SYNTACTIC DEVELOPMENTS IN THE VERB PHRASE OF ECUADORIAN QUECHUA

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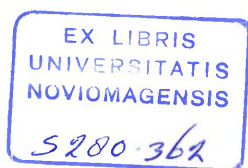
S T E L L I N G E N

behorende bij het proefschrift "Syntactic Developments in the Verb Phrase
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1

Quechua I en II (cf. Torero, 1968) worden scherp onderscheiden, op basis van
vnl. morfologische en fonologische kriteria. Syntaktisch gezien is de relatie
tussen dialekten binnen de I groep en de II groep echter veel komplekser.

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 strukturen inderdaad een belangrijke rol speelt
in syntaktische veranderingen, dan lijkt een substantiële theorie over syntak-
tische 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 ge-
kenschetst, 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 onder-
zoek vertraagd, en alleen het sociolinguistisch onderzoek vooruitgeholpen.

De vaak geopperde stelling dat er binnen de generatieve grammatika geen mor-
fologische theorie is uitgewerkt, gaat niet meer op. Toch moeten alle bestaan-
de 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 dialekten 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 dialekten van
het Ecuatoriaans Quechua, met name die van Salcedo en Salasaca,
en op gepubliceerde bronnen voor het Peruviaanse en het Bolivi-
aanse Quechua.

Hoofdstuk II bevat een schets van het Ecuatoriaanse Quechua
in het algemeen. Naast de fonemen worden bepaalde fonologische
processen die in de dialekt variatie een rol spelen beschreven,
zoals stemhebbend worden, klinker verhoging, en de vereenvoudi-
ging van groepen medeklinkers. De woordvolgorde in de zin en de
algemene struktuur 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 ont-
wikkeling van het Quechua komen aan bod in de volgende korte
sektie, en het hoofdstuk wordt besloten met twee Quechua teksten
en hun vertaling.

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

In Hoofdstuk IV worden de komplekse verbale groepen in het
Ecuatoriaans Quechua geanalyseerd; hierbij spelen modale hulp-
werkwoorden, werkwoorden van beweging en van temporeel aspekt,
en het hulpwerkwoord /ka-/ een rol. Tenslotte worden deze kon-
strukties in een historisch perspektief geplaatst. Er worden een
aantal argumenten gegeven voor een analyse waarin infinitief
komplementen 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 komplekse 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 dialekten 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 geargumenteerd voor een theorie die de overgang van lexikale eenheden van de ene syntaktische kategorie naar de andere verantwoordt.

SUMMARY

In this comparative study of dialects of the Quechua lan-
guage 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 Sal-
cedo 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 conson-
ant 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 his-
torical 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 dev-
elopment 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 com-
plements are not dominated by the node S, and that complex ver-
bal 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 des-
cription 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 Eduadorian 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 deci-
sions about prestige pronunciations, preferred grammatical con-
structions, etc.

The Data

It was stated previously that this thesis deals mostly
with Ecuadorian Quechua; therefore the principle sources of da-
ta 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 dis-
covering 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 chap-
ter. To the extent to which these criteria are valid, this
thesis has a valid basis.

Given the fact that dialect variation plays such an impor-
tant 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 con-
sisted of translation and paraphrase questions, and judgements
of the acceptability of sentences. In Imbabura, Cotopaxi,
Tungurahua and Loja recorded legends and autobiographical mate-
rial 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 consis-
tent 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 informant	Taped auto-biographical and legend material	Extensive contacts	Quality informants
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 back-
grounds 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 Yánez (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 influences 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.
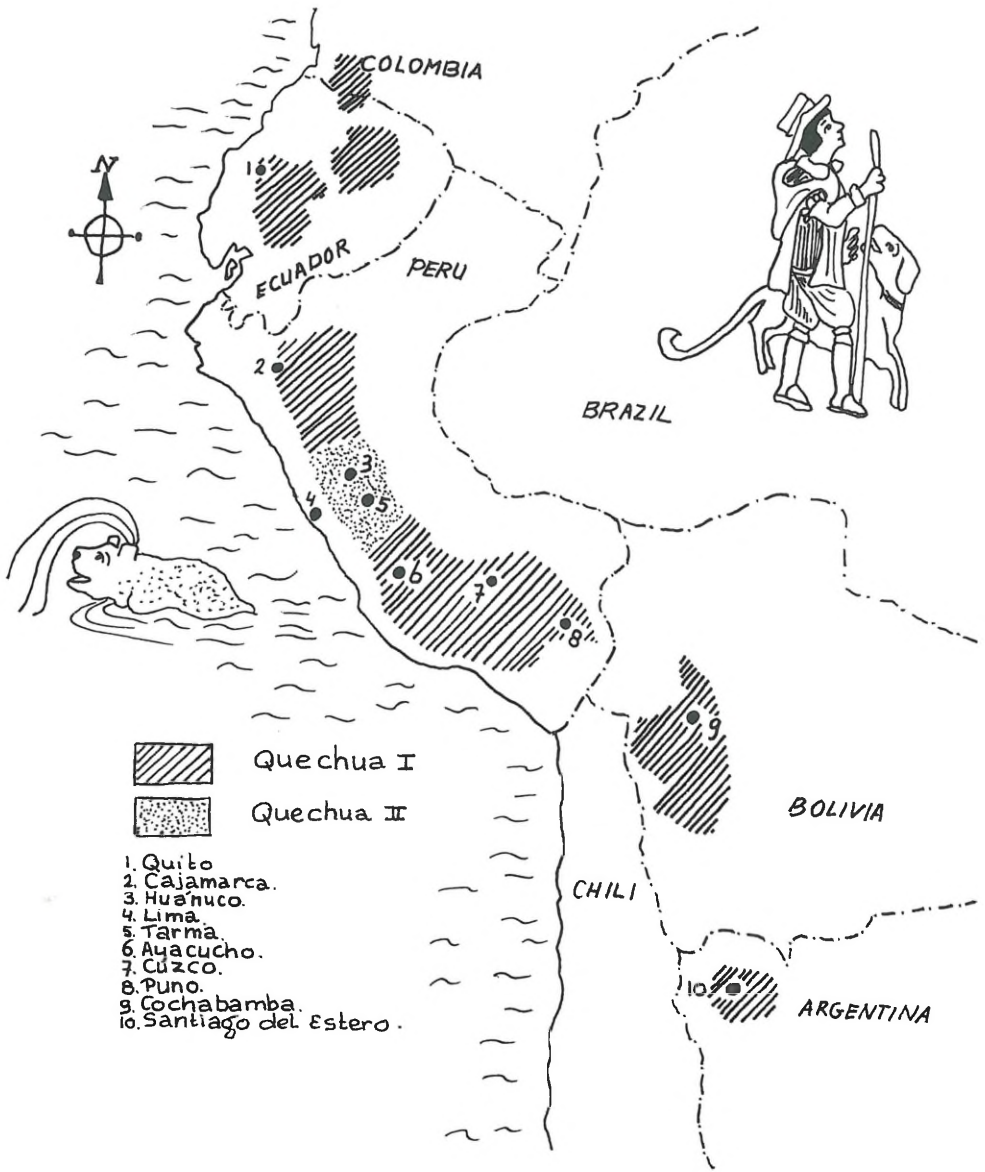
Map I

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 Yánez, 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:

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

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:

wármi   'woman'

warmíman   'to the woman'

warmikúna   'women'

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

rinimí   'I <u>am</u> going'

kanká   'and <u>you</u>'

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-<u>da</u>   'roadAC'

C. Voicing after vowels but not after nasals in Pi:

   wasi-<u>bi</u>   'in the house'

   Xwan-<u>ta</u>   'JohnAC'
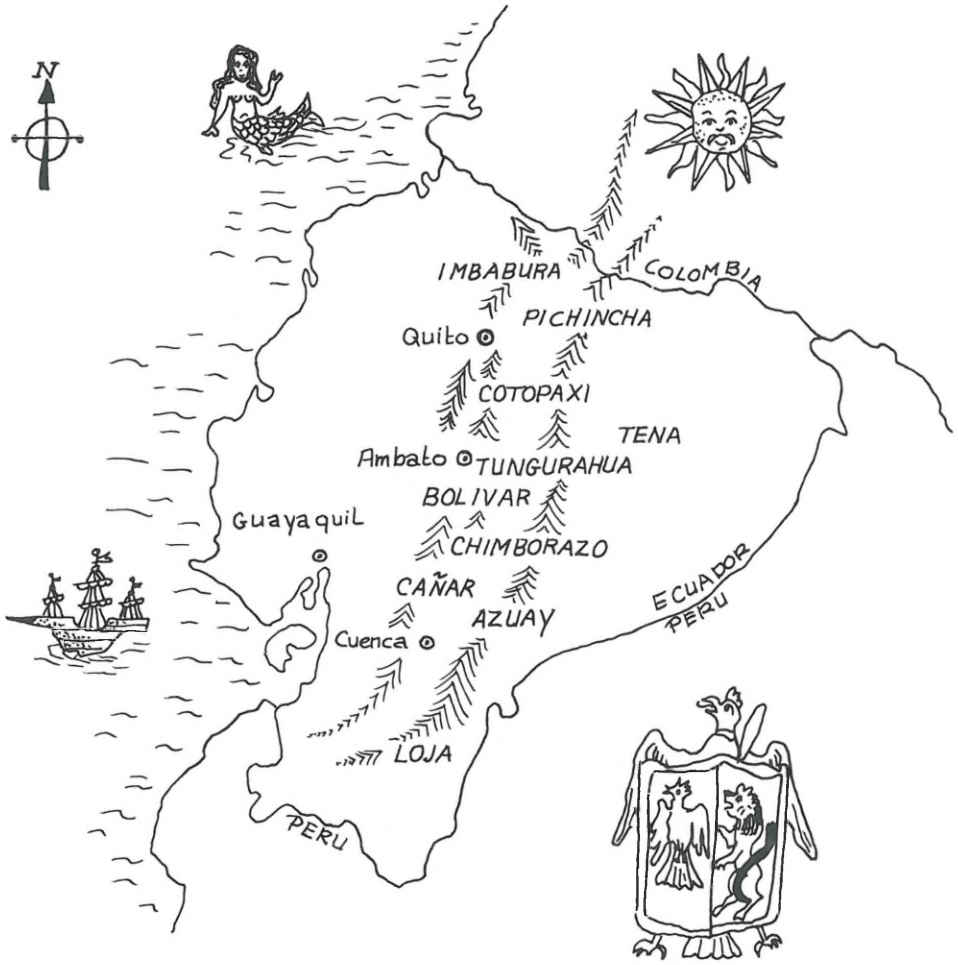
Map II

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-<u>da</u> 'him'

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

    yawar-<u>da</u> '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-<u>i</u> '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/ '1s 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:

$$V \longrightarrow \begin{bmatrix} \alpha \text{ round} \\ + \text{ high} \end{bmatrix} \Big/ \begin{bmatrix} \alpha \text{ round} \\ - \text{ cons} \end{bmatrix} (V) \begin{bmatrix} + \text{cons} \end{bmatrix}_0 \underline{\quad} C \; ((C) \; V)$$

Monophtongization

In the central dialects we find a process of monophtongization 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:

$\binom{Adv}{S}$ (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:
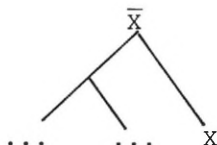
Thus we find the verb in the rightmost position of a VP, the head noun in the rightmost position of an NP, the adjective in the rightmost position of an AP.

```
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 construc-
tions 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 interpreta-
tions 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  ls
'I come from the mountain'

tamia-manta hukushka
rain   from   wet
'wet from the rain'
```

Apart from a number of phonological changes, such as init-
ial 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   ls my  wife  BEN
'I buy flowers for my wife'

mushuk kamisa-ta chura-ni fishta-pak
  new   shirt  AC put on ls 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-<u>buk</u> <u>p'abur</u>
> I   house AC make 1s father<u>GEN</u> 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-<u>k-ta</u>
> I   house AC make 1s my uncle <u>BEN</u>
> '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:
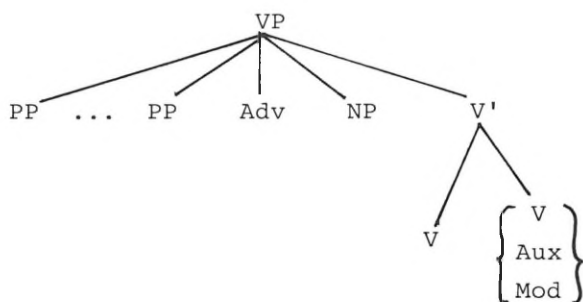
No attempt will be made to justify this general configuration here. There is some evidence for a verbal specifier position in the left of V, which may be filled by the direct object or by a manner adverb. If this position exists, the VP would have a more complex internal structure:
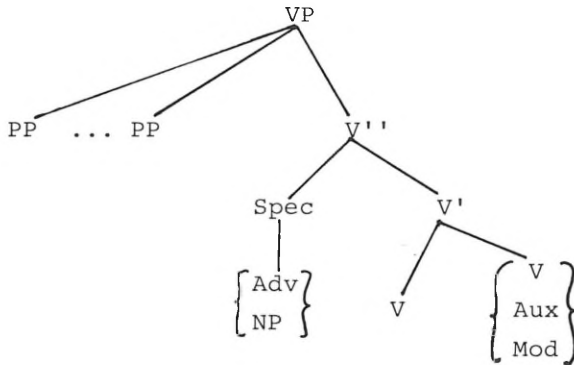
Arguments for separating the NP position of the direct object from the PP's are given in chapter VII. The matter of the position of the adverb is a very complex one, as it is in many languages. In fact, it may appear in several different positions:

```
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 hinchi 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 house AC not well AC see NOM 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-iden-
tity 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 dia-
lects 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 be-
havior 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          'I am going to eat'
eat  INC 1s
```

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-∅
finish   SD   3
          'it turns out it is finished'

The distinction between first person plural exclusive /-yku/ and first person plural inclusive /-nchiq/ 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-<u>chu</u> 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-<u>chu</u>?   'did he come yesterday?'   /-chu/-Q
    kayna shamu-rka-<u>mi</u>   'he came indeed yesterday'
    kayna-<u>chu</u> shamu-rka?   'was it yesterday that he came?'

```
kayna-mi shamurka          'yésterday 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 1s  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 1s  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 1s  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 1s

ñuka-mi Hambatu-mun ri-ni                            Tun Q
 I   AF Ambato   to   go 1s
```

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 go1s FU NEG
>'if it rains, I won't go'

>ñuka ashka timpu tamia-pi ka-rka-ni
> I   much time rain in be PA 1s
>'I was in the rain for a long time'

>tamia-pi ñuka ashka timpu ka-rka-ni
>rain in I   much time be PA 1s

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 1s

>shamu-ga-ni   'I came'

>yaur-da   'blood AC'
>blood AC

> * yauda, 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   Zámbiza, 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 adminis-
trative 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 achieve-
ment.

