SYNTACTIC DEVELOPMENTS
IN THE VERB PHRASE
OF ECUADORIAN QUECHUA

P. MUYSKEN

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SYNTACTIC DEVELOPMENTS IN
THE VERB PHRASE OF ECUADORIAN QUECHUA

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1

Quechua I en II (cf. Torero, 1968) worden scherp onderscheiden, op basis van vnl. morfologische en fonologische criteria. Syntactisch gezien is de relatie tussen dialecten binnen de I groep en de II groep echter veel komplexer.

2

Als het Quechua zich pas na de Spaanse verovering heeft gestabiliseerd in Ecuador, dan blijkt dat talen zich ook kunnen verspreiden a.h.w. van de prestige norm af.

3

Als heranalyse van oppervlakte structuren inderdaad een belangrijke rol speelt in syntactische veranderingen, dan lijkt een substantiële theorie over syntactische verandering nauwelijks mogelijk.

4

Taalkundigen hebben zich, in een poging hun werk ten dienste te stellen van de leniging van gevoelde maatschappelijke noden, maar al te vaak voor een in opzet repressief karretje laten spannen.

5

De Zuidamerikaanse samenleving wordt in Nederland vaak als problematisch gekenschetst, en niet zonder reden. Toch kan Zuid-Amerika op veel punten een lichtend voorbeeld zijn voor ons land.

Labov's kritiek op 'closet linguistics' (1972) heeft het grammatikaal onderzoek vertraagd, en alleen het sociolinguistisch onderzoek vooruitgeholpen.

De vaak geopperde stelling dat er binnen de generatieve grammatika geen morfologische theorie is uitgewerkt, gaat niet meer op. Toch moeten alle bestaande ideeën en oplossingen binnen de lexikalistische theorie ontwikkeld dringend binnen één kader verantwoord worden.

De ideologische dimensie is meestal niet inherent aan een bepaalde vorm van spelling, maar wordt eraan toegekend in een politiek krachtenspel.

Mijn werkplek, dat is mijn hoofd.

SAMENVATTING

In deze vergelijkende studie over enkele dialecten van het Quechua in Ecuador worden verschillende ontwikkelingen in de syntaxis van de verbale konstituent (VP) geanalyseerd. De studie is gebaseerd op veldwerkgegevens over verscheidene dialecten van het Ecuatoriaans Quechua, met name die van Salcedo en Salasaca, en op gepubliceerde bronnen voor het Peruviaanse en het Boliviaanse Quechua.

Hoofdstuk II bevat een schets van het Ecuatoriaanse Quechua in het algemeen. Naast de fonemen worden bepaalde fonologische processen die in de dialect variatie een rol spelen beschreven, zoals stemhebbend worden, klinker verhoging, en de vereenvoudiging van groepen medeklinkers. De woordvolgorde in de zin en de algemene structuur van de nominale en de verbale konstituent (resp. NP en VP) worden kort besproken, evenals de kontraktie en deletie van het koppelwerkwoord en de naamvalsmarkering. De persoonlijke opvattingen van de auteur over de historische ontwikkeling van het Quechua komen aan bod in de volgende korte sectie, en het hoofdstuk wordt besloten met twee Quechua teksten en hun vertaling.

Hoofdstuk III behandelt ontwikkelingen in het paradigma van de verbale inflectie: de markering van getal en persoon, de /-nga/ en /-shka/ nominalisatie markeerders, de potentiële modus en het ontstaan van een "opdat" subordinator uit een exhortatieve vorm.

In Hoofdstuk IV worden de komplekse verbale groepen in het Ecuatoriaans Quechua geanalyseerd; hierbij spelen modale hulpwerkwoorden, werkwoorden van beweging en van temporeel aspekt, en het hulpwerkwoord /ka-/ een rol. Tenslotte worden deze constructies in een historisch perspectief geplaatst. Er worden een aantal argumenten gegeven voor een analyse waarin infinitief complementen niet door een S-knoop worden gedomineerd, en de auteur postuleert dat de komplekse verbale groepen zijn ontstaan door een, hetzij synchronisch, hetzij diachronisch, proces van

werkwoordsverheffing (verb raising).

In Hoofdstuk V wordt een synchronische analyse gegeven van de zogenaamde "modale suffixen" van het Quechua. Drie alternatieve beschrijvingsmodellen worden vergeleken: een lexikalistisch model, een model dat bundels kenmerken projekteert op reeksen morfemen, en een "hoger werkwoord" model. De auteur kan niet zeggen dat hij een oplossing gevonden heeft voor de complexe problemen die de modale suffixen opwerpen.

Hoofdstuk VI behandelt de komparatief konstruktie in het Ecuatoriaans Quechua. Er wordt aangetoond hoe het /yalli-/ 'overtreffen' zich in bepaalde dialecten tot een postpositie en een kwantifikator heeft ontwikkeld.

In Hoofdstuk VII, de konklusie, worden de hoofdlijnen van een theorie van syntaktische verandering geschetst. In het bijzonder wordt het proces van herinterpretatie op grond van oppervlakte konfiguraties uiteengezet, en er wordt geargumenteed voor een theorie die de overgang van lexikale eenheden van de ene syntaktische categorie naar de andere verantwoordt.

SUMMARY

In this comparative study of dialects of the Quechua language in Ecuador, several developments in the syntax of the verb phrase are analyzed. The study is based on fieldwork data from several Ecuadorian Quechua dialects, particularly those of Salcedo and Salasaca, and on published sources for Peruvian and Bolivian Quechua.

Chapter II sketches Ecuadorian Quechua in general. Its phonemes are described, and also certain phonological processes operating in it, such as voicing, vowel heightening, and consonant cluster simplification. Some brief indications are given about word order, the general structure of the noun phrase and verb phrase, of copula contraction and deletion, and of case marking. A short section presents the author's view of the historical development of the Quechua language, and finally two Quechua texts are provided with their translations.

Chapter III deals with developments which have occurred in the verbal inflection: the marking of number and tense, the /-nga/ and /-shka/ nominalizers, the potential mood and the development of a purposive complementizer out of an exhortative form.

In Chapter IV the complex verb expressions of Ecuadorian Quechua, involving modals, verbs of movement, verbs of temporal aspect, and the auxiliary /ka-/, are analyzed and placed in a historical perspective. It is argued that the infinitival complements are not dominated by the node S, and that complex verbal expressions have arisen through a process of verb raising.

In Chapter V a synchronic analysis of the so-called Quechua "modal suffixes" is presented. Three alternative models of description are compared: a lexicalist model, a model which maps feature bundles onto strings of morphemes, and a higher verb model. The author does not profess to have reached a solution to the complex problems posed by the modal suffixes.

Chapter VI deals with the comparative construction in Ecuadorian Quechua. It is shown how the verb /yalli-/ 'exceed'

has evolved into a postposition and also into a quantifier, in some dialects.

In Chapter VII, the final chapter, the outlines of a theory of syntactic change are sketched. In particular, the process of reinterpretation on the basis of surface structure configurations is charted, and the need for a substantive theory constraining the transition of a lexical item from one syntactic category to another is postulated.

PREFACE

Anyone who has undertaken a research project similar to the one reported on in this thesis will be aware of the total dependence of the researcher upon a host of other people. It is this dependence which leads to friendships and which lends an almost human dimension to linguistic investigations.

The fieldwork for this thesis was completed during my stay in Ecuador, from June 1974 to August 1976, as a linguistic consultant to the Proyecto Piloto de Educación Bilingüe of the Instituto Inter Andino de Desarrollo. A part of it took place in the framework of a dialect survey of the provinces of Cotopaxi and Tungurahua, under the supervision of Donald Dilworth and Louisa Stark. Indeed I owe much more than can be expressed here to the support of the bilingual education project, its members and participating teachers.

I wish to acknowledge my debt to the Direcciones Provinciales de Educación in Latacunga, Cotopaxi, in Ambato, Tungurahua, and in Ibarra, Imbabura. I owe special thanks to Raúl Plaza and Gustavo Bassantes, to Mario Mora and Mario Cobo Barona, and to Virginia Romero; all provided encouragement and support.

In the province of Cotopaxi, I offer special thanks to Monseñor Alonso Sarzosa, Rector of the Colegio Indigenista San José in Guaytacama, for always being ready to share ideas and for generously allowing me to work with the students at the Colegio. In the town in which I lived, Salcedo, the pastoral team, particularly Victor Corral and Carlos Jiménez, made it possible for me to do fieldwork in the parish, and through the example of their own pastoral work, made me aware of the linguist's limitations.

At the crucial juncture in the preparation of this thesis, a grant from WOTRO, the Netherlands Foundations for the Advancement of Tropical Research, allowed me to participate in the International Conference on Pidgins and Creoles, Hawaii, January 1975. Although they are not specifically acknowledged, many of

the ideas developed at that conference find their reflection in this work.

Furthermore, I am grateful to the anthropologists Ted and Reggie MacDonald, who made it possible for me to do fieldwork in Arajuno, Pastaza, and to Roselyn Howard, who paved the way for me in Canar. Their help and hospitality were of great value.

Since the first version of this thesis began to take shape in June 1975, I have had the benefit of comments on progressively more final drafts from distinguished colleagues in the field of Quechua syntax, particularly Louisa Stark, Garland Bills, and Gary Parker. My tremendous debt to these and other scholars will be apparent in the references cited. The Quechua classes of Willem Adelaar, covering a wide variety of features and dialects of the language, were the major impetus for me to start investigating the variation present in Quechua on my own. From the very beginning I have appreciated Willem's help and advice, both in his generously making available his own data and in his constant interest in mine.

The final version was written in the congenial and stimulating atmosphere of the Instituut voor Algemene Taalwetenschap at the University of Amsterdam. Chapter VI was presented as a talk to the Algemene Vereniging voor Taalwetenschap in December 1976, part of chapter V at the annual "Linguistics in the Netherlands" meeting, January 1977, and part of chapter IV at the "Morfologiedag", April 1977.

I should like to register my sincere thanks to my colleagues and friends for their comments and help. Henk van Riemsdijk, Jaap van Marle, and Geert Koefoed commented on the last chapter, Hans den Besten on chapter III. In the early stages of writing this thesis, Jan Voorhoeve offered comments on several chapters, and was very helpful in pointing the way to a more responsible method of linguistic reconstruction.

Ank Smit-Koopman drew the two maps appearing in chapter II. My wife Patricia Muysken-Menges corrected the English painstakingly and proofread the final copy. Connie Menting typed the difficult manuscript with amazing speed and accuracy.

Professor C.L. Ebeling read the manuscript with a meticulous

care revealing his insight into and fascination with the structures of languages. Chapter II in particular has benefitted greatly from his advice.

Most of all, I would like to thank Simon Dik, who offered invaluable advice to this thesis at every stage of its writing, and whose interest encouraged me to go on with it. His contributions aided its every single aspect. He constantly challenged me to look deeper and made me aware of the wider implications of many of my analyses.

It remains for me to acknowledge my tremendous debt to those Quechua speakers in Ecuador who have participated most directly and intimately in the shaping of this investigation of their language. In Imbabura these were Carlos Conterón and Carmen Chuquín; in Calderón, Manuel Simbaña Simbaña; in Tigua, Francisco Vega Tegasi; in Salcedo, Manuel Tenorio Tipanguano, Manuel Taco and Cristóbal Toapaxi; in Salasaca, Agustín Jerez, Martina Masaquiza, Rudecindo Masaquiza, Francisca Jerez, and Tránsito Chango; in Arajuno, Jorge Tapuy, Carlos Calapucha, Venancio Shiguango, Felipe Shiguango and Delfín Andi; in San Juan, Francisca Cruz de Ajitimbay and Segundo Ajitimbay; in Saraguro, Segundo Quizhpe Q., Lauro Sarango, Asunción, Angelita, Carmen, Alegría and Rosario. Without their interest, patience and intelligence this thesis would never have gotten anywhere.

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CHAPTER I: INTRODUCTION

This thesis describes some of the developments which have taken place in the syntax of the Ecuadorian Quechua verb phrase. In the first place, it tries to provide answers to questions posed in the field of diachronic syntax, and in the second place to contribute to our knowledge of the syntax of Quechua. The main contents of this thesis and the way it is organized are described in the Summary. Here I will state my position on several general issues relating to a work of this kind, and describe the nature of my data.

Diachronic syntax

After having been relatively neglected for a long time, even within generative grammar, the field of diachronic syntax is now undergoing considerable growth, as can be seen in the recent volume which resulted from the Parasession to the Twelfth CLS Meeting (Steever, et al., 1976), for instance, which was devoted to this topic.

In the study of syntactic change the development of the verb phrase, including auxiliaries, modals and aspect markers, has always received special attention, as is most notably the case for English (Closs Traugott, 1969), the Bantu languages (Givón, 1971) and the Romance languages (Reighard, 1972). These are but a few of the many titles of interest. The generalization that in most languages the verbal system undergoes more numerous and more profound changes than do other parts of the grammar certainly holds for Quechua, as I will show in this thesis.

It will be argued here that the main process of syntactic change can be defined as the reanalysis of certain constructions on the basis of their surface structure configuration, and not on the basis of their deep structure. For this reason, syntactic change may involve drastic restructuring, addition of syntactic categories to the grammar, change in the base rules and changes in the category status of classes of lexical

items, these in addition to those changes which were studied most in the literature on syntactic change in the sixties: rule order change, rule addition or loss, rule simplification. Also, a more substantive theory of possible category changes will be investigated, involving the possible relations between the nominal and the verbal constituents.

Although evidence for the theory of surface structure reinterpretation is presented at several places throughout this thesis, I cannot claim that a definitive theory of syntactic change crucially involving surface structure reinterpretation can be formulated or even imagined at the present time. Actually, the lack of firm theoretical foundations reflects the immaturity of the field of diachronic syntac at the present moment.

Quechua syntax and the theory of grammar

Several attempts have been made in the past to contribute to a theory of grammar through findings from Quechua. These attempts include studies made as early as Humboldt's, and more recently Bills' (1969) dissertation on case phenomena in Bolivian Quechua, Landerman & Frantz' (1972) and Costa's (1972) work from the point of view of generative semantics, and Parker's (1973) claims regarding higher verbs.

All these works raise valuable points and produced interesting data. We find, however, that the relation between the data and the theory defended is not always as direct as is postulated by the authors cited. I think that this is due to two reasons:

(a) Work done on South American Indian languages by non-native linguists, such as my work on Ecuadorian Quechua, hardly ever, if at all, reaches the level of definiteness, exactitude and detail which would be necessary for the purpose of making theoretical claims;

(b) Facts in isolation do not mean very much. Only when a coherent and plausible account has been given of a substantial set of data will it be possible to make a contribution to the theory of grammar from the perspective of Quechua data.

Until the time that some grammatical rules have been sufficiently well established, work on Quechua grammar will of necessity be only exploratory.

For these reasons, few theoretical claims are made here relating to the theory of grammar. The type of analysis proposed reflects a moderately surfacist position within the transformational generative paradigm, as will be obvious from the bibliography at the end of this thesis.

Scientific research in the Third World is nowadays more and more closely scrutinized and subjected to tests of its relevance for the subjects of the investigation, the people most directly involved in it. One may wonder whether the present thesis can stand the tests to which such research projects, particularly those in the social sciences, are rightly being submitted.

The criticism is often levelled that serious work (going beyond the compiling of basic word and morpheme lists) on the grammars of Third World languages is irrelevant to the needs of the people who speak them. Indeed, it may be hard to see any immediate relevance that material on languages such as Quechua, including the present thesis, may have for the inhabitants of the Ecuadorian highlands. However, two remarks are here in order:

First of all, those who criticize serious grammatical work on languages such as Quechua as irrelevant to the immediate needs of the people involved, should in fact also be critical of all work on grammar. The position that, for example, German, English, French, Russian or Japanese could and should be seriously studied, but not 'sundry' languages such as Quechua or Bambara, is dubious to say the least. It implies a hierarchy among languages as to their fitness in illuminating the universal qualities of language. It took too long for the universality of language to be recognized for this argument to be treated lightly.

Secondly, the difficulty of developing a major educational program in a vernacular language such as Quechua, in the absence of detailed studies of that language, is often under-

estimated. A phoneme, morpheme and lexical inventory is not necessarily adequate, when what is required is a basis for decisions about prestige pronunciations, preferred grammatical constructions, etc.

The Data

It was stated previously that this thesis deals mostly with Ecuadorian Quechua; therefore the principle sources of data are its contemporary dialects. Since the main focus of the study is linguistic variation and linguistic change, published material on earlier forms of Ecuadorian Quechua and the Quechua dialects of Peru and Bolivia was also included.

Since the earliest important written source for any Quechua dialect is Santo Tomás (1560) and for Ecuadorian Quechua, Nieto Polo (1753), secondary evidence derived from the comparison of different contemporary Quechua dialects had to be used in order to attempt diachronic work involving a greater time-depth. Here, reconstruction must be an essential part of the process of discovering what mechanisms of syntactic change occurred and what substantive changes are possible in language, particularly in syntax. To some extent, the procedure has to be considered a circular one: an earlier form of the language is reconstructed on the basis of the comparative evidence, but using a concept of what are possible changes, and then the changes which have occurred are studied on the basis of a comparison between the reconstructed earlier forms and the current ones.

Of course, this is not the case in all instances. We find that solid independent criteria can be applied to determine the historical reconstruction in all the cases crucial to this thesis. These criteria are given at the end of the second chapter. To the extent to which these criteria are valid, this thesis has a valid basis.

Given the fact that dialect variation plays such an important part in my argument, extensive reference should be made to the source of my data. The core of the data was gathered in the central provinces of Ecuador, so far relatively little studied: Calderón, in the province of Pichincha; Salcedo and Tigua, in

the province of Cotopaxi; Arajuno, in the province of Pastaza; Salasaca, in the province of Tungurahua. Fieldwork also was carried out in Otavalo, in the province of Imbabura; San Juan, in the province of Chimborazo; Cañar, in the province of Cañar; Saraguro, in the province of Loja.

In all these places, with the exception of Calderón and Tigua, the work was done with more than one informant. It consisted of translation and paraphrase questions, and judgements of the acceptability of sentences. In Imbabura, Cotopaxi, Tungurahua and Loja recorded legends and autobiographical material were also consulted, mainly as control data. In Tigua, Salcedo and Salasaca I was in very frequent contact with Q in non-interview situations, over a period of two years. In not all places did I find articulate and knowledgeable informants, although everywhere the data gathered were sufficiently consistent and coherent to provide some guarantee of reliability.

The sources for the data in this study are summarized in the following table

	More than one infor- mant	Taped auto- biographical and legend material	Extensive contacts	Quality in- formants
Otavalo, Imb	x	x		x
Calderón, Pi				x
Tigua, Cot		x	x	x
Salcedo, Cot	x	x	x	
Salasaca, Tun	x	x	x	x
Arajuno, Past	x			x
San Juan, Chim	x			
Cañar, Cañ	x			
Saraguro, Lo	x	x		x

Of the Q informants who helped me most with the research, ten were high school students and grade school teachers in their late teens and early twenties, all with peasant farming backgrounds and living in the places where they grew up; six were in their early teens; six were traditional artisans in their

thirties; four were older peasant farmers without any education in the formal sense.

On the whole, we are still far from achieving observational reliability in the case of EcQ, although I am confident that a good start has been made. In some cases (the modal suffixes described in chapter V; the comparative construction described in chapter VI; the relative clause construction, not described in this thesis), the phenomena crucial to the analysis presented here are too rare to be captured with ease in tape-recorded interview sessions. In others (the complex verbal constructions described in chapter IV; the paradigm variation described in chapter III), such an approach would be possible and useful. The case of variation which was most clearly determined stylistically as well as regionally, was that involving the complex verbal expressions described in chapter IV.

The oldest grammatical description of EcQ is Nieto Polo (1964), dating from 1753. Cordero's (1890) dictionary contains some grammatical information. From a slightly later date we have Grimm (1896) and Guzmán (1920), which both contain interesting observations. The most insightful modern grammars are Ross (1963) and Mugica (1967). Additional information can be found in Orr & Wrisley (1965), Stark et al. (1972) and Yáñez (1974b). Unless specifically indicated, the EcQ data described in this thesis do not derive from these works, however, but from my own fieldwork.

From the data a picture emerges of enormous variation in almost every aspect of the grammar of EcQ, involving not only what could be analyzed as late transformations, but differences in the phrase structure configurations as well. It will be noted that Spanish has only had a very minor influence on the developments described in this thesis, if indeed any at all. The areas of Q grammar influenced by Spanish are mostly sentence coordination and word order, as was documented for Cochabamba, BoQ, by Albó (1970). For EcQ the same observations would be valid to a lesser extent. For this reason, no reference will be made here to the interaction of Q and Spanish.

CHAPTER II: ECUADORIAN QUECHUA, A BRIEF SKETCH

Quechua is a South American Indian language (or language family) which is spoken in large areas of the Bolivian, Peruvian and Ecuadorian Andes, in the North of Argentina, and in the Amazonian jungle areas of northern Peru, Ecuador and southern Colombia. The highlands of Peru, Bolivia and Ecuador (in that order) contain the largest concentration of speakers, estimated to total between five and seven million.

The issue of whether Quechua (Q) constitutes a single language or a language family is a thorny one; for the purpose of this brief sketch it will suffice to consider it as two mutually unintelligible groups of dialects, Q I and Q II (Torero, 1964). The Q I group is the smaller one in number of speakers, but presents as much internal variation. It is spoken in the central Peruvian departments of Ancash, Huánuco, Pasco, Junín and Lima. (See Map I).

Q II is spoken in the remainder of Peru, in Bolivia, Argentina, Ecuador and Colombia. Although both in geographical extension and in the number of its speakers it far surpasses Q I, internally it does not present as much variation. In particular, the Q dialect spoken in Bolivia and in the department of Cuzco, Peru, shows little variation (See Map I).

Since most of the data in this thesis derive from Ecuadorian Q (EcQ), the brief sketch given here of Q grammar deals with this dialect. In the present chapter I attempt to draw attention to those aspects of EcQ which differ from the different dialects of Peruvian Q (PeQ) and Bolivian Q (BoQ), aspects which are of interest to the Q specialist. At the same time I have tried to provide enough information, particularly on those parts of grammar not dealt with specifically in this thesis, to enable the general reader to easily understand the Q examples given, and to follow the arguments presented.

After a brief description of the phonological segments, stress rules, and morpheme structure of EcQ, some of the phonological changes occurring in EcQ dialects will be described, insofar as they affect the phonetic shape of EcQ suffixes. Finally the syntactic structure of EcQ will be considered.

Map I

The geographical distribution of the Quechua dialects

1. PHONOLOGY

The phonological segments of EcQ are represented below, showing the orthography used in this thesis (comparable to that in Yáñez, 1974a):

CONSONANTS

	bilabial	dental	palatal	velar	glottal
Stops:	p	t	ch	k	
aspirated	p'	t'	ch'	k'	
voiced	b	d		g	
Affricates:		ts			
voiced		dz			
Fricatives:		s	sh	x	
voiced		z	zh		
Nasals	m	n	ñ		
Flap		r			
Laterals		l	ll		
Glides	w		y		h

VOWELS

	front	back
High	i	u
Low		a

A detailed account of the EcQ phonological inventory and its relation to Proto Q is given in Parker (1969a).

Wölck (1972b) provides the following morpheme structure rule for PeQ, which applies for the majority of lexical items:

$$\# \text{ } C_0^1 \text{ } V \text{ } (\text{ } C_1^2 \text{ } V \text{ }) \text{ } C_0^1 \text{ } \# .$$

This same rule applies to EcQ, if we disregard instances of substratum items which are longer than two syllables, and are obviously not general Q words, but rather regionalisms:

e.g. p'itsilkiritu 'chest' (Salcedo Q)

Stress in EcQ falls on the penultimate syllable, and shifts when suffixes are added:

wārmí 'woman'
warmíman 'to the woman'
warmikūna 'women'

Stress can be used contrastively with the "independent suffixes" /-mi/ and /-ka/ to give emphasis. In this case the "independent suffix" itself is stressed. The independent suffixes as such are described later in this chapter.

rinimí 'I am going'
kanká 'and you'

2. DIALECT VARIATION

The following section presents an informal account of the different phonological changes which the suffixes of EcQ have undergone. In most cases, such as voicing and vowel changes, similar but less regular changes also affect the EcQ lexicon. These will not enter into consideration here. On Map II the different regions in which EcQ is spoken are represented, and a list is provided of the abbreviations used to designate them.

Voicing

Voicing across morpheme boundaries affects primarily the following suffixes:

-pi 'locative'
-ta 'direct object'
-pak 'benefactive/genitive'
-kuna 'plural'
-kama 'until'
-ka 'topic'

We find six basic dialect groups which differ with respect to the contexts in which voicing occurs:

- A. No voicing in the dialects from Chim southward: Chim, Bol, Cañ, Az, Lo
- B. Voicing after nasals in Imb and Lim:
 ñan-da 'roadAC'
- C. Voicing after vowels but not after nasals in Pi:
 wasi-bi 'in the house'
 Xwan-ta 'JohnAC'

Map II

Quechua-speaking provinces of Ecuador

Imb - Imbabura	Tun - Tungurahua	Cañ - Cañar
Pi - Pichincha	Bol - Bolívar	Az - Azuay
Cot - Cotopaxi	Chim - Chimborazo	Lo - Loja

D. Voicing after vowels, glides and nasals in Cot and Bob:

pay-da 'him'

E. Voicing after vowels, glides, liquids and nasals in Salasaca, Tun:

yawar-da 'bloodAC'

F. Voicing accompanied by further reduction after nasals, and after vowels /-pi/ --> /-i/

/-kama/ --> /-gama/

/-kuna/ --> /-una/

/-ta/--> /-ra/

/-pak/ --> /-(wa)k/ in Tena:

Puyu-i 'in Puyo'

Apart from the implications that these data may have from the point of view of natural phonology, regarding a hierarchy of "natural" contexts for voicing, they, and particularly the Pichincha data, have further interest in that they seem to disprove the claim made by Parker (1969a: 155) that voicing after nasals is general in all EcQ dialects, to be reconstructed as a feature of Proto EcQ. It should be noted, however, that coastal PeQ, possibly related to EcQ, also had voicing after nasals.

Another feature reconstructed by Parker for Proto EcQ which does not coincide with the Pi data is /-sha/ 'ls future'. Pi Q has /-shuk/, which has undergone the /a/ --> /u/ vowel change from /-shak/ at some point in the development of Pi Q. The possibility cannot be excluded, of course, that EcQ presented internal variation even in its early stages or that the Pi data show Cuzco influence.

Vowel changes

From the phonological point of view, one of the most perplexing phenomena in EcQ is the vowel changing rule of the central provinces. In the case of the suffixes, it sets Cot, Pi and Tun Q apart from the dialects of the other provinces.

In Cot and Tun the case suffixes undergo the /a/ --> /u/ change:

/-man/ --> /-mun/ 'to'

/-pak/ --> /-puk/ 'genitive/benefactive'

/-wan/ --> /-un/ 'instrumental'

/-manta/ --> /-munta/ 'from'

Here the independent suffixes undergo the /a/ --- /i/ change:

/-rak/ --> /-rik/ 'still'

/-tak/ --> /-tik/ 'emphatic'

/-pash/ --> /-pish/ 'also/indefinite'

In Pi the /a/ --> /u/ change occurs in almost all cases.

The vowel changes also take place optionally within the lexicon and in some forms of the inflected verb, particularly in the third person present tense, and before the suffixes /-sha/ 'SUB', /-shka/ 'NOM' and /-rka/ 'past tense'. Some of the lexical examples are:

sumak --> sumuk 'beautiful'

kunan --> kunun 'now'

yawar --> yaur 'blood'

barbas --> barbus 'beard, sideburns'

hayak --> hayik 'bitter'

illakta --> illikta 'completely'

yachak --> yachik 'wise, witch'

kanasta --> kanista 'basket'

Some of the examples from the verbal paradigm are:

waka-sha --> waku-sha 'crying'

pusha-sha --> pushu-sha 'leading'

muna-n --> munu-n 'he/she wants'

shita-rka --> shiti-rka 'he/she threw (away)'

chaya-sha --> chayi-sha 'arriving'

tamia-rka --> tami-rka 'it rained'

Three different questions need to be answered regarding the vowel changes:

(a) What is the status of the process? Is it a syntactic rule or a diachronic derivation? If the former (which we can prove in the case of the verb forms, and which is likely in the case of the lexical items), how then is the rule conditioned? Is it optional, does it have a stylistic dimension? Is the process being diffused through the lexicon?

(b) In what phonological context does the vowel change occur? In any case, it cannot occur in monosyllabic items:

ñan --> *ñun/*ñin 'road'

It also does not occur in an open final syllable:

ri-rka --> *ri-rku/*ri-rki

As can be seen in the list of examples given above, it is not conditioned by stress.

(c) How can we predict whether the /a/ becomes /i/ or /u/? There is considerable dialect variation and even ideolectal fluctuation on this point. The data given above are from Salasaca, Tun Q, which appears to be the most stable dialect in this respect. The most likely solution would claim that assimilation to a preceding segment is involved, sensitive to the feature roundness. (I would like to thank Mieke Trommelen and Wim Zonneveld for their help on this problem). A preliminary analysis results in the following assimilation rule:

$$v \rightarrow \left[\begin{array}{c} \alpha \text{ round} \\ + \text{ high} \end{array} \right] / \left[\begin{array}{c} \alpha \text{ round} \\ - \text{ cons} \end{array} \right] \quad (V) [+cons]_0 \text{ ____ } C \quad ((C) V)$$

Monophthongization

In the central dialects we find a process of monophthongization affecting sequences of the form /Vy/:

chay --> chi 'that'

shamuy --> shami 'come'

tukuy --> tuki 'all'

ñaubay --> ñaubi 'go ahead'

The occurrence of this process appears to be mostly stylistically conditioned.

Consonant cluster reduction

In several dialects consonant cluster reduction affects suffixes:

/-gri/ --> /-gi/ 'inceptive' (Cusubamba, Cot)

/-shpa/ --> /-sha/ 'gerundial' (Cot, Tun)

/-rka/ --> /-ra/ 'preterite' (Pilahuín, Tun; Collas, Cot)

/-ka/ (Salcedo, Cot)

/-kpi/ --> /-ki/ 'adverbial subordination' (Salasaca, Tun)

/-pi/ (Salcedo, Cot)

Syllable deletion

In some of the central dialects we find syllable deletion:

pasa-nga-gama --> pasangama 'until he passes'

amigu-guna --> amiguna 'friends'

Non-emphatic reduction

In several EcQ dialects we find the stylistic option of using the reduced or the non-reduced form of a suffix:

/-shpa/ --> /-sh/ 'gerundial' (Cañ, Az, Lo)

/-pish/ --> /-sh/ 'also/indefinite' (Cot, Tun)

/-pak/ --> /-k/ 'genitive/benefactive' (Salasaca, Tun; Tena)

Final consonant deletion

Finally, a process which affects both suffixes and lexical roots in EcQ, and which is stylistically conditioned, is final consonant deletion:

/-pak/ --> /-pa/ 'genitive/benefactive' (Cañ, Lo)

(/-buk/ --> /-bu/ (Cot, Tun))

/-man/ --> /-ma/ 'to' (Cañ, Tena)

(/-mun/ --> /-mu/ (Cot, Tun))

3. GRAMMAR

The description of EcQ grammar provided here will be limited to a few remarks, filling the gaps between and providing a framework for the more extensive analyses provided in the separate chapters of this thesis. Unless otherwise stated, the examples given here in this section will be in the EcQ dialect of Chimborazo.

Word order

There is no evidence of ongoing changes in the word order of Q, although some dialects appear to have a much freer word order than others. The basic order of constituents is:

(^{Adv}_S) (NP) (PP) ... (PP) (Adv) (NP) V (-COMP)

The object NP, directly to the left of V, can lose its case

marking /-ta/ when nothing intervenes between it and the V. In main clauses it can be moved into a position marked for focus, to the right of V. The PP's can also be extraposed to the right of V under certain specific conditions, in main clauses. In chapters IV and VI the extraposition of PP's will be discussed in greater detail.

Minor movements are quite common in Q, as they are in many other highly inflected languages. Movement rules will be discussed separately in this chapter. Although no systematic research has been done on this problem, it may well be the case that in EcQ word order is much less free than in other Q dialects.

Constituents

In general, the head of a phrase in Q occupies the rightmost position within that phrase:

Thus we find the verb in the rightmost position of a VP, the head noun in the rightmost position of an NP, the adjective in the rightmost position of an AP.

Pedro-pak wawa-kuna	NP
Peter GEN child PL	
'Peter's children'	
sinchi-ta rura-n	VP
hard AC work 3	
'he works hard'	
sumak warmi	NP
beaut. woman	
'a beautiful woman'	
riku-nga-pak sumak warmi	AP
see NOM PUR beaut. woman	
'a beautiful woman to see'	

In some cases, the grammatical relation between two parts of speech in Q does not need to be marked explicitly when it

can be directly interpreted from the relative position of the elements involved. This is so when (1) they are adjacent, and (2) when the governed element precedes/follows the governing element, as one traditional Q grammarian put it. The two most prominent constructions of this type are those of one noun modifying another, and of a verb with an object or a modifier. I do not exclude the possibility of other similar constructions for which this generalization can be made, but will not discuss these here.

rumi-pak shungu
stoneGEN heart
'a heart of stone'
rumi shungu
alli-ta parla-n
good AC speak 3
'he speaks well'
alli parlan

Noun Phrases

Although the precise internal structure of the noun phrase has not been studied yet, we may include within the NP expansion rule at least:

(Dem) (Num) (AP) (PP) N

PP's include possessive NP's and constructions like:

ishki rinri-un paila
two ear WI pot
'a pot with two handles'

Demonstratives include /kay/ 'this' and /chay/ 'that'.

The expansion possibilities of the AP node are very limited and include /manchanay/ 'terribly' or a similar modifier, and a comparative clause:

kay manchanay sumak warmi
this terribly pretty woman
'this terribly pretty woman'
kay kan-ta yalli sumak warmi
this youAC pass pretty woman
'this woman prettier than you'

*kay ashka kan-ta yalli sumak warmi
 this much you AC pass pretty woman
 'this woman much prettier than you'

There is nothing in EcQ comparable to a definite article; for the indefinite article, the numeral /shuk/ 'one' is used. There is no grammatical gender, nor are nouns in any other way divided into morphological classes. The plural suffix /-kuna/ is attached to the right of the noun:

warmi 'woman'
 warmi-kuna 'women'

Diminutives in EcQ are /-ku/ (or /-gu/) and /-wa/ (or /-wawa/):

alku-gu 'little dog' Imb
 misi-wa 'little cat' Cot

Case markers (P's) are attached to the right of the NP, and also to the right of the diminutive and plural suffixes:

misi-wa-kuna-rayku
 cat DI PL cause
 'because of the little cats'

A delimitative marker /-lla/ 'just' can modify either the noun or the whole NP or PP:

wasi-man-lla 'only to the house' (not away from it)
 wasi-lla-man 'only to the house' (not anywhere else)

Finally, there is a category of independent suffixes (IND), which will be discussed later in some detail.

Thus the morphological positions available in the head of the NP are:

N - DI - lla - kuna - CASE - lla - IND

The status of PP's and their relationship to NP's, AP's and VP's will be taken up in a separate chapter.

