |
| -kama   | includer                                   |
| tarpu-  | 'plant'                                    |
| -mu     | 'go and VERB' translocative<br>directional |
| -suncis | 1st p. pl. incl. future<br>'we will'       |
| papa    | 'potato'                                   |
| -ta     | complement relational                      |
| -qa     | topic marker                               |

- (K-52)           5         6                                                          1  
wata.man.paq.n̄a.ca wacanqa waka.ncis.qa.  
'Our cow will give birth by next year.'
- wata                      'year'  
-man                   goal relational  
-paq                   beneficiary/purposive re-  
                         lational  
-n̄a                     'already'  
-ca                     'exclamatory'  
waca-                  'give birth'  
-nqa                   3rd p. sg. future  
waka                   'cow' (from Sp. vaca)  
-ncis                  'our' (incl.)  
-qa                   topic marker
- (K-53)           6         7                                                          1         5  
nuqa.paq.wan haywariway 'aha.yki.ta.  
'Give some of your chicha to me, too.'
- nuqa                   'I'  
-paq                   beneficiary/purposive  
-wan                   'too'  
haywa-                'give or offer something  
                     to someone by extending  
                     the hand'  
  
-ri                    'verb a little'  
-wa₂                   'me'  
  
-y₂                    2nd p. sg. imperative  
  
'aha (~ 'aq"a)        'chicha'  
-yki                   'yours'  
-ta                   complement relational
- (K-54)           4         5  
wawqi.pura.ntin pukTayku.  
'We play together between brothers.'
- wawqi                  'brother of male'  
-pura                  distributive plural  
                      'between'  
-ntin                  'together'  
pukTa-                'play'  
-yku                   1st p. pl. excl. indefinite
- (K-55)                                                          4                                                          5                                                          5  
cunka 'iskay.ni.yuq.ni.ntin pay.man 'asuykurqanku.  
'The twelve together confidently approached him.'  
(Sociedades Biblicas en America Latina 1970:223)

|          |             |                                                   |
|----------|-------------|---------------------------------------------------|
| cunka    | 'iskayniyuq | 'twelve'                                          |
| -ni      |             | empty morph (see 172.2)                           |
| -ntin    |             | 'together'                                        |
| pay      |             | 'he'                                              |
| -man     |             | 'to' goal relational                              |
| 'asuyku- |             | 'approach with self confidence or self assurance' |
| -rqa     |             | personal remote tense                             |
| -nku     |             | 3rd p. pl. indefinite                             |



## 400 THE SEMANTIC DOMAINS OF VERBAL SUFFIXES

In this chapter, attention is focused on the semantic domains of verbal suffixes, both derivational (410) and inflectional (420). Derivational suffixes are dealt with in three sections: shared domains (411), Aymara domains (412) and Cuzco Kechua domains (413). The first contains those suffixes in each language which have the same meaning, including four interactionals - person causative, reflexive, reciprocal and beneficiary; four aspectuals - inceptive, progressive, multiple repetition and resultative; and two directionals - inward and cislocative/translocative.

The next section takes in those derivational suffixes with semantic domains peculiar to Aymara. These include the victimary and attentive interactionals; the momentaneous, completive, non-completive and serial aspectuals; several spatial directionals - upward, downward, outward, across, purposeful diffuse, non-purposeful diffuse, spread/scatter outward from a point, gather inward to a point, action at a distance and action away from the subject; four spatial locationals - place down, hold, action on top of and action below or underneath; two suffixes which indicate a dividing or splitting up of the action and a preparing for the action, respectively; and five miscellaneous unproductive suffixes.

Suffixes with semantic domains distinctive in Cuzco Kechua are next treated. These include the assistive interactional; three aspectuals - durative, single repetition and continual repetition; desiderative; intensifier; rapidity/facility; and three miscellaneous unproductive suffixes.

A concluding section will compare the ordering of verbal derivational suffixes in each language.

The verbal inflectional suffixes in Aymara and Cuzco Kechua will next be discussed. The important categories of person, number, tense, mood and evidentiary source will be compared and contrasted, with inflectional paradigms being interspersed at appropriate points to illustrate those categories.

#### 410 Derivational

#### 411 Shared domains

##### 411.1 Interactionals

##### 411.11 Person causative

The person causative suffixes, -ya (6) in Aymara and -ci in Cuzco Kechua, mean 'cause someone to VERB'. The person caused to act may be anyone but the subject. Rarely, it is an object, not a person, which is caused to act. Examples:

- (A-1) a. manq'a- 'eat'  
 b. manq'aya- 'feed' (cause someone to eat)
- c. amta- 'remember'  
 d. amtaya- 'remind' (cause someone to remember)
- e. c'aqa- 'lose'  
 f. c'aqaya- 'cause someone to lose'
- (K-1) a. c'iTmi- 'wink, blink'  
 b. c'iTmici- 'cause someone to wink or blink'
- c. 'aqtu- 'vomit'  
 d. 'aqtuci- 'cause someone to vomit'
- e. wanu- 'fertilize'  
 f. wanuci- 'let decompose a pile of materials so as to obtain manure'

The Aymara person causative suffix may also act as a thematic verbalizer. Example:

- (A-1) g. suti 'name'  
 h. sutiya- 'baptize'

#### 411.12 Reflexive

The reflexive suffixes, A. -si (6) and K. -ku<sub>2</sub>, generally mean that the action is reflected back on the subject. Examples:

- (A-2) a. ayqu- 'moan, groan'  
 b. ayqusi- 'have much pain'
- c. hari- 'wash, bathe'  
 d. harisi- 'bathe oneself'
- e. lup'i- 'meditate, think'  
 f. lup'isi- 'think of oneself'

- (K-2)
- |    |          |                               |
|----|----------|-------------------------------|
| a. | c'aki-   | 'dry'                         |
| b. | c'akiku- | 'dry oneself'                 |
| c. | k'utu-   | 'bite'                        |
| d. | k'utuku- | 'bite oneself'                |
| e. | p'ana-   | 'hit bruisingly with a stick' |
| f. | p'anaku- | 'hit oneself bruisingly'      |

Both A. -si and K. -ku<sub>2</sub> have other related functions. They may indicate personal benefit from the action. Examples:

- (A-2)
- |    |          |                    |
|----|----------|--------------------|
| g. | p"aya-   | 'cook'             |
| h. | p"ayasi- | 'cook for oneself' |
| i. | ala-     | 'buy'              |
| j. | alasi-   | 'buy for oneself'  |
- (K-2)
- |    |           |                            |
|----|-----------|----------------------------|
| g. | suwa-     | 'steal'                    |
| h. | suwaku-   | 'steal for oneself'        |
| i. | wayk'u-   | 'prepare food'             |
| j. | wayk'uku- | 'prepare food for oneself' |

Each suffix may also indicate reciprocity. With this meaning, A. -si occurs only rarely and always alone, but K. -ku<sub>2</sub> occurs much more frequently and must be preceded by reciprocal -na. An Aymara example will be given here; Kechua examples will be given in the next section under -na (411.13).

- (A-2)
- |    |         |             |
|----|---------|-------------|
| k. | nuwa-   | 'hit, beat' |
| l. | nuwasi- | 'fight'     |

K. -ku<sub>2</sub> is used to form the medio-passive con-

struction in which the verbal complement is realized as the subject. This construction is exemplified below, where medio-passive sentences are contrasted with their corresponding active sentences.

- (K-2) k. 'aq"aq̄a saramantan ruwakun.  
'Chicha is made from corn.'  
l. 'aq"ata saramantan ruwanku.  
'They make chicha from corn.'

|                  |                               |
|------------------|-------------------------------|
| 'aq"a            | 'chicha'                      |
| -qa              | topic marker                  |
| sara             | 'corn'                        |
| -manta           | 'from'                        |
| -mi (→ -n/V_)    | personal knowledge evidential |
| ruwa-            | 'do, make'                    |
| -ku <sub>2</sub> | medio-passive                 |
| -n               | 3rd p. sg. indefinite         |
| -ta              | complement relational         |
| -nku             | 3rd p. pl. indefinite         |

- m. runasimi rimakun kaypi.  
'Man's language (= Kechua) is spoken here.'  
n. runasimita rimanku kaypi.  
'They speak man's language here.'

|                  |                       |
|------------------|-----------------------|
| runa             | 'man'                 |
| simi             | 'language'            |
| rima-            | 'speak'               |
| -ku <sub>2</sub> | medio-passive         |
| -n               | 3rd p. sg. indefinite |
| kay              | 'here'                |
| -pi              | location relational   |
| -ta              | complement relational |
| -nku             | 3rd p. pl. indefinite |

Apart from being verbal derivational suffixes, both

A. -si and K. -ku<sub>2</sub> are thematic verbalizers. Examples:

- (A-2) m. aru                    'word, language'  
n. arusi-                    'speak'

- (K-2) o. cunpiTi 'beautifully colored sash'  
 p. cunpiTiku- 'fasten a beautifully colored sash around one's waist'

#### 411.13 Reciprocal

The reciprocal suffixes, -c'uki (5) in Aymara and -na in Cuzco Kechua, indicate reciprocal action between two or more people. Examples:

- (A-3) a. p"usa- 'blow'  
 b. p"usc'uki- 'blow at each other'
- (K-3) a. c'aqla- 'slap another's face with palm extended'  
 b. c'aqlanaku- 'slap each other's faces with palms extended'
- c. ciTmi- 'wink, blink'  
 d. c'iTminaku- 'wink at each other'

A. -c'uki may also specify purposeful action directed at someone, without being reciprocal. With this meaning, it oftentimes functions as a thematic verbalizer. Examples:

- (A-3) c. uña- 'see'  
 d. uñc'uki- 'look at someone with malice'
- e. ist'a- 'listen, hear'  
 f. isc'uki- 'listen carefully to someone'
- g. aru 'word, language'  
 h. arc'uki- 'insult someone with a loud voice'

As mentioned in the preceding section (411.12) and illustrated in the Kechua examples cited above, -na

never occurs alone. It always occurs in one of three combinations:

1) -na + -ku<sub>2</sub> (reciprocal plus reflexive). This combination refers to reciprocal action between two or more people, one of whom is the subject. Examples have been given above.

2) -na + -ci (reciprocal plus person causative). This combination indicates causality of a reciprocal action between two or more people, none of whom is the subject. Examples:

- (K- 3) e. 'awqa- 'war, be at war'  
 f. 'awqanaci- 'cause others to war or to fight'  
 g. canqa- 'throw stones'  
 h. canqanaci- 'cause others to stone each other'

3) -ci + -na + -ku<sub>2</sub> (person causative plus reciprocal plus reflexive). This combination marks the causality of a reciprocal action between two or more people, one of whom is the subject. Examples:

- (K-3) i. 'asi- 'laugh'  
 j. 'asicinaku- 'cause one another to laugh'  
 k. c'aki- 'dry'  
 l. c'akicinaku- 'dry each other off'

In Cuzco Kechua, reciprocity does not always occur between or among people; objects, too, may be in a reciprocal relationship. Examples:

- |       |               |                                               |
|-------|---------------|-----------------------------------------------|
| (K-3) | m. caqru-     | 'mix diverse things'                          |
|       | n. caqrunaku- | 'enter into a tremendous mess'                |
|       | o. caqrunaci- | 'allow disparate things to become intermixed' |

A second reciprocal suffix in Cuzco Kechua is -puna. It is less frequent than -na and seems to indicate a reciprocal action in which one or all parties benefit from some part of the action. On the surface, it looks like a juxtaposition of beneficiary -pu (see 411.14) plus -na. This may or may not be the case. I have chosen to treat -puna as a separate suffix, since beneficiary -pu is always ordered after, not before, reciprocal -na. Examples:

- |       |                  |                                                                   |
|-------|------------------|-------------------------------------------------------------------|
| (K-3) | p. k"uya-        | 'have compassion, pity'                                           |
|       | q. k"uyapunaku-  | 'have mutual compassion for each other'                           |
|       | r. 'ayni-        | 'exchange, recompense in like manner'                             |
|       | s. 'aynipunaku-  | 'come to an agreement with another for satisfying personal debts' |
|       | t. c'iqmi-       | 'perturb, upset'                                                  |
|       | u. c'iqmipunaku- | 'become entangled in mutual accusations'                          |

#### 411.14 Beneficiary

The beneficiary suffixes, A. -rapi (6) and K. -pu, specify someone (but not the subject) as benefiting from the verbal action. Examples:

- |       |                  |                                   |
|-------|------------------|-----------------------------------|
| (A-4) | a. hist'ara-     | 'open'                            |
|       | b. hist'ararapi- | 'open for someone else's benefit' |



|              |                                            |
|--------------|--------------------------------------------|
| c. lura-     | 'do'                                       |
| d. lurarapi- | 'do for someone else's benefit'            |
| e. apa-      | 'carry'                                    |
| f. aparapi-  | 'carry for someone else's benefit'         |
| (K-4)        |                                            |
| a. ni-       | 'say, tell'                                |
| b. nipu-     | 'say for another'                          |
| c. ranti-    | 'buy'                                      |
| d. rantipu-  | 'buy something for someone else's benefit' |
| e. 'uTa-     | 'pray'                                     |
| f. 'uTapu-   | 'pray for another person'                  |

## 411.2 Aspectuals

### 411.21 Inceptive

The inceptive aspect of a verbal action or state is specified by A. -ta<sub>2</sub> (5) and -nta (6) and K. -ri. Of the two Aymara inceptives, -nta is more frequent and may also serve as a thematic verbalizer on certain substantive roots. Both, however, have other functions: -ta<sub>2</sub> signifies motion upward (see 412.31), while -nta specifies motion inward (see 411.31).

K. -ri has another function, also. On some roots it means 'to VERB lightly' or 'to VERB a little'.

Examples of the inceptive aspect function of all three suffixes, plus examples of the secondary meaning of K. -ri are given below:

|       |           |               |
|-------|-----------|---------------|
| (A-5) | a. lura-  | 'do'          |
|       | b. lurta- | 'begin to do' |

|             |                              |
|-------------|------------------------------|
| c. ala-     | 'buy'                        |
| d. alanta-  | 'begin to buy'               |
| e. haca-    | 'cry'                        |
| f. hacanta- | 'begin to cry without tears' |
| g. qaTa-    | 'start'                      |
| h. qaTanta- | 'start doing something'      |
| i. ilu-     | 'plant tubers'               |
| j. ilunta-  | 'begin planting tubers'      |

as a thematic verbalizer:

|                 |                                               |
|-----------------|-----------------------------------------------|
| k. hunt'u       | 'hot'                                         |
| l. hunt'unta    | 'begin to get hot'                            |
| (K-5) a. 'asna- | 'smell'                                       |
| b. 'asnari-     | 'begin to smell'                              |
| c. c'uycu-      | 'drip'                                        |
| d. c'uycuri-    | 'begin to drip'                               |
| e. TanTa-       | 'remain or stay verdant'<br>(a plant)         |
| f. TanTari-     | 'begin to recover life'<br>(a plant)          |
| g. Tami-        | 'touch'                                       |
| h. lamiri-      | 'scarcely touch; touch only<br>superficially' |
| i. canqa-       | 'throw stones'                                |
| j. canqari-     | 'stone lightly'                               |
| k. wayra-       | 'blow' (wind)                                 |
| l. wayrari-     | 'gently blow' (breeze)                        |

411.22 Progressive

The progressive aspect suffixes, A.  $-si_2$  (6) and K.  $-sya$ , signify that an action, at some point in time, is in progress, or that a present state is continuous. A.  $-si_2$  always co-occurs with non-completive aspect  $-ka_2$

(5) (see 412.23). This helps distinguish it from reflexive -si. As would be expected, it is mutually exclusive with the completive aspect suffix, -xa<sub>3</sub> (5) (see 412.22). Examples:

- (A-6) a. saraqa- 'go down'  
       b. saraqas'ka- 'be going down'
- c. apa- 'carry'  
       d. apaska- 'be carrying'
- (K-6) a. waqa- 'cry'  
       b. waqasya- 'be crying'
- c. 'alilancu kapuwasyanki, mamitáy?  
           'Are you well, little mother?'
- 'aTi 'well'  
           -Ta 'just, only'  
           -n intrusive -n (see 521)  
           -cu interrogative  
           ka- 'be'  
           -pu beneficiary  
           -wa<sub>3</sub> injunctive
- sya progressive aspect  
           -nki 2nd p. sg. indefinite  
           mama 'mother'  
           -ita diminutive (from Sp. -ita)  
           -y 'my'

#### 411.23 Multiple repetition

The semantic scopes of the respective suffixes in Aymara and Cuzco Kechua which I have here titled 'multiple repetition' are not uniform. There is a sense in which the meanings of A. -rpaya (6) and K. -paya (~ -rpaya) overlap, that is, they both signify that the verbal action is repeated several times and that it is some-

times very insistent. In Cuzco Kechua, there is frequently the additional notion that the repetition is purposeful. Examples:

- |       |               |                                                                   |
|-------|---------------|-------------------------------------------------------------------|
| (A-7) | a. arku-      | 'pile'                                                            |
|       | b. arkurpaya- | 'make several piles'                                              |
|       | c. lura-      | 'do'                                                              |
|       | d. lurarpaya- | 'do a lot without calculating'                                    |
| (K-7) | a. cuta-      | 'stretch' (transitive)                                            |
|       | b. cutapaya-  | 'pull or stretch repeatedly'                                      |
|       | c. rima-      | 'speak'                                                           |
|       | d. rimapaya-  | 'speak with insistence'                                           |
|       | e. TuTa-      | 'lie'                                                             |
|       | f. TuTapaya   | 'deceive or pacify small children with fictions or blandishments' |

K. -rpaya functions as a thematic verbalizer on one substantive root. Example:

- |       |               |                                                                       |
|-------|---------------|-----------------------------------------------------------------------|
| (K-7) | g. hamu       | 'way'                                                                 |
|       | h. hamurpaya- | 'give careful consideration to something; think carefully many times' |

Whereas K. -paya (~ -rpaya) always means 'multiple repetition', the same cannot be said of A. -rpaya. On a few verbs, A. -rpaya indicates resultative aspect (see 411.24). Much more frequently, however, it specifies a reversal of the verbal action (see 522).

The alternation of K. -paya with -rpaya is problematic and brings up a somewhat more general problem.

The analysis by Sola and Cusihuaman (1967: 5-22) of certain other morphemes which contain an initial *-r-* treat that segment as "dynamic aspect", i.e., an aspect which always indicates "action itself rather than simply the type of action specified by the verb stem or the supposition of action". In other words, from a sequence such as *-rqa* 'remote past tense' (which I have considered a single morpheme - see 422), the *-r-* can be peeled off and considered an aspectual followed by the "auxiliary root" *-ga* 'existence in non-present time' (5-22).

I see no motivation for this kind of analysis. In the first place, this so-called "dynamic aspect" never occurs alone; it is always juxtaposed to another element. Such dependency casts doubt on any semantic viability it might otherwise have. In the case of *-paya* and *-rpaya*, there is no observable meaning difference when the *-r-* is present from when it is not.

In the second place, initial *-r-* occurs on only a few verbal suffixes: *-rqa* 'personal remote' (see 422), *-rpaya* 'multiple repetition', *-rpa* 'single repetition' (see 413.22), *-rqu* 'rapidity/facility' (see 413.5), *-ri* 'inceptive aspect' (see 411.21), and *-raya* 'durative aspect' (see 413.21). Would the Sola and Cusihuaman analysis consider all these as realizations of "dynamic

aspect" plus some other element? If so, what would the justification be? They state the following:

"Suffice it to say that minimal free forms which include -r- are never single morphological words. . . ."

This statement is one of many which offer no motivation for isolating -r-. At no point, either, do they map out the extent (i.e., which suffixes) to which this rule is applicable.

For these reasons, I have rejected the Sola and Cusihuaman analysis. But that still leaves the problem of accounting for the -paya ~ -rpaya alternation. Statistically, -paya occurs much more frequently than -rpaya, but I cannot find any conditioning factor. The likeness of -paya and the identity of -rpaya with the Aymara suffix is obvious. With the aid of comparative data from other Kechuan and Jaqi languages, I have shown elsewhere in this study (Chapter 7) that K. -rpaya is a borrowing from Aymara. As regards the K. -paya ~ -rpaya alternation, I have concluded that it is free.

#### 411.24 Resultative

The resultative aspect indicates that the verbal action is perfective and that a particular result has been achieved. This notion is found in A. -rpaya (6) (which also contains the notions of multiple repetition and action reversal) and K. -rpari (which varies freely

with -ypari). Examples:

- (A-8) a. hala- 'run'  
       b. halarpaya- 'run out' (tears)  
       c. haqu- 'throw with the hand'  
       d. haqurpaya- 'throw out; abandon; scorn, despise'
- (K-8) a. lant"u- 'give shade; cloud up'  
       b. lant"urpari- 'shade or cloud up completely'

K. -rpari frequently contains adverbial notions as to the manner in which the result was achieved. Such glosses as "suddenly", "unexpectedly", "violently", or "resolutely" are common in Lira (1944). Examples:

- (K-8) c. cura- 'put'  
       d. curarpari- 'put something all at once or suddenly'
- e. cuta- 'stretch' (transitive)  
       f. cutarpari- 'stretch violently'
- g. q"itu- 'rub, massage'  
       h. q"iturpari- 'give a hard, quick rub'
- i. kaca- 'send'  
       j. kacarpari- 'let go of unexpectedly; bid farewell'
- k. 'asi- 'laugh'  
       l. 'asirpari- 'give out with loud bursts of laughter'
- m. maqa- 'hit'  
       n. maqarpari- 'resolutely hit'
- o. tanqa- 'push'  
       p. tanqaypari- ~ 'forcefully push'  
           tanqarpari-

#### 411.3 Directionals

## 411.31 Inward

When the direction of motion verbs and certain other verbs is inward, the suffixes pressed into service are A. -nta (6) 'inceptive aspect' (see 411.21) and K. -yku 'intensifier' (see 413.4). The inward directional notion is then a second meaning for each suffix. Examples:

- |       |                           |                                                                                     |
|-------|---------------------------|-------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| (A-9) | a. apa-                   | 'carry'                                                                             |
|       | b. apanta-                | 'put into'                                                                          |
|       | c. p <sup>"</sup> usa-    | 'blow'                                                                              |
|       | d. p <sup>"</sup> usanta- | 'blow into'                                                                         |
|       | e. aTi-                   | 'dig'                                                                               |
|       | f. aTinta-                | 'bury'                                                                              |
|       | g. maTi-                  | 'sample in the mouth'                                                               |
|       | h. maTinta-               | 'swallow'                                                                           |
|       | i. iki-                   | 'sleep'                                                                             |
|       | j. ikinta-                | 'go to bed'                                                                         |
| (K-9) | a. 'aysa-                 | 'jerk, pull, tug'                                                                   |
|       | b. 'aysayku-              | 'insert by pulling'                                                                 |
|       | c. canqa-                 | 'throw a stone'                                                                     |
|       | d. canqayku-              | 'throw a stone into an abyss;<br>throw something violently<br>towards the interior' |
|       | e. caTpu-                 | 'soak, drench'                                                                      |
|       | f. caTpuyku-              | 'immerse slowly and soak<br>something'                                              |

## 411.32 Cislocative/translocative

As the name suggests, the cislocative/translocative suffixes, A. -ni<sub>2</sub> (6) and K. -mu, have two specific functions. The first, which is here called cislocative,



occurs only on verbs of motion and indicates movement toward the location of the speaker and/or hearer.

Examples:

- |           |          |                                  |
|-----------|----------|----------------------------------|
| (A-10) a. | hala-    | 'run'                            |
| b.        | halani-  | 'come running'                   |
| c.        | mistu-   | 'leave'                          |
| d.        | mistuni- | 'leave' (toward the speaker)     |
| e.        | manta-   | 'enter'                          |
| f.        | mantani- | 'enter' (toward the speaker)     |
| g.        | kuti-    | 'return'                         |
| h.        | kutini-  | 'return' (toward the speaker)    |
| i.        | apa-     | 'carry'                          |
| j.        | apani-   | 'bring'                          |
| (K-10) a. | caya-    | 'arrive'                         |
| b.        | cayamu-  | 'arrive' (at speaker's location) |
| c.        | mayta-   | 'walk without direction'         |
| d.        | maytamu- | 'come walking aimlessly'         |
| e.        | ñawpa-   | 'go before'                      |
| f.        | ñawpamu- | 'come before (others)'           |
| g.        | p"awa-   | 'fly, escape, flee hastily'      |
| h.        | p"awamu- | 'come fast'                      |

On the other hand, when A. -ni<sub>2</sub> and K. -mu occur on non-motion verbs, they indicate movement to a location distant from the speaker and hearer where the verbal action takes place. This is the translocative function and is illustrated in the examples which follow.

- |           |          |                          |
|-----------|----------|--------------------------|
| (A-10) k. | awati-   | 'pasture animals'        |
| l.        | awatini- | 'go and pasture animals' |

|                 |                         |
|-----------------|-------------------------|
| m. mayt'a-      | 'lend, loan, borrow'    |
| n. mayt'ani-    | 'go and borrow'         |
| o. yatiya-      | 'inform'                |
| p. yatiyani-    | 'go and inform'         |
| q. parlt'a-     | 'speak briefly'         |
| r. parlt'ani-   | 'go and speak briefly'  |
| (K-10) i. cura- |                         |
| j. curamu-      | 'put, place'            |
|                 | 'go and place'          |
| k. paka-        | 'hide something'        |
| l. pakamu-      | 'go and hide something' |
| m. ni-          | 'say, tell'             |
| n. nimu-        | 'go and tell'           |

#### 412 Aymara domains

It was probably Max Uhle (1910) who first noted in the literature that Aymara contains a greater number of formative elements (specifically, suffixes) than Kechua does. He stated it thus: "The facility Kechua has for modifying the sense of verbal roots with formative affixes has been admired, without remembering that Aymara has at its disposal, and for similar purposes, double the number of affixes that Kechua has" (312). Nowhere is this more clearly demonstrated than in the semantic domains of verbal derivational suffixes peculiar to each language. Aymara has 22, while Cuzco Kechua has only 7.

In this section, the 22 Aymara domains will be discussed. These include two interactionals - victimary and attentive; four aspectuals - momentaneous, complete,

non-completive, and serial; ten directionals - upward, downward, outward, across, purposeful diffuse, non-purposeful diffuse, spread/scatter outward from a point, gather inward to a point, action at a distance, and action away from the speaker; four locationals - place down, hold, action on top of, and action below or underneath; and two semantically diverse suffixes, the first indicating a kind of division which results from the action, and the second suggesting a preparation for the action. Five miscellaneous unproductive suffixes will be described briefly to conclude the section.

#### 412.1 Interactionals

##### 412.11 Victimary

The suffix -raga (6) indicates that the object person of the verbal inflection has been bothered, irritated, provoked or disturbed by the subject person, who has performed some action that affects adversely one or more of the former's possessions. Said action is done against the object person's will and to his great displeasure.

The possession or property affected by the action serves as the complement relational and is usually in the form of a possessive noun phrase. Examples:

- (A-11) a. nayax human wawam sartayaraqma.  
 'I woke up your baby.'

|                  |                           |
|------------------|---------------------------|
| naya             | 'I'                       |
| -xa <sub>4</sub> | topic marker (7)          |
| huma             | 'you'                     |
| -na              | possessive relational (3) |
| wawa             | 'baby'                    |
| -ma              | 'your' (6)                |
| sartaya-         | 'wake up'                 |
| -raqa            | victimary (6)             |
| -sma             | 1-2 indefinite (4)        |

- b. humax nayan manq'ax aparaqista.  
 'You carried my food.' (against my will)

|                  |                           |
|------------------|---------------------------|
| huma             | 'you'                     |
| -xa <sub>4</sub> | topic marker (7)          |
| naya             | 'I'                       |
| -na              | possessive relational (3) |
| manq'a           | 'food'                    |
| -xa              | 'my'                      |
| apa-             | 'carry'                   |
| -raqa            | victimary (6)             |
| -ista            | 2-1 indefinite (4)        |

#### 412.12 Attentive

The suffix -xaya (5) signals that the subject is directing his attention at another person through the verbal action. Although there is no implication of reciprocity or reflexivity, it does seem to be close in meaning to the notion of beneficiary, i.e., someone who benefits from the attention being paid him through the verbal action by the subject. The difference between -xaya and the beneficiary suffix, -rapi, needs to be further explored. Examples:

- (A-12) a. qunu- 'sit'  
           b. qunxaya- 'sit with someone'  
           c. p"aya- 'cook'  
           d. p"ayxaya- 'cook for someone'

## 412.2 Aspectuals

### 412.21 Momentaneous

The momentaneous suffix, -t'a (5), specifies an action as being of very short duration or performed only once. On some roots the duration may actually be not very short, but it will be shorter than the normal meaning the root would otherwise allow. It is one of the most common of the verbal derivational suffixes. On a few substantive roots it acts as a thematic verbalizer. Examples:

- (A-13) a. sara- 'go'  
           b. sart'a- 'visit'  
           c. arma- 'forget'  
           d. armt'a- 'forget momentarily'  
           e. amuya- 'think, realize'  
           f. amuyt'a- 'become aware of an action or another's intentions'

#### as thematic verbalizer:

- g. aru 'word, language'  
   h. art'a- 'shout, call out (once)'  
   i. wawa 'baby'  
   j. wawt'a- 'whimper' (from sibling jealousy)

A. -t'a is also used to add a polite sense to verbs or to soften commands. Examples:

|                    |                                  |
|--------------------|----------------------------------|
| (A-13) k. manq'am! | 'Eat!'                           |
| l. manq't'am.      | 'Please eat.' (softened command) |
| manq'a-            | 'eat'                            |
| -m                 | 2-3 imperative (4)               |
| m. qunt'asim.      | 'Please sit down.'               |
| qunu-              | 'sit down'                       |
| -t'a               | polite (5)                       |
| -si                | reflexive (6)                    |
| -m                 | 2-3 imperative (4)               |
| n. acika-          | 'beg'                            |
| o. acikt'a-        | 'beg politely, ask a favor'      |

#### 412.22 Completive

The Aymara aspectual suffix, -xa<sub>3</sub> (5), indicates a completed action or one whose initiation has been completed. It is mutually exclusive with -si<sub>2</sub> 'progressive aspect' and with -ka<sub>2</sub> 'non-completive aspect'. It is often glossed 'already'. Examples:

|                 |                                  |
|-----------------|----------------------------------|
| (A-14) a. puri- | 'arrive'                         |
| b. purxa-       | 'already arrive'                 |
| c. haqica-      | 'arrange a marriage for'         |
| d. haqicxa-     | 'already arrange a marriage for' |
| e. yati-        | 'know'                           |
| f. yatxa-       | 'already know'                   |
| g. cura-        | 'give'                           |
| h. curxa-       | 'give back'                      |

#### 412.23 Non-completive

The Aymara aspectual suffix, -ka<sub>2</sub> (5), indicates that the verbal action is not complete. It always co-occurs with the progressive aspect suffix, -si<sub>2</sub>, and with

the plural inflectional suffix, -p, when the action continues. Examples:

- (A-15) a. lura- 'work'  
           b. luraska- 'be working'  
           c. sara- 'go'  
           d. saraska- 'be going'  
           e. sarapka- 'several to be going ahead'

A. -ka<sub>2</sub> generally co-occurs with -ti (7) 'negative'. Example:

- (A-15) f. haniw yatkiti. 'He did not know.'

|                  |                                   |
|------------------|-----------------------------------|
| hani             | negative                          |
| -wa              | personal knowledge evidential (7) |
| yati-            | 'know'                            |
| -ka <sub>2</sub> | non-completive aspect (5)         |
| -i               | 3-3 indefinite (4)                |
| -ti              | negative (7)                      |

If the negated verbal action is specified as completed, -ka<sub>2</sub> may not occur. A. -xa<sub>3</sub> 'completive' and A. -ka<sub>2</sub> 'non-completive' are mutually exclusive. Example:

- (A-15) g. haniw umxtati. 'You no longer drink.'

|                  |                                   |
|------------------|-----------------------------------|
| hani             | negative                          |
| -wa              | personal knowledge evidential (7) |
| uma-             | 'drink'                           |
| -xa <sub>3</sub> | completive aspect (5)             |
| -ta <sub>4</sub> | 2-3 indefinite (4)                |
| -ti              | negative (7)                      |

A. -ka<sub>2</sub> may also mean that the subject is performing

the action or is in the state specified by the verb before another person or before another action. It is variously translated as 'ahead' or 'beforehand'.

Examples:

|                 |                              |
|-----------------|------------------------------|
| (A-15) h. yati- | 'know'                       |
| i. yatka-       | 'know beforehand'            |
| j. sama-        | 'breathe'                    |
| k. samka-       | 'dream' (breathe beforehand) |

#### 412.24 Serial

The verbal derivational suffix, -ra (6), specifies an action as serial, that is, performed once on each person, animal or object in a series. It is often translated 'one by one' or 'one at a time'. Examples:

|                 |                      |
|-----------------|----------------------|
| (A-16) a. pisa- | 'weigh'              |
| b. pisara-      | 'weigh one by one'   |
| c. cinu-        | 'tie'                |
| d. cinura-      | 'tie one by one'     |
| e. hiwaya-      | 'kill'               |
| f. hiwaraya-    | 'kill one at a time' |

A second major function of -ra (6) is to reverse the nature of the action. Since -ra occurs with this meaning on both substantive and verb roots, and since the Cuzco Kechua thematic suffix, -ra, has the same action reversal meaning, I will postpone discussion of this feature until the section on thematic suffixes in the following chapter (see 522).



## 412.3 Directionals

Aymara contains a highly differentiated set of suffixes which specify the direction in which the verbal action is moving. Previously in this paper, I have discussed two of these directionals (-nta (6) 'inward' and -ni<sub>2</sub> (6) 'cislocative/translocative') in conjunction with their Cuzco Kechua counterparts. Those mentioned in this section have no equivalents in the Cuzco dialect.

Directional suffixes and also locational suffixes (see 412.4) occur most frequently on verbs of motion and those specifying the carrying of objects. The latter verb type is correlated with certain covert categories (i.e., shape, size, weight, texture and/or mode of transport) which distinguish various transportable items.

Before treating each suffix individually, I have included below for contrastive purposes and easy reference a list of all twelve directional suffixes together, plus examples of each using the same verb root, apa- 'carry'.

- |                  |                               |
|------------------|-------------------------------|
| (A-17) a. apani- | 'bring'                       |
| -ni <sub>2</sub> | cislocative/translocative (6) |
| b. apta-         | 'pick up something'           |
| -ta <sub>2</sub> | upward (5)                    |
| c. apaqa-        | 'take something down' (e.g.,  |
| -qa              | off a shelf)                  |
|                  | downward (6)                  |

|               |                              |
|---------------|------------------------------|
| d. apanta-    | 'put something into' (e.g.,  |
| -nta          | a hole)                      |
|               | inward (6)                   |
| e. apsu-      | 'pick up or take something   |
| -su           | out of' (e.g., a box)        |
|               | outward (5)                  |
| f. apkata-    | 'put something (up) on'      |
| -kata         | (e.g., a shelf)              |
|               | action across and sometimes  |
|               | upward (5)                   |
| g. apakipa-   | 'pass something to the other |
| -kipa         | side'                        |
|               | purposeful diffuse (6)       |
| h. apnaqa-    | 'handle'                     |
| -naqa         | non-purposeful diffuse (5)   |
| i. apatata-   | 'put out of order'           |
| -tata         | spread/scatter outward from  |
|               | a point (6)                  |
| j. apt"api-   | 'gather'                     |
| -t"api        | gather inward to a point (5) |
| k. apawaya-   | 'carry along the way' (at a  |
| -waya         | distance)                    |
|               | action at a distance (6)     |
| l. apanuku- ~ | 'throw away'                 |
| apamuku-      |                              |
| -nuku ~ -muku | action away from the subject |
|               | or the intention of the sub- |
|               | ject with no direction spe-  |
|               | cified (6)                   |

In most of the examples above, the meaning change suffered by the root with the addition of a directional suffix is predictable. Only one, i.e., apatata- 'put out of order', is not transparent. In fact, it is probably metaphorical. One will inevitably "put out of order" something which has a physical integrity

that must be maintained for its proper functioning if he attempts to spread or scatter it outward in many directions from a single point.

