

Typological Study of Word Order (20) : Bolivian Quechua

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0. Introduction

This is the 20th installment of my typological study of word order.

I am most grateful to Komei Hosokawa for kindly and generously providing the word order data and other information on Quechua and also for reading and commenting on earlier drafts of the present work.

1. Name of language

Quechua. The self-designation of the language is /qhičwa/ (Hosokawa, questionnaire) or /q'eswa/ (Lastra 1968: 95).

2. Sources of information

Questionnaire data provided by Komei Hosokawa (often abbreviated as 'H, Q'), supplemented with information obtained from Lastra (1968) ('L') and Hosokawa (1988).

3. Genetic affiliation

Quechuan language family (Hosokawa, H, Q).

4. Geographical distribution

Quechua is the language of the Incas. It is spoken in the Andean highlands in Peru, Ecuador, and Bolivia, and also in Columbia and Argentine (Hosokawa, p. c.). Lastra is concerned with a dialect known as Cochabamba Quechua, which 'is spoken in the area around the city of Cochamamba, capital of the department of the same name, in Bolivia' (Lastra, p. 9),

while Hosokawa's materials deal with Bolivian Quechua in general, including Cochabamba Quechua (Hosokawa, p. c.).

5. Morphological and other relevant facts

Quechua is a suffixing language, and nouns, verbs, etc. inflect by means of suffixation. It has the nominative-accusative case system (St=Si≠O; NOM=NOM≠ACC). In addition, it has cases such as the genitive, allative, ablative, purposive, locative, instrumental, etc. Verbs inflect for tense, mood, aspect, etc. In addition, they take a suffix which indicates the number and person of the subject. Also, '[v]erbs may carry a suffix which indicates the person (but not number) of the object or beneficiary' (Hosokawa, p. c.). In addition, Quechua verbs have a switch reference system, manifesting the opposition of 'same subject' (SS) and 'different subject' (DS). Number marking is optional for nouns, demonstratives, etc. (but is obligatory for pronouns).

Hosokawa and Lastra employ different notation systems, and the examples given below are cited in the system employed by Hosokawa, i. e. the system generally used by Quechuanists (Hosokawa, p. c.).

Abbreviations employed include the following: - ABL, ablative; ACC, accusative; ALL, allative; BEN, beneficiary; CAUS, causative; COND, conditional; DIMIN, diminutive; DO, direct object; DS, different subject; EXCL, exclusive; FOC, focus; FUT, future; GEN, genitive; IMPERA, imperative; INCL, inclusive; INCEP, inceptive; INF, infinitive; INST, instrumental; INTENS, intensive; IO, indirect object; LOC, locative; NARR PAST, narrative past; NMLZR, nominalizer; O, object; PL, plural; POSS, possessive; PROG, progressive; PTCPL, participle; PURP, purposive; REFL, reflexive; S, subject; SG, singular; SS, same subject; TOP, topic; V, verb; 1, first person; 2, second person; 3, third person.

6. Subject, object and verb

Regarding the relative order of the subject, the object and the verb, Hosokawa (H, Q) states as follows, and provides the following examples:

The order of S, O and V 'is not free, though we can observe a considerable flexibility in it'. 'SOV order is considered to be normal, or unmarked order. However, the SVO order, as' in (2), 'and the OVS order, as' in (3), 'are also frequently observed in actual linguistic corpus. In the OVS order, the suffix *-qa*, marker of the topic NP, seems to be obligatorily attached to the' subject.

(Hosokawa (p. c.) notes that *-qa* is not always attached to an NP and that it 'may be attached to the predicate verb'. In view of this, he confirms that *-qa* is not a suffix but an enclitic.)