Case is expressed in Q with the aid of a number of case markers, of which the following are the most important ones:

Nominative	Ø	
Accusative	ta	AC
Dative	man	to
Ablative	manta	from

Locative	pi	LO
Purposive/ Genitive	pak	PUR/GEN
Instrumental	wan	WI
Causal	rayku	cause
Delimitative	kama	till

Specific syntactic characteristics of the case markers are briefly discussed in the last chapter of this thesis. Here a few examples will be given to familiarize the reader with the Q material:

ñuka pay-man kullki-ta ku-ni
 I he to money AC give 1s
 'I give money to him'

chiri-rayku uku-pi puñu-nchik
 cold cause ins.LO sleep 1PL
 'because of the cold we sleep inside'

Hambatu-manta Rimbamba-man puri-n
 Ambato from Riobamba to walk 3
 'he walks from Ambato to Riabamba'

usis-wan mama-pak sara-ta p'iti-ni
 sickleWI motherPUR cornAC cut 1s
 'with a sickle I cut corn for mother'

It should be noted that the accusative, dative and ablative cases have both spatio-temporal interpretations and interpretations relating to grammatical relations:

dumingu-ta shamu-ni	ACCUSATIVE
Sunday AC come 1s	
'I come on Sunday'	
Kitu-ta pasa-ni	
Quito AC pass 1s	
'I pass through Quito'	
wasi-ta chari-ni	
houseAC have 1s	
'I have a house'	
wasi-man ri-n	DATIVE
house to go 3	
'he goes to the house'	
pay-man ku-ni	
he to give 1s	
'I give to him'	

urku-manta shamu-ni ABLATIVE
 mount.from come 1s
 'I come from the mountain'
 tamia-manta hukushka
 rain from wet
 'wet from the rain'

Apart from a number of phonological changes, such as initial C voicing, final C deletion and the vowel changes of the central dialects, the EcQ case markers are similar to those of most Q II dialects, with one major exception: the genitive and benefactive are represented differently:

Case	Proto Q II	EcQ
genitive	pa	pak
benefactive	paq	pak, man, variations
purposive	paq	pak, variations

The following examples are from Saraguro, Lo Q:

chi sapato-kuna mana ñuka-pak-chu
 those shoe PL not I GEN NEG
 'those shoes are not mine'
 ñuka sisa-ta randi-ni ñuk warmi-man
 I flower AC buy 1s my wife BEN
 'I buy flowers for my wife'
 mushuk kamisa-ta chura-ni fishta-pak
 new shirt AC put on 1s party PUR
 'I put on a new shirt for the party'

In several EcQ dialects new benefactives have emerged, however; examples will be given for Tigua, Cot Q, for Salasaca, Tun Q, and for Arajuno, Tena Q. Tigua, Cot Q has developed a separate benefactive-purposive suffix /-guk/, probably from the suffix /-buk/, derived from /-pak/ through voicing and vowel raising:

pay-buk wasi
 he GEN house
 'his house'
 haku miku-nga-guk
 let's go eatNOM PUR
 'let's go and eat'
 kay sumiru na hatun-chu ñuka-guk
 this hat not big NEG I BEN
 'this hat is not big enough for me'

In Salasaca, Tun Q it is customary to form compound expressions in order to indicate a benefactive case:

ñuka wasi-da rura-ni tayta-buk p'abur
I house AC make ls father^{GEN} favor
'I build a house in favor of my father', i.e. 'for my father'

Clearly this is limited to benefactive, and does not apply to purposive. Note also that, although the word /p'abur/ is derived from Spanish, the compound expression is not a calque from that language.

In Arajuno, Tena Q, the complex postposition /-pak-ta/ is used to specify the benefactive case:

ñuka wasi-ra rura-ni ñuka tiu-k-ta
I house AC make ls my uncle BEN
'I build a house for my uncle'

This particular complex marker will be discussed in greater detail in the last chapter of this thesis.

Verb Phrases

Since the verb phrase is the subject of this thesis, there is no need to describe its internal and external structures in detail here. In fact, very little is known so far about the VP. It may have something like the following structure:

No attempt will be made to justify this general configuration here. There is some evidence for a verbal specifier position in the left of V, which may be filled by the direct object or by a manner adverb. If this position exists, the VP would have a more complex internal structure:

Arguments for separating the NP position of the direct object from the PP's are given in chapter VII. The matter of the position of the adverb is a very complex one, as it is in many languages. In fact, it may appear in several different positions:

Adv	NP	PP	..	PP	NP	V
NP	Adv	PP	..	PP	NP	V
NP	PP	..	PP	Adv	NP	V
NP	PP	..	PP	NP	Adv	V

as can be seen in the following examples:

kayna ñuka Kitu-mun ri-rka-ni
yest. I Quito to go PA 1s
'yesterday I went to Quito'

kan-ga ukta wasi-mun ri-na ga-ngi
you TO fast home to go NOM be 2s
'you are to go home fast'

Huzi chiri ga-shka-munda hinchí sibada-da taka-rka
José cold be NOM cause hard barley AC beat PA
'José hit the barley hard because it was cold'

ñuka chay wasi-da na alli-da riku-y pudi-ni-chu
I that houseAC not well AC seeNOM can 1s NEG
'I can't see that house very well'

Direct questions

Simple direct questions in Q are formed by adding the particle /-chu/ to the constituent questioned:

kay ñan-chu Kitu-man ri-n?
this road Q Quito to go 3
'is this the road to Quito?'

kay ñan-ka Kitu-man-chu ri-n?
this roadTO Quito to Q go 3
'does this road go to Quito?'

There is some controversy as to the identity or non-identity of the question particle /-chu/ with the negative particle /-chu/. In Parker's analysis (1965) of Ayacucho Q they are taken together as a "non-factual marker". Wölck's description (1972a) of the syntactic behavior of the validational suffixes, however, suggests that the two particles /-chu/ have nothing in common syntactically; moreover, he shows that in some dialects they are differentiated phonologically. Thus we find:

Wanka -chu negation
 -chun question
Ancash -tsu negation
 -ku question

In EcQ there is nothing in their distribution or syntactic behavior which suggests that we are not dealing with one single suffix as analysed by Parker (1965).

WH-questions

In Q WH-questions are formed by fronting the questioned item, either replaced or accompanied by a WH-proform, such as:

ima 'what'
pi 'who'
maikan 'which'
pi Kitu-man ri-n?
who Quito to go 3
'who goes to Quito?'
maikan ñan Kitu-man ri-n?
which road Quito to go 3
'which road goes to Quito?'

Left extraposition

Any nominal constituent can be extraposed to the left in main clauses. Generally, /-ka/ is added to it:

mana yacha-ni-chu pi-ta ñuka riku-shka-ta
not know 1s NEG whoAC I see NOM AC
'I don't know whom I had seen'

pi-ta riku-shka-ta-ka, mana yacha-ni-chu
 whoAC see NOM AC TO not know 1s NEG
 'whom I had seen I don't know'

mai-pi-tak Xwana ka-n?
 whereLO EMP Juana be 3
 'where is Juana?'

Xwana-ka, mai-pi-tak ka-n?
 Juana TO whereLO EMP be 3
 'and Juana, where is she?'

In these cases, there is a pause after the extraposed element.

As to the problem of the number of PP's which may occur in the VP, no definite number can be established. Long strings of PP's are awkward, to be sure. In fact, not many arguments can be given at all for the existence of a VP node. The most convincing argument that I can think of involves negation; if the generalization is maintained that whole constituents are negated, facts about unmarked sentence negation, in which /mana/ is placed at the beginning of the VP node, and /-chu/ at the end, can be expressed naturally:

ñuka mana Hambatu-mun ri-ni-chu
 I not Ambato to go 1s NEG
 'I don't go to Ambato'

This argument is taken up again in chapter IV. The precise VP configuration does not appear in the arguments given in subsequent chapters in a crucial way. Pending further research I will let the matter rest. Other particulars of the VP configuration will be discussed at later points throughout this thesis.

The inflected main verb has the following morphological positions in EcQ:

ROOT - MODAL - TENSE - PERSON - NUMBER - INDEPENDENT

The category Independent will be discussed later in this chapter.

The category Modal will be extensively discussed in chapter V. It involves a seemingly disparate class of morphological elements which modify the meaning of the root in various ways. Thus we have aspect markers such as /-gri-/ and /-ku-/, and causative and medial suffixes such as /-chi-/ and /-ri-/:

miku-gri-ni
 eat INC 1s
 'I am going to eat'

puñu-ku-ni sleepPR 1s	'I am sleeping'
miku-chi-ni eat CAU 1s	'I make (someone) eat'
riku-ri-ni see REF 1s	'I show up'

The morphological similarities between these suffixes mask essential syntactic differences.

Tense, Person and Number will be described in detail in chapter III. Some examples of inflected verb forms are:

miku-ngi-chik eat 2 PL	'you (PL) will eat'
yapu-n plough3	'he ploughs'
shamu-nga-kuna come 3FU PL	'they'll come'
puñu-rka-ngi sleep PA 2s	'you slept'
tukuri-shka-Ø finish SD 3	'it turns out it is finished'

The distinction between first person plural exclusive /-yku/ and first person plural inclusive /-nchik/ which characterizes PeQ has disappeared in EcQ; /-nchik/ is used for both persons. Thus we find the following suffixes for the categories of Person and Number:

1s	-ni
2s	-ngi
3s	-n
1PL	-nchik
2PL	-ngichik
3PL	-n(kuna)

The past and sudden discovery tense suffixes simply precede these person and number suffixes; in the case of the future tense, the situations is more complicated, as will be shown in chapter III.

Copula contraction

In some dialects of EcQ, particularly Salasaca, Tun Q, the copula /ka-/, which appears in existential and locative senten-

ces, in predicate complements, and as an auxiliary, is optionally contracted. Thus we find:

pobre-mi ga-nchi		pobre mi-nchi
poor AF be 1PL	==>	poor AF 1PL
'we are poor'		'we're poor'
ri-na ga-ni		ri-na-ni
goNOM be 1s	==>	goNOM 1s
'I have to go'		'I've to go'

Copula contraction will be discussed in considerably more detail in chapter IV.

Negation

In Q negation is formed in the following way: /mana/ is placed at the beginning of the constituent to be negated, and /-chu/ is attached to the end:

Pedro wasi-pi puñu-n
 Peter houseLO sleep3
 'Peter sleeps in the house'

Pedro mana wasi-pi puñu-n-chu
 Peter not house LO sleep3 NEG
 'Peter does not sleep in the house'

mana Pedro-chu wasi-pi puñu-n, ashtawan Xwan-mi
 not Peter NEG houseLO sleep3 but John AF
 'Peter does not sleep in the house, John does'

In negated direct questions /mana/ + /-chu/ appears at the beginning of the question:

mana-chu kunan rura-n?
 not NEG now work 3
 'doesn't he work now?'

In subordinated clauses /-chu/ does not appear:

mana tamia-kpi-ka shamu-sha
 not rain SUB TO come 1sFU
 'if it does not rain I'll come'

* mana tamia-kpi-chu shamusha

Deletion of /-chu/ also occurs often in main clauses.

Independent suffixes

The term "independent suffixes" stems from a morphological characteristic which a number of Q suffixes have: that of being

able to be attached to different types of constituents, rather than simply to one type. This characteristic is not grammatically significant, and certainly would not be sufficient motivation to treat them together here, if it were not for the fact that most of them are also semantically related, in that they refer to pragmatic concepts such as topic-focus, degree of certainty, etc. Generally, at least the following suffixes are included:

- chu 'negative/question'
- mi 'affirmative'
- shi 'hearsay'
- cha(ri) 'perhaps'
- ka 'topic'

The suffix /-chu/ has already been discussed. /-mi/, /-shi/ and /-cha(ri)/ are sometimes called "validational suffixes" in that they indicate the attitude of the speaker with respect to the validity of the information conveyed:

kaya shamu-nga-mi
tom. come 3FU AF
'tomorrow he'll come for sure'

kaya shamu-nga-shi
tom. come 3FU INF
'they say he'll come tomorrow'

kaya shamu-nga-chari
tom. come 3FU DUB
'perhaps he'll come tomorrow'

The position of these validational suffixes varies according to the element of the sentence which needs to be affirmed, put into doubt, etc.:

kayna-shi shamu-rka
yest. INF come PR
'yesterday, they say, he came'

kayna shamu-rka-shi
yest. come PR INF
'he came, they say, yesterday'

There is a direct relationship between pairs of validation-al suffixes such as /-mi/ and /-chu/:

kayna shamu-rka-chu? 'did he come yesterday?' /-chu/-Q
kayna shamu-rka-mi 'he came indeed yesterday'
kayna-chu shamu-rka? 'was it yesterday that he came?'

kayna-mi shamurka 'yesterday he came'
 mana shamu-nga-chu 'he won't come' /-chu/-NEG
 shamunga-mi 'but he will'

mana Kitu-mun-chu ri-ni, ashtaun Hambatu-mun-mi Tun Q
 not Quito to NEG go ls but Ambato to AF
 'I am not going to Quito, but to Ambato'

The suffix /ka/ seems to function basically as a topic and contrastive marker. Note the following examples:

ñuka Kitu-mun ri-ni, Juan-ga Hambatu-mun ri-n Tun Q
 I Quito to go ls John TO Ambato to go 3
 'I go to Quito and John goes to Ambato'

ñuka Kitu-mun ri-ni; kan-gá? Tun Q
 I Quito to go ls you TO
 'I go to Quito; and you?'

To understand the differences between /-mi/ and /-ka/, let us consider these two phrases:

ñuka-ga Hambatu-mun ri-ni Tun Q
 I to Ambato to go ls

ñuka-mi Hambatu-mun ri-ni Tun Q
 I AF Ambato to go ls

Both of these mean: 'I go to Ambato'. The difference between them can be explained as follows: in the first sentence /-ga/ functions as the topic-marker, so that it can be paraphrased as:

'As for me, I'm going to Ambato'

On the other hand, /-mi/ in the second expression functions as an affirmative marker, indicating that it serves as an answer to either of two questions:

Who goes to Ambato?

Is it you going to Ambato?

In EcQ, the validational markers are not always present, as they are claimed to be in PeQ.

Clause subordination

Clause subordination in EcQ can be of two types: nominalization and adverbial subordination. Nominalization is described in some detail elsewhere in this thesis. Adverbial subordination in EcQ occurs mostly in time clauses, conditionals and concessives, and it involves two different suffixes: /-shpa/ and /-kpi/.

/-shpa/ is used when the subject of the higher clause is identical to that of the subordinated clause:

wasi-man chaya-shpa, Huzi miku-rka
house to arrive SUB José eat PA
'upon arriving at the house, José ate'

The suffix /-kpi/ is used when the subordinate clause has a subject different from that of the main clause. It is derived from the nominalizer /-k/ and the locative postposition /-pi/, so that we may suppose that it was historically dominated by a PP node. In the present analysis it is represented as dominated by a SUB (adverbial subordinator) node in the same way as /-shpa/ is, because they are identical in syntactic function and position in the sentence, while PP's have a different position:

tamia-kpi-ka, mana ri-sha-chu
rain SUB TO not goes FU NEG
'if it rains, I won't go'
ñuka ashka timpu tamia-pi ka-rka-ni
I much time rain in be PA ls
'I was in the rain for a long time'
tamia-pi ñuka ashka timpu ka-rka-ni
rain in I much time be PA ls

The last sentence, with a fronted PP, only makes sense when 'in the rain' is topicalized, and /-ka/ is added to it. Clauses with a subordinator /-kpi/ on the other hand, are always fronted.

A second argument which may be given for the claim that /-kpi/ is a separate complementizer is that /-kpi/ undergoes consonant cluster reduction in some EcQ dialects:

pay shamu-ki	'if he comes'	Salasaca, Tun Q
he come SUB		
pay shamu-pi	'if he comes'	Salcedo, Cot Q
he come SUB		

Presumably, the rule of consonant cluster deletion in EcQ only operates within morphemes.

shamu-rga-ni	'I came'	Salasaca, Tun Q
come PA ls		
shamu-ga-ni	'I came'	
yaur-da	'blood AC'	
blood AC		

*yau da, yaura, etc.

Nominalization

In all Q dialects we find that nominalization is a crucial and very frequent syntactic process. It is involved in sentential complements, relative clauses, embedded WH-questions, adverbial clauses, etc. Five different nominalizers occur in EcQ:

-na
-k
-shka
-nga
-y

These five nominalizers are partly distinguished by their syntactic structure and distribution, partly by their semantic interpretation. Thus in EcQ /-y-/ is generally limited to certain infinitive complements:

miku-y-ta muna-n	Zám-biza, Pich Q
eatNOM AC want 3	
'he wants to eat'	

It is interpreted as referring to actions in the abstract. In EcQ the nominalizer /-nga/ occurs only in postpositional phrases, generally with purposive /-pak/ or with delimitative /-kama/:

miku-nga-pak shamu-rka
eat NOM PUR come PA
'he came in order to eat'

The other three nominalizers can all occur both in sentential complement clauses and in relative clauses. They differ, among other things, in their tense interpretation:

yacha-ni pay shamu-shka-ta
know 1s he come NOM AC
'I know that he has come'

yacha-ni pay shamu-k-ta
know 1s he comeNOM AC
'I know that he is coming', 'of his coming'

yacha-ni pay shamu-na-ta
know 1s he come NOM AC
'I know that he will come'

In the chapter dealing with complex verbal constructions the problem of nominalization will be discussed in somewhat more detail.

4. THE RELATION BETWEEN EcQ AND OTHER Q DIALECTS

Since this thesis provides a diachronic analysis of certain aspects of EcQ, it is important to be able to determine the historical relationship between the varieties of Q in existence. This leads us to formulate two central questions:

- (a) How did EcQ emerge?
- (b) How can the relationships existing between EcQ and different varieties of PeQ be adequately represented in a model?

How and when did Q get to Ecuador

This is not a proper place for giving a complete argumentation of this question, which would necessarily involve archeological and documentary evidence, apart from linguistic data.

My position can be summarized as follows:

- While Q was brought to Ecuador by traders, mitimae (displaced groups), soldiers and bureaucrats during and possibly even before the Incaic period (1480-1530), the main consolidation of Q as a peasant language occurred during the colonial period. Q was adopted by the peasants partly due to the linguistic policy of the colonial regime, but mostly because of the caste system and the growing identification of the peasants with the (mythologized) Inca empire of the past.
- Two varieties of Q were introduced into Ecuador: Chinchay Standard (Torero, 1972; 1974), used as a trade language during and perhaps before the Inca empire, and Chinchay Inca, used by the imperial administrators sent up from Cuzco. Modern EcQ is characterized by a firm basis of Chinchay Standard with a few irregular overlay (or superstrate) features of Chinchay Inca.

Sociolinguistically, we might express these two general conclusions in the following way:

1520	1560	1620
Chinchay Inca	Spanish	Spanish
Chinchay Standard	Quechua	Quechua
Tribal Pre-Q	Tribal Pre-Q	Quechua/Tribal Pre-Q

In this scheme the highest level represents the national administrative bureaucracy; the intermediate level represents inter-tribal contacts, trade, and regional administration; the lower level represents the ordinary daily language used by the peasants. The word "tribal" used here refers to the regional characteristics of a group, not to a level of cultural achievement.

Chinchay Inca resembles the colonial Cuzco dialect and to a lesser extent its modern form; it is more difficult to find modern reflexes of Chinchay Standard. We might consider here the now extinct dialect of coastal central Peru described by Santo Tomás (1560) and postulate a very general, possibly heterogeneous, dialect which served as a lingua franca throughout the Inca Empire and was adopted as a native language in some regions where forms of Q II are spoken now, and where no Q had been spoken previously.

Note, for instance, that one of the descriptions (Catamarca, now extinct) was most closely related to Chinchay dialects such as that described by Santo Tomás. Also, there are numerous similarities between EcQ and PeQ dialects such as San Martín Q (Park & Weber, 1976).

The question of why Q was adopted by the Ecuadorian peasants really involves two problems: 1. Why weren't the pre-Inca tribal languages conserved? 2. Why didn't the peasants switch to Spanish?

The answer to the first of these questions lies in the Indian society's original cultural and linguistic fragmentation, which was followed by a demographic decline in the sixteenth century. These changes are described in Spalding (1974): regional groups were fragmented and "reintegrated" in a peasant class.

The second question can be answered by looking at the characteristics of colonial society. I think that an important factor in Q's replacing a number of tribal languages has to be found in the campesino class' search for a cultural identity. The various names used by Indians to designate Q may be indicative of this process:

yanga shimi	'worthless language'
runa shimi	'Indian language'
inga shimi	'Inca language'
inga parlu	'Inca talk'
ingiru	'Inca-ese'
ingichu	'Inca-(Quichua?)'
inga	'Inca'

The first one refers to the societal position of Q, but the others all have to do with a generalized Indian identity rooted in the Inca empire. From Coba Robalino's (1929: 164) account, the best source on the Indian history of the central provinces, we know that the Inca heritage had symbolic importance in Indian rebellions:

During the Spanish Conquest in the XVI century, the devil came to show himself to the multitudes of Indians in the form of the Inca Atahualpa, giving them orders to resist against the whites in general, against the preachings of the missionaries, or against Indians themselves, and filling them with illusions, with promises of beautiful and imminent events that never took place.

Likewise, George Kubler in his classic study "The Quechua in the Colonial World" (1946: 350) stresses the importance of the Inca heritage.

While most sociolinguistic studies stress the tendency of change towards the prestigious norm in a situation of language stratification, the reverse tendency can also exist. Note Labov's remarks in "The Study of Language in its Social Context" (1970: 3.2):

Why don't all people speak in the way they obviously believe they should? Careful consideration of this difficult problem has led us to posit the existence of an opposing set of covert norms, which attribute positive values to the vernacular.

The concept of the emergence of Q as a form of class articulation with a protest character has not yet been studied adequately. To conclude, I offer the following quote from Juan and Ulloa, Spanish officials travelling in Ecuador in the eighteenth century (1829: 551):

Generally the Indians, apart from those raised in the cities, speak no other language than their own, called Quichua; Nonetheless there are some who understand

Spanish and speak it, but they rarely reduce themselves to answering in Spanish, even when they know that their interlocutor does not understand them in Quichua.

How are the Q dialects related

Parker (1969; 1971) did a series of studies of the relationships between different Q dialects, and how they have evolved. While in the earlier of these a tree model was adopted, in the last one, dealing with the evolution of Q I, a wave model was adopted. Similarly Torero (1968: 291) discusses the inadequacy of a tree model, particularly in determining the relationship between the northern PeQ dialects and the Q I group.

A comparison of EcQ and the northern PeQ dialects such as Cajamarca Q shows cases of shared features which may be due not to a genetic relationship but to areal spread. Nonetheless, there are some characteristics of EcQ which distinguish it from all other Q dialects; the most important ones are shifts in the meanings of three frequently used modal suffixes:

	PeQ	EcQ
-pa-	frequentative	polite
-ri-	diminutive	medial
-ku-	medial	progressive aspects

Besides having undergone this shift in meaning when they are used productively, these suffixes have retained their original PeQ meanings in some lexicalized combinations. These latter might be considered evidence for the existence of a Chinchay Inca "overlay"; alternatively, they may be thought of as fossilized remnants of an earlier stage. The term 'medial' is explained in chapter V, which contains a detailed description of the EcQ suffix /-ri-/.

These features set EcQ apart from related PeQ dialects, and can be used to determine the genetic classification of a given dialect. Other features which are mentioned as characteristic of EcQ, such as the absence of nominal inflections for person, may be comparatively recent developments. Thus we can classify some of the PeQ jungle dialects such as the one described by Landerman (1973) as forms of EcQ.

As far as the syntactic developments which are described in this thesis are concerned, we find that they in no way follow genetic boundaries and are not circumscribed by phonologically or lexically determined dialect divisions. Some, such as serialization in comparatives, are limited to EcQ, others involve the whole Q-speaking region and may in fact cut across the boundary between Q I and Q II. This discrepancy is due to the fact that some syntactic variation types reflect fairly universal processes of grammar reinterpretation and linguistic change.

In this respect it should be stressed that substratum influence on different dialects of Q is limited to phonology and to a few lexical items. Considering the enormous geographical extension and original cultural diversity of the Q-speaking area, this will come as a surprise. So far, no substratum features have been postulated in the syntax of any Q dialect. This, however, remains open to discussion and subject to new findings, of course.

Similarly, it was found in the research for this thesis that the influence of Spanish on Q syntax should not be overrated, and remains a matter in need of careful and unbiased research.

Methodological remarks

In the face of the fact that the earliest recorded data about Q only go back to the sixteenth century, and that those provide hardly sufficient evidence for the far-reaching changes described in this thesis, one might wonder what methods were used here to determine any changes at all.

The procedure followed here is rather simple: forms and constructions only found in EcQ, and not in any other Q dialect, are considered to be innovations. Forms found in the majority of Q I and Q II dialects are considered to be conservative ones. In this way we find an opposition between conservative and innovative forms; this opposition provides this thesis with its diachronic dimension.

The basis for these two complementary claims can be easily seen in the following chart, which represents the major Q dia-

lect groups, Q I and Q II. A and B represent two different linguistic forms, which are paradigmatically related from the point of view of overall Q grammar:

Thus, the /NP + ta yalli/ construction described in chapter VI is considered to be an innovation precisely because it only appears only in EcQ. The /NP + manta aswan/ construction is claimed to be conservative because it appears in most other dialects of Q.

A major presupposition of these claims is that wave-like linguistic changes were limited to either of the two groups of dialects, Q I or Q II. This is in accordance with our knowledge of the relationships between the different Q dialects. The major wave phenomenon involving dialects of both Q I and Q II, as was mentioned earlier, was one in which Cajamarca Q adopted a few phonological features of Q I dialects.

Sometimes linguistically intermediate forms are postulated between conservative A and innovative B. Their existence in actual Q I and Q II dialects does not immediately imply a direct genetic relationship between these dialects and EcQ, which has B.

5. TEXTS

As examples of EcQ, two brief texts from Salcedo, Cot Q are presented here, both from Manuel Tenorio Tipanhuano. The first, K'atuk 'The peddler', is a story; the second, Tamia 'Rain', is autobiographical. The two texts are stylistically rather dif-

ferent, it will be noted. The English translations given are rather free, but difficult points in the text are clarified in footnotes.

K'atuk

Ñuka parluwada parlagrini Collanamunda awiluguna parlash-kada.¹ Chimborazomunshi primero shuk pobre rin k'atunaun. Chimundaga² rin, rin, rin, k'atunaun. Mana maybi k'atuy pudisha, chaymun k'atungabu rin. Chimunda shuk amu kaballo montashka tupashaga, ninshi:

- Maymun rixungi?
- Shina k'atunawaun rixuni, k'atunaunmi rixuni.
- Haku! Shinaga nuka pueblobi k'atungi.

Shina paramuda pushan, pushan, pushan, rinshi. Pay rin, rin, rin, rin. De repente paxa ukumun yaykun, chinaga³, chiga. Chimborazomun rin, chaybishini nin:

- Kaybi k'atuy.

Chiga chaybiga hapirin, k'atunshi ashtaun, mana k'aturishkaguna, limpio⁴. Kashuk randin, chashuk randin⁵. Chaymunda ashta kushkidaga, lindoshi kosechan. Lindo kushkiun shamun. Chaymunda kutin ninshi:

- Ña p'uncha p'aktakpi⁶, ima gakpish, rinimi, amu. Ña k'atunada tukuchini.

- Bueno, ña, haku kacharisha. Maybi?
- Maymunda apamushka, chayllabidi.

Amu kutin shamusha kacharisha rin. Chimunda kutin shamunshi pay ña wasimun. Wasimun shamusha, kutin ninshi, kay kutin amiguguna tapun:

- Imachari? Maybidi k'atumungi?
- Mana, chaymi chinami k'atusha shamuni. Nuka chaymi

k'atuni.

- Alli mishka⁷.

- Kutin bultangabu rixuni. - nikpiga,
- May pushtubi?

- Chimborazobi k'atumuni, chaybiga amuguna randin. Alli presio apan. Kushkida sufisinti apamuni. Chayllamunmi kutin bultagrini, kutin komersioun.

Kutin pay enbidiosoga rinshi, kay Chimborazo laduda, k'atunaun, mas ansia. Riko mana balin, riko ansiuzu mana balin. Ña pobre gasha, pobrella kausana, ima kushkima tiyakpi. De gana ansiuzu, mana balin. Ima Diosta mañasha, shuk misada uyasha, shuk belawa churasha kausanaga.

Chiga k'atunaun pay rinshi, chiga shinalladi amu tupasha ninshi:

- Maymun ringi? - nin.

- Ñuka k'atunaun rixuni, amu, kaygunaun, maybishi.

- Shinami, haku.- nishaga, apasha rin. Apasha rin, punguda paskan, yaykuchinshi, shinaga mana llukshin, ni mas. Chiga due-nas⁸ payga ansiuzumunda chay ukubi sakirin. Mana k'atun ni imada. Kausay apayda apan⁹, chiga mana bultamun.

- Shamunga, shamunga? - wasi familiaguna chapana. Mana shamunchu. Duenas chingan, payga. Pero, imamunda? Ansiuzumunda. Mas riku, mas ansiuzu. Mana balin. Chimi ñuka shina pobrella kausani kay Collana ukubi, obraguna¹⁰ awani. Kompañiaguna tiyakpi, rini kompañangabu. Pobrelladi kausani.

Chaygama ña parlani.

¹ ... ñuka Collanamunda awiluguna parlashkada. - an extraposed relative clause which has parluwada as its head.

² Chimundaga from /chaymundaga/ 'then, from there, therefore' through monophthongization.

³ chinaga from /shinaga/ 'thus'.

⁴ limpio 'completely', literally 'clean'.

⁵ Kashuk ... chashuk ... 'here some ..., there some ...'

⁶ p'aktakpi from the verb /p'akta-/ 'reach, fulfill'.

⁷ alli mishka from /allimi gashka/ 'it has been good, it turns out to be good' through recliticization and copula contraction.

⁸ duenas from Sp de una vez 'all at once'.

⁹ apayda apan 'as far as taking is concerned, he takes'.

¹⁰ obraguna 'pieces on order'.

The peddler

I am going to tell you a story that my grandparents from Collana have told me. A poor man goes to Chimborazo, they say, with his merchandise. He goes many times. He can't sell here and therefore he goes somewhere else. Then a gentleman on a

horse meets him and says:

'Where are you going?'

'I am going with my goods, that's all.'

'Then let's go together, so that you can sell in my town.'

Thus he goes with the peddler through the high plains, they go and go and go. Suddenly they enter a straw bush. They go to Chimborazo and there he says:

'Sell right here.'

It catches on there and he sells a lot, even the things he could not sell before. Here someone buys, there someone buys. So there is lots of money, he gathers it very prettily and comes with nice money. Then he says again to the boss:

'Now that time has passed, or whatever, I am going, sir. I am already finished selling.'

'Good. We'll let you go. Where?'

'Right where you brought me from.'

Having gotten there, the boss sets him loose and goes away. After that the peddler goes back home. When he gets there, his friends ask:

'What happened? Where did you sell?'

'No, I come from having sold over there. That's where I sold things.'

'It looks good.'

'I am going to go back there again,' he says.

'Whereabouts?'

'I come from having sold in Chimborazo, that's where the white people buy. They take it at a good price. I bring plenty of money. I'll go back again right there, with merchandise.'

So the grasping man goes again, Chimborazo way, with goods and more greediness. Rich people aren't worth anything, grasping rich people are no good. Just living poor, being it, with whatever money there is. Greedy for no reason, it's no good. Asking something from God, going to Mass every once in a while, putting up a candle, that is the way to live.

So he goes with the goods, and upon meeting him the gentleman on the horse says:

'Where are you going?'

'I am going with my merchandise, with all this, sir, to wherever.'

'Let's go', says the boss, and takes him along. He takes him, opens the door, makes him enter, and he does not come out again, not ever again. So at one stroke the peddler remains down there, for being greedy; he does not sell anything. They take him away still alive, but he does not come back.

'Will he come, will he come?', at home the relatives watch out for him. He does not come. All at once he disappears. But why? Because he is greedy. The richer, the greedier. No good. So I just live a bit poor, here in the middle of Collana, and I weave on order. When there is company, I go with them. I live just a bit poor.

Only so far I talk.

Tamia

Bwenas tardes, imallangi¹ amuku? Ñuka chinachinalla² kausani, chiga. Ñunkuchi³ tamia illakpiga asha malolla kausanchiga.

Tarpunaga chakisha nikpi, chimunda kutin kay ñunkuchi Pilalõ ladu, Collana ladu, kay empleadoguna tiyanga. Payguna kay Duk-tur Turralmun rimangabu risha, kay Prinsipida llukchinakun⁴. Chi p'uncha kutin na tarde gakpi, p'itiwa tamiasha, sabadoga tuki⁵ p'uncha p'itiwa tamian. Prinsipiwada llukshichikpi.

Primero shamun, Salcedomunda apamun kay ñunkuchi ladu empleadoguna. Prishti empleadoguna tiyan, presidente, bokal, kay tesorero tiyan, sekretario, tuki tiyan, tuki empleado. Payguna rima-sha dukturn, Salcedobi. San Andresmun shamun, San Andresmunda rirka Collana, Collanamunda rirka Quilajalõ. Kay Prinsipiun rika⁶ Sigchoscale, chimunda kutin Angamarcada aparin. Shinisha⁷ roganakurka.

Ari, chimundami kutin na Salcedomun urinakurka. Chimi kada barriomunda limosnada tandachisha, separado. Ñunkuchi lado Pilalõga chusku patsak pishka chungu tandachirka. Umada aparishkami, Prinsipida Salcedomun. Alli, hatunmari. Chuskundimi markasha purin, chusku k'ari. Kambiarisha, kambiarisha, llashakmari. Tamiachun, ari. - Tamiay! Tamiay! - rogatibu urasha⁸. Shina purin, chiga. Kay chusku sukrewa, limosna Prinsipimun.

Chiga tandachikpi kay dukturmun entregan, mizachun. Salcedobi misa tiyarka.

Chinaga malolla ganchi, malolla, nachu, amu?

- 1 imallangi from /ima-na-lla ga-ngi/ 'just how are you' through copula contraction.
- 2 chinachinalla from /shinashinalla/ lit. 'just so, just so'.
- 3 ñunkuchi from /ñukanchi/ 'we' through vowel change and metathesis.
- 4 llukchinakun from /llukshi-chi-naku-n/ 'they cause to go out'.
- 5 tuki from /tukuy/ 'all' through monophthongization.
- 6 rika from /ri-rka/ 'he/they went' through consonant cluster simplification.
- 7 shinisha from /shina ga-sha/ 'being this way' through copula contraction and vowel change.
- 8 urasha from /rura-sha/ 'doing'.

Rain

Good afternoon, how are you, mister? I am living only so-so, just about. We live rather badly when there is no rain.

The seedlings are tending to dry up, and then again near us, by Pilaló, by Collana, there are these people in charge. After going to Dr. Torral to talk, they take out the Prince. That same day, already that afternoon, it rained a little, and then Saturday it rained a little all day long. After they had taken out the Prince.

First they come, the people appointed from our area, carrying it. There are the appointed priostes - president, committee-member, treasurer, secretary - they are all there, all those appointed, having talked with the doctor in Salcedo. They come to San Andrés, from San Andrés they went to Collana, from Collana they went to Quilajaló. With this Prince they went to Sigchos-calle, and from there again they carried it to Angamarca. In that way they prayed.

Yes, from there again they went down to Salcedo. Thus they gathered from every community contributions, separately. On our side, in Pilaló, they got together four hundred and fifty. On their heads they carried the Prince back to Salcedo. Good and big indeed. They walked carrying it, as a foursome, four men.

Changing, changing, it is heavy. So that it would rain, yes. 'Rain, rain!', they prayed. So they walked on. These four sucre, a contribution for the Prince; gathering that, they handed it to this doctor, so that he would say Mass. There was a Mass in Salcedo.

So we are badly off, badly, don't you think?

CHAPTER III: CHANGES IN THE ECUADORIAN QUECHUA VERBAL PARADIGM

The following section deals with the EcQ paradigm and developments which have occurred within it. The latter have little to do with paradigmatic regularization within the verbal system, since Quechua verbal inflection is almost entirely regular, but rather more with the relation between suffixes which occur in verbal inflection, and those which play a part in nominalization, case marking, and subordination.