#### 412.31 Upward

The directional suffix, -ta<sub>2</sub> (5), signifies motion upwards and occurs most frequently on motion and carry verbs. Examples:

- (A-18)
- |             |                                                  |
|-------------|--------------------------------------------------|
| a. asa-     | 'carry a cup, bowl or plate'                     |
| b. asta-    | 'pick up a cup, bowl or plate'                   |
| c. Tawc'i-  | 'carry mud, dough' (glutinous substance)         |
| d. Tawc'ta- | 'pick up mud or dough in the hands'              |
| e. marqa-   | 'carry between the chest and the encircled arms' |
| f. marqta-  | 'lift up in the arms'                            |
| g. luqa-    | 'extend the arm for the purpose of measuring'    |
| h. luqta-   | 'sacrifice, offer'                               |

#### 412.32 Downward

The most frequent meaning of the directional suffix, -ga (6), is downward motion. However, on some verbs it brings such an idiosyncratic meaning to the root as to make it semantically unanalyzable. Examples:

- (A-19)
- |              |                                                            |
|--------------|------------------------------------------------------------|
| a. iqa-      | 'carry flexible items' (e.g., cloth, paper)                |
| b. iqaqa-    | 'take something flexible off or down from' (e.g., a shelf) |
| c. Tawc'i-   | 'carry mud, dough' (glutinous substance)                   |
| d. Tawc'iqa- | 'take mud down off something'                              |

|            |                                       |
|------------|---------------------------------------|
| e. acu-    | 'carry in the mouth'                  |
| f. acuqa-  | 'bite down on'                        |
| g. hari-   | 'wash'                                |
| h. hariqa- | 'wash down, wash off, wash a surface' |
| i. irpa-   | 'take or guide people'                |
| j. irpaqa- | 'ask for a girl's hand in marriage'   |
| k. yati-   | 'know'                                |
| l. yatiqa- | 'learn'                               |

#### 412.33 Outward

The directional suffix, -su (5), specifies movement out of a container or an enclosure or out of a group of similar or different objects. It may also serve as a thematic verbalizer on some substantive roots. Examples:

|                 |                                                                               |
|-----------------|-------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| (A-20) a. haqu- | 'throw'                                                                       |
| b. haqsu-       | 'throw out and up'                                                            |
| c. *ana-        | (a verb root that is not attested but from which many verb stems are derived) |
| d. ansu-        | 'take animals out of an enclosure'                                            |
| e. k"ari-       | 'cut'                                                                         |
| f. k"arsu-      | 'cut out'                                                                     |
| g. paTa-        | 'sort'                                                                        |
| h. paTsu-       | 'sort out'                                                                    |
| i. t"uqu-       | 'dance'                                                                       |
| j. t"uqsu-      | 'jump up'                                                                     |
| k. hila-        | 'grow'                                                                        |
| l. hilsu-       | 'grow up'                                                                     |

as thematic verbalizer:

|          |                       |
|----------|-----------------------|
| m. aru   | 'word, language'      |
| n. arsu- | 'talk back, talk out' |

## 412.34 Across

The directional suffix, -kata (5), indicates that the action moves across a relatively small distance and frequently (on carry and motion verbs) in an upward direction. It also acts as a thematic verbalizer on some substantive roots. Examples:

|                 |                                                                                                |
|-----------------|------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| (A-21) a. aywi- | 'go in a group'                                                                                |
| b. aywkata-     | 'go up a hill in a group'                                                                      |
| c. apa-         | 'carry'                                                                                        |
| d. apkata-      | 'pick up, then put down on a higher level'                                                     |
| e. t"usa-       | 'spit'                                                                                         |
| f. t"uskata-    | 'spit across an area'                                                                          |
| g. ali-         | 'incline' (plants only)                                                                        |
| h. alkata-      | 'incline toward someone'                                                                       |
| i. arusi-       | 'speak'                                                                                        |
| j. aruskata-    | 'protest, murmur'                                                                              |
| k. uña-         | 'look at, see'                                                                                 |
| l. uñkata-      | 'look straight across at something'                                                            |
| m. hak"u-       | 'count'                                                                                        |
| n. hak"kata-    | 'count money to a cashier'                                                                     |
| o. ackata-      | 'hook, hitch, couple'<br>(I can find no root from which <u>ackata-</u> may have been derived.) |

as thematic verbalizer:

|               |                        |
|---------------|------------------------|
| p. hunt'u     | 'hot'                  |
| q. hunt'kata- | 'heat in a small area' |

## 412.35 Purposeful diffuse

The directional suffix, -kipa (6), specifies an action which is not localized but can move in many directions, and has an implied purpose. This diffuse movement is thus not random but purposeful.

A. -kipa occurs on motion, carry and many other type verbs. Typical English glosses would be 'all around', 'with many turns', and 'from one side to the other'.

Examples:

|                |                                             |
|----------------|---------------------------------------------|
| (A-22) a. apa- | 'carry'                                     |
| b. apakipa-    | 'pass something from one side to the other' |
| c. kuti-       | 'return'                                    |
| d. kutikipa-   | 'go around, surround'                       |
| e. haqu-       | 'throw with the hand'                       |
| f. haqukipa-   | 'turn around'                               |
| g. parla-      | 'speak' (from Sp. <u>parlar</u> )           |
| h. parlakipa-  | 'communicate'                               |
| i. uña-        | 'look at'                                   |
| j. uñakipa-    | 'look everywhere'                           |

## 412.36 Non-purposeful diffuse

The directional suffix, -naga (5), also specifies an action which moves in many directions, but differs from -kipa in that the direction is random and without purpose. It can be translated 'in many places' or 'here and there'. A. -naga also serves as a thematic verbalizer on a few substantive roots. Examples:

- (A-23)
- |               |                                                                       |
|---------------|-----------------------------------------------------------------------|
| a. sara-      | 'go'                                                                  |
| b. sarnaqa-   | 'walk around; live in a given manner'                                 |
| c. t"usa-     | 'spit'                                                                |
| d. t"usnaqa-  | 'spit here and there'                                                 |
| e. apa-       | 'carry'                                                               |
| f. apnaqa-    | 'handle'                                                              |
| g. c"uk"u-    | 'run' (herd of sheep, goats, llamas, etc.)                            |
| h. c"uk"naqa- | 'run around, run here and there' (herd of sheep, goats, llamas, etc.) |

as thematic verbalizer:

- |            |                    |
|------------|--------------------|
| i. aru     | 'word, language'   |
| j. arnaqa- | 'shout at someone' |

412.37 Spread/scatter outward from a point

The directional suffix, -tata (6), signifies that the verbal action is spread out or scattered from a given point of origin or source. It is also a thematic verbalizer on certain substantive roots. Examples:

- (A-24)
- |               |                                               |
|---------------|-----------------------------------------------|
| a. p"aTa-     | 'burst'                                       |
| b. p"aTatata- | 'burst and scatter'                           |
| c. ansa-      | 'open mouth; yawn'                            |
| d. ansatata-  | 'open mouth very wide'                        |
| e. aywi-      | 'go in a group'                               |
| f. aywitata-  | 'disperse a group of people or animals'       |
| g. tuqi-      | 'scold'                                       |
| h. tuqitata-  | 'scold' (scattering words in many directions) |

as thematic verbalizer:

- |                |                       |
|----------------|-----------------------|
| i. hunt'u      | 'hot'                 |
| j. hunt'utata- | 'spread out the heat' |

## 412.38 Gather inward to a point

The directional suffix, -t"api (5), indicates that an action gathers objects together in one group or brings separated objects into a union. With the same meaning, it may act as a thematic verbalizer on certain substantive roots. Examples:

|                |                                                |
|----------------|------------------------------------------------|
| (A-25) a. apa- | 'carry'                                        |
| b. apt"api-    | 'gather'                                       |
| c. Tuxi-       | 'carry strawlike object'                       |
| d. Tuxt"api-   | 'gather strawlike object'                      |
| e. ala-        | 'buy'                                          |
| f. alt"api-    | 'go shopping' (i.e., gather purchases)         |
| g. cinu-       | 'tie'                                          |
| h. cint"api-   | 'tie two things together'                      |
| i. wara-       | 'pour'                                         |
| j. wart"api-   | 'pour, gathering liquids together'             |
| k. paTi-       | 'collect, pick up'                             |
| l. palt"api-   | 'gather that which is scattered or spread out' |
| m. pica-       | 'sweep'                                        |
| n. pict"api-   | 'sweep together'                               |
| o. hawsa-      | 'call people toward oneself'                   |
| p. hawst"api-  | 'call people together'                         |

as thematic verbalizer:

|             |                                     |
|-------------|-------------------------------------|
| q. uta      | 'house'                             |
| r. utt"api- | 'sit very close; be close together' |

## 412.39 Action at a distance and action away from the subject



The suffix, -waya (6), is actually both a directional and a locational, since it specifies that those who are involved in the verbal action are at some distance and (optionally) moving away from the speaker/hearer location. In the speech of many Ay-mara, -waya is frequently reduced to -wa (see 133).

Examples:

- (A-26)
- |                   |                                            |
|-------------------|--------------------------------------------|
| a. hayta-         | 'leave something'                          |
| b. haytawa-       | 'drop off something along the way'         |
| c. mayt'a-        | 'lend'                                     |
| d. mayt'away-a-   | 'lend along the way'                       |
| e. Tamayu-        | 'dig up, harvest'                          |
| f. Tamayta-       | 'begin to dig up'                          |
| g. Tamaytaway-a-  | 'begin to dig up' (at a distance)          |
| h. lura-          | 'do, make'                                 |
| i. lurt-a-        | 'begin to do'                              |
| j. lurtaway-a-    | 'begin to do along the way'                |
| k. arma-          | 'forget'                                   |
| l. armt'a-        | 'forget momentarily'                       |
| m. armt'asi-      | 'forget oneself momentarily'               |
| n. armt'asiway-a- | 'forget oneself momentarily along the way' |

It should be noted that -waya is not mutually exclusive with -ni<sub>2</sub> 'cislocative/translocative'. When both occur together on the same root, -waya contributes the sense of going to a distance where the action of the verb root is accomplished, while -ni<sub>2</sub> returns the subject to the point of origin. Example:

- |                |                     |
|----------------|---------------------|
| o. ala-        | 'buy'               |
| p. alaniway-a- | 'go buy and return' |

The directional suffix, -nuku (in free variation with -muku) (6), indicates that the subject initiates an action which moves away from him but in no specific direction. It may also specify action outside of or away from any of his possessions, again with no specific direction in mind. A dominant notion associated with -nuku is that of getting rid of anything that is unwanted. The subject typically throws out, abandons, says goodbye to, sends away, pushes away or flees from the verbal complement. A note of disdain accompanies the action. Examples:

- (A-27)
- |                             |                                                           |
|-----------------------------|-----------------------------------------------------------|
| a. apa-                     | 'carry'                                                   |
| b. apanuku-                 | 'throw out something'                                     |
| c. hayta-                   | 'leave something'                                         |
| d. haytanuku-               | 'abandon something'                                       |
| e. hala-                    | 'run'                                                     |
| f. halanuku-                | 'escape, flee from'                                       |
| g. iqa-                     | 'carry something flexible'                                |
| h. iqanuku-                 | 'carry away something flexible<br>so as to get rid of it' |
| i. iki-                     | 'sleep'                                                   |
| j. ikinuku-                 | 'spend the night outside<br>one's house'                  |
| k. nuk <sup>u</sup> -       | 'push'                                                    |
| l. nuk <sup>u</sup> umuku-  | 'push away with disdain'                                  |
| m. hist <sup>a</sup> -      | 'close'                                                   |
| n. hist <sup>a</sup> amuku- | 'close, shut the door in<br>someone's face'               |

## 412.4 Locationals

In addition to the directional suffixes, Aymara contains a set of five locational suffixes which specify four locative notions: 1) place down (on the ground), 2) hold, 3) action on top of or above, and 4) action below or underneath.

## 412.41 Place down

The locational suffix, -nuqa (5), occurs mostly on carry verbs, transforming the action from that of carrying to that of placing down, usually on the ground. It serves as a thematic verbalizer on one substantive root. Examples:

|                |                                                  |
|----------------|--------------------------------------------------|
| (A-28) a. apa- | 'carry'                                          |
| b. apnuqa-     | 'place down on the ground'                       |
| c. asa-        | 'carry a cup, bowl, or plate'                    |
| d. asnuqa-     | 'place a cup, bowl, or plate down on the ground' |
| e. iki-        | 'sleep'                                          |
| f. iknuqa-     | 'recline on the ground in order to sleep'        |
| g. waru-       | 'drop'                                           |
| h. warnuqa-    | 'place something on the ground by dropping it'   |

as thematic verbalizer:

|            |                     |
|------------|---------------------|
| i. uta     | 'house'             |
| j. utnuqa- | 'sit down, be down' |

## 412.42 Hold

The locational suffixes, -xa:si (5) and -t'ata (5),

both occur principally on carry verbs and change their meaning from one which is dynamic ('carry') to one that is static ('hold'). I have detected no difference in their semantic scope. Examples:

- (A-29)
- |             |                                                          |
|-------------|----------------------------------------------------------|
| a. apa-     | 'carry'                                                  |
| b. apxa:si- | 'hold in hands'                                          |
| c. aya-     | 'carry stick-shaped object'                              |
| d. ayt'ata- | 'hold stick-shaped object'                               |
| e. ira-     | 'carry small, (frequently)<br>round object in the hands' |
| f. irt'ata- | 'hold small, (frequently)<br>round object in the hands'  |

#### 412.43 Action on top of or above

The locational suffix, -xata (5), obviously the result of compounding -xa<sub>2</sub> 'over, on' (5) with -ta 'from' (3), specifies that the action occurs on top of, over, or above something. On one verb root it means 'about'. When the combination -xa<sub>2</sub> + -ta occurs on substantive roots, the meaning is also 'about, concerning' (see 331.88). Examples:

- (A-30)
- |               |                                                             |
|---------------|-------------------------------------------------------------|
| a. ati-       | 'cover'                                                     |
| b. atxata-    | 'put something on top of'                                   |
| c. hana-      | 'cover, close'                                              |
| d. hanxata-   | 'extend, stretch out, or<br>spread out something on top of' |
| e. hump'i-    | 'sweat'                                                     |
| f. hump'xata- | 'crowd around something'                                    |
| g. yati-      | 'know'                                                      |
| h. yatxata-   | 'know about something'                                      |

## 412.44 Action below or underneath

The locational suffix, -t'aku (5), indicates that an action occurs below or underneath something. It has been attested on only one verb root. Example:

- (A-31) a. hana- 'cover, close'  
       b. hant'aku- 'extend, stretch out, or spread out underneath'

## 412.5 Divide or split up

The verbal derivational suffix, -ha<sub>2</sub> (5), indicates either that the action itself is somehow divided or that the action results in the splitting up or division of the verbal complement. This suffix also serves as a thematic verbalizer; in fact, it is the most frequent verbalizer of all the verbal derivational suffixes. In this function, it is oftentimes semantically empty. Examples:

action itself divided:

- (A-32) a. apa- 'carry'  
       b. apha- 'help to carry'  
       c. saya- 'stand'  
       d. sayha- 'stand on one foot'

splitting up of a verbal complement:

- e. acu- 'carry in mouth'  
       f. acha- 'bite, clamp teeth down on'  
       g. k"uc"u- 'cut'  
       h. k"uc"ha- 'divide with a knife'  
       i. cinu- 'tie'  
       j. cinha- 'divide and tie up'

|            |                                 |
|------------|---------------------------------|
| k. k"ari-  | 'cut'                           |
| l. k"arha- | 'cut off or apart with a knife' |
| m. paṭa-   | 'sort'                          |
| n. paṭha-  | 'sort into piles'               |
| o. q"una-  | 'grind on a slab'               |
| p. q"unha- | 'grind something'               |

as thematic verbalizer:

|            |                          |
|------------|--------------------------|
| q. uta     | 'house'                  |
| r. utha-   | 'exist, live some place' |
| s. pirqa   | 'wall'                   |
| t. pirqha- | 'divide a wall'          |
| u. paca    | 'time'                   |
| v. pacha-  | 'part, divide'           |
| w. ṇut'u   | 'small, fine'            |
| x. ṇut'ha- | 'crumble'                |

other less predictable meanings:

|            |                                   |
|------------|-----------------------------------|
| y. nuwa-   | 'hit, beat'                       |
| z. nuwha-  | 'punch'                           |
| aa. usu-   | 'be sick, hurt'                   |
| bb. usha-  | 'be sick after drinking too much' |
| cc. wiru-  | 'float'                           |
| dd. wirha- | 'circle in the air like buzzards' |

412.6 Prepare for the action

The verbal derivational suffix, -xaru (5), signifies a preparation for the action and is found on a small number of carry and motion verbs. Examples:

|                |                                            |
|----------------|--------------------------------------------|
| (A-33) a. apa- | 'carry'                                    |
| b. apxaru-     | 'get ready to carry'                       |
| c. asa-        | 'carry a cup, bowl, or plate'              |
| d. asxaru-     | 'get ready to carry a cup, bowl, or plate' |

|              |                                                  |
|--------------|--------------------------------------------------|
| e. iqa-      | 'carry something flexible'                       |
| f. iqxaru-   | 'get ready to carry something flexible'          |
| g. q'ipi-    | 'carry on the back'                              |
| h. q'ipxaru- | 'load on the back' (in preparation for carrying) |
| i. sara-     | 'go'                                             |
| j. sarxaru-  | 'get ready to go'                                |
| k. *ana-     | (not attested)                                   |
| l. anxaru-   | 'get ready to herd animals'                      |

#### 412.7 Miscellaneous unproductive suffixes

##### 412.71 -ki, -li, -nki

These three suffixes are each found only once in my corpus and in that of Hardman-de-Bautista et al. (1974). They are totally unproductive and cannot be separated from the roots on which they occur. Morphophonemically, they all preserve the preceding vowel and can thus be considered (6)'s. Examples:

|                 |                |
|-----------------|----------------|
| (A-34) a. *ana- | (not attested) |
| b. anaki-       | 'herd animals' |

The verb root, \*ana-, does not occur, but so many formations are built upon it (i.e., ananuku- 'leave animals off along the way', anaqani- 'take animals down', ansu- 'take animals out of an enclosure', ant'a- 'send animals right away', among many others) that it is deemed to have once existed in the language and since to have been lost in independent usage.

- (A-35) a. ayti- 'wash with a swirling motion'  
 b. aytili- 'sway like a bridge; nod the head jerkily'  
 c. aytinki- 'sway up and down and around in the air, like a top at the end of its spin'

Nora England (in Hardman-de-Bautista et al. 1974: 120) states that based on these examples, -li might mean 'up and down or back and forth motion', while -nki could mean 'up and down and around motion'. In any case, they are both directional suffixes with similar meanings.

412.72 -pa<sub>2</sub>, -paya

These two suffixes are found only infrequently in my corpus. A. -pa<sub>2</sub> is completely unpredictable in both its meaning and its morphophonemics. It may or may not be related to K. -pa<sub>3</sub> 'single repetition' (see 413.22). A. -paya, which Ebbing (1965: 241) glosses as 'prolonged action' or 'assist or accompany (the complement) to VERB', is definitely a borrowing from K. -paya 'multiple repetition' (see 411.23). This example of diffusion is treated in more detail in Chapter 7. Examples:

- (A-36) a. ira- 'carry small objects with the fingers'  
 b. irpa- 'lead someone'  
 c. yana- 'try'  
 d. yanapa- 'help'  
 e. ati- 'cover with stone or adobe'  
 f. atipa- 'beat, win'



- (A-37)
- |              |                                                        |
|--------------|--------------------------------------------------------|
| a. alisu-    | 'throw out, expel, expulse'                            |
| b. alispaya- | 'throw out a person or an animal'                      |
|              |                                                        |
| c. Taki-     | 'suffer'                                               |
| d. Takipaya- | 'be sad; accompany one who suffers' (Ebbing 1965: 241) |
|              |                                                        |
| e. Iaru-     | 'laugh'                                                |
| f. Iarupaya- | 'accompany someone to laugh' (Ebbing 1965: 241)        |

#### 413 Cuzco Kechua domains

This section treats verbal derivational suffixes with semantic domains peculiar to Cuzco Kechua. These include the assistive interactional, three aspectuals (durative, single repetition and continual repetition), and the desiderative, intensifier, and rapidity/facility suffixes. Three miscellaneous unproductive suffixes are described in a concluding section.

##### 413.1 Assistive interactional

K. -ysi specifies that the subject is helping another to perform the action of the verb. Examples:

- (K-11)
- |              |                           |
|--------------|---------------------------|
| a. 'apa-     | 'carry'                   |
| b. 'apaysi-  | 'help to carry'           |
|              |                           |
| c. cuta-     | 'stretch' (transitive)    |
| d. cutaysi-  | 'help someone to stretch' |
|              |                           |
| e. 'aypa-    | 'reach'                   |
| f. 'aypaysi- | 'help someone to reach'   |
|              |                           |
| g. p"awa-    | 'fly; run'                |
| h. p"awaysi- | 'help someone to run'     |
|              |                           |
| i. hanpi-    | 'cure'                    |
| j. hanpiysi- | 'help someone to cure'    |

## 413.2 Aspectuals

## 413.21 Durative

K. -raya (in free variation with -ra) indicates that the action of the verb endures for some time. It is often translated 'to VERB for a long time' or 'to remain VERBing'. It may also act as a thematic verbalizer on certain substantive roots. Examples:

- |                 |                                                                                  |
|-----------------|----------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| (K-12) a. cura- | 'put, place'                                                                     |
| b. curaraya-    | 'be placed in the same spot for a long time'                                     |
| c. hanġa-       | 'open the mouth'                                                                 |
| d. hanġaraya-   | 'remain open-mouthed'                                                            |
| e. caka-        | 'obstruct, interrupt the passage of something'                                   |
| f. cakaraya-    | 'remain clogged up, get stuck in a conduit of any sort and remain for some time' |

as thematic verbalizer:

- |               |                                               |
|---------------|-----------------------------------------------|
| g. 'atuq      | 'fox; astute, cunning'                        |
| h. 'atuqraya- | 'work craftily; watch or spy on with cunning' |
| i. 'upa       | 'deaf'                                        |
| j. 'uparaya-  | 'talk nonsense'                               |

## 413.22 Single repetition

K. -pa<sub>3</sub> means that the action of the verb is repeated once, is done again. Examples:

- |                  |                       |
|------------------|-----------------------|
| (K-13) a. qarpa- | 'water, irrigate'     |
| b. qarpapa-      | 'water a second time' |
| c. caġpu-        | 'drench, soak'        |
| d. caġpupa-      | 'drench again'        |

|            |              |
|------------|--------------|
| e. capi-   | 'weld'       |
| f. capipa- | 'weld again' |

On one verb root and one substantive root, -rpa indicates repetition. The relationship between -pa<sub>3</sub> and -rpa is not clear at present. It may be related to the -paya ~ -rpaya alternation (see 411.23) by analogy. Examples:

|                 |                                                                                  |
|-----------------|----------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| (K-13) g. kuti- | 'return'                                                                         |
| h. kutirpa-     | 'chew again what has been chewed and swallowed' (said of cows chewing their cud) |
| i. hamu         | 'way, manner'                                                                    |
| j. hamurpa-     | 'suspect, conjecture, suppose'                                                   |

#### 413.23 Continual repetition

K. -(y)kaca signifies that the verbal action is repeated many times in a reckless, disorderly, haphazard, aimless and/or insistent fashion. It is often translated 'here and there' or 'now and then'. On some substantival roots it acts as a thematic verbalizer. In this function, a frequent meaning is that the subject has characteristics (feigned or acquired) similar to those of the root. Examples:

|                  |                                      |
|------------------|--------------------------------------|
| (K-14) a. 'aqtu- | 'vomit'                              |
| b. 'aqtuykaca-   | 'suffer continual vomiting'          |
| c. 'asu-         | 'approach'                           |
| d. 'asukaca-     | 'continually or frequently approach' |
| 'asuykaca-       |                                      |
| e. c'aqi-        | 'stone'                              |
| f. c'aqiykaca-   | 'throw stones here and there'        |

- g. cura- 'put, place'  
 h. curaykaca- 'put here and there'

as thematic verbalizer:

- i. Tama 'llama'  
 j. Tamaykaca- 'walk around with much  
 haughtiness or arrogance  
 like the llama'  
 k. 'akTu 'one who stutters'  
 l. 'akTuykaca- 'simulate or imitate one who  
 stutters'  
 m. qaTu 'tongue'  
 n. qaTuykaca- 'stick out the tongue a lot'

Examples of the Cuzco Kechua aspectual suffixes which have to do with repetition, i.e., -paya 'multiple repetition', -pa<sub>3</sub> 'single repetition', and -(y)kaca 'continual repetition', are included below to facilitate their comparison.

- (K-15) a. c'aTa- 'sprinkle'  
 b. c'aTapa- 'sprinkle again'  
 c. c'aTaykaca- 'sprinkle madly'  
 d. hanpi- 'cure'  
 e. hanpipa- 'give a second treatment'  
 f. hanpipaya- 'reiterate treatments'  
 g. hanpiykaca- 'make wrong treatments'  
 h. hayt'a- 'kick'  
 i. hayt'apa- 'kick again'  
 j. hayt'apaya- 'kick repeatedly'  
 k. hayt'aykaca- 'kick with the legs in every  
 direction'  
 l. kana- 'burn'  
 m. kanapa- 'burn again'  
 n. kanapaya- 'feed a bonfire with more com-  
 bustibles'

## 413.3 Desiderative

K. -naya specifies the desiderative and occurs both as a verbal derivational suffix and as a thematic verbalizer on certain substantive roots. It may be translated 'want', 'have a desire', 'be about to VERB' or 'threaten to VERB'. Examples:

- (K-16) a. 'asi-                    'laugh'  
           b. 'asinaya-            'have a desire to laugh'
- c. cikci-                'hail'  
           d. cikcinaya-           'threaten hail'
- e. hasp'i-                'scratch'  
           f. hasp'inaya-          'want to scratch'
- g. t'inpu-                'boil'  
           h. t'inpunaya-        'be about to boil'

as thematic verbalizer:

- i. q"ari                'man'  
           j. q"arinaya-          'want or feel passion toward  
                                       men' (speaking of women)

## 413.4 Intensifier

K. -yku<sub>2</sub> (in free variation with -yu), aside from specifying inward direction (see 411.31), contributes emphasis or intensity to the state or action described by the verb. This suffix is best translated into English by such glosses as 'intensely', 'vehemently', 'profusely', 'very', 'violently', 'with great care', 'with great respect', and so forth, depending on the meaning of the verb root. K. -yku<sub>2</sub> also functions as a thematic verbalizer. Examples:

|           |            |                                         |
|-----------|------------|-----------------------------------------|
| (K-17) a. | 'asi-      | 'laugh'                                 |
| b.        | 'asiyku-   | 'laugh intensely'                       |
| c.        | 'awa-      | 'weave'                                 |
| d.        | 'awayku-   | 'weave with great care'                 |
| e.        | yarqa-     | 'be hungry'                             |
| f.        | yarqayku-  | 'be very hungry'                        |
| g.        | c'iqni-    | 'hate'                                  |
| h.        | c'iqniyku- | 'hate intensely'                        |
| i.        | t'ika-     | 'flower'                                |
| j.        | t'ikayku-  | 'flower profusely'                      |
| k.        | c'aTca-    | 'rain or shower without<br>stopping'    |
| l.        | c'aTcayku- | 'rain torrentially without<br>stopping' |
| m.        | c'aqwa-    | 'shout, clamor'                         |
| n.        | c'aqwayku- | 'shout angrily without<br>stopping'     |
| o.        | c'aqi-     | 'stone'                                 |
| p.        | c'aqiyku-  | 'stone to death without pity'           |

as thematic verbalizer:

|    |          |                                                                        |
|----|----------|------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| q. | qaTu     | 'tongue'                                                               |
| r. | qaTuyku- | 'stick out the tongue at<br>someone in a jeering or<br>mocking manner' |

#### 413.5 Rapidity/facility

K. -ru (varying freely with -ru in some regions of the Cuzco dialect area) may indicate either one of two basic notions (sometimes even both) when affixed to a verbal root, stem or them. The first specifies a quick or hasty performance of action or change in state. Typical English glosses would be 'quickly', 'hurriedly', and so forth. The second notion suggests

that an action is capable of being performed 'with ease' or 'with little effort'. Examples:

- (K-18)
- |                |                                                                                     |
|----------------|-------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| a. k"ipu-      | 'tie a knot'                                                                        |
| b. k"ipurqu-   | 'tie a knot hurriedly'                                                              |
| c. p"awa-      | 'fly; run'                                                                          |
| d. p"awarqu-   | 'run with great haste'                                                              |
| e. ni-         | 'speak'                                                                             |
| f. nirqu-      | 'speak without measuring the consequences; say something that should be kept quiet' |
| g. cura-       | 'put, place'                                                                        |
| h. curarqu-    | 'put or place with haste'                                                           |
| i. 'aysa-      | 'jerk, pull, tug'                                                                   |
| j. 'aysarqu-   | 'pull with ease'                                                                    |
| k. 'aypa-      | 'reach'                                                                             |
| l. 'ayparqu-   | 'reach quickly and with little effort'                                              |
| m. 'ancaya-    | 'become worse in health'                                                            |
| n. 'ancayarqu- | 'become worse in health suddenly, from one moment to the next'                      |

#### 413.6 Miscellaneous unproductive suffixes

##### 413.61 -ta<sub>2</sub>

K. -ta<sub>2</sub>, as a verbal derivational suffix, is no longer productive. It occurs on only a handful of verb roots and usually means 'occasional', 'accidental', 'unintentional' or 'in passing' according to Lira (1944). Examples:

- (K-19)
- |            |                     |
|------------|---------------------|
| a. hamu-   | 'come'              |
| b. hamuta- | 'come occasionally' |

|             |                                                                              |
|-------------|------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| c. saru-    | 'step on'                                                                    |
| d. saruta-  | 'step on in passing'                                                         |
| e. cura-    | 'put, place'                                                                 |
| f. curata-  | 'place something quickly<br>and in passing'                                  |
| g. k"amu-   | 'bite or nibble intentionally'                                               |
| h. k"amuta- | 'bite or nibble by chance;<br>grab or take hold of something<br>by accident' |

413.62 -hata

K. -hata is glossed by Lira (1944: 231) as 'in passing' or circumstantially'. It is similar in meaning to -ta<sub>2</sub> (see 413.61) in that the action is performed casually, even accidentally. On a few roots the meaning is unpredictable. Examples:

|                 |                                                                                 |
|-----------------|---------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| (K-20) a. puri- | 'walk'                                                                          |
| b. purihata-    | 'walk more or less by chance'                                                   |
| c. suya-        | 'wait'                                                                          |
| d. suyahata-    | 'wait casually or unexpectedly'                                                 |
| e. rima-        | 'talk'                                                                          |
| f. rimahata-    | 'tell stories or pieces of<br>gossip'                                           |
| g. k'unku-      | 'contract, draw in'                                                             |
| h. k'un kuhata- | 'contract or draw in one's<br>lower extremities and keep<br>them hard and firm' |

413.63 -ytu

K. -ytu is no longer a productive verbal derivational suffix. It occurs on two verb stems in Lira (1944), both times juxtaposed to the reflexive -ku<sub>2</sub>.



- (K-21) a. qunqaku- 'try to forget'  
 b. qunqaytuku- 'try to forget some bad memory'  
 c. yupaku- 'be esteemed, be respected, merit attention'  
 d. yupaytuku- 'boast of oneself, esteem oneself where no esteem is merited'

#### 414 Verbal derivational suffix ordering

##### 414.1 Aymara

Aymara verbal derivational suffixes number 31 (plus 5 which are unproductive) and are divided among 13 order classes (see Chart 6). Many do not combine with ease. Most of the directionals and locationals, for example, are mutually exclusive not only with each other but also with four of the aspectuals and two of the interactionals (see slots 2-6). Others, especially those in slots 1 and 7-13, are frequently juxtaposed, accounting for their more tidy ordering.

By order class, the suffixes are: 1) -ha<sub>2</sub> 'divide or split up'; 2) -kipa 'purposeful diffuse'; 3) -su 'outward'; 4) -t'api 'gather inward to a point' and -ra 'serial aspect'; 5) -ta<sub>2</sub> 'inceptive aspect/upward directional'; 6) -t'a 'momentaneous aspect' and -c'uki 'reciprocal'; 7) -ya 'person causative'; 8) -si 'reflexive'; 9) -ni<sub>2</sub> 'cislocative/translocative directional'; 10) -waya 'action at a distance'; 11) -rapi 'beneficiary' and -raqa 'victimary'; 12) -si<sub>2</sub> 'progres-

| 1 | 2                                                     | 3                                                                                                                              | 4                                 | 5                    | 6               | 7                   | 8         | 9                                       | 10                         | 11               | 12               | 13                             |
|---|-------------------------------------------------------|--------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|-----------------------------------|----------------------|-----------------|---------------------|-----------|-----------------------------------------|----------------------------|------------------|------------------|--------------------------------|
|   | Purposeful<br>diffuse                                 | Outward                                                                                                                        | Gather<br>Inward<br>to a<br>point | Inceptive/<br>upward | Reci-<br>procal | Person<br>causative | Reflexive | Cisloca-<br>tive/<br>translo-<br>cative | Action<br>at a<br>distance | Bene-<br>ficiary | Progres-<br>sive | Non-<br>completive             |
|   | -kipa                                                 | -su*                                                                                                                           | -t'ap!*                           | -ta <sub>2</sub>     | -c'uk!*         | -ya*                | -si*      | -ni <sub>2</sub>                        | -waya                      | -rapl            | -si <sub>2</sub> | -ka <sub>2</sub>               |
|   | -ha <sub>2</sub> *                                    |                                                                                                                                | -ra*                              |                      | -t'a*           |                     |           |                                         |                            | -raqa            |                  |                                |
|   | -qa<br>-nuqa*<br>-xata                                | Downward<br>Place down<br>Action on top of                                                                                     |                                   |                      |                 |                     |           |                                         |                            |                  |                  | Completive<br>-xa <sub>3</sub> |
|   | -xaya<br>-xaru<br>-nta*<br>-kata*<br>-naqa*<br>-tata* | Attentive<br>Prepare for the action<br>Inceptive/Inward<br>Across<br>Non-purposeful diffuse<br>Scatter outward from a<br>point |                                   |                      |                 |                     |           |                                         |                            |                  |                  |                                |
|   | -nuku<br>-xasi<br>-t'ata<br>-t'aku                    | Action away from the<br>subject<br>Hold<br>Action below or under-<br>neath                                                     |                                   |                      |                 |                     |           |                                         |                            |                  |                  |                                |
|   | -rpaya                                                | Multiple repetition/resultative                                                                                                |                                   |                      |                 |                     |           |                                         |                            |                  |                  |                                |

\*thematic verbalizer

Chart 6. Verbal derivational suffix ordering in Aymara.  
(Adapted in part from Hardman-de-Sautista 1974: 122.)

sive'; and 13) -ka<sub>2</sub> 'non-completive'. -xa<sub>3</sub> 'completive' is mutually exclusive with position classes 12 and 13.

Three suffixes (-ga 'downward'; -nuga 'place down'; and -xata 'action on top of') are mutually exclusive with those in slots 2, 3, and 4. A group of ten suffixes (-xaya 'attentive'; -xaru 'prepare for the action'; -nta 'inceptive aspect and inward directional'; -kata 'across'; -naga 'non-purposeful diffuse'; -tata 'spread/scatter outward from a point'; -nuku 'action away from the subject'; -xa:si 'hold'; -t'ata 'hold'; and -t'aku 'action below or underneath') is mutually exclusive with those in slots 2, 3, 4, and 5. A final suffix, -rpaya 'multiple repetition/resultative aspect', is mutually exclusive with suffixes in slots 2, 3, 4, 5, and 6.

Of the 31 total, 13 also serve as thematic verbalizers on a small number of substantive roots. They are marked by an asterisk in the chart.