- (1) Husi (-qa) Piru-ta wañu-chi-n.
 José (-TOP) Pedro-ACC die-CAUS-3SG (SOV)
 'José has killed Pedro'. (Non-future tense ; perfective aspect) (H, Q)
- (2) Husi (-qa) wañu-chi-n Piru-ta. 'As above'. (H, Q) (SVO)
- (3) Piru-ta wañu-chi-n Husi-qa. 'As above'. (H, Q) (OVS)
- (4) Husi wañu-chi-n Piru-ta-qa. 'As above'. (H, Q) (SVO)
- (5) *Wañu-chi-n Piru-ta Husi (-qa). 'As above.' (H, Q) (VOS)
- (6) *Wañu-chi-n Husi Piru-ta (-qa). (H, Q) (VSO)
- (7) *Wañu-chi-n Husi-qa Piru-ta. (H, Q) (VSO)

The examples above indicate that the acceptability of these sentences depends on both (i) the order of S, O and V, and (ii) the presence/absence and the position of the topic marker. At least the following tendencies can be noted : - The S can occur in the initial position irrespect of the relative order of the O and the V, and irrespect of the presence/absence and the position of the topic marker. The verb cannot occur initially.

Another example of 'O V S-TOP' :

- (8) Qhari-situ-ta muna-sha-n tata-n-qa.
 man-DIMIN-ACC want-PROG-3SG father-3SG, POSS-TOP
 'His father wanted a little boy'. (L 54) (O V S-TOP)

With respect to the DO and IO of 'give', in the only relevant example available, the IO precedes the DO and they both precede the verb.

- (9) Chay mis-itu-taq chay sulk'itu-man
 that cat-DIMIN-and that youngest-ALL

qu-pu-sqa-nku.

give-BEN-NARR PAST-3 PL

'And they gave that kitten to the youngest one'. (L 36) (DO IO V)

The usual order for intransitive sentences is SV (Hosokawa, p. c.) :

(10) Sullk'itu chaya-sqa.

youngest arrive-NARR PAST, 3SG

'The youngest one arrived'. (L 53) (VS)

(11) Husi (-qa) puri-chka-rqa (-n).

José (-TOP) walk-PROG-PAST (-3SG) (VS)

'José was walking'. (H, Q)

(In Bolivian Quechua, the '3SG' suffix is often omitted when it follows the past tense suffix *-rqa* (Hosokawa, H, Q). It obligatorily occurs in the Muñecas dialect of northwest Bolivia (Hosokawa, p. c.).)

7. Adposition

Quechua lacks adpositions, but possesses case suffixes.

(1) wasi-manta

house-ABL 'from a house' (indefinite) (H, Q)

The unmarked reading of nouns attached with a case suffix is indefinite, rather than definite (Hosokawa, p. c.). They will have a definite reading when they are modified by, for example, a demonstrative, a possessive suffix, etc. (Hosokawa, p. c.), e. g. 'from his house' in (6) of 8; and 'in that house' in (1), (2) of 12.

8. Genitive and noun

There are a set of pronominal suffixes which indicate possessors. (They are very similar to those which indicate the subject.) (Lastra pp. 23-26) I shall tentatively gloss them 'POSS[essive pronominal suffixes]', in distinction from the GENITIVE case suffix. Examples from Hosokawa (H, Q) and Lastra (p. 25) :

(1) wasi-y

house-1SG, POSS

'my house'

(2) wasi-yki

house-2SG, POSS

'your house'

(3) wasi-n

house-3SG, POSS

'his/her house'

- (5) wasi-nku
house-3PL, POSS
'their house'

Additional examples are 'his father' in (8) of 6; 'his mother' in (7) of 13; and 'his suit' in (1) of 22.

Case suffixes follow possessive pronominal suffixes :

- (6) wasi-n-manta
house-3SG-ABL
'from his house' (H, Q)
- (7) Llaqta-yki-manta lluksi-mu-rqa-nki.
homeland-2SG, POSS-ABL go out-up here-PAST-2 SG (ADV V)
'You left your country'. (H, Q)

Other examples include 'appearance-1 SG, POSS-INST' in (11) of 20; 'erand-1 SG, POSS-ACC' in (3) of 22; 'house-3SG, POSS-LOC' in (1), (2) of 24; and 'house-1 PL, INCL, POSS-LOC' in (3) of 24.