I will begin by presenting a sketch of the EcQ inflectional paradigm in a systematic fashion, and then I will discuss individual suffixes within it. The so-called modal suffixes will be discussed in a later chapter of this thesis, and will only be touched upon briefly here. As was noted before in the brief sketch of EcQ, the following morphological positions are available in the verbs in main clauses:

ROOT - MODAL - (PERSONAL OBJECT) - TENSE - PERSON -
NUMBER - INDEPENDENT

The tenses are: present or unmarked	Ø
past or preterite	rka
sudden discovery	shka
future	(combined with person)

Thus we have forms such as the following:

riku-ni	'I see'
see ls	
riku- <u>rka</u> -ni	'I saw'
riku- <u>shka</u> -ni	'it turns out that I saw'
riku- <u>sha</u>	'I will see'

In the last example, the suffix /-sha/ combines the features of first person singular and of future tense. The person suffixes for both singular and plural, unmarked and future, are given below; the (a) column presents the unmarked person suffixes, the (b) column the future suffixes:

1s	ni	sha
2s	ngi	ngi
3s	n	nga

1 PL	nchik	shun
2 PL	gichik	ngichik
3 PL	n(kuna)	nga(kuna)

1. PERSON

We find three persons in EcQ, as was also stated before, 1st, 2nd and 3rd:

nuka riku-ni	
I see 1s	'I see'
kan riku-ngi	
you see 2s	'you see'
pay riku-n	
he see 3s	'he/she sees'

In the past and sudden discovery tenses, the 3rd person is unmarked:

nuka shamu-rka-ni	
I come PA 1s	'I came'
pay shamu-rka-Ø	
he come PA	'he came'
kan miku-shka-ngi	
you eat SD 2s	'it turns out that you ate'
pay miku-shka-Ø	
he eat SD	'it turns out that he ate'

These facts would constitute evidence for an analysis in which the 3rd person is unmarked, similar to Hale's (1973b) analysis of Walbiri personal suffixes. The relevant features would be 1st person, 2nd person and plural. Here both the PeQ suffixes (in casu Ayacucho Q) and the EcQ ones are given:

	PeQ	EcQ
$\begin{bmatrix} +1 \\ -2 \\ -PL \end{bmatrix}$	ni	ni
$\begin{bmatrix} -1 \\ +2 \\ -PL \end{bmatrix}$	nki	ngi
$\begin{bmatrix} -1 \\ -2 \\ -PL \end{bmatrix}$	n/Ø	n/Ø

The neutralization of the distinction between 1PL inclusive and exclusive in EcQ can thus be viewed as the loss of a particular combination of features rather than as the loss of a whole feature.

In PeQ and BoQ we find two sets of personal suffixes: one used with verbs and one with nominal stems. The sets are obviously related, as can be seen in the following list (based on Parker's (1965) Ayacucho Q grammar):

	V	N
1s	ni	y
2s	nki	yki
3s	n	n
1PL inc	nchik	nchik
1PL exc	niku	yku
2PL	nkichik	ykichik
3PL	nku	nku

In relation to these suffixes, three issues will be discussed here:

- The verbal and nominal inflections differ in that the verbal ones have an /-n/ which the nominal ones lack, except in the 3rd person and the 1PL inc. This fact has led to the hypothesis that /-n/ is derived from a tense marker indicating present tense;
- How can we account for the fact that in EcQ the suffixes of the second column are lacking?;
- Are there arguments for a lexicalist hypothesis for Q nominals?

The /-n-/ marker

There are several arguments for interpreting the /-n-/ marker which differentiates between nominal and verbal inflection as a tense (or aspect) marker, rather than as a device distinguishing formally between N and V inflection. These arguments derive from the presence of /-n-/-less forms in the verbal paradigm.

Although 3rd persons in EcQ and other dialects are marked with /-n/ in the present tense, in the past and sudden discovery tenses this /-n/ does not appear:

kan shamu-rka-ngi	'you came'
pay shamu-rka-Ø	'he came'
kan shamu-shka-ngi	'it turns out that you came'
pay shamu-shka-Ø	'it turns out that he came'

Unlike the other persons, the 1s person potential is inflected with /-y-/, not with /-ni-/, which would be the ordinary verbal inflection:

shamu-y-man	'I might come'
-------------	----------------

This fact could be explained if we hypothesize that originally all potential markings were /-n-/-less, but that paradigmatic regularization occurred for all persons but the 1st singular.

In PeQ, adverbial subordinators can be marked for person (except for /-stin/), but the markers are drawn from the nominal list, rather than from the verbal one; in Ayacucho Q:

* ñoqa ñi-pti-ni-mi ri-rqa-Ø	
I say SUB 1s AF go PA 3	
ñoqa ñi-pti-y-mi ri-rqa-Ø	'he went because I told him to'
I say SUB 1 AF go PA 3	

Since the adverbial subordinators complementing conditionals, time-clauses, etc. are in no way nominalizers, the specification N of the second column above is incorrect; it should be replaced by (+person, unmarked).

Likewise, the fact that /-iki-/ occurs in the paradigm for object marking to be discussed later, as the marker for the 2nd person object when the subject is 1st person, shows that the specification of the second column as N, above, should be re-

placed by Unmarked.

These four cases constitute evidence for the claim that /-n-/ is derived from a tense or aspect marker occurring with the personal inflection in indicative present tense clauses. There is considerable evidence against making this a synchronic derivation: /-n-/ as a 3rd person nominal marker, /-n-/ in the past and sudden discovery tense inflection for persons other than the 3rd, etc. These cases should be explained historically as shifts to a distinction between nominal and verbal inflectional paradigms, leaving the notion that /-n-/ originally functioned as a tense or aspect marker intact.

In fact, Parker (1965; 1969b) has developed an interesting theory based on aspect markers such as /-n/. He distinguishes four 'aspect' markers for early Q:

* -n	-shun	'1PL future'
	-nqa	'3 future'
* -r	-rqa	'past tense'
	-r	'adverbial subordinator' (Q I)
* -sh	-shqa	'sudden discovery tense'
	-shpa	'adverbial subordinator'
* -p	-pti	'adverbial subordinator'

Combined with these forms are then tense markers such as -qa, and subordinators such as -ti and -pa. Also, the nominalizers /-nqa/ and /-shqa/ may be derived from these suffix combinations. Needless to say, the assumption of these aspect markers is rather speculative, and their meaning is unclear.

The loss of personal inflection in EcQ

Nominalized clauses may not be marked for person in EcQ: compare:

ñoqa	pay	hamu-sqa-n-ta	yacha-ni		
I	he	come	NOM 3 AC	know	1s
				PeQ, <u>in casu</u>	Ayacucho Q
ñuka	pay	shamu-shka-ta	yacha-ni		
I	he	come	NOM AC	know	1s
				EcQ	'I know that he has come'

Actually, person marking has disappeared in more cases, including any kind of nouns, and also subordinated clauses:

mama-y PeQ 'my mother'
 ñuka mama EcQ
 ñan-ta panta-spa-n-ga mana-m chaya-nga-chu PeQ, in casu
 roadAC miss SUB 3 TO not AF arrive3FU NEG Ayacucho Q
 ñan-ta panda-shpa-ka mana chaya-nga-chu EcQ
 roadAC miss SUB TO not arrive 3FU NEG
 'if he misses the road he won't get there'

How can we account for the fact that in EcQ personal inflection is lost in nouns and in subordinate clauses, but not in main clauses? The most significant generalization which can be made here for EcQ is that whenever tense can be expressed, person can be expressed, and vice versa. Obviously tense is not a category of nouns, and in adverbial subordination it does not play a significant part either. Tense does not play a part in the selection of nominalizers, but there it is absorbed into the NOM node.

There is one more element which cannot appear in subordinate clauses in Q: the negative marker /-chu/.

mana shamu-nga-chu 'he won't come'
 not come 3FU NEG
 mana shamu-na-ta yacha-ni 'I know he won't come'
 not come NOM AC know 1s
 *mana shamu-na-ta-chu yacha-ni
 *mana shamu-chu-na-ta yacha-ni
 *mana shamu-na-chu-ta yacha-ni

These facts can be connected with the distributional facts about tense and person inflection noted before by postulating that at a crucial level in the derivation Person, Tense and NEG are located in the COMP position; if the complementizer itself is present, i.e. in subordinate clauses, the resulting sentences are ungrammatical.

The main difference between PeQ and EcQ in this respect would be then that in EcQ Person and Number marking have been

drawn into the COMP, while in PeQ they are quite independent of COMP.

/-wa-/

In the morphological scheme given at the beginning of this chapter the position of a morphologically expressed personal object was noted: between the modal and the tense suffixes. In fact, this generalization is valid only for EcQ; in other Q dialects, the situation is much more complicated. Here the hypothesis is brought forward that the paradigm may act as a filter, which blocks out other interpretations once a valid one has been discovered for certain cases.

In EcQ, only this order occurs:

pay ñuka-ta k'uya-wa-rka-Ø
 he I AC love lob PA 3
 'he loved me'

I will argue that this generalized order functioned as a filter determining the only possible ordering in EcQ. More complicated feature mappings, not conforming to the model given above, do not occur in modern EcQ. For the sake of comparison, consider the system of object, tense and subject marking in Cuzco Q, as given in Middendorf (1970: 104). It may be considered as representative of most PeQ dialects in this respect; here the past tense forms are given:

<u>obj</u>	1s	2s	3s
1s	-	<u>wa</u> -rqa-nki	<u>wa</u> -rqa-n
2s	rqa-iki	-	su-rqa-nki rqa-su-nki
1PL	-	wa-rqa-nki ku	wa-rqa-n-chis wa-rqa-iku
2PL	rqa-iki-chis	-	su-rqa-nki-chis

<u>obj</u>	1PL	2PL	3PL
1s	-	<u>wa-rqa-nki-chis</u>	<u>wa-rqa-n-ku</u> THEY+ <u>wa-rqa-n</u>
2s	rqa-iki-ku WE+rqa-iki	-	su-rqa-nki-ku THEY+su-rqa-nki
1PL	-	wa-rqa-nki-chis-ku YOU+wa-rqa-nki-chis	wa-rqa-n-chis-ku THEY+wa-rqa-n-chis
2PL	rqa-iki-chis-ku WE+rqa-iki-chis	-	su-rqa-nki-chis-ku THEY+su-rqa-nki-chis

Here the persons marked above the vertical columns reflect the person of the subject of the corresponding form, and the persons marked to the left of the horizontal rows reflect the object of the corresponding verb forms. The forms given with WE, YOU, and THEY indicate that the pronoun in these cases cannot be deleted, while in general Q unstressed subject pronouns can be deleted.

The underlined forms all conform to the general order given above:

$$\begin{bmatrix} \text{object} \\ +1 \\ -PL \end{bmatrix} - \text{TENSE} - \begin{bmatrix} \text{subject} \\ -1 \\ +PL \end{bmatrix}$$

The 1st person plural object forms are filtered out, as I suggest here, because they consist of:

$$\begin{bmatrix} \text{object} \\ +1 \end{bmatrix} - \text{TENSE} - \begin{bmatrix} \text{subject} \\ -1 \end{bmatrix} - \begin{bmatrix} \text{object} \\ +PL \end{bmatrix} - (\begin{bmatrix} \text{subject} \\ +PL \end{bmatrix})$$

The 2nd person forms are filtered out because they differ depending on whether the 1st or the 3rd person is subject; they do not occur in EcQ.

Finally, it must be noted that in several EcQ dialects, those of the center, even /wa-/ does not occur any more, and that in other EcQ dialects it does not have the status of object inflection, but of object marking, which is optional.

2. NUMBER

In Q the singular is unmarked, the plural generally but not always marked. With nominal elements the marking involved is rather simple:

$$\begin{bmatrix} X \\ +N \\ +PL \end{bmatrix} \rightarrow \begin{bmatrix} X \\ +N \end{bmatrix} - \text{kuna}$$

Thus we find:

wasi-kuna	'houses'
house PL	
pay-kuna	'they'
he PL	
shamu-k-kuna	'those who come'
come NOM PL	

As regards verbal elements, the situation is far more complicated. Here different dialects use different plural markers. First of all, we find that (1PL inc) is always expressed in the same way:

$$\begin{bmatrix} +1 \\ +2 \end{bmatrix} \rightarrow -\text{nchiq}$$

We find, however, that in many Q II dialects, such as Cuzco Q, Ayacucho Q and EcQ, also (2PL) is expressed with the aid of /-chiq/:

$$\begin{bmatrix} +V \\ +2 \\ +PL \end{bmatrix} \rightarrow V\text{-nki-chiq}$$

For those dialects which have 2PL /V-nki-chiq/, we find a rather simple plural marking system:

$$\begin{bmatrix} +2 \\ +PL \end{bmatrix} \rightarrow -\text{chiq}$$

$$\begin{bmatrix} -2 \\ +PL \end{bmatrix} \rightarrow -\text{ku}(\text{na})$$

This is an extension of the original interpretation of /-chiq/ as a (1PL inc) marker.

We do not find this marking system in the Q I dialects and in Cajamarca Q, where the (2PL) is marked with the same plural affix as (1PL exc) and (3PL). In the Q I dialects we find modal suffixes expressing plurality. They are characterized by the

fact that they do not distinguish between the plurality of subject and object, nor between persons. They cannot occur with (1PL inc). Thus the best way of accounting for them is by a rule such as:

$$\begin{bmatrix} X \\ +V \\ +PL \end{bmatrix} \rightarrow \begin{bmatrix} X \\ +V \end{bmatrix} - y -$$

Here *y* refers to a modal suffix.

Thus we find in Ancash Q (Parker, 1973: 31):

$$\begin{bmatrix} \text{ashi} \\ +V \\ +PL \end{bmatrix} \rightarrow \text{ashi-yā-}$$

ashi-yā-shu-n-ki

look PL 3su 2ob

{ 'they look for you'
'they look for you (PL)'
'he looks for you (PL)'

Thus either person, subject or object, or both, must be plural.

In Junín Q (Sayk, 1974: 48sq.) there is a similar situation, with three different modal suffixes being alternatively involved in plural marking, and involving only slight meaning differences:

$$\begin{bmatrix} X \\ +V \\ +PL \end{bmatrix} \rightarrow V - \begin{cases} -\text{pa:kU-} \\ -\text{:ri-} \\ -\text{rka:-} \end{cases}$$

The same interpretations are possible here as in Ancash Q.

In the Q II dialects, the situation is more complicated. Note forms such as the following one from Cuzco Q (Middendorf, 1970):

riku-wa-rka-n-chis-ku
see lob PA 3 1PL PL
└──────────┘ └──┘
'they saw us'

Here /-ku/ (derived from /-kuna/) refers to the plural subject, /-chis/ to the plural object (1 PL inc). Thus at least a subject plural rule such as:

$$\begin{bmatrix} X \\ +V \\ +Su \\ +PL \\ -2 \end{bmatrix} \rightarrow V - ku$$

is needed to account for the /-ku/ plural.

In EcQ a similar rule is needed to account for:

riku-wa-rka-kuna
see lob PA PL
'they saw me'
'they saw us'
≠ 'he saw us'

The form /-wa-/ remains unmarked for number.

In Cajamarca Q the number marking is not governed only by the features (+N) or (+V), but also by (+Person). Note these forms (Quesada, 1973: 52, 78):

miku-nki-zhapa
eat 2 PL
'you (PL) eat'

wasi-nchiq-kuna
house 1PL PL
'our (few) houses'

wasi-nchiq-kuna-zhapa
house 1PL PL PL
└───┬───┬───┘
'our (many) houses'

Here /-kuna/ is governed by the feature (+N) but /-zhapa/ by the feature (+Person): it appears in the nominal and verbal person inflection.

In EcQ we find a distinction similar to the one made in Cajamarca Q between a dual and a plural, or more generally: between 'few' and 'many', namely in the exhortative (Stark et al., 1972):

haku 'let's go'
haku-ychik 'let's all go'
miku-shun 'let's eat'
miku-shun-chik 'let's all eat'

This distinction is made consistently only by a few speakers, however. The verb /haku/ 'let's go' represents a defective exhortative form.

A final particularity of EcQ is the use of the reciprocal /-naku-/ as a plural marker. In most Sierra dialects, this is a secondary optional marker, generally limited to verbs where

confusion with the reciprocal is excluded:

shamu-naku-n
 come 3
 'they come'
 * ≠ 'they come each other'

Often it is ambiguous, with reciprocal and plural being equally possible interpretations:

puglla-naku-n
 play 3
 'they play (with each other)'

Thus the only innovation may be that the interpretation of /-naku-/ is extended from 'each other' to 'together':

miku-naku-n
 eat 3
 'they eat together'
 'they eat each other'

In Oriente EcQ, however, a form derived from /-naku-/ has become a separate plural marker. It can cooccur with the reciprocal:

maka-na-nau-ka
 hit REC PL PA
 'they fought with each other'

3. NGA

A first difficulty arises when we find that the 3rd person future suffix /-nga/ not only occurs in verbal but also, in a similar way, in nominal constructions. Compare the following two forms:

pay shamu-nga	
he come 3FU	'he will come'
pay shamu-nga-gama	
he come NOM till	'until he comes'

At first sight, one would think that the same suffix is involved in both cases. So why do we need to distinguish between the two occurrences of /-nga/? There are two reasons for doing so. First of all, in the second case /nga/ is used as a nominalizer. It can be represented as follows:

It is safe to assume that an expansion rule such as:

* PP $\rightarrow$ V P

plays no role in the grammar of EcQ. Hence we must assume that /shamu-nga-/ is dominated by the node NP and, consequently, that /-nga/ is a nominalizer.

Only a few postpositions occur with the nominalizer /-nga/:

/-kama/	'until'
/-pak/	'in order to, for'
/-rayku/	'because of'

This limitation is due to the semantic interpretation of /-nga/, as will be made clear later. Other examples of nominal /-nga/ include: (see also Ross, 1963):

miku-nga-pak	shamu-rka-ni		'I came in order to eat'
eat	NOM PUR come	PA 1s	
kullki-ta	gana-nga-rayku	ri-ni	'I go for the sake of
money	AC earn NOM cause go 1s	earning money'	

Given these three examples, the meaning of /-nga/ is clear: it indicates definite future action, in contrast with /-na/, a nominalizer which indicates indefinite future action. Compare these two phrases:

rura-sha	tamia-nga-kama	
work 1sFU rain NOM till		
'I'll work till it rains' (but it will rain definitely)		
kaipi	kausa-sha	ñuka taita wanu-na-kama
here live 1sFU my father die NOM till		
'I will live here till my father dies' (whenever that may be)		

The fact that /-nga/ refers to future actions might explain the

fact that it can occur only with certain postpositions; note that it never occurs without a postposition, except in the verbal paradigm.

Thus a first difference between the two suffixes expressed by /-nga/ is that one makes nominal constructions out of verbs and is always followed by a preposition while the other one does not affect the V category node and is never followed by a preposition.

The second difference between the two suffixes /-nga/ is that verbal /-nga/ is always interpreted as (-1st, -2nd), i.e. 3rd person, while nominal /-nga/ is never interpreted as having person features.

Considering that the two suffixes /-nga/ share a number of features in modern EcQ, as well as differing in the two essential respects indicated, we might study earlier stages of the language, and different modern dialects, to see whether the partial resemblance might be due either to a convergence in modern EcQ of two essentially different forms, or to a divergence between two uses of one single form in Proto Q.

Earlier forms of EcQ

The use of the nominal /-nga/ suffix seems to be decreasing in EcQ, except when used with /-pak/ in purposive clauses. There is evidence that in earlier stages /-nga/ had a much wider use in EcQ. Nieto Polo (1964: 71), writing in the 18th century, mentions this form:

cuia-nga-ta muna-iqui	'I want to love you'
love NOM AC want 1su2ob	

This way of using /-nga/ in an infinitival complement with /-ta/ has disappeared from modern EcQ.

Cuzco Q; the PeQ II dialects

In PeQ II dialects such as Cuzco Q, the meaning of nominal /-nga/ has merged with that of /-na/ and the form /-nga/ has subsequently almost disappeared. The verbal future marker /-nqa/ is present in all Peruvian and Bolivian dialects, both those belonging to the Q I family, and those of the Q II family.

In early Cuzco Q, we do find the nominalizer /-nqa/. Sources as early as 1586 (Anonymous, maybe Ricardo, ed. 1970) for Cuzco Q or a related dialect, mention a "future participle":

ka-n'qa 'what will be' (lo que será) (compare modern
Cuzco Q /ka-na-/))

The way of using /-nqa/ in early colonial Cuzco Q may resemble the present-day EcQ usage.

Ancash Q: The PeQ I dialects

Of the Q I dialects, Ancash Q has been best described as regards the /-nqa/ nominal suffix (Snow, 1973: 47). Snow describes /-nqa/ as follows:

... the definite nominalizing suffix established a time-sequence relationship whereby the time period indicated in the predicate of the subordinate clause in which /-nqa/ occurs is defined as being anterior or contemporaneous to the time period indicated in the sentence in which it is embedded.

In Ancash Q /-nqa/ occurs in sentential complements, in relative clauses, and in adverbial clauses:

tushu-yka:nqa-yki-ta musya-n
dance PR NOM 2s AC know 3
'he knows that you are dancing'
have been dancing'

turi-n ku:ri-rqa-n wanu-nqa-n-yaq
broth3 run PA 3 die NOM 3 till
'her brother ran until he died'

With /-nqa/ in Ancash Q the following postpositions may occur: /-pita/ 'from', /-rayku/ 'because of', /-wan/ 'with', /-chu/ 'in' and /-man/ 'to'. The only postposition with which /-nqa/ may not occur is /-pa:/ 'purposive', because of the non-future interpretation of the nominalizer.

Summary

Disregarding for the moment the Cuzco Q data, we may schematically represent the main facts about the distribution of /-nqa/ in Ancash Q and EcQ as follows:

Ancash Q

EcQ

We find that in both dialects the suffix has two different interpretations, but that their pairing is not symmetrical. In Ancash Q the nominalizer /-nqa/ has a (-future) interpretation, while EcQ /-nqa/ as a nominalizer has a (+future) interpretation. The equivalent of Ancash Q nominal /-nqa/ in EcQ is the nominalizer /-shka/, and we might expect that this fact is related to the differences in the interpretation of /-nqa/ (respectively /-nqa/). For this reason, the discussion about the two /-nqa/'s will be concluded at the end of the next section, which deals with /-shka/.

4. SHKA

The case of /-shka/ is even more complicated than that of /-nqa/. Again, there is both a nominal and a verbal /-shka/. Note the following examples:

pay shamu-shka					
he	come	SD			'it turns out he came'
pay shamu-shka-ta	ni-ni				
he	come	NOM	AC	say	ls 'I say that he came'

First I will analyze the meaning of both /-shka/'s in EcQ, and then provide a wider comparative perspective, before turning to more general questions.

EcQ: verbal /-shka/

In the most explicit and systematic description of the verb in EcQ, Yáñez (1974b: 50) classifies verbal /-shka/ as a "verbal specifier", in the same class as the modal suffixes /-mu-/, /-chi-/, etc. Even within the structuralist framework used by Yáñez, this classification can easily be disproved, since the 3rd person form of verbs modified by /-shka/, according to Yáñez, would be similar to that of verbs modified by /-mu-/, etc. in having the /-n/ person inflection, and different from that of verbs modified by past tenses /-rka/, which has Ø 3rd person inflection:

apa-mu-n take 3	'he brings'
*apa-shka-n take 3	'it turns out that he took'
apa-shka-Ø take	'he took'

At least for the purpose of regulating person inflection, verbal /-shka/ has to be classified with /-rka/ as a non-present tense marker.

An exact description of the meaning of /-shka/ is made difficult by the fact that it appears to have undergone recent changes in interpretation. Grammarians of EcQ have provided the following descriptions (arranged chronologically):

NIETO POLO, 1975 (1964: 64)	<u>pretérito perfecto</u> <u>yo avia sido</u> - /cashcani/ 'I had been'
CORDERO, 1890 (1955: XIX)	not mentioned
GUZMAN (1920: 27)	pretérito perfecto equivalent to /-rka/
ORR & WRISLEY (1965: 148)	<u>aspecto completo</u> (sic) 'complete aspect'
MUGICA (1967: 20)	equivalent to /-rka/
LANDERMAN (1972: 109)	equivalent to /-rka/
STARK (1973: 249)	"the action of the verb takes place in the past more than once"
YANEZ (1974: 50)	"the action or state of the verb, with a beginning in the past, has occurred"

during a stretch of time and has been already completed"

While the older authors are content with fitting /-shka/ into a latinizing paradigm, the modern grammarians attempt a more precise definition. The resulting definitions turn out to be contradictory and implausible, however.

When we study the occurrence of /-shka/ in the modern spoken language we find first of all that it is used in narrative:

shuk pobre kausa-shka-Ø
one poor live 3 'once there lived a poor man'

In EcQ it occurs typically in legends, stories, etc., as the suffix used in the first few sentences of narrative, at various intermediate points, and at the end. Often the actions in the story are marked with the /-rka/ past or are unmarked for tense.

Secondly, Ross (1963: 79) describes a related meaning of /-shka/: it specifies events having taken place "while the speaker was in a state of ignorance" about the event.

tanda ña tukuri-shka
bread alr. finish 'it turns out that the bread is already finished'

The state or action described is not necessarily a past one:

kipi llashak-mi ka-shka
bundle heavy AF be 'the bundle turns out to be heavy'

Here the term 'sudden discovery tense' will be used to describe these uses of /-shka/ (Adelaar, personal communication). Narrative/-shka/ and sudden discovery /-shka/ have enough in common to be considered one tense; they will be considered the central meaning of /-shka/, and the use of /-shka/ as a generalized past tense marker will be considered a secondary, though significant, development.

PeQ: verbal /-shka/

In the Q II dialects of southern Peru, such as Ayacucho Q and Cuzco Q, the uses of /-shka/ are similar to those described for EcQ. On the other hand, several Q I dialects such as Tarma, Wanka, and Ancash Q have a/-ña/ or /-na/ suffix to indicate sudden discovery tense (Adelaar, personal communication) and distant past. It has an unusual /-q/ 3s marker. Besides this, at least

Ancash Q (Snow, 1973: 97) has a tense marker /-sh-qa/ to indicate present perfect tense. Escribens and Proulx (1970: 36) describe /-naq/ in Huaylas Q as indicating distant past.

EcQ: nominal /-shka/

In EcQ, as in other Q II dialects, there is a /-shka/ nominalizer, which can be interpreted as (-future, +definite). It occurs in numerous complement constructions:

pay shamu-shka-ta mana yacha-ni-chu OBJECT COMPLEMENT
he come NOM AC not know 1s NEG
'I do not know that he came/has come'

wawa-shina waka-shka-ka mana bali-n-chu SUBJECT COMPLEMENT
child like cry NOM TO not worth 3 NEG
'that he cried like a child is worthless'

paikuna shamu-shka-rayku mana-ri-ni-chu POSTPOSITIONAL
they come NOM cause not go 1s NEG COMPLEMENT
'because they came/have come, I do not go'

kan riku-shka wagra kaipi puri-n RELATIVE CLAUSE
you see NOM cow here walk 3
'the cow that you saw walks over here'

Also /-shka/ is used to form resultative adjectival expressions:

shayku-shka	'tired'
wañu-shka	'dead'
k'uya-shka	'beloved'
sita-shka	'abandoned'

This use of /-shka/ to form resultative adjectival expressions does not involve different semantic features from the general use of /-shka/ as a nominal subordinator; they will be considered to constitute a unitary phenomenon.

PeQ: nominal /-shka/

While the southern Peruvian Q II dialects share the use of /-shka/ described above for EcQ, the Q I dialects except for Wanka Q are characterized by the nominal suffix /-nqa/ in all cases where Q II has /-shka/, except with resultative adjectival expressions. Thus we do find forms such as the following in Tarma Q (Adelaar, personal communication):

wanu-sha	'dead'
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There is some evidence that the Ancash Q described by Snow (1973: 97) does possess a /-sh/~/ -shqa/ nominalizer, although Snow argues against it. He provides three arguments for identifying all instances of /-sh/~/ -shqa/ as a completive aspect suffix, rather than as one of the nominalizers:

- A. "whereas only one nominalizer appears per subordinate predicate, the completive aspect occurs in the same predicate with the definite nominalizer -nga attached to the main verb."

runa-kuna-mi cha:-mu-sh-na ka:-nga-n-ta musya-:
man PL AF arrive alr.be NOM 3 AC know I
'I know that the men have already arrived'

However, this argument is invalidated because Snow's own data show several instances where both /-na/ and /-nga/ or /-q/ appear in one clause:

shamu-na-n-pa: ka:-q-ta ni-y
come NOM 3 PUR be NOM AC tell IM
'tell him that he has to come'

- B. "nominalizers occur only in the predicates of subordinate clauses. In contrast, the completive aspect occurs unrestricted in independent clauses (to form the present perfect tense)."

warmi-n shamu-sh-(ga)
wife 3 come
'his wife has come'

This argument, of course, holds only if one assumes that all instances of /-sh(qa)/ have to be accounted for in the same manner, a doubtful assumption at least in the case of the Q II dialects.

- C. "the fact that the completive aspect is restricted in occurrence in subordinate constructions to relative clauses is additional reason for regarding this as an aspectual suffix rather than as one of the nominalizers."

huk macha-sh-ga runa
one intoxicate man
'a man who is drunk'

Here Snow in fact claims that because /-shqa/~/ -sh/ is very restricted in use as a nominalizer, more so than the other ones, it cannot be like them. It is quite possible that in earlier forms of Ancash Q the nominalizer /-shqa/~/ -sh/ played a much more important part, but that it is now disappearing from the language, just as the /-nga/ nominalizer has already disappeared from Ayacucho Q and Cuzco Q, and seems to be disappearing from EcQ.

None of the three arguments brought forward by Snow to prove that /-shqa/~/ -sh/ does not function as a nominalizer in Ancash Q is strong enough to confirm his hypothesis. In fact, an alternative analysis whereby /-shqa/~/ -sh/ is widely used as a tense-marker but only in few contexts as a nominalizer is more plausible.

Escribens & Proulx claim that /-shqa/ does function as a nominalizer in another Q I dialect, Huaylas Q (1970: 46), not only in resultative adjectives but also in past tense sentential complements.

How many /-shka/'s in EcQ?

In a synchronic grammar of EcQ, how do we account for the two different uses of the suffix /-shka/? There are three possible solutions:

- (1) all /-shka/'s are dominated by the node Tense;
- (2) all /-shka/'s are dominated by the node NOM;
- (3) some /-shka/'s are dominated by NOM, others by Tense.

The first solution would assign the following structures to the two types of sentences involved:

The main difficulty with this analysis is that in the first sentence, Tense is expanded to the sudden discovery tense, and in the second sentence, to a past tense equivalent to /-rka/ in main clauses; moreover, tense is not independently expressed in subordinate clauses, in the way assumed by solution (1), and in no other cases do complementizer nodes such as NOM occur spelled out as $\emptyset$. Finally, the absence of inflection for person in the last construction seems unmotivated in the absence of a complementizer, but would be predicted by the presence of one.

Solution (2) would assign somewhat different structures to the same sentences:

While solution (1) provided an implausible analysis for the second construction, solution (2) leads to difficulties in the first one. In fact, a base rule expanding S to NP would have to

be formulated, which would not be independently motivated in the grammar of EcQ.

A solution such as (3) in which two separate suffixes are generated, one under the node Tense, and one under the node NOM, would describe the facts adequately. The only complication for the grammar will be that the list of morphemes in EcQ will contain the item /-shka/ twice. Note, however, that the partial identity of the two /-shka/'s can be captured by a redundancy rule specifying that both are non-future in their tense. In not all dialects (Adelaar, personal communication) does the sudden discovery tense carry the feature (-future). All the other rules needed then to provide the correct surface structures can be generalized, for all the tense markers on the one hand, for all the nominalizers on the other.

Nominalization and tense marking in Proto Q

Disregarding the more theoretical question whether the attempt to reconstruct an earlier form of Q, 'Proto Q', on the basis of available data from Q I and Q II dialects is at all meaningful, it is important to realize that the available factual evidence is not sufficient to make the attempt. Several areas related to nominalization and tense marking await careful investigations:

- (a) the relation between 'present perfect' /-sh-qa/ and 'sudden discovery' /-ña/ or /-na/ in some of the Q I dialects;
- (b) the relation between the two nominalizers /-sh-qa/ and /-nqa/ in Q I, particularly in Ancash Q;
- (c) the nominalizer /-nqa/ in the Q II dialects;
- (d) the interpretation of the tense marker /-shqa/ in Q I and Q II.

Lacking precise data on these four points, we can only define some general possibilities. First of all, it seems to be plausible that Proto Q had a complex nominalization system involving the five nominalizers known:

-nqa	+definite, +tense
-shqa	+definite, +tense
-y	-definite, -tense

-na	-definite, +tense
-q	+definite, -tense

Assuming for the moment that these features are appropriate, we notice the structural imbalance which groups /-nqa/ and /-shqa/ together; yet another feature is needed to distinguish them. (In fact, other features, such as +actor, serve as well to keep the nominalizers apart).

Tentatively, two arguments could be brought forward to assign in Proto Q the feature (+future) to /-nqa/, and the feature(-future) to /-shqa/. First, while the situation in the two dialect groups Q I and Q II differs greatly as to the relation /-shqa:/-nqa/, as was noted, in both groups /-shqa/ refers to an action anterior to the one referred to by /-nqa/, vs. the main verb. Second, if the nominalizer /-nqa/ originally had the features (+definite, +tense, +future), we could historically derive the 3rd person future marker from the nominalizer.

The paradigm for the future tense is general for all Q dialects, but at the same time it is defective and irregular:

-shaq	1s
(-nki	2s)
-nqa	3s
-shun	1PL

The 2nd person is identical to the unmarked present tense, and the 1st and 3rd persons are morphologically unrelated. Thus we may think that the future tense paradigm is a comparatively late formation, derived from other sources, and that future tense /-nqa/ is derived from the nominal /-nqa/. On the other hand, the fact that the future tense is expressed uniformly in all Q dialects suggests that it may be very early formation.

A more detailed analysis of the historical relationship between verbal and nominal /-shqa/ must await more precise data about the interpretation of /-shqa/ in the different dialects.

5. MAN

We find in EcQ sentences such as:

waka-ta tari-shpa-ka, charik ka-nchik-man
treasAC find SUB to rich be 1PL POT

'if we'd find the treasure, we'd be rich'

This construction is not limited to EcQ, but occurs also in PeQ and BoQ dialects. Potentials are formed by adding /-man/ to the inflected verb form:

ROOT + MODAL + PERSON + NUMBER + MAN

In the ls, however, the suffix is not /-ni/, but instead /-y/:

ka-y-man	
be lsPOT	'I would be'

Also note that the category Tense cannot appear before /-man/:

- * ka-rka-y-man, etc.
- * ka-shka-y-man, etc.

Several times it has been argued that the potential marker /-man/ is identical to the case marker /-man/ 'to'. This hypothesis is supported both by the phonetic shape of the suffixes and by their semantic interpretation: it is possible to interpret a potential as a 'going towards'. Another argument which might be given for their shared identity is the fact that they undergo the same, at least partially morphologically conditioned, phonological changes in various EcQ dialects:

man --> ma	(Tena)
man --> mun	(Pi, Cot, Tun)
mun --> mu	(Salasaca, Tun; Cusubamba, Cot)

Since it is not quite clear to what extent these changes are morphologically conditioned, it is difficult to assess the strength of this argument.

The consequences of assuming that the two suffixes /-man/ were identical at some point in the history of Q will be discussed in the last chapter of this thesis. I would like to discuss now an interesting paradigmatic development involving the past potential or irrealis.

Past potentials in most Q dialects are formed by placing the copula /ka-/ plus past tense marker /-rka/ after the fully inflected form and after /-man/:

ROOT + MODAL + PERSON + NUMBER + MAN KA + TENSE + 3s

Thus we find forms such as:

mana pay-wan parla-shpa-ka, ña chaya-nchik-man ka-rka-Ø
 not he WI talk SUB TO alr.arrive 1PL POT be PA 3
 'if we hadn't talked to him, we'd already have arrived'

Besides this possibility, however, we find in several dialects, including Salasaca, Tun Q, constructions in which Person is affixed to the copula. The following pairs illustrate both possibilities:

rura-y-mu mi-ga-Ø
 work 1 POT AF PA 3 'I would have done it'
 rura-y-mu mi-ga-ni
 work 1 POT AF PA 1s

(The form /-V-y-mu-mi ka-rka-/ is reduced phonologically to /V-y-mu mi-ga-/).

rura-nchi-mu mi-ga-Ø
 work 1PL POT AF PA 3 'we would have worked/done it'
 rura-y-mu mi-ga-nchi
 work ? POT AF PA 1PL

The most problematic element in the second member of each pair of constructions is the suffix /-y/; if it is interpreted as the 1s marker, the last example presented is ill-formed, as would be examples with all other persons. It could be interpreted as the nominalizer /-y/; this interpretation would greatly simplify the interpretation of /-mu/ as the case marker 'to', but on the other hand would separate the past potential entirely from the present potential construction. This problem will be taken up again in the final section of this paper.