It appears from my corpus that this ordering is relatively strict. I have found no counter examples. The verb stems which occur below illustrate this ordering. Numbers located immediately above suffixes indicate position class. Periods (.) mark suffix boundaries. Examples:

- (A-38)        1 2  
al.h.kata-        'sell everything'
- ala-        'buy'
- alha-        'sell'
- (A-39)        2 3 5  
kuti.kip.s.ta-        'turn around'
- kuti-        'return'
- (A-40)        3 4  
ap.su.ra-        'carry out one by one'
- apa-        'carry'
- (A-41)        4 5  
apa.r.ta-        'be cloudless' (the sky)  
                              (lit., 'carry upward one by one')
- apa-        'carry'
- (A-42)        5 6  
ap.t.t'a-        'pick up for a short while'
- apa-        'carry'
- (A-43)        4 6 7  
muyu.r.t'a.ya-        'serve drinks one by one to those at a party'
- muyu        'circle'
- (A-44)        2 7 8 9  
ana.nuku.ya.si.ni-        'go and leave someone off'
- \*ana-        (not attested)
- (A-45)        9 10  
apa.ni.waya-        'get something on the way and bring it back'
- (A-46)        6 9 10 11  
lur.t'a.ni.waya.rapi-        'go and, along the way, do something briefly for someone else'
- lura-        'do, make'



| 1                 | 2        | 3                 | 4                          | 5                | 6                     | 7         | 8         | 9                   | 10         | 11        | 12                                      | 13          | 14          |
|-------------------|----------|-------------------|----------------------------|------------------|-----------------------|-----------|-----------|---------------------|------------|-----------|-----------------------------------------|-------------|-------------|
| Recipita-<br>tive | Durative | Desider-<br>ative | Continual<br>Repetition    | Inten-<br>sifier | Rapidity/<br>facility | Inceptive | Assistive | Person<br>causative | Reciprocal | Reflexive | Cisloca-<br>tive/<br>translo-<br>cative | Beneficiary | Progressive |
| -rpari            | -raya*   | -naya*            | -pa3*<br>-paya<br>-(y)kaca | -yku2*           | -rqu                  | -ri       | -ysi      | -ci                 | -na        | -ku2*     | -mu                                     | -pu         | -sya        |

\*thematic verbalizer

Chart 7. Verbal derivational suffix ordering in Cuzco Kechua.

Verb stems which illustrate this ordering appear below.

- (K-22)           1       2       9  
cura.ypari.raya.ci-  
                          'leave, cause to remain placed'  
cura-                    'put, place'
- (K-23)           2       3  
q"awa.raya.naya-   'keep trying to look at'  
q"awa-                'look at'
- (K-24)           4       5  
qaqa.pa.yku-        'fall precipitously from a  
                          cliff into a ravine or gorge'  
qaqa                   'rock, boulder'
- (K-25)           4       5  
kuti.paya.yku-      'return many times to where  
                          someone is, wearing out your  
                          welcome'  
kuti-                  'return'
- (K-26)           4       5  
qati.ykaca.yku-     'pursue indefatigably, follow  
                          madly after someone'
- (K-27)           5       6  
t"uni.yku.rqu-      'destroy thoroughly and quickly'  
t"uni-                'destroy'
- (K-28)           6       7  
'akTā.rqa.ri-       'choose or select hurriedly'  
'akTā-                'choose'  
-rqu  
( - -rqa/\_\_\_-ri) See 172.2.
- (K-29)           7       8       9 11  
Tānk'a.ri.ysi.ci.ku-  
                          'cause to help work'  
Tānk'a-                'work'

- (K-30)           6   9   10 11  
 cinpa.rqa.ci.na.ku-  
                   'cause people to pass to the  
                   other side (e.g., of a river)  
                   with haste and without dif-  
                   ficulty'
- cinpa-           'pass to the other side'  
           -rqu  
           ( - -rqa/\_\_\_-ci) See 172.2.
- (K-31)           7   8   11 12 13 14  
 Tank'a.ri.ysi.ka.m.pu.sya-  
                   'be going to help someone work'
- Tank'a-           'work'

Occasional variations from the order specified in Chart 7 occur, resulting in a change of scope for the affected suffix. If it is moved farther to the right in the suffix string, its scope is enlarged; if farther to the left, its scope is diminished.

The desiderative suffix, -naya, is particularly flexible as to position class. It may precede -raya, or follow -pa<sub>3</sub>, -paya, -ri, -ysi, -ci, and -na. A few examples will illustrate:

- (K-32)           2   3  
 puñu.raya.naya-   'want to continually sleep'
- 3   2  
 puñu.naya.raya-   'continually want to sleep'
- puñu-           'sleep'
- (K-33)           8   3  
 Tank'a.ysi.naya-   'want to help someone work'
- Tank'a-           'work'



- (K-34)            10     9         3  
maqa.na.ci.naya- 'want to cause others to  
fight'  
  
maqa-                          'hit'
- (K-35)            4             3  
maqa.paya.naya- 'want to hit someone again  
and again'  
  
maqa-                          'hit'

The ordering of suffixes in slots 5-10 also varies according to the desired scope. Either -yku or -rqu may follow -ri, -ysi or -na. Additionally, -ci may follow -na and precede (rarely) -ysi. Examples:

- (K-36)           7     6  
cinka.ri.rqu-       'disappear suddenly or for  
                    a short time'  
  
          cinka-       'disappear'
- (K-37)           10   6   11  
hap'i.na.rqu.ku-   'grab hold of each other  
                    strongly and quickly'  
  
          hap'i-       'grab, seize'
- (K-38)           7     5  
'apa.ri.yku-       'take a little'  
  
          'apa-       'carry'
- (K-39)           8     5  
hayku.yisi.yku-   'help go into'  
  
          hayku-       'go into'
- (K-40)           9     8   10 11  
yaca.ci.yisi.na.ku-  
                    'help teach each other'  
  
          yaca-       'know'  
          yacaci-     'teach'

Of the 17 total verbal derivational suffixes in Cuzco Kechua, 7 also serve as thematic verbalizers. They are marked in Chart 7 by an asterisk.

#### 420 Inflectional

The inflectional suffixes which realize the categories of person, number, tense, mood and evidentiary source will be dealt with in the sections which follow. Those in Aymara differ markedly from those in Cuzco Kechua. One is particularly struck with the polysynthetic character of the Aymara suffixes, as against the more analytic nature of the Kechua morphemes. Individual inflectional suffixes in Aymara specify not only the subject/object persons, but also the tense, the mood and the evidentiary nature of the knowledge being communicated. Only number is expressed in a separate morpheme. This contrasts with Kechua, where inflectional morphemes generally mark only one, or two grammatical categories at most.

#### 421 Person and number

In Aymara, a total of only four different persons interact in the verbal system, corresponding to the four independent pronouns - naya 'I', huma 'you', hupa 'he, she, it', and hiwasa 'we (incl.)'. Number is an optional category; it is used only for emphasis. No inflectional

suffix which specifies person carries with it any implication of number.

To express plural number, the inflectional suffix -p is employed. It is bound either to -xa<sub>3</sub> 'completive aspect' or -ka<sub>2</sub> 'non-completive aspect', according to the nature of the verbal action. It may refer to subject, object or both, except that third person plural objects do not usually take -p unless the subject is plural also. Its position of occurrence in the root-suffix string is directly after slot 12 (-si<sub>2</sub> 'progressive aspect') and immediately before slot 13 (-ka<sub>2</sub> 'non-completive aspect') of the verbal derivational suffixes. -xa<sub>3</sub> 'completive aspect', mutually exclusive with -si<sub>2</sub> and -ka<sub>2</sub>, may occur both before and after -p. Examples:

- |                |                            |
|----------------|----------------------------|
| (A-51) a. apa- | 'carry'                    |
| b. apaska-     | 'be carrying'              |
| c. apasipka-   | 'several to be carrying'   |
| d. apapxa-     | 'several to carry'         |
| e. apxapxa-    | 'several to carry already' |

When -xa<sub>3</sub> is reduplicated, as in (e) above, the completive nature of the verbal action is emphasized.

Turning our attention to Cuzco Kechua, a total of seven persons interact in the verbal system corresponding to the seven independent pronouns - nuqa 'I', qan 'you', pay 'he, she, it', nugayku 'we (excl.)',

nuqancis 'we (incl.)', gankuna 'you (pl.)', and paykuna 'they'. On first and second persons, number is an obligatory category; on third person it is optional. On verbs, -ku<sub>3</sub> distinguishes the exclusive plural persons and -cis the inclusive plural persons. They occur following the subject and object person markers (see Chart 8). This contrasts with Aymara, where plural -p precedes the person inflection.

In Aymara, all inflectional paradigms contain nine suffixes, each involving two of the four persons in a given relation (subject/complement, subject/goal, subject/beneficiary, etc.). The indefinite paradigm, which can refer to either present or recent past time, is given below for illustration. Numbers indicate the persons involved in the interaction (1 = naya, 2 = huma, 3 = hupa and 4 = hiwasa). The verb root is muna- 'love'. The number in parentheses indicates the morphophonemic rule followed by the suffix.

|     |                  |     |         |                                         |
|-----|------------------|-----|---------|-----------------------------------------|
| 1-2 | -sma             | (4) | munsma  | 'I/we love you.'                        |
| 1-3 | -ta <sub>3</sub> | (1) | munta   | 'I/we love him/her/it/them.'            |
| 2-1 | -ista            | (4) | munista | 'You love me/us.'                       |
| 2-3 | -ta <sub>4</sub> | (4) | munta   | 'You love him/ her/it/them.'            |
| 3-1 | -itu             | (4) | munitu  | 'He/she/it/they love me/us.'            |
| 3-2 | -tam             | (1) | muntam  | 'He/she/it/they love you.'              |
| 3-3 | -i               | (4) | muni    | 'He/she/it/they love him/ her/it/them.' |
| 3-4 | -istu            | (4) | munistu | 'He/she/it/they love us (incl.).'       |
| 4-3 | -tan             | (1) | muntan  | 'We (incl.) love him/her/it/ them.'     |

| 1                         | 2                          | 3                                           | 4                     | 5                | 6                 |
|---------------------------|----------------------------|---------------------------------------------|-----------------------|------------------|-------------------|
| First<br>person<br>object | Personal<br>remote         | Second<br>person<br>object                  | Subject<br>persons    | Plural           | Condi-<br>tional  |
| Injunctive                | Non-<br>personal<br>remote |                                             |                       |                  |                   |
| -wa <sub>2</sub>          | -rqa                       | First<br>person<br><u>subject</u>           | 1) -ni <sub>2</sub> , | <u>Excl.</u>     | -man <sub>2</sub> |
| -wa <sub>3</sub>          | -sqa                       |                                             | -y                    | -ku <sub>3</sub> |                   |
| (~ -waq)                  |                            | -yki                                        | 2) -nki               | <u>Incl.</u>     |                   |
|                           |                            | Third<br>person<br><u>subject</u>           | 3) -n                 | -cis             |                   |
|                           |                            |                                             | <u>Future</u>         |                  |                   |
|                           |                            | -sunki                                      | 1) -saq               |                  |                   |
|                           |                            | First<br>person<br>subject<br><u>future</u> | 3) -nqa               |                  |                   |
|                           |                            |                                             | 1 pl.<br>incl.)       |                  |                   |
|                           |                            | -sayki                                      | -sun                  |                  |                   |

Chart 8. Verbal inflectional suffix ordering in  
Cuzco Kechua.

In Cuzco Kechua, the inflectional paradigms are longer and involve more suffixes than in Aymara since subject and object persons do not always collapse into one morpheme. The seven persons (with third person singular object understood) of the indefinite paradigm, which in Kechua also refers to either present or recent past time, are illustrated below. Numbers indicate the person (1 = nuqa, 2 = qan, 3 = pay, 4 = nugayku, 5 = nugancis, 6 = qankuna, and 7 = paykuna). The verb root is muna- 'love'.

|   |         |            |                               |
|---|---------|------------|-------------------------------|
| 1 | -ni     | munani     | 'I love him/her/it.'          |
| 2 | -nki    | munanki    | 'You love him/her/it.'        |
| 3 | -n      | munan      | 'He/she/it loves him/her/it.' |
| 4 | -yku    | munayku    | 'We (excl.) love him/her/it.' |
| 5 | -ncis   | munancis   | 'We (incl.) love him/her/it.' |
| 6 | -nkicis | munankicis | 'You (pl.) love him/her/it.'  |
| 7 | -nku    | munanku    | 'They love him/her/it.'       |

The seven verb forms just cited were not marked for an object. When the verb in the indefinite paradigm is marked for an object, the following statements hold (see Chart 8). 1) If the object is first person, -wa<sub>2</sub> is added before the subject person suffix. 2) If the object is second person and the subject is first person, -yki is added, which contains both subject and object persons. 3) If the object is second person and the subject is third person, -sunki is added, which also contains both subject and object persons. 4) If either the subject or object is plural,

the appropriate plural suffix (-ku<sub>3</sub> 'exclusive' or -cis 'inclusive') is used. If both subject and object are plural, the hierarchically more important person governs the marking. Plurality is thus singly marked, first person taking precedence over second person and second person over third person. Again, the indefinite inflections will serve as the illustrative paradigm:

|     |           |              |                               |
|-----|-----------|--------------|-------------------------------|
| 1-2 | -yki      | munayki      | 'I love you.'                 |
| 1-6 | -ykicis   | munaykicis   | 'I love you (pl.).'           |
| 2-1 | -wanki    | munawanki    | 'You love me.'                |
| 2-4 | -wankiku  | munawankiku  | 'You love us (excl.).'        |
| 3-1 | -wan      | munawan      | 'He/she/it loves me.'         |
| 3-2 | -sunki    | munasunki    | 'He/she/it loves you.'        |
| 3-4 | -wanku    | munawanku    | 'He/she/it loves us (excl.).' |
| 3-5 | -wancis   | munawancis   | 'He/she/it loves us (incl.).' |
| 3-6 | -sunkicis | munasunkicis | 'He/she/it loves you (pl.).'  |
| 4-2 | -ykiku    | munaykiku    | 'We (excl.) love you.'        |
| 4-6 | -ykiku    | munaykiku    | 'We (excl.) love you (pl.).'  |
| 6-1 | -wankicis | munawankicis | 'You (pl.) love me.'          |
| 6-4 | -wankiku  | munawankiku  | 'You (pl.) love us (excl.).'  |
| 7-1 | -wanku    | munawanku    | 'They love me.'               |
| 7-2 | -sunkiku  | munasunkiku  | 'They love you.'              |
| 7-4 | -wanku    | munawanku    | 'They love us (excl.).'       |
| 7-5 | -wancis   | munawancis   | 'They love us (incl.).'       |
| 7-6 | -sunkicis | munasunkicis | 'They love you (pl.).'        |

#### 422 Tense, mood and evidentiary source

Most inflectional paradigms in both Aymara and Cuzco Kechua contain the grammatical categories of tense, mood and evidentiary source. Tense refers to

the time of the action, event or state of affairs mentioned in the sentence. Mood refers to the attitude of the speaker toward what he is saying, while evidentiary source specifies the nature of the information conveyed by the utterance, i.e., whether it comes from personal knowledge on the part of the speaker (that is, something perceived through his own senses) or from non-personal knowledge (hearsay, speculation, supposition, inference, etc.). These three grammatical categories combine variously to form nine inflectional paradigms in Aymara and six in Cuzco Kechua (see Chart 9).<sup>1</sup>

The indefinite paradigm in both languages is so called because it can refer to either present or recent past time depending on the context. Where there is no context, forms are generally translated as the recent past. It is in the unmarked mood and is based on the speaker's personal knowledge. (See Charts 10 and 11.)

The future paradigm in both languages refers to future time, is in the unmarked mood and is based on personal knowledge, i.e., the speaker is able to vouch for the future. In Aymara, it is widely used as a polite or softened command.

The Cuzco Kechua future endings differ from those



| <u>Paradigm</u>           | <u>Time</u>             | <u>Mood</u>        | <u>Evidentiary<br/>source</u> |
|---------------------------|-------------------------|--------------------|-------------------------------|
| <u>AYMARA</u>             |                         |                    |                               |
| 1. indefinite             | present/<br>recent past | unmarked           | personal                      |
| 2. future                 | future                  | unmarked           | personal                      |
| 3. personal<br>remote     | remote past             | unmarked           | personal                      |
| 4. non-personal<br>remote | remote past             | dubitative         | non-personal                  |
| 5. desiderative           | future                  | conditional        |                               |
| 6. imperative             | present                 | imperative         |                               |
| 7. inferential            | present/<br>recent past | inferential        | non-personal                  |
| 8. suppositional          | present/<br>recent past | supposi-<br>tional | non-personal                  |
| 9. scolder                | past                    | remonstra-<br>tive |                               |
| <u>CUZCO KECHUA</u>       |                         |                    |                               |
| 1. indefinite             | present/<br>recent past | unmarked           | personal                      |
| 2. future                 | future                  | unmarked           | personal                      |
| 3. personal<br>remote     | remote past             | unmarked           | personal                      |
| 4. non-personal<br>remote | remote past             | dubitative         | non-personal                  |
| 5. conditional            | future                  | conditional        |                               |
| 6. imperative             | present                 | imperative         |                               |

Chart 9. Inflectional paradigms in Aymara and Cuzco Kechua.

|     | <u>Indefinite</u>                                  | <u>Future</u>                          | <u>Personal remote</u>  |
|-----|----------------------------------------------------|----------------------------------------|-------------------------|
| 1-2 | -sma (4)                                           | -:ma (6)                               | -ya:sma (2)             |
| 1-3 | -ta <sub>3</sub> (1)                               | -: (6)                                 | -ya:ta (3)              |
| 2-1 | -ista (4)                                          | -ita:ta (5)                            | -ista:sta (4)           |
| 2-3 | -ta <sub>4</sub> (4)                               | -:ta (6)                               | -ya:ta <sub>2</sub> (2) |
| 3-1 | -itu (4)                                           | -itani (5)                             | -itu:tu (4)             |
| 3-2 | -tam (1)                                           | -:tam (6)                              | -ya:tam (3)             |
| 3-3 | -i (4)                                             | -ni <sub>3</sub> (6)                   | -:na (3)                |
| 3-4 | -istu (4)                                          | -istani (5)                            | -istu:stu (4)           |
| 4-3 | -tan (1)                                           | -ñani (6)                              | -ya:tan (3)             |
|     | <u>Non-personal remote</u>                         | <u>Desiderative</u>                    | <u>Imperative</u>       |
| 1-2 | -ta:sma (2)                                        | -irisma (4)                            | -:ma <sub>2</sub> (2)   |
| 1-3 | -ta:ta (3)                                         | -irista (1)                            | -: (6)                  |
| 2-1 | -ista:sta (4)                                      | -itasma (4)                            | -ita (4)                |
| 2-3 | -ta:ta <sub>2</sub> (2)                            | -sma <sub>2</sub> (2)                  | -m (3)                  |
| 3-1 | -itu:tu (4)                                        | -itaspa(n) (5)                         | -itpa (4)               |
| 3-2 | -ta:tam (3)                                        | -iristam (1)                           | -:tam (3)               |
| 3-3 | -tayna (2)                                         | -spa (2)                               | -pa <sub>3</sub> (4)    |
| 3-4 | -istu:stu (4)                                      | -istuspa (5)                           | -istpa (4)              |
| 4-3 | -ta:tan (3)                                        | -sna (4)                               | -ñani (6)               |
|     | <u>Inferential</u><br><u>-paca<sub>3</sub> (5)</u> | <u>Suppositional</u><br><u>-ci (5)</u> | <u>Scolder</u>          |
| 1-2 | -paca:sma                                          | -csma                                  | -iriskasama:na (1)      |
| 1-3 | -paca:ta                                           | -cta                                   | -iriska:ta (1)          |
| 2-1 | -pacista                                           | -cista                                 | -itasama:na (1)         |
| 2-3 | -paca:ta                                           | -cta                                   | -sama:na (3)            |
| 3-1 | -pacitu                                            | -citu                                  | -itasapa:na (1)         |
| 3-2 | -paca:tam                                          | -ctam                                  | -iriskatama:na (1)      |
| 3-3 | -paca <sub>3</sub>                                 | -ci                                    | -sapa:na (2)            |
| 3-4 | -pacistu                                           | -cistu                                 | -istusapa:na (1)        |
| 4-3 | -paca:tan                                          | -ctan                                  | -sana (3)               |

Chart 10. Aymara inflectional suffixes by paradigm. (Adapted in part from Hardman-de-Bautista et al. 1974: 201-3.)

|     | <u>Indefinite</u> | <u>Future</u> | <u>Personal<br/>remote</u> | <u>Non-<br/>personal<br/>remote</u> | <u>Conditional</u> |
|-----|-------------------|---------------|----------------------------|-------------------------------------|--------------------|
| 1   | -ni               | -saq          | -rqani                     | -sqani                              | -yman              |
| 2   | -nki              | -nki          | -rqanki                    | -sqanki                             | -nkiman            |
| 3   | -n                | -nqa          | -rqan                      | -sqa                                | -nman              |
| 4   | -yku              | -saqku        | -rqayku                    | -sqayku                             | -ykuman            |
| 5   | -ncis             | -suncis       | -rqancis                   | -sqancis                            | -ncisman           |
| 6   | -nkicis           | -nkicis       | -rqankicis                 | -sqankicis                          | -nkicisman         |
| 7   | -nku              | -nqaku        | -rqanku                    | -sqanku                             | -nkuman            |
| 1-2 | -yki              | -sayki        | -rqayki                    | -sqayki                             | -ykiman            |
| 1-6 | -ykicis           | -saykicis     | -rqaykicis                 | -sqaykicis                          | -ykicisman         |
| 2-1 | -wanki            | -wanki        | -warqanki                  | -wasqanki                           | -wankiman          |
| 2-4 | -wankiku          | -wankiku      | -warqankiku                | -wasqankiku                         | -wankikuman        |
| 3-1 | -wan              | -wanqa        | -warqan                    | -wasqa                              | -wanman            |
| 3-2 | -sunki            | -sunki        | -rqasunki                  | -sqasunki                           | -sunkiman          |
| 3-4 | -wanku            | -wanqaku      | -warqanku                  | -wasqanku                           | -wankuman          |
| 3-5 | -wancis           | -wasuncis     | -warqancis                 | -wasqancis                          | -wancisman         |
| 3-6 | -sunkicis         | -sunkicis     | -rqasunkicis               | -sqasunkicis                        | -sunkicisman       |
| 4-2 | -ykiku            | -saykiku      | -rqaykiku                  | -sqaykiku                           | -ykikuman          |
| 4-6 | -ykiku            | -saykiku      | -rqaykiku                  | -sqaykiku                           | -ykikuman          |
| 6-1 | -wankicis         | -wankicis     | -warqankicis               | -wasqankicis                        | -wankicisman       |
| 6-4 | -wankiku          | -wankiku      | -warqankiku                | -wasqankiku                         | -wankikuman        |
| 7-1 | -wanku            | -wanqaku      | -warqanku                  | -wasqanku                           | -wankuman          |
| 7-2 | -sunkiku          | -sunkiku      | -rqasunkiku                | -sqasunkiku                         | -sunkikuman        |
| 7-4 | -wanku            | -wanqaku      | -warqanku                  | -wasqanku                           | -wankuman          |
| 7-5 | -wancis           | -wasuncis     | -warqancis                 | -wasqancis                          | -wancisman         |
| 7-6 | -sunkicis         | -sunkicis     | -rqasunkicis               | -sqasunkicis                        | -sunkicisman       |

Chart 11. Cuzco Kechua inflectional suffixes  
by paradigm.

of the indefinite paradigm in the following ways:

1) first person singular subject is -saq; 2) third person singular subject is -nqa; 3) first person plural inclusive subject is -sun (plus regular -cis); and 4) the 1-2 interaction is -sayki. All other inflections are the same. (See Chart 11.)

The personal remote refers to an action, event or state that occurred at some point in the distant past. It is in the unmarked mood and specifies personal knowledge on the part of the speaker. Akin to this paradigm is the non-personal remote. Time reference is basically the same. The speaker, however, views the situation dubiously since he cannot attest for its veracity based on his own knowledge. It is commonly used in tales, fables and myths. The most frequently occurring form is 3-3 in Aymara and 3 in Cuzco Kechua.

Of the Aymara suffixes in the personal and non-personal remote paradigms, only 3-3 has a different form in each of the paradigms. Those which begin with -i (2-1, 3-1 and 3-4) are identical in both remotes. The remaining five differ only in the initial segment (1-2, 1-3, 2-3, 3-2 and 4-3): -ya: in the personal remote and -ta: in the non-personal remote. In all cases but the first (3-3), the remote inflectional

endings are built upon those of the indefinite - through reduplication in the first instance, i.e.,

|     |       |           |
|-----|-------|-----------|
| 2-1 | -ista | -ista:sta |
| 3-1 | -itu  | -itu:tu   |
| 3-4 | -istu | -istu:stu |

and through addition of either -ya: or -ta: in the second.

The remote paradigms in Cuzco Kechua are formed by adding -rqa (personal) or -sga (non-personal) in position class number 2 of the inflectional suffixes (see Chart 8). The regular inflectional endings of the indefinite paradigm are then used to specify person and number. (See Charts 10 and 11.)

The Aymara desiderative refers to future time and generally expresses desire. Such glosses as 'I would like to VERB' or 'I want to VERB' are common. It can also be used as a hortative to give advice, admonitions and recommendations ('you should VERB'). It always reflects a positive attitude on the part of the speaker, the complement or both. Since it refers to a future action which is conditional on whether the desire is realized or not, it is not possible for the speaker to base his statement on personal or non-personal knowledge. This paradigm, then, does not contain the category of evidentiary source. (See Charts 9 and 10.)

The Cuzco Kechua conditional paradigm is used to

express hortative meaning ('you should VERB'), possibility ('may') and actions or states conditional on others ('would'). As with the Aymara desiderative, here also the source (personal or non-personal) of the knowledge is not a factor since the action is unrealized. This paradigm is characterized by the addition of -man<sub>2</sub> 'conditional' to the indefinite person/number inflections, with only one exception: first person singular is -y, not the expected -ni<sub>2</sub>, giving -yman. K. -man occurs in the final position class of the inflectional suffixes. (See Charts 8 and 11.)

The various inflections of the imperative, when used alone, are very strong in both Aymara and Cuzco Kechua. They are used when the speaker is upset, annoyed or issuing orders to someone over whom he has power, i.e., parent to child.

The Aymara endings (see Chart 10) divide between those which are identical or almost identical to those of the future paradigm (1-2, 1-3, 2-1, 3-2 and 4-3) and those which are not (2-3, 3-1, 3-3 and 3-4). The latter group can be subdivided between -m '2-3' and those built on -pa '3-3': -itpa '3-1', -istpa '4-3', and -:tpa(n) '3-2' (variant). These last person interactions carry traces of their respective suffixes from the indefinite paradigm, i.e.,

|     | <u>Indefinite</u> | <u>Imperative</u> |
|-----|-------------------|-------------------|
| 3-1 | -itu              | -itpa             |
| 3-2 | -tam              | -:tpa(n)    -:tam |
| 4-3 | -istu             | -istpa            |

The Cuzco Kechua inflectional endings in the imperative are as follows:

|   |                   |
|---|-------------------|
| 2 | -y <sub>2</sub>   |
| 3 | -cun              |
| 5 | -sun (or -suncis) |
| 6 | -ycis             |
| 7 | -cunku            |

Examples:

|           |             |                    |
|-----------|-------------|--------------------|
| (K-41) a. | mik"u-      | 'eat'              |
| b.        | mik"uy.     | 'Eat!'             |
| c.        | mik"ucun.   | 'Have him eat.'    |
| d.        | mik"usun.   | 'Let's eat.'       |
| e.        | mik"uycis.  | 'Eat!' (you - pl.) |
| f.        | mik"ucunku. | 'Have them eat.'   |

Object markers precede the imperative inflections.

When a speaker wishes to give added emphasis to a command or recommendation to be performed by a second or third person, -wa<sub>3</sub> (~ -waq) 'injunctive' is frequently employed. It is homophonous to the substantival suffix, -wa, and to the verbal derivational -wa<sub>2</sub> 'first person object'. Sola and Cusihuaman (1967: 7-13) report that it may precede or follow -sya 'progressive aspect'. In the case of its following -sya, it actually occurs in the

first position class of the inflectional suffixes

(see Chart 8). Examples:

- (K-42) a. ri- 'go'  
 b. riycis. 'Go!' (you - pl.)  
 c. riwaycis. 'All of you had better go.'  
 d. tiyasyaTawanki. 'You had better just sit down.'
- tiya- 'sit down'  
 -sya progressive aspect  
 -Ta 'just'  
 -wa<sub>3</sub> injunctive 'had better'  
 -nki 'you'

The Aymara inferential and suppositional paradigms are similar in that they both refer to present or recent past time and spring from evidence which is non-personal in nature. They differ, however, as to the speaker's attitude toward the information conveyed by the utterance. In the former, information is based on indirect evidence, inference or deduction, causing the speaker to view confirmation of the statement as likely. In the latter, information is not based on any evidence in particular, but comes from a guess or a supposition; eventual confirmation of the statement is unknowable. For the inferential, -paca<sub>3</sub> (5) '3-3' is the distinctive form. Other interactions have -paca<sub>3</sub> plus inflections from the indefinite paradigm. The suppositional is characterized by -ci (5)



'3-3'; here again, the other interactions have indefinite endings added on (see Chart 10).

The Aymara scolder paradigm might also be termed an "after-the-fact" hortative, since it always laments a past action or lack of same. Most often, a second person is being scolded or chided for (not) having done something. A. -sama:na '2-3' is thus the commonest form. Most of the scolder inflections are formed from their desiderative counterparts plus the personal remote suffix -.na '3-3' (see Chart 10).

## 500 THE SEMANTIC DOMAINS OF THEMATIC SUFFIXES

Thematic suffixes trigger a change in the form class of the root, stem or theme to which they are affixed. Nominalizers attach only to verb roots, stems or themes; the resulting formation is a substantive theme. Verbalizers are suffixed only to substantive roots, stems or themes, creating a verb theme.

The nominalizers with meanings common to both languages are the infinitive/action/instrument, the agentive/habitual action, the obligative and the participial adjective. Both languages also contain a set of nominalizers which mark a variety of constructions similar to subordinate clauses in English. Finally, Aymara has a nominalizer which specifies the place or occasion of the action.

The verbalizers common to both languages are the action causative, the removal and action reversal, and the developmental, the latter indicating that the subject takes on the characteristics of the root, stem or theme. Verbalizing postpositions peculiar to each language include A. -ka<sub>3</sub> and A. -i<sub>2</sub> (final vowel lengthening) which are best translated by the copula verb, and K. -Ti, called the "salience" verbalizer by Sola and Cusihuaman (1967: 6-8).

## 510 Nominalizers

## 511 Infinitive/action/instrument

It is necessary to consider three semantic features under one rubric since they are all realized by one post-position in Aymara, -ña (6), but by two in Cuzco Kechua, -y<sub>3</sub> (infinitive or indefinite action or state) and -na<sub>2</sub> (definite action and instrument or object used in performing the verbal action). Looking at the Kechua data first, we find that -y<sub>3</sub> specifies the infinitive and may also be interpreted as the indefinite action or state itself (frequently glossed in English by the -ing form of the verb). Consider the following examples:

- (K-1) a. miTp'u- 'swallow'  
       b. miTp'uy 'to swallow'
- c. tarpuyqa sasan. 'Planting is difficult.'
- tarpu- 'plant'  
           -y<sub>3</sub> indefinite action
- qa topic marker  
           sasa 'difficult'  
           -mi (→ -n/V\_) personal knowledge

The definite action/instrumental suffix, -na<sub>2</sub>, specifies a definite action expected to take place or the instrument used in performing the verbal action. When -na<sub>2</sub> is employed with the former meaning, it contrasts with the infinitive nominalizer, -y<sub>3</sub>, which specifies the abstract action or state itself. Con-

sider (d) below:

- (K-1) d. tarpunaqa sasan. 'The planting is  
difficult.'

In (d), the 'planting' referred to is a specific event in the mind of the speaker. That referred to in (c) is the abstract notion of 'planting' itself.

The instrument of the action is closely allied in meaning with the sense of the verb root or stem.

Examples:

- (K-2) a. 'aq"a- 'prepare chicha'  
b. 'aq"ana 'materials, instruments  
and whatever else intervene in the making  
of chicha'  
c. c'aki- 'dry'  
d. c'akina 'napkin; cloth used to  
dry table settings and  
other objects'  
e. Tinp'i- 'paint'  
f. Tinp'ina 'painting, paint'  
g. suTu- 'abort'  
h. suTuna 'poison that causes an  
abortion, medication  
used to expel the fetus'

It is difficult to translate some  $-na_2$  themes as instrumentals. Such examples as

- (K-2) i. mik"u- 'eat'  
j. mik"una 'meal'  
k. paka- 'hide'  
l. pakana 'that which should be  
kept hid'

|             |                                                                                                                                         |
|-------------|-----------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| m. puñu-    | 'sleep'                                                                                                                                 |
| n. puñuna   | 'bed'                                                                                                                                   |
| o. mask"a-  | 'look for'                                                                                                                              |
| p. mask"ana | 'something that requires<br>looking for; place where<br>a search should be made;<br>detector, apparatus for<br>searching for something' |
| q. 'arpa-   | 'sacrifice victims'                                                                                                                     |
| r. 'arpana  | 'altar where the victim<br>is presented or sacrificed'                                                                                  |

illustrate meanings that cannot be classed strictly as instrumentals. Some actually indicate a location where the activity of the verb is realized, e.g., 'bed' is the place where the sleeping occurs, 'altar' is where the sacrifices were made, and so forth. 'Instrumental' should be understood then in a rather wide sense. A better definition might be 'object involved in the action of the verb'.

In Aymara, -ña (6) embraces most of the semantic features mentioned in the preceding paragraphs for K. -y<sub>3</sub> and -na<sub>2</sub>. Consider the following examples:

|               |                                                                           |
|---------------|---------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| (A-1) a. iki- | 'sleep'                                                                   |
| b. ikiña      | 'to sleep; sleeping; bed'                                                 |
| c. pica-      | 'sweep'                                                                   |
| d. picaña     | 'to sweep; sweeping; broom'                                               |
| e. ima-       | 'hide, put away'                                                          |
| f. imaña      | 'to hide, to put away;<br>hiding, putting away;<br>large box; cover, lid' |

I have not detected the distinction made in Cuzco Kechua

between the abstract action or state conveyed by  $-y_3$  and a particular instance of that action or state specified by  $-na_2$ . It may be that Aymara achieves that contrast by means other than suffixation.

Two roots in my Aymara corpus contain  $-na_2$  to indicate the instrument of the action. Since this suffix is not productive in the language, I have considered it a borrowing from Cuzco Kechua (see 700). Hardman-de-Bautista et al. (1974) do not even mention it.

Examples:

|       |            |           |
|-------|------------|-----------|
| (A-2) | a. lihwa-  | 'scratch' |
|       | b. lihwana | 'hoe'     |
|       | c. sama-   | 'breathe' |
|       | d. samana  | 'breath'  |

## 512 Obligative

Obligation is actually a possessive construction in both languages. A.  $-\bar{n}a$  (6) and K.  $-na_2$  are affixed to the root or stem, then followed immediately by a personal possessive suffix which indicates person and number (the latter category in Kechua only). In Cuzco Kechua, it is actually a periphrastic construction - an auxiliary verb must always follow the nominal theme. In the indefinite paradigm, the auxiliary is kasyan; for other paradigms, ka- 'be' plus the appropriate third person singular inflection is employed (i.e.,

-rgan for the personal remote, -sga for the non-personal remote, etc.). Examples:

- |       |                  |         |                                                                 |
|-------|------------------|---------|-----------------------------------------------------------------|
| (A-3) | a. manq'a-       |         | 'eat'                                                           |
|       | b. manq'añaxawa. |         | 'I have to eat.'<br>(My eating is necessary.)                   |
|       | c. manq'añamawa. |         | 'You have to eat.'<br>(Your eating is necessary.)               |
|       | d. manq'añapawa. |         | 'He/she/it has to eat.'<br>(His/her/its eating is necessary.)   |
|       | e. manq'anasawa. |         | 'We (incl.) have to eat.'<br>(Our (incl.) eating is necessary.) |
| (K-3) | a. ri-           |         | 'go'                                                            |
|       | b. rinay         | kasyan. | 'I have to go.'<br>(My going is necessary.)                     |
|       | c. rinayki       | kasyan. | 'You have to go.'<br>(Your going is necessary.)                 |
|       | d. rinan         | kasyan. | 'He/she/it has to go.'<br>(His/her/its going is necessary.)     |
|       | e. rinayku       | kasyan. | 'We (excl.) have to go.'<br>(Our (excl.) going is necessary.)   |
|       | f. rinancis      | kasyan. | 'We (incl.) have to go.'<br>(Our (incl.) going is necessary.)   |
|       | g. rinaykicis    | kasyan. | 'You (pl.) have to go.'<br>(Your (pl.) going is necessary.)     |
|       | h. rinanku       | kasyan. | 'They have to go.'<br>(Their going is necessary.)               |

### 513 Agentive/habitual action

A. -iri (5) and K. -g are nominalizers which specify an agent who customarily performs the action or is in the state indicated by the verb. Examples:

- |       |             |                                                                |
|-------|-------------|----------------------------------------------------------------|
| (A-4) | a. lip"ipi- | 'shine, flicker'                                               |
|       | b. lip"iri  | 'firefly' (found in the valleys, not on the <u>altiplano</u> ) |

|       |            |                                                                 |
|-------|------------|-----------------------------------------------------------------|
|       | c. anaki-  | 'herd animals'                                                  |
|       | d. anakiri | 'herder'                                                        |
|       | e. haca-   | 'cry'                                                           |
|       | f. haciri  | 'one who cries'                                                 |
| (K-4) | a. 'anya-  | 'counsel, admonish'                                             |
|       | b. 'anyaq  | 'counselor, one who advises or exhorts in a fatherly manner'    |
|       | c. caTwa-  | 'fish'                                                          |
|       | d. caTwaq  | 'fisherman'                                                     |
|       | e. cura-   | 'put, lay, place'                                               |
|       | f. curaq   | 'one who places or lays, said especially of fowl that lay eggs' |

These nominalizers also mark habitual aspect in certain verb constructions. In Aymara, the agentive nominal theme is simply reverbilized by means of  $-\dot{i}_2$  (see 524). The form may then be inflected for number (optional) and person/mood/tense as in the examples which follow:

|       |                        |                                    |
|-------|------------------------|------------------------------------|
| (A-5) | a. manq'a-             | 'eat'                              |
|       | b. manq'iri            | 'one who eats'                     |
|       | c. manq'iri:-          | 'habitually eat'                   |
|       | d. anca                | 'a lot'                            |
|       | e. anc manq'iri:twā.   | 'I habitually eat a lot.'          |
|       | f. anc manq'iri:tawā.  | 'You habitually eat a lot.'        |
|       | g. anc manq'iri:tanwā. | 'We (incl.) habitually eat a lot.' |

K.  $-\underline{g}$  also specifies habitual aspect, but here the construction is periphrastic. The indefinite habitual paradigm will illustrate:



|       |                      |                            |
|-------|----------------------|----------------------------|
| (K-5) | a. Tank'a-           | 'work'                     |
|       | b. Tank'aq           | 'worker'                   |
|       | c. ka-               | 'be'                       |
|       | d. Tank'aq kani.     | 'I used to work.'          |
|       | e. Tank'aq kanki.    | 'You used to work.'        |
|       | f. Tank'aq kan.      | 'He/she/it used to work.'  |
|       | g. Tank'aq kayku.    | 'We (excl.) used to work.' |
|       | h. Tank'aq kancis.   | 'We (incl.) used to work.' |
|       | i. Tank'aq kankicis. | 'You (pl.) used to work.'  |
|       | j. Tank'aq kanku.    | 'They used to work.'       |

A more literal translation of these K. examples would be 'I am (or was) a worker', 'You are (or were) a worker', etc.