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 heter-
ogeneous, 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 Martin Q
(Park & Weber, 1976).

The question of why Q was adopted by the Ecuadorian peas-
ants 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 char-
acteristics of colonial society. I think that an important fac-
tor 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 indica-
tive 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 rela-
tionships between different Q dialects, and how they have evol-
ved. 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 inade-
quacy of a tree model, particularly in determining the rela-
tionship 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 fossil-
ized remnants of an earlier stage. The term 'medial' is explain-
ed 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 Lander-
man (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 surpise. 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 lin-
guistic forms, which are paradigmatically related from the point
of view of overall Q grammar:

```
                              Q
                    /                    \
                   /                      \
                  /                        \
                 I                          II
              /  |  \                    /   |   \
             /   |   \                  /    |    \
            /    |    \                /     |     \
Wanka/Huánuco/Ancash  Bolivia/Cuzco/Avacucho/Cajamarca/Ecuador
```

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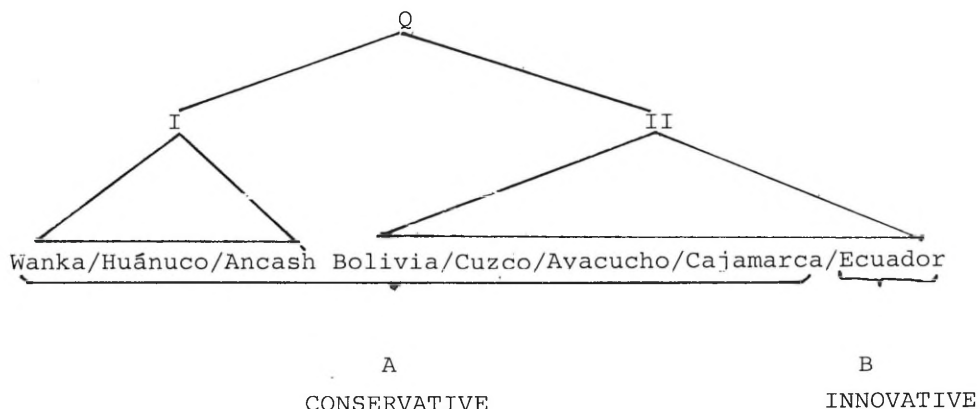
Thus, the /NP + ta yalli/ construction described in chap-
ter VI is considered to be an innovation precisely because it
only appears only in EcQ. The /NP + manta aswan/ construction
is claimed to be conservative because it appears in most other
dialects of Q.

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. Chi-
mundaga[2] 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, chinaga[3], chiga.
Chimborazomun rin, chaybishi nin:

- Kaybi k'atuy.

Chiga chaybiga hapirin, k'atunshi ashtaun, mana k'aturish-
kaguna, limpio[4]. Kashuk randin, chashuk randin[5]. Chaymunda
ashta kushkidaga, lindoshi kosechan. Lindo kushkiun shamun.
Chaymunda kutin ninshi:

- Ña p'uncha p'aktakpi[6], ima gakpish, rinimi, amu. Ña
k'atunada tukuchini.

- Bueno, ña, haku kacharisha. Maybi?

- Maymunda apamushka, chayllabidi.

Amu kutin shamusha kacharisha rin. Chimunda kutin shamun-
shi 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 mishka[7].

- 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'atu-
naun, 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-
nas[8] payga ansiuzumunda chay ukubi sakirin. Mana k'atun ni imada.
Kausay apayda apan[9], chiga mana bultamun.

- Shamunga, shamunga? - wasi familiaguna chapan. Mana sha-
munchu. Duenas chingan, payga. Pero, imamunda? Ansiuzumunda.
Mas riku, mas ansiuzu. Mana balin. Chimi ñuka shina pobrella
kausani kay Collana ukubi, obraguna[10] 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 monophtongization.

[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 what-
ever 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 gentle-
man 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, imallangi[1] amuku? Ñuka chinachinalla[2] kausani,
chiga. Ñunkuchi[3] tamia illakpiga asha malolla kausanchiga.

Tarpunaga chakisha nikpi, chimunda kutin kay ñunkuchi Pilaló
ladu, Collana ladu, kay empleadoguna tiyanga. Payguna kay Duk-
tur Turralmun rimangabu risha, kay Prinsipida llukchinakun[4]. Chi
p'uncha kutin na tarde gakpi, p'itiwa tamiasha, sabadoga tuki[5]
p'uncha p'itiwa tamian. Prinsipiwada llukshichichikpi.

Primero shamun, Salcedomunda apamun kay ñunkuchi ladu emplea-
doguna. Prishti empleadoguna tiyan, presidente, bokal, kay teso-
rero tiyan, sekretario, tuki tiyan, tuki empleado. Payguna rima-
sha dukturun, Salcedobi. San Andresmun shamun, San Andresmunda
rirka Collana, Collanamunda rirka Quilajaló. Kay Prinsipiun rika[6]
Sigchoscalle, chimunda kutin Angamarcada aparin. Shinisha[7]
roganakurka.

Ari, chimundami kutin na Salcedomun urinakurka. Chimi kada
barriomunda limosnada tandachisha, separado. Ñunkuchi lado
Pilalóga chusku patsak pishka chunga tandachirka. Umada aparish-
kami, Prinsipida Salcedomun. Alli, hatunmari. Chuskundimi
markasha purin, chusku k'ari. Kambiarisha, kambiarisha, llashak-
mari. Tamiachun, ari. - Tamiay! Tamiay! - rogatibu urasha[8].
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 metatesis.

4 llukchinakun from /llukshi-chi-naku-n/ 'they cause to go out'.

5 tuki from /tukuy/ 'all' through monophtongization.

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 Satur-
day it rained a little all day long. After they had taken out
the Prince.

     First they come, the people appointed from our area, carry-
ing it. There are the appointed priostes - president, committee-
member, treasurer, secretary - they are all there, all those ap-
pointed, 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 indi-
vidual 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 $\emptyset$
                    past or preterite   rka
                    sudden discovery   shka
                    future   (combined with person)

Thus we have forms such as the following:

        riku-ni
        see 1s   'I see'

        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:

```
ñuka riku-ni          'I see'
  I   see  1s

kan riku-ngi          'you see'
you see  2s

pay riku-n            'he/she sees'
he  see  3s
```

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

```
ñuka shamu-rka-ni     'I came'
  I   come  PA  1s

pay shamu-rka-Ø       'he came'
he  come  PA

kan miku-shka-ngi     'it turns out that you ate'
you eat  SD   2s

pay miku-shka-Ø       'it turns out that he ate'
he  eat  SD
```

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

$$\begin{bmatrix} +1 \\ -2 \\ +PL \end{bmatrix}$$ ni-ku

$$\begin{bmatrix} +1 \\ +2 \\ +PL \end{bmatrix}$$ n-chik → n-chik

$$\begin{bmatrix} -1 \\ +2 \\ +PL \end{bmatrix}$$ nki-chik   ngi-chik

$$\begin{bmatrix} -1 \\ -2 \\ +PL \end{bmatrix}$$ n-ku/Ø-ku   n-kuna/Ø-kuna
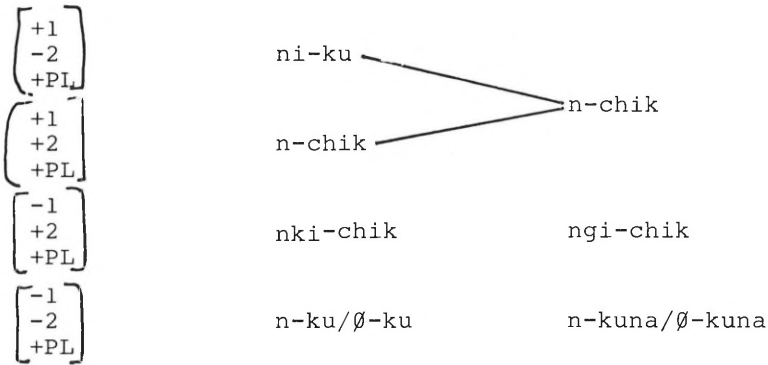
The neutralization of the distinction between 1PL inclusive and exclusive in EcQ can thus be viewed as the loss of a particular combination of features rather than as the loss of a whole feature.

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:

(a) 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;

(b) How can we account for the fact that in EcQ the suffixes of the second column are lacking?;

(c) 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 inflec-
tion as a tense (or aspect) marker, rather than as a device dis-
tinguishing formally between N and V inflection. These arguments
derive from the presence of /-n-/-less forms in the verbal para-
digm.

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

 Unlike the other persons, the 1s person potential is in-
flected with /-y-/, not with /-ni-/, which would be the ordi-
nary 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-∅
  I   say SUB 1s AF  go  PA  3
                                  'he went because I told him
  ñoqa ñi-pti-y-mi  ri-rqa-∅                                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, in casu Ayacucho Q

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

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-qa mana-m chaya-nqa-chu  PeQ, in casu
roadAC miss   SUB 3̄ TO not AF arrive3FU NEG  Ayacucho Q
```

```
ñan-ta panda-shpa-ka mana chaya-nga-chu
roadAC miss   SUB  TO not arrive 3FU NEG    EcQ
  'if he misses the road he won't get there'
```

How can we account for the fact that in EcQ personal inflec-
tion 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 cate-
gory of nouns, and in adverbial subordination it does not play a
significant part either. Tense does not play a part in the selec-
tion 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.

```
              COMP
              /|\
             / | \
            /  |  \
        TENSE PERSON NEG
```
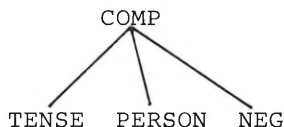
The main difference between PeQ and EcQ in this respect
would be then that in EcQ Person and Number marking have been

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:

```
   ┌─────────┐           ┌─────────┐
   │Suffix A │           │Suffix B │
   │object   │           │subject  │
-  │person   │ - TENSE - │person   │  -
   │number   │           │number   │
   └─────────┘           └─────────┘

   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 com-
plicated 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 consider-
ed as representative of most PeQ dialects in this respect; here
the past tense forms are given:

obj	1s	2s	3s
1s	-	wa-rqa-nki	wa-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

obj	1PL	2PL	3PL
1s	-	wa-rqa-nki-chis	wa-rqa-n-ku THEY+wa-rqa-n
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:

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

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:

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

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:

$$\begin{bmatrix} +1 \\ +2 \end{bmatrix} \dashrightarrow \quad -nchiq$$

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/:

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

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

$$\begin{bmatrix} +2 \\ +PL \end{bmatrix} \dashrightarrow \quad -chiq$$

$$\begin{bmatrix} -2 \\ +PL \end{bmatrix} \dashrightarrow \quad -ku(na)$$

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:

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

Here y refers to a modal suffix.

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

$$\begin{bmatrix} ashi \\ +V \\ +PL \end{bmatrix} \dashrightarrow ashi\text{-}y\bar{a}\text{-}$$

ashi-yā-shu-n-ki
look PL 3su 2ob
$$\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{'they look for you'} \\ \text{'they look for you (PL)'} \\ \text{'he looks for you (PL)'} \end{array} \right\}$$

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:

$$\begin{bmatrix} X \\ +V \\ +PL \end{bmatrix} \dashrightarrow V - \left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{-pa:kU-} \\ \text{-:ri-} \\ \text{-rka:-} \end{array} \right\}$$

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:

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

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 ex-hortative 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 will come'
     he  come   3FU

     pay shamu-nga-gama   'until he comes'
     he  come   NOM till
```

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:

```
                          PP
                      ___/  \___
                    NP          P
                 __/  \__        |
                S       NOM       |
              _/ \_      |        |
            NP    VP     |        |
            |      |     |        |
           pay  shamu   nga     gama
           he    come   NOM     till
```
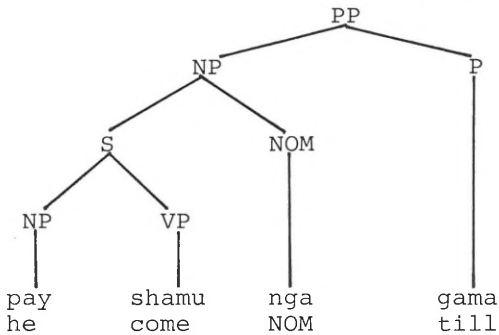
It is safe to assume that an expansion rule such as:

* PP --→   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 form modern EcQ.

Cuzco Q; the PeQ II dialects

In PeQ II dialects such as Cuzco Q, the meaning of nominal /-nqa/ 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' (<u>lo que será</u>) (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 <u>anterior</u> or <u>contemporaneous</u> 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:<u>nqa</u>-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

$$
/\text{-nqa}/ \left\langle\begin{array}{l}\begin{bmatrix}-1\\-2\\+FU\end{bmatrix}\\[2mm]\begin{bmatrix}+def\\-FU\\+NOM\end{bmatrix}\end{array}\right.
$$

EcQ

$$
/\text{-nga}/ \left\langle\begin{array}{l}\begin{bmatrix}-1\\-2\\+FU\end{bmatrix}\\[2mm]\begin{bmatrix}+def\\+FU\\+NOM\end{bmatrix}\end{array}\right.
$$

$$
/\text{-shka}/\text{———}\begin{bmatrix}+def\\-FU\\+NOM\end{bmatrix}
$$

We find that in both dialects the suffix has two different inter-pretations, but that their pairing is not symmetrical. In Ancash Q the nominalizer /-nqa/ has a (-future) interpretation, while EcQ /-nga/ as a nominalizer has a (+future) interpretation. The equivalent of Ancash Q nominal /-nqa/ in EcQ is the nominal-izer /-shka/, and we might expect that this fact is related to the differences in the interpretation of /-nga/ (respectively /-nqa/). For this reason, the discussion about the two /-nga/'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 /-nga/. 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 'I say that he came'
he come NOM AC say 1s

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, Yánez (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
Yánez, this classification can easily be disproved, since the
3rd person form of verbs modified by /-shka/, according to Yánez,
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 in-
flection:

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)	pretérito perfecto yo avia sido - /cashcani/ 'I had been'
CORDERO, 1890 (1955: XIX)	not mentioned
GUZMAN (1920: 27)	pretérito perfecto equivalent to /-rka/
ORR & WRISLEY (1965: 148)	aspecto completo (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 pre-
cise definition. The resulting definitions turn out to be con-
tradictory 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-∅ 'once there lived a poor man'
>one poor live   3

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   'it turns out that the bread is
>bread alr. finish   already finished'

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

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

Here the term 'sudden discovery tense' will be used to describe
these uses of /-shka/ (Adelaar, personal communication). Narra-
tive/-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/ nom-inalizer, 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 consider-ed 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'

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 identify-
ing all instances of /-sh/~/-shqa/ as a completive aspect suf-
fix, rather than as one of the nominalizers:

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

   runa-kuna-mi cha:-mu-sh-na ka:-nqa-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 /-nqa/ 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 unres-
   tricted in independent clauses (to form the present perfect
   tense)."

   warmi-n shamu-sh-(qa)
   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 man-
ner, a doubtful assumption at least in the case of the Q II
dialects.

C. "the fact that the completive aspect is restricted in oc-
   currence 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-qa runa
   one intoxicate man
   'a man who is drunk'

Here Snow in fact claims that because /-shqa/~/-sh/ is very res-
tricted 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 im-
portant part, but that it is now disappearing from the language,
just as the /-nqa/ 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 alterna-
tive analysis whereby /-shqa/~/-sh/ is widely used as a tense-marker
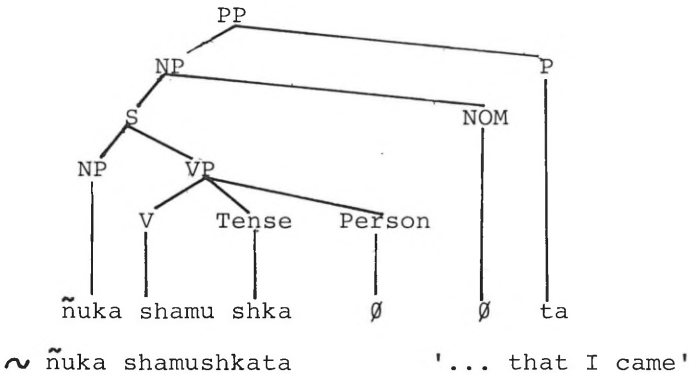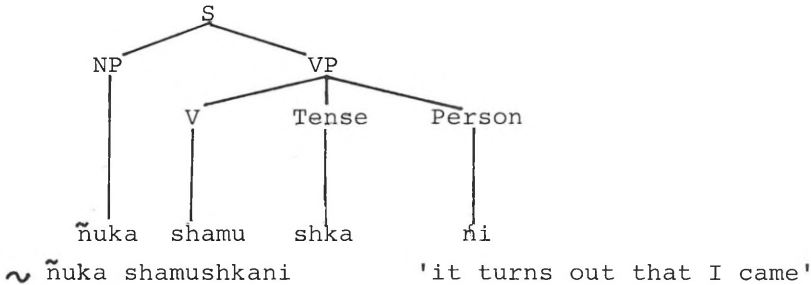but only in few contexts as a nominalizer is more plausible.

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 pos-
sible 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:

```
                   S
         NP                 VP
          |          V    Tense   Person
          |          |      |        |
        ñuka      shamu    shka      ni
  ~ ñuka shamushkani        'it turns out that I came'
```

```
                 PP
           NP                        P
          S            NOM
      NP     VP         |            |
       |    V  Tense  Person |       |
       |    |    |      |    |       |
     ñuka shamu shka    Ø    Ø      ta
  ~ ñuka shamushkata        '... that I came'
```

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 Ø. Finally, the absence of inflection for person in the
last construction seems unmotivated in the absence of a comple-
mentizer,but would be predicted by the presence of one.

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

```
                          S
                          |
                          NP
                   S             NOM
              NP      VP
                   V  Tense Person

          ñuka  shamu  Ø   ni   shka  ==>  ñuka shamushkani
```

```
                      PP
                NP           P
            S        NOM
          NP   VP
             V Tense Person

        ñuka shamu  Ø    Ø     shka ta  ==>  ñuka shamushkata ...
```
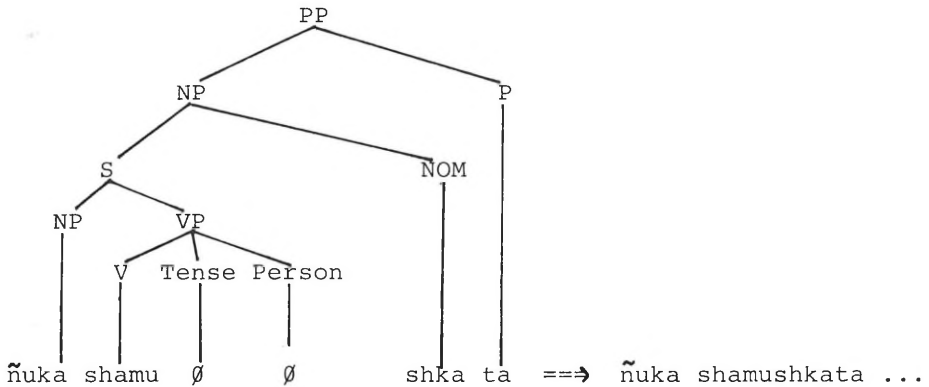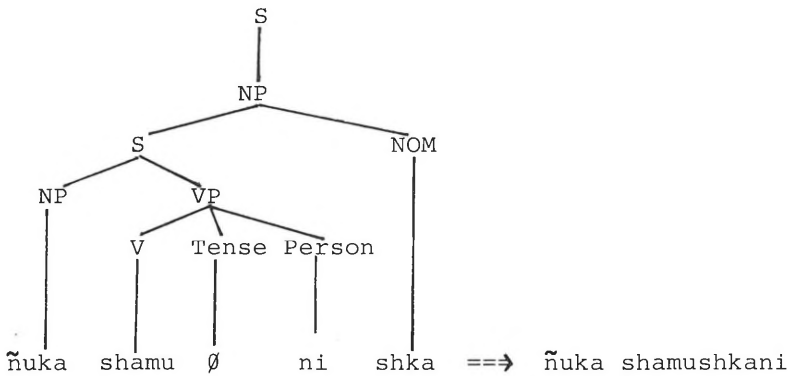
While solution (1) provided an implausible analysis for the
second construction, solution (2) leads to difficulties in the
first one. In fact, a base rule expanding S to NP would have to

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 1s, however, the suffix is not /-ni/, but instead /-y/:

> ka-y-man   'I would be'
> be 1sPOT

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

> * ka-<u>rka</u>-y-man, etc.
> * ka-<u>shka</u>-y-man, etc.

Several times it has been argued that the potential marker
/-man/ is identical to the case marker /-man/ 'to'. This hypoth-
esis is supported both by the phonetic shape of the suffixes
and by their semantic interpretation: it is possible to inter-
pret 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 dis-
cussed in the last chapter of this thesis. I would like to dis-
cuss 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 ex-
amples will be given here:

```
kán miku-chun ñúka humbi-un rura-ni
you eat  SUB   I    sweat WI work 1s
'I work with sweat so that yóu (can) eat'
```

```
ñuka kan-ta ri-chun muna-ni
 I   you AC go SUB  want 1s
'I want you to go'
```

```
* ñuka miku-chun rura-ni
   I    eat  SUB   work 1s
  '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 1s
'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 sen-
tences with /-chun/ given above; e.g. in Ayacucho Q we find:

```
qam miku-na-yki-paq llamka-ni
you eat NOM 2s  PUR work   1s
'I work so that you (can) eat'
```

```
ñoqa qam ri-na-yki-ta muna-ni
 I   you goNOM 2s  AC want 1s
'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 in-
flected 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 ex-
planation 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 exam-
ples is historically derived from the second:

> pay ñuka-ta kacha-rka willa-<u>chun</u>
> he   I   AC send PA tell
> 'he sent me to tell....'
>
> pay ñuka-ta kacha-rka willa-<u>chun</u> 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-<u>chun</u> 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 complemen-
tizer 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 sub-
ordinators, 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 postul-
ated 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/ com-
plements 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   1s 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 al-
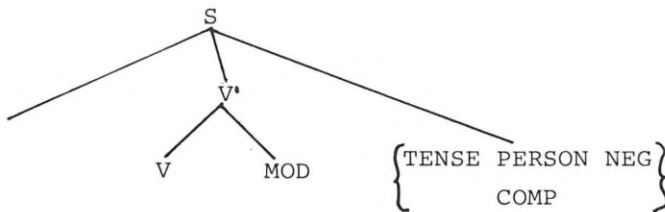ways generated to the right of the verb.

Secondly, we find that the /-nga-pak/ complementizer under-
goes 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
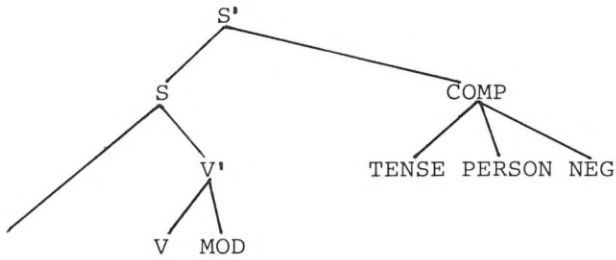> miku-n ax 'to eat'   Arajuno, Tena Q

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 com-
plex, and one in which COMP occupies a position to the right of
the S.

These two alternatives may be represented as follows:

(a)

(b)

```
                    S'
          ┌─────────┴────────────┐
          S                     COMP
      ┌───┴───┐              ┌────┼────┐
             V'          TENSE PERSON NEG
          ┌──┴──┐
     ┌──┘  V   MOD
```

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 shamú-<u>rka</u>	'he came'	TENSE
kan shamu-<u>ngi</u>	'you come'	PERSON
mana shamú-n-<u>chu</u>	'he does not come'	NEG
pay-shamú-<u>kpi</u>	'if he comes'	SUB
pay shamú-<u>chun</u>	'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-<u>yki</u> mother 2s	'your mother'	CUZCO Q
hamu-sqa-<u>yki</u> come NOM 2s	'that you came'	
hamu-<u>nki</u> 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-chu   '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-chu ri-ni   'I am not going to Quíto,
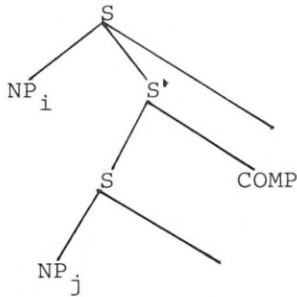> not   Quito to NEG go 1s   but to ...'

> 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 negat-
ion, to wit NEG X ==⇒ mana X-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 documen-
ted. We might want to connect the categories NOM, SUB and PUR
with the /nisha/ complementizer, since they occupy the same pos-
ition to the right of the verb and since they have the same syn-
tactic function.

3. Within the category SUB, /-kpi/ and /-shpa/, and within
the category PUR, /-chun/ and /-nga-pak/ are differentiated by
the feature ±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:

```
                    S
                 /     \
              NP        S'
                i     /    \
                    S       COMP
                  /   \
                NP
                  j
```

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 charac-
teristics of subordinate clauses in Q, particularly about embed-
ded 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 1s	'I can weave'
arma-(sha) shamu-ni bathe SUB come 1s	'I come from bathing'
tuka-na yacha-ni playNOM know 1s	'I know how to play'
shamu-k ka-ni comeNOM be 1s	'I usually come'
puñu-k ri-ni sleepNOM go1s	'I am going to sleep'
miku-sha ni-ni eat 1FU say 1s	'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:

$$V' \longrightarrow V - \left(\begin{Bmatrix} ka- \\ V \end{Bmatrix} \right)$$

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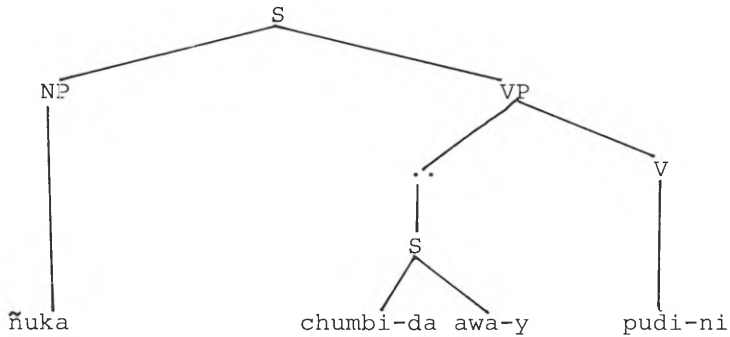
If we accept the expansion rule given, the sentence has structure A:

A.
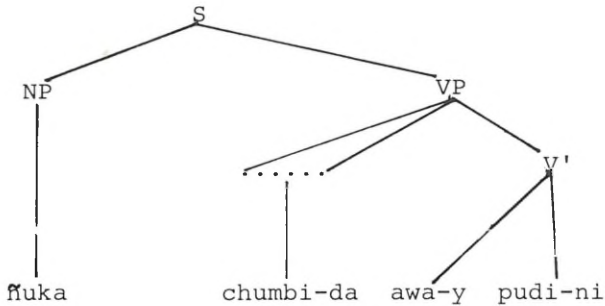
Alternatively, we could give it structure B:

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)

$$V' \longrightarrow V - (\left\{ \begin{matrix} ka- \\ V \end{matrix} \right\})$$

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   'it does not rain'
> not rain 3 NEG

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

* mana tamia-chu-kpi

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

> mana shamu-na-ta yacha-ni   'I know that he will not
> not come NOM AC know 1s   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 gols 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 di-
rect 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:
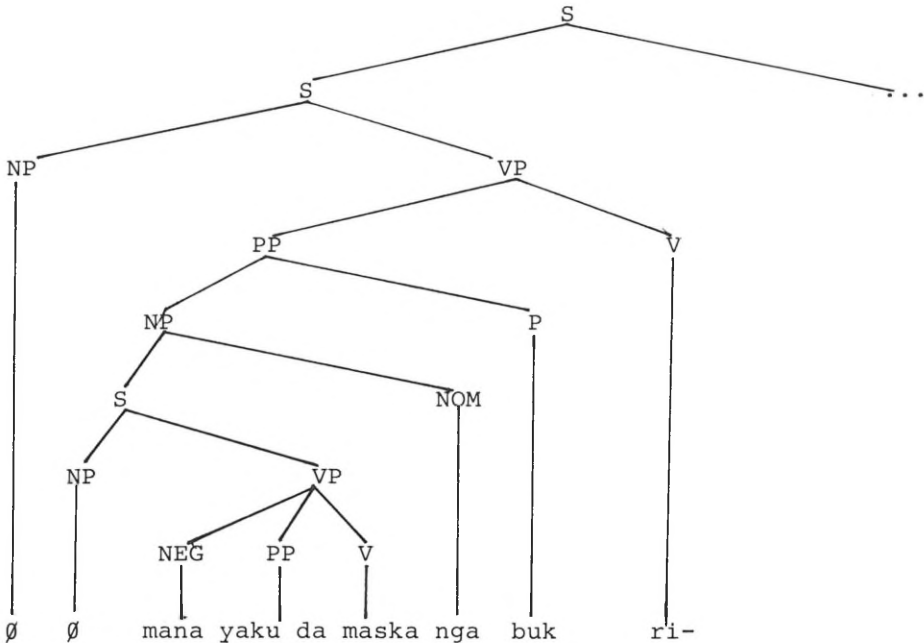
Considering this configuration we may rightly ask ourselves: how
did the element /-chu/ 'NEG' become attached to the verb of the
higher clause, /ri-/ 'go'? This analysis conflicts with the data
on negation in EcQ: if /mana yakuda maskangabuk/ were dominated
by an S node, the negative element /-chu/ would 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:

```
                              VP
           _____|_____
          |           |       |                |
        NEG          PP       PP               V
          |           |      /  \              |
          |           |    NP    P             |
          |           |   /  \   |             |
          |           |  S   NOM |             |
          |           |  |    |  |             |
        mana    yakuda maska  nga buk         ri
```
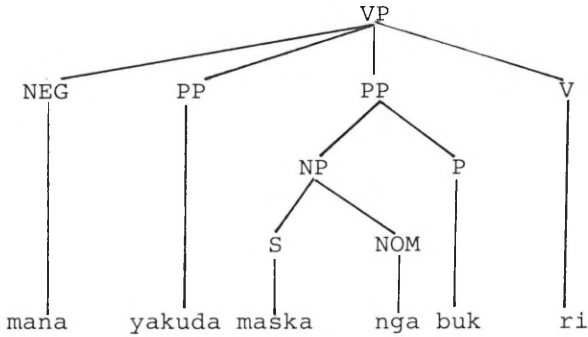
This analysis is clearly not acceptable because it would make
/yakuda/ 'waterAC' the direct object of the intransitive verb
/ri-/ 'go'.

A second alternative might be to adopt a NEG-RAISING trans-
formation. 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 transforma-
tion 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   want 1s     not  you go PUR   want 1s NEG
     'I want you not to go'        'I do not want you to go'
```

Here we find a possible raising such as:

S
NP — VP
NEG — S' — V
S — PUR
NP — VP
NEG — V

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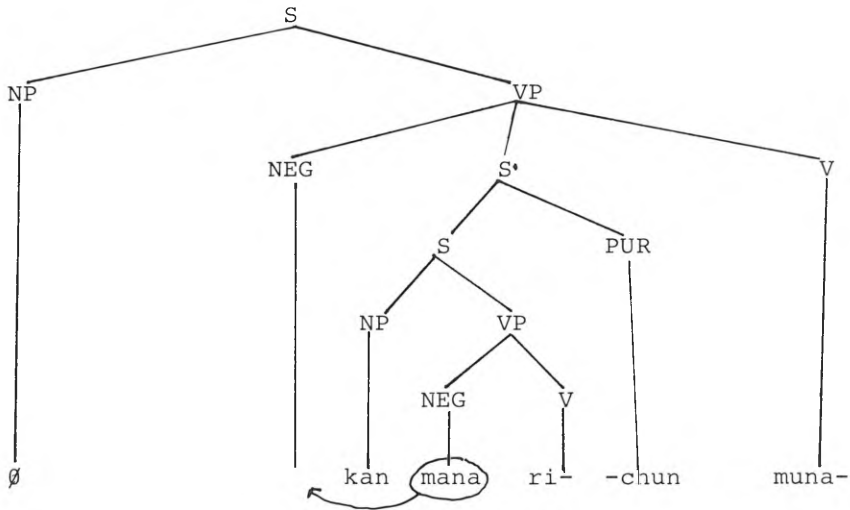
This is a very different case, however, from the one postulated
by Snow, and in itself not even definitive, since crucial tests
such as the 'until' test for English NEG-raising are lacking:

   * 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 the-
sis, 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
    eat NOM want 1s   'I want to eat'

    miku-na-da muna-ni
    eat NOM AC want 1s   'I want food' ≠ 'I want to eat'

    awa-y pudi-ni
    weaveNOM can 1s   'I can weave'   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-<u>na-ta</u>, then that means that Saraguro Q possesses construc-
tions 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-/ 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.)	muna-	yacha-	kallari-	tukuchi-	pudi/ usha-	tuku-
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/she loves me'
he   I   AC love 1ob 3

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

X   Pro-ta   Y   V   ==⟹   X   Pro-ta   Y   V+wa
    +i   +1

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, re-
gardless 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 Cañ, 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 immed-
iately to the left of the verb, and stressed /-shpa/ in subordin-
ate 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:

$$\text{k'atu-sha shamu-ni}_V, \qquad A$$

$$\text{k'atu-sha}_S \text{ shamu-ni}_{VP} \qquad B$$

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:

A.

B.
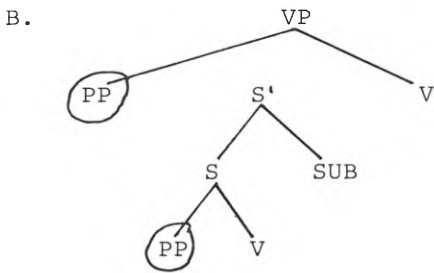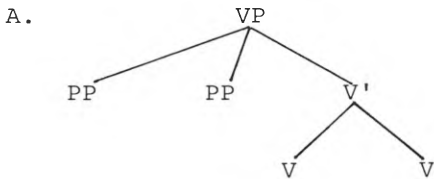
Free and bound forms

The fact that a distinction is made here between verbs in
subordinate clauses and complex verbal constructions is suppor-
ted by several other facts about their syntactic behavior,
besides the ones already mentioned. Elements cannot be extra-
posed, for instance,from a complex V' node. Verbs in subordin-
ated 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 sub-ordinated clauses, but not to verbs within a complex verbal construction:

  * miku-k-<u>mi</u> ri-ni

  miku-nga-pak-<u>mi</u> 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 <u>papa-da</u> (ok, but less used)

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

   awa-y pudi-ni <u>chumbi-da</u>   (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 <u>Kitu-mu</u>

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

  * awa-na-da yacha-ni <u>punchu-da-ga</u>

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

  * yacha-na muna-ni <u>tuki-da-ga</u>

   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 <u>sara-da-ga</u>

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 com-
plex 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 restric-
ted 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 pre-
sented, 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	+	±	+	+	+	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:

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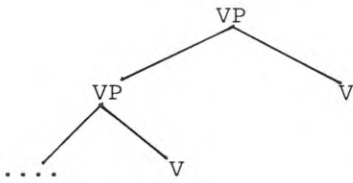
This structure would then undergo some form of verb raising and a complex verbal construction would result as a surface structure (cf. Evers, 1975).

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 sing*ing* a song

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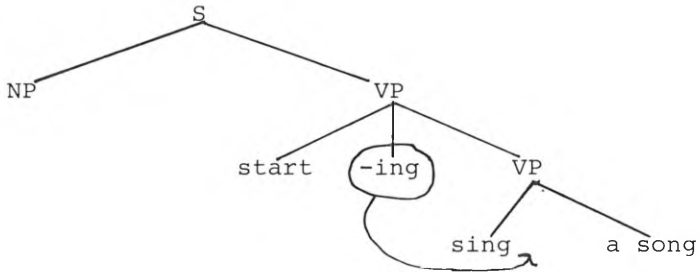
Here the lexically determined character of the type of VP complement is accounted for by generating -*ing* next to the higher verb.

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

1   2   3   ==⟶   1+2 3
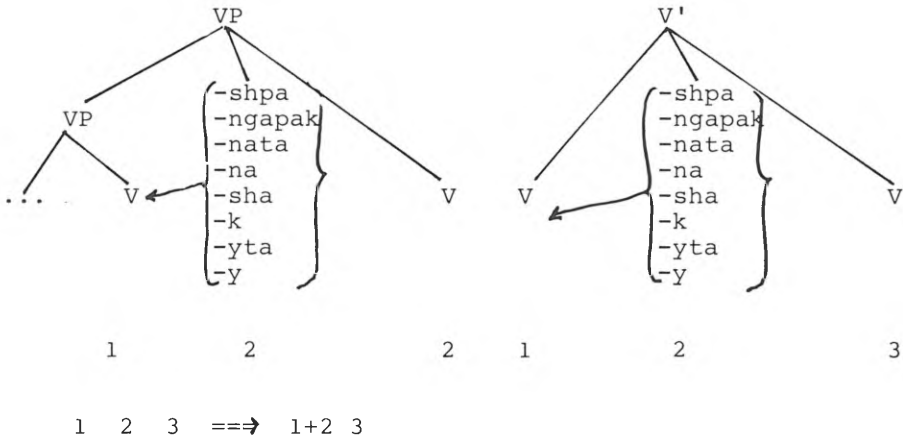
The problem with such an analysis for EcQ is that the existence of an Aux node, which plays a crucial part in Emonds' argument, is not established sufficiently for EcQ to adopt an Affix Hopping analysis.

        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 consi-
deration here.

2. HISTORICAL PERSPECTIVE

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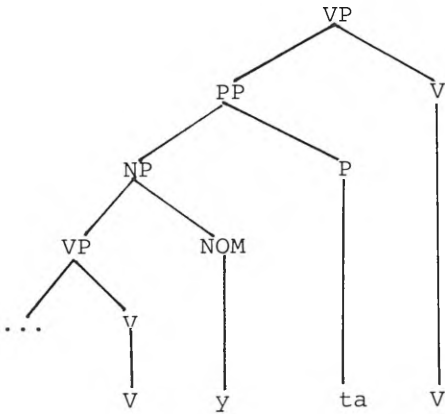involving the nominalizing suffix /-y-/:

    aywa-y-ta shuya-yka̅-ya̅-:-ra̅-mi   Ancash Q
    go NOM̅ AC̅ 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'   qalla- 'begin'

    tuku- 'finish'   usha- 'finish'

    yacha- 'know'   yacha- 'know'

    ati- 'be able'   pwidi- '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 construc-
tions 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:

```
                            VP
                           /  \
                       PP       V
                      /  \
                   NP      P
                  /  \      |
               VP     NOM   |
              / \      |    |
           ...   V     |    |
                 |     |    |
                 V     y    ta    V
```

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 per-
sonal suffixes, like other nominals do: this follows naturally
from the fact that they dominate VP nodes, not S nodes. An al-
ternative 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 com-
> plement 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 com-
plements. The data given by Costa present an apparent counter-
example 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                    'stop talking'
talkNOM AC stop IM
```

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 Middendorf'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:

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

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/ inter- vening 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 seg- ment 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 mor- pheme boundary, just like inflectional suffixes, but unlike

ordinary verbs:

        #Pedro#mi#ga#ni
          Peter AF be 1s   'I am Peter'

        #Pedro#mi# #kara#n
          Peter AF serve3   'Péter serves'

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:
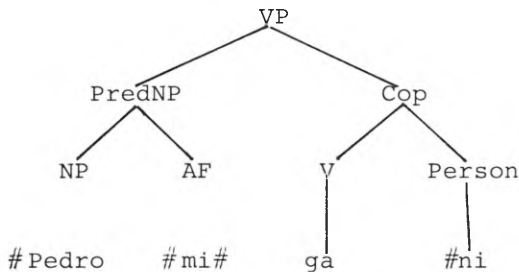
        Secondly, there is a process of copula contraction which
may be tentatively formulated as follows, assuming the boundar-
ies described above:

        X # CV # ka # Y   ===>   X # 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 separ-
ability 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 con-
traction phenomena are described in a unified way: it is assumed
that the copula /ka-/ is not preceded by the boundary # of it-
self. 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 1s   ==⟹   nuka-sh ri-ni
> 'I am also going'
>
> ri-na-mi ga-ni
> goNOM AF be 1s   ==⟹   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 follow-
ing deletion rule:

$$\begin{bmatrix} C \\ -cor \\ -nas \end{bmatrix} \; V \; \longrightarrow \; \emptyset \; / \; V \# \; \overline{\underset{[-stress]}{}} \; X$$

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 discus-
sed 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   ==⟹   X # C # a # Y
```

Forms such as the following result:

Xwana-mi a-ni		Xwana m-a-ni
Juana AF be1s	==⟹	Juana AF be1s
'I am Juana'		'I'm Juana'
Pedro-chu a-ngi?		Pedro ch-a-ngi
Peter Q be 2s	==⟹	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:
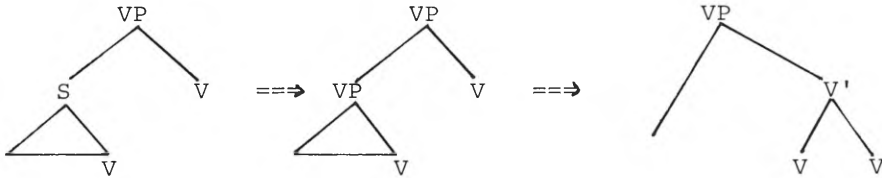
The analysis given is based on facts from contemporary Q dialects, and is presented here in terms of base rules. Alternatively, it might be analyzed in terms of an increasing number of transformations, such as Equi-NP deletion, Verb Raising and /-ta/ deletion. It may be an issue of the general theory 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 1s		'I come from having
		sold there'
chay-bi k'atu-sha shamu-ni		
that LO sell SUB come 1s		
*chay-munda k'atu-mu-ni		
that from sell CI 1s		'I come from there
		having sold'
*chay-munda k'atu-sha shamu-ni		
that from sell SUB come 1s		

kay-mun k'atu-mu-ni   'I come from having sold
this to sell CI 1s   to this one'

kay-mun k'atu-sha shamu-ni   ≠ 'I come here from having
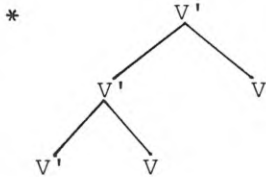this to sell SUB come 1s   sold'

Considering facts such as these, the complex V' expansion
rule should possibly be rewritten as:

$$V' \;\dashrightarrow\; V' \;-\; (\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{Mod} \\ \text{ka-} \\ \text{V} \end{array} \right\})$$

There are some problems, however, which would result from making
the V' expansion rule recursive, namely that the
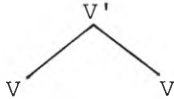
construction is not recursive:

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 indepen-
dent 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' con-
struction:

$$\left(\begin{array}{l} \text{V-shpa} \\ \text{V-NOM} \\ \text{V-sha} \end{array} \right) \;-\; \text{V}$$

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-ri-ni	'I appear'
apa-ni	'I take'
apa-mu-ni	'I bring'
wañu-ni	'I die'
wañu-chi-ni	'I kill'
puri-ni	'I walk'
puri-ku-ni	'I am walking'
chumbi	'sash'
chumbi-lli-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 higer 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 theor-
ies 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 propo-
nent 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 suf-
fixes, 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:
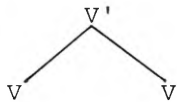
have emerged in EcQ. There are two cases in which it appears
that these complex verbal constructions are related to verb +
modal suffix constructions: "inchoatives" and "cislocatives".