Thus we might consider, looking at the Salasaca examples, that there was a shift in paradigmatic interpretation, whereby the copula was drawn into the paradigm:

ROOT + PERSON + NUMBER + MU KA + TENSE + 3 ==>
 ROOT + Y + MU KA + TENSE + PERSON + NUMBER

There is an interesting parallel development in EcQ involving the periphrastic obligation construction; this construction is as follows in most Q dialects:

ROOT + NA + PERSON + NUMBER KA + TENSE + 3

Thus we find:

rura-na-y ka-n	
work NOM1s be 3	
'there is 'my to be working'', i.e. 'I have to work'	
rura-na-yki ka-n	
work NOM 2s be 3	'you have to work'
	etc.

In EcQ, nominal expressions cannot be marked for person and number, and a different construction results:

ROOT + NA KA + TENSE + PERSON + NUMBER

The shift of the categories Person and Number to the position after Tense in the auxiliary node is a paradigmatic development parallel to the case of past potentials in Salasaca, Tun Q analyzed above. The role of /ka-/ as an auxiliary will be analyzed in greater detail in the chapter on complex V nodes.

rura-na ka-ni	
workNOM be 1s	'I have to work'
rura-na ka-ngi	
workNOM be 2s	'you have to work'

6. CHUN

In most or all Q dialects there is a 3rd person 'imperative' or 'exhortative' marker:

rura-chun	
work EXH	'let him work!'
miku-chun	
eat EXH	'let him eat!'

This exhortative is strictly limited to a 3rd person interpretation. For the 1PL exhortative ('let's ...') the 1PL future /-shun/ is used:

miku-shun	
eat 1PLFU	'let's eat!'

In the 2nd person, there is an imperative form:

miku-y	
eat IMP	'eat!'
miku-y-chik	
eat IMP PL	'you all eat!'

In EcQ, the suffix /-chun/ has also emerged as a purposive complementizer, in those cases where the subject of the purposive

clause is not identical with that of the main clause. Some examples will be given here:

kān miku-chun ñuka humbi-un rura-ni
 you eat SUB I sweat WI work ls
 'I work with sweat so that you (can) eat'

ñuka kan-ta ri-chun muna-ni
 I you AC go SUB want ls
 'I want you to go'

* ñuka miku-chun rura-ni
 I eat SUB work ls
 'I work in order to eat'

The last sentence, at least under the Equi-NP interpretation, is ungrammatical. In purposive clauses where the subject is identical to that of the main clause, only the /-nga-pak/ subordinator can be used:

ñuka miku-nga-pak rura-ni
 I eat NOM PUR work ls
 'I work in order to eat'

In analyzing the emergence of /-chun/ as a complementizer, both the motivation of the change and the mechanism involved can be considered. The motivation for the emergence of /-chun/ is fairly clear, if we look at the PeQ version of some of the sentences with /-chun/ given above; e.g. in Ayacucho Q we find:

qam miku-na-yki-paq llamka-ni
 you eat NOM 2s PUR work ls
 'I work so that you (can) eat'

ñoqa qam ri-na-yki-ta muna-ni
 I you goNOM 2s AC want ls
 'I want you to go'

In PeQ, all purposive clauses have NOM as their complementizer; the fact that nominalized clauses are also inflected for person makes it possible for the subject of the purposive clause to be expressed even when it is different from that of the higher clause. The fact that in EcQ nominal expressions cannot be inflected for person created the need for a new complementizer for purposive clauses whose subject is different from that of the higher clause.

As to the mechanism involved in the emergence of /-chun/, no simple explanation is available. Note that exhortative /-chun/

is exclusively marked for 3rd person, while the complementizer /-chun/ is unmarked for person. Perhaps the most plausible explanation is the one given by Ross (1963: 71). She suggests that /-chun/ complements were at one time always followed by /nishpa/ 'saying', and that the first of the following two examples is historically derived from the second:

```

pay  ñuka-ta kacha-rka willa-chun
he   I    AC send  PA  tell
'he sent me to tell....'

pay  ñuka-ta kacha-rka willa-chun ni-shpa
he   I    AC send  PA  tell    say SUB
'he sent me saying 'let him tell....''

```

In the modern Chimborazo EcQ dialect which Ross describes, this /nishpa/ has become inessential, and can optionally be deleted. In Arajuno Q, in the EcQ Oriente, it is not deleted and occurs with almost all purpose clauses, whether the two subjects are identical or not:

```

patron-ga muna-n-mi kan ri-chun ni-sha ama tigra-ngaX
boss      TO want 3 AF you go      say SUB not return PUR
'the boss wants you to go in order not to come back'

```

Thus we experience the emergence of a purposive complementizer category in EcQ. It is tempting to provide the following general complementizer expansion rule, which claims that there are three kinds of complementizers: nominalizers, adverbial subordinators, and purposive subordinators:

```

COMP --->  NOM
           SUB
           PUR

NOM --->  /-shka/, /-na/, /-k/, /-nga/
SUB --->  /-kpi/  (-identical subject)
           /-shpa/ (+identical subject)
PUR --->  /-chun/ (-identical subject)
           /-ngapak/ (+identical subject)

```

It may seem surprising that another PUR category is postulated here, namely /-ngapak/. which morphologically consists of the nominalizer /-nga/ and the case marker /-pak/. In fact, two arguments can be brought forward to support the special charac-

ter of /-ngapak/, in the same way that the complementizer /-kpi/ was argued to be a SUB category.

First of all, both /-ngapak/ complements and /-chun/ complements are almost obligatorily extraposed in main clauses:

haku-miku-nga-pak 'let's go eat'
 let's go eat PUR
 ?miku-nga-pak haku
 trabaha-ni pay miku-chun
 work is he/she eat PUR
 'I work so that he/she can eat'
 ?pay miku-chun trabaha-ni

In fact, there may be dialects in which PUR complements are always generated to the right of the verb.

Secondly, we find that the /-nga-pak/ complementizer undergoes phonological changes in many EcQ dialects which other NOM+ CASE combinations do not undergo. A more detailed description of some of these changes will be given in chapter V; here follow some examples:

miku-n u 'to eat' Salasaca, Tun Q
 miku-n ax 'to eat' Arajuno, Tena Q

In defining an element COMP as dominating the categories TENSE, PERSON, NEG, since it is in complementary distribution with these categories, we are faced with the problem of where COMP itself is generated. Two alternatives will be discussed here: one in which COMP is generated as part of the verbal complex, and one in which COMP occupies a position to the right of the S.

These two alternatives may be represented as follows:

(a)

(b)

The following two arguments can be adduced for structure (a):

1. Morphologically, the various elements which are in complementary distribution with COMP, and also COMP itself, are part of the inflectional paradigm. This can be seen for instance from the pattern of stress assignment:

pay shamŭ-rka	'he came'	TENSE
kan shamu-ngi	'you come'	PERSON
mana shamŭ-n-chu	'he does not come'	NEG
pay-shamŭ-kpi	'if he comes'	SUB
pay shamŭ-chun	'that he come'	PUR

Within this type of analysis (a), the complementary distribution of COMP and TENSE, PERSON, NEG would be explained rather naturally as a consequence of the syntactic structure of COMP: it is part of the verbal paradigm just like TENSE, etc. The absence of /-chu/ NEG in subordinate clauses is morphological in this case: it can not appear in the subordinate inflectional paradigm.

2. A second argument against postulating a separate COMP in Q may be that nominalized clauses are often more NP-like than S-like in character. The NP analysis, to be sure, is more plausible in the case of PeQ, since in those dialects nominalized clauses are marked for person with the same set of suffixes as nouns are:

mama-yki		
mother 2s	'your mother'	CUZCO Q
hamu-sqa-yki		
come NOM 2s	'that you came'	
hamu-nki		
come 2s	'you come'	

Quite often the subject of a nominalized clause is marked as a genitive:

Xwan-pa hamu-sqa-n-ta yacha-ni
John GEN comeNOM 3 AC know 1s
'I know that John came'

A third peculiarity clauses is that often the object is not marked with /-ta/, but rather functions as a kind of apposition to the nominalized verb:

*papa-ta miku-q warmi
potatoAC eatNOM woman
papa miku-q warmi 'a woman eating potatoes'

Thus, as far as these characteristics are shared by all nominalized clauses and other types of subordinate clauses, they constitute an argument against an analysis which postulates that the nominalizers are generated outside of the S node, under a separate COMP node. Note, however, that in PeQ and BoQ not all nominalized clauses have the characteristics described, and in EcQ, none.

For an analysis involving a structure similar to (b) several arguments can be adduced, several of which involve particular theoretical presuppositions, however, which have not been adequately investigated.

1. Note first of all that the morphological explanation for the absence of /-chu/ from subordinate clauses is incomplete. Not only can /-chu/ not appear on the verb of the subordinate clause, it can not appear anywhere in that clause. Note the following pairs of sentences:

pay mana shamu-nga- <u>chu</u>	'he will not come'	EcQ
he not come 3FU NEG		
pay mana shamu-na-ta-yacha-ni	'I know that he will	
he not come NOM AC know 1s	not come'	
mana Kitu-man- <u>chu</u> ri-ni	'I am not going to Quíto,	
not Quito to NEG go 1s	but to ...'	
mana Kitu-man ri-na-ta yacha-ngi		
not Quito to goNOM AC know 2s		
'you know that I am not going to Quíto, but to ...'		

The morphological explanation might be saved by claiming that even in cases of contrastive negation the /-chu/ NEG is generat-

ed on the verb and then is moved to the negated element. This would mean, however, that the rule which was posited for negation, to wit $\text{NEG } X \implies \text{mana } X\text{-chu}$ has to be given up; this would be a highly undesirable result.

2. In chapter VII the emergence of a complementizer /nisha/, used with verbs of intending, wanting, saying, etc. is documented. We might want to connect the categories NOM, SUB and PUR with the /nisha/ complementizer, since they occupy the same position to the right of the verb and since they have the same syntactic function.

3. Within the category SUB, /-kpi/ and /-shpa/, and within the category PUR, /-chun/ and /-nga-pak/ are differentiated by the feature i identical subject. This type of construal rule might be formulated more easily if we assume that SUB and PUR are part of a separate category COMP, than if they are part of V:

Of course, much depends on the general properties of construal rules in this case. Until these have been discovered, no more can be said.

Several arguments have been presented for both analysis (a) and (b). A more definitive treatment of the problem presented will have to wait until we know more about the specific characteristics of subordinate clauses in Q, particularly about embedded questions and about relative clauses. Preliminarily, we may choose (a), particularly because it may present less problems for the analyses given in the next chapter of complex verbal expressions.

CHAPTER IV COMPLEX V' NODES IN ECUADORIAN QUECHUA

The following chapter constitutes an attempt to analyze complex verbal constructions consisting of semi-auxiliaries and infinitive complements, and to suggest how they might have arisen historically.

First of all, some preliminary data are presented which involve complex verbs, and a hypothesis which attempts to account for these data is suggested and defended. Then I try to provide a historical perspective accounting for the emergence of these complex verbal constructions. The third section deals with the copula and auxiliary verb /ka-/ 'to be' and finally some conclusions are drawn, relating the phenomena discussed in this chapter to those discussed in other chapters.

1. ANALYSIS AND ARGUMENTATION

In EcQ we find such constructions as the following (all examples from Salcedo Q:

awa-(y) pudi-ni weaveNOM can ls	'I can weave'
arma-(sha) shamu-ni bathe SUB come ls	'I come from bathing'
tuka-na yacha-ni playNOM know ls	'I know how to play'
shamu-k ka-ni comeNOM be ls	'I usually come'
puñu-k ri-ni sleepNOM go ls	'I am going to sleep'
miku-sha ni-ni eat 1FU say ls	'I want to eat' (lit. 'I say: I'll eat')

To account for these data, I propose to adopt a complex verb expansion rule similar to:

$$V' \rightarrow V - \left(\begin{array}{c} \{ka-\} \\ V \end{array} \right)$$

This rule specifies that a complex verbal construction can consist of a verb with either /ka-/ 'be', or with another, semi-

auxiliary, verb, such as /muna-/ 'want', etc. The list of modals or semi-auxiliaries varies from dialect to dialect, but generally includes items such as the following:

shamu-	'come'
ri-	'go'
tuku-	'happen to, be able to'
pudi-	'be able to'
yacha-	'know how'
ni-	'want'
muna-	'desire'
kallari-	'begin'
tukuchi-	'finish'

To illustrate what implications the adoption of a complex verb expansion rule would have, take a sentence such as:

ñuka chumbi-da awa-y pudi-ni
 I sash AC weaveNOM can 1s
 'I can weave sashes'

If we accept the expansion rule given, the sentence has structure A:

A.

Alternatively, we could give it structure B:

B.

The alternative analysis involves a simple V node preceded by an embedded S, which is dominated either by NOM, SUB or another complementizer. If this analysis is accepted, no extra base rule which involves the complex V' is needed. Thus in this solution, we can explain the seemingly complex verbal constructions by an independently motivated set of base rules such as:

VP --> (PP ... PP) (Adv) V (compare B)
 PP --> NP P
 NP --> S NOM
 etc.

These are all highly natural rules.

Why then the solution proposed here, which involves similar rules?:

VP --> (PP ... PP) (Adv) V' (compare A)
 V' --> V - ({ka-} / V)
 PP --- NP P
 NP --> S NOM

In fact, a base rule is added to the grammar, in this analysis.

Nonetheless, there are several reasons which lead us to accept the complex V' analysis. They will be given here one by one:

Negation

Since negation plays an important part in this argument, a brief recapitulation of the relevant facts follows here. The argument is given for EcQ, but it may be valid for PeQ dialects as well.

In some EcQ dialects, /mana/ is placed before the negated element, and /-chu/ is attached to the right of the verb:

NEG X --> mana X ... V-chu

The /-chu/ marker does not appear within noun phrases and subordinate clauses; in predicate clauses, it is attached to the element before the copula:

pay-ka mana alli-chu (ka-n)
he TO not good NEG be 3
'he is not good'

pay-ka mana alli hente(-chu)
he TO not good people NEG
'he is not a good person'

*pay-ka mana alli-chu hente

mana tamia-n-chu
not rain 3 NEG 'it does not rain'

mana tamia-kpi, ... 'if it does not rain, ...'
not rain SUB

*mana tamia-chu-kpi

mana shamu-nga-chu
not come 3FU NEG 'he will not come'

mana shamu-na-ta yacha-ni
not come NOM AC know 1s 'I know that he will not come'

*mana shamu-na-ta-chu yacha-ni

*mana shamu-chu-na-ta yacha-ni

The presence of /-chu/ in subordinate clauses makes them ungrammatical.

In the following sentences involving contrastive negation similar to German sentences with sondern or Spanish sentences with sino, the negated element is preceded by /mana/, the affirmed element affixed with /-mi/:

mana wasi-mun ri-ni-chu, ashtaun yaku-mun-mi ri-gu-ni
not house to go 1s NEG but river to AF go PR 1s
'I am not going to the house but to the river'

mana shamu-gu-ni-chu, ashtaun ri-gu-ni-mi
not come PR 1s NEG but go PR 1s AF
'I'm not coming, I'm going'

Given the facts above about /-chu/ not occurring in subordinate clauses and about contrastive negation, we find sentences such as the following, involving both complex verbal construc-

tions and contrastive negation:

mana yaku-da maska-nga-buk ri-ni-chu, ashtaun k'iwa-da-mi
 not water AC look forNOM PUR go NEG but grass AC AF
 'I am not going to look for water, but for grass'

Two things are apparent here: (a) /yakuda/ 'waterAC' is the direct object of the verb/maska-/ 'look for'; (b) the negated element is /yakuda/, since its affirmative counterpart /k'iwada/ is affixed with /-mi/.

For the sake of the argument we might analyze this sentence as involving an embedded S within a PP:

Considering this configuration we may rightly ask ourselves: how did the element /-chu/ 'NEG' become attached to the verb of the higher clause, /ri-/ 'go'? This analysis conflicts with the data on negation in EcQ: if /mana yakuda maskangabuk/ were dominated by an S node, the negative element /-chu/ would never appear. Unless we accept the conclusion that no S node is present, the contention made here, either of two alternative analyses are possible. First of all we might assume a structure such as:

This analysis is clearly not acceptable because it would make /yakuda/ 'waterAC' the direct object of the intransitive verb /ri-/ 'go'.

A second alternative might be to adopt a NEG-RAISING transformation. This is the course chosen by Snow (1973: 86/7). He suggests that, if an element in the embedded complement S which is nominalized by /-y-/ affixation is negated, then the NEG marker /-chu/ is automatically raised to the higher clause. His analysis would preserve the S node analysis for /-y-/ infinitive complements in Ancash Q. Actually, he never questions the S node analysis, which has been almost axiomatic in modern Q grammars.

In fact, one may well postulate a NEG-RAISING transformation for Q, but a very different one from the transformation proposed by Snow, namely one to deal with cases such as:

kan	mana	ri-chun	muna-ni	==>	mana	kan	ri-chun	muna-ni-chu
you	not	go	PUR		not	you	go	PUR
			ls					ls
								NEG
'I want you not to go'					'I do not want you to go'			

Here we find a possible raising such as:

This is a very different case, however, from the one postulated by Snow, and in itself not even definitive, since crucial tests such as the 'until' test for English NEG-raising are lacking:

- * he comes until seven
- I want him not to come until seven
- I don't want him to come until seven

The NEG-RAISING transformation proposed by Snow is without basis in Q grammar, and not independently supported.

Thus having rejected both the solution of generating /mana yaku-da/ as part of the main clause and the NEG-RAISING solution, we are forced to accept the point argued in this thesis, namely that the purpose complement is not dominated by S.

Case marking

A second argument for the complex V' analysis has to do with the PP character of the complement verb. It was said at the beginning of the chapter that analyzing infinitive, purposive, etc. complements as PP's would simplify the VP expansion rule considerably. Something like this would suffice:

VP --> PP ... PP V

This analysis runs into some problems, however, since not all

verbal complements are dominated by PP:

miku-na muna-ni	'I want to eat'
eat NOM want 1s	
miku-na-da muna-ni	'I want food' ≠ 'I want to eat'
eat NOM AC want 1s	
awa-y pudi-ni	'I can weave'
weaveNOM can 1s	Salcedo, Cot Q
*awa-y-da pudi-ni	

EcQ is characterized by an enormous amount of variation in this respect, part of which is summarized schematically in the following chart. The rows represent particular dialects or published descriptions; the columns represent the particular forms the infinitival complement takes after a particular verb. When e.g. in Saraguro Q the complement for the verb /kallari-/ is V-na-ta, then that means that Saraguro Q possesses constructions such as:

miku-na-ta kallari-ni 'I begin to eat'
eat NOM AC begin 1s

	<u>muna-</u>	<u>yacha-</u>	<u>kallari-</u>	<u>tukuchi-</u>	<u>pudi-/</u> <u>usha-</u>	<u>tuku-</u>
IMBABURA (Stark)	V-na-ta	V-na-ta	V-y-ta	V-y-ta	V-y-ta	
ORIENTE (Arajuno)	V-na-ta V-na V-nga-pak	V-na-ta	V-nga-pak	V-na-ta	V-na-ta V-na	
ORIENTE (Mugica)	V-na-ta		V-y	V-na-ta	V-y	V-y
ORIENTE (Guzmán)			V-y			V-y
PICHINCHA (Zámbiza)	V-y V-y-ta	V-na			V-y	
COTOPAXI (Tigua)	V-nga-pak	V-na-ta	V-y V-nga-pak	V-na-ta	V-y	
COTOPAXI (Salcedo)	V-na	V-na V-na-ta			V-na	
TUNGURAHUA (Salasaca)	V-na V-nga-pak	V-na-ta	V-y V-nga-pak	V-sha	V-y	
CHIMBORAZO (Ross)	V-na-ta	V-na-ta	V-y-ta V-y	V-na-ta	V-na-ta	

(cont.)	<u>muna-</u>	<u>yacha-</u>	<u>kallari-</u>	<u>tukuchi-</u>	<u>pudi/ usha-</u>	<u>tuku-</u>
CHIMBORAZO (San Juan)		V-na-ta V-y-ta	V-na-ta	V-na-ta	V-na-ta V-y-ta	
LOJA (Saraguro)	V-na	V-na-ta V-na	V-na-ta V-y	V-na-ta	V-na-ta V-y	

For the sake of clarity and simplicity of presentation, I have chosen to disregard in the chart the many phonological changes which different EcQ dialects have undergone. The semi-auxiliaries studied are:

muna-	'want'
yacha-	'know how'
kallari-	'begin'
tukuchi-	'finish'
pudi-	'be able'
tuku-	'happen to'

The fact that not all infinitive complements are dominated by PP, as can be seen in the chart, shows that the simplicity of the VP expansion rule involving S's dominated by PP is a relative one, as it has several exception features.

The first person object clitic /-wa-/

A third argument for the complex V' node proposed here derived from the 1st person object suffix /-wa-/. As was seen in the third chapter of this thesis, it occurs in many Q II dialects, including some EcQ dialects, in sentences such as:

pay	ñuka-ta	k'uya-wa-n	
he	I	AC love lob 3	'he/she loves me'

A transformation or interpretive rule is needed to account for its presence:

X	Pro- <u>ta</u>	Y	V	==>	X	Pro- <u>ta</u>	Y	V+ <u>wa</u>
	+i					+l		

The ungrammaticality of the second sentence of the following pair shows that the Y may not contain an S-boundary:

pay k'uya-wa-kpi, ñuka pay-wan kazara-sha
 he love lob SUB I he WI marry 1FU
 'if he/she loves me, I'll marry him/her'

* pay k'uya-kpi, ñuka tayta pay-pak mama-wan parla-wa-n
 he love SUB I father he GEN motherWI talk lob 3
 'if he/she loves, my father will talk with his/her mother'

There are examples, however, of complex verbal constructions in which the /-wa-/ has to be attached to the rightmost V, regardless of whether it refers to the object of that V or not.

Note these Chim Q examples from Ross (1960: 71):

ayuda-k shamu-wa-ychik
 helpNOM come lob IM2PL
 'come and help me! (you all)'

ama shita-shpa ri-wa-ngi
 not leave SUB go lob 2s
 'don't go away and leave me'

* ayuda-wa-k shamu-ychik

* ama shita-wa-shpa ri-ngi

These facts follow naturally from the assumption of a complex V' node; otherwise, we would have to postulate a special /-wa-/ raising transformation, just as we would have to postulate a NEG raising transformation following Snow's analysis.

The alternation between /-shpa/ and /-sh/

The existence in the southern EcQ dialects of Cãñ, Az and Lo Q of a stressed and an unstressed form of the subordinating suffix /-shpa/ provides additional evidence for the complex V' analysis. Note the following examples:

arma-shpa-ka, miku-gri-ni
 bathe SUB TO eat INC 1s
 'after bathing, I'll go and eat'

arma-sh shamu-ni
 batheSUB come 1s
 'I come from bathing'

* arma-sh-ka miku-gri-ni

* arma-shpa shamu-ni

We encounter unstressed /-sh/ in those forms which occur immediately to the left of the verb, and stressed /-shpa/ in subordinate clauses which may be separated from the verb by a pause,

adverbials, etc.

These distributional facts are most easily accounted for by postulating a complex V' node in the case of the verbs dominated by /-sh/, and a subordinated S in the case of the verbs dominated by /-shpa/.

Possibility of selecting PP's

The possibility of selecting PP's is an important criterium for distinguishing between "free" and "bound" verbal forms (i.e. complex verbs), and hence constitutes an argument for the complex V' analysis. Although the data discussed here are from Salcedo, Cot Q, they are valid for many other EcQ dialects as well.

Clearly the sentence:

k'atu-sha shamu-ni
sell SUB come 1s
'I come after having sold'

has two possible interpretations, distinguished superficially by the intonation and stress patterns, but differing in more fundamental syntactic ways:

k'atu-sha shamu-ni_V, A

k'atu-sha_S shamu-ni_{VP} B

Construction A forms one prosodic unit, with the /-sha/ remaining unstressed. Two reduced forms occur:

k'atu-sh shamu-ni
k'atu shamu-ni

Construction B is pronounced with a pause between /k'atu-sha/ and /shamu-ni/.

Note the following sentences involving PP's:

Kitu-bi k'atu-sha shamu-ni
Quito LO sell SUB come 1s A, B
'I come after having sold in Quito'

kay-mun k'atu-sha shamu-ni
this to sell SUB come 1s A, B
'I come after having sold to this person'

and also: 'I come here after having sold' B

chay-munda k'atu-sha shamu-ni
that from sell SUB come 1s B
'I come from there after having sold'

These data show that the bound construction A is characterized by the fact that all PP's are selected by the leftmost V; in the B construction, both verbs can select PP's.

It can easily be demonstrated that this follows naturally from a complex V' analysis; note the following structures for constructions A and B:

Free and bound forms

The fact that a distinction is made here between verbs in subordinate clauses and complex verbal constructions is supported by several other facts about their syntactic behavior, besides the ones already mentioned. Elements cannot be extraposed, for instance, from a complex V' node. Verbs in subordinate clauses can easily be moved over the higher verb:

miku-k ri-ni	
eat NOM go 1s	'I am going to eat'
* ri-ni miku-k	
miku-nga-pak ri-ni	
eat NOM PUR go 1s	'I am going in order to eat'
ri-ni miku-nga-pak	'I am going in order to eat'

Also, independent particles can be affixed to verbs in subordinated clauses, but not to verbs within a complex verbal construction:

- * miku-k-mi ri-ni
- miku-nga-pak-mi ri-ni

PP extraposition

The final argument presented here for the complex V' analysis of verbal complements involves PP extraposition. The data relating to extraposition of PP's across complex verbal expressions show that the grammar of verbal complements is considerably more complicated than has been described so far. In Salasaca, Tun Q, PP's may be extraposed across certain complex verbs, but not across others:

papa-da miku-y kallari-ni
potatoAC eatNOM begin 1s
'I start eating potatoes'

miku-y kallari-ni papa-da (ok, but less used)

chumbi-da awa-y pudi-ni
sash AC weaveNOM can 1s
'I can weave a sash'

awa-y pudi-ni chumbi-da (ok)

kaya Kitu-mu ri-sha ni-ni
tom. Quito to go 1FU say 1s
'tomorrow I want to go to Quito'

- * kaya-ri-sha ni-ni Kitu-mu

punchu awa-na-da yacha-ni
poncho weaveNOM AC know 1s
'I know how to weave a poncho'

- * awa-na-da yacha-ni punchu-da-ga

tuki-da yacha-na muna-ni
all AC know NOM want 1s
'I want to know everything'

- * yacha-na muna-ni tuki-da-ga

sara-da kuchu-nga-buk ri-ngi
corn AC cut NOM BEN go 2s
'you go in order to cut corn'

- * kuchu-nga-buk ri-ngi sara-da-ga

Only the /-y/ complements permit PP extraposition in Salasaca, Tun Q.

Summary

To summarize the evidence presented so far: we have claimed that there is a V' expansion rule in EcQ which accounts for complex verbal constructions involving infinitive and gerundial complements, on the one hand, and semi-auxiliaries and verbs of motion on the other hand. Several arguments relating to these verbal constructions have been adduced, showing that they do not contain an S boundary, that not only PP's are involved, that object clitic incorporation takes place on the rightmost V, that subordination markers can be stressed differently, that only the leftmost V in these complex constructions may select PP's, and that verbs within complex V' constructions are more restricted than verbs within subordinate clauses as to extraposition and the possibility of independent suffixes. Also, the fact that in some cases PP's may be extraposed across the complex V' would constitute an argument in favor of the analysis presented.

In fact, not all of these arguments are valid for all the types of complements involved. The latter can be ordered as to their compatibility with the V' analysis, as in the following table. The + sign refers to the validity of the argument presented, na to 'not applicable', a blank to 'no data available' and a ± to 'unclear':

	PP-se- lection	/-chu/- nega- tion	/-wa/- hopping	Bound	Irreg- ular Case	Sh/ shpa	PP extra- position
-y	+	+	+	+	+	na	+
-k	+	+	+	+	+	na	-
-sha	+	+	+	+	na	+	-
-na	+	<u>±</u>	+	+	+	na	-
-na-da	+	+		-	-	na	-
-nga-pak	+	+	-	-	-	na	-

It could also be argued that not only a complex V' analysis is compatible with a range of these facts but also a VP analysis such as:

This structure would then undergo some form of verb raising and a complex verbal construction would result as a surface structure (cf. Evers, 1975).

No crucial evidence can be found which would force a choice between what we will call the VP analysis and the complex V' analysis. The main argument for the VP analysis just presented would be that the lexical insertion of the leftmost V can take place in a natural fashion, and that rather simple semantic interpretation rules can be formulated, but perhaps an equally natural set of rules could be constructed involving the leftmost element in the complex V' construction. Note here that the complex V' analysis presented for EcQ does not involve the recursivity which characterizes the Dutch and German data which lead to Evers' verb raising hypothesis.

Either analysis will have to deal with the main objection which can be raised against any analysis which departs from the verb-within-subordinate-clause framework of Snow (1973): what about the morphological material on the leftmost verb? The verbs of motion, semi-auxiliaries and the copula /ka-/, which occupy the rightmost position within the complex V', are subcategorized for the kind of nominal or gerundial complement they take. Sometimes they can take either a nominal or a gerundial complement, such as /tukuchi-/ 'finish' in Salasaca, Tun Q:

awa-na-da	tuku-chi-ngi	
weaveNOM	AC	finish 2s
		'you finish weaving'
awa-sha	tuku-chi-ngi	
weaveSUB	finish	2s
		'you finish weaving'

Both the NOM and the SUB involved in these complements were analyzed as realizations of COMP introducing S-type clauses, in the second chapter.

Emonds (1976: 218 sq.) proposed an analysis for sentences

such as:

John starts singing a song
whereby -ing is lowered into the complement VP:

Here the lexically determined character of the type of VP complement is accounted for by generating -ing next to the higher verb.

A similar analysis could be made for the EcQ complex verbal constructions, compatible either with the VP analysis or with the complex V' analysis:

The problem with such an analysis for EcQ is that the existence of an Aux node, which plays a crucial part in Emonds' argument, is not established sufficiently for EcQ to adopt an Affix Hopping analysis.

The alternative would be to claim that the categories SUB and NOM may serve to introduce S complements, but also VP

complements and possibly other types as well. This alternative has not yet been explored sufficiently to merit serious consideration here.

2. HISTORICAL PERSPECTIVE

We find in PeQ and in BoQ verbal complement constructions involving the nominalizing suffix /-y-/:

aywa-y-ta shuya-yk̄a-yā-:-rā-mi Ancash Q
go NOM AC wait PR PL 1 stillAF (Snow, 1973: 85)
'we are still waiting to go'

Llojsi-y-ta muna-ni Cuzco Q (Middendorf,
leaveNOM AC want 1s 1970: 285)
'I want to leave'

The following verbs, among others, can take /-y-ta/ complements in PeQ and BoQ:

Puno Q (Costa, 1972)	Ancash Q (Snow, 1973)
yuya- 'remember'	yarpa- 'remember'
qunqa- 'forget'	qunqa- 'forget'
muna- 'want'	muna- 'want'
suya- 'expect'	shuya- 'wait'
qallari- 'begin'	galla- 'begin'
tuku- 'finish'	usha- 'finish'
yacha- 'know'	yacha- 'know'
ati- 'be able'	pwidī- 'be able'
mancha- 'fear'	diha- 'stop'
	sigi- 'continue'

The infinitival complement constructions with /-y-/ in PeQ and BoQ sometimes show some of the same characteristics that were claimed to be distinctive to the complex verbal constructions of EcQ, most notably 'NEG RAISING' and 'Object Clitic Raising'. They do not show the other specific characteristics, however, of the complex verbal constructions, and may best be analyzed as VP complements:

Thus we would include in a grammar of PeQ and BoQ the fact that the nominalizer /-y-/ only nominalizes VP nodes, not S nodes.

There are two kinds of independent evidence for the VP analysis:

(1) In verbal complements /-y-/ nominals cannot receive any personal suffixes, like other nominals do: this follows naturally from the fact that they dominate VP nodes, not S nodes. An alternative explanation would have to be that Equi-NP deletion precedes subject-verb agreement, but then Equi-NP deletion would have to be obligatory.

(2) Only a limited number of verbs can take /-y-/ infinitive complements, and

...in contrast to typical complement-taking verbs, the complement does not describe an event or state distinct from the event of the main verb. (Costa, 1972)

For Snow's data the VP analysis of /-y-/ nominals presents no difficulty at all, since it mostly occurs in infinitive complements. The data given by Costa present an apparent counterexample in sentences such as:

byaha-y-qa kusa-m	'to travel is nice'
travelNOM TO niceAF	

It is not problematic, however, since the verb /byaha-y/ 'to travel' here is necessarily subjectless.

If Middendorf (1970) is correct in this respect, /-y-/ nominals in an earlier form of Cuzco Q used to be able to receive

personal suffixes (/~ñi-/ is a euphonic suffix here):

rima-y-ñi-yki-ta	'tani-y	
talkNOM	2s	AC stop IM
rima-y-ta	'tani-y	
talkNOM	AC	stop IM

'stop talking'

He cites these two phrases as being synonymous; the possibility exists, of course, that there is a slight difference in meaning. In any case, subject-verb agreement was not obligatory, as it was with the other nominalizers (alternatively: not every case involved an S node).

If we accept Middendorff's case as a hypothetical second stage (the first one being when /-y-/ nominals always dominated S nodes), then the development of the /-y-/ nominal may be traced as follows:

HYPOTHETICAL	(1) /-y-/ nominals dominate S nodes; subject-verb agreement is ordered before a possible Equi-NP deletion;
EARLY CUZCO	(2) /-y-/ nominals dominate S nodes; optional Equi-NP deletion is ordered before subject-verb agreement;
PUNO	(3) /-y-/ nominals dominate VP nodes; the subject of the nominalized verb is either empty (in the case of the non-predicate complement nominal) or interpreted as being identical to that of the higher verb;
ANCASH	(4) /-y-/ nominals dominate VP nodes; the subject of the nominalized verb is interpreted as being identical to that of the higher verb; /-y-/ nominals in other than object complement position are rare; the latter may already be the case in (3);
ECUADOR	(5) /-y-/ nominals dominate VP nodes but are subject to predicate raising;
	(6) /-y-/ nominals dominate V nodes, are themselves dominated by a complex V';
	(7) not only /-y-/ nominals can dominate V nodes, but also other nominals and gerundial markers;

the range of constructions dominated by V' is extended.

3. THE VERB /KA-/ 'TO BE'

The verb /ka-/ appears in EcQ (and probably in most Q dialects) as a copula, as an existential marker and as an auxiliary:

Huzi-mi ga-ni		
José AF be 1s	'I'm José'	Salasaca, Tun Q
pay-ga k'uilla-mi ga-n		
he TO beautifulAF be3	'he/she is beautiful'	
ñuka-ga wasi-bi-mi ga-ni		
I TO houseLO AF be 1s	'I am in the house'	
ri-na-mi ga-ni		
goNOM AF be 1s	'I have to go'	
shamu-k ka-ni		
comeNOM be 1s	'I usually come'	
shamu-shka ga-rga-ni		
come NOM be PA 1s	'I had come'	
chari-mu-mi ga-rga-nchi		
have POT AF be PA 1PL	'we would have had'	

In these last four examples we find /ka-/ functioning as an auxiliary. Of course, the interpretation of the constructions in which auxiliary /ka-/ occurs is different for the different nominalizers:

V - na ka	obligation
V - k ka-	habitual action
V - shka ka-	present perfect

Of these, the /V+shka ka-/ offers the most problems of interpretation, since it is variously described as an active and as a passive.