The possessor can be additionally expressed by a noun or by an (independent) pronoun. It precedes the possessed noun. It can take the genitive case suffix, e. g. (8), (10), or the purposive case suffix, e. g. (9), (11). Examples involving a noun possessor :

- (8) Husi-q wasi-n (9) Husi-paq wasi-n
José-GEN house-3SG, POSS José-PURP house-3 SG, POSS
'José's house' (H, Q) 'as left' (H, Q)
- (10) warmi-qpa kamisa-n
woman-GEN shirt-3 SG, POSS
'the woman's shirt' (L 28)

Another example is 'Pedro's father' in (1), (2), (4) of 23.

An example involving a pronoun possessor :

- (11) pay-kuna-paq wasi-nku
3-PL-PURP house-3 PL, POSS 'their house' (H, Q)

Hosokawa (H, Q) notes : - 'The pronominal possessive suffix. . . is obligatory, even with the preceding genitive form of the noun'. Also, Hosokawa (p. c.) adds that a pronominal possessive suffix is obligatory when the phrase in question has a 'genitive' (or 'possessive') reading. He

provides the following pair of examples for comparison.

- | | |
|------------------------|------------------------------|
| (12) pay-paq wasi-n | (13) wasi pay-paq |
| 3-PURP house-3SG, POSS | house 3-PURP |
| 'his house' (H, p. c.) | 'a house for him' (H, p. c.) |

A genitive form of a pronoun can occur preceding a possessed noun (Hosokawa, p. c.) :

- | | |
|--------------------------|--------------------------|
| (14) pay-kuna-q wasi-nku | |
| 3-PL-GEN house-3PL, POSS | 'their house' (H, p. c.) |

Hosokawa (p. c.) adds that (14) was heard in the Potosí dialect but that it may be considered incorrect in other dialects.

9. Demonstrative and noun

Quechua has several demonstratives (Lastra p. 22). (Recall that number distinction is not obligatory for them.) They precede the noun they qualify. Examples include 'that cat' in (9) of 6; and :

- | | |
|------------------------------------|-------------------------|
| (1) kay wasi | |
| this house | |
| 'this house' (H, Q) | |
| (2) Kay aqhita | ukya-ri-y! |
| this chicha-DIMIN | drink-INCEP-IMPERA (OV) |
| 'Drink this little chicha!' (L 50) | |
| (3) Sumaq tapa-y-chah | chay toma-ta! |
| good cover-IMPERA, 2PL-EMPHASIS | that outlet-ACC |
| | (ADV V O) |
| 'Cover that outlet well!' (L 54) | |

10. Numeral and noun

Numerals precede the noun they qualify ;

- | | | |
|----------------------------------|--------------|------|
| (1) Kimsa wasi(-kuna) | ka-chka-n. | |
| three house(-PL) | be-PROG-3 SG | (SV) |
| 'There are three houses'. (H, Q) | | |

Hosokawa (H, Q) notes as follows: - 'The nominal plural marker *-kuna* is optional and it is usual to say without it. There is no numeric

classifier in Quechua'. The number of the verb suffix is singular, rather than plural, in (1), but Hosokawa (p. c.) notes that it may take the plural suffix *-uku*.

Another example of numeral is 'one furrow' in (1) of 16.

11. Adjective and noun

Adjectives precede the noun they qualify :

- (1) *hathun wasi*
 big house 'big house' (H, Q)

Among the types of modifiers discussed above, a demonstrative precedes an adjective :

- (2) *kay hathun wasi* (3) *haqhay yuraq allphaqa-kuna*
 this big house that white alpaca-PL
 'this big house' (H, Q) 'those white alpacas' (H, Q)

12. Relative clause and noun

A relative clause can either precede or follow the noun it qualifies :

- (1) [*Piru (-ta) wañu-chi-pu-q*] *runa (-qa) chay*
 Pedro (-ACC) die-CAUS-INTENS-AGENT man (-TOP) that
 wasi-pi ka-chka-n.
 house-LOC be-PROG-3SG (O V [S ADV V])
 'The man who has killed Pedro is in the house'. (H, Q)

(Hosokawa (H, Q) notes that *chay* in this example is the marker of definite noun, 'the house'.)