A further semantic feature of A. -iri and K. -g, is that of a subordinate purposive, converting a verb root or stem into the goal or purpose of the main verb, the latter always involving motion (going, coming, etc.). It is best glossed in English as 'in order to'. Examples:

|       |                           |                                    |
|-------|---------------------------|------------------------------------|
| (A-6) | a. t'ant' aliriw sara:.   | 'I will go in order to buy bread.' |
|       | t'ant'a                   | 'bread'                            |
|       | -∅                        | complement relational (1)          |
|       | ala-                      | 'buy'                              |
|       | -iri                      | subordinate purposive (5)          |
|       | -wa                       | personal knowledge (7)             |
|       | sara-                     | 'go'                               |
|       | -:                        | 1-3 future (6)                     |
|       | b. aymar yatiqiriw hutta. | 'I came in order to learn Aymara.' |
|       | aymara                    | 'Aymara'                           |
|       | -∅                        | complement relational (1)          |
|       | yatiqa-                   | 'learn'                            |
|       | -iri                      | subordinate purposive (5)          |
|       | -wa                       | personal knowledge (7)             |
|       | huta-                     | 'come'                             |
|       | -ta <sub>3</sub>          | 1-3 indefinite (1)                 |

- (K-6) a. ripusaq rantiq. 'I will go off in order to buy it.'
- |        |                       |
|--------|-----------------------|
| ri-    | 'go'                  |
| -pu    | translocative         |
| -saq   | 1st p. sg. future     |
| ranti- | 'buy'                 |
| -q     | subordinate purposive |
- b. hamusaq Tank'aq. 'I will come in order to work.'
- |         |                       |
|---------|-----------------------|
| hamu-   | 'come'                |
| -saq    | 1st p. sg. future     |
| lank'a- | 'work'                |
| -q      | subordinate purposive |

A. -iri also marks a subordinate structure in which the object of the principal verb serves as subject of the dependent verb. The principal verbs seem generally to be those relating to sense perception, i.e., 'see', 'hear', etc. Examples:

- (A-6) c. haniw lunt"atkir uñhkituti. 'He didn't see me stealing it.'
- |                  |                         |
|------------------|-------------------------|
| hani             | negative                |
| -wa              | personal knowledge (7)  |
| lunt"ata-        | 'steal'                 |
| -ka <sub>2</sub> | incompletive aspect (5) |
| -iri             | subordinator (5)        |
| uñha-            | 'see'                   |
| -ka <sub>2</sub> | incompletive aspect (5) |
| -itu             | 3-1 indefinite (4)      |
| -ti              | negative (7)            |
- d. kamsirs ist'ta? 'What did you hear him say?'
- |        |                  |
|--------|------------------|
| kamsa- | 'say what'       |
| -iri   | subordinator (5) |

|                  |                                  |
|------------------|----------------------------------|
| -sa <sub>4</sub> | information interrogative<br>(7) |
| ist'a-           | 'hear, listen'                   |
| -ta <sub>4</sub> | 2-3 indefinite (4)               |

#### 514 Participial adjective

The participial suffixes, -ta<sub>5</sub> (2) in Aymara and -sqa<sub>2</sub> in Cuzco Kechua, are so called because they are generally translatable by the English past participial form of the verb. Participial nominalizations are essentially adjectival in function, implying an attribute or characteristic closely connected with the meaning of the verb. Examples:

|       |               |                                                                                   |
|-------|---------------|-----------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| (A-7) | a. qari-      | 'tire'                                                                            |
|       | b. qarita     | 'tired'                                                                           |
|       | c. puqu-      | 'ripen'                                                                           |
|       | d. puquta     | 'ripe; banana'                                                                    |
|       | e. layqa-     | 'practice witchcraft'                                                             |
|       | f. layqata    | 'bewitched'                                                                       |
|       | g. hiwa-      | 'die'                                                                             |
|       | h. hiwata     | 'dead'                                                                            |
| (K-7) | a. t'aka-     | 'sow'                                                                             |
|       | b. t'akasqa   | 'sown'                                                                            |
|       | c. hanuk'a-   | 'wean'                                                                            |
|       | d. hanuk'asqa | 'weaned' (said of small children who have stopped sucking their mother's breasts) |
|       | e. 'ami-      | 'surfeit'                                                                         |
|       | f. 'amisqa    | 'surfeited, bored with the frequency of the same food'                            |
|       | g. cura-      | 'put, place'                                                                      |
|       | h. curasqa    | 'placed, situated'                                                                |

The function of the participial nominalizers contrasts sharply with that of the agentives. Whereas the latter mark the agent or doer of the action, the former specify the verbal patient or direct object, i.e., the person who suffers the effects of the performance of the verbal action. Compare, for example:

- |       |               |                                         |
|-------|---------------|-----------------------------------------|
| (A-8) | a. hiwa-      | 'die'                                   |
|       | b. hiwiri     | 'dead person'                           |
|       | c. hiwata     | 'dead' (resultant condition)            |
|       | d. usu-       | 'be sick'                               |
|       | e. usuri      | 'sick person'                           |
|       | f. usuta      | 'sick' (resultant condition)            |
|       | g. uywa-      | 'raise'                                 |
|       | h. uywiri     | 'landlord, boss'                        |
|       | i. uywata     | 'servant, helper'                       |
| (K-8) | a. wañu-      | 'die'                                   |
|       | b. wañuq      | 'dead person; mortal, subject to death' |
|       | c. wañusqa    | 'dead' (resultant condition)            |
|       | d. 'unqu-     | 'be sick'                               |
|       | e. 'unquq     | 'sick person'                           |
|       | f. 'unqusqa   | 'sick' (resultant condition)            |
|       | g. hasut'i-   | 'whip'                                  |
|       | h. hasut'iq   | 'whipper'                               |
|       | i. hasut'isqa | 'whipped, the one who has been whipped' |
|       | j. 'asta-     | 'move'                                  |
|       | k. 'astag     | 'mover'                                 |
|       | l. 'astasqa   | 'moved, that which has been moved'      |

## 515 Subordinators

## 515.1 Aymara

A variety of Aymara constructions, equivalent to subordinate clauses in English, are marked on verbs by the nominalizing suffixes -iri (5), -ñataki (6), -sina (7) and -sa<sub>3</sub> (2). A fifth subordinator, -tixa (7), though also discussed in this section, is not strictly a thematic nominalizer since it may occur on substantives and particles, as well as verbs.

A. -iri marks the subordinate verb as the purpose of a main verb which always involves motion (e.g., 'go', 'come', etc.). It also marks a subordinate structure in which the object of the principal verb (which seems always to be a verb of sense perception, e.g., 'see', 'hear', etc.) serves as the subject of the dependent verb. (See 513 for discussion and examples.)

A. -ñataki signals the purpose of a non-motor verb and is actually a combination of two suffixes: -ña (6) 'infinitive' and -taki (7) 'beneficiary'. Person may be expressed by inserting one of the personal possessives (-xa 'my', -ma 'your', -pa 'his, her, its' or -sa 'our (incl.)') between -ña and -taki. Examples:

- (A-9) a. hilaxax aka liyur aymar yatiqañaxatakiw ali.  
'My brother bought this book in order for me to learn Aymara.'

|                  |                                 |
|------------------|---------------------------------|
| hila             | 'brother'                       |
| -xa              | 'my' (6)                        |
| -xa <sub>4</sub> | topic marker (7)                |
| aka              | 'this'                          |
| liyura           | 'book' (from Sp. <u>libro</u> ) |
| -∅               | complement relational (1)       |
| aymara           | 'Aymara'                        |
| -∅               | complement relational (1)       |
| yatiqa-          | 'learn'                         |
| -ñā              | infinitive (6)                  |
| -xa              | 'my' (6)                        |
| -taki            | 'in order for' (7)              |
| -wa              | personal knowledge (7)          |
| ala-             | 'buy'                           |
| -i               | 3-3 indefinite (4)              |

- b. waliptañapatakix qamarañapawa.  
 'He has to stay (down) in order to get better.'  
 (His staying down is necessary for his getting better.)

|                  |                        |
|------------------|------------------------|
| wali             | 'good, well'           |
| -pta             | 'become' (6)           |
| -ñā              | infinitive (6)         |
| -pa              | 'his' (6)              |
| -taki            | 'in order to' (7)      |
| -xa <sub>4</sub> | topic marker (7)       |
| qamara-          | 'stay, remain'         |
| -ñā              | obligation (6)         |
| -pa              | 'his' (6)              |
| -wa              | personal knowledge (7) |

A. -sina and -sa<sub>3</sub> are similar in that they indicate that the subject of the main and subordinate clauses are the same. They differ, however, in that -sa<sub>3</sub> marks a verbal action as simultaneous in time or connecting with, i.e., immediately preceding, that of the principal verb, while -sina indicates simple prior action. This has resulted in -sa<sub>3</sub> being translated as 'when', 'while', or the -ing form of the verb, and -sina

as 'after'.

I have noted throughout my corpus that both suffixes may be followed by the topic marker, -xa<sub>4</sub>, but only -sa<sub>3</sub> can be followed by the personal knowledge suffix, -wa. This may indicate that knowledge of a dependent action which is prior to that of the main verb and which has the same subject is never personal. Hardman-de-Bautista et al. (1974: 395) conclude that this is indeed the case, terming -sa<sub>3</sub> a personal knowledge subordinator and -sina a non-personal one. Examples:

(A-10) a. manq'asin hiwasax sarxañani.

'We will go after eating.'

|                  |                       |
|------------------|-----------------------|
| manq'a-          | 'eat'                 |
| -sina            | 'after' (7)           |
| hiwasa           | 'we' (incl.)          |
| -xa <sub>4</sub> | topic marker (7)      |
| sara-            | 'go'                  |
| -xa <sub>3</sub> | completive aspect (5) |
| -ñani            | 4-3 future (6)        |

b. yaput purisinx, manq'asipxtwa.

'After arriving from the field, we ate.'

|                  |                       |
|------------------|-----------------------|
| yapu             | 'field'               |
| -ta              | source relational (3) |
| puri-            | 'arrive'              |
| -sina            | 'after' (7)           |
| -xa <sub>4</sub> | topic marker (7)      |
| manq'a-          | 'eat'                 |
| -si              | reflexive (6)         |
| -p               | plural (3)            |
| -xa <sub>3</sub> | completive aspect (5) |
| -ta <sub>3</sub> | 1-3 indefinite (1)    |

-wa personal knowledge (7)

- (A-11) a. yap lurasax nanakax wal qaripxta.  
'While working the field, we get very tired.'

|                  |                           |
|------------------|---------------------------|
| yapu             | 'field'                   |
| -Ø               | complement relational (1) |
| lura-            | 'work'                    |
| -sa <sub>3</sub> | 'while' (2)               |
| -xa <sub>4</sub> | topic marker (7)          |
| nanaka           | 'we' (excl.)              |
| -xa <sub>4</sub> | topic marker (7)          |
| wali             | 'very'                    |
| qari-            | 'become tired'            |
| -p               | plural (3)                |
| -xa <sub>3</sub> | completive aspect (5)     |
| -ta <sub>3</sub> | 1-3 indefinite (1)        |

- b. awatkasaw uk"am nuwasir uñhta.  
'While pasturing animals, I saw them fighting like that.'

|                  |                           |
|------------------|---------------------------|
| awati-           | 'pasture animals'         |
| -ka <sub>2</sub> | non-completive aspect (5) |
| -sa <sub>3</sub> | 'while' (2)               |
| -wa              | personal knowledge (7)    |
| uk"ama           | 'like that'               |
| nuwasi-          | 'fight'                   |
| -iri             | subordinator (5)          |
| uñha-            | 'see'                     |
| -ta <sub>3</sub> | 1-3 indefinite (1)        |

- c. anatas anatasaw sarapxi.  
'They went, stopping at intervals to play.'

|                  |                        |
|------------------|------------------------|
| anata-           | 'play'                 |
| -sa <sub>3</sub> | 'while' (2)            |
| -wa              | personal knowledge (7) |
| sara-            | 'go'                   |
| -p               | plural (3)             |
| -xa <sub>3</sub> | completive aspect (5)  |
| -i               | 3-3 indefinite (4)     |



Example (c) above illustrates that repetition of the subordinated verb indicates action that occurs at intervals while that of the main verb is in progress. When the subordinate action is continuous as well as simultaneous with the main action, -sa<sub>3</sub> is preceded by -si<sub>2</sub> 'progressive aspect'. Example:

d. anata<sub>1</sub>sisaw saraski.

'He is going, playing all the while.'

|                  |                           |
|------------------|---------------------------|
| anata-           | 'play'                    |
| -si <sub>2</sub> | progressive aspect (6)    |
| -sa <sub>3</sub> | 'while' (2)               |
| -wa              | personal knowledge (7)    |
| sara-            | 'go'                      |
| -si <sub>2</sub> | progressive aspect (6)    |
| -ka <sub>2</sub> | non-completive aspect (5) |
| -i               | 3-3 indefinite (4)        |

Relative clauses on interrogative words and conditional clauses are marked by the subordinator, -tixa (7). Examples:

(A-12) a. kunu:rutix mamaxax purkanixa, uku:ru huta:.  
'Whatever day my mother arrives, that day I will come.'

|                  |                  |
|------------------|------------------|
| kuna             | 'what'           |
| uru              | 'day'            |
| -tixa            | subordinator (7) |
| mama             | 'mother'         |
| -xa              | 'my' (6)         |
| -xa <sub>4</sub> | topic marker (7) |
| puri-            | 'arrive'         |

|                  |                           |
|------------------|---------------------------|
| -ka <sub>2</sub> | non-completive aspect (5) |
| -ni <sub>3</sub> | 3-3 future (6)            |
| -xa <sub>4</sub> | topic marker (7)          |
| uka              | 'that'                    |
| uru              | 'day'                     |
| huta-            | 'come'                    |
| :-               | 1-3 future (6)            |

- b. kunhamtix amuyt'ktaxa, uk"am lurañani.  
'However you think, we (incl.) will build it like that.'

|                  |                           |
|------------------|---------------------------|
| kunhama          | 'how'                     |
| -tixa            | subordinator (7)          |
| amuyt'a-         | 'think'                   |
| -ka <sub>2</sub> | non-completive aspect (5) |
| -ta <sub>4</sub> | 2-3 indefinite (4)        |
| -xa <sub>4</sub> | topic marker (7)          |
| uk"ama           | 'like that'               |
| lura-            | 'build'                   |
| -ñani            | 4-3 future (6)            |

- c. k"ititix han aymar yatkixa, haniw pampan lur-kaniti.  
'He who doesn't know Aymara isn't going to work in the countryside.'

|                  |                           |
|------------------|---------------------------|
| k"iti            | 'who'                     |
| -tixa            | subordinator (7)          |
| hani             | negative                  |
| aymara           | 'Aymara'                  |
| -∅               | complement relational (1) |
| yati-            | 'know'                    |
| -ka <sub>2</sub> | non-completive aspect (5) |
| -i               | 3-3 indefinite (4)        |
| -xa <sub>4</sub> | topic marker (7)          |
| hani             | negative                  |
| -wa              | personal knowledge (7)    |
| pampa            | 'countryside'             |
| -na              | 'in' (3)                  |
| lura-            | 'work'                    |
| -ka <sub>2</sub> | non-completive aspect (5) |

-ni<sub>3</sub> 3-3 future (6)

-ti negative (7)

- d. c"ihc"intanitix, hupax haniw hutkaniti.  
'If it begins to hail, he won't come.'

c"ihc"i- 'hail'

-nta 'begins to' (6)

-ni<sub>3</sub> 3-3 future (6)

-tixa subordinator (7)

hupa 'he'

-xa<sub>4</sub> topic marker (7)

hani negative

-wa personal knowledge (7)

huta- 'come'

-ka<sub>2</sub> non-completive aspect (5)

-ni<sub>3</sub> 3-3 future (6)

-ti negative (7)

- e. hanitix suma p"axsa uru:kanixa, haniw hutka:ti.  
'If it is not a nice day, I won't come.'

hani negative

-tixa subordinator (7)

suma 'nice, good'

p"axsa 'nice, sunny day without rain'

uru 'day'

-: <sub>2</sub> verbalizer (6)

-ka<sub>2</sub> non-completive aspect (5)

-ni<sub>3</sub> 3-3 future (6)

-xa<sub>4</sub> topic marker (7)

hani negative

-wa personal knowledge (7)

huta- 'come'

-ka<sub>2</sub> non-completive aspect (5)

-: 1-3 future (6)

-ti negative (7)

- f. sumtix sarnaqañanixa, tatasax wal yanapistani.  
 'If we behave, our father will help us a lot.'

|                  |                   |
|------------------|-------------------|
| suma             | 'good, nice'      |
| -tixa            | subordinator (7)  |
| sarnaqa-         | 'behave'          |
| -ñani            | 4-3 future (6)    |
| -xa <sub>4</sub> | topic marker (7)  |
| tata             | 'father'          |
| -sa              | 'our' (incl.) (6) |
| -xa <sub>4</sub> | topic marker (7)  |
| wali             | 'a lot'           |
| yanapa-          | 'help'            |
| -istani          | 3-4 future (5)    |

A. -iri, -ñataki, -sina, -sa<sub>3</sub>, and -tixa do not paint a complete picture of subordinate structures in the language. Further research will undoubtedly fill in the blanks. I have tried to give an overview of subordination in Aymara and make the point that, in contrast to Cuzco Kechua (see 515.2), not all subordinating suffixes in Aymara are thematic nominalizers. At least one, i.e., -tixa, may occur on substantives, particles and inflected verbs.

## 515.2 Cuzco Kechua

A variety of constructions in Cuzco Kechua, similar to English subordinate clauses, are marked on verbs by the nominalizing suffixes, -sqa<sub>2</sub>, -na<sub>2</sub>, -spa, -gti and -q. Such constructions are considered nominal themes since a personal possessive suffix generally follows -sqa<sub>2</sub>, -na<sub>2</sub> and -gti. Only the topic marker

suffix, -ga, has been attested following -spa, and that only rarely, since -spa generally occurs with no suffix following. The complement suffix, -ta, may follow -g when the latter marks a subordinate structure that functions as a complement to the main clause.

The distribution of -sqa<sub>2</sub>, -na<sub>2</sub>, -qti and -spa in subordinate structures hinges on how one or both of two grammatical categories - person and tense - are realized in the subordinate and main clauses of the sentence. If the time of action of the subordinate clause is prior to that of the main clause, -sqa<sub>2</sub> occurs. The subject of each clause may be the same or different. If the time of the action of the subordinate clause is subsequent to that of the main clause, -na<sub>2</sub> occurs. The subject of each clause may be the same or different.

When the time of the action in the subordinate clause is simultaneous with or connects with (i.e., immediately precedes) that of the main clause, and the subject of both clauses is the same, -spa occurs. On the other hand, when the subjects of the two clauses are different and the action of the subordinate is simultaneous with or connects with that of the main clause, -qti occurs.

Nominalized subordinate clauses marked by -sqa<sub>2</sub> and -na<sub>2</sub> may function in a variety of relationships to

the main clause (subject, complement, goal, purpose, etc.). These relationships are marked by the relational suffixes.

On the other hand, -spa and -gti mark subordinate clauses which are always adverbial in nature. -spa is generally glossed by the gerundive form of the verb: 'VERBing' or 'having VERBed', while -gti may be translated 'when', 'while', or 'if'. Examples:

-sqa<sub>2</sub>

as subject:

- (K-9) a. 'ancata Tank'asqayki mancaciwan.  
'The fact that you worked so hard frightens me.'

|                   |                        |
|-------------------|------------------------|
| 'anca             | 'much, a lot, so hard' |
| -ta               | complement relational  |
| Tank'a-           | 'work'                 |
| -sqa <sub>2</sub> | subordinator           |
| -yki              | 'your'                 |
| mancaci-          | 'frighten'             |
| -wa <sub>2</sub>  | 'me'                   |
| -n                | 3rd p. sg. indefinite  |

as complement:

- b. yacani mik"usqanta.  
'I know that he has eaten.'

|                   |                       |
|-------------------|-----------------------|
| yaca-             | 'know'                |
| -ni <sub>2</sub>  | 1st p. sg. indefinite |
| mik"u-            | 'eat'                 |
| -sqa <sub>2</sub> | subordinator          |
| -n                | 'his'                 |
| -ta               | complement relational |

as causal:

- c. Takikurqan mana tususqaykurayku.  
 'He was sad because we did not dance.'

|                   |                       |
|-------------------|-----------------------|
| Taki-             | 'be sad'              |
| -ku <sub>2</sub>  | reflexive             |
| -rqa              | personal remote       |
| -n                | 3rd p. sg. indefinite |
| mana              | negative              |
| tusu-             | 'dance'               |
| -sqa <sub>2</sub> | subordinator          |
| -yku              | 'our' (excl.)         |
| -rayku            | 'because'             |

-na<sub>2</sub>

as complement:

- (K-10) a. yacani mik"unanta.  
 'I know that he will eat.' OR  
 'I know his food.'

|                  |                            |
|------------------|----------------------------|
| yaca-            | 'know'                     |
| -ni <sub>2</sub> | 1st p. sg. indefinite      |
| mik"u-           | 'eat'                      |
| -na <sub>2</sub> | subordinator; instrumental |
| -n               | 'his'                      |
| -ta              | complement relational      |

as purpose:

- b. q"apari syani mana puñunaykipaq.  
 'I am shouting so that you will not go to sleep.'

|                  |                       |
|------------------|-----------------------|
| q"apari-         | 'shout'               |
| -sya             | progressive aspect    |
| -ni <sub>2</sub> | 1st p. sg. indefinite |
| mana             | negative              |
| puñu-            | 'sleep'               |
| -na <sub>2</sub> | subordinator          |
| -yki             | 'your'                |
| -paq             | 'so that'             |

as source (subject matter of a conversation):

## c. rimasyayku qarpanankumanta.

'We are talking about the fact that they  
will irrigate.'

|                  |                           |
|------------------|---------------------------|
| rima-            | 'talk'                    |
| -sya             | progressive aspect        |
| -yku             | 1st p. pl. excl. 'we'     |
| qarpa-           | 'irrigate'                |
| -na <sub>2</sub> | subordinator              |
| -nku             | 'their'                   |
| -manta           | 'about' source relational |

-spa

## (K-11) a. 'uyarispā, Takikurqani.

'Listening, I became sad.'

|                  |                       |
|------------------|-----------------------|
| 'uyari-          | 'listen, hear'        |
| -spa             | subordinator          |
| Taki-            | 'be sad'              |
| -ku <sub>2</sub> | reflexive             |
| -rqa             | personal remote       |
| -ni <sub>2</sub> | 1st p. sg. indefinite |

## b. mik"uyta tarirquspa, pay kusikusqa kasyan.

'Having quickly found some food, he's  
feeling happy.'

|                   |                       |
|-------------------|-----------------------|
| mik"uy            | 'food'                |
| -ta               | complement relational |
| tari-             | 'find'                |
| -rqu              | 'quickly'             |
| -spa              | subordinator          |
| pay               | 'he'                  |
| kusiku-           | 'be happy'            |
| -sqa <sub>2</sub> | participial adjective |
| ka-               | 'be'                  |
| -sya              | progressive aspect    |
| -n                | 3rd p. sg. indefinite |

## c. 'uyarispāqa, Tuqsinkiman.

'If you were to listen, you would leave.'

|         |                |
|---------|----------------|
| 'uyari- | 'listen, hear' |
| -spa    | subordinator   |



|                   |              |
|-------------------|--------------|
| -qa               | topic marker |
| Tuqsi-            | 'leave'      |
| -nki              | 'you'        |
| -man <sub>2</sub> | conditional  |

-qti

- (K-12) a. ĩuqa 'uyariqtiyqa Takikunkumanmi.  
'If I had heard it, they would have been sad.'

|                   |                       |
|-------------------|-----------------------|
| ĩuqa              | 'I'                   |
| 'uyari-           | 'listen, hear'        |
| -qti              | subordinator          |
| -y                | 'my'                  |
| -qa               | topic marker          |
| Taki-             | 'be sad'              |
| -ku <sub>2</sub>  | reflexive             |
| -nku              | 3rd p. pl. indefinite |
| -man <sub>2</sub> | conditional           |
| -mi               | personal knowledge    |

- b. qan rantiqtiyki, tatan Tuqsirqan.  
'When you bought it, his father left.'

|        |                                  |
|--------|----------------------------------|
| qan    | 'you'                            |
| ranti- | 'buy'                            |
| -qti   | 'when'                           |
| -yki   | 'your'                           |
| tata   | 'father' (from Sp. <u>tata</u> ) |
| -n     | 'his'                            |
| Tuqsi- | 'leave'                          |
| -rqa   | personal remote                  |
| -n     | 3rd p. sg. indefinite            |

- c. rantiqtin, risaq.  
'When he buys it, I shall go.'

|        |                   |
|--------|-------------------|
| ranti- | 'buy'             |
| -qti   | 'when'            |
| -n     | 'his'             |
| ri-    | 'go'              |
| -saq   | 1st p. sg. future |

The important distinguishing factor in the distribution of -spa and -qti, i.e., same or different sub-

jects in the subordinate and main clauses, is apparently breaking down. One Cuzco informant<sup>1</sup> accepts the usage of -qti in subordinate clauses whose subjects are identical with those of their respective main clauses. He notes, however, that when this is the case, the -spa marked subordinate clause differs slightly from the -qti marked clause in that the former marks an action which occurs in rapid fire succession with that of the main clause. The -qti marked clause lacks that nuance. Examples:

(K-13) a. rantispa, ripusaq.

'Just as soon as I buy it, I will leave.'

|        |                   |
|--------|-------------------|
| ranti- | 'buy'             |
| -spa   | subordinator      |
| ripu-  | 'leave, go away'  |
| -saq   | 1st p. sg. future |

b. rantiqtiy, ripusaq.

'When I buy it, I will leave.'

|      |              |
|------|--------------|
| -qti | subordinator |
| -y   | 'my'         |

We turn our attention now to the agentive nominalizer, -g, which functions also as a relative clause marker. This is natural since agent nouns have their source in relative clauses. 'Singer' is indeed 'one who sings' or 'one who is singing'. In Cuzco Kechua, the agent noun and the relative clause differ in one important respect: the agent noun must be animate, the

relative clause need not be so. Thus, we have tusu- 'dance' and tusug 'dancer', but not kica- 'open' and kicag 'opener', if by the latter is meant a 'can-opener'. On the other hand, a relative clause such as Tagta gayla puriq mayu 'town - near - flowing - river = river that flows near the town', where the referent 'river' is inanimate, is common. (See the discussion by Costa 1972: 60-1).

The tense of the verb in relative clauses is generally simultaneous with that in the main clause, or at least present with respect to that in the main clause. Relative clauses marked by -g are actually reduced relative clauses since an overt tense and/or person marker has been deleted. Examples:

- (K-14) a. runa maqaq sipasta munani.  
'I love the girl who hits men.'  
(I love the man-hitting girl.)

|                  |                       |
|------------------|-----------------------|
| runa             | 'man'                 |
| maqa-            | 'hit'                 |
| -q               | subordinator          |
| sipas            | 'girl'                |
| -ta              | complement relational |
| muna-            | 'love'                |
| -ni <sub>2</sub> | 1st p. sg. indefinite |

A reduced -g relative clause typically precedes but may follow the antecedent. It contains no personal possessive suffix to indicate subject, carries no tense reference, and always modifies an actor. When a reduced relative clause modifies the complement of its

own verb or contains an action that is not simultaneous with (i.e., precedes or follows) that of the main clause, -sqa<sub>2</sub> must be employed. Examples:

- (K-15) a. runa maqasqa sipasta munani.  
'I love the girl whom the man hits.'  
(I love the man-hit girl.)

|                   |                       |
|-------------------|-----------------------|
| runa              | 'man'                 |
| maqa-             | 'hit'                 |
| -sqa <sub>2</sub> | subordinator          |
| sipas             | 'girl'                |
| -ta               | complement relational |
| muna-             | 'love'                |
| -ni <sub>2</sub>  | 1st p. sg. indefinite |

- b. maypi qulqita pakarqani, caypi mana 'astawan tarinicu.  
'I could no longer find the money in the place where I hid it.' (Costa 1972: 40)

- c. pakasqaypi qulqita mana 'astawan tarinicu.  
'In (the place of) my hiding I could no longer find my money.' (Costa 1972: 41)

|                  |                       |
|------------------|-----------------------|
| may              | 'where'               |
| -pi              | 'in'                  |
| qulqi            | 'money'               |
| -ta              | complement relational |
| paka-            | 'hide'                |
| -rqa             | personal remote       |
| -ni <sub>2</sub> | 1st p. sg. indefinite |

|                  |                       |
|------------------|-----------------------|
| cay              | 'there'               |
| -pi              | locative relational   |
| mana             | negative              |
| 'astawan         | 'no longer'           |
| tari-            | 'find'                |
| -ni <sub>2</sub> | 1st p. sg. indefinite |

|                   |              |
|-------------------|--------------|
| -cu               | negative     |
| -sqa <sub>2</sub> | subordinator |

|    |      |
|----|------|
| -y | 'my' |
|----|------|

- d. cayraq cayamusqa runakunata waqyamuy.  
'Go call the people who have just arrived.'

|                   |                             |
|-------------------|-----------------------------|
| cayraq            | 'just, recently'            |
| caya-             | 'arrive'                    |
| -mu               | cislocative                 |
| -sqa <sub>2</sub> | subordinator                |
| runa              | 'person'                    |
| -kuna             | plural                      |
| -ta               | complement relational       |
| waqya-            | 'call'                      |
| -mu               | translocative 'go and VERB' |
| -y <sub>2</sub>   | 2nd p. sg. imperative       |

#### 516 Aymara place or occasion of action

When an Aymara speaker wishes to derive from an action verb the place or occasion of that action, the postposition -:wi (6) is pressed into service. Consider the following examples:

|                   |                               |
|-------------------|-------------------------------|
| (A-13) a. yapuca- | 'cultivate fields'            |
| b. yapuca:wi      | 'place of cultivation'        |
| c. awati-         | 'pasture animals'             |
| d. awati:wi       | 'place for pasturing'         |
| e. qama-          | 'remain'                      |
| f. qama:wi        | 'inn, place of lodging'       |
| g. manq'a-        | 'eat'                         |
| h. manq'a:wi      | 'banquet'                     |
| i. sarnaqa-       | 'live a particular lifestyle' |
| j. sarnaqa:wi     | 'life, experience'            |
| k. amta-          | 'remember'                    |
| l. amtawi         | 'memory'                      |

In (l) above, vowel lengthening has been lost. Hardman-de-Bautista et al. (1974: 233) report no vowel lengthening on this suffix at all. All instances occur in their

data as -wi. This may be indicative of dialectal, even idiolectal variation.

## 520 Verbalizers

### 521 Action causative

The action causative suffixes, -ca (~ -nca) (6) in Aymara and -ca (~ -nca) in Cuzco Kechua, are found on three kinds of roots and stems: verbal, substantival and ambiguous. On the latter two, they form verbal themes. Strictly speaking then, they are both thematic and verbal derivational in nature. Since they occur much more frequently as thematic verbalizers, I have included them here for discussion.

On verbal roots and stems, A. and K. -ca mean simply 'cause the ROOT or STEM action'; on substantival and ambiguous roots their meaning is 'make, build, construct, bring about or mix with the ROOT'. An additional notion in Cuzco Kechua is frequently to 'dirty something with the ROOT'. Examples:

- |                 |                            |
|-----------------|----------------------------|
| (A-14) a. yati- | 'know'                     |
| b. yatica-      | 'teach' (cause to know)    |
| c. luxu-        | 'become frozen'            |
| d. luxuca-      | 'cause to freeze'          |
| e. uta          | 'house'                    |
| f. utaca-       | 'build a house'            |
| g. wawa         | 'baby'                     |
| h. wawaca-      | 'have offspring' (animals) |

|               |                                                                                 |
|---------------|---------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| i. k"usk"a    | 'continuous, level'                                                             |
| j. k"usk"aca- | 'level, make level'                                                             |
| k. hak'a      | 'near'                                                                          |
| l. hak'aca-   | 'approach'                                                                      |
| m. hunt'u     | 'hot'                                                                           |
| n. hunt'uca-  | 'make hot, warm'                                                                |
| (K-16)        |                                                                                 |
| a. 'aka-      | 'defecate'                                                                      |
| b. 'akaca-    | 'mix with excrement,<br>dirty with excrement'                                   |
| c. 'aTi       | 'good, useful, serviceable'                                                     |
| d. 'aTica-    | 'repair, beautify'                                                              |
| e. cakra      | 'field'                                                                         |
| f. cakraca-   | 'prepare a field for cul-<br>tivation; parcel or di-<br>vide land for planting' |
| g. wasi       | 'house'                                                                         |
| h. wasica-    | 'build a house'                                                                 |
| i. cupi       | 'a kind of soup made of<br>potatoes, meat, vegeta-<br>bles and spices, etc.'    |
| j. cupica-    | 'dirty something with<br><u>cupi</u> soup'                                      |
| k. huca       | 'sin, fault'                                                                    |
| l. hucaca-    | 'blame someone'                                                                 |

The -ca/-nca alternation, frequent in Cuzco Kechua but very rare in Aymara (it occurs only twice in my corpus), is problematic and brings up a somewhat more general problem. The analysis by Sola and CusiHuaman (1967: 5-21,22) of certain other morphemes in K. which contain an initial or final -n- treat that segment as specifying "the most neutral aspect, . . . glossed by references to general present time unless . . . modified by the context". According to this analysis, such suf-

fixes as the first and second persons singular in the indefinite paradigm, i.e., -ni<sub>2</sub> and -nki respectively, are viewed as not one postposition, but two. The -n is peeled off and assigned a separate identity: "neutral aspect". Other suffixes (-n '3rd p. sg. indefinite'; -sun '1st p. pl. incl. imperative'; -nga '3rd p. sg. future'; and etc.) are liable to the same segmentation including, presumably, -nca.

This analysis parallels the one given by Sola and Cusi huaman for suffixes with an initial -r (see 411.23), said to represent "dynamic aspect". My reaction to both is the same. They have showed insufficient motivation for their analyses. To say that the form purin 'he/she/it walks' is composed of puri- 'walk' and -n 'neutral aspect' with no reference to person is to run roughshod over an important grammatical category.