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 aux-
iliary system of natural languages. An example of this interac-
tion 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:

> áj## əmi## gówiŋ## tə
>
> áI## m ## gónə
>
> áImgən
>
> áŋnə

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 oper-
ated 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': inten-
tion, 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 1s
> '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 syn-
tactic 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 origiral 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, ap-
plies 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 intrig-
uing 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:

$$(Y - - - - - - - - X)$$
$$2 \ n{-}j \quad \ldots. \ n{-}1 \ n \ 1$$
$$\text{where } n{-}j > 2$$

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 presentend 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   'I feel like water'
       water   3

(b) /-chi-/ as in:

       pai-ta ubia-chi-ni 'I make him drink'
       he AC drink   1s

(c) /-ri-/ as in:

       apa-ri-ni   'I carry (on my back)'
       take   1s

(d) /-naku-/ as in:

       mucha-naku-nchik   'we kiss each other'
       kiss   1PL

(e) /-pa-/ as in:

       tiyari-pa-y   'please sit down'
       sit down IM

(f) /-mu-/ as in:

       tigra-mu-ni   'I come back'
       go   back 1s

(g) /-ku-/ as in:

       danza-ku-ni   'I am dancing'
       dance   1s

(h) /-ria-/ as in:

       wata-ria-n   'it is tied up'
       tie   3

(i) /-gri-/ as in:

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

(j) /-ixacha-/ as in:

       puri-ixacha-ni   'I walk to and fro'
       walk   1s

(k) /-paya/ as in:

       yacha-paya-ni   'I imitate'
       know   1s

(l) /-lli-/ as in:

       chumbi-lli-ni   'I tie on a sash'
       sash   1s

    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 Cajamar-
ca Q, while 'die' is /wañu-/.

    (b) A second argument derives from a pidgin called <u>Media
Lengua</u>, 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 behav-
ior of /wañu-chi-/; while superficially it is quite similar to,
e.g.

```
    awa - chi -
    weave CAUSE          'to have somebody weave'
```

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 them-
selves, syntactic structure would become extraordinarily cumber-
some. The brevity and simplicity which 'kill' has, but which
'cause to die' lacks, is certainly no luxury in natural language.

An argument <u>against</u> 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 res-
triction on its occurrence with /-ri-/.

It is unclear at the present moment how the notion "avail-
able for triggering a co-occurrence restriction" can be incor-
porated 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 interpreta-
tion, 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 fol-
lowing interpretations:

  REFLEXIVE-MEDIAL

    riku-ri-ni
    see   ls   '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' ('<u>se</u> <u>ve</u>')
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' ('<u>se</u> <u>muere</u> <u>de</u> <u>iras</u>')
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 combina-
tions.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 under-
go voicing and fricativization in all dialects. The modal or
object-incorporating suffix /-lli-/ is used only with a few tra-
ditional 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 cis-
locative 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					$pa\acute{y}a$
ria					
ku_1					
$na\acute{k}u$					

Of course, this ordering, as well as the lables 'syntactic' and
'lexical', has a pre-theoretical status. Nonetheless, an ade-
quate 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 Middendorf (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 Middendorf that in some cases lezicalization 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:
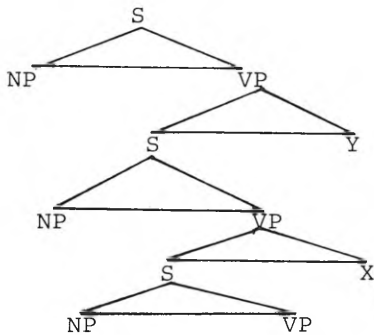
        V   ==>   V - X - Y - ..

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:

$$\text{S} \xrightarrow{V \begin{bmatrix} +Fx \\ +Fy \end{bmatrix}} \implies V - X - Y - \ldots$$
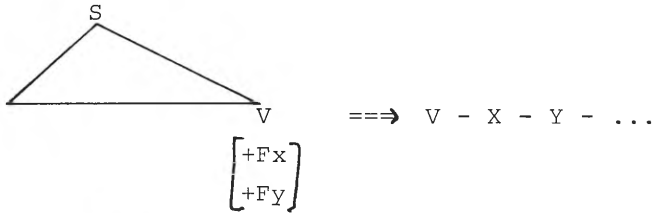
Here $\begin{bmatrix} +Fx \end{bmatrix}$ and $\begin{bmatrix} +Fy \end{bmatrix}$ refer to semantic features characterizing (the string ending in) V and dominated by S, or a part of it, including V.

An example of the higher verb analysis might be a derivation of

```
ñuka pai-ta wañu-chi-rka-ni
 I   he  AC die CAUS PA  1s
'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 1s
'I walk'
```

from:

puri-
$$\begin{bmatrix} +PR \\ +1s \end{bmatrix}$$

In more recent times, Theory I has been adopted by some post-Aspects grammarians, most notably Landerman & Frantz (1972) and Parker (1973), and particularly conerning 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 exte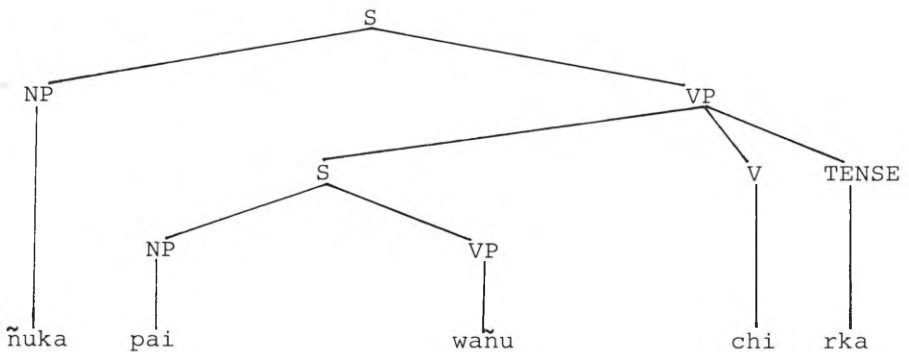nt the two theories are in conflict with each other, as opposed to being mere notational variants. If this were the case, general theoretical considerations would make a choice between both theories possible, but if the data are interpreted to be compatible with only one of the two theories, a contribution 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 EcQ 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:

                      CAUSE

                      COME

                      TAKE

```
S
  S   mu        COME
    S  chi       CAUSE
      apa        TAKE
```
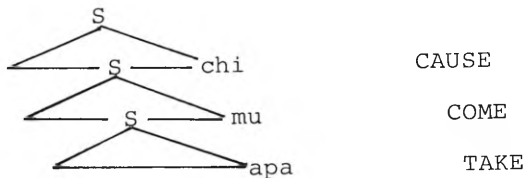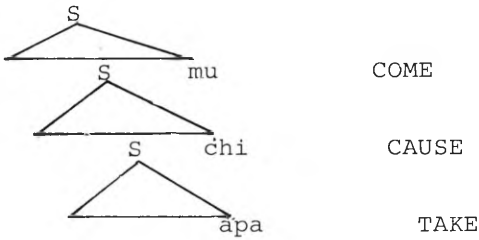
This in turn would result in the following two sequences:

    * 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- ==⟹ -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        1s
```

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         1s
```

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 1s

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       1s

ñuka-ta riku-chi-naya-n  'I feel like showing'
  I   AC  see         3
```

It is attractive to analyze the last form as:

```
      S
     /\
    /  \
   /____\naya          WANT
      S
     /\
    /  \
   /____\chi           CAUSE
      S
     /\
    /  \
   /____\riku          SEE
```
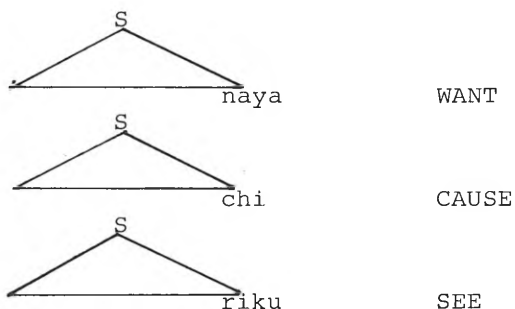
It is also possible, in EcQ dialects such as Salasaca, Tun Q, to form active desideratives:

    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 reversable 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   'it looks like it is going to rain'
    rain   3
  * 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 activize 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 makes me feel thirsty'
    he   I   AC water   3

This form could be schematically represented as:

```
                    S
         _____
                      chi
              S
         _____
          yaku      naya
```
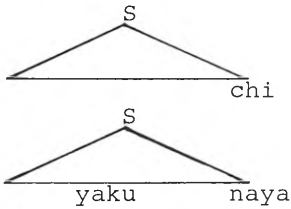
This case would constitute a legitimate example of reversible semantic hierarchy, a key argument for Theory I, the higher verb analysis. Nonetheless, most Salasaca Q speakers who were interviewed would not allow it, and it was clear that the ungrammaticality of the form could not be due to processing complexity or other performance factors. For those speakers who would accept it, we find a real case of semantic hierarchy being reversible.

CHI

The <u>double</u> occurrence of causative /-chi-/ likewise constitutes an argument for the higher verb analysis in the theoretical perspective adopted here:

| ñuka riku-ni | | | | 'I see' |
| I | see | 1s | | |

| ñuka riku-chi-ni | | | | 'I show' |
| I | see | 1s | | |

| pay ñuka-ta riku-chi-chi-n | | | | | 'he makes me show' |
| he | I | AC | see | 3 | |

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 had Quechua taught' |
| he | Que. AC | know | PA | |

Completely acceptable is on the other hand:

| pay wagra-ta wañu-chi-chi-rka | | | | 'he had the cow killed' |
| he | cow | AC | die | PA | |

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 mucha-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:

chi   CAUSE

naku   RECIPROCITY

naku   RECIPROCITY

chi   CAUSE

riku   SEE

riku   SEE

/riku-naku-chi-/   /riku-chi-naku-/
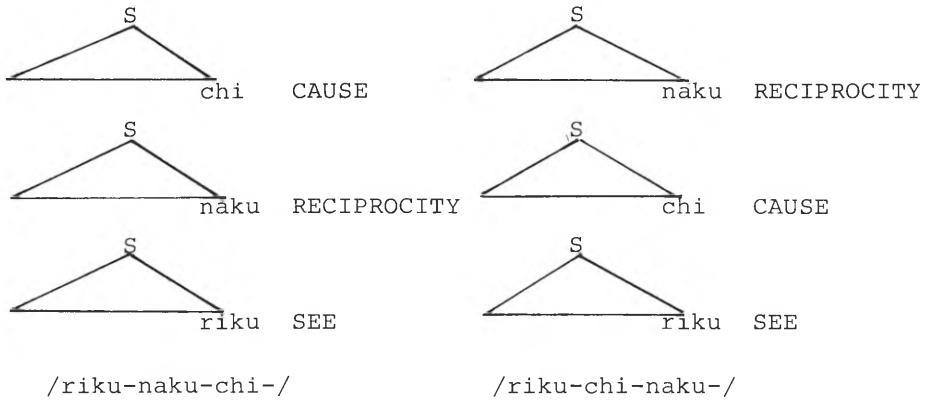
Within this interpretation, reciprocal /-naku-/ is considered a higher verb. An alternative analysis would propose a cyclical transformation of /-naku-/ insertion, and only two S's, or generate /-naku-/ in the base as either a feature of the lower or of the causative verb. Note, however, that the higher 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:

```
      lli
      ixacha
      _____
      paya            ┌───────────┐
ROOT  ri     naku chi mu - naya - gri pa ku_  TENSE PERSON NUMBER IND
      ya             └_____┘
      _____
      ria
```
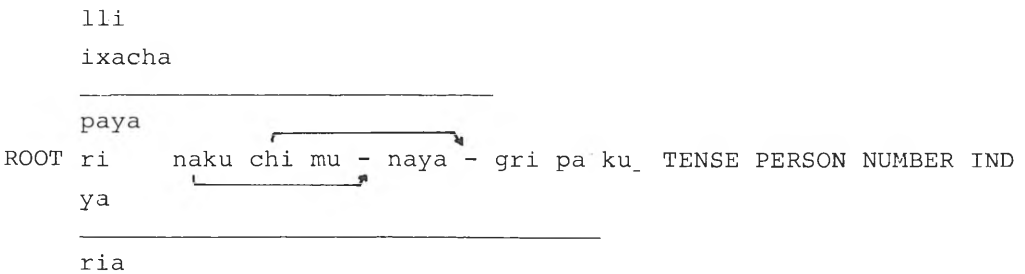
In this diagram a large number of rules and co-occurrence restrictions are collapsed. The suffixes placed in the first column cannot co-occur. The horizontal line indicates that suffixes separated by a line cannot co-occur with each other. Of course, the order diagram presented here provides only the 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 suf-
fix co-occurrence diagram:

$$\bar{pa}$$
$$\bar{na} \quad rI$$
$$\bar{ka}$$
tsi ná ⇄ pU kU   y-kā ⇄   rkU – – – llā yā   mu
                  ykU   ma
ykacha
    $$\bar{ra}$$
rpU

---
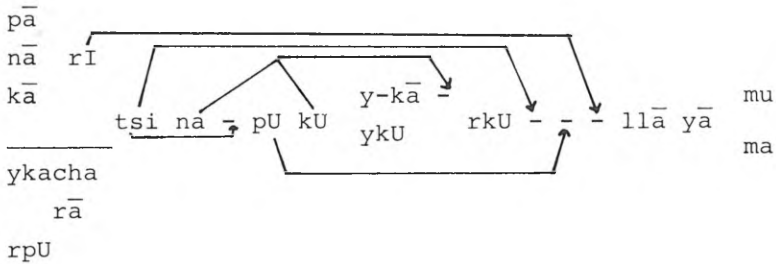
rpārI
rqārI
(chaku, rpa,
pu, rqU)

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 dif-
    ferences 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 situa-
tion 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   1s not present'
        akra-pU-y-kā-: 'I am choosing (something) for someone
        choose   1s 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   1s
        yaku-ta timpu-y-ka-tsi-:   ±'I make someone be boiling
        waterAC boil   1s   water'

JUNÍN

Sayk's description of Junín modal suffixes presents a sim-
ilar picture. The following distribution diagram is given (V:
refers to a long vowel; the pluralizers /-pa:ku-/, /-rka:-/ and
/-:ri-/ have not been included:

```
  -  ◄──────────────────────────────────┐
  -  ◄───────────────────────┐          │
  pa                         │          │
  na    kU                   │          │
  ─────────                  │          │
rpU    chakU                 │          │
rkU₁   kacha:                │          │
rqU -  na:                   │          │
  ─────────                  │          ┌─────┐      ma:
  pa:  ri rkU₂  ra:  ya:  chi  pU  la:  ─
                                                     mu
  ─────────
    cha:ri
  ─────────────────────────
  cha:                  yU
  rikU
```
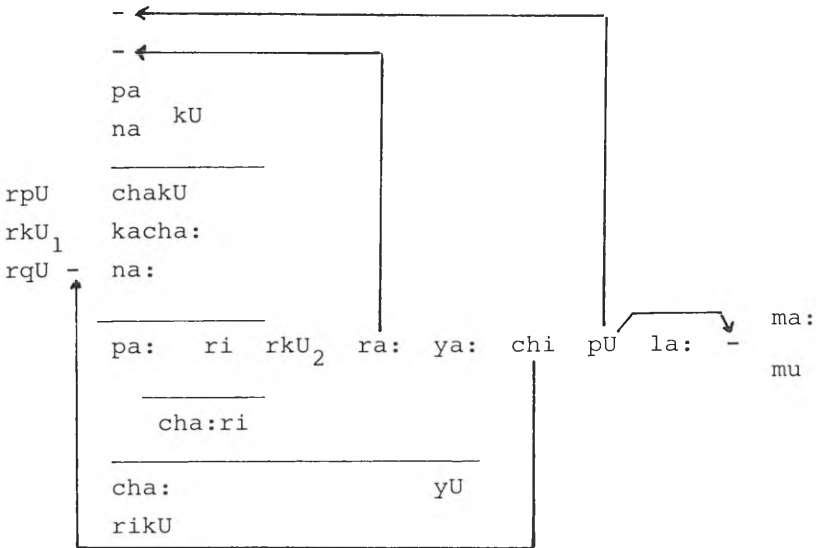
Regarding suffix ordering changes Sayk remarks (1974: 17):

> The change in order of the suffixes can cause changes of nuance corresponding to stylistic variations but cases also exist in which the meaning is completely altered.

Of these latter cases Sayk provides examples with causative /-chi-/. Consider first these two sentences (1974: 36):

mayla-chi-kU-n   'he has himself washed (by someone else)'
wash   3

mayla-kU-chi-n   'he makes (someone else) wash himself'
wash   3

Clearly this difference in meaning reflects a difference in semantic hierarchy which could best be expressed syntactically by postulating that at least causative /-chi-/, and possibly also reflexive-medial /-kU-/, are higher verbs.

The other example provided by Sayk (1974: 40) involves reciprocal /-na-kU-/:

rika-chi-na-kU-n 'they make each other see'
see   3

rika-na-kU-chi-n 'they (he) make(s) them see each other'
see   3

This example is entirely parallel to the EcQ case discussed earlier.

CUZCO

Middendorf's (1890) treatment of modal suffixes in Cuzco Q
provides an extensive list of the possible modal suffix sequen-
ces. 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, how-
ever, from not excluding particular combinations not mentioned
by Middendorf):
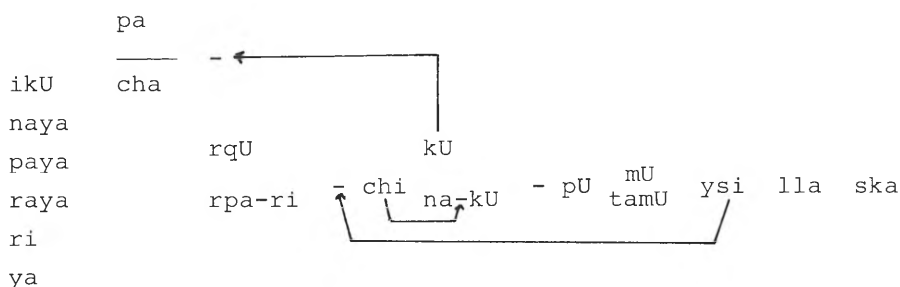
Middendorf's data show the interchangeability of /-chi-/
and /-na-kU-/, but his examples are not as explicit as Sayk's.
A second case analyzed by Middendorf of variable ordering invol-
ving semantic variation is the following:

> 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 dif-
ferent 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 consider-
ation 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 characteris-
tics. 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 combin-
ation, and one with /-kU-mU-pU-/; in each case a different mean-
ing results:

-rqakampu (-rqU-kU-mU-pU)-	'has a reflexive meaning and indicates that the action of the verb is sudden, casual and occasional'
muna-rqakampu- want	'go to love it for oneself suddenly and casually'
-rqacha (-rqU-cha-)	'used with few verbs, it indicates force, exaggeration, or violence'
kapa-rqacha- scream	'to scream loudly'

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:

```
                                          ri(ri)
ya                                   yku   rqo  rpa(ri)
(n)cha paya ykacha na naya raya         ra      ypa(ri) ysi chi ka..
lli                                 yka   rqa   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 ri 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) wañu-chi-naya-wa-n   'I feel like killing'
     die CAU want lob 3

     wañu-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 suffix-
es. 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 re-
ciprocal:

```
riku-na-chi-sa-ykichik      'I'll make you see each other'
see          1FU 2PLobj
qawa-chi-na-ku-nkichik      'you make each other see some-
watch            2PL          thing'
```

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 seman-
tic   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 desider-
ative /-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-         'feel like drinking chicha'
chicha

chagu-naya-        'feel like drinking booze' (cf. Sp.
booze                                         trago)

warmi-naya-        'feel like sleeping with a woman'
woman

* kuchki-naya-     ?'feel like having money'
  money
```

In both cases, we might reconstruct or analyze the genesis
of these constructions as having arisen from noun + verb combin-
ations, with /chi-/ 'cause' and /naya-/ 'give appetite for':

$$NP + V ==\rightarrow N + MODAL SUFFIX$$
$$OBJECT INCORPORATION$$

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-chi-      EcQ
wasi-ya-chi-<
                     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, transfor-
mationally 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 seman-
tic features of the verb, without the semantic scope hierarchiza-
tion 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:
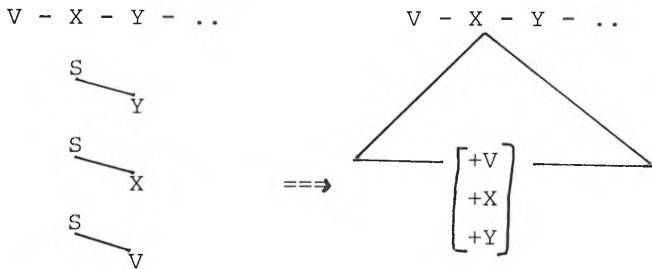
On the basis of this general outline we may include the category
modal suffix in the general change described in chapter IV:
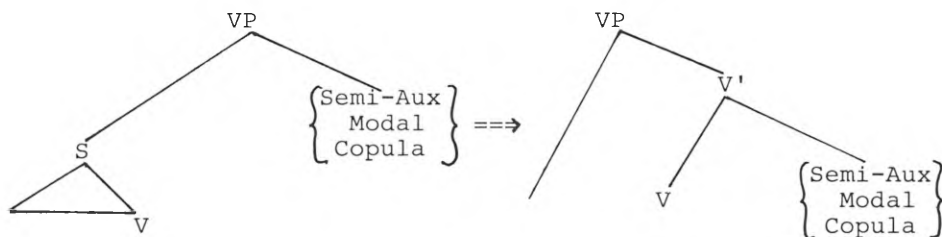
In neither case was the development from higher V structure to
complex V' entirely completed.

The analysis given disregards completely the many real dif-
ferences 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 construc-
tion, 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 develop-
ment 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):
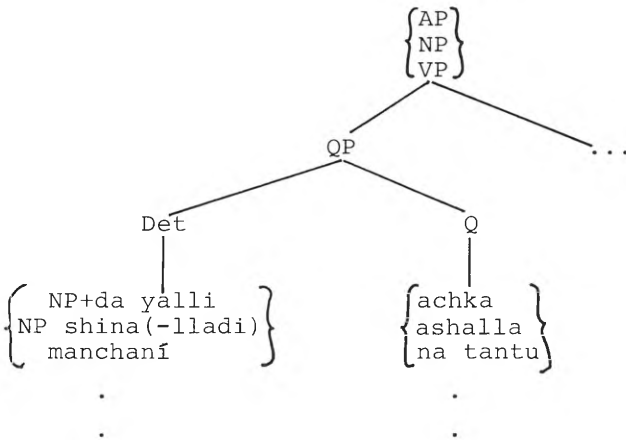
In the examples just given we find that AP, NP and VP can contain the comparative construction. This is indicated in the tree diagram in the form of a generalized quantitative phrase, QP (Bresnan, 1973). It is assumed that the QP node dominates both a quantifier node Q, which dominates items such as /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 hinchi-mi   'he is strong like you'
you like strong AF

kan shina-lladi hinchi-mi 'he is as strong as you are'
you like just strong AF

kan-da yalli hinchi-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 1s you AC
> 'I have more years than you do'

> ñuka achka wata-da chari-ni kan shina
> I   many year AC have 1s you like
> 'I have many years like you'

> ñuka manchaní achka wata-da chari-ni
> I   terribly many year AC have 1s
> '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.
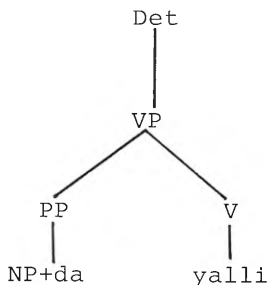
This section deals primarily with the /NP+da yalli/ construction. How should it be analyzed? As a VP? As a complex PP? As an AdvP? Arguments will be given for all three analyses, and it is claimed that they are all valid for some speakers of EcQ.

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 1s
> 'I exceed you in learning'

We may assume then that the minimal structure of the /NP+da yalli/ phrase is something like:

```
            Det
             |
             |
            VP
           /  \
          /    \
        PP       V
         |       |
         |       |
      NP+da    yalli
```
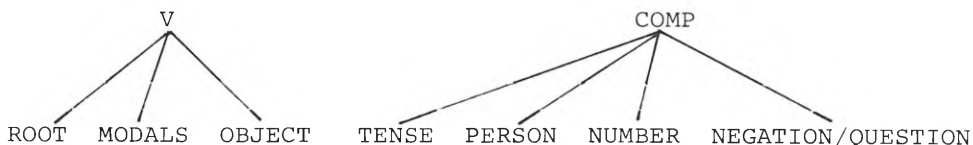
The principal argument in favor of the VP analysis is that all other /NP+da/ elements in Q are dominated by a VP node. Other postpositional phrases may be dominated by NP or AP, but /NP+da/ never is:

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 S̄. It was argued earlier that the COMP node in EcQ dominates the categories Tense, Person, Number and Negation:

```
          V                              COMP
        /|\ \                          / / | \
       / | \ \                        / /  |  \
ROOT MODALS OBJECT          TENSE PERSON NUMBER NEGATION/QUESTION
```

Thus we can get fully inflected verb forms in main clauses:

apa-mu-wa-rka-ngi-chik-chu bring 1ob PA 2 PL Q 'did you bring me...?'	Can Q

But in subordinate clauses, the COMP node is filled:

> apa-mu-wa-kpi, ...
> bring 1ob SUB
> 'if you bring me, ...'

* apa-mu-wa-rka-ngi-chik-<u>kpi</u>-
* apa-mu-wa-<u>kpi</u>-rka-ngi-chik-

Thus the analysis of the /NP+da yalli/ clause as a VP, rather than as an $\overline{S}$, 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 possib-
le 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 con-
struction 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 inter-
preted 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:

```
              Det
             /   \
           /       \
         PP          Adv
          |           |
          |           |
       NP+da        yalli
```
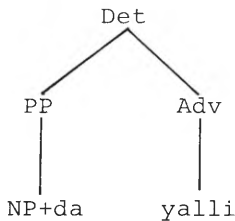
We have noticed that /yalli/ cannot be inflected for tense,
person and number, and could account for that by assuming that
it is dominated by VP, not by $\bar{S}$. It appears, however, that even
elements dominated by the V, such as /-wa-/ '1st person object',
cannot occur with it; even in Imbabura Q, where /-wa-/ occurs,
the following sentence is ungrammatical:

>   *ñuka-ta yalli-wa wagra-ta chari-n   IMBABURA
>   I   AC   1ob cow AC have 3
>   'he has more cattle than I do'

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:
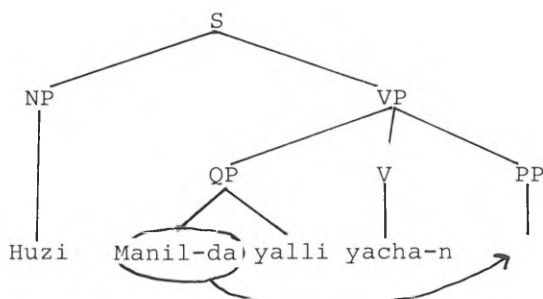
It is possible for objects to be moved to the right of V in
main sentences in Q, but generally not in subordinate clauses.
In no case, however, can objects move beyond two verbs, as they
could if /yalli/ were a verb.

```
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, par-
ticularly 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-rqa-nqi     'you did well'
good AC do    PA  2s

ukta-da puri-qu-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:
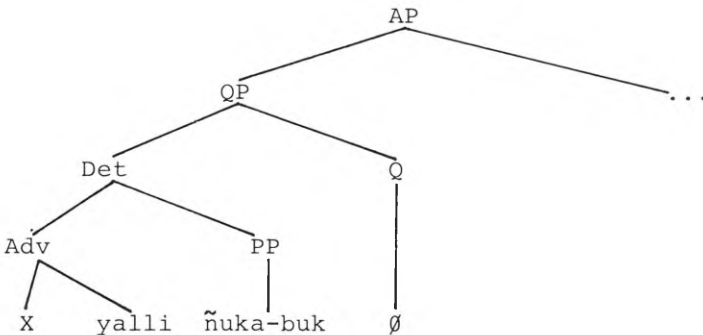
Here X represents a hidden norm, which the shoes exceed for the /ñuka-buk/ 'for me'.

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
      fast come 2s   'come fast'

      kay-mu shamu-ngi
      this to come 2s   'come here'

    * shamu-ngi ukta

    * shamu-ngi kay-mu

For this reason, we might assign a structure such as:

```
              Det
               |
               |
               |
              PP
             /  \
           /      \
     NP+da        yalli
```
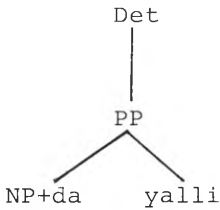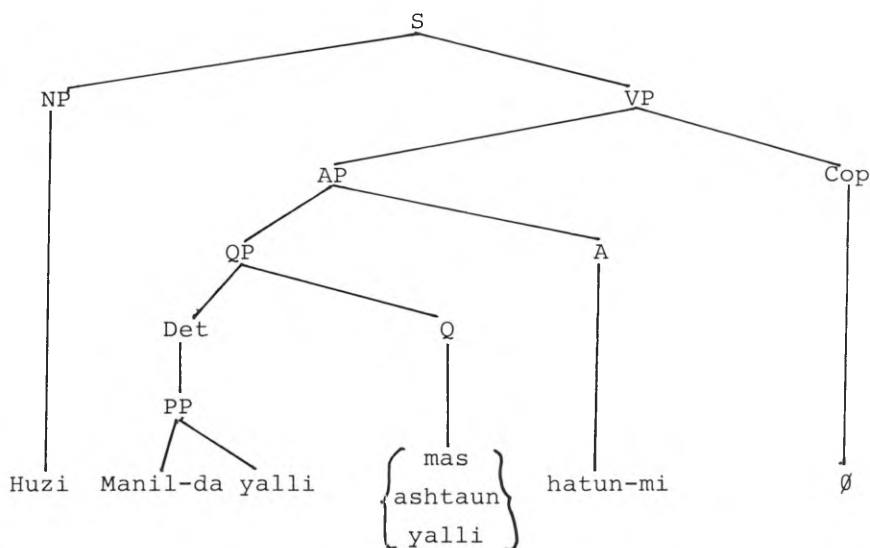
Another set of sentences in which /yalli/ appears as a postposition is the double /yalli/ construction:

```
               ⎧  mas   ⎫
  Huzi  ⎨ 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:

```
                             S
              _____/ _____
            NP                               VP
            |                _____/   \___
            |              AP                     Cop
            |         ____/  _____    |
            |       QP                        A   |
            |     _/  _____            |   |
           Det                    Q           |   |
            |                     |           |   |
           PP                     |           |   |
           /\                 ┌ mas  ┐        |   |
    Huzi  Manil-da yalli      │ashtaun│  hatun-mi  Ø
                              └ yalli ┘
```

In fact, these sentences are strikingly similar to the comparat-
ive 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 bet-
ween them have to be accounted for on the level of the Phrase
Structure rules, not on the level of the transformational compon-
ent, and also that the Det of the QP has more internal struc-
ture 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:

```
                      S
              _____/ |_____
            NP        VP              VP
                     / \
                NP+da yalli
```
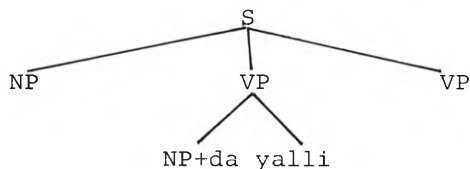
This is the analysis proposed by Schachter (1974) for serial
verb constructions in West African languages. No crucial evid-
ence discriminating between this analysis and the QP analysis
given at the beginning of this chapter has been found.

As far as the adverbial postpositional analyses are concer-
ned, 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:
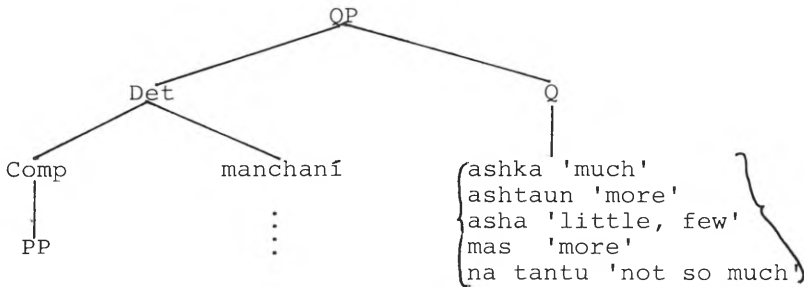
Once we assume this general configuration, the different inter-
pretations of /yalli/ can be distinguished in a principled way.

In the postpositional interpretation, /yalli/ is part of
the complement of the Det node:
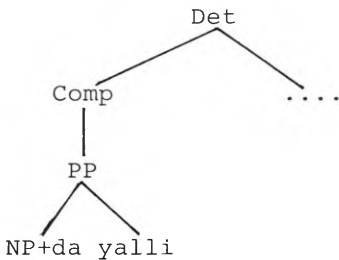
This Comp can be extraposed in EcQ; besides /NP+da yalli/ it
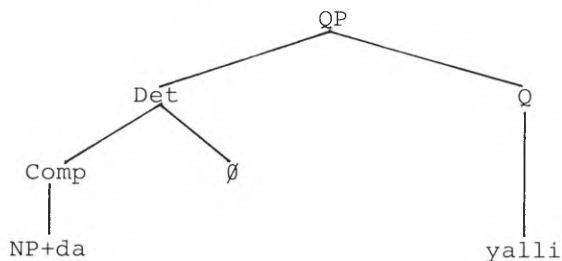contains such phrases as /NP shina/ 'like NP'.

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'
```
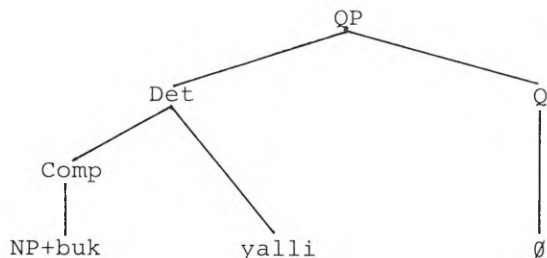
In both cases we find an extraposed PP, but in the first case
/yalli/ is a quantifier element 'more', in the second case a
determiner element 'too'. This difference in meaning can be cap-
tured by generating the first /yalli/, 'more', under Quantifier,
and the second /yalli/ 'too' under Det, in the same position as
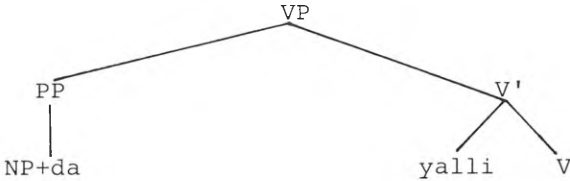/manchaní/:

/yalli/ 'more'

```
                            QP
                          /    \
                  Det            Q
                 /   \           |
            Comp      Ø          |
             |                   |
          NP+da                yalli
```

/yalli/ 'too'

```
                            QP
                          /    \
                  Det            Q
                 /    \          |
            Comp       \         |
             |          \        |
          NP+buk       yalli     Ø
```

Thus we have distinguished four groups of speakers, or,
possibly, syntactic dialects which assign four different posit-
ions 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 prev-
ious chapter, we may wonder whether no such analysis is possible
in the /yalli/ case. The relevant structure would be something
like:

```
                          VP
              _____/  _____
            /                            \
          PP                              V'
          |                              /  \
        NP+da                        yalli    V
```

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 contem-
porary 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 ad-
verb '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
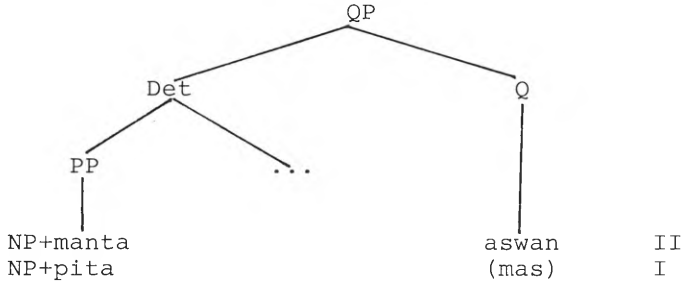'Peru is older than any other country'

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 vicuna'
```

Similar constructions, with slight modifications, have been attested for all PeQ and BoQ dialects.

This type of comparative construction may be analyzed as:

```
                    QP
                  /    \
               Det      Q
              /  \       |
            PP    ...     |
             |            |
         NP+manta       aswan      II
         NP+pita        (mas)      I
```

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:

```
                QP
              /    \
           Det      Q
           / \      |
         -er ...   much  ==⇒   more ...
```
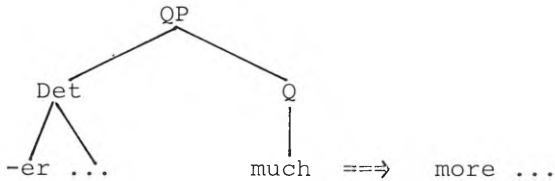
Similarly, Middendorf analyzed /aswan/ 'more' as /as/ 'a little' plus /-wan/ 'with', so that we could postulate something like:

```
                QP
              /    \
           Det      Q
           / \      |
         PP  -wan   as  ==⇒   PP aswan
```
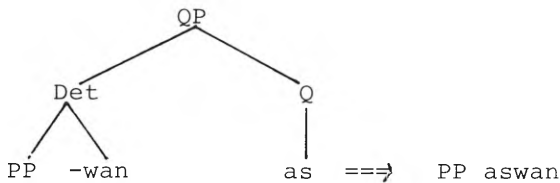
Here additive /-wan/ would represent an abstract element of degree. On the whole, this analysis remains speculative, however,

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, how-
ever, 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 col-
onial 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 in-
volving /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 synonym-
ous 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 house 2s	'your house'
wasi-y house 1s	'my house'

These forms do occur in Cuzco Q. On the other hand, he does des-
cribe forms which are decidedly EcQ and do not occur elsewhere,
such as /ashtaun/ 'more'.

The most plausible solution to this problem lies in the as-
sumption 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 after-
wards, he was providing EcQ data. Thus the two possessive forms
given above are followed by the forms common now in EcQ:

kam-bak wasi you GEN house	'your house'
ñuka wasi I house	'my house'

Similarly, one may think, with the comparative. If this an-
alysis 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 unrelat-
ed 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 emer-
ge. 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 synchronic-
ally 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 ad-
verbially subordinated /gana-/; in the second case, as a coor-
dinated /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   COORDINATION
        John know 3 Peter AC exceed3

        Xwan-yacha-y-ni-n-pi Pedro-ta yalli-n MAIN VERB
        John know NOM   3 LO Peter AC exceed3

        Xwan Pedro-ta yalli-shpa yacha-n   SUBORDINATION
        John Peter AC exceed SUB know   3

then the last one would appear to be the most plausible under-
lying source, historically, for the modern EcQ construction. If
this is the case, the following syntactic development has taken
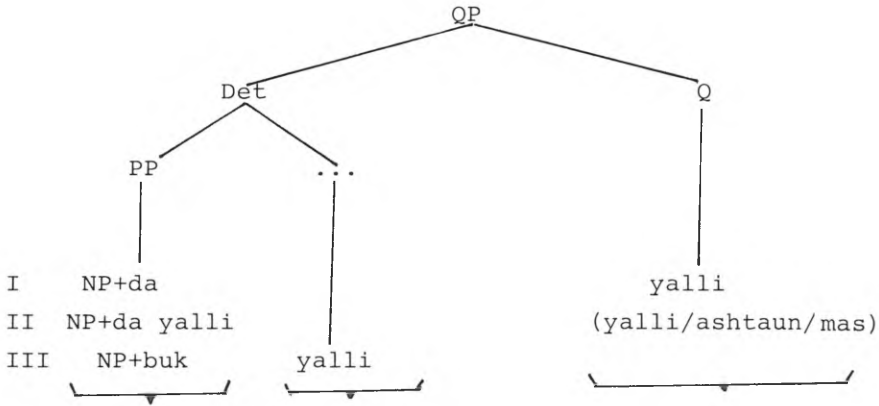place:
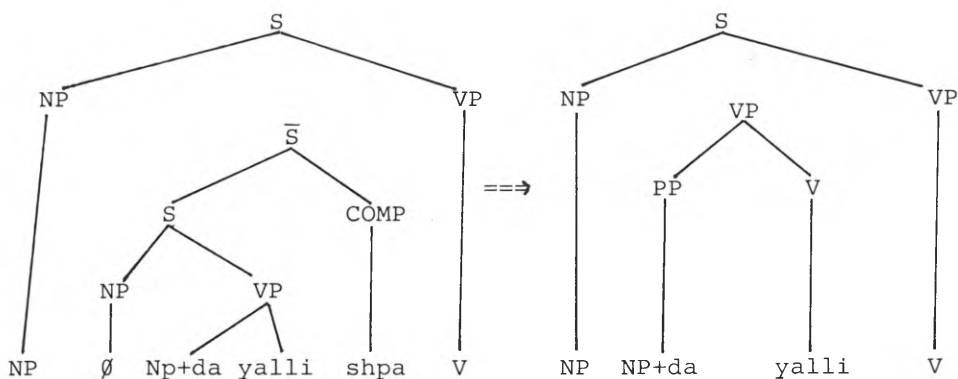
Note, however, that the criterion for selecting the sub-
ordinate clause as a possible historical source is derived from
a specific theory about syntactic change, namely a theory stres-
sing the importance of surface word order in the process of the
reinterpretation of surface structures.

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:
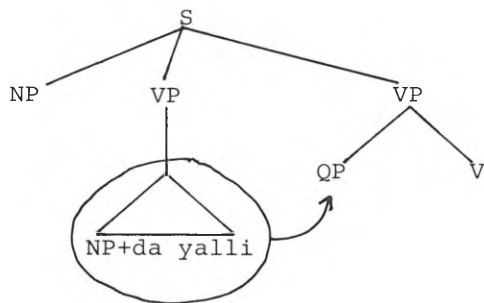
Again, the surface configuration of the resulting structure was
not affected. Within the QP node, three different structures
emerged, which may be schematically represented as follows:

```
                              QP
                    _____/_____
                   /                        \
                 Det                          Q
              __/\__                          |
             /      \                         |
           PP        ...                      |
            |         |                       |
            |         |                       |
I    NP+da                              yalli
II   NP+da yalli                        (yalli/ashtaun/mas)
III   NP+buk        yalli
     _____▼_____/  \____▼____/       _____▼_____/
```

Here construction I represents the adverbial interpretation in
which /yalli/ means 'more' and the /NP+da/ phrase can be extra-
posed. II represents the postpositional interpretation in which
/yalli/ is part of the PP and /NP+da yalli/ as a whole is extra-
posed. 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 ==➔   P - N
        N-GEN - N ==➔ 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 Ijó, which is both strongly SOV and strongly serial-
izing, but in the case of Ijó 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/ con-
struction, 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   1s
'I exchange corn with you'

pay(-pak) randi shamu-rka-ni
he   GEN exchange come PA 1s
'I came instead of him'

In the latter example we find that /randi/ has become a post-
position only after being nominalized.

>
V ==➔   N   ==➔ P

We may take recourse to the theory of markedness in con-
straining 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 with-
out arguing a theory from them. On the whole, the study of syn-
tactic 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 im-
plementation and spread):

(1) Which types of rules in a grammar are likely to undergo
    change? How does change in one component affect other com-
    ponents 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, dif-
ferent 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 applica-
ble 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 syntac-
tic change. The notion of change as involving only late rules

received the focus, and the idea of change as occurring in under-
lying 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 seri-
ous 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 <u>for</u>-<u>to</u> $\supset$ + <u>for</u>-<u>to</u>   Other complementizer-changing
                          rules are not applicable; Equi-NP
                          deletion is not applicable;

SPANISH

$V_{saying/thinking}$

u for-to $\supset$ opt <u>for</u>-<u>to</u>   Other complementizer-changing
                          rules are not applicable; Equi-NP
                          deletion is obligatory if <u>for</u>-<u>to</u>
                          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 "<u>for</u>-<u>to</u>" 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 pre-
supposes 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. Al-
though Schroten (1974) has since shown that the mechanism pos-
tulated 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'	
qallari- 'begin'	qalla- 'begin'	
tuku- 'finish'	usha- 'finish'	
yacha- 'know'	yacha- 'know'	
ati- 'be able'	pwidi- 'be able'	
mancha- 'fear'	diha- 'stop	
	siga- '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 nat-
ural 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 trans-
formation;

(b) A transformation of the general form:

A B C ====⟩ A C B

is simpler than a transformation of the form:

A B C D ====⟩ A C B D

The less specified a transformation's SC, the simpler it is.

Simplification of rule order has been the object of partic-
ularly extensive study, especially by Kiparsky (1968, 1971).
The most important contribution made by Kiparsky is the distinc-
tion 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   ( ) --- (φ)

B   (φ) --- ( )

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   ( ) --- (~φ)

B   (φ) --- ( )

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 uni-
versals 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 ful-
lest 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 <u>whom</u> from <u>who</u> 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 Dele-tion Rule. This deletion transformation was first added at the end of the derivation as an optional rule, and then moved up-wards 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 trans-formation 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 in-strumental /-wan/, locative /-pi/, or ablative /-manta/, depen-ding 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
         bintana-ka ñuka wauki-pi p'aki-shka   AGENT MARKING
                                         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 pas-
sive construction at all, order Passive before Object Marking.
Tigua, the marked case in terms of Kiparsky's universal , ap-
pears 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 lex-
ical 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 Portugese, 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 super-
ficial 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 sur-
face 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.
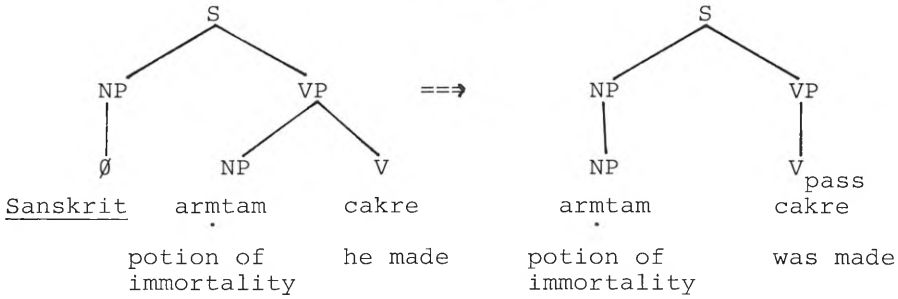
Alongside of Naro and Emonds, numerous other students of diachronic syntax have given examples of the process of reinterpretation on the basis of surface structure. Since this thesis has been written taking this same point of view about diachronic syntax, I will focus on the notion of reanalysis in this 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:

$$hem_{BEN} \quad nedede_V \quad no \ help_{NO}$$

$$they_{NO} \quad needed_V \quad no \ help_{AC}$$

$$me_{BEN} \ waes \ gegiefan \quad an \ boc$$

$$I \quad\quad was \ given \quad\quad a \ book$$

The above would formally be described as a change in the subcategorization features of the verb <u>need</u> 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):