Domingo de Santo Tomás makes the following very interesting remark about the /V+shka ka-/ construction (1947: 83):

Concerning the participle of the passive preterite it should be noted that many times it is used in this language in the active sense:

yo he comido ('I have eaten') - micuscam cani

Although this happens sometimes in this language, the common thing is to take this participle in the passive sense:

yo soy amado ('I am loved') - noca coyascam cani

Although Middendorf (1970: 98) very much doubts the accuracy of Santo Tomás' analysis on this point, in EcQ we find both passive and active interpretations, derivable from the transitivity or intransitivity of the verb and from its lexical characteristics.

It was shown in the chapter on paradigmatic developments that the obligation and the past potential constructions appear in a slightly different form in PeQ; there the leftmost verb forms receive the personal inflection in these cases. The fact that in EcQ we find a parallel among the different /V+NOM ka-/ constructions in this respect may be due to some form of paradigmatic regularization on the phrase structure level. It might be possible to argue that the active interpretation of the /V+shka ka-/ construction is likewise due to paradigmatic regularization of interpretations.

/ka-/ as an element of the complex V'?

At the beginning of this chapter we proposed that /ka-/ 'be' as an auxiliary also be included in the complex V' node expansion rule:

$$V' \text{ ---- } V - \left(\begin{array}{c} V \\ ka- \end{array} \right)$$

We find that, following the criteria established before, /ka-/ behaves similarly to the other elements which occur in the rightmost position in complex verbal constructions, with some modifications.

First of all, negative /-chu/ is never attached to the copula, but always to the preceding element, except in negative imperatives:

mana Huzi-chu ga-ni	'I am not José'
not José NEG be 1s	
mana-ri ri-na-chu ga-ni	'I do not have to go yet'
not yet goNOM NEG be 1s	
ama xillu ga-y-chu	
not glutton beIM NEG	
'don't be a glutton'	

We do see, however, that /-chu/ occurs, i.e. that no S node is present in the nominalized forms, and that therefore /ka-/ is a

true auxiliary.

As to the other characteristics of complex V' constructions, we notice that auxiliary /ka-/ cannot select PP's:

- * wasi-bi shamu-k ka-ni
houseLO comeNOM be 1s
'I usually come in the house'
- wasi-bi ga-ni
houseLO be 1s
'I am in the house'

Also, verbs cannot be extraposed out of verb + /ka-/ auxiliary constructions. We do find the affirmative marker /-mi/ intervening between the main verb and the auxiliary /ka-/, however, except with /V+shka ka-/ and /V+k ka-/.

At this point some of the phonological characteristics of /ka-/ in the dialects of Cot and Tun EcQ, briefly described in chapter II, should be brought to mind. First of all, the first consonant of /ka-/ assimilates in voicedness to the last segment of the preceding word:

- Pedro-mi ga-ni 'I am Peter'
Peter AF be 1s
- gana-k ka-rka-ni 'I used to earn'
earnNOM be PA 1s

This type of assimilation does not occur with other verbs:

- papa-da kara-ni 'I serve potatoes'
potatoAC serve 1s
- * papa-da gara-ni
- sumuk gushta-ni 'I enjoy myself very well'
nice enjoy 1s
- * sumuk kushta-ni

On the other hand, it is the normal pattern with inflectional suffixes:

- papa-da miku-ni 'I eat potatoes'
potatoAC eat 1s
- lunis-ta shamu-ni 'I come on Monday'
MondayAC come 1s

These data concerning the distribution of the copula suggest that /ka-/ is separated from the preceding word by only one morpheme boundary, just like inflectional suffixes, but unlike

ordinary verbs:

#Pedro#mi#ga#ni	'I am Peter'
Peter AF be 1s	
#Pedro#mi# #kara#n	'Péter serves'
Peter AF serve3	

If we adopt the descriptive framework proposed by Selkirk (1972), the exceptional behavior of /ga-/ follows from the fact that it appears in the output of the transformational component without morpheme boundaries:

Secondly, there is a process of copula contraction which may be tentatively formulated as follows, assuming the boundaries described above:

$$X \text{ \# CV \# ka \# Y } \implies X \text{ \# CV \# Y }$$

It is not clear whether the boundary # mentioned in the rule between the variable X and the CV sequence is essential to it. It just happens that in all cases where contraction was found to occur, it took place after a suffix:

imana-lla ga-ngi?	imana-lla-ngi?
how just be 2s	how just 2s
'how are you?'	'how're you?'
Manuel-chu ga-ngi?	Manuel chu-ngi?
Manuel Q be 2s	Manuel Q 2s
'are you Manuel?'	're you Manuel?'
Pedro-mi ga-ni	Pedro mi-ni
Peter AF be 1s	Peter AF 1s
'I am Peter'	'I'm Peter'

In some cases the suffix to the left of the contracted copula is separated from the word it was attached to, in other cases it

is not (in the above examples, /-lla/ is not separated, while /-mi/ and /-chu/ become part of the following word). The separability of a suffix probably is dependent on its morphological and syntactic characteristics: only the "independent" suffixes are separable.

In the Selkirk analysis, the voice assimilation and contraction phenomena are described in a unified way: it is assumed that the copula /ka-/ is not preceded by the boundary # of itself. Assuming this analysis, it may be possible to generalize the contraction rule described in chapter II for inflectional suffixes such as /-bish/ 'too' and /-buk/ 'genitive' in such a way that it naturally covers the copula contraction process as well:

ñukuchi-buk wasi		
we GEN house	==>	nukuchi-k wasi
'our house'		
ñuka-bish ri-ni		
I also go ls	==>	nuka-sh ri-ni
'I am also going'		
ri-na-mi ga-ni		
goNOM AF be ls	==>	ri-na mi-ni
'I have to go'		

The appropriate generalizations can be made if we adopt the Selkirk analysis for /ga-/ and assume something like the following deletion rule:

$$\begin{matrix} C \\ [-cor] \\ [-nas] \end{matrix} V \dashrightarrow \emptyset / V^{\#} \underline{\quad\quad} X \\ \quad\quad\quad\quad\quad\quad\quad\quad\quad\quad\quad\quad\quad\quad\quad [-stress]$$

There are some problems with this particular rule, to be sure, but since many of the relevant facts pertaining to it have not yet been explored, I will pursue this matter no further.

With the analysis proposed here, it may also be possible to account for the exceptional phonological characteristics of other auxiliary-like verbs such as /ri-/ 'go', which is discussed in the beginning of chapter V.

In Arajuno, Tena Q we find a process of copula contraction similar to the one described for Salasaca, Tun Q; the copula is realized as /a-/ and the contraction rule can be formulated as:

$X \# CV \# a \# Y \implies X \# C \# a \# Y$

Forms such as the following result:

Xwana-mi a-ni		Xwana m-a-ni
Juana AF bels	$\implies$	Juana AF bels
'I am Juana'		'I'm Juana'
Pedro-chu a-ngi?		Pedro ch-a-ngi
Peter Q be 2s	$\implies$	Peter Q be 2s
'are you Peter?'		're you Peter?'

4. CONCLUDING REMARKS

I have sketched a syntactic change in the Q verb phrase which can be roughly divided into three stages:

The analysis given is based on facts from contemporary Q dialects, and is presented here in terms of base rules. Alternatively, it might be analyzed in terms of an increasing number of transformations, such as Equi-NP deletion, Verb Raising and /-ta/ deletion. It may be an issue of the general theory of grammar to decide between alternative analyses here. In any case, a clear choice has been presented in this chapter.

A consequence of the complex V' node analysis is that semi-auxiliaries would be in precisely the same phrase structure category as syntactically derived modal suffixes. Note, e.g. that /shamu-/ 'come' (in the 'A' interpretation, see p.85) and /-mu-/ 'cislocative' have identical syntactic distribution:

chay-bi k'atu-mu-ni		
that LO sell CI ls		'I come from having
		sold there'
chay-bi k'atu-sha shamu-ni		
that LO sell SUB come ls		
*chay-munda k'atu-mu-ni		
that from sell CI ls		'I come from there
		having sold'
*chay-munda k'atu-sha shamu-ni		
that from sell SUB come ls		

kay-mun k'atu-mu-ni
this to sell CI ls

'I come from having sold
to this one'

kay-mun k'atu-sha shamu-ni
this to sell SUB come ls

≠ 'I come here from having
sold'

Considering facts such as these, the complex V' expansion rule should possibly be rewritten as:

$$V' \rightarrow V' - \left(\begin{array}{c} \text{Mod} \\ \text{ka-} \\ V \end{array} \right)$$

There are some problems, however, which would result from making the V' expansion rule recursive, namely that the

construction is not recursive:

On the other hand, the inclusion of the modal suffixes in the V' expansion rules would add considerable complexity to the node. The facts are not sufficiently clear to warrant a more precise formulation of the V' expansion rule.

Finally, we must note that the V' expansion node argued in this chapter has some interesting consequences for our views of syntactic change. It must be thought of as relatively independent of certain formal characteristics of the constructions which form the historical source of the V' complex. At least three different elements were a source for the complex V' construction:

$$\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{V-shpa} \\ \text{V-NOM} \\ \text{V-sha} \end{array} \right\} - V$$

The latter element occurs in such complex verbal constructions

as:

miku-sha	ni-ni	'I want to eat', lit.
eat	1FU say 1s	'I say: I shall eat'

CHAPTER V THE STATUS OF THE MODAL SUFFIXES IN QUECHUA

The Quechua language contains a number of so-called modal suffixes, such as the underlined forms in the following EcQ examples:

riku-ni	'I see'
riku- <u>ri</u> -ni	'I appear'
apa-ni	'I take'
apa- <u>mu</u> -ni	'I bring'
wañu-ni	'I die'
wañu- <u>chi</u> -ni	'I kill'
puri-ni	'I walk'
puri- <u>ku</u> -ni	'I am walking'
chumbi	'sash'
chumbi- <u>lli</u> -ni	'I tie on a sash'

As can be seen from these examples, the semantic interpretation of these suffixes varies a great deal; it involves aspect, case, voice, and other types of meaning. The motivation for grouping these modal suffixes together is a distributional one: they occupy the same morphological slot in the surface verb form:

ROOT (MODAL SUFFIXES) (TENSE) PERSON (INDEPENDENT SUFFIXES)

Since the modal suffixes do interact in various ways, and since there is slight evidence that they are involved in paradigmatic regularization as a group, the distributional notion will be maintained for the moment, if only for the sake of convenience and grammatical tradition.

This chapter is concerned with the theoretical status of these suffixes: in what form are they most adequately accounted for in the grammar of Q? Three options will be discussed:

- (1) The higher verb theory: we might generate to modal suffixes as higher verbs, and then apply raising transformations to derive the surface forms.
- (2) The theory of semantic features which appear as suffixes on the verb: we could account for the underlined forms given above by generating them in the base rules as features of the verb;
- (3) The lexicalist theory: it is possible to generate in the

lexicon all of the forms given above, with redundancy rules to account for the semantic regularities between them;

Although the terminology used here to describe these theories dates from the fifties and sixties, their actual substance dates from at least the end of the 19th century. Middendorf's Cuzco Q grammar (1890) can be considered to be the first proponent of (1), although (2) is mentioned by him as a possibility, and Berríos' grammar of BoQ (1904) is the foremost example of the second theory, while Cordero's EcQ grammar (1898) provides a clear example of the first hypothesis: modal suffixes as higher verbs.

After establishing a link between complex verbs and modal suffixes, we will give a brief description of the modal suffixes of EcQ, since most of the arguments presented depend on EcQ data. Then in the main section of this chapter arguments for and against the higher verb hypothesis are given, including a brief survey of the evidence from PeQ and BoQ.

Two sets of arguments will be brought to bear on the issue: arguments from different ordering possibilities of the modal suffixes, and arguments from derivational morphology.

Finally, some of the semantic characteristics of the modal suffixes will be investigated, as well as the way in which their meanings have changed.

1. COMPLEX V' NODES AND MODAL SUFFIXES

In chapter IV it was argued that complex verbal expressions of the form:

have emerged in EcQ. There are two cases in which it appears that these complex verbal constructions are related to verb + modal suffix constructions: "inchoatives" and "cislocatives".

In an as yet unpublished paper (1971), Labov has argued that there is a constant interaction of the processes of stylis-

tic elaboration and phonological reduction operating in the auxiliary system of natural languages. An example of this interaction is the English future tense. We find both a simple future: I'll go and a periphrastic form: I am going to go. Labov claims that the latter form emerged because of the possibilities it offered for phonological reduction, and hence, for stylistic variation. In some dialects there are at least 14 alternative ways of pronouncing I am going to go, such as:

aj##ami#gōwiŋ##tə

āI##m##gōnə

āImgən

āŋnə

This process is summarized by Labov as follows (1971: 70):

Because tense markers are not assigned stress in the normal cycles their vowels are reduced and contracted and the remaining consonants can be reduced to the smallest possible bits of phonetic reduction. But because speakers seem to demand an ever wider range of formal and informal styles, we find the auxiliary elaborated to give a broader base for the rules of phonological condensation.

I will try to show that this same principle may have operated in the emergence of modal suffixes out of complex verbal expressions.

Inchoatives

In EcQ, two syntactic patterns exist which can express the complex of meanings associated with English 'going to': intention, beginning an action, expectancy, immediate future. They both involve the verb /ri-/ 'go', and a nominalizer:

V + nga + pak ri-

V + k ri- 'go in order to'

Although both can be interpreted as purposive constructions, they clearly also express intention, inchoative aspect, etc., especially in their non-emphatic and derived forms, which will be discussed extensively. For purposes of exposition, let us assume that all EcQ dialects possessed at one time forms such as:

miku-nga-pak ri-ni
eat NOM PUR go ls
'I am going to eat'

miku-k ri-ni
eat NOM go 1s
'I am going to eat'

Several developments affecting these forms have occurred, among them phonological reductions as a result of the process described by Labov (1971), and the disappearance of the word boundaries between the two verbs.

In Salasaca Q the construction involving a purposive case marker has replaced in all cases the one involving only a nominal. (Evidence that this is a recent phenomenon is provided by the fact that older Salasaca people sometimes do use the /V+k ri-/ construction). Besides vowel changes and voicing, the purposive has gone through a number of optional reduction processes, so that the following options exist in modern Salasaca Q:

V - nga - bug	
V - nga - ug	
V - nga - g	ri -
V - nga - bu	ri - gu -
V - nga - u	ri - u -
V - ng - u	
V - ng	

The /-gu/ or /-u/ added to the auxiliary verb /ri-/ indicates the progressive aspect.

This kind of reduction process may be accompanied by the disappearance of the word boundary. Such a development is reported to have occurred in the jungle Q dialects described by Mugica (1967: 62). Here we find a single verb construction with the modal suffix /-ngara-/:

puñu - ngara - ni
sleep INC 1s
'I am going to sleep'

The fact that the more complete alternative /-ngapara/ still exists shows that the evolution from a complex auxiliary construction to a modal suffix has not yet been completed (see also Guzmán, 1920: 62):

puñu - ngapara - ni
sleep INC 1s
'I am going to sleep'

V-nga-pak ra- ==> V-ngapara- ==> V-ngara-

In the jungle Q dialects the verb /ri-/ 'go' alternates with /ra-/ 'do' in the purposive constructions; in the modal suffix described by Mugica we only find /ra-/. Thus, not only would Labov's tendency towards many stylistic options be a natural development in linguistic change, but also the reduction of syntactic complexity and paradigm generalization. Note that Mugica's data suggest not a multiplication of stylistic options, but rather a reduction of them. When the evolution to /-ngara/ reaches completion, only one option will be left of the ten or more which exist in other jungle dialects, or in related high-land dialects such as Salasaca Q.

The other construction, /V+k ri-/, has undergone a parallel development. Some dialects preserve the original construction in a phonetically unmodified form, such as Caldéron, Pi Q, and Tigua, Cot Q, but most dialects have formed a new modal suffix:

V - k ri- ==> V - gri -

miku-gri-ni

eat INC 1s

'I am going to eat'

In other dialects, particularly the jungle dialects and Salasaca Q, this construction does not occur. Finally, certain dialects are characterized by the fact that a consonant cluster reduction rule, needed anyway quite apart from this particular case, applies to the modal suffix /-gri/. In some dialects this rule is stylistically conditioned, so that we find /-gri/ next to /-gi/; in others only the latter occurs.

The general pattern which emerges here is quite clear. Complex verbs which involve auxiliary constructions give way to V+Modal Suffix combinations. A crucial element in this process is the stylistic necessity to be able to differentiate between emphatic/non-emphatic, etc.

Both the construction involving purposive /-pak/ and the one with the nominalizer /-k/ also occur in PeQ; it is intriguing to speculate that the fact that there are two constructions may be due to the same necessity of stylistic differentiation, in an earlier form of the language. In PeQ the construction /V+k ri-/ presupposes identity of the subjects of the two verbs,

while in the case of the purposive /-paq/ construction both verbs can have a different subject:

ri-ni pay miku-na-n-paq
go 1s he eat NOM 3 BEN
'I do so that he can eat'

Also there may be a slight difference in meaning between the two constructions in that /-paq/ may be more purposive.

Finally, it is interesting to find that in one EcQ dialect, that of Calderón, Pichincha, the /V+nga+pak ri-/ does not occur; instead, we find the use of /puri-/ 'walk' (here 'be busy with', etc.) as an auxiliary:

miku-nga-bu puri-u-ni
eat NOM BEN walk PR 1s
'I walk in order to eat'

Cislocatives

In EcQ the modal suffix /-mu/ generally receives a cislocative interpretation; in verbs of motion, it specifies the direction which an action takes, and in non-motion verbs it specifies that the subject comes from (after) having executed the action of the main verb:

randi-mu-ni
buy CI 1s
'I come from having bought'

puri-mu-ni
walk CI 1s
'I walk this way'

In several EcQ dialects, among them Calderón, Pi Q, a process of semantic simplification of the /-mu/ suffix occurs, limiting its use to motion verbs. With non-motion verbs it is replaced by the verb /shamu-/ 'come', which occurs in a participial construction:

randi-shpa shamu-ni
buy SUB come 1s
'I come from having bought'

The change is likely to have been motivated by semantic simplification rather than by a process of morphological reduction or syntactic change, since many modal suffixes do occur with non-motion verbs in Calderón, Pi Q, and since the suffix /-mu/

is not involved in transformations.

Nonetheless, the periphrastic participial construction is itself subject to reductions of a stylistic nature. In this respect we must distinguish three groups of dialects:

- (a) those in which no stylistic variation occurs;
- (b) those in which /-shpa/ first undergoes consonant cluster reduction, so that we have the following possibilities (of which the first one is synchronically not always available):

randi-shpa shamu-ni ==> randi-sha shamu-ni ==>
randi-sh shamu-ni ==> randi shamu-ni

- (c) those in which consonant cluster reduction does not occur, and in which we find:

randi-shpa shamu-ni ==> randi-sh shamu-ni ==>
randi shamu-ni

Summary

In both cases we find a process of phonological reduction operating; we might represent its context schematically as follows:

(Y - - - - - X)
2 n-j n-1 n 1
where n-j > 2

The assumption here is that in a cluster (Y --- X) phonological elements with a higher numerical value index are more likely to disappear in time. In the case of /-ta/ in infinitival complements, the assumption is justified, and likewise in the cases of modal suffixes derived from complex verbal constructions presented above.

If we assume the process of complex V-node formation and a process of phonological reduction operating in the way described, then some verbs which contain modal suffixes were complex V-nodes at one point of their development, and in these cases modal suffixes are historically derived from main verbs.

2. MODAL SUFFIXES IN ECUADORIAN QUECHUA

In EcQ we find the following modal suffixes:

(a) /-naya-/ as in:

yaku-naya-n		
water	3	'I feel like water'

(b) /-chi-/ as in:

pai-ta	ubia-chi-ni	
he	AC drink	1s
		'I make him drink'

(c) /-ri-/ as in:

apa-ri-ni		
take	1s	'I carry (on my back)'

(d) /-naku-/ as in:

mucha-naku-nchik		
kiss	1PL	'we kiss each other'

(e) /-pa-/ as in:

tiyari-pa-y		
sit down	IM	'please sit down'

(f) /-mu-/ as in:

tigra-mu-ni		
go	back 1s	'I come back'

(g) /-ku-/ as in:

danza-ku-ni		
dance	1s	'I am dancing'

(h) /-ria-/ as in:

wata-ria-n		
tie	3	'it is tied up'

(i) /-gri-/ as in:

miku-gri-ni		
eat	1s	'I am going to eat'

(j) /-ixacha-/ as in:

puri-ixacha-ni		
walk	1s	'I walk to and fro'

(k) /-paya/ as in:

yacha-paya-ni		
know	1s	'I imitate'

(l) /-lli-/ as in:

chumbi-lli-ni		
sash	1s	'I tie on a sash'

So far only examples of combinations of a root with one modal suffix have been presented. Actually, complicated sequen-

ces of modal suffixes occur, as will be seen later.

3. THE LEXICALIST THEORY

Even if some modal suffixes can be shown to be historically derived from higher verbs, that does not imply that in a synchronic analysis this is also the case. Landerman & Frantz' introduction to generative theory (1972) uses Q evidence to argue for the "lexical decomposition theory" or "higher verb theory" which holds that lexical entries should be replaced by deep structure trees which involve semantic primitives such as CAUSE and BECOME. The implicit claim is that Q modal suffixes are in fact nothing but these abstract verbs, so that Q in some respects resembles the presumably universal semantic base fairly closely. Thus:

alli - ya - chi -	'heal'
well BECOME CAUSE	

would have an underlying structure fairly similar to that of English 'heal' (1972: 197-215).

As has been shown in the examples throughout this paper, the number of lexical roots in Q is limited, and the number of derived forms very large. Thus Q would seem to be a language providing ideal evidence for the lexical decomposition theory as against the lexicalist position. It would support the claim that the distinction which some grammarians make between 'to kill' and 'to cause to die' is in fact an artificial one, absent in Universal Grammar.

Superficially, this is indeed the case: in Q we find:

wañu-	'die'
wañu-chi-	'kill'

Thus 'kill' would not even appear in the lexicon, but only in surface structure as the result of transformations.

There is evidence, however, that this representation of lexical structure in Q is incorrect:

(a) In Imbabura Q, 'kill' and 'cause to die' are phonologically distinguished:

wañchi- 'kill'
wañuchi- 'cause to die'

Quesada (1972) reports the form /wanchi-/ for 'kill' in Cajamarca Q, while 'die' is /wañu-/.

(b) A second argument derives from a pidgin called Media Lengua, in which Q syntax and morphology are largely maintained, but the Q lexicon has been replaced with a Spanish one. In Media Lengua, we find that the Q /wañu-chi-/ has been relexified in two different ways:

 mata- 'kill'
wañu-chi- / \
 muri-chi- 'cause to die'

If we assume that the Q semantic structure has been preserved in Media Lengua in this case, as it has in most other cases, the above would suggest that the particular Q dialect which serves as a basis for Media Lengua in fact has two /wañu-chi-/s in surface structure: one derived from the lexical entry 'kill', the other one transformationally derived from 'die' plus /-chi-/.

(c) A third argument is constituted by the syntactic behavior of /wañu-chi-/: while superficially it is quite similar to, e.g.

awa - chi - 'to have somebody weave'
weave CAUSE

the forms differ in that /wanu-chi/ can be modified by /-chi-/, while /awa-chi-/ cannot:

pai wagra-ta wañu - chi - chi - rka
he cow AC die CAUSE CAUSE PA
'he had the cow killed'

*pai chumbi-ta awa - chi - chi - rka
he sash AC weave CAUSE CAUSE PA
'He had somebody have somebody else weave a sash'

If we assume the latter to be ungrammatical because of some kind of restriction on double causatives, then we must accept /wañu-chi-/ as a word in itself, rather than as a root plus causative which would trigger the restriction on double causatives. The alternative would be to assume that it is somehow semantically or pragmatically awkward.

Sentences such as the above show the motivation of the process of lexicalization: if lexical items were trees in themselves, syntactic structure would become extraordinarily cumbersome. The brevity and simplicity which 'kill' has, but which 'cause to die' lacks, is certainly no luxury in natural language.

An argument against the lexicalist analysis of /wañu-chi-/ involves reflexives. In EcQ, causatives co-occur with reflexives. In Saraguro, Lo Q we find /-ri-/ used reflexively, but not with /wañu-chi-/:

pai-maki-ta	piti-ri-rka
he hand AC cut REF PA	
'he cut his hand'	
* pai wañu-chi-ri-rka	
he die CAS REF PA	
'he killed himself'	

The ungrammaticality of the latter form would suggest that /-chi-/ remains available in this dialect to trigger the restriction on its occurrence with /-ri-/.

It is unclear at the present moment how the notion "available for triggering a co-occurrence restriction" can be incorporated into a theory of morphology. One fairly obvious way would be to take recourse to the device of the boundary symbol. If we adopt a negative filter of the following kind:

*#chi#chi#

the case of /wañu-chi-chi-rka/ would not be ruled out if no boundary symbol were present between /wañu-/ and the first /-chi-/.; similarly, in the case of /-chi-/ and /-ri-/.

The modal suffix /-ri-/

Several of the modal suffixes have more than one interpretation, which would make it difficult for them to be generated syntactically. An example of this class is the suffix /-ri-/, which will be analyzed in some detail. /-ri-/ can have the following interpretations:

REFLEXIVE-MEDIAL

riku-ri-ni	
see is	'I appear' ('I see myself' only in Saraguro Q)

shita-ri-ni
throw 1s 'I fall'

IMPERSONAL-PASSIVE

riku-ri-n
see 3 'it is seen' ('se ve')

yacha-ri-n
know 3 'it is known'

RECIPROCAL

uglla-ri-n
hug 3 'they hug each other'

INCEPTIVE

tiya-ri-y
sit IM 'sit down'

MOMENTARY

p'iña-ri-ni
hate 1s 'I flare up in anger'

kunga-ri-ni
forget 1s 'I forget (temporarily)'

DIMINUTIVE

puñu-ri-ni
sleep 1s 'I fall asleep and wake up again'

tamia-ri-n
rain 3 'it drizzles'

FIGURATIVE

wañu-ri-n
die 3 'he is furious' ('se muere de iras')

ñawi urma-ri-rka
face fall PA 'he became red in the face'

IMPROPER

hapi-ri-ni
take 1s 'to take someone else's ...'

Clearly, the interpretations of /-ri-/ can be classified into two general groups, /-ri-/₁, which comprises the first three, and /-ri-/₂, which comprises the last five. The first group is far more productive and 'grammatically oriented' than the second one. In most PeQ dialects we only find /-ri-/₂, but as a much more productive class. There the meanings associated with class /-ri-/₁ are expressed by the suffixes /-ka-/ and /-ku-/, which are apparently more productive in PeQ than they are in EcQ.

Bills (personal communication) has suggested that PeQ 'inceptive' etc. /-ri-/ has been derived historically from the full verb /ri-/ 'go'. Although no evidence is available on this point, the derivation seems plausible on intuitive grounds of semantic similarity and phonological identity. If we accept it, then EcQ has now two modal suffixes derived from /ri-/ 'go': inchoative-intentional /-gri-/ and medial-inceptive /-ri-/. In the first case we have a firm basis for deriving it from /ri-/ 'go', in the second one we do not.

Summary

If we study the modal suffixes in general, a preliminary survey would reveal that they may be classified according to the extent to which they occur with verbs in lexicalized combinations. Criteria for such a classification would include:

- (1) the productivity of a particular suffix;
- (2) the predictability of the semantic interpretation of a particular verb + suffix combination;
- (3) fixedness of a particular combination.

According to criterium (1), for instance, /-ixacha-/ would form a lexical combination with the root since it occurs only with a handful of verbs in EcQ:

puri-	'to walk'
puri-ixacha-	'to wander aimlessly in every direction'
bula-	'to fly'
bula-ixacha	'to flit back and forth'
muyu-	'to circle'
muyu-ixacha	'to circle around wildly'

Also, a marginal interpretation of /-ku-/, which we will term /-ku-/₂ 'medial-reflexive', is limited to only a few verbs (Bills, personal communication):

paka-	'to hide'
paka-ku-	'to hide oneself'
chura-	'to put'
chura-ku-	'to put on (clothes)'
miti-ku-	'to flee'
yacha-	'to know'
yacha-ku-	'to learn'

Arguments for postulating a second /-ku-/ and for the particular examples given are that in some dialects these /-ku-/'s can co-occur with progressive aspect /-ku-/ and that they do not undergo voicing and fricativization in all dialects. The modal or object-incorporating suffix /-lli-/ is used only with a few traditional Indian pieces of clothing:

chumbi-lli-	'to put on a sash'
p'acha-lli-	'to put on a shouldercloth'
?sumiru-lli-	'to put on a hat'
*sapatu-lli-	'to put on shoes'

Both according to criteria (1) and (2) the suffix /-paya-/ would be considered lexicalized, since it only occurs with three verbs:

riku-	'to see'
riku-paya-	'to inspect'
yacha-	'to know'
yacha-paya	'to imitate'
saru-	'to step on'
saru-paya-	'to trample'

An example of a lexicalized combination according to (3) would be /shamu-/ 'come', which in certain PeQ dialects (cf. Parker, 1973) must be analyzed as the root /sha-/ and the cislocative suffix /-mu-/, but which in EcQ only appears as a fixed combination, which is never split.

On the basis of criteria such as (1)-(3) and such as those outlined in the above analysis of /wañu-chi-/, we might order the modal suffixes in a number of groupings, going from left -strictly syntactic- to right -strictly lexical-.

SYNTACTIC					LEXICAL
naya	mu	chi	ri ₁	ixacha	ri ₂
pa				lli	ku ₂
gri					paya
ria					
ku ₁					
na ₁ ku					

Of course, this ordering, as well as the labels 'syntactic' and 'lexical', has a pre-theoretical status. Nonetheless, an adequate theory of morphology will have to be able to account for

the notions contained in it.

It is desirable to develop a diachronic perspective here as is done by Middendorff (1890: 156):

These verb roots are the fundamental forms, to which particles are added in various numbers, each one of which modifies the original meaning of the verb, in itself or in combination with others, according to fixed rules Although the particles, both alone and in groups, tend to modify in the same way the actions expressed by the verbs, that does not happen in every case. Many of them, according to their grammatical character or their function, change the verb meaning in different ways. In others, the original meaning of the particle has been forgotten, because the language has introduced another one in its stead.

4. FOR AND AGAINST THE HIGHER VERB ANALYSIS

Concluding with Middendorff that in some cases lexicalization has occurred, we are left with the general question of how to account for the non-lexicalized V + suffix combinations. The higher verb hypothesis will be referred to as Theory I, and the semantic feature analysis, as Theory II. I will disregard the other theories which recent morphological studies in generative grammar have made available, mostly because the main purpose of this chapter is to present some considerations which eventually will have to be incorporated in a description of Q modals.

Schematically, they can be differentiated as follows: Theory I assumes that modal suffixes represent higher verbs in deep structure, so that a surface chain such as:

V - X - Y - ..

is actually derived from:

V ==> V - X - Y - ..

This structure then undergoes raising, pruning and attachment transformations.

The other option, Theory II, is to postulate a single S-node in deep structure, i.e. something like:

Here $[+Fx]$ and $[+Fy]$ refer to semantic features characterizing (the string ending in) V and dominated by S, or a part of it, including V.

An example of the higher verb analysis might be a derivation of

$\tilde{n}$ uka pai-ta wañu-chi-rka-ni
 I he AC die CAUS PA ls
 'I killed him'

from an underlying structure such as:

An example of the semantic feature Theory II would be to derive:

puri-ku-ni
 walk PR ls
 'I walk'

from:

puri-
 $\left[\begin{array}{c} +PR \\ +1s \end{array} \right]$

In more recent times, Theory I has been adopted by some post-Aspects grammarians, most notably Landerman & Frantz (1972) and Parker (1973), and particularly concerning the causative. Theory II was adopted in unexplicit form in most descriptions made in the sixties, and appears in Parker (1965) and other works. At this point the question is to what extent the two theories are in conflict with each other, as opposed to being mere notational variants. If this were the case, general theoretical considerations would make a choice between both theories possible, but if the data are interpreted to be compatible with only one of the two theories, a contribution to general theory can be made.

The first set of arguments employed here derives from the ordering and co-occurrence restrictions on the modal suffixes. Theory II argues that the semantic features which the modal suffixes represent are not hierarchically ordered, and result either in one possible ordering of the suffixes, or in a variable ordering without meaning differences. Thus semantically conditioned variable suffix ordering constitutes an argument against Theory II. On the other hand, the acceptance of Theory I supposes that the ordering among the modal suffixes is variable but semantically conditioned. Thus instances of ordering and co-occurrence restrictions which have no apparent semantic basis constitute proof against Theory I.

Most of the ordering restrictions related to possible semantic hierarchy have to do with the causative /-chi-/, as will become evident. Therefore I will limit myself here to the interaction between this suffix and the other modal suffixes.

Arguments for Theory II

- (a) /-mu-/
- (b) /-ri-/
- (c) /-gri-/, /-pa-/, etc.

Arguments for Theory I

- (a) /-naya-/ ?
(b) /-chi-/ ?
(c) /-naku-/

For reasons of consistency and simplicity, data from only one EcO dialect will be studied: Salasaca, Tun Q.

MU

Consider the following verb + suffix constructions:

apa- 'take'

apa-mu- 'bring'

apa-chi- 'load'

These constructions occur in the following types of sentences:

- (a) pay sara-da apa-mu-n 'he brings corn'
he corn AC 3
- (b) ñuka sara-da apa-chi-ni 'I load corn'
I corn AC 1s
- (c) ñuka pay-mun sara-da apa-chi-ni
I he to corn AC 1s
'I load corn on him'
'I make him take corn'
- * (d) ñuka pay-mun sara-da apa-mu-chi-ni
I he to corn AC 1s
'I make him bring corn'
- (e) ñuka pay-mun sara-da apa-chi-mu-ni
I he to corn AC 1s
'I make him bring corn'
'I come from loading corn on him'

The ungrammaticality of (d) is a powerful argument against the higher verb hypothesis. It shows that the suffixes /-chi-/ and /-mu-/ can only be ordered in one way:

CHI MU

no matter what their semantic hierarchy. Therefore, (e) is ambiguous; Theory I would assume that the following hierarchies both occur:

This in turn would result in the following two sequences:

* apa-mu-chi-
apa-chi-mu-

If we would try to save the higher verb hypothesis by postulating a readjustment rule mechanism working on surface strings:

-mu-chi- $\Rightarrow$ -chi-mu-

then we would in fact have made Theories I and II mere notational variants, since semantic hierarchy would be inexpressible.

RI

Similar evidence exists in the case of the suffixes /-ri-/ and /-chi-/, although the restrictions on their interaction involve co-occurrence rather than ordering. /-ri-/ has been analyzed previously as having a complex set of meanings, of which the medial one is relevant here. It appears in verbs such as:

apa-	'take'
apa-ri-	'to carry on one's back'
riku-	'see'
riku-ri-	'look like, appear, show up'

With these same roots, the suffix /-chi-/ may be employed, as in:

apa-chi-	'make someone take'
	'load onto someone's back'
riku-chi-	'show; to make someone see'
	'make someone appear'

Both of these forms are ambiguous between the causative non-medial and the causative medial interpretations. Note that the combinations:

*apa-ri-chi-
 *apa-chi-ri-
 *riku-chi-ri-

are ungrammatical, while:

riku-ri-chi-

is only grammatical in the specialized meaning of 'switch on the TV', but not in the general one of 'make someone appear'.

Considering these facts, we have to postulate a constraint on the co-occurrence of /-chi-/ and /-ri-/. Note, however, that this constraint is not a semantic one, since the possibility of /-ri-chi-/ or /-chi-ri-/ would disambiguate the causatives given. If /-ri-/ and /-chi-/ were higher verbs, then the inadmissibility of their combination would be hard to explain, unless once again we would postulate a readjustment rule such as:

-ri-chi-

==> -chi-

-chi-ri-

This process could be more naturally expressed as the relationship between semantic features.