- (2) *Runa [Piru wañu-chi-pu-sqa-n-qa]* *chay*
 man Pedro die-CAUS-INTENS-SS-3SG-TOP that
 wasi-pi ka-chka-n.
 house-LOC be-PROG-3SG (S [O V] ADV V)
 'As above'. (H, Q)

(The suffix *-sqa* is a switch reference marker of the non-future for 'same subject' (Hosokawa, p. c.).)

Note that the verb in the relative clause of (1) and that in (2) take different suffixes. Hosokawa (H, Q) notes that the pattern employed in (2),

in which the verb is finite (Hosokawa, p. c.), 'is more common when the head noun takes the role of direct object in the main clause'.

(3) Runa (-ta) [Piru wañu-chi-pu-sqa-n-ta]

man (-ACC) Pedro die-CAUS-INTENS-SS-3 SG-ACC

yacha-yku.

know-1 PL, EXCL

'We know the man who killed Bill'. (H, Q) (O [O V] V)

13. Proper noun and common noun

The common noun precedes the proper noun :

(1) tata Husi

father, uncle José 'Uncle, etc. José' (H, Q)

Hosokawa (H, Q) notes : - '*tata* is a kinship term used for one's father, uncle and grandfather. Its classificatory use for non-kin male persons is common'.

Titles or the like precede names. However, these constructions are probably loans from Spanish.

(2) doña leobina (3) mama-y andriya

Doña Leovina Mama-1SG, POSS Andrea

'Doña Leovina' (L 49) 'My dear lady Andrea'

(H, p. c. , adapted from L 49)

(4) kumari santusa (5) don rodon

comadre Santusa Don Rodõn

'Comadre Santusa' 'Don Rodõn' (L 35)

(H, p. c. , adapted from L 49)

In certain regions, Quechua people nowadays have Spanish names, e. g. *Robert Carvajal* (Lastra p. 11). Naturally, these names reflect the word order in Spanish. However, Hosokawa (p. c.) adds that this depends on the region and that traditional surnames, e. g. *Kunturi*, *K'ispi*, *Apanki*, are common in north Bolivia, where the pattern observed is 'Catholic given name + Traditional surname', e. g. :

(6) Elias Apanki (H, p. c.)

In the next example, a common noun precedes a combination of a ti-

tle and a name :

- (7) kuna-n , mama-n doña karmen-sa-qa
 now-CERTAINTY mother-3SG, POSS Doña Carmen-?-TOP
 ni-sqa. . .
 say-NARR PAST, 3SG
 'Now his mother Doña Carmen said. . . ' (L 64) (ADV S V)
 (The meaning of the suffix *-sa* is not understood.)

14. Comparison

Comparison is expressed as follows :

- (1) Husi-qa Piru-manta (ni-sqa)
 José-TOP Pedro-ABL ('from') (say-PAST PTCPL)
 aswan hathun ka-n.
 more big, tall be-3SG
 'José is taller than Pedro'. (H, Q)

- (2) Husi Piru-manta -qa (ni-sqa) aswan hathun ka-n.
 -TOP

'José (is not very tall, but he) is (at least) taller than Pedro'. (H, Q)

The order is : -Standard + Marker + Adjective.

Note that in (2), the topic suffix is attached to the standard of comparison, and this causes a slight difference in its meaning as indicated in the translation.

A combination of *aswan* 'more' and an adjective can have something like the superlative meaning ('the. . . est'). Examples include (1) of 22, and :

- (3) qam-puni aswan k'aca ka-nki.
 2SG-EMPHATIC more beautiful be-2SG
 'You are the most beautiful'. (L 52)

The emphatic enclitic is not necessary for a superlative reading ; cf. (1) of 22. (Hosokawa (p. c.) notes that (3) may be simply comparative, though emphatic.)