```
           S                                      S
      ┌────┴────┐            ==>            ┌─────┴─────┐
     NP         VP                         NP          VP
      │       ┌──┴──┐                      │           │
      Ø      NP     V                      NP          V
                                                        pass
Sanskrit  armtam   cakre              armtam          cakre
            •                            •

          potion of   he made         potion of      was made
          immortality                 immortality
```

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 im-
petus to the theory of syntactic change as surface reinterpreta-
tion.   It appeared that, although creoles superficially resemble
their European "models" or "ancestors", this superficial similar-
ity   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 lit-
erature 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 sec-
tions 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 nom-
inal 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 re-
sult of the same Subject-Verb Agreement transformation as person-
al inflection in main clauses:

```
qam riku-sqa- - rayku
             :                 SUBJECT-VERB AGREEMENT
             :
             :
qam 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 nominal-
ized 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:

(a)

(b)
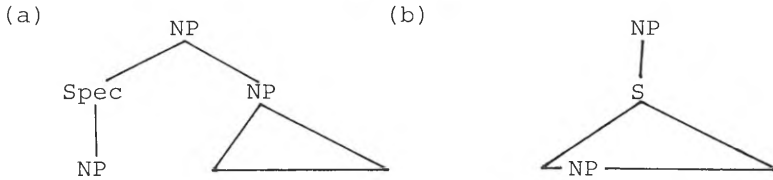
Structure (a) was proposed first by Albó (1971):

> 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 /rikusqan/ .... 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 struc-
ture (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:

$$(_{NP}(_S\text{pay wasipi warmita rikusqa})_S)_{NP} ==\!\!\rightarrow$$

$$(_{NP}\text{pay }(_{NP}\text{wasipi warmita rikusqa})_{NP})_{NP}$$

The MCS or reanalysis theory presented above could be used
as an argument for a theory of grammar in which syntactic struc-
ture is autonomous, i.e. not exclusively determined by semantic
structure. It is apparent why this should be the case: reinter-
pretation 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:

$$\text{SOV} \implies \text{SVO} \implies \text{SVO}$$
$$\text{Mo N} \qquad \text{Mo N} \qquad \text{N Mo}$$

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 <u>locus</u> 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-nqi   'you love me'
      love 1ob 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. None-
theless, 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 strenghtening. 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/
'1s'. 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 as-
similation, 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, + mor-
pheme 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 cluster-
ing to occur?; how can we account for agglutination and weaken-
ing 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:
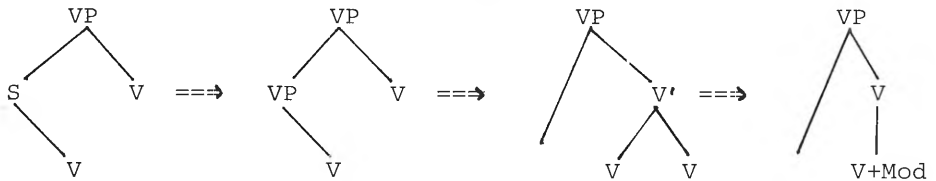
It is claimed that this type of change occurs within VP's with infinitive complements, modals or auxiliaries. Two contiguous elements in certain complex verbal constructions are first separated by an S node, later only by a VP node. At first there is a VERB RAISING transformation which adjoins the complement 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 meas-
ure 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   HARD TO UNDERSTAND

a + b + c + d   a # b # c # d   morphology
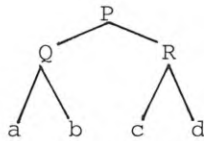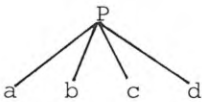
syntax

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 intermedi-
ate nodes in syntax, and that agglutinated items in the morphol-
ogy 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 diachron-
ic process.

6. PARADIGMATIC REGULARIZATION AND THE $\overline{\overline{X}}$ 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 $\overline{X}$ convention. Chomsky's original version of this expansion rule was:
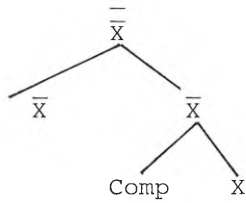
$$\overline{\overline{X}} \dashrightarrow \quad (Spec, \overline{X}) - \overline{X}$$
$$\overline{X} \dashrightarrow \quad X - Comp$$

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:

$$\overline{\overline{X}}$$

(tree diagram with $\overline{\overline{X}}$ at top, $\overline{\overline{X}}$ and $\overline{\overline{X}}$ as daughters, and the right $\overline{\overline{X}}$ dominating Comp and $\overline{X}$)

Comp   X

```
  (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 - P
N - V
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-man	'to the house'
llakta-pi	'in the town'
pay-manta	'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'
houseAC make 1s

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.):

```
                    S
         /    /   |   \    \
       NP  NP+P ... NP+P  NP+ta  V
```
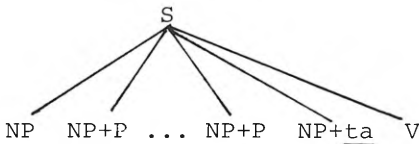
Thus there seem to be three kinds of grammatical relations be-

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 (postposition-al 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 obligato-ry 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 con-tain 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 spec-ify 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 relation-ship 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 1s   '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 with-
out 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:

```
                    VP
          _____/ | _____
      PP +ta    NP+ta        V
       ↑        /    \
             PP       NP
              |
          (NP+pak)
```
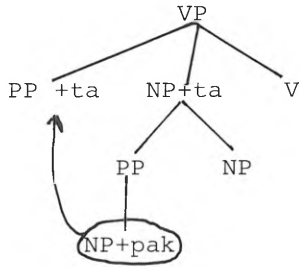
The synchronic status of /-pak-ta/ complements may be rather
different, involving a complex PP.

　　　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 imagin-
able 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 incorpo-
rate 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 possibil-
ity 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 ear-
lier stage of Q with serial verbs (adapted for Q from Schachter,
1974, but changing the word order to fit the SOV character of Q):
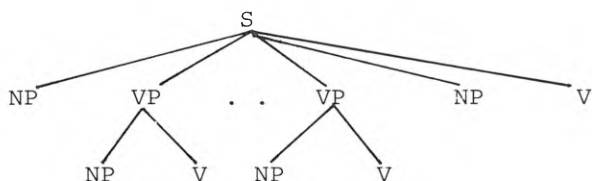
The lower VP's were then reinterpreted diachronically as PP, in this hypothesis.

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-<u>pu</u>-nki pay-pa tayta-n-<u>paq</u>
> take   2s   he GEN father3 BEN
> 'bring it for his father'

> amigu-n-<u>paq</u>-mi rima-<u>pu</u>-nqa
> friend3 BEN AF talk   3FU
> 'he will talk for his friend'

Also from Junín Q (Sayk, 1974: 44):

> chay wambra waqa-<u>pa</u>:-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 Span-
ish verb <u>contar</u> '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 <u>cuenta</u> 'count, account' in which case the original con-
struction would have been something like:

> (((taruga)$_{NP}$ ACCOUNT)$_{pp}$ puri-n)$_S$

While the former possibility might have some semantic plausibil-
ity, 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 some-
times 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   1s

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 1s   stead'

Concluding, we may say that the hypothesis that postposi-
tions 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 post-
positions 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 histor-
ical progression from the more complex cases, parallel to Eng-
lish '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 relation-
ships:

> ima-<u>kausa</u>-di   'why?' (Calderón, Pi Q)
> what cause EMP
>
> pay-<u>k'ipa</u>   'after him' (Salcedo, Cot Q)
> he back

<u>tamia-washa</u> rain back	'after the rain' (Arajuno, Tena Q)
# tayta-buk <u>p'abur</u> fatherGEN favor	'for father' (Salasaca, Tun Q)
# kayna-manta-<u>pacha</u> yesterd.from time	'since yesterday'
# pay(-pak) <u>randi</u> he GEN stead	'in his stead'
yura-<u>tupu</u> tree size	'(big) as a tree' (Salasaca, Tun Q)
yawar-<u>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   chó:

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 /-tráw/, 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

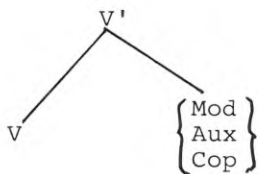Four verbal classes have been discussed in this thesis:

  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:

$$V' \rightarrow V \quad \left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{Mod} \\ \text{Aux} \\ \text{Cop} \end{array} \right\}$$

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 --→ 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
               ==→                      'I am going to eat'
eatNOM go 1s        eat   INC 1s
```

It is quite possible that /-ri-/, a modal suffix specifying in-
ceptives as well as medio-passives (the latter only in EcQ),
was also derived from /ri-/, 'go', much earlier in the develop-
ment 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 mo-
dal 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 spec-
ulative 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 nominaliz-
ation, 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)	
ñaupa '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) $V_i V_i$ --→ 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:

$$V \longrightarrow \text{Serial V} \longrightarrow \begin{Bmatrix} \text{Adv} \\ \text{P} \end{Bmatrix}$$

The reinterpretation Serial V --→ P was seen to be decidedly mar-
ginal, the shift Serial V --→ Adv being much more common.

V --→ COMP

        In several EcQ dialects, but particularly in Arajuno, Tena
Q we find an interesting development involving the particple
/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 re-
ported speech:

            ñi-chi-mu-wa-rqa-n allinta chaya-mu-ni ñi-spa
            sayCAU CI 1ob PA 3 well   arrive CI 1s 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 equiv-
alent: it complements not only verbs of saying and asking, but
moreoever, 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 1obIM        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 reinterpret-
ed 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 ad-
jectives). 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 reinter-
preted as complementizers of declarative sentences, and this
claim was show earlier in this chapter to be true for EcQ as
well; finally, we have presented a case of a 3rd person impera-
tive 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 $\begin{bmatrix} \pm N \end{bmatrix}$ and $\begin{bmatrix} \pm V \end{bmatrix}$ to classify the major syntactic catego-
ries N, A, P, and V in the following way:

$$N \quad \begin{bmatrix} +N \\ -V \end{bmatrix}$$

$$V \quad \begin{bmatrix} -N \\ +V \end{bmatrix}$$

$$A \quad \begin{bmatrix} +N \\ +V \end{bmatrix}$$

$$P \quad \begin{bmatrix} -N \\ -V \end{bmatrix}$$

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:

$$N \quad \dashrightarrow \quad A$$
$$N \quad \dashrightarrow \quad P$$
$$V \quad \dashrightarrow \quad A$$
$$V \quad \dashrightarrow \quad P$$
$$* \, N \quad \dashrightarrow \quad V$$
$$* \, A \quad \dashrightarrow \quad P$$

While this solution is attractive in its simplicity, it does
not present the same range of categories as Jackendoff's propos-
al; 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.
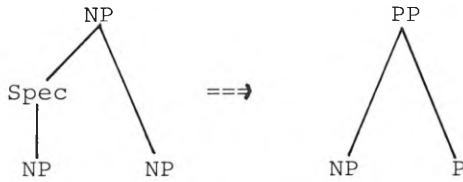
Note that the theory of phonological change has always used an (implicit or explicit) notion of a feature system to define possible changes. Thus a labial might easily be voiced or fricativized, retaining the feature labial; nasals might become assimilated to gutturals, retaining the feature nasal, etc.

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:

```
        VP                              PP
       / \            ==>              / \
      /   \                           /   \
    NP     V                        NP     P
```

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:

```
        NP                        PP
       /|\                       / \
      / | \                     /   \
   Spec  \        ==>          /     \
    |     \                   /       \
    NP     NP               NP         P
```

The difficulty lies, of course, in the fact that semantic crite-
ria 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 chang-
es, although both Jackendoff's and Chomsky's frameworks would
allow them to do so. It may be the specific semantic characteris-
tics 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 unre-
strictive.

We may conclude that an attempt to constrain possible catego-
ry changes along the lines sketched here could yield very in-
teresting results, particularly once a plausible theory of gram-
matical categories has been developed, but that the inherently
unsystematic character of category changes, involving semantic
considerations, will make it an ultimately unsuccesful 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 --- 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 max-
imally 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 Eng-
lish 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 chang-
> es which made it unclear whether the pre-modals were
> verbs or a unique category. Analyzing them as a new catego-
> ry would avoid having to treat them as verbs with a clus-
> ter 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 com-
ponent could be formulated.

9. SUMMARY

The results from the survey made in this chapter of differ-
ent 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 rel-
atively 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 -er)
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, es-
pecialmente 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 ecua-
toriano. Se describe los fonemas y algunos procesos fonológicos
que les afectan, tales como la sonorización, la ascensión vocáli-
ca 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 có-
mo 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 sola-
mente 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
    'somos pobres'   ===   pobre mi-nchi

El capítulo III trata de la evolución del sistema infleccio-
nal del verbo: las categorías de número y persona, los nominali-
zadores /-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 suje-
to 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 comple-
jas 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 perspec-
tiva 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 dia-
crónico.

Algunos ejemplos de estas construcciones verbales complejas
serían:

    ñuka-ga na tantu miki pudi-ni-chu
    'yo no puedo comer tanto'

    utka arma-sh shamu-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 se-
mánticos y sintácticos y un modelo de verbos "superordinados". El
autor confiesa aún no haber podido llegar a un modelo adecuado pa-
ra 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.