GRI, PA, etc.

It is impossible to add a causative to a verb modified by /-gri-/, /-pa-/, /-ku-/ or /-ria-/:

miku-gri-n		
eat	3	'he is going to eat'
*pai-da miku-gri-chi-ni		
he AC eat	1s	'I cause him to be going to eat'
wata-ria-n		
tie	3	'it is tied up'
*wagra-da wata-ria-chi-ni		
cow AC tie	1s	'I cause the cow to be tied up'
miku-ku-n		
eat	3	'he is eating'
*pai-da miku-ku-chi-ni		
he AC eat	1s	'I cause him to be eating'
miku-ba-y		
eat	IM	'please eat'

*pai-da miku-ba-chi-ni 'I cause him to please eat'
he AC eat ls

On the other hand, it is possible to have the suffix /-chi-/ followed by these aspectual modal suffixes when they modify the causative action:

miku-chi-n		'he feeds'
eat	3	
miku-chi-gri-n		'he is going to feed'
eat	3	
miku-chi-ku-n		'he is feeding'
eat	3	
miku-chi-ba-y		'please feed'
eat	IM	

But:

*wata-chi-ria-ni
tie ls

These distributional facts can be captured more perspicuously within Theory II, where causatives and other modal suffixes are generated by the base rules, than within Theory I.

NAYA ?

One of the cases where different orders between modal suffixes occur, is that of /-chi-/ and /-naya-/. The latter makes the root impersonal, and takes a direct object:

ñuka puñu-ni		'I sleep'
I	sleep ls	
ñuka-ta puñu-naya-n		'I feel like sleeping'
I	AC sleep 3	

The sequence /-chi-naya-/ is grammatical:

riku-chi-ni		'I show'
see	ls	
ñuka-ta riku-chi-naya-n		'I feel like showing'
I	AC see 3	

It is attractive to analyze the last form as:

It is also possible, in EcQ dialects such as Salasaca, Tun Q, to form active desideratives:

ñuka-ta	puñu-naya-n	
I	AC sleep	3
		'I feel like sleeping'
ñuka	puñu-naya-chi-ni	
I	sleep	1s

In the latter form, the order of the two modal suffixes is of course the reverse of the case analyzed above, but it is doubtful whether we have a legitimate example here of reversible semantic hierarchy. It has been noted previously (e.g. Ross, 1963) that a semantic interpretation could be imposed on the active /-naya-chi-/ construction, such as 'allow oneself to feel like', but this argument lacks validity for two reasons: (a) causative /-chi-/ is incompatible with a reflexive or medial interpretation of the causation; (b) there are impersonal constructions of weather phenomena involving /-naya-chi-/:

tamia-naya-chi-n	
rain	3
	'it looks like it is going to rain'

* it is allowing itself to feel like raining

For these reasons we must assume that here /-chi-/ does not receive its customary semantic interpretation, but rather functions syntactically to activate the impersonal object-taking /-naya-/ into a personal subject-taking /-naya-chi-/.

It is also marginally possible in Salasaca, Tun Q, to construct sentences such as:

pay	ñuka-ta	yaku-naya-chi-n	
he	I	AC water	3
			'he makes me feel thirsty'

This form could be schematically represented as:

This case would constitute a legitimate example of reversible semantic hierarchy, a key argument for Theory I, the higher verb analysis. Nonetheless, most Salasaca Q speakers who were interviewed would not allow it, and it was clear that the ungrammaticality of the form could not be due to processing complexity or other performance factors. For those speakers who would accept it, we find a real case of semantic hierarchy being reversible.

CHI

The double occurrence of causative /-chi-/ likewise constitutes an argument for the higher verb analysis in the theoretical perspective adopted here:

ñuka riku-ni	
I see 1s	'I see'
ñuka riku-chi-ni	
I see 1s	'I show'
pay ñuka-ta riku-chi-chi-n	
he I AC see 3	'he makes me show'

The grammaticality of the latter sentence would constitute a powerful argument for the higher verb analysis, Theory I, but the facts are not altogether clear. The sentence with /riku-chi-chi-n/ is not acceptable to all speakers of Salasaca, Tun Q, and neither is:

?pay inga-ta yacha-chi-chi-rka	
he Que. AC know PA	'he had Quechua taught'

Completely acceptable is on the other hand:

pay wagra-ta wañu-chi-chi-rka	
he cow AC die PA	'he had the cow killed'

And completely unacceptable:

*pay chumbi-ta awa-chi-chi-rka 'he had somebody have a
he sash AC weave PA sash woven'

It seems that with some verbs the double /-chi-/ construction is more acceptable than with others. The lexicalization theory was brought forward earlier to account for this, claiming that /wañu-chi-/ constitutes a lexical root in modern EcQ. This theory could account for the facts involved, if we assume that the degree of grammaticality of the double /-chi-/ constructions parallels the degree of lexicalization of the ROOT + /-chi-/:

wañu-	'die'	wañu-chi-	'kill'	wañu-chi-chi-
yacha-	'know'	yacha-chi-	'teach'	?yacha-chi-chi-
riku-	'see'	riku-chi-	'show'	?riku-chi-chi-
apa-	'take'	apa-chi-	'load'	??apa-chi-chi-
awa-	'weave'	awa-chi	'make weave'	*awa-chi-chi

The theory of lexicalization, in the absence of independent evidence, may be considered ad hoc here. To the extent that this is the case, the occurrence of double causatives constitutes an argument for Theory I.

NAKU

Finally, the interaction between causativity, /-chi-/, and reciprocity, /-naku-/, constitutes a real and incontrovertible argument for the higher verb theory. The following four sentences are all grammatical:

/-naku-chi-/

pay	ñukuchi-da	muchu-naku-chi-rga	'he made us kiss
he	we	AC kiss PA	each other'
Huzimi	payguna-da	riku-naku-chi-rga	'José made them see
JoséAF	they	AC see PA	each other'

/-chi-naku-/

payguna	chumbi-kuna-da	riku-chi-naku-rga	'they showed
they	sash	PL AC see PA	each other
			the sashes'
payguna	buli pugllana-da	yacha-chi-naku-rga	'they taught
they	volley	play AC know PA	each other
			volleyball'

We could systematically represent the distributional facts involved by postulating two different tree configurations:

Within this interpretation, reciprocal /-naku-/ is considered a higher verb. An alternative analysis would propose a cyclical transformation of /-naku-/ insertion, and only two S's, or generate /-naku-/ in the base as either a feature of the lower or of the causative verb. Note, however, that the higher verb theory does not capture the fact that closeness to the root might be related to the degree of lexicalization.

5. EVIDENCE FROM PeQ and BoQ

No matter how they are generated, the modal suffixes appear in a fixed surface order (with the exceptions noted); Salasaca, Tun Q, has the following order:

In this diagram a large number of rules and co-occurrence restrictions are collapsed. The suffixes placed in the first column cannot co-occur. The horizontal line indicates that suffixes separated by a line cannot co-occur with each other. Of course, the order diagram presented here provides only the total perspective, not an indication of the maximum sequence of modal

suffixes.

Although the modal suffixes have not yet been studied well enough to make a general comparative and diachronic analysis possible, I will survey the modal suffix ordering of six PeQ and BoQ dialects, which have indeed been researched in some detail:

- Q I Ancash (Parker, 1973)
 Junín (Sayk, 1974)
- Q II Cuzco (Middendorf, 1890)
 Bolivia 1 (Berríos, 1904)
 Bolivia 2 (Albó, 1967)
 Ayacucho (Parker, 1965)

As was the case in the previous section, specifically the issue will be investigated of whether different orderings of the modal suffixes result in different semantic interpretations, i.e. whether modal suffixes have variable scope. Variable scope will be taken as evidence for a higher verb model in the relevant cases.

ANCASH

For Ancash Q Parker (1973: 48) provides the following suffix co-occurrence diagram:

Here /ā/ refers to a long vowel, and /U/ and /I/ to segments which appear either as /u/ (resp. /i/) or as /a/, depending on

the suffix sequence.

The variable suffix ordering affects primarily:

- (a) diminutive /-rI-/, which can precede numerous other suffixes or follow them; Parker does not comment on the semantic differences between these various positions;
- (b) causative /-tsi-/, which can be ordered before /-na-kU-/, between its two parts, and after it:

-tsi-na-kU-

-na-tsi-kU-

-na-kU-tsi-

Again Parker does not describe the semantic interpretations of these various orderings, but his remarks suggest a situation fairly similar to that in EcQ;

- (c) interpersonal /-pU-/ ('benefit') can both precede and follow durative /-y-kā-/ ('be present'). Parker (1973: 52) describes a clear difference in meaning between these alternative orderings:

akra-y-kā-pU-: 'I am choosing (something) for someone
choose ls not present'

akra-pU-y-kā-: 'I am choosing (something) for someone
choose ls present'

In the second case, the logical object of /-pU-/ is the one being present, in the first case, the subject of /akra-/ is the one present.

These latter data form the basis for the higher verb theory which he proposes. Another example involves the ordering of /-y-kā-/ and causative /-tsi-/:

yaku-ta timpu-tsi-y-ka-: 'I am making water boil'
waterAC boil ls

yaku-ta timpu-y-ka-tsi-: + 'I make someone be boiling
waterAC boil ls water'

JUNÍN

Sayk's description of Junín modal suffixes presents a similar picture. The following distribution diagram is given (V: refers to a long vowel; the pluralizers /-pa:ku-/, /-rka:-/ and /-:ri-/ have not been included:

CUZCO

Middendorf's (1890) treatment of modal suffixes in Cuzco Q provides an extensive list of the possible modal suffix sequences. The following distribution diagram attempts to compare these with the data provided for EcQ, Ancash Q and Junín Q, and to provide a condensed total image (which necessarily suffers, however, from not excluding particular combinations not mentioned by Middendorf):

Middendorf's data show the interchangeability of /-chi-/ and /-na-kU-/, but his examples are not as explicit as Sayk's. A second case analyzed by Middendorf of variable ordering involving semantic variation is the following:

rura-pU-mU-y		'to do for another'
do	NOM	
rura-mU-pU-y		'to do again for somebody'
do	NOM	

It is not clear in this case whether the semantic variation is due to (a) a shift in semantic hierarchization, or instead to (b), a different meaning assigned to /-pU-/ because of the different ordering.

There are other points in Middendorf's presentation which remain unclear, due in part to the numerous printing errors of the 1970 Spanish edition of his work, the edition consulted for this thesis.

BOLIVIA

The presentation given by Berríos (1904: 137-169) of modal suffixes in BoQ is very extensive and exceedingly complicated. The following diagram based on the data he gives presents only a

first approximation of his model:

lli -
 icha
 qa-cha
 paya ra ikacha ikU rpaya ri rqU ysi na chi kU mU pU naya ska lla
 jata
 ya
 tata

Berríos' work offers no instances of variable ordering with a different semantic interpretation for different orderings. The few cases in which suffix ordering changes do occur, two of which are shown in the diagram above, involve primarily the phenomenon of suffixes in fixed combinations, and do not seem to lead to changes in the semantic hierarchy. Of course, a consideration here is the absence of translations for most forms given, which may have led to Berríos' neglect of ordering changes.

The complicating factor in Berríos' presentation is the tendency he describes of modal suffixes to form clusters with specialized meanings, which then function as modal suffixes in their own right and have their own distributional characteristics. Note the following example:

kapa-rqU-cha-ikU-rpaya-rqU-kU-mU-pU-naya-ska-lla

This form (for which no translation is given and which probably is not a realistically possible word), contains two occurrences of /-rqU-/, one being combined with /-cha-/ in a fixed combination, and one with /-kU-mU-pU-/; in each case a different meaning results:

-rqakampu	'has a reflexive meaning and indicates
(-rqU-kU-mU-pU)-	that the action of the verb is sudden, casual and occasional'
muna-rqakampu-	'go to love it for oneself suddenly and
want	casually'
-rqacha	'used with few verbs, it indicates force,
(-rqU-cha-)	exaggeration, or violence'
kapa-rqacha-	'to scream loudly'
scream	

The implications which this kind of fixed suffix combinations has for a general theory of modal suffixes will be discussed later.

BOLIVIA 2

A more recent and perhaps more reliable description of BoQ than Berríos' (1904) is that of Albó (1964), which contains the following schema for the ordering of the modal suffixes:

ya ri(ri)
(n)cha paya ykacha na naya raya yku rqa rpa(ri)
lli yka ra rqa ypa(ri) ysi chi ka..
rpaya

ku
.. m pu -
mu

Albó gives two examples of variable ordering:

- (a) apa-ri-ysi-wa-y
take help lob IM 'please help me take it'
apa-ysi-ri-wa-y ('ayúdame a llevarlo, por favor')
take help lob IM
apa-ri-ysi-ri-wa-y
take help lob IM

It is not clear here just what is the distribution of /-ri-/
'please'/'inchoative'.

- (b) wāñu-chi-naya-wa-n 'I feel like killing'
die CAU want lob 3

wāñu-naya-chi-wa-n 'he makes me feel like dying'
die want CAU lob 3

This type of example parallels the interaction between /-naku-/ and /-chi-/ in many Q dialects and would be an argument for a higher verb theory.

AYACUCHO

Parker's (1965) description of Ayacucho Q contains one of the first systematic distribution diagrams of the modal suffixes. The various variable orderings involving reciprocal /-na-/ have not been included (1965: 70):

ra
pa ya cha ri ykU rqU chi ysi pU kU mU lla (wa) chka (su)
ti

ykacha

When the suffix /-na-/ occurs in Ayacucho, we find four possible orderings:

ykU na ri rqU kU pU
ykU na ri rqU kU chi ysi pU
ykU ri chi na rqU kU pU
ri Y chi na kU rqU kU pU

Focussing for a moment on the underlined forms /-na-/, /-kU-/, and /-chi-/, we see a pattern similar to the Junín and EcQ data: the causative can be ordered before or after the reciprocal:

riku-na-chi-sa-ykichik		
see	1FU 2PLobj	'I'll make you see each other'
gawa-chi-na-ku-nkichik		
watch	2PL	'you make each other see something'

In his listing (1965: 69) of the possible ordering variation in Ayacucho Q, Parker gives several examples in which a change in the order of two suffixes does not lead to clear semantic differences. Only in the case of /-na-/ and /-chi-/ do we find an order change which involves a change in the semantic hierarchy.

6. EVIDENCE FROM DERIVATIONAL MORPHOLOGY

There is some evidence that causative /-chi-/ and desiderative /-naya-/ can be considered as object-incorporating verbs, which might be an argument for their status as higher verbs in EcQ. Thus we find in EcQ verbs such as:

waira-chi-	'fan'
wind	
wasi-chi-	'construct'
house	
hucha-chi-	'accuse'
fault	

miza-chi- 'have a mass said'
mass

Admittedly the number of noun stems which can be combined with /-chi-/ is limited, but the last example with /miza/, a loan from Spanish, shows that the process must have been sporadically productive at least as late as the colonial period.

In the case of /-naya-/, the possibility of combination with noun stems is only constrained semantically:

aswa-naya- chicha	'feel like drinking <u>chicha</u> '
chagu-naya- booze	'feel like drinking booze' (cf. Sp. <u>trago</u>)
warmi-naya- woman	'feel like sleeping with a woman'
* kuchki-naya- money	? 'feel like having money'

In both cases, we might reconstruct or analyze the genesis of these constructions as having arisen from noun + verb combinations, with /chi-/ 'cause' and /naya-/ 'give appetite for':

NP + V ==> N + MODAL SUFFIX

OBJECT INCORPORATION

An alternative explanation of the occurrence of /-chi-/ with nominals would be that, originally, the nouns were verbalized with /-ya-/, in the following way:

wasi	'house'
wasi-ya-	'become a house'
wasi-ya-chi-	'cause to become a house'

In a later stage, the latter form was reduced in two ways:

wasi-ya-chi-	↙ wasi-chi-	EcQ
	↘ wasi-cha-	PeQ

7. CONCLUSION

Let us return to the question posed at the beginning of this chapter: are the modal suffixes to be lexically, transformationally or base-generated? We find that no general answer

can be given for all modal suffixes. They differ considerably among each other in syntactic structure.

In all of the Q dialects considered here, the causative feature /-chi-/ was found to have a varying semantic scope, in that it causativizes elements to its left, but not those to its right:

V - x - chi - y -
 scope of causative is V - x -
 V - x - y - chi - z -
 scope of causative is V - x - y -

This difference in scope exists only in the interaction of /-chi-/ with a few other semantic features, such as 'reciprocal' and 'reflexive'.

In several PeQ dialects a few other modal suffixes were described as having the same characteristic of having differing semantic scopes dependent on different suffix orderings. Most modal suffixes were found to be able to be interpreted as semantic features of the verb, without the semantic scope hierarchization of /-chi-/.

It was argued that this difference between on the one hand /-chi-/ and a few more suffixes, and on the other hand, all other modal suffixes, can be best expressed by adopting a higher verb analysis in the case of /-chi-/, etc., and a base-generated semantic feature analysis in the case of the other modals.

Assuming, moreover, the validity of the complex V' analysis given in the previous chapter, we may then hypothesize that the modal suffixes are undergoing a development similar to that of the semi-auxiliaries and the copula:

On the basis of this general outline we may include the category modal suffix in the general change described in chapter IV:

In neither case was the development from higher V structure to complex V' entirely completed.

The analysis given disregards completely the many real differences which exist between the modal suffixes and the complex verbs. The two principal differences are that complex V' nodes contain a considerable amount of morphological material lacking in the case of modal suffixes, and that the complex V' expansion rule is not recursive in the case of semi-auxiliaries, although it is in the case of modals (if the two can be subsumed under the same expansion rule). An additional problem is that in the case of complex V' nodes with auxiliaries both verbs are interpreted as having the same subject, while in the case of modals this is not necessarily so.

CHAPTER VI THE COMPARATIVE IN ECUADORIAN QUECHUA

The comparative construction in EcQ differs considerably from that of other Q dialects; in fact it is a serial construction, similar to those appearing in many West African languages. Two questions can and should be posed relating to it: (a) how did it emerge? (b) how did it develop? We will see that its development throws an interesting perspective on the theory of syntactic change, since the EcQ data complement and parallel the African data (cf. Schachter, 1974).

This chapter begins with an analysis of the EcQ comparative construction and its different syntactic forms. In the second section the PeQ construction and the historical background of EcQ comparatives will be discussed. In the third section some provisional conclusions will be drawn.

1. THE /YALLI/ CONSTRUCTION: V, Adv OR P?

All EcQ dialects except for Saraguro, Loja Q and Oriente Q have sentences such as the following (in this chapter, all of the examples given have been taken from the Salasaca, Tun Q, dialect, unless otherwise indicated):

kan-da yalli k'uilla mi-ni
you AC pretty AF 1s
'I am prettier than you are'

ñuka-da yalli wagra-da chari-n
I AC cattle AC have 3
'he has more cattle than I do'

Huzi-da yalli puri-ngi
José AC walk 2s
'you walk more/faster than José'

I want to argue that the general structure of comparatives in EcQ is something like the following, which of course resembles the analysis given by Bresnan (1973):

In the examples just given we find that AP, NP and VP can contain the comparative construction. This is indicated in the tree diagram in the form of a generalized quantitative phrase, QP (Bresnan, 1973). It is assumed that the QP node dominates both a quantifier node Q, which dominates items such as /achka/ 'much', /ashalla/ 'little' and /na tantu/ 'not so much', and a determiner node Det, which dominates /NP+da yalli/ 'more than NP', /NP shina/ 'like NP', /NP shinalladi/ 'just like NP' and /manchaní/ 'terribly'. Thus we find sentences such as:

achka-da puñu-rga-ni	'I slept a lot'
much AC sleepPA 1s	
kan-da yalli puñu-rga-ni	'I slept more than you did'
you AC sleep PA 1s	

We see that /achka-da/ 'a lot' and /kan-da yalli/ 'exceeding you' both quantify the sleeping.

In the following three sentences different determiners can be substituted:

kan shina hinchí-mi	'he is strong like you'
you like strong AF	
kan shina-lladi hinchí-mi	'he is as strong as you are'
you like just strong AF	
kan-da yalli hinchí-mi	'he is stronger than you are'
you AC strong AF	

Finally, there are sentences in which both a Q and a Det

occur; often the Det is extraposed:

ñuka achka wata-da chari-ni kan-da yalli
 I many year AC have ls you AC
 'I have more years than you do'

ñuka achka wata-da chari-ni kan shina
 I many year AC have ls you like
 'I have many years like you'

ñuka manchaní achka wata-da chari-ni
 I terribly many year AC have ls
 'I have terribly many years'

The extraposition in these sentences will be discussed later in somewhat greater detail, and the general Quantifier Phrase structure given above will be refined some more. For now, it is assumed that the general structure of the QP in EcQ is sufficiently well established, with the proviso that there is some doubt about the distinctness of the Det and the Q.

This section deals primarily with the /NP+da yalli/ construction. How should it be analyzed? As a VP? As a complex PP? As an AdvP? Arguments will be given for all three analyses, and it is claimed that they are all valid for some speakers of EcQ.

The VP analysis

Since /yalli-/ is a verb in EcQ, meaning 'exceed', 'surpass', etc., a first possibility is that the /NP+da yalli/ construction is in fact a VP.

yacha-gu-na-bi-ga ñuka kan-da yalli-ni
 learn PR NOM LO TO I you AC exceed ls
 'I exceed you in learning'

We may assume then that the minimal structure of the /NP+da yalli/ phrase is something like:

The principal argument in favor of the VP analysis is that all other /NP+da/ elements in Q are dominated by a VP node. Other postpositional phrases may be dominated by NP or AP, but /NP+da/ never is:

paya-munda killu old from yellow	'yellow from age'
chusku rinri-un payla four ear WI bronze	'bronze pot with four handles'
*dumingu-da p'eria Sunday AC fair	'the Sunday fair'
dumingu-da p'eria tiya-n Sunday AC fair be 3	'Sunday there is a fair'

In the last of these expressions /-da/ specifies the element which indicates the time at which the action takes place; this is only possible in a VP, not in an NP. This same restriction appears in nominal compounds:

chumbi-da awa-ni sash AC weave 1s	'I weave a sash'
*chumbi-da awa-dur sash AC weaveER	'sash weaver'
chumbi awa-dur sash weave ER	'sash weaver'

If /yalli/ is a verb, why is it not inflected? In the chapter on paradigmatic developments the elaborate person, number and tense inflection of Q verbs was described. The absence of inflection follows from the fact that only a VP dominates /NP+da yalli/, not an $\bar{S}$. It was argued earlier that the COMP node in EcQ dominates the categories Tense, Person, Number and Negation:

Thus we can get fully inflected verb forms in main clauses:

apa-mu-wa-rka-ngi-chik-chu	Can Q
bring lob PA 2 PL Q	
'did you bring me...?'	

But in subordinate clauses, the COMP node is filled:

apa-mu-wa-kpi, ...
bring lob SUB
'if you bring me, ...'

- * apa-mu-wa-rka-ngi-chik-kpi-
- * apa-mu-wa-kpi-rka-ngi-chik-

Thus the analysis of the /NP+da yalli/ clause as a VP, rather than as an $\bar{S}$, predicts correctly that neither a complementizer nor inflection is present on the verb.

The motivation for an S node dominating /NP+da yalli/ would have to be the capability of /yalli/ to take a subject. There is never an overt subject present, however, in the /NP+da yalli/ clauses:

- * Huzi (Huzi Manil-da yalli) hatun-mi
José José ManuelAC big AF
Huzi (Manil-da yalli) hatun-mi
José Manuel AC big AF
'José is bigger than Manuel'

Moreover, there are cases in which the Equi-NP deletion transformation, needed to account for the data if one postulates an S node, does not apply:

Hambatu-bi yalli rupuk ka-n Salasaka-da
Ambato LO hot be 3 Salsaca AC
'in Ambato it is hotter than in Salsaca'

Here the underlying subject, if one can be found, of /yalli/ is not impersonal, like that of the main clause. This and other examples show that it is preferable not to generate a subject for the /NP+da yalli/ clause; hence there is no motivation for an S node.

The VP analysis for serial verb constructions was first proposed by Schachter (1974); the present analysis of the comparative in EcQ provides independent support for his general claim, with the important difference that Schachter analyzes all VP's as being dominated by the matrix S, while here it is assumed that the /NP+da yalli/ phrase is dominated by the QP.

A final argument for the VP analysis of /NP+da yalli/ is rather complex. It can be summarized as follows: if /NP+da/ were

not the direct object of /yalli/ but rather some kind of PP complement, it could have a complex internal structure, i.e. one containing an internal S or VP node. In fact it cannot be internally complex, and therefore it must be the direct object of /yalli/. Note, for instance, that in Arajuno, Tena Q, which lacks the /NP+da yalli/ construction, such sentences are possible as:

Xwan yaku puri-shka-manda aswan kallpa-n
 John water walk NOM from more run 3
 'John runs faster than the river flows'

In Salasaca, Tun Q, and related dialects, the equivalent construction is ungrammatical:

*Xwanchu yaku puri-shka-da yalli kallpa-n
 John water walk NOM AC run 3

The AdvP analysis

There are numerous indications that /yalli/ is often interpreted in EcQ as an adverb, not as a verb. In that case, we are dealing with an adverbial phrase, and not with a VP. The minimal structure of the /NP+da yalli/ phrase would then be something like:

We have noticed that /yalli/ cannot be inflected for tense, person and number, and could account for that by assuming that it is dominated by VP, not by $\bar{S}$. It appears, however, that even elements dominated by the V, such as /-wa-/ '1st person object', cannot occur with it; even in Imbabura Q, where /-wa-/ occurs, the following sentence is ungrammatical:

*ñuka-ta yalli-wa wagra-ta chari-n
 I AC lob cow AC have 3
 'he has more cattle than I do' IMBABURA

If /yalli/ were a verb, congruence with the direct object would take place.

Also, if /NP+da yalli/ were a VP, we would expect other elements to be able to occur in it, specifying the verb. This is not possible:

*achka kan-da yalli k'uilla-mi-ni
 much you AC pretty AF 1s
 'I am much prettier than you are'

The ungrammaticality of this type of sentences suggests that the VP analysis is untenable.

As to the /-da/ marker, which was claimed to be a crucial diagnostic for a VP, we find elements which are generally considered to be adverbs, such as /asha/ 'little, few' and /minus/ 'less' (comp. Sp menos), governing /NP+da/ complements:

Huzi asha utilla-mi Manil-da
 José little smallAF Manuel AC
 'José is smaller than Manuel'

pay-ga ñuka-da minus kuchki-yuk-mi
 he TO I AC less money poss.AF
 'he is less money-owner than I am'

The possibility cannot be excluded, however, that these elements have been reanalyzed as verbs, and have the same grammatical status as /yalli/. In Tigua, Cot Q, we find that /kati/ 'less than', derived from the verb /kati-/ 'follow', is used in much the same way as /yalli/:

pay-ga ñuka-da kati hatun-mi
 he TO I AC follow big AF
 'he is less tall than I am'

For this reason, the facts of /asha/ and /minus/ by themselves constitute no argument for the Adv analysis; taken together with the other arguments presented here, they do.

The most important argument for the adverb analysis involves the extraposition of the /NP+da/ element:

Huzi Manil-da yalli yacha-n
 José Manuel AC know 3
 'José knows more than Manuel'

Huzi yalli yacha-n Manil-da

The /NP+da/ element is moved over the main verb to a position to the right of it, as is shown in this diagram:

It is possible for objects to be moved to the right of V in main sentences in Q, but generally not in subordinate clauses. In no case, however, can objects move beyond two verbs, as they could if /yalli/ were a verb.

warmi-da riku-sha, ñuka kapari-rga-ni
 woman AC see SUB I scream PA 1s
 'seeing the woman I screamed'

* riku-sha, ñuka kapari-rga-ni warmi-da

For this reason, it may be necessary to analyze /yalli/ in the above construction not as a verb, but as an adverbial element.

Another reason for assuming that /yalli/ is not a verb has to do with the /-da/ object marking. /-da/ is distinguished from the other case markers in being optionally deletable, particularly when the object is placed immediately to the left of the verb:

Huzi warmi-da chari-n Huzi warmi-__ chari-n
 José woman AC have 3 ==>
 'José has a woman/wife'

In the /NP+da yalli/ construction, /-da/ cannot be deleted, however:

Huzi warmi-da yalli kuchki chari-n *Huzi warmi-__ yalli
 José woman AC money have 3 ==> kuchki chari-n
 'José has more money than the woman'

These facts suggest that in the /NP+da yalli/ construction the /NP+da/ is not a direct object, but rather a PP complement, and that the /-da/ marker has become similar to other case markers

in not being deletable.

A sixth argument for analyzing /yalli/ as an adverb derives from the fact that sometimes /yalli/ itself is marked with /-da/, just as may be the case with other adverbs:

alli-da	rura-rga-ngi	'you did well'
good AC	do PA 2s	
ukta-da	puri-gu-nchi	'we are walking fast'
fast AC	walk PR 1PL	

Similarly we find comparative sentences such as:

pay-ga	ñuka-da	yalli-da	karu	ri-n-lla-mi
he TO I	AC	AC	far go 3	just AF
'he is going further than I am'				

It would be hard to understand how the verb /yalli/ could be marked with /-da/.

Finally, there are cases where /yalli/ occurs without /NP+da/, and where it appears to be interpreted as 'excessively':

kay	sapatus-kuna-ga	yalli	hatun-mi	ñuka-buk
these shoes PL	TO	big AF	I	BEN
'these shoes are too big for me'				

The relevant part of this sentence may have something like the following structure:

Here X represents a hidden norm, which the shoes exceed for the /ñuka-buk/ 'for me'.

In all these cases there is good reason to interpret /yalli/ as an adverb, not as a verb.

The PP analysis

There are two constructions in which /yalli/ may profitably be considered to be a postposition. First of all, there are speakers who extrapose, not just /NP+da/, but also /NP+da yalli/:

Huzi Manil-da yalli yacha-n
 José Manuel AC know 3
 'José knows more than Manuel'
 Huzi yacha-n Manil-da yalli

Adverbs cannot be extraposed in EcQ, only PP's:

ukta shamu-ngi 'come fast'
 fast come 2s
 kay-mu shamu-ngi 'come here'
 this to come 2s
 *shamu-ngi ukta
 *shamu-ngi kay-mu

For this reason, we might assign a structure such as:

Another set of sentences in which /yalli/ appears as a postposition is the double /yalli/ construction:

Huzi { mas
 ashtaun } hatun-mi Manil-da yalli
 yalli
 José more big AF ManuelAC

Presumably these sentences, which are acceptable to many speakers, have a structure such as:

In fact, these sentences are strikingly similar to the comparative of PeQ and some dialects of EcQ, which will be discussed in the next section.

The fact that PP extraposition occurs both in the adverb and in the postposition cases suggests that the differences between them have to be accounted for on the level of the Phrase Structure rules, not on the level of the transformational component, and also that the Det of the QP has more internal structure than sketched earlier. At this point, it is too early to give a precise sketch of the QP, which would incorporate the V, Adv and P interpretation of /yalli/. The following is only a first approximation; crucial data are still lacking.

A reinterpretation

First of all, it is possible to generate the /NP+da yalli/ phrase as a VP directly under the matrix S:

This is the analysis proposed by Schachter (1974) for serial verb constructions in West African languages. No crucial evidence discriminating between this analysis and the QP analysis given at the beginning of this chapter has been found.

As far as the adverbial postpositional analyses are concerned, we may suggest that the possibility of extraposition is diagnostic for PP, and then a principled way has to be found to separate determining items such as /manchaní/ 'terribly', which cannot be extraposed, from PP's in the Det position. We might introduce a complement position in the Det:

Once we assume this general configuration, the different interpretations of /yalli/ can be distinguished in a principled way.

In the postpositional interpretation, /yalli/ is part of the complement of the Det node:

This Comp can be extraposed in EcQ; besides /NP+da yalli/ it contains such phrases as /NP shina/ 'like NP'.

In the adverbial interpretation, we find two different /yalli/'s, as in these two sentences:

pay-ga yalli hatun-mi ñuka-da
 he TO big AF I AC
 'he is bigger than I am'

kay sumbiru-ga yalli hatun-mi ñuka-buk
 this hat TO big AF I BEN
 'this hat is too big for me'

In both cases we find an extraposed PP, but in the first case /yalli/ is a quantifier element 'more', in the second case a determiner element 'too'. This difference in meaning can be captured by generating the first /yalli/, 'more', under Quantifier, and the second /yalli/ 'too' under Det, in the same position as /manchanf/:

/yalli/ 'more'

/yalli/ 'too'

Thus we have distinguished four groups of speakers, or, possibly, syntactic dialects which assign four different positions to the /yalli/ element. They are distinguished by the PP complement which each selects and by the possibility of this PP being extraposed.

The complex V' hypothesis

Given the complex V' analysis brought forward in the previous chapter, we may wonder whether no such analysis is possible in the /yalli/ case. The relevant structure would be something like:

This analysis faces great difficulties because of the fact that any amount of elements may intervene between /yalli/ and the matrix verb, which is typically not the case with complex V' nodes.

Huzi Manil-da yalli kunun kay yana sara-da kuchu-n
 José Manuel AC now this black cornAC cut 3
 'José now cuts this dark corn better than Manuel'

2. THE EMERGENCE OF THE /YALLI/ CONSTRUCTION

To provide a framework for the following discussion I will first describe briefly the comparative construction in contemporary PeQ dialects. Afterwards I will try to indicate how the /yalli/ construction may have emerged in EcQ.

The comparative in PeQ

The comparative in PeQ and in BoQ involves a PP and an adverb 'more'. In Q I we find constructions such as the following (Tarma Q: Adelaar, personal communication):

kay Peru: marga mas unay-unay marga mayax čayax pača-bita-ši
 this Peru land more old old land wherever land ABL IND
 'Peru is older than any other country'

In this type of sentence, the 'standard' NP is in the ablative case, and the adverb indicating 'more' is optional.

In Q II we find an equivalent construction (Middendorf, 1970: 245):

llama wik"uña-manta aswan 'hatun-mi
 llama vicuña ABL more big AF
 'the llama is bigger than the vicuña'

Similar constructions, with slight modifications, have been attested for all PeQ and BoQ dialects.

This type of comparative construction may be analyzed as:

The general outlines of this structure are fairly clear, but one problem remains: does the Det of the QP contain a comparative element itself, or does it only dominate PP? Bresnan's (1973) analysis provides structures such as:

Similarly, Middendorff analyzed /aswan/ 'more' as /as/ 'a little' plus /-wan/ 'with', so that we could postulate something like:

Here additive /-wan/ would represent an abstract element of degree. On the whole, this analysis remains speculative, however,

and unsupported by any real evidence.

The emergence of /yalli/

The earliest Q grammar, written in 1560 (i.e. around twenty-five years after the Spanish conquest) by Domingo de Santo Tomás, provides the following two comparative constructions:

Pedro yurak, Juan-mi aswan yurak
Peter white John AF more white
'John is whiter than Peter'

Juan-mi yura-y-ni-n-pi Pedro-ta yalli-n-mi
John AF whiteNOM 3 LO Peter AC exceed3 AF
'John exceeds Peter in being white'

These data would suggest that the construction now current in PeQ, mentioned in the previous section, did not exist in the 16th century PeQ. Antonio Ricardo (1586) and Diego de Torres Rubio (1619) do mention the /NP+manta aswan/ construction, however, and the fact that it is general now in all PeQ and BoQ dialects suggest that it may be older than the 16th century.

In any case, it is clear that both a /NP+manta aswan/ (in Q I /NP+pita mas/) construction and a construction involving /yalli-/ 'exceed' as a main verb were present in PeQ in the colonial period. The early grammarians mention both, the modern ones only the /aswan/ construction. Mossi (1889), writing about the Q of Northern Argentina, only mentions the construction involving /yalli/ as a main verb.