The case of -ca ~ -nca is somewhat different from the above examples: the -n- segment can be peeled off as the alternation clearly shows. The situation is complicated, however, by the fact that in all but one case, no meaning difference results. For one ambiguous root, Lira (1944: 1054) lists slightly dissimilar glosses when modified by each variant:

- |           |           |                          |
|-----------|-----------|--------------------------|
| (K-17) a. | 'uc"a     | 'horse manure'           |
|           | b. 'uc"a- | 'gather horse manure for |



|              |                                |
|--------------|--------------------------------|
|              | combustible or for fertilizer' |
| c. 'uc"aca-  | 'dirty with horse manure'      |
| d. 'uc"anca- | 'fertilize with horse manure'  |

On other roots, the alternation carries with it no apparent difference in meaning. Examples:

|                 |                                    |
|-----------------|------------------------------------|
| (K-17) e. t'ika | 'flower'                           |
| f. t'ikaca-     | 'cover or adorn with flowers'      |
| g. t'ikanca-    | 'cover or adorn with flowers'      |
| h. q"ipa        | 'behind'                           |
| i. q"ipaca-     | 'postpone; put behind'             |
| j. q"ipanca-    | 'postpone; put behind'             |
| k. k"aru        | 'far, distant'                     |
| l. k"aruca-     | 'move, put or place at a distance' |
| m. k"arunca-    | 'move, put or place at a distance' |
| n. kaci         | 'salt'                             |
| o. kacica-      | 'season with salt'                 |
| p. kacinca-     | 'season with salt'                 |

A few other observations can be made about K. -nca. On some roots, it has a dual function: first as a substantival suffix (r), second as a thematic verbalizer (s):

|                 |                     |
|-----------------|---------------------|
| (K-17) q. q"ici | 'thin like a sheet' |
| r. q"icinca     | 'soot'              |
| s. q"icinca-    | 'soil with soot'    |

Next, -nca occurs only on vowel final roots. If it were to occur on a consonant final root, a cluster of three consonants would result, a clear violation of

K. phonotactics.

Finally, the -n segment, which I shall henceforth term the intrusive -n, also occurs in juxtaposition to two of the remaining four verbalizers in the language: -na<sub>3</sub> ~ -nna 'action reversal' and -ya ~ -nya 'developmental'. The alternation on the action reversal suffix is quite frequent, that on the developmental, less so (see 522 and 523).

Any conclusions as to the function or meaning of the intrusive -n will have to be left in abeyance until further research and field work can be done.

The two occurrences of -nca in Aymara are illustrated below:

|                |                    |
|----------------|--------------------|
| (A-15) a. huca | 'sin, blame'       |
| b. hucanca-    | 'blame someone'    |
| c. hayu        | 'salt'             |
| d. hayunca-    | 'season with salt' |

On these two roots, -ca has not been attested, so no alternation on the same root exists in Aymara. Due to its highly restricted nature in this language, I am led tentatively to conclude that -nca is a borrowing from Kechua.

#### 522 Removal and action reversal

The notions of removal and action reversal are contained in A. -ra (6) and (rarely) -rpaya (6), and K. -na<sub>3</sub> ~ -ra. In both languages, these suffixes function

as thematic verbalizers on substantive roots and verbal derivational suffixes on ambivalent roots. I have noted their presence on strictly verbal roots only in Aymara. On substantive roots, they mean 'remove from the ROOT', 'remove the ROOT from something' or 'be the ROOT after being something opposite to the ROOT'. On verbal and ambivalent roots, they reverse the action. This latter notion in English is frequently embodied in the prefix un- (e.g., stop/unstop, do/undo, tie/untie, settle/unsettle, etc.).

I have found no conditioning factor for the  $-na_3/-ra$  alternation in Cuzco Kechua. In Lira (1944),  $-na_3$  is the more frequent variant and is often preceded by the intrusive  $-n$ . There is no apparent meaning difference among  $-na_3$ ,  $-nna$  and  $-ra$ . Examples:

as a thematic verbalizer:

|           |                        |                                              |
|-----------|------------------------|----------------------------------------------|
| (A-16) a. | hunt'u                 | 'hot'                                        |
| b.        | hunt'ura-              | 'be hot after being cold'                    |
| c.        | siTp'i                 | 'peeling'                                    |
| d.        | siTp'ira-              | 'peel' (remove peelings)                     |
| (K-18) a. | caki                   | 'foot'                                       |
| b.        | cakinna-               | 'remove or mutilate a foot'                  |
| c.        | cawpi                  | 'center'                                     |
| d.        | cawpinna-              | 'remove from the center'                     |
| e.        | 'aTpa                  | 'dirt, earth, dust'                          |
| f.        | 'aTpana- ~<br>'aTpara- | 'remove the dust or earth<br>from something' |

|                         |                                                 |
|-------------------------|-------------------------------------------------|
| g. cukca                | 'hair'                                          |
| h. cukcanna-            | 'pluck out the hair'                            |
| i. q'iŋu                | 'yellow'                                        |
| j. q'iŋuna-             | 'separate the yoke from<br>the white of an egg' |
| k. kiru                 | 'tooth'                                         |
| i. kiruna- ~<br>kirura- | 'take out teeth'                                |

as a verbal derivational:

|                          |                                                                      |
|--------------------------|----------------------------------------------------------------------|
| (A-16) e. apa-           | 'carry'                                                              |
| f. aparpay-              | 'leave behind'                                                       |
| g. sama-                 | 'breathe'                                                            |
| h. samara-               | 'rest'                                                               |
| i. ati-                  | 'cover with stone, adobe,<br>etc.'                                   |
| j. atira-                | 'remove a rock from a<br>corral door; open, uncover'                 |
| k. isisi-                | 'dress oneself'                                                      |
| l. isirasi-              | 'undress oneself'                                                    |
| m. hist'a-               | 'close'                                                              |
| n. hist'ara-             | 'open'                                                               |
| o. usu-                  | 'be sick'                                                            |
| p. usura- ~<br>usurpaya- | 'be sick, then regain<br>health'                                     |
| (K-18) m. kani           | 'bite'                                                               |
| n. kani-                 | 'bite'                                                               |
| o. kanira-               | 'let go of that which you<br>have bitten'                            |
| p. caqna                 | 'rope or cord'                                                       |
| q. caqna-                | 'tie up'                                                             |
| r. caqnanna-             | 'untie'                                                              |
| s. caqTa                 | 'thin stick used for build-<br>ing fences, rooves, raised<br>floors' |
| t. caqTa-                | 'build a fence'                                                      |
| u. caqTanna-             | 'dismantle a fence'                                                  |

## 523 Developmental 'become'

The developmental verbalizers, A. -pta (6) and K. -ya, indicate that the subject is 'becoming' or 'taking on' the characteristics of the root or stem. These characteristics may range from colors, shapes, quantities and qualities generally adjectival in nature, to characteristics related to concrete objects such as 'water', 'flower', 'ash', etc. Examples:

- |           |             |                                  |
|-----------|-------------|----------------------------------|
| (A-17) a. | wali        | 'fine, well'                     |
| b.        | walipta-    | 'improve, get well'              |
| c.        | k'umara     | 'healthy'                        |
| d.        | k'umarapta- | 'recover one's health'           |
| e.        | Tamp'u      | 'soft, meek'                     |
| f.        | Tamp'upta-  | 'become soft'                    |
| g.        | qamiri      | 'rich'                           |
| h.        | qamiripta-  | 'get rich'                       |
| i.        | uma         | 'water'                          |
| j.        | umapta-     | 'become water, melt'             |
| k.        | muxsa       | 'sweet'                          |
| l.        | muxsapta-   | 'sweeten'                        |
| m.        | ciqa        | 'straight'                       |
| n.        | ciqapta-    | 'become straight'                |
| o.        | c'iyara     | 'black'                          |
| p.        | c'iyarapta- | 'turn black'                     |
| (K-19) a. | 'aqu        | 'sand'                           |
| b.        | 'aquya-     | 'become or be changed into sand' |
| c.        | kaci        | 'salt'                           |
| d.        | kaciya-     | 'become salty'                   |
| e.        | cipc"i      | 'luster, brilliance'             |
| f.        | cipc"iya-   | 'become light and brilliant'     |

|             |                                                             |
|-------------|-------------------------------------------------------------|
| g. ciri     | 'cold'                                                      |
| h. ciriya-  | 'become cold'                                               |
| i. t'ika    | 'flower'                                                    |
| j. t'ikaya- | 'become like a flower,<br>take on the aspect of<br>flowers' |

524 A. -ka<sub>3</sub> and -i<sub>2</sub>

A. -ka<sub>3</sub> and -i<sub>2</sub> are equivalent to what would be glossed in English as the copula verb. A. -ka<sub>3</sub> (5) occurs only after -na 'location/possession relational' (see 331.8 and 332.2) and thus specifies a copula which links a subject with either a location or a possession.

Examples:

|                    |                           |
|--------------------|---------------------------|
| (A-18) a. aristu   | 'jail'                    |
| b. aristunka-      | 'be in jail'              |
| c. uka             | 'that, there'             |
| d. ukanka-         | 'be there'                |
| e. hak'a           | 'near'                    |
| f. hak'anka-       | 'be near'                 |
| g. nayankiti?      | 'Is it mine?'             |
| h. his, nayankiwa. | 'Yes, it's mine.'         |
| naya               | 'I'                       |
| -na                | possession relational (3) |
| -ka <sub>3</sub>   | verbalizer (5)            |
| -i                 | 3-3 indefinite (4)        |
| -ti                | yes/no interrogative (7)  |
| hisa               | 'yes'                     |
| -wa                | personal knowledge (7)    |

A. -i<sub>2</sub> (6) is used in situations not involving possession or location. It occurs on the last vowel of the substantive root or stem. In only one instance does

it not occur: when the inflection which follows is 3-3 indefinite paradigm and the statement is affirmative. Examples:

- (A-19) a. haqi 'person'  
 b. haqi:- 'be a person'
- c. hiwaki 'pretty'  
 d. hiwaki:- 'be pretty'
- e. warmi 'wife, woman'  
 f. -ni possessor (6)  
 g. warmini:- 'have a wife'  
 h. warmini:twa. 'I have a wife.'
- ta<sub>3</sub> 1-3 indefinite (1)  
 -wa personal knowledge (7)
- i. warmini:tawa. 'You have a wife.'
- ta<sub>4</sub> 2-3 indefinite (4)
- j. warminiwa. 'He has a wife.'  
 k. haniw warmini:kiti. 'He does not have a wife.'
- hani negative  
 -wa personal knowledge (7)  
 -ka<sub>2</sub> non-completive aspect (5)  
 -i 3-3 indefinite (4)  
 -ti negative (7)
- l. warmini:taynawa. 'He had a wife.'
- tayna 3-3 non-personal remote (2)

# 525 K. -Ii

It is difficult to specify in one word the notions which come together in K. -Ii. Sola and Cusi huaman's term, "salience", wherein was meant "that the referent stands up sharply, swells up abruptly, stiffens or pro-

trudes above a surrounding area" (1967: 6-8), is perhaps as good as any. It functions most frequently as a verbalizer, but may also serve simply as a substantival or verbal derivational suffix without triggering a change in form class. Examples:

|                           |                                                                                                        |
|---------------------------|--------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| (K-20) a. punki           | 'swelling'                                                                                             |
| b. punki-                 | 'swell'                                                                                                |
| c. punkiT <sub>i</sub>    | 'diseased swelling, bloating'                                                                          |
| d. punkiTiku-             | 'the body to swell from<br>some disease'                                                               |
| -ku <sub>2</sub>          | reflexive                                                                                              |
| e. q"upu                  | 'protrusion, hard swelling,<br>lump, bunion'                                                           |
| f. q"upuT <sub>i</sub>    | 'knoll, hillock or small<br>protrusion'                                                                |
| g. q"upuT <sub>i</sub> -  | 'begin to appear some pro-<br>trusion'                                                                 |
| h. cupa                   | 'tail'                                                                                                 |
| i. cupaT <sub>i</sub> -   | 'spread out resplendently<br>the tail (birds); carry<br>or drag something behind<br>you inadvertently' |
| j. hink'i-                | 'stand on tiptoes'                                                                                     |
| k. hink'iT <sub>i</sub> - | 'stand on tiptoes to reach<br>something that otherwise<br>could not be seen or done'                   |

K. -T<sub>i</sub>, followed by the reflexive -ku<sub>2</sub>, is frequently used to indicate the dressing in or wearing of some garment of clothing. Examples:

|                  |                                            |
|------------------|--------------------------------------------|
| (K-20) l. 'unk"u | 'work shirt, undershirt,<br>jerkin, tunic' |
| m. 'unk"uTiku-   | 'dress oneself in a work<br>shirt, etc.'   |
| n. yana          | 'black'                                    |
| o. yanaTiku-     | 'wear black mourning clothes'              |



|              |                                           |
|--------------|-------------------------------------------|
| p. wara      | 'trousers, pants'                         |
| q. waraTi    | 'underpants'                              |
| r. waraTiku- | 'dress oneself in pants<br>or underpants' |

This same combination, -Ti + -ku<sub>2</sub>, may indicate the adornment of something or someone by objects other than clothes. Example:

|                 |                                                                  |
|-----------------|------------------------------------------------------------------|
| (K-20) s. t'ika | 'flower'                                                         |
| t. t'ikaTiku-   | 'the meadows and country-<br>side to be adorned with<br>flowers' |
| u. t'ikanTiku-  | 'adorn oneself with flowers'                                     |

In (t) and (u) above, the intrusive -n seems to be the morphological increment which marks an animate subject as the one to be adorned - not the countryside.

One last example shows a metaphorical usage of -Ti:

|                 |                                   |
|-----------------|-----------------------------------|
| (K-20) v. 'anka | 'eagle'                           |
| w. 'ankaTiku-   | 'rise up in rebellion,<br>revolt' |

Like the eagle which rises up on its wings, so too, the people rise up in rebellion.

### 530 The recursive nature of themation

As was noted in Chapter 2, themation is optionally recursive. This means simply that a verbalizer, for example, may be followed directly or farther on in the suffix string (but before the inflectional suffix) by a nominalizer, which may then be followed by another verba-

lizer, and so on. The upper limit to how many thematic alternations may occur on a single root is not known for either Aymara or Cuzco Kechua. It is common for two or three to be present; up to five have been attested. Examples:

(A-20) Vb → Sub → Vb → Sub

|                 |                            |
|-----------------|----------------------------|
| sariri:ña       | 'to be a goer'             |
| sara-           | 'go'                       |
| -iri            | agentive nominalizer (5)   |
| -i <sub>2</sub> | verbalizer (6)             |
| -ña             | infinitive nominalizer (6) |

(A-21) Sub → Vb → Sub → Vb → Sub

|                  |                                 |
|------------------|---------------------------------|
| sutiya:winkiri   | 'the one who is at the baptism' |
| suti             | 'name'                          |
| -ya              | person causative verbalizer (6) |
| -:wi             | place of action nominalizer (6) |
| -na              | location relational (3)         |
| -ka <sub>3</sub> | verbalizer (5)                  |
| -iri             | agentive nominalizer (5)        |

(A-22) Sub → Vb → Sub → Vb → Sub → Vb

|                   |                                         |
|-------------------|-----------------------------------------|
| c'uñuciri:ña:ciy. | 'One ought to be a <u>c'uñu</u> maker.' |
| c'uñu             | 'freeze-dried potato'                   |
| -ca               | action causative verbalizer (6)         |
| -iri              | agentive nominalizer (5)                |
| -i <sub>2</sub>   | verbalizer (6)                          |
| -ña               | obligative nominalizer (6)              |
| -i <sub>2</sub>   | verbalizer (6)                          |

|                  |                      |
|------------------|----------------------|
| -ca              | action causative (6) |
| -i               | 3-3 indefinite (4)   |
| -ya <sub>2</sub> | polite (6)           |

(K-21) Sub → Vb → Sub

|           |                                                   |
|-----------|---------------------------------------------------|
| 'aTicaciq | 'one who has another mend<br>or repair something' |
|-----------|---------------------------------------------------|

|      |                             |
|------|-----------------------------|
| 'aTi | 'good, useful, serviceable' |
| -ca  | action causative verbalizer |
| -ci  | person causative            |
| -q   | agentive nominalizer        |

(K-22) Vb → Sub → Vb → Sub

|             |                                                                         |
|-------------|-------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| c'usaqcakuy | 'to see oneself alone and<br>deeply feel the absence<br>of a loved one' |
|-------------|-------------------------------------------------------------------------|

|                  |                             |
|------------------|-----------------------------|
| c'usa-           | 'be absent'                 |
| -q               | agentive nominalizer        |
| -ca              | action causative verbalizer |
| -ku <sub>2</sub> | reflexive                   |
| -y <sub>3</sub>  | infinitive nominalizer      |

## 600 THE SEMANTIC DOMAINS OF INDEPENDENT SUFFIXES

The suffixes discussed in previous chapters were culled from the respective suffix inventories of Aymara and Cuzco Kechua, grouped into three types (substantival, verbal and thematic) based on the form class of the words to which they may be affixed or the grammatical function which they perform, and contrasted by means of their semantic features. This chapter treats the so-called "independent" suffixes.<sup>1</sup> The contrasting of their semantic features will follow the procedure established in Chapters 3, 4, and 5: suffixes from the two languages with equivalent meanings will be treated together; those with meanings not shared by a suffix in the other language will be discussed separately.

It is important at the outset to specify the properties, mostly syntactic, which differentiate independent suffixes from those discussed earlier in this study. As was noted in the preceding paragraph, an important characteristic that distinguishes substantival, verbal and thematic suffixes from each other is the word class to which each suffix type may be attached. Substantival suffixes and thematic verbalizers are affixed to nominal roots, stems or themes, while verbal suffixes and thematic nominalizers are positioned after verbal roots, stems and themes. Independent suffixes are not subject

to the same occurrence restrictions. They occur freely on all three word types.

In Aymara, the independent suffixes occur after all other suffixes on substantives and particles. On verbs, all but three occur after all other suffixes. The three exceptions are: -ki 'just, only', -puni 'emphatic', and -raki 'too, also'. They are positioned immediately before the verbal inflection, and are thus termed the "pre-inflectional" independents. All others are "post-inflectional" (see Chart 3).<sup>2</sup>

In Cuzco Kechua, independent suffixes follow all other postpositions of the word to which they are added, without exception.

In both languages, some independents modify only the word to which they are attached. Others qualify clauses or whole sentences.

The independent suffixes from each language which contain similar notions are:

- 611 A. -ki and K. -Ta 'just, only'
- 612 A. -puni and K. -puni 'emphatic'
- 613 A. -raki and K. -pis -pas 'too, also'
- 614 A. -wa and K. -mi 'personal knowledge'
- 615 A. -ci and K. -si 'non-personal knowledge'
- 616 A. -xa<sub>4</sub> and K. -ga 'topic marker'
- 617 A. -ti and K. -cu 'negative'

- 618.1 A. -ti and K. -cu 'yes/no interrogative'  
 618.2 A. -ca<sub>2</sub> and K. -cu 'alternative interrogative'  
 618.3 A. -sti and K. -ri<sub>2</sub> 'follow up interrogative'  
 618.4 A. -sa<sub>4</sub>, but no K. equivalent 'information interrogative'  
 619 A. -pi, -i<sub>3</sub>, -c"<sub>a</sub> and K. -ya<sub>2</sub>, -ca<sub>3</sub>, -ma<sub>2</sub>  
 'exclamatory'

Those which are peculiar to Aymara include: -ya<sub>2</sub> 'polite' and -sa<sub>5</sub>, which has several different but somewhat related semantic features. In Cuzco Kechua, the following will be described: -ña 'already, yet', -raq 'still', and -taq and -pas 'sentence connectors'. A concluding section will discuss the ordering of independent suffixes in each language.

Not included in this chapter are A. -hama and K. -hina 'like', which strictly speaking, qualify as independent suffixes. They were discussed in Chapter 3 (see 351) since they occur much more frequently on nominals than they do on verbs.

610 Shared domains

611 'just, only'

A. -ki (6) and K. -Ta rank among the most frequently

occurring suffixes in their respective language. They have been labeled "limitative" in much of the literature since they are usually translated 'just' or 'only'.

Examples:

- (A-1) a. wali 'well, fine'  
 b. waliki 'just fine'
- c. ma: t'ant'ak munta. 'I want just one bread.'
- |                  |                           |
|------------------|---------------------------|
| ma:              | 'one'                     |
| t'ant'a          | 'bread'                   |
| -ki              | 'just' (6)                |
| -∅               | complement relational (1) |
| muna-            | 'want'                    |
| -ta <sub>3</sub> | 1-3 indefinite (1)        |
- d. ma: utaniki:twā. 'I am the owner of only one house.'
- |                  |                        |
|------------------|------------------------|
| ma:              | 'one'                  |
| uta              | 'house'                |
| -ni              | possessor (6)          |
| -ki              | 'only' (6)             |
| -i <sub>2</sub>  | verbalizer (6)         |
| -ta <sub>3</sub> | 1-3 indefinite (1)     |
| -wa              | personal knowledge (7) |
- (K-1) a. 'urqu q"ipaTapi 'just behind the mountain'
- |       |                     |
|-------|---------------------|
| 'urqu | 'mountain'          |
| q"ipa | 'behind'            |
| -Ta   | 'just'              |
| -pi   | location relational |
- b. qulqincisTaman 'just to the amount of our (incl.) money'
- |       |                      |
|-------|----------------------|
| qulqi | 'money'              |
| -ncis | 'our' (incl.)        |
| -Ta   | 'just'               |
| -man  | 'to' goal relational |

|                      |                   |
|----------------------|-------------------|
| c. puñun.            | 'He sleeps.'      |
| d. puñun <u>Ta</u> . | 'He only sleeps.' |
| e. 'apamuy.          | 'Bring it.'       |
| f. 'apamu <u>Tay</u> | 'Just bring it.'  |

K. -Ta has considerable flexibility in its position of occurrence on both verbs and substantives. In (K-1) (d), a verb, it occurs after the person inflection (-n '3rd p. sg. indefinite'), while in (f), also a verb, it appears before the person inflection (-y<sub>2</sub> '2nd p. sg. imperative'). In (K-1) (a) and (b), both substantives, it occurs immediately preceding the relational suffixes.

It therefore cannot be said that -Ta always occurs word finally in the position reserved for independent suffixes. Its position varies depending on the scope of reference the speaker wishes it to have. My sources indicate that it occurs more frequently before the inflectional suffix on verbs and before the relational suffix (if there is one) on substantives. This problem merits further research.

Lira (1944: 558) indicates that -Ta, in combination with K. -ña 'already', intensifies the adjectival qualities specified in some substantive roots, even making the form a superlative. Examples:

|       |                       |                                 |
|-------|-----------------------|---------------------------------|
| (K-1) | g. q'umir             | 'green'                         |
|       | h. q'umir <u>Taña</u> | 'dark green; very bright green' |



|               |                                 |
|---------------|---------------------------------|
| i. k"aru      | 'far, distant'                  |
| j. k"aruTaña  | 'exceedingly distant'           |
| k. q'ala      | 'naked'                         |
| l. q'alaTaña  | 'totally naked; extremely poor' |
| m. q'apaq     | 'perfumed, exquisite odor'      |
| n. q'apaqTaña | 'exquisitely fragrant'          |
| o. yuraq      | 'white'                         |
| p. yuraqTaña  | 'exceedingly white'             |

## 612 Emphatic

The emphatic suffix in Aymara and Cuzco Kechua is identical: -puni (~ -pini in Aymara). It reinforces or emphasizes an affirmation or negation, stating clearly that there is no doubt about the identity or occurrence of the referent. On many adjectives, it emphatically affirms or intensifies the particular notion embodied therein. Examples:

## (A-2) a. cukiyaqur sarapuni:wa.

'I will certainly go to La Paz.'

|           |                          |
|-----------|--------------------------|
| cukiyaqur | 'La Paz'                 |
| -ru       | 'to' (2)                 |
| sara-     | 'go'                     |
| -puni     | 'certainly' emphatic (6) |
| -:        | 1-3 future (5)           |
| -wa       | personal knowledge (7)   |

## b. cukiyaqurupuniw sara:.

'I will certainly go to La Paz.' (emphasis on 'La Paz')

## c. hanipuniw k'arisxa:ti.

'I will never again lie.'

|                  |                        |
|------------------|------------------------|
| hani             | negative               |
| -puni            | emphatic (6)           |
| -wa              | personal knowledge (7) |
| k'arisi-         | 'lie'                  |
| -xa <sub>3</sub> | completive aspect (5)  |

|          |               |                                         |
|----------|---------------|-----------------------------------------|
|          | -:            | 1-3 future (6)                          |
|          | -ti           | negative (7)                            |
| d.       | ciqa          | 'straight, true'                        |
| e.       | ciqpuni       | 'truth'                                 |
| f.       | kusa          | 'good, delicious'                       |
| g.       | kusapuni      | 'very good, very delicious'             |
| (K-2) a. | pukTānkipuni. | 'You will surely play.'                 |
|          | pukTa-        | 'play'                                  |
|          | -nki          | 2nd p. sg. indefinite                   |
|          | -puni         | 'surely' emphatic                       |
| b.       | 'ama          | prohibitive                             |
| c.       | 'amapuni      | 'absolutely not'                        |
| d.       | k"uci         | 'pig'                                   |
| e.       | k"ucipuni     | 'always immodest, dirty,<br>or immoral' |
| f.       | yacaq         | 'one who is wise'                       |
| g.       | yacaqpuni     | 'one who is extremely wise'             |
| h.       | miTay         | 'ugly'                                  |
| i.       | miTaypuni     | 'terribly ugly'                         |

With regard to the alternation -puni/-pini in Aymara, Hardman-de-Bautista et al. (1974: 360) state that it is due to geographical and sometimes idiolectal variation. In post-conquest times, the situation was similar. Bertonio (1612: Part II, 276) stated that -pini was the more frequent variant in the province where he resided (Chucuito, on the western shores of Lake Titicaca). The discussion of this suffix in his grammar (Bertonio 1603: 288) was based entirely on -pini. No examples contained -puni.

When I did my field work in Bolivia in 1970, Aymara

speakers in the city of La Paz and its environs and also in Chulumani, located in the semi-tropical 'yungas' region to the east of La Paz, employed -puni in their speech more frequently than -pini. Further research is needed, however, to accurately delineate this geographical variation.

The fact that -puni is found in both languages suggests borrowing by one or the other of the two languages. This may or may not be what happened. I have searched the grammars of sister languages to both Aymara and the Cuzco dialect of Kechua and have found -puni only in the Cochabamba (Bolivia) and Sucre (Bolivia) dialects of Kechua. Both these dialects are closely related to that of Cuzco, belonging to Parker's Branch A and Torero's Branch 2 (see 020). Another dialect in this branch, i.e., Ecuadorian, does not contain it. And -puni is not to be found at all in any dialect of Parker's Branch B and Torero's Branch I - the central Peruvian dialects. Hardman (1966) does not list it in the suffix inventory for Jaqaru, a sister language of Aymara.

It may be that a third Andean language, now dead (?), was the source. Both Aymara and Cuzco Kechua may have borrowed the suffix independently, or the latter could have borrowed it first and, as the

Inca empire extended its domination to the various Aymara tribes, been the source for its borrowing into Aymara. In any case, it is probably not native to either Jaqi or Kechuan.

613 'too, also'

A. -raki (6) and K. -pis ( ~ -pas), meaning 'too' or 'also', specify a form as coordinate with another similar form generally not mentioned in the same sentence but understood from discourse context. Examples:

(A-3) a. hilaxax waliki:skarakiwa.  
'My brother is feeling just fine, too.'

|                  |                           |
|------------------|---------------------------|
| hila             | 'brother'                 |
| -xa              | 'my' (6)                  |
| -xa <sub>4</sub> | topic marker (7)          |
| wali             | 'fine'                    |
| -ki              | 'just'                    |
| -i <sub>2</sub>  | verbalizer (6)            |
| -si <sub>2</sub> | progressive aspect (6)    |
| -ka <sub>2</sub> | non-completive aspect (5) |
| -raki            | 'too' (6)                 |
| -i               | 3-3 indefinite (4)        |
| -wa              | personal knowledge (7)    |

b. nayax hanirakiw lurktti.  
'I didn't do it, either.'

|                  |                        |
|------------------|------------------------|
| naya             | 'I'                    |
| -xa <sub>4</sub> | topic marker (7)       |
| hani             | negative               |
| -raki            | 'either' (6)           |
| -wa              | personal knowledge (7) |
| lura-            | 'do'                   |

|                  |                           |
|------------------|---------------------------|
| -ka <sub>2</sub> | non-completive aspect (5) |
| -ta <sub>3</sub> | 1-3 indefinite (1)        |
| -ti              | negative (7)              |

In (b), lurktti reduces to lurkti in normal conversational speech.

(K-3) a. nuqapis risaqmi. 'I will go, too.'

|      |                    |
|------|--------------------|
| nuqa | 'I'                |
| -pis | 'too'              |
| ri-  | 'go'               |
| -saq | 1st p. sg. future  |
| -mi  | personal knowledge |

b. hamunqapis. 'He will come, too.'

|       |                   |
|-------|-------------------|
| hamu- | 'come'            |
| -nqa  | 3rd p. sg. future |
| -pis  | 'too'             |

c. haqaypas nuqaq wakaymi.  
'That also is my cow.'

|       |                               |
|-------|-------------------------------|
| haqay | 'that'                        |
| -pas  | 'also'                        |
| nuqa  | 'I'                           |
| -q    | possessive relational         |
| waka  | 'cow' (from Sp. <u>vaca</u> ) |
| -y    | 'my'                          |
| -mi   | personal knowledge            |

Hardman-de-Bautista et al. (1974: 361) list four semantic features that are embodied in -raki, in addition to its base meaning. They are termed 1) complainer, 2) cautionary, 3) objector and 4) defiance or challenge, respectively. Examples (from Hardman-de-Bautista et al. 1974: 362):

- (A-3) c. hulyax usxarakitaynasa:. kunatrak han  
awisayanista?  
'So Julie has had the baby. Why didn't  
you come and tell me, too?'

|                  |                                          |
|------------------|------------------------------------------|
| hulya            | 'Julie' (from Sp. <u>Julia</u> )         |
| -xa <sub>4</sub> | topic marker (7)                         |
| usxa-            | 'have a baby'                            |
| -raki            | complainer (6)                           |
| -tayna           | 3-3 non-personal remote (2)              |
| -sa <sub>5</sub> | listener (7)                             |
| -:3              | exclamatory (6)                          |
| kunata           | 'why, for what reason'                   |
| -raki            | complainer (6)                           |
| hani             | negative                                 |
| awisaya-         | 'inform, tell' (from Sp. <u>avisar</u> ) |
| -ni <sub>2</sub> | cislocative/translocative (6)            |
| -ista            | 2-1 indefinite (4)                       |

- d. lunt"atapxarakiristam.  
'Be careful they don't rob you.'

|                  |                             |
|------------------|-----------------------------|
| lunt"ata-        | 'rob'                       |
| -p               | plural (3)                  |
| -xa <sub>3</sub> | completive aspect (5)       |
| -raki            | 'be careful' cautionary (6) |
| -iristam         | 3-2 desiderative (1)        |

- e. aymar parlxaraktasa:.  
'But you already speak Aymara.'

|                  |                                   |
|------------------|-----------------------------------|
| aymara           | 'Aymara'                          |
| -Ø               | complement relational             |
| parla-           | 'speak' (from Sp. <u>parlar</u> ) |
| -xa <sub>3</sub> | 'already' (5)                     |
| -raki            | objector (6)                      |
| -ta <sub>4</sub> | 2-3 indefinite (4)                |
| -sa <sub>5</sub> | listener (7)                      |
| -:3              | exclamatory (6)                   |

- f. kunat huk'amprak yatiqañ muntasti?  
'And what do you want to learn more for?'

|                  |                             |
|------------------|-----------------------------|
| kunata           | 'why, for what reason'      |
| huk'ampi         | 'a little more'             |
| -raki            | challenge (6)               |
| yatiqa-          | 'learn'                     |
| -ña              | infinitive (6)              |
| muna-            | 'want'                      |
| -ta <sub>4</sub> | 2-3 indefinite (4)          |
| -sti             | follow up interrogative (7) |

The notions found in -raki, as illustrated in the examples above, probably represent only the tip of the iceberg, since it is of frequent occurrence in the language and semantically very versatile. Further research is needed to pin down all the subtle nuances it can convey.

#### 614 Personal knowledge evidential

A. -wa (7) indicates that an utterance is based on personal knowledge, i.e., knowledge evidenced by one of the five senses. According to Sola and Cusi-huaman (1967: 4-8), K. -mi (→ -n/V\_) specifies that "the speaker has witnessed or participated in the event to which he refers". Both A. -wa and K. -mi may occur only once in a sentence, which sentence must be declarative, either affirmative or negative. Neither evidential occurs in an interrogative utterance, nor are they found in sentences marked for the imperative, dubitative, suppositional or inferential moods. One exception exists in Aymara: -wa may follow the inferen-

tial marker -paca<sub>3</sub> when the utterance answers directly a yes/no question in the inferential mood.

Examples:

- (A-4) a. ma: wawani:twā. 'I have one baby.'
- |                  |                        |
|------------------|------------------------|
| ma:              | 'one'                  |
| wawa             | 'baby'                 |
| -ni              | possessor (6)          |
| -i <sub>2</sub>  | verbalizer (6)         |
| -ta <sub>3</sub> | 1-3 indefinite (1)     |
| -wa              | personal knowledge (7) |
- b. aymar yatiquañaxawa.  
'I have to learn Aymara.' (My learning Aymara is necessary.)
- |          |                           |
|----------|---------------------------|
| aymara   | 'Aymara'                  |
| -∅       | complement relational (1) |
| yatiqua- | 'learn'                   |
| -ña      | obligative (6)            |
| -xa      | 'my' (6)                  |
| -wa      | personal knowledge (7)    |
- c. hutpacaniti? ' (Do you infer that) he will come? '
- d. his, hutpacaniwa. 'Yes, (I infer that) he will come.'
- |                    |                          |
|--------------------|--------------------------|
| huta-              | 'come'                   |
| -paca <sub>3</sub> | inferential (5)          |
| -ni <sub>3</sub>   | 3-3 future (6)           |
| -ti                | yes/no interrogative (7) |
| hisa               | 'yes'                    |
| -wa                | personal knowledge (7)   |
- e. kunas akaxa? 'What is this?'
- f. akax c'uspawa. 'This is a small wool purse for coca.'
- |      |        |
|------|--------|
| kuna | 'what' |
|------|--------|



|                  |                               |
|------------------|-------------------------------|
| -sa <sub>4</sub> | information interrogative (7) |
| aka              | 'this'                        |
| -xa <sub>4</sub> | topic marker (7)              |
| c'uspa           | 'small wool purse for coca'   |
| -wa              | personal knowledge (7)        |

- (K-4) a. huq wawayuqmi kani.  
'I have one child.' (I am a one child owner.)

|                  |                       |
|------------------|-----------------------|
| huq              | 'one'                 |
| wawa             | 'child'               |
| -yuq             | possessor             |
| -mi              | personal knowledge    |
| ka-              | 'be'                  |
| -ni <sub>2</sub> | 1st p. sg. indefinite |

- b. runasimin yacanay kasyan.  
'I have to learn Kechua.'

|                  |                       |
|------------------|-----------------------|
| runasimi         | 'Kechua'              |
| -mi (→ -n/V_)    | personal knowledge    |
| yaca-            | 'know, learn'         |
| -na <sub>2</sub> | obligative            |
| -y               | 'my'                  |
| ka-              | 'be'                  |
| -sya             | progressive aspect    |
| -n               | 3rd p. sg. indefinite |

- c. kaycu 'aq"aq? 'Is this chicha?'