15. Main verb and auxiliary verb

The verb 'be' is used as an auxiliary verb, for passive, past habitual, dubi-

tative, and past conditional (Hosokawa, H, Q ; Lastra pp. 37-39). It generally immediately follows the main verb, although there is at least one exception ; see below.

For passives, the auxiliary verb takes an appropriate person-plus-number suffix, and the main verb takes the past participle suffix (identical in shape with the past narrative suffix).

- (1) Husi, (Piru-manta) wañu-chi-sqa
 José (Pedro-ABL) die-CAUS-PAST PTCPL
 (ka-rqa(-n)).
 (be-PAST(-3SG))
 'José was killed (by Pedro)'. (H, Q)

Hosokawa (H, Q) notes that 'The agent is not expressed in usual passive voice sentences'.

Further more, the 'be' verb in passives can be omitted (Hosokawa, p. c.).

Another example of passive is (1) of 22, in which the auxiliary verb precedes, rather than follows, the main verb and is separated from the latter.

For past habitual, the main verb takes the agentive suffix *-q*. Again, the auxiliary verb takes a person-plus-number suffix :

- (2) Llank'a-q ka-ni.
 work-AGENT be-1 SG
 'I used to work', lit. 'one who works I am'. (L 37)

For the dubitative, the auxiliary takes the suffix *-sqa* (identical with the narrative past suffix in shape), and the main verb takes a conditional suffix or a future suffix.

- (3) Wañu-ci-n-man ka-sqa.
 die-CAUS-3 SG-COND be- 'He may have killed'. (L 37)

For the past conditional, the auxiliary verb takes the suffix *-rqa* (identical with the past definite suffix in shape), and the main verb takes again a conditional suffix or a future suffix :

- (4) Llank'a-y-man ka-rqa.
 work-1 SG-COND be- 'I would have worked'. (L 39)

Another possible instance of auxiliary verb is 'can' in (1), (2) of 24.

16. Adverb and verb

It seems that generally adverbs precede the verb, although they may follow, as in (3).

Examples of adverbs/adverb phrases of time include 'now' in (7) of 13; 'second day' in (1) below; and 'yesterday' (2) below.

- (1) Segundo diya chura-nki uk reha-tawan.
 second day put-FUT, 2SG one, a plowing- (ADV V O)
 'The second day you will cut one furrow'. (L 47)

(The meaning of the suffix *-tawan* is not understood. Hosokawa (p. c.) notes that in (1) the noun *diya* may take the locative suffix *-pi*.)

Examples of adverbs/adverb phrases of place, etc. include 'from your country' in (7) of 8; 'in the house' in (1), (2) of 12; 'in his house' in (1), (2) of 24; and 'in our house' in (3) of 24.

Adverbs/adverb phrases of manner: Hosokawa (H, Q) notes that 'The nominal accusative marker *-ta* indicates the mode of action when it is suffixed to adjectives or adverbs', e. g. :

- (2) Qayna (-p'unchay) Husi-qa usqha-y-ta phawa-n.
 last(-day) José-TOP hurry-NMLZR-ACC fly-3SG
 (ADV S ADV V)

'José ran fast yesterday'. (H, Q)

(*phawa* - 'to fly' means 'to run fast' here (Hosokawa, Q).)

- (3) Allpi-ta mikhu-yku-ni usqha-y-ta.
 porridge-ACC eat-INTENS-1SG hurry-NMLZR-ACC (O V ADV)
 'I ate the porridge in a hurry'. (H, Q)

In addition, adjectives without the accusative suffix can function as manner adverbs; see 'good'/'well' in (3) of 9.

An example of instrument NP:

- (4) Chay runa wira-wan belá-s
 that person grease-INST candle-PL
 ruwa-ku-n-man-sis.
 make-REFL-3SG-COND-REPORTIVE

'With that human grease he would make himself candles (they say)'. (L 41, 64) (ADV O V)

(Hosokawa (p. c.) notes that he would consider *runa wira* as a compound.)