Now, somehow, in EcQ the verb /yalli-/ 'exceed' came to be dominated by QP, as was shown at the beginning of this chapter. The oldest known grammar of EcQ is the one written in Quito in 1753, possibly by Tomás Nieto Polo del Aguila, SJ. In discussing the comparative construction, Nieto Polo provides three synonymous sentences for expressing 'Peter knows more than John':

Pedro Juan-manta aswam yacha-n
Peter John from more know 3
Pedro Juan-ta yacha-y-pi yalli-n
Peter John AC knowNOM LO exceed3
Pedro Juan-ta yalli yacha-n
Peter John AC exceed know 3

Nieto Polo has been criticized for not providing an accurate

picture of EcQ, but instead an idealized picture of Cuzco Q or the like. The evidence is mixed; on the one hand, he describes forms which do not occur in modern EcQ at all, such as:

wasi-yki	'your house'
house 2s	

wasi-y	'my house'
house 1s	

These forms do occur in Cuzco Q. On the other hand, he does describe forms which are decidedly EcQ and do not occur elsewhere, such as /ashtaun/ 'more'.

The most plausible solution to this problem lies in the assumption that Nieto Polo, on the one hand, was following a norm, the paradigms starting with Domingo de Santo Tomás, and giving the Cuzco Q forms. On the other hand, and usually right afterwards, he was providing EcQ data. Thus the two possessive forms given above are followed by the forms common now in EcQ:

kam-bak wasi	'your house'
you GEN house	

ñuka wasi	'my house'
I house	

Similarly, one may think, with the comparative. If this analysis is correct, Nieto Polo first gives the two comparatives described in the PeQ grammars of the period, and finally the /NP+da yalli/ construction, of which we may assume that it is the comparative of those EcQ dialects known to Nieto Polo, and consequently, that it emerged before the middle of the 18th century. There are two kinds of external evidence that the /NP+da yalli/ construction is indeed a development within EcQ, and not part of Q grammar from an earlier stage.

First of all, the fact that it occurs only in EcQ, and not in any Q I dialects or Q II dialects of Peru and Bolivia, makes it unlikely that it once was present in all Q dialects. Moreover, it is present only in the central dialects of EcQ; two dialects on the periphery, Saraguro, Lo Q, and Arajuno Q, follow that Peruvian pattern. The fact that two peripheral but unrelated dialects do not have the /NP+ta yalli/ construction suggests strongly that it is a new development.

Secondly, the fact that in PeQ it is possible to use /yalli-/ as a main verb makes it unlikely that the /NP+ta yalli/ construction used to occur there and has since disappeared.

Assuming that the above reasoning is correct, we are faced with the problem of how the /NP+ta yalli/ construction did emerge. Note that we are dealing with a diachronic derivation here, not with a synchronic one. There is some interesting evidence that the VP of /NP+ta yalli/ is not derived synchronically from an S, either subordinated or coordinated. The evidence derives from Media Lengua, a pidgin of which the main characteristic is that it preserves the Q structure but has a Spanish lexicon. /yalli-/ is relexified as /gana-/ 'win', but /gana-/ apparently cannot occur in the same VP dominated by QP position as /yalli/ can. If the /NP+ta yalli/ construction were derived synchronically from some S, we would then expect Media Lengua to have instead that S construction. In fact, Media Lengua itself has no access to this S node, and different structures occur:

Xwan-mi Pedro-da gana-sha grande ga-n
John AF Peter AC win SUB big be 3
'John is bigger than Peter'

Takunga-mi rico ga-n Salsedo-da gana-n
Latac. AF rich be 3 Salcedo AC win 3
'Latacunga is richer than Salcedo'

In the first case we find the /yalli/ form relexified as an adverbially subordinated /gana-/. In the second case, as a coordinated /gana-/.

In fact, there is no evidence about the possible way in which the /NP+ta yalli/ construction emerged. If we assume three possible sources:

Xwan yachan, Pedro-ta yalli-n John know 3 Peter AC exceed3	COORDINATION
Xwan-yacha-y-ni-n-pi Pedro-ta yalli-n John know NOM 3 LO Peter AC exceed3	MAIN VERB
Xwan Pedro-ta yalli-shpa yacha-n John Peter AC exceed SUB know 3	SUBORDINATION

then the last one would appear to be the most plausible underlying source, historically, for the modern EcQ construction. If this is the case, the following syntactic development has taken place:

Note, however, that the criterion for selecting the subordinate clause as a possible historical source is derived from a specific theory about syntactic change, namely a theory stressing the importance of surface word order in the process of the reinterpretation of surface structures.

In the previous section, several developments have been discussed which the /NP+da yalli/ construction has undergone in EcQ. First of all, the VP must have been lowered into the QP of the predicate, dominated by AP, NP or directly by the VP:

Again, the surface configuration of the resulting structure was not affected. Within the QP node, three different structures emerged, which may be schematically represented as follows:

Here construction I represents the adverbial interpretation in which /yalli/ means 'more' and the /NP+da/ phrase can be extraposed. II represents the postpositional interpretation in which /yalli/ is part of the PP and /NP+da yalli/ as a whole is extraposed. III represents the interpretation in which /yalli/ means 'too' and has a /NP+buk/ complement.

Again, the crucial point seems to be the surface order of the elements involved. While the actual structure of the QP is different in each case, the order of the elements remains the same. Only in the case of extraposition do the differences appear.

3. THEORETICAL IMPLICATIONS

Givón has argued in several papers that there are two paths of case marker development:

V - N $\implies$ P - N

N-GEN - N $\implies$ N - P

The first path, which corresponds to serialization, may be more characteristic of SVO languages; the second one, corresponding to noun phrase compounding, would seem more characteristic of SOV languages. The most prominent counterexample given in Givón (1975) is Ijõ, which is both strongly SOV and strongly serializing, but in the case of Ijõ serialization could be considered a 'borrowed' construction.

As such, the /NP+da yalli/ construction in EcQ was an aut-

onomously developed structure, and would be a counterexample to Givón's typological claim linking word order and case marking. Interestingly enough, the only cases of verb serialization in EcQ are those of /yalli/ and, in some dialects, of certain verbs like it:

pay-ga	ñuka-da	kati	puri-n		Tigua, Cot Q
he	TO I	AC	follow walk 3		
'he walks slower than I do ('following me')'					

In fact, both of these cases are limited to particular dialects, and rare in EcQ. They show nonetheless that the VP node in the QP was not necessarily limited to the lexical item /yalli/.

In accounting for the emergence of the /NP+da yalli/ construction, it would be natural to suggest that the motivation for the syntactic change which led to it was a semantic one, since no nominal elements with the requisite interpretation were available. There are cases, however, in which a Q verb became a postposition only after being nominalized, e.g. /randi/ 'instead of':

ñuka	kan-wan	sara-ta	randi-ni	
I	you WI	corn AC	buy ls	
'I exchange corn with you'				
pay(-pak)	randi	shamu-rka-ni		
he	GEN	exchange come PA ls		
'I came instead of him'				

In the latter example we find that /randi/ has become a postposition only after being nominalized.

V ==> N ==> P

We may take recourse to the theory of markedness in constraining possible changes which might occur in different types of languages, and consider the development of the /NP+da yalli/ construction to be a highly marked one. Its being marked would also explain the fact that the construction remained limited to a single or at most very few lexical items, and that it soon came to be reinterpreted as a PP or an adverbial construction.

CHAPTER VII TOWARDS A THEORY OF SYNTACTIC CHANGE

The flow of contributions to a theory of syntactic change has grown rather drastically in recent years. Most of these contributions provide only a fragmentary perspective rather than a complete theory; some provide a well-studied set of data without arguing a theory from them. On the whole, the study of syntactic change has not yet been developed far enough for any complete, coherent theory to be formed.

Of course, the main difficulty remains that no general agreement has been reached about a synchronic theory of syntax. The following survey will show in more detail how this lack of consensus affects the particular analyses involved.

In formulating a theory of syntactic change, two kinds of questions should be asked first (disregarding problems of implementation and spread):

- (1) Which types of rules in a grammar are likely to undergo change? How does change in one component affect other components of the grammar? What types of changes occur?
- (2) Why do certain syntactic changes occur? Can we predict from a theory of grammar the direction which syntactic changes take?

The first question will be dealt with in the first three sections of this chapter, dealing with lexical redundancy rules, transformations, and base rules. In the subsequent sections, different approaches to the second question are outlined. Although the perspective adopted here is a general one, data relating to the development of Quechua are used as examples whenever applicable in the various sections.

1. REDUNDANCY RULES

The study of syntactic change in the sixties was limited by a rather narrow view of what constitutes a possible change in language. The original reason for this limitation can be said to be the fact that the model of phonological change elaborated by Halle (1962) was applied as a paradigm for the study of syntactic change. The notion of change as involving only late rules

received the focus, and the idea of change as occurring in underlying structures was neglected. It is true that Closs' (1965) study did produce the idea that the Aux expansion rule underwent elaboration during the development from Old English to Early Modern English, but her claims that "mutation" is an important type of syntactic change awakened no response.

The idea of a "semantic" deep structure formed a more serious limitation. It was assumed that deep structures were, if not universal, very general and immutable and therefore little susceptible to change. King's remark in his general introduction (1969: 142/3) illustrates this:

Since investigation shows that base rules tend to differ little, if at all, from dialect to dialect or even from language to language, we would not expect syntactic change to result from alterations in the base rules of a language.

Lakoff (1968) made the most radical claim in this respect. From her study of complementation in Latin and Spanish she concluded that the great differences between the two languages are not due to different base rules or transformations, but to different "redundancy rules governing the application of these rules in specific meaning-classes of verbs" (1968: 234).

The following example of change in redundancy rules may clarify the notion proposed by Lakoff (1968: 226):

CLASSICAL LATIN

V_{saying/thinking}

u for-to $\supset$ + for-to

Other complementizer-changing rules are not applicable; Equi-NP deletion is not applicable;

SPANISH

V_{saying/thinking}

u for-to $\supset$ opt for-to

Other complementizer-changing rules are not applicable; Equi-NP deletion is obligatory if for-to complementizer-change has applied, but not applicable otherwise.

It is stated here that the principal difference between the two languages in this respect is that in Spanish, for a verb of saying or thinking to be unmarked, means that the rule changing the complementizer to "for-to" is optional, while in Latin it

was obligatory. A secondary difference between the two languages would be that Equi-NP deletion is marked differently for the different classes of verbs.

Day & Mordaunt (1971: 152) reached a conclusion similar to Lakoff's in their study of the changing relation of different classes of English verbs to negation and question formation, from 1600 to 1971.

Note that Lakoff's notion of change as occurring in the lexical redundancy rules governing certain transformations presupposes a particular grammatical model with a rather abstract deep structure. If we take as our point of departure the theory of complementation proposed by Bresnan (1972), then the changes described by Lakoff can be partly accounted for as changes in the subcategorization features of complement-taking verbs. Although Schroten (1974) has since shown that the mechanism postulated by Lakoff is inadequate to account for all the changes involved, it is not implausible that subcategorization features can change.

In the chapter on complex verbal constructions, I showed that in different Q dialects, different groups of verbs are subcategorized for /-y-/ complements:

PUNO Q	ANCASH Q	EcQ (Imb)
yuya- 'remember'	yarpa- 'remember'	usha- 'be able'
qunqa- 'forget'	qunqa- 'forget'	tukuchi- 'stop, finish'
muna- 'want'	muna- 'want'	kallari- 'begin'
suya- 'wait'	shuya- 'wait'	
gallari- 'begin'	galla- 'begin'	
tuku- 'finish'	usha- 'finish'	
yacha- 'know'	yacha- 'know'	
ati- 'be able'	pwidi- 'be able'	
mancha- 'fear'	diha- 'stop'	
	sig- 'continue'	

In EcQ infinitive complements can be formed not only with /-y-/, but also with /-na-/ and /-nga-pak/ nominalizers, and different verbs are subcategorized for different nominalizers in different dialects (as the chart given on page 83 showed). These facts are similar, in rough outline, to the facts described by Lakoff, with the important difference that it would be hard to find natural meaning classes for the different groups of verbs taking

infinitive complements with different nominalizers. Thus we have:

awa-y pudi-ni weave can 1s	'I can weave'	Salcedo, Cot Q
awa-na-da yacha-ni weave AC know 1s	'I know how to weave'	
miku-y kallari-ni eat begin 1s	'I begin to eat'	Tigua, Cot Q
miku-na-da tukuchi-ni eat AC finish 1s	'I finish eating'	

These examples, which can be augmented by many other ones, show how difficult it would be to account for the nominalizer selection in EcQ infinitive complements in terms of natural meaning classes of verbs and of redundancy rules.

2. RULE ORDER AND RULE SIMPLICITY

The major part of the research on syntactic change has dealt with changes in the transformational component (Conradie, 1975; Hausman, 1974; Kiparsky, 1968, 1971; Klima, 1964, Traugott, 1965, 1969, 1972; T'sou, 1972; see also Steever et al., ed., 1976). This line of research has focussed upon two central notions: rule simplicity and rule ordering, and its general assumption was that linguistic change involved simplification (Traugott, 1972: 16):

Since it is the restructuring by children that brings about major changes or mutations, and since restructuring nearly always involves simplification, simplification can be regarded as the main type of change.

The language learner selects the best, i.e. simplest possible grammar on the basis of his available data and judged by his evaluation mechanism, which is presumably innate. For this reason, the study of syntactic change can show us which evaluation measures are involved, i.e. what is the correct theory of grammar.

Grammar simplification may involve either simplification of the rules themselves or simplification of their order. If we limit ourselves to the transformational component, we may establish several criteria of simplicity for transformations, some of which are fairly trivial, some fairly substantial:

(a) A grammar lacking a certain transformation is simpler, other

things being equal, than a grammar which contains that transformation;

(b) A transformation of the general form:

$A B C \implies A C B$

is simpler than a transformation of the form:

$A B C D \implies A C B D$

The less specified a transformation's SC, the simpler it is.

Simplification of rule order has been the object of particularly extensive study, especially by Kiparsky (1968, 1971). The most important contribution made by Kiparsky is the distinction between "feeding order" and "bleeding order" of rules. In a feeding order of rules, rules A and B are so ordered that the output of A provides an input for B:

A () --- (ψ)

B (ψ) --- ()

Thus, if A applies, B applies too, or in the case of an optional rule, may apply too.

In a bleeding order of rules, rules A and B are so ordered that rule A "removes" structures to which B would otherwise apply:

A () --- ($\sim\psi$)

B (ψ) --- ()

If A applies, B cannot apply.

The examples given by Kiparsky are taken from phonological change and need not concern us here; of importance are the universals of linguistic change which he proposes (1968: 197/200):

(c) Feeding order tends to be maximized;

(d) Bleeding order tends to be minimized;

(e) Rules tend to shift into the order which allows their fullest utilization in the grammar.

Here (e) includes (c) and (d), but on a more abstract level.

Kiparsky (1971: 614) adds to these putative universals one based upon a reworking of Klima's (1964) analysis:

(f) Feature-changing transformations preferably follow reordering transformations.

This putative universal can be used to explain that Who did you see? is derived historically from Whom did you see?. In the

original construction case marking, deriving whom from who in object position, was ordered before Wh-movement, fronting the Wh-constituent. In the more modern construction case marking is ordered after Wh-movement. On this basis, Kiparsky postulates that case marking in English is undergoing a "series of down-shifts" viz. the other transformations. Conradie (1975) reaches the same conclusion independently of Kiparsky.

The converse of this ordering universal would be that re-ordering transformations move upwards, through time, in the order of the transformations. A case in point might be T'sou (1972: 602), which describes the development of yes-and-no questions in Chinese, and particularly the Particle Final Deletion Rule. This deletion transformation was first added at the end of the derivation as an optional rule, and then moved upwards in the derivation, as it was ordered before several other transformations. T'sou suggests that one of the reasons for the upward mobility and persistence of the Particle Final Deletion rule might have been its formal simplicity.

Since we do not know very much about Q syntax, ordering analyses have been lacking in this thesis. I will present one possible case of different orderings of transformations in EcQ: the passive. In several EcQ dialects we find a passive transformation of the following kind:

	NP	X	NP	V
SD	1	2	3	4
SC	3	1	2	4+Passive

The object of the passivized sentence is fronted and the verb is affixed with a passive /-shka/ marker, sometimes followed by the auxiliary /ka-/ 'be'. Two other transformations may occur: Object Marking, by which the underlying object can be marked as overt object as in active sentences, and Agent Marking, by which the underlying subject is marked as an agent, either with instrumental /-wan/, locative /-pi/, or ablative /-manta/, depending on the dialect. Compare now three different dialects as to the order of these three transformations; in all cases the same sentences are used, and phonological changes are not indicated.

Tigua,	ñuka wauki bintana p'aki-rka-Ø	
Cot	my brother window break PA 3	OBJECT MARKING
	ñuka wauki bintana-ta p'aki-rka-Ø	PASSIVE
	bintana-ta-ka ñuka wauki p'aki-shka	AGENT MARKING
	bintana-ta-ka ñuka wauki-manta p'aki-shka	
Arajuno,	ñuka wauki bintana p'aki-rka-Ø	PASSIVE
Tena	bintana ñuka wauki p'aki-shka ka-rka	AGENT MARKING
	bintana-ka ñuka wauki-pi p'aki-shka	
	ka-rka	OBJECT MARKING

In Salasaca we find neither Object Marking, nor Agent Marking, which suggests that Agent Marking is ordered before Passive, and Object Marking after Passive. Of course, a complication arises if we assume that all Agents are base-generated as such. In that case, the ordering argument lacks validity.

Salasaca,	ñuka wauki bintana p'aki-rka-Ø	
Tun	----	AGENT MARKING
		PASSIVE
	bintana-ka ñuka wauki p'aki-shka ka-rka	
	----	OBJECT MARKING

Even if we disallow Agent Marking to be ordered before Passive, we do find a different order between Passive and Object Marking for Tigua, Cot Q and Arajuno, Tena Q. From Kiparsky's universal we would expect, in that case, that the Tigua order of (1) Object Marking (2) Passive, is the older one and that the Arajuno order represents a more recent development along the lines of universal (f). In fact it appears that the opposite is the case: virtually all Q dialects which have any kind of passive construction at all, order Passive before Object Marking. Tigua, the marked case in terms of Kiparsky's universal, appears to be a single independent development.

3. BASE RULES AND REANALYSIS

As was noted before, the emphasis on transformations and on rule order in the study of syntactic change derived in part from the paradigm of historical phonology. Since the underlying lexical representations operated on by phonological rules were assumed to be stable, the investigation of phonological change focussed on the rules and this emphasis was transposed to the

study of syntactic change (see e.g. Chomsky & Halle, 1968: 249-252).

More recent work on historical phonology, however, questions the immutability of the underlying representations. This questioning is related to the problem of abstractness within synchronic theory, but here it will be discussed from the complementary point of view of diachronic constraints. The two most explicit claims, both about the learnability of underlying forms, are made by Kiparsky (1971 and earlier work) and Hale (1973a).

The later, revised form of Kiparsky's constraint states (1971: 589/90): absolute neutralization of phonemic distinctions leads to reanalysis when the distinction is relevant to the operation of but a single rule; phonetic merger does not lead to reanalysis when the distinction is relevant to the operation of several rules.

In an interesting comparative study of Australian languages, Hale (1973a:420) proposed a similar restriction:

There is a tendency in the acquisition of a language for linguistic forms to be analyzed in a way which minimizes the necessity to postulate underlying phonological representations of morphemes which violate the universal surface canonical patterns of the language.

Although the proposals made by Kiparsky and Hale differ in details and in empirical content, they can be considered to have a similar general effect: the restructuring of underlying forms.

Thus constraints on the abstractness of underlying representations in phonological change have once more made available the notion of restructuring. Similarly, the constraints on the abstractness of deep structure posed by the lexicalist school have once again made possible the study of syntactic deep structures, and therefore of syntactic restructuring.

One of the first studies of syntactic change in a generative framework which focusses on change in the base rules is Naro (1976). Naro tries to account for the emergence of the impersonal se construction in Portuguese, and claims that it originated due to the superficial similarity between two essentially very different constructions: the passive se construction and the ordinary transitive clause, which often has SVO surface

order:

- A. se lê o evangelho
 Ref reads the gospel
 'the gospel is read'
- B. Joao lê o evangelho
 John reads the gospel
 'John reads the gospel'

The subject of A, o evangelho is interpreted as the superficial object rather than as the subject which it is in the passive se construction, due to the superficial similarity between A and B, and in A the role of superficial subject is assumed by se. Thus the impersonal se construction can be shown to have originated due to a reinterpretation strictly of a surface configuration, without any reference to the underlying structures of A and B, which differ a great deal.

Naro gives an interesting and plausible explanation for the fact that phonological changes have different properties from syntactic changes: in the latter kind, the restructuring of underlying forms is much more frequent because:

- (1) The phonology is much less complex than the syntax, making it easier for the language learner to make abstractions;
- (2) The frequency of occurrence of phonological data is much greater than that of syntactic data.

If these (1) and (2) are indeed valid empirically, Naro's point is well taken.

Emonds (1973), dealing with the emergence of the gerund in Chaucerian English, uses a similar approach to Naro's. Two sets of facts are taken into account:

- (1) The suffix used in Old English for derived nominals, /-ung/, and the suffix occurring in participles, /-ende/, formally became indistinguishable: /-ing(e)/;
- (2) Although the PS rules for participles and derived nominals are very different, there are surface strings of each construction which are similar to each other: V-ing + PP
 derived nominal: the driving of sports cars
 participle: young men driving sports cars

Having established these two points, Emonds continues (1973: 194):

I suggest that the gerund enters the language when the language learner, knowing the above rule for participles, assumes that it generates all structures of the form -ing + V + PP* which he hears. When he realizes that many of these structures are in noun phrase contexts, and that any such context accepts such structures (if selection restrictions are not violated), he adds the rule NP → S to his grammar, and the gerund is born.

Alongside of Naro and Emonds, numerous other students of diachronic syntax have given examples of the process of reinterpretation on the basis of surface structure. Since this thesis has been written taking this same point of view about diachronic syntax, I will focus on the notion of reanalysis in this chapter, disregarding changes in the lexicon and in the transformational component.

Vennemann (1974) provides data quite similar to those of Naro's for English: pre-verbal dative objects were reinterpreted diachronically as surface subjects, due to their pre-verbal position:

hem_{BEN} nedede_V no help_{NO}

· ·
· ·

they_{NO} needed_V no help_{AC}

me_{BEN} waes gegiefan an boc

· ·
· ·

I was given a book

The above would formally be described as a change in the subcategorization features of the verb need in the first case, and as a change in the SD of the passive transformation in the second case. Lightfoot (1976) discusses the same examples; we will return to his analysis in a later section.

In a study of the emergence of the passive construction in Indo-European languages, Parker (1976) develops the notion of Misassignment of Constituent Structure (MCS) from a very similar perspective. He claims that the following reanalysis, c.q. MCS took place, leading to the passive construction (1976: 456):

This MCS could only take place under certain conditions: (a) the verb is transitive; (b) the surface constituent order is SOV; (c) the verb is in the middle voice; (d) the subject and the object have the same person and number; (e) no overt subject is present.

Watkins (1976) claims that there is an agentless passive in Proto Indo-European. If that is correct, Parker's argument is reduced to a synchronic structural ambiguity characterizing early stages of Indo-European languages.

Finally, the study of creole syntax gave an important impetus to the theory of syntactic change as surface reinterpretation. It appeared that, although creoles superficially resemble their European "models" or "ancestors", this superficial similarity disguises rather fundamental differences. At the same time, it would be incorrect to claim that these differences are due to late transformations or to subcategorization rules.

I have briefly presented a part of the growing body of literature on diachronic syntax in terms of reanalysis or MCS. The reanalysis theory claims that syntactic changes may be quite drastic, affecting several components of the grammar at the same time, and that the single constraint on syntactic change is the continuity of surface configurations, particularly the surface order of the major constituents. In the following sections possibilities will be investigated of explaining the changes which occur, and thus, of constraining them in some way.

To conclude this section, one additional example will be given of reanalysis in Q: genitive affixing of the subject nominal in nominalized clauses. Among the PeQ dialects, we find some which allow sentences such as:

pay wasi-pi warmi-ta riku-sqa-n-rayku, ...
 he houseLO woman AC see NOM 3 cause
 'because he saw the woman in the house,...'

Here the personal inflection after the nominalizer is the result of the same Subject-Verb Agreement transformation as personal inflection in main clauses:

gam riku-sqa-	- rayku	
:		SUBJECT-VERB AGREEMENT
:		
:		
gam riku-sqa-yki-	rayku	
you see	NOM 2s	cause
'because you saw'		

It appears that the domain of this agreement rule is not only S, but also NP, because GENITIVE AFFIXING can also occur here. In Ayacucho Q and related Q II dialects, the subject of a nominalized clause involving /-sqa/ or /-na/ appears with the genitive /-pa/ in surface structure.

pay-pa wasi-pi warmi-ta riku-sqa-n-rayku
 he GEN houseLO woman AC see NOM 3 cause
 'because of his having seen the woman in the house'

Two transformations would be called for:

- (a) The affixing of the Possessive agreement marker to the rightmost NP;
- (b) The affixing of the genitive suffix to the lower NP:

pay	...	riku-	
			NOM AFFIXING
pay	...	riku-sqa-	
			SUBJECT-VERB AGREEMENT
pay	...	riku-sqa-n-	
			GENITIVE AFFIXING
pay-pa	...	riku-sqa-n-	

The order in which AGREEMENT and GENITIVE AFFIXING are presented here does not necessarily reflect their order in the grammar. The crucial element is that the basic configuration of nominalized clauses in PeQ would be (a), not (b), at the stage at which AGREEMENT and AFFIXING apply:

Structure (a) was proposed first by Albó (1971):

It could be argued that even in the first case the actor is not manifested as a subject but as an attribute of the substantive of verbal origin /rikusqa/. If this last analysis is accepted, these constructions are not clauses: yet they still have some optional slots usually assigned to clauses: ...

If we make the plausible claim that nominalized clauses could be interpreted best within a lexicalist framework, those of structure (a) are historically derived from those of structure (b), then an interesting case of abductive change appears: the internal structure of the nominalized clause is changed so that it fits the Structural Description of the GENITIVE AFFIXING transformation:

$$({}_{NP}({}_S \text{pay wasipi warmita rikusqa})_S)_{NP} \implies$$

$$({}_{NP} \text{pay } ({}_{NP} \text{wasipi warmita rikusqa})_{NP})_{NP}$$

The MCS or reanalysis theory presented above could be used as an argument for a theory of grammar in which syntactic structure is autonomous, i.e. not exclusively determined by semantic structure. It is apparent why this should be the case: reinterpretation of certain categories takes place exclusively on the basis of the surface structure configuration, independently of underlying semantic relations.

In fact, the status of this argument is not so clear, since the motivation for the particular reanalysis which occurred may be a semantic one. This point is brought up by McCawley (1976), who claims that the verbs which underwent the shift from dative object to subject, which was described recently by Vennemann and Lightfoot, actually form a semantically well-defined class.

This is, of course, the same problem which dominates much of the debate of the last few years in synchronic syntax; it would seem to me rather pointless to shift the burden of the

argument now to the much less explored field of historical grammar. Furthermore, it is not quite clear whether synchrony and diachrony are parallel in this respect; this point will be taken up again in section 7 of this chapter.

4. WORD ORDER

The study of word order changes is one of the most interesting topics to have come out of Greenberg's investigation of language universals (Li, ed. 1975; Vennemann, 1973, 1974; Lehmann, 1974). Studies of word order change have of course always assumed the possibility of changes in the base rules. Lehmann (1975: 155) discusses this general problem as follows:

Which constructions change first? Generative phonologists have proposed that low level rules do, that changes are introduced near the "end" of a grammar. Clearly this assumption does not apply to syntactic change We find therefore that syntactic change may be carried out first on early rules, and only subsequently on late rules.

The distinction made here between early and late rules is misleading since Lehmann is talking about PS rules (which are assumed to be unordered), not about transformations. The point made is that the basic S and/or VP expansion rules may change earlier in the development of a language than the NP expansion rule:

SOV		SVO		SVO
	==>		==>	
Mo N		Mo N		N Mo

This empirical claim about the order in which word order changes occur finds confirmation in a wide variety of languages, but a recent study by Tai (1976) claims that in Chinese the order of the changes was the reverse.

One of the dangers inherent in the word order approach to diachronic syntax is that often an impoverished kind of syntactic theory is used. Vennemann's work has been criticized by Klein (1975) on theoretical grounds, Lehmann's work by Watkins (1976) on empirical grounds, Li & Thompson's work by Tai (1976) on the basis of a different syntactic analysis of contemporary Chinese. Note also that the MCS approach of Naro, Parker, etc. assumes that not the ordering of meaningful elements is essen-

tial (nor that syntactic change is word order change), but that their syntactic structure and hierarchy is the locus of the change.

The issue of word order is not treated in depth here because the changes described in this thesis did not affect word order in a significant way. Until a more detailed study of Q word order has been made, particularly in those dialects which show a departure from original Q word order in allowing elements to the right of the verb and also right-branching relative clauses, it is not possible to state precisely which effect word order changes have on Q syntax.

In a very interesting speculative essay (1971), Givón has argued that the word order of an earlier stage of a language is reflected in the order of formatives within a morphological unit. Of course this idea is not entirely new; what may be new are the strong claims made by Givón, on the basis of the order of morphological elements of particular languages, regarding their earlier word order. Thus it is suggested that the fact that in Spanish the order of Clitic Pronoun - Verb in main clauses:

yo los compré	'I bought them'
I 3PL bought	

reflects the SOV order of early Romance.

A similar example may be drawn from the Q personal object suffixes, which appear between the verbal stem and the subject inflection:

k'uya-wa-ngi	'you love me'
love lob 2s	

Following Givón's analysis, we are led to think that this order reflects a SVO or even VOS stage in earlier forms of Q. Nonetheless, evidence that Q was SVO at any point in its development is non-existent.

This kind of example suggests that the basis of Givón's argument needs strengthening. How? Consider again the Q example given, involving first person object /-wa-/. We have no evidence that /-wa-/ represents an early form of a direct object and it is not at all similar to either /ñuka/ 'I', or to /-ni/ ~ /-y/ 'ls'. In fact, /-wa-/ may easily be derived from an adverb or

auxiliary specifying 'movement towards the speaker' or 'action directed at the speaker'. Only if we can claim both formal and semantic similarities between particular formatives and lexical elements does an hypothesis such as Givón's become plausible.

5. CONSTRAINTS ON UNDERSTANDABILITY AND ON LEARNABILITY

In trying to prove a motivation for the changes described by Naro and Vennemann, in which preverbal elements are reanalyzed as subjects, we might postulate a perceptual strategy operating on surface strings with the following effect:

NP V NP ==> Subject Verb Object

Clearly this strategy, similar to several of those described by Bever (1970), would account for the changes involved.

This strategy would be one of the language learner, based on his overall experiences with sentences of the language. Thus we might try to explain certain cases of syntactic change with the aid of constraints on learnability.

Bever & Langendoen's contribution to the UCLA conference on linguistic change is perhaps the most promising attempt to relate it to the notion of perceptual strategies. In their analysis of relative clause formation from 1100 to the present they suggest (1972: 77 sq.) that the main mechanism involved in the development of English relative clauses is the contrast between what makes a language hard to learn, i.e. a complex morphology, and what makes a language hard to understand, i.e. the lack of inflectional morphology.

While their analysis is well-grounded in every way - in its syntactic analysis, its psycholinguistic basis and its historical detail - it is limited to one problem, albeit a central one: the presence or absence of (mainly inflectional) morphology in languages. This problem has been studied rather extensively, although only limited data have been considered. We find a relative consensus about two central processes, which operate complementarily in syntactic change: segmentalization, and morphological clustering.

Segmentalization is defined by Traugott (1974: 925) as "the process of giving analytic or phrasal expression to underlying

structures". Reighardt gives a formal definition of the same process as the loss of "attachment transformations", because "they associate on the surface what is distinct in the deep structure" (1971: 515), but clearly the same idea is involved. Even if the notion of a semantic deep structure is left out, the idea of a general process of segmentalization has value.

Segmentalization is assumed to be a natural process and likewise its complement within this framework: morphological clustering, since it involves the phonological processes of assimilation, syllable reduction, consonant weakening, etc. (Vennemann, 1974: 359; Givón, 1971: 411; Traugott, 1974: 926). "Free lexical morphemes" become bound, and finally are fused within the stem. The resulting model might be represented schematically as follows:

semantic	A # B # C	
	a b c	
		clustering
	a + b + c	
		weakening, assimilation, fusion
	abc	
		segmentalization
	a' #abc # c'	
		clustering
	a' + abc + c'	
		etc.

Here a, b, and c represent morphemes, # word boundaries, + morpheme boundaries, and A, B, and C elements of abstract meaning.

Several instances of such a cycle have been shown to have occurred, but the explanations for the transition between the different stages remain limited and unsatisfactory. It is clear that segmentalization is likely to occur in cases of interrupted language transmission, such as pidginization, because of the fact that complex morphology is hard to learn. But this is the exception, not the rule. Likewise, the processes of 'automatic' agglutination and phonological weakening are not motivated by the proponents of the cycle cited above.

Two problems need to be explained: how are elements placed in the right syntactic configuration for the process of clustering to occur?; how can we account for agglutination and weakening being automatic? The first question remains without a clear

answer. Sankoff and Laberge (1974) study the meaning and syntactic behavior of the /baimbai/ marker in Tok Pisin, and their research suggests that there may be a universal tendency for aspect markers to move into a preverbal position. This remains a highly speculative conclusion, however. In this thesis some evidence is presented for a mechanism that leads to the right syntactic configuration for the occurrence of agglutination, in the case of complex verbs.

The second problem, concerning the motivation for agglutination and phonological weakening, finds a partial answer in an unpublished paper by Labov (1971). He suggests that languages need be adequate not only semantically, syntactically, etc., but also stylistically. A range of options is needed in the pronunciation of aspectual markers, auxiliaries, modals, etc., in order to provide the speaker with stylistic possibilities of having different registers. Thus we find careful I am going to go next to rapid I gonna go. The need for stylistic differentiation could promote the process of agglutination and phonological weakening diachronically.

In the present thesis, the following set of syntactic changes in the verb phrase is described:

It is claimed that this type of change occurs within VP's with infinitive complements, modals or auxiliaries. Two contiguous elements in certain complex verbal constructions are first separated by an S node, later only by a VP node. At first there is a VERB RAISING transformation which adjoins the complement verb as a sister to the main verb on its righthand side; possibly the surface output of this raising transformation is later reinterpreted as a configuration of the base. Finally, certain auxiliaries or semi-auxiliaries may be reinterpreted as affixes to the complement verb.

In trying to account for this set of changes, we cannot

claim that S nodes as such are "costly" in the evaluation measure operating in language acquisition. There are numerous cases of S nodes which persist through history. What is assumed here to be "costly" is S pruning, S nodes present in deep structure but absent in surface structure.

On the other hand, it is clear that S nodes are a natural category in the process of grammar construction, e.g. in the case of a pidgin acquiring native speakers. Thus we find that complements which may be analyzed as VP nodes or as V clusters in European languages, appear as S nodes in creole languages, with Equi-NP deletion being optional. Returning for a moment to the dichotomy of understandability/learnability proposed by Bever & Langendoen (1972), we might extend this concept to syntax, and to syntactic change:

HARD TO LEARN

a + b + c + d

HARD TO UNDERSTAND

a # b # c # d

morphology

syntax

Here a, b, c, and d represent morphemes, # a word boundary, + a morpheme boundary, P, Q, and R nodes in a syntactic tree.

The claim made here is that segmentalized items in the lexicon and morphology are in some sense parallel to intermediate nodes in syntax, and that agglutinated items in the morphology are parallel to clusters (e.g. of V's) in the syntax. The historical cycle in morphology described by Givón and others is paralleled by a cycle in syntactic change, particularly in the verb phrase and its complements.

The overall effect of this kind of change within the verb phrase is a reduction of syntactic depth: new structures may start out as clauses, but they slowly lose structure, first becoming VP's and then parts of a V cluster. S pruning would then be interpreted not as a synchronic rule, but as a diachronic process.