- d. 'ari, kaymi 'aq"aq. 'Yes, this is chicha.'

|       |                    |
|-------|--------------------|
| kay   | 'this'             |
| -cu   | interrogative      |
| 'aq"a | 'chicha'           |
| -qa   | topic marker       |
| 'ari  | 'yes'              |
| -mi   | personal knowledge |

In examples (A-4) (f) and (K-4) (d), the specific placement of -wa and -mi in an answer to a question depends on the corresponding form marked by the interro-

gative suffix in the question. Note that in both the Aymara and Cuzco Kechua examples, the form marked by the personal knowledge suffix corresponds to the form in the question marked by the interrogative suffix. If the answer is negative, the evidentials must occur on the negative particle, since the negative suffix occurs in the position that otherwise would be filled by -wa or -mi. Examples:

- (A-4) g. akax c'uspati? 'Is this a purse for coca?'  
 h. haniw c'uspati. 'It's not a purse for coca.'
- |        |                                       |
|--------|---------------------------------------|
| hani   | negative particle                     |
| -wa    | personal knowledge (7)                |
| c'uspa | 'small purse for coca'                |
| -ti    | negative and yes/no interrogative (7) |
- (K-4) e. kaycu 'aq"aq? 'Is this chicha?'  
 f. manan kaycu 'aq"aq. 'This is not chicha.'
- |               |                                   |
|---------------|-----------------------------------|
| mana          | negative particle                 |
| -mi (→ -n/V_) | personal knowledge                |
| kay           | 'this'                            |
| -cu           | negative and yes/no interrogative |
| 'aq"a         | 'chicha'                          |
| -qa           | topic marker                      |

Note that in both languages the suffix indicating a yes/no question and that marking a negative statement are identical: -ti in Aymara and -cu in Cuzco Kechua (see 617 and 618.1).

#### 615 Non-personal knowledge evidential

A. -ci (7) and K. -si (→ -s/V\_) mark utterances

as being based on evidence not directly perceived by the speaker, i.e., hearsay or supposition. A. -ci occurs on substantives always followed by either -m (unanalyzed) or -xa<sub>4</sub> 'topic marker'. On verbs, it signals the suppositional paradigm and is part of the inflection (see Chart 10).

K. -si, in addition to indicating hearsay, may also constitute a disclaimer of personal responsibility for the motive behind an utterance.

The non-personal evidentials may occur only once per sentence. Examples:

- (A-5) a. inas sarci:. 'Perhaps I might go.'
- |       |                              |
|-------|------------------------------|
| inasa | 'perhaps'                    |
| sara- | 'go'                         |
| -ci:  | 1-3 future suppositional (5) |
- b. k"arik"aricim k"arsuskci.  
'No doubt the k"arik"ari butchered him.'  
(Hardman-de-Bautista et al. 1974: 373)
- |                  |                                       |
|------------------|---------------------------------------|
| k"arik"ari       | 'the fat-extractor'<br>("boogie man") |
| -cim             | non-personal knowledge (7)            |
| k"arsu-          | 'cut up'                              |
| -si <sub>2</sub> | progressive aspect (6)                |
| -ka <sub>2</sub> | non-completive aspect (5)             |
| -ci              | 3-3 suppositional (5)                 |
- c. haniw yatktti, k"iticix k"ayaxa.  
'I don't know who that would be.'
- |                  |                           |
|------------------|---------------------------|
| hani             | negative                  |
| -wa              | personal knowledge (7)    |
| yati-            | 'know'                    |
| -ka <sub>2</sub> | non-completive aspect (5) |

|                  |                            |
|------------------|----------------------------|
| -ta <sub>3</sub> | 1-3 indefinite (1)         |
| -ti              | negative (7)               |
| k"iti            | 'who'                      |
| -ci              | non-personal knowledge (7) |
| -xa <sub>4</sub> | topic marker (7)           |
| k"aya            | 'that' (over there)        |
| -xa <sub>4</sub> | topic marker (7)           |

- (K-5) a. haqay runaqa cukcu hanpiyta yacansi.  
'They say that man knows how to cure malaria.'

|                 |                                      |
|-----------------|--------------------------------------|
| haqay           | 'that'                               |
| runa            | 'man'                                |
| -qa             | topic marker                         |
| cukcu           | 'malaria'                            |
| hanpi-          | 'cure'                               |
| -y <sub>3</sub> | infinitive                           |
| -ta             | complement relational                |
| yaca-           | 'know'                               |
| -n              | 3rd p. sg. indefinite                |
| -si             | non-personal knowledge<br>'they say' |

- b. cakratasi paqaringa qarpamusun. tatan nin.  
'Tomorrow we will go and irrigate the field.  
Father said it.'

|               |                                                                                    |
|---------------|------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| cakra         | 'field'                                                                            |
| -ta           | complement relational                                                              |
| -si           | non-personal knowledge,<br>here used as a disclaimer<br>of personal responsibility |
| paqarin       | 'tomorrow'                                                                         |
| -qa           | topic marker                                                                       |
| qarpa-        | 'irrigate'                                                                         |
| -mu           | translocative 'go and VERB'                                                        |
| -sun          | 1st p. pl. incl. future                                                            |
| tata          | 'father' (from Sp. <u>tata</u> )                                                   |
| -mi (→ -n/V_) | personal knowledge                                                                 |
| ni-           | 'say'                                                                              |
| -n            | 3rd p. sg. indefinite                                                              |

K. -si optionally becomes -sis before exclamatory

-ya<sub>2</sub>. Example:

- (K-5) c. nuqapuwansisyari Tank'aqqa risuncis.  
'According to him, you along with me have  
to go in order to work.'

|                  |                                              |
|------------------|----------------------------------------------|
| nuqa             | 'I'                                          |
| -puwan           | 'along with' second order<br>comitaton       |
| -sis             | non-personal knowledge<br>'according to him' |
| -ya <sub>2</sub> | exclamatory                                  |
| -ri <sub>2</sub> | follow up                                    |
| Tank'a-          | 'work'                                       |
| -q               | purposive subordinate<br>'in order to'       |
| -qa              | topic marker                                 |
| ri-              | 'go'                                         |
| -suncis          | 1st p. pl. incl. future                      |

#### 616 Topic marker

The topic marker suffixes, A. -xa<sub>4</sub> (7) and K. -qa, call special attention to the form to which they are attached, setting it off as a topic in the sentence. In both languages, two or more words may be so marked in the same sentence. Examples:

- (A-6) a. nayax sara:wa. 'I will go.'

|                  |                        |
|------------------|------------------------|
| naya             | 'I'                    |
| -xa <sub>4</sub> | topic marker (7)       |
| sara-            | 'go'                   |
| -:               | 1-3 future (6)         |
| -wa              | personal knowledge (7) |

- b. uk"amax yatirix walha p'isq p"aya:na.  
'So the diviner cooked a lot of white quinoa.'

|                  |                       |
|------------------|-----------------------|
| uk"ama           | 'so, thus, like that' |
| -xa <sub>4</sub> | topic marker (7)      |
| yati-            | 'know'                |
| -iri             | agentive (5)          |

|                  |                           |
|------------------|---------------------------|
| -xa <sub>4</sub> | topic marker (7)          |
| walha            | 'a lot'                   |
| p'isqi           | 'white quinoa'            |
| -Ø               | complement relational (1) |
| p"aya-           | 'cook'                    |
| -:na             | 3-3 personal remote (3)   |

- (K-6) a. payqa punumantan kan.  
'He is from Puno.'

|               |                       |
|---------------|-----------------------|
| pay           | 'he'                  |
| -qa           | topic marker          |
| punu          | 'Puno'                |
| -manta        | 'from'                |
| -mi (→ -n/V_) | personal knowledge    |
| ka-           | 'be'                  |
| -n            | 3rd p. sg. indefinite |

- b. Tank'aqtaqa puriqtaqa yarqakuwanku c'akikuwanku.  
'We (excl.) workers and travelers are affected by hunger and thirst.'

|                  |                       |
|------------------|-----------------------|
| Tank'a-          | 'work'                |
| -q               | agentive              |
| -ta              | complement relational |
| -qa              | topic marker          |
| puri-            | 'walk'                |
| -q               | agentive              |
| -ta              | complement relational |
| -qa              | topic marker          |
| yarqa-           | 'be hungry'           |
| -ku <sub>2</sub> | reflexive             |
| -wa <sub>2</sub> | first person object   |
| -nku             | 3rd p. pl. indefinite |
| c'aki-           | 'be thirsty'          |
| -ku <sub>2</sub> | reflexive             |
| -wa <sub>2</sub> | first person object   |
| -nku             | 3rd p. pl. indefinite |

The (b) examples above illustrate the multiple occurrence of A. -xa<sub>4</sub> and K. -ga in a sentence. There are some differences, however, in the positions of their

occurrence. From what I have been able to cull from Sola and Cusi huaman (1967) and Lira (1944), K. -ga may occur on separate words in the same sentence only when they share the same grammatical function, i.e., subject, direct object, etc. (K-6) (J) is an example of -ga marking two words which together function as the grammatical complement. They also serve as the psychological topic.

A. -xa<sub>4</sub>, on the other hand, may occur as many times as there are words in the sentence; it is not restricted to marking only one grammatical function per sentence. When there are multiple occurrences of A. -xa<sub>4</sub> in a sentence, it may serve both as topic marker and as what Hardman-de-Bautista et al. (1974: 366) have termed "attenuator". They give the following example to illustrate:

(A-6) c. c"armantix humax iskuylar huttaxa.  
'This morning you came to school (I do believe, right?).'

|                  |                                     |
|------------------|-------------------------------------|
| c"armanti        | 'this morning'                      |
| -xa <sub>4</sub> | topic marker (7)                    |
| huma             | 'you'                               |
| -xa <sub>4</sub> | topic marker (7)                    |
| iskuyla          | 'school' (from Sp. <u>escuela</u> ) |
| -ru              | 'to' (2)                            |
| huta-            | 'come'                              |
| -ta <sub>4</sub> | 2-3 indefinite (4)                  |
| -xa <sub>4</sub> | topic marker (7)                    |

The attenuating notion generally occurs on the verb form. It weakens, perhaps softens is a better term, the assertiveness of the utterance and usually expects a confirmation of its validity from the addressee. Even if A. -xa<sub>4</sub> occurs only once, if it is the only post-inflectional independent suffix in the sentence, it also acts as both topic marker and attenuator. Example:

|       |                  |                                |
|-------|------------------|--------------------------------|
| (A-6) | d. manq'a:xa.    | 'I will eat (I guess, O.K.?).' |
|       | manq'a-          | 'eat'                          |
|       | -:               | 1-3 future (6)                 |
|       | -xa <sub>4</sub> | topic marker/attenuator (7)    |

A. -xa<sub>4</sub> sheds its attenuating meaning when other post-inflectional independent suffixes occur in the same sentence. Example (A-6) (a) illustrates its marking the topic of the sentence when the personal knowledge evidential -wa is affixed to the verb. A. -xa<sub>4</sub> is the most frequently occurring suffix in the language. It is found in all types of sentences with no known restrictions.

## 617 Negative

The respective negative constructions in Aymara and Cuzco Kechua are identical, though the morphemes involved are not. In both languages, the inflected verb is preceded by a negative particle and followed by a negative



suffix. This discontinuity is similar to the French construction 'ne. . . .pas' as in je ne sais pas 'I don't know'. The Aymara and Cuzco Kechua equivalents are:

(A-7) a. nayax haniw yatktti.  
'I don't know.'

|                  |                           |
|------------------|---------------------------|
| naya             | 'I'                       |
| -xa <sub>4</sub> | topic marker (7)          |
| hani             | negative particle         |
| -wa              | personal knowledge (7)    |
| yati-            | 'know'                    |
| -ka <sub>2</sub> | non-completive aspect (5) |
| -ta <sub>3</sub> | 1-3 indefinite (1)        |
| -ti              | negative (7)              |

A. yatktti normally reduces to yatkti in conversational speech.

(K-7) a. nuqaqa manan yacanicu.  
'I don't know.'

|                  |                       |
|------------------|-----------------------|
| nuqa             | 'I'                   |
| -qa              | topic marker          |
| mana             | negative particle     |
| -mi (→ -n/V_)    | personal knowledge    |
| yaca-            | 'know'                |
| -ni <sub>2</sub> | 1st p. sg. indefinite |
| -cu              | negative              |

In Aymara, the negative construction consists of the negative particle, hani, plus the negative suffix, -ti (7), while that in Cuzco Kechua is made up of mana (general negation) or 'ama (prohibitory negation)

and -cu. An example of K. 'ama plus -cu follows:

|                        |                       |
|------------------------|-----------------------|
| (K-7) b. 'ama ruwaycu. | 'Don't do it.'        |
| 'ama                   | prohibitive           |
| ruwa-                  | 'do'                  |
| -y <sub>2</sub>        | 2nd p. sg. imperative |
| -cu                    | negative              |

A. -ti occurs where the personal knowledge evidential -wa would occur if the sentence were affirmative. Examples:

|                         |                 |
|-------------------------|-----------------|
| (A-7) b. nayax yattwa.  | 'I know.'       |
| c. nayax haniw yatktti. | 'I don't know.' |

Aymara negation must be accompanied by a specification of aspect - either completive (-xa<sub>3</sub>) or non-completive (-ka<sub>2</sub>). In most instances, a negated action is perceived as non-completive. Thus, -ka<sub>2</sub> + -ti is much more frequent than -xa<sub>3</sub> + -ti. Only when the negation can be glossed as 'no longer' or something similar to indicate completive aspect does the combination -xa<sub>3</sub> + -ti occur. Examples:

|                                            |                                                |
|--------------------------------------------|------------------------------------------------|
| (A-7) d. haniraw sum aymar parlañ yatktti. | 'I still don't know how to speak Aymara well.' |
| hanira                                     | 'still not'                                    |
| -wa                                        | personal knowledge (7)                         |
| suma                                       | 'well'                                         |
| aymara                                     | 'Aymara'                                       |
| -∅                                         | complement relational (1)                      |
| parla-                                     | 'speak' (from Sp. <u>parlar</u> )              |
| -ña                                        | infinitive (6)                                 |
| -∅                                         | complement relational (1)                      |

|                        |                           |
|------------------------|---------------------------|
| yati-                  | 'know'                    |
| -ka <sub>2</sub>       | non-completive aspect (5) |
| -ta <sub>3</sub>       | 1-3 indefinite (1)        |
| -ti                    | negative                  |
| e. nayax haniw umxtti. |                           |
| 'I no longer drink.'   |                           |
| naya                   | 'I'                       |
| -xa <sub>4</sub>       | topic marker (7)          |
| hani                   | negative particle         |
| -wa                    | personal knowledge        |
| uma-                   | 'drink'                   |
| -xa <sub>3</sub>       | completive aspect (5)     |
| -ta <sub>3</sub>       | 1-3 indefinite (1)        |
| -ti                    | negative (7)              |

## 618 Interrogative

I have split this section on interrogative suffixes into four parts, reflecting the Aymara division of question types into 1) yes/no (618.1), 2) alternative (618.2), 3) follow up (618.3), and 4) information (618.4), each with its own identifying suffix. There is only one interrogative suffix in Cuzco Kechua and it is used in only the first three of the aforementioned question types. Information questions are marked by interrogative words alone.

### 618.1 yes/no

A. -ti (7) and K. -cu mark questions which expect and yes or no answer. They occur on the form which, in the answer, must be either affirmed or denied. Examples:

- (A-8) a. anuxax manq'iti? 'Has my dog eaten?'  
 b. hisa, manq'iwa. 'Yes, it has eaten.'  
 c. haniw manq'kiti. 'No, it hasn't eaten.'
- anu 'dog'  
 -xa 'my' (6)  
 -xa<sub>4</sub> topic marker (7)
- manq'a- 'eat'  
 -i 3-3 indefinite (4)  
 -ti yes/no interrogative (7)  
 hisa 'yes'  
 -wa personal knowledge (7)  
 hani negative particle  
 -wa personal knowledge (7)  
 -ka<sub>2</sub> non-completive aspect (5)
- i 3-3 indefinite (4)  
 -ti negative (7)
- (K-8) a. qusquta rikunkicu? 'Did you see Cuzco?'  
 b. 'arí, rikunin. 'Yes, I saw it.'  
 c. manan rikunicu. 'No, I didn't see it.'
- qusqu 'Cuzco'  
 -ta complement relational  
 riku- 'see'  
 -nki 2nd p. sg. indefinite  
 -cu interrogative  
 'arí 'yes'  
 -ni<sub>2</sub> 1st p. sg. indefinite
- mi (→ -n/V\_) personal knowledge  
 mana negative particle  
 -mi (→ -n/V\_) personal knowledge  
 -cu negative

## 618.2 Alternative

A. -ca<sub>2</sub> (7) signals a question wherein the hearer must choose between two alternatives. If both alternatives are stated overtly, either -ca<sub>2</sub> occurs on one of the alternatives and is the only interrogative suffix in the sentence or, more commonly, -ti 'yes/no interrogative'

occurs on the first alternative and -ca<sub>2</sub> on the second. In some instances, the first alternative is not stated overtly, only implied. Examples:

- (A-9) a. imiTar yuqaTaruc hawq'ir sara:ta?  
'Will you go to whip the boy or the girl?'
- |                  |                               |
|------------------|-------------------------------|
| imiTa            | 'girl'                        |
| -ru              | goal relational (2)           |
| yuqaTa           | 'boy'                         |
| -ru              | goal relational (2)           |
| -ca <sub>2</sub> | alternative interrogative (7) |
| hawq'a-          | 'whip'                        |
| -iri             | purposive subordinate         |
|                  | 'in order to' (5)             |
| sara-            | 'go'                          |
| -:ta             | 2-3 future (6)                |
- b. sartat hanica? 'Did you go or not?'
- |                  |                               |
|------------------|-------------------------------|
| sara-            | 'go'                          |
| -ta <sub>4</sub> | 2-3 indefinite (4)            |
| -ti              | yes/no interrogative          |
| hani             | negative particle             |
| -ca <sub>2</sub> | alternative interrogative (7) |
- c. haTuc purkani? 'Will the rain arrive (or not)?'
- |                  |                               |
|------------------|-------------------------------|
| haTu             | 'rain'                        |
| -ca <sub>2</sub> | alternative interrogative (7) |
| puri-            | 'arrive'                      |
| -ka <sub>2</sub> | non-completive aspect (5)     |
| -ni <sub>3</sub> | 3-3 future (6)                |

In Cuzco Kechua, the general interrogative suffix -cu marks alternative questions and is affixed to both choices, not just one, as is the case in Aymara. Example:

- (K-9) a. 'unutacu 'ica 'aq"atacu munasyanki?  
'Do you want water or chicha?'

|       |                       |
|-------|-----------------------|
| 'unu  | 'water'               |
| -ta   | complement relational |
| -cu   | interrogative         |
| 'ica  | 'or'                  |
| 'aq"a | 'chicha'              |
| -ta   | complement relational |
| -cu   | interrogative         |
| muna- | 'want'                |
| -sya  | progressive aspect    |
| -nki  | 2nd p. sg. indefinite |

### 618.3 Follow up

A. -sti (7) indicates that the question being asked responds to a preceding utterance. It most often replaces -ti 'yes/no interrogative' or -sa<sub>4</sub> 'information interrogative'. It rarely occurs in a sentence which begins a conversation - in such a position it is judged extremely rude. Unlike the other interrogative suffixes, it may occur more than once per sentence and it may signal a follow up statement rather than a follow up question. But whether it marks a sentence which is declarative or interrogative, the common denominator is the follow up nature of the utterance. Examples:

- (A-10) a. t'ant'sti muntati? 'And do you want some bread?'

|                  |                             |
|------------------|-----------------------------|
| t'ant'a          | 'bread'                     |
| -∅               | complement relational (1)   |
| -sti             | follow up interrogative (7) |
| muna-            | 'want'                      |
| -ta <sub>4</sub> | 2-3 indefinite (4)          |
| -ti              | yes/no interrogative (7)    |

- b. kunas akaxa? 'What is this?'  
 c. akax p'isqiwa. 'This is white quinoa.'  
 d. akasti? 'And this?'
- kuna 'what'  
 -sa<sub>4</sub> information interrogative (7)  
 aka 'this'  
 -xa<sub>4</sub> topic marker (7)  
 p'isqi 'white quinoa'  
 -wa personal knowledge (7)  
 -sti follow up interrogative (7)
- e. humanakast kuna lurasipktasti?  
 'And you, what are you doing?'
- huma 'you'  
 -naka plural (6)  
 -sti follow up (7)  
 kuna 'what'  
 lura- 'do'  
 -si<sub>2</sub> progressive aspect (6)  
 -p plural (3)  
 -ka<sub>2</sub> non-completive aspect (5)  
 -ta<sub>4</sub> 2-3 indefinite (4)  
 -sti follow up interrogative (7)
- f. k'a: cacasti hilaxawa; hupasti wali c'amawa.  
 'That man over there is my brother; and he is very strong.'
- k'a: 'that' (over there)  
 caca 'man'  
 -sti follow up (7)  
 hila 'brother'  
 -xa 'my' (6)  
 -wa personal knowledge (7)  
 hupa 'he'  
 -sti follow up (7)  
 wali 'very'  
 c'ama 'strong'  
 -wa personal knowledge (7)

In Cuzco Kechua, the follow up interrogative is actually marked by two suffixes: the general interrogative

-cu, and the follow up suffix -ri<sub>2</sub>. This latter suffix never occurs in the first utterance of a context, but always responds to a preceding utterance. As with A. -sti, K. -ri<sub>2</sub> may be attached to both questions and statements, but it does not occur more than once per sentence. One-word questions which have -ri<sub>2</sub> affixed may or may not also have -cu. Such questions, composed of only one word, are further characterized by a shift in the primary stress from the penultimate to the ultimate syllable. Examples:

(K-10) a. manacu qusqutari rinkicis?

'And aren't you going to go to Cuzco?'

|                  |                         |
|------------------|-------------------------|
| mana             | negative particle       |
| -cu              | interrogative           |
| qusqu            | 'Cuzco'                 |
| -ta              | complement relational   |
| -ri <sub>2</sub> | follow up interrogative |

|         |                       |
|---------|-----------------------|
| ri-     | 'go'                  |
| -nkicis | 2nd p. pl. indefinite |

b. qanrí? 'And you?'

|                  |                         |
|------------------|-------------------------|
| qan              | 'you'                   |
| -ri <sub>2</sub> | follow up interrogative |

c. manacurí? 'And why not?'

|                  |                         |
|------------------|-------------------------|
| mana             | negative particle       |
| -cu              | interrogative           |
| -ri <sub>2</sub> | follow up interrogative |

d. 'amayari yukarqunwankicuqa.  
'But you won't deceive me then.'

|                  |                      |
|------------------|----------------------|
| 'ama             | prohibitive particle |
| -ya <sub>2</sub> | exclamatory          |
| -ri <sub>2</sub> | follow up            |



|                  |                           |
|------------------|---------------------------|
| yukarqu-         | 'deceive'                 |
| -n               | intrusive -n (unanalyzed) |
| -wa <sub>2</sub> | 'me'                      |
| -nki             | 2nd p. sg. indefinite     |
| -cu              | negative                  |
| -qa              | topic marker              |

## 618.4 Information

A. -sa<sub>4</sub> (7) marks an utterance as interrogative - more specifically, one that asks for some kind of information. It ordinarily attaches to the interrogative word, either directly or to a construction containing it. A. -sa<sub>4</sub> occurs only once per sentence. Examples:

|                        |                               |
|------------------------|-------------------------------|
| (A-11) a. kunas akaxa? | 'What is this?'               |
| kuna                   | 'what'                        |
| -sa <sub>4</sub>       | information interrogative (7) |
| aka                    | 'this'                        |
| -xa <sub>4</sub>       | topic marker (7)              |
| b. k"its taqi?         | 'Who did he look for?'        |
| k"iti                  | 'who'                         |
| -sa <sub>4</sub>       | information interrogative (7) |
| taqa-                  | 'look for'                    |
| -i                     | 3-3 indefinite (4)            |
| c. kawkirus saraskta?  | 'Where are you going to?'     |
| kawki                  | 'where'                       |
| -ru                    | 'to' (2)                      |
| -sa <sub>4</sub>       | information interrogative (7) |
| sara-                  | 'go'                          |
| -si <sub>2</sub>       | progressive aspect (6)        |
| -ka <sub>2</sub>       | non-completive aspect (5)     |
| -ta <sub>4</sub>       | 2-3 indefinite (4)            |

d. kunas sutipaxa? 'What is his name?'

e. kuna sutipas hupanxa?

'What name is his?'

|                  |                               |
|------------------|-------------------------------|
| kuna             | 'what'                        |
| -sa <sub>4</sub> | information interrogative (7) |
| suti             | 'name'                        |
| -pa              | 'his' (6)                     |
| -xa <sub>4</sub> | topic marker (7)              |
| hupa             | 'he'                          |
| -na              | possessive relational (3)     |
| -xa <sub>4</sub> | topic marker (7)              |

The equivalent construction in Cuzco Kechua is marked only by an interrogative word; no interrogative suffix occurs, not even the general interrogative -cu.  
Examples:

(K-11) a. maypin macupikcu kasyan?

'Where is Machu Picchu?'

|               |                       |
|---------------|-----------------------|
| may           | 'where'               |
| -pi           | location relational   |
| -mi (→ -n/V_) | personal knowledge    |
| macupikcu     | 'Machu Picchu'        |
| ka-           | 'be'                  |
| -sya          | progressive aspect    |
| -n            | 3rd p. sg. indefinite |

b. hayk'aqmi 'uTukukunaykicista 'aTampunkicis?

'When will you go and harvest your ullucos?

|                 |                                                     |
|-----------------|-----------------------------------------------------|
| hayk'aq         | 'when'                                              |
| -mi             | personal knowledge                                  |
| 'uluku          | 'ulluco' (Andean tuber - <u>ullucus tuberosus</u> ) |
| -kuna           | plural                                              |
| -ykicis         | 'your' (pl.)                                        |
| -ta             | complement relational                               |
| 'aTa-           | 'harvest'                                           |
| -mu (→ -m/_-pu) | translocative 'go and VERB'                         |
| -pu             | beneficiary                                         |
| -nkicis         | 2nd p. pl. indefinite                               |

## 619 Exclamatory

A. -pi (7), -i<sub>3</sub> (6) and -c"a (7) and K. -ya<sub>2</sub>, -ca<sub>3</sub> and -ma<sub>2</sub> plus stress shift to the ultimate syllable add notes of exclamation to an utterance. The first two Aymara suffixes may be glossed 'of course!' (indicating something that is obvious or previously known) and 'well!' respectively. Both occur in combination with other independent suffixes, oftentimes each other, i.e., -pi:. Examples:

|        |                  |                          |
|--------|------------------|--------------------------|
| (A-12) | a. walikpi:      | 'that's O.K., of course' |
|        | b. hanipi:       | 'no, of course not!'     |
|        | c. ukapiya       | 'well, as to that'       |
|        | wali             | 'O.K.'                   |
|        | -ki              | 'just, only' (6)         |
|        | -pi              | exclamatory (7)          |
|        | -i <sub>3</sub>  | exclamatory (6)          |
|        | hani             | negative particle        |
|        | uka              | 'that'                   |
|        | -ya <sub>2</sub> | polite                   |

A. -c"a (7) means that the speaker insists on the action to be performed. It is ordinarily affixed to an imperative verb in contexts of politeness or anger. Examples (from Padres de Maryknoll 1969: I, 161):

|        |                                      |                                    |
|--------|--------------------------------------|------------------------------------|
| (A-13) | a. c"ihc"intaniwa, apurt'asiñanc"a:. |                                    |
|        |                                      | 'It's going to hail, let's hurry!' |
|        | c"ihc"i-                             | 'hail'                             |
|        | -nta                                 | inceptive aspect (6)               |
|        | -ni <sub>3</sub>                     | 3-3 future (6)                     |
|        | -wa                                  | personal knowledge (7)             |

|        |                                   |
|--------|-----------------------------------|
| apura- | 'hurry' (from Sp. <u>apurar</u> ) |
| -t'a   | momentaneous aspect (5)           |
| -si    | reflexive (6)                     |
| -ñani  | 4-3 imperative (6)                |
| -c"a   | insistence (7)                    |
| -:3    | exclamatory (6)                   |

- b. kunats warmimar nuwta? hic"ax uñhamc"a:.  
'Why did you hit your wife? Now look at her.'

|                  |                               |
|------------------|-------------------------------|
| kunata           | 'why'                         |
| -sa <sub>4</sub> | information interrogative (7) |
| warmi            | 'wife'                        |
| -ma              | 'your' (6)                    |
| -ru              | goal relational (2)           |
| nuwa-            | 'hit'                         |
| -ta <sub>4</sub> | 2-3 indefinite (4)            |
| hic"a            | 'now'                         |
| -xa <sub>4</sub> | topic marker (7)              |
| uñha-            | 'look at'                     |
| -m               | 2-3 imperative (3)            |
| -c"a             | insistence (7)                |
| -:3              | exclamatory (6)               |

K. -ya<sub>2</sub>, -ca<sub>3</sub>, -ma<sub>2</sub> and the shifting of primary word stress from the penultimate to the ultimate word syllable all contain notions of exclamation and emphasis. The more general in meaning are -ya and the shifting of primary word stress. Examples:

- (K-12) a. hakuyá!  
           haku  
           -ya  
           /
- 'let's go'  
           exclamatory  
           stress shift
- b. 'ima ninkín?  
       'ima  
       ni-  
       -nki  
       -mi (→ -n/V\_)  
       /
- 'what'  
           'say'  
           2nd p. sg. indefinite  
           personal knowledge  
           stress shift

- c.  $\bar{n}at\acute{a}q\ mik"uciyki\bar{n}\acute{a}!$   
 'But I've fed you already.'

|              |                                  |
|--------------|----------------------------------|
| $\bar{n}a$   | 'already'                        |
| -taq         | sequential sentence<br>connector |
| mik"u-       | 'eat'                            |
| -ci          | person causative                 |
| -yki         | 1-2 indefinite                   |
| - $\bar{n}a$ | 'already'                        |
| /            | stress shift                     |

K.  $-ca_3$  expresses surprise at a sudden realization, while K.  $-ma_2$  emphasizes the speaker's insistence. When word final, both suffixes take primary word stress. Examples:

- (K-13) a.  $hanpi\ rantinaypis\ kanqac\acute{a}\ riki!$   
 'My buying the medicine is certainly necessary too!'

|          |                   |
|----------|-------------------|
| hanpi    | 'medicine'        |
| ranti-   | 'buy'             |
| - $na_2$ | obligative        |
| -y       | 'my'              |
| -pis     | 'too, also'       |
| ka-      | 'be'              |
| -nqa     | 3rd p. sg. future |
| - $ca_3$ | exclamatory       |
| /        | stress shift      |
| riki     | 'certainly!'      |

- b.  $'unumanqa\ riwaqmari!$   
 'Well, you should have gone for water!'

|          |                         |
|----------|-------------------------|
| 'unu     | 'water'                 |
| -man     | 'for' goal relational   |
| -qa      | topic marker            |
| -waq     | injunctive 'you should' |
| - $ma_2$ | exclamatory             |
| - $ri_2$ | follow up               |

- c. turaykiqa manamá hamuncu!  
 'But your brother has not come!'

|                  |                       |
|------------------|-----------------------|
| tura             | 'brother' (of female) |
| -yki             | 'your'                |
| -qa              | topic marker          |
| mana             | negative particle     |
| -ma <sub>2</sub> | exclamatory           |
| /'               | stress shift          |
| hamu-            | 'come'                |
| -n               | 3rd p. sg. indefinite |
| -cu              | negative              |

620 Aymara domains

621 Polite

A. -ya<sub>2</sub> (6) embodies notions of politeness. It softens commands and makes other sentences in the language polite. It signals that the speaker has some degree of deference and respect for the hearer. Examples:

- (A-14) a. riwaxt'amay, mama.

'Please lower the price a bit, mam.'

|                  |                            |
|------------------|----------------------------|
| riwaxa-          | 'lower a price'            |
|                  | (from Sp. <u>rebajar</u> ) |
| -t'a             | momentaneous aspect (5)    |
| -ma              | 2-3 imperative (3)         |
| -ya <sub>2</sub> | polite (6)                 |
| mama             | 'mam'                      |

- b. anc"itaw huta:, qaTantamay.

'I'll be right there, you go ahead and start.'

|                  |                        |
|------------------|------------------------|
| anc"ita          | 'right now'            |
| -wa              | personal knowledge (7) |
| huta-            | 'come'                 |
| -:               | 1-3 future (6)         |
| qaTa-            | 'begin'                |
| -nta             | inceptive aspect (6)   |
| -ma              | 2-3 imperative (3)     |
| -ya <sub>2</sub> | polite (6)             |

622 -sa<sub>5</sub> multiple semantic features

A. -sa<sub>5</sub> (7) is homophonous to four other suffixes in the language: 1) -sa 'our' (incl.), 2) -sa<sub>2</sub> 'side', 3) -sa<sub>3</sub> 'subordinator' and 4) -sa<sub>4</sub> 'information interrogative'. A. -sa<sub>5</sub> has five different, but not totally unrelated, meanings. The first might be termed 'lister'. It is affixed to each member of a list, be they individual lexical items, clauses or whole sentences. In this way the individual list items are tied together as a group. Example:

(A-15) a. c'uqis apiŋas p'isqis acu.  
'Potatoes, ocas, white quinoa are produced.'

|                  |                                     |
|------------------|-------------------------------------|
| c'uqi            | 'potato'                            |
| -sa <sub>5</sub> | lister (7)                          |
| apiŋa            | 'oca'                               |
| -sa <sub>5</sub> | lister (7)                          |
| p'isqi           | 'white quinoa'                      |
| -sa <sub>5</sub> | lister (7)                          |
| acu-             | 'produce'                           |
| -i               | 3-3 indefinite (4)<br>(-u + -i = u) |

Secondly, when lexical items are listed and only the final item carries -sa<sub>5</sub>, 'even' or 'including' is often the best English translation. Example:

b. q"aturux walhaniw sarapxi - tata Mamani,  
tata Quri, tata Kunturi, tatamas sararakiwa.

'Many people went to market - Mr. Mamani,  
Mr. Quri, Mr. Kunturi, even your father also  
went.'

|                  |                        |
|------------------|------------------------|
| q"atu            | 'market'               |
| -ru              | 'to' (2)               |
| -xa <sub>4</sub> | topic marker (7)       |
| walha            | 'many'                 |
| -ni              | human enumerator (6)   |
| -wa              | personal knowledge     |
| sara-            | 'go'                   |
| -p               | plural (3)             |
| -xa <sub>3</sub> | completive aspect (5)  |
| -i               | 3-3 indefinite (4)     |
| tata             | 'Mr., father'          |
| -ma              | 'your' (6)             |
| -sa <sub>5</sub> | 'even'                 |
| sara-            | 'go'                   |
| -raki            | 'also' (6)             |
| -i               | 3-3 indefinite (4)     |
| -wa              | personal knowledge (7) |

The occurrence of -sa<sub>5</sub> in (b) could also be interpreted as an instance of its listing function in that it ties together the two sentences: 1) 'Many people went to market' and 2) 'Mr. Namani, Mr. Quri, Mr. Kunturi, even your father also went'.

A third meaning surfaces when -sa<sub>5</sub> is attached to numbers. Here, it may be translated 'at least'.

Example:

c. maynis utankaskpacawa.