17. Adverb and adjective

Adverbs precede the adjective they qualify.

(1) Husi (-qa) manchay hathun (ka-n).
 José (-TOP very big, tall (be-3SG)
 'José is very tall/big'. (H, Q)

(2) Loko libre loko-puni
 crazy completely crazy-EMPHATIC
 ka-sqa ari.
 be-NARR PAST, 3 SG well, yes, yeah
 'Well, he was crazy, completely crazy'. (L 49)

(*Libre* is a loan from Spanish (Hosokawa, p. c.).)

18. General questions

Quechua has a question marker, perhaps, to be more precise, a focus marker (Hosokawa, p. c. ; cf. also 22 below) : the suffix *-chu*. (I shall gloss it 'FOC'.) Its use in general questions is obligatory (Hosokawa, p. c.). In its unmarked use, it is attached to the verb (Hosokawa, p. c.). Thus, compare :

(1) Husi (-qa) chay allpi-ta mikhu-yku-n.
 José (-TOP) that porridge-ACC eat-INTENS-3SG (SOV)
 'José ate that porridge'. (H, Q)

(2) Husi (-qa) chay allpi-ta mikhu-yku-n -chu ?
 -FOC (S O V-FOC)

'Did José eat that porridge?' (H, Q)

An additional example :

(3) Riqsi-nki-chah-chu aqha-wasi-ta ?
 know-2SG(?) -by any chance-FOC chicha-house-ACC
 'Do you know a chicha place?' (L 54 ; Hosokawa, p. c.) (V-FOC O)

As noted above, in unmarked situations *-chu* is attached to the verb. In addition, it can mark the focus of question, and it can be attached to the predicate, any noun phrase or adverb, although it can only be attached to one constituent per sentence. (Hosokawa, H, Q) It follows, rather than precedes, inflectional suffixes. (In view of its positional possibilities, *-chu* seems to be an enclitic, rather than a suffix, and Hosokawa (p. c.) concurs on this.) Thus, compare the following examples, from Hosokawa (H, Q) :

(4) Husi Piru-ta wañu-chi-n-chu ?
 José Pedro-ACC die-CAUS-3 SG-FOC (S O V-FOC)
 'Did José kill Pedro ?'

(5) Husi -chu Piru-ta wañu-chi-n ?
 -FOC (S-FOC O V)
 'Was it José who killed Pedro ?'

(6) Husi Piru-ta -chu wañu-chi-n ?
 -FOC (S O-FOC V)
 'Was it Pedro whom José killed ?'

General questions show no difference from declarative sentences in terms of word order (Hosokawa, p. c.)

19. Inversion of subject and verb in general questions

This is irrelevant, since in declarative sentences the subject can either precede or follow the verb.

20. Special questions

Interrogative words occur sentence-initially.

(1) Pi-taq chay-ta
 who-then that, it-ACC
 mikhu-yku-ku-sqa ?
 eat-INTENS-REFL-NARR PAST, 3 SG (SOV)
 'Who the hell has eaten it ?' (H, Q)

(The reflexive is not obligatory here (Hosokawa, p. c.).)

the 'independent suffixes' and it 'has an interrogative function when it occurs in construction with indefinite-interrogative stems. . . [-*taq* — TT] may be suffixed to one of these stems or to another word in construction with it'.

Although many instances of special questions contain *-taq*, its use in special questions does not seem obligatory :

(10) Ima-tá muna-nki. . . ?

what-ACC want-NONPAST, 2 SG

'What (in the heaven) do you want. . . ?' (L 64 ; H, p. c.)

(Regarding (10) , Hosokawa (p. c.) notes that an emphatic accent is normal. He adds that penultimate stress is regular and that it is not written.)

(11) Pero imayna-tá nuqa kay trasa-y-wan

but how-ACC 1SG this appearance-1SG, POSS-INST

ri-saq?

go-FUT, 1SG

'But, how I am going to go looking like this?' (L 64)

When *-taq* occurs, it is attached to the first constituent, not necessarily the first word, of the sentence (Hosokawa, p. c.) ; cf. (8) and (9) .