6. PARADIGMATIC REGULARIZATION AND THE $\bar{X}$ CONVENTION

One explanation of syntactic change might be found in the idea of paradigmatic regularization. This idea is developed by Jensen & Strong-Jensen in a brief note on NP's in Swedish (1973):

... the force of paradigm regularity is not limited to phonological change, but also functions in syntactic change.

At this moment it is not clear precisely what the concept of base configurations as functioning in paradigmatic regularization would imply, but it evidently is a fruitful idea if based on a clear notion of the base rule schemata.

Chomsky (1970) laid a foundation for a theory of grammar in which certain generalizations could be made across different syntactic categories. On the basis of this work, others, including Bresnan (1973) and Jackendoff (1974b), have built a theory of a generalized PS rule-expansion rule, sometimes referred to as the $\bar{X}$ convention. Chomsky's original version of this expansion rule was:

$$\begin{array}{l} \bar{X} \dashrightarrow (\text{Spec}, \bar{X}) - \bar{X} \\ \bar{X} \dashrightarrow X - \text{Comp} \end{array}$$

Specifically, the claim is made that in English, all major categories, i.e. AP, NP, VP, PP (Jackendoff, 1974b) and QP (Bresnan, 1973) can be preceded by a specifying element and followed by a complement, whereby Spec and Comp are not in themselves nodes, but rather abbreviations for several different possible nodes.

The value of this concept of an expansion rule for all major categories, when coupled with a concept of paradigmatic regularization of base configurations, can be readily seen when we try to account for the putative universals mentioned by Greenberg (1966). No recourse need be taken to Vennemann's serialization principle in terms of the dyad Operator-Operans, but a fairly well developed theory of base rules would be needed for different groups of languages.

An additional advantage of the concept of base rule schemata over Vennemann's theory of dyads is that it can explain why some elements might follow the head of phrase in some languages, while others precede it.

In EcQ, we might find something like the following expansion rule:

(ishki (Kitu-munda (blanku)))	NP
two Quito from white	
'two whites from Quito'	
ishki blanku Kitu-munda	
* Kitu-munda blanku ishki	
(ukta (wasi-mu (ri-ngi)))	VP
fast home to go 2s	
'go home fast'	
ukta ri-ngi wasi-mu	
* wasi-mu ri-ngi ukta	

These data would suggest that (under certain conditions) elements in the complement of a phrase, but not elements in the specifier, can be extraposed in EcQ. There are several difficulties with this analysis for EcQ, particularly having to do with auxiliaries. If these were part of the specifier of the verb phrase, as has been suggested for English, our analysis of complex verbs in Q would have to be changed drastically.

7. CATEGORY CHANGES AND SYNTACTIC FEATURES

The process of reanalysis or MCS sketched earlier in this chapter often results in a change in category of a certain lexical item or class of lexical items. One way of constraining a theory of syntactic change is by postulating that this process of category change is limited: not all changes of category are possible.

The following section tries to contribute to the theory of category changes, first by presenting a number of changes which have occurred in Q, and then by putting these changes in a more general perspective. The following changes will be discussed:

N - N
 N - V ----> N - P
 V ----> Semi-Aux ----> Mod
 V ----> Serial V ----> P, Adv
 V ----> COMP
 Imperative ----> COMP

The data referring to the category P in this section are mostly new; the data referring to the category V have been given in the chapters on the complex verbal construction, the modal suffixes and the comparative; the two cases of COMP have been discussed in the chapter on paradigmatic developments.

The category of postpositions

Case relations in Q are specified with postpositional case markers. Thus we find:

wasi- <u>man</u>	'to the house'
llakta- <u>pi</u>	'in the town'
pay- <u>manta</u>	'from him/her'

The syntactic behavior of these postpositions is for the most part very similar to that of the direct object marker:

wasi-ta	rura-ni	'I build a house'
house ^{AC}	make ls	

There are also a number of differences, however, which suggest that /-ta/ has a different syntactic structure from the other case markers, and possibly a different historical origin. Before discussing the possible historical origin of the case markers, the differences between /-ta/ 'direct object', and the other case markers will be studied. In Q, sentences have roughly the following configuration (excluding adverbs, embedded S's, etc.):

Thus there seem to be three kinds of grammatical relations be-

tween noun phrases and the verb: subject-of, object-of, and oblique object-of. Morphologically there seems to be no reason for distinguishing between NP+ta (object) and NP+P (postpositional phrase). However, there do exist some syntactic reasons for doing so:

A. Other postpositions appear obligatorily, but /-ta/ can be left out, provided that the NP is located immediately to the left of the V; the conditions for /-ta/ being obligatory vary considerably for different speakers, dialects, and degrees of influence from Spanish. Also, that /-ta/ is not always obligatory may be due to the fact that the 'object-of' relationship is less marked than the other case relations.

B. /-ta/ is not only used to form direct objects, but also to form some pre-verbal adverbs. Postpositions are also used sometimes to form adverbs, but their use is not productive and involves unexpected changes in meaning:

alli-manta	
good from	'slowly'

Note also that in the center of the EcQ area, /-manta/ appears as /-munda/, but /allimanta/ as /allimanda/, without the vowel change. While in the lexicon some adverbs may appear which contain postpositions, /-ta/ is the only marker which productively converts adjectives into adverbs.

C. Case markers have specific semantic interpretations, while /-ta/ is rather vague in its interpretations: it can specify direct objects, indicate the direction which an action is taking, its time, its duration, or the course along which it takes place. Thus /-ta/ seems to indicate the specification of an action by another constituent, rather than a case relationship in the traditional sense.

D. Several /-ta/ objects can occur in a sentence, while other PP's can only occur once in every S node, unless they are coordinated into a singel PP:

ñuka	kan-ta	kullki-ta	maña-ni	
I	you	AC money	AC ask	ls 'I ask you for money'

E. /-ta/ objects are always directly dominated by VP, while

in EcQ PP's can also appear dominated by NP or AP; similarly /-ta/ adverbs are always dominated by VP.

pay-pak tayta	
he GEN father	'his father'
chusku rinri-un payla	
four ear WI bronze	'bronze pot with four ears'
Quitu-man ñan	
Quito to road	'the road to Quito'

Since for some speakers the last form is ungrammatical, for these speakers /-man/ may be the only postposition exclusively dominated by VP, besides /-ta/.

F. In several suffixes, such as Q I /-pi-ta/ 'from' (cf. Escribens & Proulx, 1970), and EcQ forms such as /-pak-ta/ 'from, for', /-ta/ functions as an auxiliary postposition without a clear semantic interpretation.

Consider these sentences from Arajuno, Tena Q:

ñuka wasi-ta rura-ni tiu-pak-ta	
I house AC make 1s unc.GEN AC	
'I build a house for my uncle'	
ñuka tiu-pak wasi-ta rura-ni	
I unc.GEN houseAC make 1s	
'I build my uncle's house', 'I build a house which is	
for my uncle'	

In the first sentence /tiu-pak-ta/ is dominated by the VP, in the second one /tiu-pak/ by the PP of the 'house-AC'. The slight difference in semantic interpretation can be derived from this. The following two sentences from Tigua, Cot Q show an exactly parallel relationship:

ñuka pay-pak-ta wagra-ta shua-ni	
I he GEN AC cow AC steal 1s	
'I steal a cow from him'	
ñuka pay-pak wagra-ta shua-ni	
I he GEN cow AC steal 1s	
'I steal his cow'	

It looks as if the form /NP-pak-ta/ emerged historically from the raising of the /NP-pak/ out of the PP into the VP:

The synchronic status of /-pak-ta/ complements may be rather different, involving a complex PP.

G. A final difference between /-ta/ and the case markers may be found in the Tigua, Cot Q passive construction described earlier in this chapter. Here it was found that Object Marking was ordered before the Passive transformation, case marking after Passive. This difference in order would be easily imaginable if /-ta/ had different syntactic properties from the case markers; it would be strange, if /-ta/ is considered to be one of the case markers.

If we accept some of the arguments A-G as being valid, the subsequent discussion about the development of Q can incorporate the fact that /NP+ta/ has different characteristics, and also possibly a different historical origin, from the case markers.

The V ----> P hypothesis

If we accept the typological distinction made by Givón (1973) between on the one hand languages which have only one NP in the verb phrase, serial verbs, and no case marking, and on the other hand languages with several NP's dominated by the VP, extensive case or prepositional systems and no serial verbs, we can classify Q as belonging to the second group. The possibility exists, of course, that at one point in its history Q was a language of the first group, and only later evolved into a case-marking language. Clear evidence for this hypothesis would be postpositions which could be shown to be derived from verbs. This is apparent from the following sketch of a possible earlier stage of Q with serial verbs (adapted for Q from Schachter, 1974, but changing the word order to fit the SOV character of Q):

The lower VP's were then reinterpreted diachronically as PP, in this hypothesis.

Evidence for this development is very slight indeed. The most interesting possibility involves the postposition /-man/ 'to'. It could be related to several suffixes within the verbal complex (Parker, 1969; Stark, 1973):

Q I, II	man	'potential'
Q I, II	mu	'cislocative or translocative'
Q I	ma	'1st person object'

Apart from the morphological resemblance, there is some basis for assuming a semantic relationship between the different forms. This relationship is described most easily as involving a verbal element 'go'.

wasi-man		
house go		'to the house'
ka-nchik-man		
be 1PL go		'we would be'
apa-mu-n		
take go 3 (towards speaker)		'he brings'
mucha-ma-n		
kiss go 3 (towards speaker)		'he/she kisses me'

Obviously the similarities, which may be only the feature (+ directional), if that much, and the element /-ma~mu/, are by themselves in no way sufficient to form the base for a serialization theory for earlier stages of Q.

Another correspondence between verbal elements and case markers is constituted by the Q I and II suffixes /paq/, 'benefactive', /-pu/ 'for somebody else than the actor' (Parker, 1969: 140), and the Q I /-pa:/ 'non-causative transitivizer' (Adelaar, personal communication). Note examples such as the following from Ayacucho Q (Parker, 1965: 79):

apa-pu-nki pay-pa tayta-n-paq
take 2s he GEN father3 BEN
'bring it for his father'

amigu-n-pag-mi rima-pu-nqa
friend3 BEN AF talk 3FU
'he will talk for his friend'

Also from Junín Q (Sayk, 1974: 44):

chay wambra waqa-pa:-n mama-n-ta
that boy cry 3 mother3 AC
'that boy cries for his mother'

Interestingly enough we find the same /a~u/ correspondence as in the case of /-man/.

More contemporary evidence for a theory claiming verbal origin for Q postpositions involves:

-kwinta 'like'
-randi 'instead of'

The EcQ postposition /-kwinta/ could be derived from the Spanish verb contar 'tell, count', 3rd person:

taruga-kwinta puri-n 'he walks like a deer'
deer like walk 3

(((taruga TELL)_{VP} puri-n)_{VP})_S

The other possibility is that /-kwinta/ derives from the Spanish noun cuenta 'count, account' in which case the original construction would have been something like:

(((taruga)_{NP} ACCOUNT)_{pp} puri-n)_S

While the former possibility might have some semantic plausibility, the latter (suggested to me by Donald Dilworth) would be in line with some other postpositions derived from nouns, to be discussed later.

In EcQ the postpositions /-manta/ and /-rayku/ are sometimes interpreted as 'instead of', but generally /-randi/ is used to express this idea.

ñuka wauki-randi shamu-ni 'I come instead of my brother'
I brother stead come is

Most likely, it is derived from the verb /randi-/ 'exchange', and as such would provide an example of P derived from V. None-

theless, we find that /randi-/ has the status of NP at some point, since in most dialects we also find:

ñuka wauki-pak randi shamu-ni 'I come in my brother's
I brother GEN stead come ls stead'

Concluding, we may say that the hypothesis that postpositions are historically derived from verbs finds little if any support in contemporary developments in Q. A more profound analysis of the relation between the case markers and the modal suffixes is made difficult by the fact that no remotely related languages are known of, which could corroborate hypothetical relationships between morphemes. In the discussion of /yalli/ in the next section we will return to this problem.

The N --> P hypothesis

The hypothesis that Q case markers are derived from nouns finds some support in contemporary developments. Middendorf (1970: 120-5) provides an interesting account of nominal postpositions in Cuzco Q, signaling three possibilities:

N - P - N - P) pp	wasi-j kaylla-n-pi houseGEN near 3 LO
N - N - P) pp	wasi kaylla-pi
N - N) pp	wasi kaylla
N - P) pp	wasi-kaylla 'near the house'

It is tempting to analyze these cases as examples of a historical progression from the more complex cases, parallel to English 'instead of', 'on account of', etc., to the cases where nominal elements serve as postpositions.

In EcQ we find a number of elements which are clearly used as nouns, but which serve to specify case-type relationships:

ima-kausa-di what cause EMP	'why?' (Calderón, Pi Q)
pay-k'ipa he back	'after him' (Salcedo, Cot Q)

<u>tamia-washa</u> rain back	'after the rain' (Arajuno, Tena Q)
# <u>tayta-buk p'abur</u> fatherGEN favor	'for father' (Salasaca, Tun Q)
# <u>kayna-manta-pacha</u> yesterd.from time	'since yesterday'
# <u>pay(-pak) randi</u> he GEN stead	'in his stead'
<u>yura-tupu</u> tree size	'(big) as a tree' (Salasaca, Tun Q)
<u>yawar-laya</u> blood type	'(red) as blood' (Salcedo, Cot Q)

The forms marked with # are those where a 'regular' postposition intervenes between the two nominal elements. Taken together these forms, in addition to the many examples given by Middendorf, provide some evidence for a nominal origin of the case markers.

However, the case markers which express the main case relations in Q can in no way be related to existing nouns, with the possible exception of the locative. The locative is expressed with different postpositions:

Q I chõ:

Q II pi

The existence of the lexical item /chaupi/ 'half, middle' has lead Stark (1974) to reconstruct Proto Q */traw-pi/ for the locative. According to this hypothesis /trawpi/ then split into two, with Q I retaining the first syllable /traw/ and Q II retaining the second one, /pi/.

Equally possible are several other ways of accounting for the hypothetical relationship between /chaupi/ and the locative case markers. One might assume for Proto Q a lexical item */traw/ 'middle' and at some stage the locative suffix /-pi/. Composite PP's could be formed using these forms: /N traw-pi/ 'in the middle of N', comparable to present-day /N hawa-pi/ 'on the top of N', /N uku-pi/ 'inside of N', etc. At that point, Q I was separated from Q II, and the locative came to be expressed differently in both: Q I replaced /-pi/ by /chaupi/; Q II retained both /-pi/ and /chaupi/, the latter as a frozen form meaning 'middle'. In a later stage, Q I /traw-pi/ became case

marker /-trāw/, receiving stress because of the deleted syllable.

Whatever explanation is adopted in attempting to account for the possible relationship between /chaupi/ and the locative marker, it will in any case hinge crucially on the hypothesis that postpositions can be derived historically from nominal elements.

Main verbs, auxiliaries and modals

Four verbal classes have been discussed in this thesis:

main verbs: /puñu-/ 'sleep', /miku-/ 'eat', etc.;

modal suffixes: /-mu-/ 'cislocative', /-chi-/ 'causative',
etc.;

copula: /ka-/ 'be';

verbs occurring in complex verbal constructions: /muna-/
'want', /pudi-/ 'can', /ri-/ 'go', etc.

The latter category will be referred to as 'auxiliaries' here. Morphologically the modals should be set apart from the others, since they cannot appear independently (the exception being /-chi-/ 'causative', /-naya-/ 'desiderative', and /-lli-/ 'put on', which could also be considered to be object-incorporating main verbs). Nonetheless, modal suffixes, the copula, and the auxiliaries have in common their ability to modify main verbs in complex verbal constructions:

Not much can be added here to the discussion of the relationship between the different verbal categories given in the chapter on complex V' nodes and the chapter on modal suffixes. It was argued that the class of 'auxiliaries' slowly was separated from the class of main verbs because its members could select V rather than S as their complements:

V $\dashrightarrow$ Aux

Only one clear case was found of a modal suffix derived from an 'auxiliary' verb: EcQ: /-gri-/ 'going to', which is demonstrably derived from the nominalizer /-k/ and the verb /ri-/ 'go':

miku-k ri-ni		miku-gri-ni	
eatNOM go ls	==>	eat INC ls	'I am going to eat'

It is quite possible that /-ri-/, a modal suffix specifying inceptives as well as medio-passives (the latter only in EcQ), was also derived from /ri-/, 'go', much earlier in the development of Q (Bills, personal communication):

Aux --> Mod

Some of the other modal suffixes may have been derived from auxiliary verbs as well, but no evidence is available. Some modal suffixes may not derive from verbal elements at all, but from elements comparable to particles such as up in look up, off in call off, etc. Until a more complete synchronic investigation has been made of the modal suffixes, this remains a very speculative matter. It is tempting to hypothesize that auxiliaries on their way to becoming modal suffixes survive as auxiliaries only when they also appear as main verbs.

V ---> Adv

In most Q dialects, there is a large class of adverbs which are derived from verbs, either through the process of nominalization, or directly. Thus we find examples such as the following (the translation given in parentheses is the literal one):

(a) V --> N ---> Adv

kunan/kanan 'now' (his being)	general
manchay 'terribly' (fear)	BoQ
wiñay 'always' (growth)	Cuzco Q
wañuy 'terribly' (dying)	
millay 'terribly' (be foul)	
nanaq 'terribly' (that which hurts)	
yahay 'again' (start again)	Tarma Q
manchanay 'terribly' (feeling of fear)	EcQ

(b) V --> Adv

munaspa 'on purpose' (wanting)	BoQ
yupa 'very' (count)	
ñaupä 'before' (go forward)	Cuzco Q
ranti 'instead' (exchange)	
pakalla 'furtively' (hide)	EcQ

illakta 'completely' (be absent)

pakta 'sufficiently' (reach)

yapa 'a lot' (add)

kutin 'again' (return)

(c) $V_i V_i \rightarrow \text{Adv}$

panda panda 'by mistake' (make a mistake)

EcQ

randi randi 'alternately' (exchange)

singu singu 'making S's' (curve)

So far, we lack insight in the mechanism of the transition from verbs to adverbs. In fact, a number of syntactic processes of reanalysis may have operated here. Only in the case of /yalli/ do we have a more detailed picture.

In the chapter dealing with the comparative construction in EcQ it was shown how /yalli/ assumed the status of a reduced verb comparable to the serial verbs occurring in some African languages, became an adverb in some dialects, and could be argued to be also reinterpreted sometimes as postposition:

$$V \rightarrow \text{Serial } V \rightarrow \begin{Bmatrix} \text{Adv} \\ P \end{Bmatrix}$$

The reinterpretation $\text{Serial } V \rightarrow P$ was seen to be decidedly marginal, the shift $\text{Serial } V \rightarrow \text{Adv}$ being much more common.

V → COMP

* In several EcQ dialects, but particularly in Arajuno, Tena Q we find an interesting development involving the participle /ñi-sha/, which is used as a subordinating element.

In Cuzco Q, and in most if not all other PeQ and BoQ dialects, /ni-spa/ or a comparable form is used to indicate reported speech:

ñi-chi-mu-wa-rqa-n allinta chaya-mu-ni ñi-spa
sayCAU CI lob PA 3 well arrive CI ls saySUB
'he let me know that he had arrived well'

The same participle appears in Arajuno Q as /ni-sha/, but the latter can be used in many more ways than its Cuzco Q equivalent: it complements not only verbs of saying and asking, but moreover, verbs of believing, wondering, wanting. Finally, it occurs with all purposive /-nga-k/ clauses which contain an

element of uncertainty:

kiri-ngi-chu gustu mikuna-mi nisha lumu-ra
believe2s Q good food AF maniocAC
'do you believe manioc saying it is good food?'
'do you believe manioc to be good food?'

randi-wa-y nisha muna-ni wagra-ra
buy lobIM want 1s cow AC
'I want a cow saying buy me (it)'
'I want you to buy me a cow'

riku-u-ni yura-una-ma pishku-una tiya-nau-nga-chu nisha
lookPR 1s tree PL to bird PL be PL 3FU Q
'I am looking at the trees saying are there any birds?'
'I am looking at the trees to find out if there are any
birds'

riku-u-ni yura-una-ma pishku-ra api-nga-k nisha
lookPR 1s tree PL to bird AC grabNOM PUR
'I am looking at the trees saying in order to catch a
bird'
'I am looking at the trees to catch a bird'

Although /nisha/ is very different morphologically from the other complementizers, syntactically it is rather similar to them in its position and in its semantic interpretation.

Third Person Imperative Marker --- COMP

In the chapter on paradigmatic developments I showed how the 3rd person imperative or exhortative /-chun/ was reinterpreted in EcQ as an all-person purposive complementizer. The first example following illustrates the 3rd person imperative use, the second one the all-person complementizer:

achka-da miku-chun	'let him eat a lot'	Salasaca,
much AC eat 3EXH		Tun Q
kan-da ri-chun muna-ni	'I want you to go'	
you AC go PUR want 1s		

Category changes and a theory of syntactic features

One way in which we could constrain the notion of syntactic change is by limiting the possible category changes which can occur. A natural way to do this is by classifying the grammatical categories in such a way that the classification expresses the idea that some categories are more closely related to each other (e.g. verbs and auxiliaries) than others (e.g. articles and adjectives). A theory of syntactic change could then incorporate

the idea that the change of a lexical item or class of lexical items would be expected from a certain category going to a category closely related to it, but would be rather extraordinary from one category to a totally unrelated category.

The easiest way of cross-classifying a number of categories is to use a system of binary or, possibly, more valued features. Jackendoff (1974) contains a preliminary classification of the grammatical categories of English, with the hope that it can be shown to be universal. The classifying features involved are (+ Complement), (+ Subject) and (+ Object). The following system results:

	+Subj		-Subj	
	+ Comp	-Comp	+Comp	-Comp
+Obj	verb	aux/modal	preposition	particle
-Obj	noun	quantifier article	adjective	adverb

This system accounts naturally for the close relationship between adverbs and adjectives, nouns and quantifiers, etc.

Returning to the data presented above we see that the shift from verb to semi-auxiliary and to modal naturally falls into the classificatory framework presented. The shift from verb to adverb which occurs in the case of /yalli/, and which has been shown to have occurred in several African languages (see e.g. Bamgbose, 1972), would have to be considered as highly marked, however, and this is perhaps an undesirable result.

Also, the shift from verb to preposition which has occurred in several African languages (see e.g. Givón, 1975) would be considered a predictable one, since they share several features. The shift from noun to postposition in Quechua, however, which may be generalized to many SOV languages, presents more difficulties.

The complementizer, which has not been included in Jackendoff's framework, appears to be unpredictable. Washabaugh (1975) claims that in the Creole languages of the Caribbean a purposive

complementizer has been derived from a preposition; Lord (1976) claims that in many languages verbs of saying have been reinterpreted as complementizers of declarative sentences, and this claim was shown earlier in this chapter to be true for EcQ as well; finally, we have presented a case of a 3rd person imperative marker reanalyzed as a complementizer. These diverse facts tend to support Jackendoff's claim that complementizers do not form a syntactic category in the same way as nouns, etc., do.

Another framework in which to approach the issue of how to constrain categorial changes is the one proposed by Chomsky in his Amherst lectures (Chomsky, 1974). It crucially involves the features $[+N]$ and $[+V]$ to classify the major syntactic categories N, A, P, and V in the following way:

N	$\begin{bmatrix} +N \\ -V \end{bmatrix}$
V	$\begin{bmatrix} -N \\ +V \end{bmatrix}$
A	$\begin{bmatrix} +N \\ +V \end{bmatrix}$
P	$\begin{bmatrix} -N \\ -V \end{bmatrix}$

One way to interpret this classification within a theory of category changes is by postulating that it allows four sets of changes, and disallows two:

N	$\rightarrow$	A
N	$\rightarrow$	P
V	$\rightarrow$	A
V	$\rightarrow$	P
* N	$\rightarrow$	V
* A	$\rightarrow$	P

While this solution is attractive in its simplicity, it does not present the same range of categories as Jackendoff's proposal; this may be no real issue since the latter's categories can be collapsed in a natural way. While Jackendoff's classification appears to be in terms of configurational similarities between the different syntactic categories, Chomsky's classification is

in terms of the transformations in which specific categories occur. Only a more detailed analysis can reveal the differences between and the merits of the two proposals.

Of the specific predictions made, the most interesting is the one strictly separating N from V. Disregarding derivational processes of nominalization and verbalization, which we also frequently encountered in Q, this may be the most significant generalization yet made regarding category changes.

Constraining category shifts using a syntactic feature system has the attractive consequence that once more a comprehensive theory of linguistic change may be developed which includes phonology as well as syntax.

Note that the theory of phonological change has always used an (implicit or explicit) notion of a feature system to define possible changes. Thus a labial might easily be voiced or fricativized, retaining the feature labial; nasals might become assimilated to gutturals, retaining the feature nasal, etc.

We signaled a number of difficulties, however, when viewing the category changes found in Q in the light of Jackendoff's classification. It is possible that these difficulties arise from the fact that the classification involved was incorrect or not sufficiently general. I think it more likely, however, that changes in syntactic category are too little similar to phonological changes for a feature system constraining them to be feasible.

Note, for instance, that the change:

can be predicted easily enough by Jackendoff's classificational system (or its SVO counterpart, for that matter), but prediction of the shift from nominal compounds to PP offers much greater difficulty:

The difficulty lies, of course, in the fact that semantic criteria may be involved in category shifts, which sets category changes apart from phonological changes. Another indication of the importance of semantic criteria is the fact that no cases have been found where adjectives participated in category changes, although both Jackendoff's and Chomsky's frameworks would allow them to do so. It may be the specific semantic characteristics of adjectives which make such changes infrequent.

Another major difficulty with the present formulations of the classification of categories is that they are, numerically, far too permissive. Chomsky's proposal would allow four out of six possible sets of changes, and Jackendoff's is equally unrestrictive.

We may conclude that an attempt to constrain possible category changes along the lines sketched here could yield very interesting results, particularly once a plausible theory of grammatical categories has been developed, but that the inherently unsystematic character of category changes, involving semantic considerations, will make it an ultimately unsuccessful one.

8. SYNTACTIC OPACITY

If we cannot constrain syntactic change using features cross-classifying grammatical categories, then how can we make any claims at all about syntactic change? The final approach which will be discussed here involves the notion of opacity.

The concept of rule opacity was developed by Kiparsky (1971: 621/2), and may be defined as follows:

A rule $A \rightarrow B / C_D$ is opaque to the extent that there are surface representations of the form:

- (i) A in the environment C_D
- (ii) B in an environment other than C_D

If we define transparency as the converse of opacity, we may derive yet another general principle of language change:

(g) Rules tend to be ordered in such a way that they become maximally transparent.

Thus the notion of opacity has to do with the effect of a rule system, not with the properties of individual rules or of rule order. The idea that feature-changing transformations are ordered after ordering transformations can be expressed formally, but its importance lies in the principle stated by Conradie (1975: 146) that:

... grammars, once they are 'on the move', rid themselves of the redundant utilization of rules, while maintaining the required minimum of perceptual clarity for their output.

Lightfoot made a study of the emergence of modals in English syntax based on the idea that syntactic reanalysis takes place to avoid opacity (1974: 244):

The reanalysis, in fact, was provoked by a number of changes which made it unclear whether the pre-modals were verbs or a unique category. Analyzing them as a new category would avoid having to treat them as verbs with a cluster of exception features. It seems that it did not take many exception features to bring about the reanalysis. Thus the category membership of pre-modals became opaque and the grammar moved to avoid such opacity.

He considers the value of the study of syntactic change to be precisely the light it throws on permitted opacity, defined then in general as the distance between underlying structures and surface structures. Through the study of syntactic change a substantive constraint on abstractness in the syntactic component could be formulated.

9. SUMMARY

The results from the survey made in this chapter of different approaches to the theory of syntactic change turn out to be rather modest. Several dominant approaches were considered to be marginal in a diachronic study of Q syntax.

First of all, it appears that Q word order has remained relatively stable. What changed were the structural relations between the constituents, rather than their linear ordering. Thus the theories which discuss syntactic change in terms of word order change were found to contribute little to the study of Q. More positively, a theory of changes in configurations is

needed, to account for the changes occurring.

Secondly, it appears that the notion of rule order change can not be given much substance in the present study of Q syntax. This could be a peculiarity of Q syntax as such, or a result of the fact that the present description does not elaborate the transformational component sufficiently rigorously, and hence passes over a number of rule order changes. Alternatively and more seriously, it might be the case that the model developed for phonological change is not applicable to change in the syntax of a language.

In fact, two conclusions were reached. (a) For the study of the development of Q syntax it is necessary to recognize that the phrase structure component can be a principal locus of change. (b) The mechanism for this kind of change in the phrase structure component is the reanalysis or reinterpretation of surface structures, strictly on the basis of their superficial characteristics.

These two principles allow for very drastic changes in the grammar of a language. An attempt was made in section 7 of this chapter to constrain the type of possible changes in some way by drawing a parallel with phonological change and using the notion of syntactic feature to specify the syntactic categories which can be related to each other diachronically. So far, this attempt has met with only limited success. It may be assumed, therefore, that there are essential differences between syntactic change and phonological change. The exploration of these differences should be the focus of subsequent work on syntactic change.

LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

AC	accusative case
Adv	adverb
AF	affirmative particle
AP	adjective phrase
Aux	auxiliary
BEN	benefactive case
BoQ	Bolivian Quechua
C	consonant
CAU	causative
CI	cislocative
Comp	complement
COMP	complementizer
Cop	copula
Dem	demonstrative
def	definite
Det	determiner
DIM	diminutive
DUB	dubitative
EcQ	Ecuadorian Quechua
EMP	emphatic marker
ER	agentive marker (compare English <u>-er</u>)
exc	exclusive of hearer
EXH	exhortative
FU	future tense
GEN	genitive
IM	imperative
INC	inchoative
inc	inclusive of hearer
IND	independent suffix
INF	hearsay information
LO	locative case
MCS	misassignment of constituent structure
Mo	modifier
Mod	modal
N	noun, nominal

NEG	negation
NO	nominative case
NOM	nominalizing suffix
NP	noun phrase
Num	numeral
ob	object
p	plural (of person)
p	pre- or postposition
PA	past tense
PeQ	Peruvian Quechua
PL	plural
POSS	possessive
POT	potential
PP	pre- or postpositional
PR	progressive aspect
PUR	purposive
Q	Quechua (in text)
Q	question (in designations of examples)
Q	quantifier (in trees)
Q I	the Quechua dialects of central Peru
Q II	the Quechua dialects of Bolivia, southern Peru and Ecuador
QP	quantifier phrase
REC	reciprocal
REF	reflexive
s	singular
S	sentence or clause
SD	sudden discovery tense
SOV	subject-object-verb word order
Spec	specifier
su	subject
SUB	adverbial subordinator
SVO	subject-verb-object word order
TO	topic
V	verb
V	vowel
voc	vocalic
VP	verb phrase

WI	with (instrumental case)
1	first person
2	second person
3	third person

For the abbreviations used to designate the provinces, consult Map II on page 11.

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RESUMEN EN ESPAÑOL

En el presente estudio comparativo de algunos dialectos del idioma quichua en el Ecuador se analiza la evolución sintáctica de la frase verbal. La investigación se basa en datos de trabajo de campo tomados de varios dialectos del quichua ecuatoriano, especialmente los de Salcedo y Salasaca y en las fuentes publicadas sobre el quichua peruano y boliviano.

El capítulo II contiene un esbozo general del quichua ecuatoriano. Se describe los fonemas y algunos procesos fonológicos que les afectan, tales como la sonorización, la ascensión vocálica y la simplificación de grupos consonánticos.

Así la frase quichua:

kan-pak tayta shamu-kpi,...
'cuando viene tu padre,...'

se convierte en:

kambuk tayta shamuki,...

Brevemente se indica cómo es el orden de las palabras en la frase, cuál es la estructura general de la frase nominal y de la frase verbal, de qué modo la cópula se contrae y se suprime y cómo se marca los casos gramaticales. El capítulo se cierra con una sección que refleja las opiniones personales del autor sobre el desarrollo histórico del idioma. Se propone la hipótesis de que el quichua se estableció como lengua popular en el Ecuador solamente desde la época colonial. Al final se presenta dos textos quichuas con su traducción.

Un ejemplo de la contracción de la cópula es la siguiente:

pobre-mi ga-nchi === pobre mi-nchi
'somos pobres'

El capítulo III trata de la evolución del sistema infleccional del verbo: las categorías de número y persona, los nominalizadores /-nga/ y /-shka/, el modo potencial y el desarrollo de un subordinador de propósito a partir de una forma verbal exhortativa.

El nominalizador /-nga/ se utiliza en el quichua ecuatoriano cuando el sujeto del complemento de propósito es idéntico al sujeto de la frase matriz:

shamu-rga-ni aswa-da ubia-nga-buk
'yo vine para tomar chicha'

Cuando los dos sujetos no son idénticos, en cambio, se utiliza la partícula /-chun/ sin ninguna posposición de caso:

hinchi-da rura-ni kan-lla-di aswa-da ubia-chun
'yo trabajo duro para que tu mismo puedas tomar chicha'

En el capítulo IV se analiza las expresiones verbales complejas del quichua ecuatoriano, las cuales incluyen los auxiliares modales, los verbos de movimiento, los verbos de aspecto temporal y el auxiliar /ka-/ y se intenta colocarlas dentro de una perspectiva histórica. Se propone que los complementos infinitivos no sean dominados por el nodo S, es decir que no sean oraciones en sí y que las expresiones verbales complejas hayan surgido a través de un proceso de alzamiento de verbos, sea esto sincrónico, sea diacrónico.

Algunos ejemplos de estas construcciones verbales complejas serían:

ñuka-ga na tantu miki pudi-ni-chu
'yo no puedo comer tanto'

utka arma-sh sham-ba-ngi
'por favor, vendrás rápido después de bañar'

En el capítulo V se presenta un análisis sincrónico de los llamados "sufijos modales" del quichua. Se compara tres modelos alternativos para describirlos: un modelo lexicalista, un modelo que relaciona secuencias de morfemas con conjuntos de rasgos semánticos y sintácticos y un modelo de verbos "superordinados". El autor confiesa aún no haber podido llegar a un modelo adecuado para solucionar los problemas complejos planteados por los sufijos modales.

El problema más grave presenta el sufijo causativo /-chi-/. Cuando aparece junto al recíproco /-naku-/, el orden entre los dos puede variar así como su interpretación semántica:

pay ñukuchi-da mucha-naku-chi-rga
'él nos hizo besar el uno al otro'

payguna buli puglla-nada yacha-chi-naku-rga
'ellos se enseñaron los unos a los otros a jugar voli'

En el caso de la interacción de /-chi-/ con el "cislocativo" /-mu-/ no existe aquella variación:

ñuka pay-mun sara-da apa-mu-chi-ni

ñuka pay-mun sara-da apa-chi-mu-ni

'yo vengo después de cargar maíz sobre él'

'yo le hago traer maíz'

Una teoría adecuada debe incluir la explicación de estos hechos.

El capítulo VI trata de la construcción comparativa en el quichua ecuatoriano. El verbo /yalli-/ 'exceder, sobrepasar' ha llegado a convertirse en una posposición y, en algunos dialectos, en un cuantificador. En el caso general, /yalli/ tiene características verbales:

kan-da yalli k'uilla mi-ni

'yo soy más lindo que tu'

En otros casos, sin embargo, la extraposición de la frase con /yalli/ hacia el final de la frase sugiere que se trata de una posposición:

pay-ga hatun-mi ñuka-da yalli

'él es más grande que yo'

Finalmente, hay casos en que solamente la parte /ñuka-da/ se extrapone y en que /yalli/ funciona como adverbio:

pay-ga yalli hatun-mi ñuka-da

'él es más grande que yo'

En el capítulo VII, el final, se esboza los principios de una teoría sobre los cambios sintácticos. Particularmente se describe el proceso de reinterpretación basada en las similitudes entre configuraciones superficiales y se propone la necesidad de una teoría sustantiva que limite la transición de entidades léxicas desde una categoría sintáctica a otra.

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