'At least one person is probably home.'

|                  |                         |
|------------------|-------------------------|
| mayni            | 'one person'            |
| -sa <sub>5</sub> | 'at least'              |
| uta              | 'house'                 |
| -na              | location relational (3) |
| -ka <sub>3</sub> | verbalizer (5)          |
| -si <sub>2</sub> | progressive aspect (6)  |



|                    |                                |
|--------------------|--------------------------------|
| -ka <sub>2</sub>   | non-completive aspect (5)      |
| -paca <sub>3</sub> | 3-3 inferential 'probably' (5) |
| -wa                | personal knowledge (7)         |

It has already been mentioned (see 618.4) that -sa<sub>4</sub> occurs on interrogative words to form questions. A. -sa<sub>5</sub> may also occur on interrogative words, but instead of marking a question, it forms an indefinite nominal. If negated, it becomes a no-member nominal. This function is found also in K. -pis ~ -pas 'too, also' (see 613). Examples of both A. -sa<sub>5</sub> and K. -pis ~ -pas with the present meaning are given below.

|                             |                               |
|-----------------------------|-------------------------------|
| (A-15) d. kuns munta?       | 'What do you want?'           |
| kuna                        | 'what'                        |
| -sa <sub>4</sub>            | information interrogative (7) |
| muna-                       | 'want'                        |
| -ta <sub>4</sub>            | 2-3 indefinite (4)            |
| e. haniw kuns.              | 'Nothing.'                    |
| hani                        | negative particle             |
| -wa                         | personal knowledge (7)        |
| kuna                        | 'what'                        |
| -sa <sub>5</sub>            | no-member category (7)        |
| f. kunapacas sari?          | 'When did he go?'             |
| g. haniw kunapacas sarkiti. | 'He never went.'              |
| kunapaca                    | 'when'                        |
| -sa <sub>4</sub>            | information interrogative (7) |
| sara-                       | 'go'                          |
| -i                          | 3-3 indefinite (4)            |
| hani                        | negative particle             |
| -wa                         | personal knowledge (7)        |
| kunapaca                    | 'when'                        |
| -sa <sub>5</sub>            | no-member category (7)        |

|                  |                           |
|------------------|---------------------------|
| sara-            | 'go'                      |
| -ka <sub>2</sub> | non-completive aspect (5) |
| -i               | 3-3 indefinite (4)        |
| -ti              | negative (7)              |

- h. hic"ax makinakiw kuns lurxi.  
'Now machines do anything.'

|                  |                                      |
|------------------|--------------------------------------|
| hic"a            | 'now'                                |
| -xa <sub>4</sub> | topic marker (7)                     |
| makina           | 'machine' (from Sp. <u>máquina</u> ) |
| -ki              | 'just, only' (6)                     |
| -wa              | personal knowledge (7)               |
| kuna             | 'what'                               |
| -sa <sub>5</sub> | indefinite nominal (7)               |
| lura-            | 'do'                                 |
| -xa <sub>3</sub> | completive aspect (5)                |
| -i               | 3-3 indefinite (4)                   |

- (K-14) a. pi 'who'  
 b. pipas 'anyone'  
 c. mana pipas 'noone'
- d. 'ima 'what'  
 e. 'imapas 'anything'  
 f. mana 'imapas 'nothing'
- g. may 'where'  
 h. maypas 'anywhere'  
 i. mana maypas 'nowhere'
- j. hayk'aq 'when'  
 k. hayk'aqpis 'anytime'  
 l. mana hayk'aqpis 'never'

Finally, A. -sa<sub>5</sub> frequently occurs on the negative particle when the verb is inflected in the desiderative or imperative paradigms. Negative -ti is then deleted. This occurrence of -sa<sub>5</sub> suggests that desiderative and imperative sentences are considered additions to the

"list" of utterances in a conversation. I have not been able to determine why it occurs only in the negative and not in the affirmative. More research is needed in this area. Examples:

(A-15) i. hanis sarapkasma.  
'You really ought not go.'

|                   |                           |
|-------------------|---------------------------|
| hani              | negative particle         |
| -sa <sub>5</sub>  | list (7)                  |
| sara-             | 'go'                      |
| -p                | plural (3)                |
| -ka <sub>2</sub>  | non-completive aspect (5) |
| -sma <sub>2</sub> | 2-3 desiderative (2)      |

j. hanis suykitpan.  
'Don't have him wait for me.'

|                  |                           |
|------------------|---------------------------|
| hani             | negative particle         |
| -sa <sub>5</sub> | list (7)                  |
| suya-            | 'wait for'                |
| -ka <sub>2</sub> | non-completive aspect (5) |
| -itpan           | 3-1 imperative (4)        |

630 Cuzco Kechua domains

631 'already'

K. -ña implies a change of state in the referent. It is variously translated 'already' in affirmative sentences, 'yet' in questions, and 'no more' or 'no longer' in negations. It also occurs alone as a particle root. When both root and suffix occur in the same sentence, that much more emphasis is given to the state

change. Examples:

- (K-15) a.  $\bar{n}a$  nini. 'I already said it.'  
 b. nini $\bar{n}a$ . 'I already said it.'
- $\bar{n}a$  'already'  
 $-\bar{n}a$  'already'  
 ni- 'say'  
 $-ni_2$  1st p. sg. indefinite
- c.  $\bar{n}an$  hamun $\bar{n}a$ . 'He already came.'
- $\bar{n}a$  'already'  
 $-mi$  ( $\rightarrow -n/V\_)$  personal knowledge  
 hamu- 'come'  
 $-n$  3rd p. sg. indefinite  
 $-\bar{n}a$  'already'
- d. tukunki $\bar{n}acu$ ? 'Have you finished yet?'
- tuku- 'finish'  
 $-nki$  2nd p. sg. indefinite  
 $-\bar{n}a$  'already, yet'  
 $-cu$  interrogative
- e. manan Tank $\bar{n}acu$ . 'I no longer work.'
- mana negative particle  
 $-mi$  ( $\rightarrow -n/V\_)$  personal knowledge  
 Tank $\bar{n}a$  'work'  
 $-ni_2$  1st p. sg. indefinite  
 $-\bar{n}a$  'no longer'  
 $-cu$  negative

## 632 'still'

K. -raq implies that the state of the referent remains unchanged and is most often translated 'still'.

Examples:

- (K-16) a. manan mik $\bar{n}uniraqcu$ .  
 'I still haven't eaten.'
- mana negative particle

- |                  |                       |
|------------------|-----------------------|
| -mi (→ -n/V_)    | personal knowledge    |
| mik"u-           | 'eat'                 |
| -ni <sub>2</sub> | 1st p. sg. indefinite |
| -raq             | 'still'               |
| -cu              | negative              |
- b. 'arí, Tank'aniraqmi.  
'Yes, I still worked.'
- |                  |                       |
|------------------|-----------------------|
| 'arí             | 'yes'                 |
| Tank'a-          | 'work'                |
| -ni <sub>2</sub> | 1st p. sg. indefinite |
| -raq             | 'still'               |
| -mi              | personal knowledge    |
- c. caymantari wasicarqankiraqcu?  
'And then, did you still keep building the house?'
- |                  |                       |
|------------------|-----------------------|
| caymanta         | 'then'                |
| -ri <sub>2</sub> | follow up 'and'       |
| wasí             | 'house'               |
| -ca              | action causative      |
| -rqa             | personal remote       |
| -nki             | 2nd p. sg. indefinite |
| -raq             | 'still'               |
| -cu              | interrogative         |

### 633 Sentence connectors

Three K. suffixes, -ri<sub>2</sub>, -taq and -pas function as sentence connectors, i.e., they link a given utterance to the one which preceded it. Thus, they never occur in discourse initial position. At least one other sentence precedes the sentence in which they appear.

Each suffix specifies a connection which carries with it slightly different nuances. K. -ri<sub>2</sub> (discussed previously in 618.3) marks a sentence as following up

the ideas or remarks contained in the one which preceded it.

K. -taq specifies a sentence which follows sequentially the utterances which preceded it. It is very common in myths, narratives and other tales.

Example:

(K-17) a. 'atuqtaq huk'ucata cutan.  
'Then the fox pulled the mouse.'

|         |                       |
|---------|-----------------------|
| 'atuq   | 'fox'                 |
| -taq    | 'then, so then'       |
| huk'uca | 'mouse'               |
| -ta     | complement relational |
| cuta-   | 'pull'                |
| -n      | 3rd p. sg. indefinite |

The notions of follow up and sequence are not mutually exclusive. It is therefore not surprising to find both -ri<sub>2</sub> and -taq occurring together in the same sentence. Examples:

(K-17) b. maytaq k"uciyri? 'And then, where is my pig?'

|                  |                   |
|------------------|-------------------|
| may              | 'where'           |
| -taq             | 'then' sequential |
| k"uci            | 'pig'             |
| -y               | 'my'              |
| -ri <sub>2</sub> | 'and' follow up   |

c. pitaq qanri kasyanki?  
'And so then, who are you?'

|                  |                      |
|------------------|----------------------|
| pi               | 'who'                |
| -taq             | 'so then' sequential |
| qan              | 'you'                |
| -ri <sub>2</sub> | 'and' follow up      |
| ka-              | 'be'                 |
| -sya             | progressive aspect   |

-nki                      2nd p. sg. indefinite

- d. maymantataq kankiri?  
'And so then, where are you from?'

|                  |                       |
|------------------|-----------------------|
| may              | 'where'               |
| -manta           | 'from'                |
| -taq             | 'so then' sequential  |
| ka-              | 'be'                  |
| -nki             | 2nd p. sg. indefinite |
| -ri <sub>2</sub> | 'and' follow up       |

The third sentence connector in Cuzco Kechua, -pas (mentioned previously in 613 and 624), seems to mark the drawing of a conclusion based on previous utterances. Examples:

- (K-18) a. c'isiñapas tukusunya.  
'So we'll finish it by this evening.'

|                  |                         |
|------------------|-------------------------|
| c'isi            | 'night, evening'        |
| -ña              | 'already'               |
| -pas             | 'so' conclusive         |
| tuku-            | 'finish'                |
| -sun             | 1st p. pl. incl. future |
| -ya <sub>2</sub> | exclamatory             |
| /                | stress shift            |

- b. hamucunpas 'amapas.  
'So have him come or not (it doesn't matter).'

|       |                      |
|-------|----------------------|
| hamu- | 'come'               |
| -cun  | 2-3 imperative       |
| -pas  | 'so' conclusive      |
| 'ama  | prohibitive particle |
| -pas  | conclusive           |

Example (b) illustrates that -pas may occur more than once in the sentence if alternant conclusions are reached.

I have come across no example of -pis as a con-





| 1                                | 2        | 3           | 4                                    | 5                                                                                                           |
|----------------------------------|----------|-------------|--------------------------------------|-------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
|                                  |          |             | a                                    | b                                                                                                           |
|                                  |          |             |                                      | Personal knowledge                                                                                          |
|                                  |          |             |                                      | Topic marker                                                                                                |
|                                  |          |             |                                      | Follow up                                                                                                   |
|                                  |          |             |                                      | Alternative Interrogative                                                                                   |
|                                  |          |             | non-personal knowledge/suppositional | Information interrogative                                                                                   |
|                                  |          |             | negative/yes-no interrogative        | Lister                                                                                                      |
| 'just, only'                     | emphatic | 'too, also' |                                      | Exclamatory                                                                                                 |
|                                  |          |             |                                      | Polite Exclamatory                                                                                          |
| -ki                              | -puni    | -rak'i      | -ci<br>-ti                           | -wa<br>-xa <sub>4</sub><br>-sti<br>-ca <sub>2</sub><br>-sa <sub>4</sub><br>-sa <sub>5</sub><br>-c" a<br>-pi |
|                                  |          |             |                                      | -ya <sub>2</sub><br>-i <sub>3</sub>                                                                         |
| Pre-inflectional<br>independents |          |             | Post-inflectional<br>independents    |                                                                                                             |

Chart 12. Independent suffix ordering in Aymara.



A. -tisti, the other combination of suffixes from slots 4a and 4b, indicates an "amazed type of question" (Hardman-de-Bautista et al. 1974: 373). Example:

(A-24)                      4a 4b  
yati.si.p.xa.sma.ti.sti?  
'Would you be able to get used to it?'

The two suffixes in slot 5, -ya<sub>2</sub> 'polite' and -i<sub>3</sub> 'exclamatory', may occur after most other independent suffixes, adding a note of politeness or exclamation respectively to the utterance. Some examples:

(A-25) 4b 5  
hani.ca.y apankani. 'Maybe he will not bring it?'

(A-26) 4b 5  
walikiw, lura.nani.sa.y.  
'O.K., let's do it  
(I'll go along with it now).'

(A-27) 4b 5  
waliki uk"amax sar.x.pan.sa.ya.  
'Well, alright, let him  
go then.'

(A-28) munapxci ukaxa, manq'a.p.x.pa.sa.ya.  
'If they want then, let  
them eat.'

The combination of -sa<sub>5</sub> plus -ya<sub>2</sub>, as illustrated in (26) - (28), has a rather specialized meaning - that of acquiescence to an action, with prior opposition inferred.

## 642 Cuzco Kechua

The ordering of independent suffixes in Cuzco Kechua is illustrated in Chart 13. Dotted lines indicate that the order among suffixes in those slots is variable; elsewhere, the ordering is strict.

The fourteen independent suffixes (or fifteen, if -pis and -pas are analyzed as distinct morphemes) in Cuzco Kechua combine more easily than do their counterparts in Aymara. One need only contrast the number of order classes to determine this. It is not uncommon to find three or four on the same root. Also unlike Aymara, Kechua independent suffixes do not divide between those which occur before a verbal inflection and those which occur after. They all follow the tense and person markers.

I am quick to add, however, that there is one exception: -Ta 'just, only', which may occur in either position (see 611).

Examples illustrating the ordering of independent  
suffixes follow:

- (K-19)               <sup>1</sup> <sup>2</sup>  
paya.Ta.puni                 'only and always the old  
                                        woman'
- (K-20)               <sup>3</sup> <sup>4</sup>  
c'isi.nā.pas tukusunya.  
                                        'So we'll finish it in  
                                        the evening then.'

- (K-20) c'isi.<sup>3</sup>na.<sup>4</sup>pas tukusunya'.  
'So we'll finish it in  
the evening then.'

| 1                   | 2     | 3                 | 4              | 5    | 6                                            | 7                                         | 8                                                         | 9                                       |
|---------------------|-------|-------------------|----------------|------|----------------------------------------------|-------------------------------------------|-----------------------------------------------------------|-----------------------------------------|
|                     |       |                   |                |      | Topic Marker                                 |                                           |                                                           |                                         |
| 'just, em-<br>only' |       | 'already,<br>yet' | 'too,<br>also' |      | Sequen-<br>tial sen-<br>tence con-<br>nector | Nega-<br>tive/<br>Inter-<br>roga-<br>tive | Personal<br>Knowledge<br>Non-perso-<br>nal know-<br>ledge | Exclama-<br>tory                        |
| 'phatic<br>'still'  |       |                   |                |      |                                              |                                           |                                                           | Follow up<br>sentence<br>connec-<br>tor |
| -Ta                 | -puni | -ña               | -pis           | -taq | -cu                                          | -qa                                       | -ya <sub>2</sub>                                          | -ri <sub>2</sub>                        |
|                     |       | -raq              | -pas           |      |                                              | -mi                                       | -ca <sub>3</sub>                                          |                                         |
|                     |       |                   |                |      |                                              | -si                                       | -ma <sub>2</sub>                                          |                                         |

Chart 13. Independent suffix ordering in Cuzco Kechua.



## 700 CONCLUSIONS

Are the Jaqi and Kechuan language families genetically related, or do resemblances between them stem from borrowing? The morphologically-slanted data culled from Aymara on the Jaqi side and from the Cuzco dialect of Kechuan point to the latter. Of the 156 Aymara suffixes and 110 Kechua suffixes discussed in the preceding chapters, at least 14 are clearly related (see Chart 14). This equals approximately 9% of the Aymara inventory and 13% of the Kechua. Of the 14 which are clearly related, 9 are identities; the remaining 5 are too small a sample from which to derive systematic sound correspondences.

These figures are slightly lower than those which indicate the degree of lexical borrowing between the two languages. Previous research (Davidson 1974) has demonstrated that approximately 20% of the lexical items in Aymara and Cuzco Kechua are identities. A few resemblant pairs vary in only one or two sounds. The remaining 80% are irreconcilably different. Given this situation, systematic sound correspondences based on the synchronic evidence alone are impossible to work out. We are left with diffusion to account for the similarities.

Because the languages have been in intimate contact over many centuries, much cultural and intimate borrowing has occurred. Both types of borrowing were

| <u>Semantic Feature</u>                                          | <u>Aymara</u>              | <u>Jaqaru</u> | <u>Cuzco</u>     | <u>Bol.</u> | <u>Ancash</u> |
|------------------------------------------------------------------|----------------------------|---------------|------------------|-------------|---------------|
| 1. source relational<br>'from'                                   | -ta                        | -t'a          | -manta           | -manta      | -pita         |
| 2. topic marker                                                  | -xa <sub>4</sub>           | -qa           | -qa              | -qa         | -qa           |
| 3. non-pers. evidential                                          | -ci                        | -aši          | -si              | -cus        | -ši           |
| 4. adv. cl.<br>(simultaneous or connected action / same subject) | -sa <sub>3</sub>           | -ušu          | -spa             | -spa        | -r            |
| 5. distributive plural                                           | -pura                      | --            | -pura            | --          | --            |
| 6. multiple repetition<br>(rare)                                 | -paya                      | --            | -paya            | --          | --            |
| 7. action reversal                                               | -ra                        | --            | -ra              | --          | --            |
| 8. 'up to, as far as, until'                                     | -kama                      | -kama         | -kama            | -kama       | --            |
| 9. emphatic                                                      | -puni                      | -iŋi          | -puni            | -puni       | --            |
| 10. 'like'                                                       | -hama                      | -hama         | -hina            | --          | -nō           |
| 11. multiple repetition                                          | -rpaya                     |               | -rpaya<br>(rare) | --          | --            |
|                                                                  |                            | -rpaya        |                  |             |               |
| 12. cause relational<br>'because'                                | -layku                     | --            | -rayku           | -rayku      | -rayku        |
| 13. object used to perform verbal action                         | -na <sub>2</sub><br>(rare) | --            | -na              | -na         | -na           |
| 14. action causative                                             | -ca                        | --            | -ca              | -ca         | -tsa          |

Chart 14. Related suffixes in Aymara and Cuzco Kechua, with comparative data from Bolivian and Ancash Kechua and Jaqaru.



especially facilitated during the time of the Inca Empire when the Aymara were a subjugated nation and Kechua was the language of supremacy and administration. It is highly probable that many Kechua terms were borrowed by the Aymara, especially since certain of the historic subtribes of the Aymara - the Canchi, Cana, Colla, Collagua, Ubina, and parts of the Charca and Collahuaya - now speak Kechua (Tschopik 1946: 503-4).

Another factor which facilitated the transfer of morphemes from one language to the other was the degree of congruency in their structures. Aymara and Kechua are structurally very similar (see Chapter 2) so that even highly bound morphemes such as suffixes might occasionally be borrowed. Their eventual acceptance by all speakers would depend, of course, on there being a ready function for them to perform in the recipient language.

Chart 14 includes not only the resemblant morphemes from Aymara and Cuzco Kechua, but also comparative data from selected congeners of both languages to show the extent of occurrence of the morpheme in each family. From Kechuan, I have chosen the dialects spoken in Bolivia (Bills, Vallejo and Troike 1969) and Ancash (Snow and Stark 1971), and from Jaqi, the Jaqaru language (Hardman 1966). Any conclusions based

on this added information, however, must be tentative since no source furnished an exhaustive inventory. Lacunae may be the result of insufficient data.

A quick perusal of the chart reveals six separate morpheme distributions: 1) the morpheme occurs generally (1-4); 2) the morpheme is restricted to Cuzco Kechua and Aymara (5-7); 3) the morpheme occurs everywhere but in Ancash (8-9); 4) the morpheme occurs everywhere but in Bolivia (10); 5) the morpheme occurs generally in Jaqi but only in the Cuzco dialect of Kechuan (11); and 6) the morpheme occurs generally in Kechuan but only in Aymara on the Jaqi side (12-14).

Before proceeding to draw conclusions from these morpheme distributions as to the direction of borrowing, one note of caution must be struck. Between 1525, when the Inca Wayna Qhapaq died of a pestilence while campaigning in northern Ecuador and Colombia, and 1571, when Viceroy Toledo took the first Spanish census, the native population in the central Andes decreased precipitously due to "civil wars, epidemics, lawlessness, extortion, and cultural shock" (Rowe 1946: 184). Linguistic diversity at the time of the conquest was bewildering. The Inca had previously

found it necessary to impose Kechua as the common medium for government and intercommunication throughout their empire. After the conquest, the Spanish found this a convenient practice and so preserved Kechua, along with Aymara, as "general languages of the new kingdoms of Peru", although their own language served as the official government medium. Many local languages subsequently perished without leaving a trace. Since most of the suffixes in Chart 14 are already attested in Bertonio (1603) and Gonzalez Holguin (1607), it is possible that one of these local languages served as the source for one or more of the morphemes. This is especially feasible in cases where the morpheme occurs only in Cuzco Kechua and Aymara and expresses a semantic feature not found in the other congeners (#5-7 in Chart 14). Both languages could have borrowed independently or one could have borrowed and then served as donor for the other. We will never know for sure.

Based on the synchronic evidence alone plus a few hints culled from early seventeenth century grammars and vocabularies (Bertonio 1603, 1612 and Gonzalez Holguin 1607, 1608), the direction of borrowing can be determined with some accuracy in only four of the fourteen examples in Chart 14. These include sets 6, 11, 12 and 13.

In the case of -paya 'multiple repetition', Bertonio (1603: 287) stated that it occurred on but a few verbs in Aymara and that it seemed to him, at least, to be "more characteristic" of Kechua. Only Ebbing (1965: 241) mentions the suffix as occurring in the language today, and employs two of the same verbs Bertonio used to illustrate its meaning. It is obviously of very limited occurrence in Aymara (it does not even occur in my field notes), and is not found at all in Jaqaru. I conclude that -paya was borrowed from Cuzco Kechua into Aymara.

A side issue, one that I will mention only in passing, is the status (native or foreign?) of -paya in Kechuan. Multiple repetition appears not to be a semantic category expressed by a suffixation process in either Bolivian or Ancash Kechua. It does crop up in the Ecuadorian dialects. Elena Ross (no date: 91) indicates that -paya contains the notion of "undesirable excess" of the verbal action in Ecuadorian Highland Quichua, a nuance not found in the Cuzco dialect. These two dialects, of course, are closely related - both belong to the so-called Kechua A (Parker 1963) or Kechua II (Torero 1964) branch of Kechuan. To my knowledge, it does not occur in any dialect of branch B (or I), so that it

may not be reconstructable to proto Kechua. The ultimate source language may be one of those which perished during the tumultuous events of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries.

The suffix -rpaya 'multiple repetition' occurs generally in Jaqi, but only in the Cuzco dialect of Kechuan, and then only rarely. Its resemblance to -paya is apparent in both form and meaning. In fact, in Cuzco Kechua it alternates freely with -paya. In Aymara, the morpheme signifies multiple repetition on only a few verb roots. More often it specifies resultative aspect. In Jaqaru (Hardman 1966: 49-50), there is a locational suffix, -rpaya 'beside, outside', which is cognate to A. -rpaya.

The direction of borrowing here seems to be the reverse of that described for -paya. Because of its general occurrence in Jaqi but infrequent occurrence in only one dialect of Kechuan, I conclude that -rpaya was borrowed from Aymara into Cuzco Kechua.

The ultimate relationship, if any, between Jaqi \*-rpaya and Kechua A \*-paya must await diachronic analysis, which is beyond the scope of this study.

The direction of borrowing of the cause relational, A. -layku and K. -rayku, is deceptive. A glance at the chart shows that it is of general occur-

rence in Kechuan but not in Jaqi, a fact which might lead one to suppose that Kechua was the donor language and Aymara the recipient. A knowledge of the phonemic configurations of the two languages at the time of the conquest, however, quickly turns the situation around. Classic Cuzco Kechua had /r/ but not /l/; Classic Aymara had both /r/ and /l/. Thus, where Classic Cuzco Kechua had /r/ and Classic Aymara had /l/, which holds in the present case, we know that the Kechua form is the borrowing, since Aymara could easily have borrowed the /r/ intact had the diffusion gone the other way.

Some other examples of this A. /l/ : K. /r/ correspondence from the post-conquest era are listed below. The Aymara forms come from Bertonio (1612), while Gonzalez Holguin (1608) furnished those from Cuzco Kechua.<sup>1</sup>

|           |                             |
|-----------|-----------------------------|
| A. lonco  | 'basket for coca or garlic' |
| K. runcu  |                             |
| A. lampa  | 'covered litter'            |
| K. rampa  |                             |
| A. lirpu  | 'mirror'                    |
| K. rirpu  |                             |
| A. lamram | 'alder tree'                |
| K. ramram |                             |
| A. cchulu | 'snail'                     |
| K. churu  |                             |

|          |                              |
|----------|------------------------------|
| A. larca | 'uncovered irrigation ditch' |
| K. rarca |                              |

The final suffix to be discussed here, -na 'object used to perform the verbal action', need not detain us for long. It occurs in both branches of Kechuan: A (Cuzco and Bolivian) and B (Ancash), but only rarely in Aymara on the Jaqi side. Both of the Aymara examples with -na<sub>2</sub> (see 511) occur side by side with native A. -ña:

|       |            |                      |
|-------|------------|----------------------|
| (A-1) | a. sama-   | 'rest, breathe'      |
|       | b. samaña  | 'to breathe; breath' |
|       | c. samana  | 'breath'             |
| (A-2) | a. lihwa-  | 'scratch'            |
|       | b. lihwaña | 'to hoe; hoe'        |
|       | c. lihwana | 'hoe'                |

It seems safe to conclude, then, that -na is native to Kechuan, but foreign to Aymara.

Two other factors brought to light by this study which tend to weaken any claims of a genetic link between the two languages are 1) the lack of significant correspondence in the ordering of semantic features after the root, and 2) the diversity of features peculiar to each language. For convenience in discussing both points, I have listed by order class the semantic features which occur on substantive roots

(Chart 15), verb roots (Chart 16), and substantive, verb and particle roots (Chart 17).

It was Dell Hymes (1955) who first suggested that if two languages agree as to the order of morphemes with equivalent semantic notions in a word, but not necessarily in the form of each morpheme, they are genetically related. As was mentioned in the introductory chapter of this study, at least one scholar (Lastra de Suarez 1970) has used this method to support her contention that Aymara and Cuzco Kechua are members of the same linguistic family.

The evidence stemming from spadework done in this study seems not cumulative enough to warrant such a conclusion. For example, a broadly based comparison of the ordering of semantic concepts on substantive roots (see Chart 15) reveals some similarities. The more finely calibrated the comparison becomes, however, the greater the number of differences. If we look only at three semantic domains - personal possessives, general plural and relationals, we immediately see two almost equivalent systems of order:

- |         |       |                      |
|---------|-------|----------------------|
| Aymara: | 7.    | general plural       |
|         | 8.    | personal possessives |
|         | 9 ff. | relationals          |
| Cuzco   |       |                      |
| Kechua: | 1.    | personal possessives |
|         | 2.    | general plural       |
|         | 3 ff. | relationals          |



AymaraSlots

1. location 'side'; possessor
2. location 'around'
3. location 'place' (indefinite)
4. location 'exactly in a place'
5. location 'over, on'
6. location 'beside'
7. general plural
8. personal possessives 'my', 'your', 'his, her, its', and 'our' (incl.)
9. conjunction/comitation/instrumental 'with'
10. includer
11. goal 'to'; source 'from'; beneficiary/purposive 'for'; general location 'in, at, on'
12. distributive plural/location 'until, up to, as far as'; 'the same, the very, itself'
13. resembler 'like'
14. complement

Cuzco KechuaSlots

1. personal possessives 'my', 'your', 'his, her, its', 'our' (excl.), 'our' (incl.), 'your' (pl.), and 'their'; possessor; spatial or temporal proximity
2. general plural
3. possession; cause 'because'; resembler 'like'
4. distributive plural
5. complement; goal 'to'; source 'from'; general location 'in, at, on'; includer
6. beneficiary/purposive 'for'
7. conjunction/comitation/instrumental 'with'; second order comitation
8. distributive plural/location 'until, up to, as far as'

Chart 15. The ordering of semantic features on substantive roots in Aymara and Cuzco Kechua.

If we admit into our comparison the order variation between the general plural and the personal possessives in Aymara, we end up with exactly equivalent order systems. However, when we descend to the common herd of relational notions, the situation changes dramatically.

Let us begin a more focused comparison with the position slot in which the first relational suffix occurs in each language. In Aymara that would be slot 9, in Cuzco Kechua slot 3. From that starting point, there are the same number of slots to the end of the string, i.e., 9-14 in Aymara and 3-8 in Cuzco Kechua. If we line these slots up and look only at the shared categories, we see only traces of equivalent ordering. Only slot 11 in Aymara and slot 5 in Kechua bear any resemblance, having in common the goal, source, and general location relationals. Elsewhere, the slots do not match.

The ordering of semantic features on verb roots, as illustrated in Chart 16, shows not only a wide array of notions peculiar to each language, but also a marked similarity in the ordering of some shared categories. On the Aymara side, the directional and locational notions, twelve and five respectively, are most characteristic. Hardman (1966: 48-51) reports their existence

AymaraSlots

1. divide or split up (action itself or complement)
2. directional - purposeful diffuse;  
     directional - downward;  
     locational - 'place down'  
     locational - action 'on top of'  
     attentive;  
     prepare for the action;  
     inceptive aspect/directional - inward;  
     directional - action across;  
     directional - non-purposeful diffuse;  
     directional - scatter outward from a point;  
     directional - action away from the subject;  
     locational - 'hold';  
     locational - 'hold';  
     locational - action 'below' or 'underneath';  
     multiple repetition/resultative aspect
3. directional - outward
4. serial aspectual; directional - gather inward to a point
5. inceptive aspect/directional - upward
6. momentaneous aspect; reciprocal
7. person causative
8. reflexive
9. directional - cislocative/translocative
10. directional - action at a distance
11. beneficiary; victimary
12. progressive aspect; completive aspect
13. plural person inflection
14. non-completive aspect; completive aspect

Cuzco KechuaSlots

1. resultative aspect
2. durative aspect
3. desiderative
4. single, multiple and continual repetition
5. intensifier/directional - inward
6. rapidity/facility
7. inceptive aspect

Slots

8. assistive
9. person causative
10. reciprocal
11. reflexive
12. directional - cislocative/translocative
13. beneficiary
14. progressive aspect

Chart 16. The ordering of semantic features on verb roots in Aymara and Cuzco Kechua.

in Jaqaru, a fact which indicates that the entire system is probably reconstructable to proto Jaqi. Cuzco Kechua, on the other hand, has only two directionals - inward (slot 5) and cislocative/translocative (slot 12). I know of no Kechuan dialect which has a directional and/or locational system comparable to that found in the two Jaqi languages.

Each language has developed somewhat differently the verbal category of aspect. Of the eight Aymara aspectual notions and seven Kechua, only four are shared (inceptive, progressive, multiple repetition and resultative). Between the two languages, they are ordered somewhat differently in relation to each other. In Aymara, the two suffixes indicating inceptive aspect are both ordered as being mutually exclusive with the resultative/multiple repetition aspectual. The progressive morpheme is ordered near the end of the suffix string. In Cuzco Kechua, the resultative suffix is ordered first after a verb root followed later in the string by the multiple repetition morpheme (slot 4), the inceptive aspectual (slot 7) and the progressive postposition (slot 14).

Most differences between the semantic features on verb roots in Aymara and Cuzco Kechua occur in the first half of the suffix string. These are notions

which generally modify the verbal action or state and are thus located close to the verbal root. In the second half of the suffix string, the semantic notions which are expressed and their ordering are strikingly similar between the two languages. These are notions which refer more often to the participants (subject, object, beneficiary, etc.) in the action or state, and are thus found close to the inflectional suffix(es). A comparison of slots 5-12 in Aymara with slots 7-14 in Cuzco Kechua (as illustrated in Chart 16) reveals this similarity in ordering. Ignoring non-shared categories, we have practically identical concatenations of features:

| <u>Aymara</u>                    | <u>Cuzco Kechua</u>               |
|----------------------------------|-----------------------------------|
| 5. inceptive aspect              | 7. inceptive aspect               |
| 6. reciprocal                    | 8.                                |
| 7. person causative              | 9. person causative               |
| 8. reflexive                     | 10. reciprocal                    |
| 9. cislocative/<br>translocative | 11. reflexive                     |
| 10.                              | 12. cislocative/<br>translocative |
| 11. beneficiary                  | 13. beneficiary                   |
| 12. progressive<br>aspect        | 14. progressive aspect            |

Recalling from 411.13 that when causality of a reciprocal action in Kechua does not include the subject in that reciprocal action, it is the case that reciprocal -na precedes person causative -ci. This order reversal in Kechua is all that is needed to

have an equivalent ordering sequence for the seven verbal categories: inceptive aspect, reciprocity, person causation, reflexivity, cislocative/translocative direction, beneficiary and progressive aspect.

To ascribe this similarity to inheritance from a common proto language is controversial. It may be due to convergence or to mutual influence over a period of many centuries. At any rate, the synchronic data presented in this study need to be complemented by comparative work to arrive at a definitive conclusion to this particular problem.

Chart 17 illustrates the ordering of semantic features that may occur on all three root types: substantive, verb and particle. Because most of these notions are mutually exclusive in Aymara, there is little opportunity for ordering to be in close agreement with that found in Cuzco Kechua. Nevertheless, there is some parallelism. It occurs between the ordering of suffixes meaning 'just, only', emphasis, and 'too, also' (slots 1, 2 and 3 in Aymara and 1, 2 and 4 in Cuzco Kechua). These are the three independent suffixes in Aymara which must occur pre-inflectionally on verb forms. It should also be remembered that this is only one of several possible order sequences for these suffixes in both Aymara and

AymaraSlots

1. 'just, only'
2. emphasis
3. 'too, also'/cautionary/complainer/objector/defiance or challenge
4. a. non-personal knowledge evidential/suppositional;  
yes/no interrogative and negative
- b. personal knowledge evidential;  
   topic marker;  
   follow up declarative or interrogative;  
   alternative interrogative;  
   exclamatory (insistence);  
   information interrogative;  
   lister/multiple features;  
   exclamatory 'of course!'
5. polite;  
   exclamatory 'well!'

Cuzco KechuaSlots

1. 'just, only'
2. emphasis
3. 'already'; 'still, yet'
4. 'too, also'/indefinite nominal/sentence connector  
marking the drawing of a conclusion
5. sequential sentence connector
6. interrogative/negative
7. topic marker;  
personal knowledge evidential;  
non-personal knowledge evidential
8. exclamatory
9. follow up sentence connector (declarative or  
interrogative)

Chart 17. The ordering of semantic features  
found in independent suffixes in  
Aymara and Cuzco Kechua.

Cuzco Kechua, since they are not strictly ordered in either language.

It is, of course, well known that no amount of data can "prove" two languages to be unrelated genetically. The most that can be said after a careful sifting of the data is that there is not cumulative evidence enough to warrant the conclusion that the two languages are related. In the case of Aymara and Cuzco Kechua, a detailed analysis of their phonologies and suffix inventories has revealed no evidence of a decisive nature that would prove descent from a common source.



## FOOTNOTES

Introduction

<sup>1</sup>It should be noted that, up to the Second World War, these attempts were, in almost every case, based on Aymara and the Cuzco dialect of Kechua and did not take into account Jaqaru, Kawki or the Kechua dialects in central Peru. This omission was due, of course, to the latter languages' general inaccessibility and to the thinking, on the Kechua side, that the language of the Incas was the most pure and that other dialects were simply corruptions of that spoken at Cuzco.

<sup>2</sup>Current work by Peruvian linguists and others at the Centro de Investigacion de Linguistica Aplicada, Universidad Nacional Mayor de San Marcos in Lima is rapidly overcoming this problem. Their "Documento de Trabajo" series, already a major contribution to Andean linguistic scholarship, includes phonological and morphological descriptions as well as texts and dictionaries of a growing number of Branch B dialects.

This ferment is also reflected in work by the Instituto de Estudios Peruanos, again in Lima, which has prepared, in collaboration with the Peruvian Ministry of Education, a set of descriptive grammars and dictionaries for six representative dialects from both branches. Currently available are: Ancash-Huaylas by G. Parker and A. Chavez; Ayacucho-Chanka by C. Soto; Cajamarca-Cañaris by F. Quesada; Cuzco-Collao by A. CusiHuaman; Junin-Huanca by R. Cerron; and San Martin by D. Coombs, et al.

<sup>3</sup>This figure is based on: 1) the 1950 Bolivian Census (the latest available) which gives a total of 664,288 speakers of Aymara for the entire country; 2) the 1972 Peruvian Census which gives a total of 332,593 speakers for the entire country; and 3) an estimate of approximately 250,000 as the increase since 1950 of the number of speakers in Bolivia. No figures are available for the department of Arica in Chile. The 1950 Bolivian figure is listed under the heading, "Population by language", which heading was not defined. The 1972 Peruvian figure was listed under the heading, "Native language or dialect", which heading was defined as "the language or dialect that a person learned in his childhood, independently of whether or not he speaks it now". One can only wonder what these figures really mean.

<sup>4</sup>Unfortunately, figures from the 1972 Peruvian Census do not reflect dialect distinctions. I did, however, make some estimates: 1) department of Cuzco - 536,427 (three-quarters of the total departmental population); 2) department of Puno - 324,300 (all Kechua speakers in the department); 3) department of Apurimac - 116,460 (approximately one-half of the Kechua speakers in the department); and 4) department of Arequipa - 31,000 (one-quarter of the Kechua speakers in the department). This gives a total of just over one million speakers. It does not include those Cuzco speakers who have migrated to large urban centers outside their dialect area.

<sup>5</sup>The Aymara data used in this study come from the following sources: 1) my own unpublished Aymara field notes collected during the summer of 1970 in Bolivia and the spring and summer of 1971 in the United States under the auspices of the United States Peace Corps; and 2) Aymara Grammatical Sketch (1974) by Martha J. Hardman-de-Bautista et al.

My own field work centered in and around the capital city of La Paz, with some work done also in the much smaller town of Chulumani in the Sud Yungas province, a semi-tropical area on the other side of the Cordillera Real from La Paz. Subsequent research here in the United States was done in collaboration with two Aymara informants from La Paz: Martin Chiri L. and Marcelino Hivento M., neither of whom had more than a high school education. The grammar by Hardman-de-Bautista, et al. is based primarily on the speech of two linguistically sophisticated informants: Juan de Dios Yapita Moya, from Qumpi, Omasuyos province, department of La Paz; and Juana Vasquez, from the capital city of La Paz. Both informants had studied previously at the Instituto Nacional de Estudios Linguisticos in La Paz.

The Kechua data used in this study were culled mainly from two sources: 1) The Structure of Cuzco Kechua (1967) by Donald F. Sola and Antonio Cusi-huaman G.; and 2) Diccionario Kkechuwa - Español (1944) by Jorge Lira.

Antonio Cusi-huaman Gutierrez, a native speaker from Chinchero, Urubamba province, Department of Cuzco, served as chief informant for the Sola and Cusi-huaman (1967) study. The authors worked together in Peru and at Cornell University, where Mr. Cusi-huaman gained his linguistic expertise. The grammatical model used in their study is highly personal. I

have re-analyzed their data within a more traditional descriptive framework.

Jorge Lira is a Catholic priest who has spent many years in and around Cuzco and has gained near native command of the language. His dictionary, however, cannot be used uncritically. I have avoided all forms marked (!), (!?) and (?) indicating words of doubtful or unknown meaning, and those set off as neologisms. To maintain the same phonemic orthography throughout, I have made some changes in the symbols that Lira uses. They are (Lira's symbol first, then mine):

|                                  |                                 |                      |
|----------------------------------|---------------------------------|----------------------|
| ch = c                           | <sup>h</sup> k = q <sup>h</sup> | ll = l̄              |
| ch <sup>h</sup> = c <sup>h</sup> | kkh = q <sup>h</sup>            | ph = p <sup>h</sup>  |
| e = i                            | kh = k <sup>h</sup>             | sch = c <sup>h</sup> |
| kk = q                           | o = u                           | th = t <sup>h</sup>  |

Where examples come from sources other than the four mentioned here, the reference will be given immediately following the example.

Statements concerning dialectal variation refer only to specific idiolectal differences between informants. No attempt has been made to delineate geographical or social dialect differences. Recent sociolinguistic work to which the reader is referred includes Briggs (1975) on the Aymara side and Lefebvre (1975, 1976) for Cuzco Kechua.

## Chapter One

<sup>1</sup>An especially productive CVCCV canonical form in both languages is C<sub>1</sub>V<sub>1</sub>C<sub>2</sub>V<sub>1</sub>. The C<sub>1</sub> is Kechua, because of the laryngeal restrictions, is never /h/, /<sup>h</sup>/ or any occlusive with aspiration or glottalization.

Examples from Aymara include: /t<sup>h</sup>ant<sup>h</sup>a/ 'bread'; /k<sup>h</sup>ank<sup>h</sup>a/ 'rooster'; /c<sup>h</sup>uhc<sup>h</sup>u/ 'trembling fever'; /q<sup>h</sup>acq<sup>h</sup>a/ 'rough'; /pacpa/ 'self'; /pampa/ 'flat place'; /c<sup>h</sup>iwc<sup>h</sup>i/ 'little chick'; /c<sup>h</sup>ihc<sup>h</sup>i/ 'hail'; /k<sup>h</sup>isk<sup>h</sup>i/ 'closely woven'; and /tixti/ 'drink made of peanuts'.

Some examples from Cuzco Kechua are: /kanka/ 'barbecued meat'; /kusku/ 'a more or less bright shade or hue'; /laqla/ 'loud mouthed, garrulous'; /lanla/ 'fond of novelty'; /paqpa/ 'grey hairs'; /pukpu/ 'bubble'; /tuytu/ 'floating'; /saksa/ 'satisfied'; /rakra/ 'a big mouthful or swallow'; and /ñukñu/ 'nectar, an exquisite delicacy'.

<sup>2</sup>Examples of this canonical shape are: /caca/ 'toy, plaything'; /cici/ 'meat hash given to infants'; /cucu/ 'tough, dry and hard'; /kaka/ 'maternal uncle';

/kiki/ 'same, identical'; /nana/ 'painful'; /ñaña/ 'sister of female'; /papa/ 'potato'; /pupu/ 'navel'; /riri/ 'vein'; /ruru/ 'fruit'; /sasa/ 'difficult'; /sisi/ 'ant'; /susu/ 'partially dry; fruit withered before ripening'; and /wawa/ 'infant'.

<sup>3</sup>I came across two counter examples in Lira (1944): /'anc'i/ 'glutton, gluttonous' and /'asut'iy/~ /hasut'iy/ 'to whip'.

<sup>4</sup>Not all Andeanists see the velar and uvular fricatives [x] and [χ] as allophones respectively of /k/ and /q/. Solá and Cusiñuaman (1967), for example, have analyzed them as separate phonemes in addition to /k/ and /q/. They view the glottal fricative [h] as an allophone of /x/ since they are in complementary distribution: [h] occurs root and syllable initially, while [x] occurs root and syllable finally. This analysis produces four phonemes (/x/, /χ/, /k/ and /q/) for five sounds ([x], [χ], [h], [k] and [q]).

I prefer an analysis based on structural similarities in addition to complementary distribution. Since [x] has the same place of articulation as [k], and since [χ] has the same place of articulation as [q], I have grouped each pair together, since their respective distributions are also complementary. This results in two phonemes, /k/ and /q/. /h/ is then a phoneme apart.

<sup>5</sup>Unless otherwise noted, I have taken all Kechua forms in this chapter from Lira (1944) and am responsible for the translation into English of his Spanish glosses.

<sup>6</sup>When occurring in the consonant cluster, -sy, the tongue position for /s/ is somewhat higher still. This occurs in such forms as /nisyu/ 'a lot, too' and /-sya/ 'progressive aspect'. This high tongue position has led some linguists to posit /š/ as a separate phoneme (see Solá and Cusiñuaman 1967), but the phonemic opposition, /s/ - /š/, does not exist in the Cuzco dialect.

<sup>7</sup>The analysis presented here of allophonic variation in Kechua vowels is based on Rowe (1950).

<sup>8</sup>All person/tense inflections in Aymara are interactive. 1-3 indicates that the action of the verb goes from a first person to a third person. 2-3 indicates that the action of the verb goes from a second person to a third person. (See 421.)

<sup>9</sup>The sole exception is a three consonant cluster (a result of earlier suffixation now frozen?) in Aymara: /amsta/ 'further up the hill'.

<sup>10</sup>These processes occur also in Jaqaru and are thus probably reconstructable to Proto-Jaqi. No such processes exist in any dialect of Kechua that I am familiar with.

#### Chapter Four

<sup>1</sup>I omit mention of the various Aymara compound and Cuzco Kechua periphrastic paradigms since they contain no suffixes not already contained in the paradigms discussed here.

#### Chapter Five

<sup>1</sup>Jorge Flores, a university professor from Cuzco, and bilingual in Spanish and Cuzco Kechua.

#### Chapter Six

<sup>1</sup>The term "independent" is well established in the literature. See Lastra 1968; Bills, Vallejo and Troike 1969; and Hardman-de-Bautista et al. 1974, among others.

<sup>2</sup>The fact that -ki, -puni and -raki must occur pre-inflectionally on verb roots, stems and themes has led at least one group of Andeanists to distinguish these from the other independent suffixes which occur post-inflectionally. Hardman-de-Bautista et al. (1974) have labeled the former "independent", while terming the latter "sentential". In addition to their separate positions of occurrence, they point to the fact that suffixes in the second group have important syntactic functions while those in the first do not.

In this study, I have been more interested in the root-, stem- and theme-types to which different suffixes may attach. Since suffixes in both groups may be affixed to words of all types without restriction, I have classed them all as 'independent'.

## SUFFIX GLOSSARY

All suffixes discussed in this study are listed: those from Aymara first, followed by those from Cuzco Kechua. Aymara suffixes are tabulated alphabetically in the order: c, c", c', h, i, k, l, m, n, ñ, p, q, r, s, t, t", t', w, x, y, : (final vowel of preceding morpheme is lengthened), and Ø (complement relational). Those from Cuzco Kechua are alphabetized: c, h, k, l, ð, m, n, ñ, p, q, r, s, t, w, and y. Each suffix is followed by a designation of its type (i.e., substantival, verbal, verbal inflectional, thematic nominalizer, thematic verbalizer, or independent), a gloss and/or a grammatical function, and the section number dealing with the suffix. Additionally, the Aymara suffixes have a number in parentheses which indicates their morphophonemic effect on morphemes in contact with them (see 171.2).

Aymara

- ca                   verbal and thematic verbalizer;  
"cause the ROOT or STEM action",  
action causative; 521; (6).
- ca<sub>2</sub>               independent; alternative interro-  
gative; 618.2; (7).
- ci                   verbal inflectional; suppositional;  
422; (5).  
independent; non-personal knowledge;  
615; (5).
- ci<sub>2</sub>               substantival; 381.4; (?)
- c"a               independent; an exclamatory suffix  
indicating insistence in contexts  
both of politeness and anger; 619;  
(7).
- c'a               substantival; size; 381.7; (4).
- c'uki           verbal and thematic verbalizer;  
reciprocal action or purposeful  
action directed at someone; 411.13;  
(5).
- ha               substantival; "much" quantity;  
381.6; (5).

|                  |                                                                                                                               |
|------------------|-------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| -ha <sub>2</sub> | verbal and thematic verbalizer;<br>"divide or split up" (the action<br>or the complement); 412.5; (5).                        |
| -hama            | independent; "like"; 350; (5).                                                                                                |
| -hita            | substantival; "exactly in a place",<br>location relational; 331.84; (5).                                                      |
| -i               | verbal inflectional; 3-3 indefinite;<br>421; (4).                                                                             |
| -iri             | thematic nominalizer; "one who VERBS -<br>agentive, "habitually VERB", "in<br>order to" - subordinate purposive;<br>513; (5). |
| -iriskasama:na   | verbal inflectional; 1-2 scolder;<br>422; (1).                                                                                |
| -iriskatama:na   | verbal inflectional; 3-2 scolder;<br>422; (1).                                                                                |
| -iriska:ta       | verbal inflectional; 1-3 scolder;<br>422; (1).                                                                                |
| -irisma          | verbal inflectional; 1-2 desiderative;<br>422; (4).                                                                           |
| -irista          | verbal inflectional; 1-3 desiderative;<br>422; (1).                                                                           |
| -iristam         | verbal inflectional; 3-2 desiderative;<br>422; (1).                                                                           |
| -ista            | verbal inflectional; 2-1 indefinite;<br>421; (4).                                                                             |
| -istani          | verbal inflectional; 3-4 future; 422; (5).                                                                                    |
| -ista:sta        | verbal inflectional; 2-1 personal<br>remote and 2-1 non-personal remote;<br>422; (4).                                         |
| -istu            | verbal inflectional; 3-4 indefinite;<br>421; (4).                                                                             |
| -istusapa:na     | verbal inflectional; 3-4 scolder;<br>422; (1).                                                                                |
| -istuspa         | verbal inflectional; 3-4 desiderative;<br>422; (5).                                                                           |

|                   |                                                                                                                                                                                  |
|-------------------|----------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| -istu:stu         | verbal inflectional; 3-4 personal remote and 3-4 non-personal remote; 422; (4).                                                                                                  |
| -ita              | verbal inflectional; 2-1 imperative; 422; (4).                                                                                                                                   |
| -itani            | verbal inflectional; 3-1 future; 422; (5).                                                                                                                                       |
| -itasama:na       | verbal inflectional; 2-1 scolder; 422; (1).                                                                                                                                      |
| -itasapa:na       | verbal inflectional; 3-1 scolder; 422; (1).                                                                                                                                      |
| -itasma           | verbal inflectional; 2-1 desiderative; 422; (4).                                                                                                                                 |
| -itaspa(n)        | verbal inflectional; 3-1 desiderative; 422; (5).                                                                                                                                 |
| -ita:ta           | verbal inflectional; 2-1 future; 422; (5).                                                                                                                                       |
| -itpa(n)          | verbal inflectional; 3-1 imperative; 422; (4).                                                                                                                                   |
| -itu              | verbal inflectional; 3-1 indefinite; 421; (4).                                                                                                                                   |
| -itu <sub>2</sub> | substantival; diminutive (from Spanish <u>-ito</u> ); 372; (5).                                                                                                                  |
| -itu:tu           | verbal inflectional; 3-1 personal remote and 3-1 non-personal remote; 422; (4).                                                                                                  |
| -ka               | substantival; 381.5; (?).                                                                                                                                                        |
| -ka <sub>2</sub>  | verbal; non-completive aspect, "ahead, beforehand"; 412.23; (5).                                                                                                                 |
| -ka <sub>3</sub>  | thematic verbalizer; copula in location and possession clauses; 524; (5).                                                                                                        |
| -kama             | substantival; "each, among, between" - distributive plural, "as far as, up to, until" - location relational; 322 and 331.82 respectively; (7).<br>substantival; "all"; 360; (7). |



|                  |                                                                                                                                                           |
|------------------|-----------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| -kata            | substantival; "across, front",<br>location relational; 331.86; (5).<br>verbal and thematic verbalizer;<br>action across and sometimes up;<br>412.34; (5). |
| -ki              | independent; "just, only"; 611; (6).                                                                                                                      |
| -ki <sub>2</sub> | verbal; 412.71; (6).                                                                                                                                      |
| -kipa            | verbal; "all around, with many turns,<br>from one side to the other", pur-<br>poseful diffuse; 412.35; (6).                                               |
| -kuca            | substantival; "but", contrastive;<br>381.8; (7).                                                                                                          |
| -layku           | substantival; "because, on account of",<br>cause relational; 331.6; (7).                                                                                  |
| -li              | verbal; motion back and forth (?);<br>412.71; (6).                                                                                                        |
| -m               | verbal inflectional; 2-3 imperative;<br>422; (3).                                                                                                         |
| -ma              | substantival; "your", personal possessive;<br>310; (6).                                                                                                   |
| -mpi             | substantival; "with", instrument<br>relational; 331.7; (6).<br>substantival; "and, with", conjunctive/<br>comitative relational; 332.1; (6).              |
| -muku            | (see <u>-nuku</u> ).                                                                                                                                      |
| -na              | substantival; "in, at", location re-<br>lational; 331.81; (3).<br>substantival; possessive relational;<br>332.2; (3).                                     |
| -na <sub>2</sub> | thematic nominalizer; object used in<br>performing the verbal action; 511; (6).                                                                           |
| -naka            | substantival; general plural; 321; (6).                                                                                                                   |
| -naqa            | verbal and thematic verbalizer; "in<br>many places, here and there", non-<br>purposeful diffuse movement; 412.36; (5).                                    |
| -ni              | substantival; possessor/human enumerator;<br>340; (6).                                                                                                    |

|                    |                                                                                                                                                                               |
|--------------------|-------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| -ni <sub>2</sub>   | verbal; cislocative movement on motion verbs, translocative movement elsewhere; 411.32; (6).                                                                                  |
| -ni <sub>3</sub>   | verbal inflectional; 3-3 future; 422; (6).                                                                                                                                    |
| -nki               | verbal; up and down and around motion (?); 412.71; (6).                                                                                                                       |
| -nta               | verbal and thematic verbalizer; inceptive aspect; "begin to VERB"; 411.21; (6).<br>verbal; motion inward; 411.31; (6).                                                        |
| -nuku              | verbal; action away from the subject or the intention of the subject with no direction specified; 412.39; (6).                                                                |
| -nuqa              | verbal and thematic verbalizer; "place down (on ground)"; 412.41; (5).                                                                                                        |
| -ña                | thematic nominalizer; infinitive, object used in performing the verbal action; 511; (6).<br>thematic nominalizer; obligation, "have to VERB, VERBing is necessary"; 512; (6). |
| -ñani              | verbal inflectional; 4-3 future and 4-3 imperative; 422; (6).                                                                                                                 |
| -p-                | verbal inflectional; plural person reference; 421; (3).                                                                                                                       |
| -pa                | substantival; "his, her, its", personal possessive; 310; (6).                                                                                                                 |
| -pa <sub>2</sub>   | verbal; 412.72; (?).                                                                                                                                                          |
| -pa <sub>3</sub>   | verbal inflectional; 3-3 imperative; 422; (4).                                                                                                                                |
| -paca              | substantival; "all"; 360; (5).                                                                                                                                                |
| -paca <sub>2</sub> | substantival; "the same, the very, itself"; 381.1; (5)                                                                                                                        |
| -paca <sub>3</sub> | verbal inflectional; inferential mood and 3-3 inferential; 422; (5).                                                                                                          |

|                  |                                                                                                                                                                                |
|------------------|--------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| -paya            | verbal; prolonged action, assist or accompany the action; 412.72; (?).                                                                                                         |
| -pi              | independent; exclamatory, "of course"; 619; (7).                                                                                                                               |
| -pta             | thematic verbalizer; "become", developmental; 523; (6).                                                                                                                        |
| -puni            | independent; "surely, certainly", emphatic; 612; (6).                                                                                                                          |
| -pura            | substantival; "each, among, between", distributive plural; 322; (5).                                                                                                           |
| -qa              | verbal; downward motion; 412.32; (6).                                                                                                                                          |
| -qata            | substantival; 381.3; (?).                                                                                                                                                      |
| -ra              | verbal; "one by one", serial aspect; 412.24; (6).<br>verbal and thematic verbalizer; "unVERB", action reversal; 522; (6).<br>thematic verbalizer; "remove the ROOT"; 522; (6). |
| -raki            | independent; "too, also", complainer, cautionary ("be careful"), objector, defiance or challenge; 613; (6).                                                                    |
| -rapi            | verbal; beneficiary; 411.14; (6).                                                                                                                                              |
| -raqa            | verbal; victimary; 412.11; (6).                                                                                                                                                |
| -rara            | substantival; "very", augmentative; 371; (6).                                                                                                                                  |
| -rpaya           | verbal; multiple repetition of the action; 411.23; (6).<br>verbal; resultative aspect; 411.24; (6).<br>thematic verbalizer; action reversal; 522; (6).                         |
| -ru              | substantival; "to, into", goal relational; 331.3; (2).                                                                                                                         |
| -sa              | substantival; "our" (incl.), personal possessive; 310; (6).                                                                                                                    |
| -sa <sub>2</sub> | substantival; "side", location relational; 331.85; (5).                                                                                                                        |

|                   |                                                                                                                                                      |
|-------------------|------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| -sa <sub>3</sub>  | thematic nominalizer; "when, while", subordinate clause marker indicating simultaneous or connected action with that of the main clause; 515.1; (2). |
| -sa <sub>4</sub>  | independent; information interrogative; 618.4; (7).                                                                                                  |
| -sa <sub>5</sub>  | independent; "even, including", "at least", lister, indefinite nominal; 622; (7).                                                                    |
| -sama:na          | verbal inflectional; 2-3 scolder; 422; (3).                                                                                                          |
| -sana             | verbal inflectional; 4-3 scolder; 422; (3).                                                                                                          |
| -sapa:na          | verbal inflectional; 3-3 scolder; 422; (2).                                                                                                          |
| -si               | verbal and thematic verbalizer; reflexive, personal benefit, reciprocal (rare); 411.12; (6).                                                         |
| -si <sub>2</sub>  | verbal; progressive aspect; 411.22; (6).                                                                                                             |
| -sina             | thematic nominalizer; "after", subordinate clause marker indicating prior action to that of the main clause; 515.1; (7).                             |
| -sma              | verbal inflectional; 1-2 indefinite; 421; (4).                                                                                                       |
| -sma <sub>2</sub> | verbal inflectional; 2-3 desiderative; 422; (2).                                                                                                     |
| -sna              | verbal inflectional; 4-3 desiderative; 422; (4).                                                                                                     |
| -spa              | verbal inflectional; 3-3 desiderative; 422; (2).                                                                                                     |
| -sti              | independent; follow up interrogative or declarative; 618.3; (7).                                                                                     |
| -su               | verbal and thematic verbalizer; movement outward; 412.33; (5).                                                                                       |
| -ta               | substantival; "from", source relational; 331.4; (3).                                                                                                 |

|                     |                                                                                                                                                                   |
|---------------------|-------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| -ta <sub>2</sub>    | verbal; "begin to VERB", inceptive aspect; 411.21; (5).<br>verbal; motion upward; 412.31; (5).                                                                    |
| -ta <sub>3</sub>    | verbal inflectional; 1-3 indefinite; 421; (1).                                                                                                                    |
| -ta <sub>4</sub>    | verbal inflectional; 2-3 indefinite; 421; (4).                                                                                                                    |
| -ta <sub>5</sub>    | thematic nominalizer; "VERBed", past participle; 514; (2).                                                                                                        |
| -taki               | substantival; "for", beneficiary/purposive relational; 331.5; (7).                                                                                                |
| -tam                | verbal inflectional; 3-2 indefinite; 421; (1).                                                                                                                    |
| -tan                | verbal inflectional; 4-3 indefinite; 421; (1).                                                                                                                    |
| -tata               | verbal and thematic verbalizer; "spread, scatter outward from a point"; 412.37; (6).                                                                              |
| -tayna              | verbal inflectional; 3-3 non-personal remote; 422; (2).                                                                                                           |
| -ta:sma             | verbal inflectional; 1-2 non-personal remote; 422; (2).                                                                                                           |
| -ta:ta              | verbal inflectional; 1-3 non-personal remote; 422; (3).                                                                                                           |
| -ta:ta <sub>2</sub> | verbal inflectional; 2-3 non-personal remote; 422; (2).                                                                                                           |
| -ta:tam             | verbal inflectional; 3-2 non-personal remote; 422; (3).                                                                                                           |
| -ta:tan             | verbal inflectional; 4-3 non-personal remote; 422; (3).                                                                                                           |
| -ti                 | independent; negative; 617; (7).<br>independent; yes/no interrogative; 618.1; (7).                                                                                |
| -tixa               | independent and thematic nominalizer; "INTERROGATIVE ROOT + ever", "if", relative clause marker on interrogative words and conditional clause marker; 515.1; (7). |

|                     |                                                                                                             |
|---------------------|-------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| -tuqi               | substantival; "around", location relational; 331.87; (7).                                                   |
| -t <sup>h</sup> api | verbal and thematic verbalizer; "gather inward to a point"; 412.38; (5).                                    |
| -t <sup>h</sup> a   | verbal and thematic verbalizer; momentaneous aspect, polite; 412.21; (5).                                   |
| -t <sup>h</sup> aku | verbal; "underneath, below"; 412.44; (5).                                                                   |
| -t <sup>h</sup> ata | verbal; "hold (object) in hands"; 412.42; (5).                                                              |
| -wa                 | independent; personal knowledge; 614; (7).                                                                  |
| -waya               | verbal; action at a distance from speaker/hearer location; 412.39; (6).                                     |
| -wha                | substantival; "place" (indefinite), locational relational; 331.83; (6).                                     |
| -wisa               | substantival; "without, lacking"; 381.2; (6).                                                               |
| -xa                 | substantival; "my", personal possessive; 310; (6).                                                          |
| -xa <sub>2</sub>    | substantival; "over, on", location relational; 331.88; (5).                                                 |
| -xa <sub>3</sub>    | verbal; completive aspect; 412.22; (5).                                                                     |
| -xa <sub>4</sub>    | independent; topic marker; 616; (7).                                                                        |
| -xaru               | verbal; "get ready to VERB, prepare to VERB"; 412.6; (5).                                                   |
| -xata               | verbal; "on top of", "about"; 412.43; (5).                                                                  |
| -xaya               | verbal; attentive (subject directs his attention at another person through the verbal action); 412.12; (5). |
| -xa:si              | verbal; "hold (object) in hands"; 412.42; (5).                                                              |
| -ya                 | verbal and thematic verbalizer; person causative; 411.11; (6).                                              |

|                     |                                                                  |
|---------------------|------------------------------------------------------------------|
| -ya <sub>2</sub>    | independent; "please", polite; 621; (6).                         |
| -ya:sma             | verbal inflectional; 1-2 personal remote; 422; (2).              |
| -ya:ta              | verbal inflectional; 1-3 personal remote; 422; (3).              |
| -ya:ta <sub>2</sub> | verbal inflectional; 2-3 personal remote; 422; (2).              |
| -ya:tam             | verbal inflectional; 3-2 personal remote; 422; (3).              |
| -ya:tan             | verbal inflectional; 4-3 personal remote; 422; (3).              |
| -:                  | verbal inflectional; 1-3 future and 1-3 imperative; 422; (6).    |
| -: <sub>2</sub>     | thematic verbalizer; copula; 524; (6).                           |
| -: <sub>3</sub>     | independent; "well!", exclamatory; 619; (6).                     |
| -:ma                | verbal inflectional; 1-2 future; 422; (6).                       |
| -:ma <sub>2</sub>   | verbal inflectional; 1-2 imperative; 422; (2).                   |
| -:na                | verbal inflectional; 3-3 personal remote; 422; (3).              |
| -:ta                | verbal inflectional; 2-3 future; 422; (6).                       |
| -:tam               | verbal inflectional; 3-2 future; 422; (6).                       |
| -:tam <sub>2</sub>  | verbal inflectional; 3-2 imperative; 422; (3).                   |
| -:wi                | thematic nominalizer; place or occasion of the action; 516; (6). |
| -:xa                | substantival; "beside", location relational; 331.89; (6).        |
| -∅                  | substantival; complement relational; 331.2; (1).                 |

Cuzco Kechua

|                  |                                                                                                                                                                                              |
|------------------|----------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| -ca              | verbal and thematic verbalizer;<br>"make, build, construct, bring<br>about or mix with the ROOT", "dirty<br>something with the ROOT"; 521.                                                   |
| -ca <sub>2</sub> | substantival; diminutive; 372.                                                                                                                                                               |
| -ca <sub>3</sub> | independent; exclamatory (surprise<br>at a sudden realization); 619.                                                                                                                         |
| -ci              | substantival; person causative; 382.17.<br>verbal; person causative; 411.11.                                                                                                                 |
| -cis             | verbal inflectional; inclusive plural;<br>421.                                                                                                                                               |
| -cu              | independent; negative; 617.<br>independent; general interrogative; 618.                                                                                                                      |
| -cun             | verbal inflectional; 3rd p. sg. im-<br>perative; 422.                                                                                                                                        |
| -hata            | verbal; "in passing, by chance"; 413.62.                                                                                                                                                     |
| -hina            | independent; "like"; 350.                                                                                                                                                                    |
| -ka              | substantival; 382.04.                                                                                                                                                                        |
| -kama            | substantival; "each", distributive<br>plural; 322.<br>substantival; "as far as, up to, until",<br>location relational; 331.82.<br>substantival; "all, directly, mixed<br>with, purely"; 360. |
| -ku              | substantival; 382.03.                                                                                                                                                                        |
| -ku <sub>2</sub> | verbal and thematic verbalizer; reflexive,<br>personal benefit, medio passive; 411.12.                                                                                                       |
| -ku <sub>3</sub> | verbal derivational; exclusive plural; 421.                                                                                                                                                  |
| -kuna            | substantival; general plural; 321.                                                                                                                                                           |
| -la              | substantival; mild pejorative; 382.09.                                                                                                                                                       |
| -li              | substantival; 382.13.                                                                                                                                                                        |
| -ĭa              | independent; "just, only"; 611.                                                                                                                                                              |



- Ti                   substantival, verbal and thematic verbalizer; salience, referent stands up, swells up or protrudes above a surrounding area; 525.
- Tu                   substantival; (from Spanish -illo); 382.14.
- ma                   substantival; 382.08.
- ma<sub>2</sub>                 independent; exclamatory (insistence); 619.
- man                 substantival; "to, for", goal relational; 331.3.
- man<sub>2</sub>               verbal inflectional; "would", conditional; 421.
- manta               substantival; "from", source relational; 331.4.
- mi                   independent; personal knowledge evidential; 614.
- mu                   verbal; cislocative movement on motion verbs, translocative movement on other verbs; 411.32.
- n                    substantival; "his, her, its", personal possessive; 310.  
verbal inflectional; 3rd p. sg. subject indefinite; 421.
- na                   verbal; reciprocal; 411.13.
- na<sub>2</sub>                 thematic nominalizer; instrument used to perform the verbal action; definite action or state; 511.  
thematic nominalizer; "have to VERB, VERBing is necessary", obligation; 512.  
thematic nominalizer; subordinate clause marker indicating an action subsequent to that of the main verb; 515.2.
- na<sub>3</sub>                 verbal; "unVERB", action reversal; 522.  
thematic verbalizer; "remove the ROOT from something, remove something from the ROOT"; 522.
- naya                 verbal and thematic verbalizer; "want, have a desire, be about, threaten",

|                  |                                                                                                                                |
|------------------|--------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
|                  | desiderative; 413.3.                                                                                                           |
| -ncis            | substantival; "our" (incl.), personal possessive; 310.<br>verbal inflectional; "we" (incl.), 1st p. pl. incl. indefinite; 421. |
| -ni              | substantival; "place", location relational; 331.83.                                                                            |
| -ni <sub>2</sub> | verbal inflectional; "I", 1st p. sg. indefinite; 421.                                                                          |
| -niq             | substantival; approximate vicinity, location relational; 331.83.                                                               |
| -niraq           | substantival; "like"; 350.                                                                                                     |
| -nka             | substantival and verbal; distributive; 382.01.                                                                                 |
| -nki             | verbal inflectional; "you", 2nd p. sg. indefinite and future; 421.                                                             |
| -nku             | substantival; "their", personal possessive; 310.                                                                               |
| -npa             | substantival and thematic verbalizer; temporal or spatial position; 382.18.                                                    |
| -nqa             | verbal inflectional; "he, she, it", 3rd p. sg. future; 421.                                                                    |
| -(n)ti           | substantival; pejorative; 382.15.                                                                                              |
| -ntin            | substantival; "all, together"; 360.                                                                                            |
| -ñā              | independent; "already"; 631.                                                                                                   |
| -ñiraq           | (see <u>-niraq</u> ).                                                                                                          |
| -pa              | substantival; possessive relational; 332.2.                                                                                    |
| -pa <sub>2</sub> | substantival; 382.07.                                                                                                          |
| -pa <sub>3</sub> | verbal and thematic verbalizer; "VERB again", single repetition; 413.22.                                                       |
| -paq             | substantival; "for", beneficiary/purposive relational; 331.5.                                                                  |
| -pas             | independent; sentence connector (draws                                                                                         |

- a conclusion); 633.  
(See also -pis.)
- paya           verbal; multiple repetition of the  
                  action, oftentimes insistent and/or  
                  purposeful; 411.23.
- pi             substantival; "in, at, on", location  
                  relational; 331.81.
- pis            (Alternates freely with -pas.)  
                  independent; "too, also"; 613.  
                  independent; indefinite nominal; 622.
- pu             substantival; beneficiary; 382.05.  
                  verbal; beneficiary; 411.14.
- puni           independent; "surely, certainly",  
                  emphatic; 612.
- puna           verbal; reciprocal action beneficial  
                  to one or all parties; 411.13.
- pura           substantival; "each, between, among",  
                  distributive plural; 322.
- puwan          substantival; "with", second order  
                  comitativ; 332.1.
- q              thematic nominalizer; "one who VERBs",  
                  agentive; "in order to", subordinate  
                  purposive; 513.  
                  thematic nominalizer; relative clause  
                  marker; 515.2.
- qa             independent; topic marker; 616.
- qi             substantival and thematic nominalizer;  
                  honorific; 382.02.
- qti            thematic nominalizer; "when, if, while",  
                  subordinate clause marker indicating  
                  simultaneous or connecting action with  
                  that of the main clause; subject of  
                  dependent clause is different from  
                  that in the main clause (switch reference);  
                  515.2.
- ra             (see -na<sub>3</sub>).
- raq            independent; "still"; 632.

|                  |                                                                                                                        |
|------------------|------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| -raya            | verbal and thematic verbalizer;<br>"VERB for a long time, remain<br>VERBing", durative aspect; 413.21.                 |
| -rayku           | substantival; "for, because, on ac-<br>count of", cause relational; 331.6.                                             |
| -ri              | verbal; "begin to VERB", "VERB<br>lightly, VERB a little", inceptive<br>aspect; 411.21.                                |
| -ri <sub>2</sub> | independent; follow up interrogative<br>or declarative; 618.3.<br>independent; sentence connector<br>(follow up); 633. |
| -rpa             | (see - <u>pa</u> <sub>3</sub> ).                                                                                       |
| -rpari           | verbal; "suddenly, unexpectedly, vio-<br>lently, resolutely", resultative as-<br>pect; 411.24.                         |
| -rpaya           | (see - <u>paya</u> ).                                                                                                  |
| -rqa             | verbal inflectional; personal remote<br>marker; 421.                                                                   |
| -rqu             | verbal; "quickly, hurriedly, with ease,<br>with little effort", rapidity/facility;<br>413.5.                           |
| -ru              | substantival; agentive; 382.16.                                                                                        |
| -sa              | substantival; ressembler; 350.                                                                                         |
| -sapa            | substantival; "very", augmentative;<br>371.                                                                            |
| -saq             | verbal inflectional; "I", 1st p. sg.<br>future; 421.                                                                   |
| -sayki           | verbal inflectional; "I - you",<br>1st p. sg. subject to 2nd p. sg.<br>object in the future paradigm; 421.             |
| -si              | independent; non-personal knowledge<br>evidential; 615.                                                                |
| -siki            | (see - <u>sapa</u> ).                                                                                                  |
| -spa             | thematic nominalizer; "VERBing, having<br>VERBed", subordinate clause marker<br>indicating simultaneous or connecting  |

|                   |                                                                                                                                                                            |
|-------------------|----------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
|                   | action with that of the main clause;<br>same subject in both clauses; 515.2.                                                                                               |
| -sqa              | verbal inflectional; non-personal<br>remote marker; 421.                                                                                                                   |
| -sqa <sub>2</sub> | thematic nominalizer; "VERBed", past<br>participle; 514.<br>thematic nominalizer; subordinate<br>clause marker indicating time prior<br>to that of the main clause; 515.2. |
| -su               | substantival; 382.11.                                                                                                                                                      |
| -sunki            | verbal inflectional; 3rd p. subject<br>to 2nd p. object; 421.                                                                                                              |
| -sun              | verbal inflectional; 1st p. pl. incl.<br>future and imperative paradigms, "we";<br>421 and 422.                                                                            |
| -suru             | (see <u>-sapa</u> ).                                                                                                                                                       |
| -sya              | verbal; progressive aspect; 411.22.                                                                                                                                        |
| -ta               | substantival; complement relational; 331.2.                                                                                                                                |
| -ta <sub>2</sub>  | verbal; "occasional, accidental, un-<br>intentionally, in passing"; 413.61.                                                                                                |
| -taq              | independent; sequential sentence con-<br>nector; 633.                                                                                                                      |
| -tu               | substantival; 382.12.                                                                                                                                                      |
| -wa               | substantival; 382.10.                                                                                                                                                      |
| -wa <sub>2</sub>  | verbal inflectional; "me", 1st p.<br>sg. object; 421.                                                                                                                      |
| -wa <sub>3</sub>  | verbal inflectional; "you had better<br>VERB, you should VERB, he should VERB",<br>injunctive (second or third person ac-<br>tor); 422.                                    |
| -wan              | substantival; "with", instrument re-<br>lational; 332.1.<br>substantival; "and, with", conjunctive/<br>comitative relational; 332.1.                                       |
| -y                | substantival; "my", personal possessive;<br>310.<br>verbal inflectional; "I", 1st p. sg.                                                                                   |

- subject (only before -man, conditional, and -ku, exclusive plural); 421.
- y<sub>2</sub> verbal inflectional; 2nd p. sg. imperative; 422.
- y<sub>3</sub> thematic nominalizer; "to VERB, VERBing", infinitive, indefinite action or state; 511.
- ya substantival; developmental; 382.06. thematic verbalizer; "become", developmental; 523.
- ya<sub>2</sub> independent; exclamatory; 619.
- ykaca verbal and thematic verbalizer; "VERB here and there, now and then", continual repetition; 413.23.
- yki substantival; "your", personal possessive; 310. verbal inflectional; "I - you", 1st p. sg. subject - 2nd p. sg. object; 421.
- yku substantival; "our" (excl.), personal possessive; 310. verbal inflectional; "we", 1st p. pl. excl. indefinite paradigm; 421.
- yku<sub>2</sub> verbal; motion inward; 411.31. verbal and thematic verbalizer; "intensely, vehemently, profusely, very, violently, with great care, with great respect, etc.", intensifier; 413.4.
- ypari (see -rpari).
- ysi verbal; assistive, "help to VERB"; 413.1.
- ytu verbal; 413.63.
- yuq substantival; possessor; 340.

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