(In view of its positional possibilities, *-taq* seems to be an enclitic rather than a suffix. Hosokawa (p. c.) concurs and adds that it is a sort of discourse connector.)

Hosokawa (H, Q) notes that 'When the subject and the verb are inverted, the topic marker *-qa* is obligatorily attached to the subject NP', e. g. (2), (5).

21. Inversion of subject and verb in special questions

Same as 19. As noted above, when the subject follows the verb, it obligatorily takes the topic marker.

22. Negative sentences

The word for negation is *mana/ama/ma*. Examples include (5) of 23, and :

- (1) Aswan sumah terno-n ka-sqa
 more good suit-3SG, POSS be-NARR PAST, 3SG
 mana estrena-sqa. . .
 NEG use-PAST PTCPL

'His best suit was not used. . .' (L 49)

With the only exceptions of these two examples, all the examples of negative sentence contain the focus marker *-chu*. In these instances, it indicates the focus of negation (Hosokawa, p. c.).

In unmarked situations, *-chu* is attached to the verb (Hosokawa, p. c.), e. g. (2), (3), and (4) :

- (2) Mana noqa yacha-ni-chu. . .
 NEG 1SG know-1SG-FOC (NEG S V-FOC)
 'I don't know. . .' (L 63)
- (3) Enkargu-y-ta ama qunqa-nki-chu. . .
 errand-1SG, POSS-ACC NEG forget-2SG-FOC
 (O NEG V-FOC)

'You will not forget my errand. . .' (L 46)

In addition, this suffix can indicate the focus of negation other than the verb (Hosokawa, p. c.). Thus, compare (4), (5) and (6) :

- (4) Husi(-qa) mana Piru-ta wañu-chi-n-chu.
 José(-TOP) NEG Pedro-ACC die-CAUS-3SG-FOC
 (S NEG O V-FOC)

'José did not kill Pedro'. (H, Q)

(The ex. (4) is not perfectly acceptable when the subject is suffixed with the topic marker (Hosokawa, Q)).

- (5) Mana Husi -chu Piru-ta wañu-chi-n.
 NEG -FOC (NEG S-FOC O V)
 'It was not José who killed Pedro'. (H, Q)
- (6) Husi (-qa) mana Piru-ta-chu wañu-chi-n.
 NEG -FOC (S NEG O-FOC V)
 'It was not Pedro whom José killed'. (H, Q)

When the focus marker *-chu* is attached to the negation word, the sentence expresses a negative question. That is, it expresses question (as

well as negation) in such sentences. Thus, compare the following examples, from Lastra p. 41 :

(7) Yacha-nki-chu ?

know-2SG-FOC 'Do you know?'

(8) Mana yacha-ni-chu.

NEG know-1 SG- 'I don't know'.

(9) Mana-chu yacha-nki

NEG- know-2SG 'Don't you know?'

The negation word generally occurs in the initial position or in the second position, although it may occur later in the sentence, e. g. (1).

Apart from the addition of the negation word and the focus marker, negative sentences do not differ from affirmative sentences in terms of word order (Hosokawa, p. c.).

23. Conditional clause and main clause

There are two ways to express condition. The conditional clause precedes the main clause in all of about fifteen examples available.

First, the verb suffix *-qti*—which is one of the two 'different subject' suffixes—can indicate condition. It 'indicates that once the action denoted by the verb stem is accomplished, another action takes place' (Lastra p. 35), and the 'action of the verb with [*-qti*—TT] usually precedes the action of the main verb. The translation is "if", or "when". . . The actor of the subordinate clause [i. e. the clause with *-qti*—TT] is different from the one in the main clause' (Lastra p. 59), that is, *-qti* is a 'different subject' suffix.

- | | | |
|-----------------------|---------------------------------|-----------|
| (1) Husi Piru-ta | wañu-chi-qti-n(-qa) | Piru-q |
| José Pedro-ACC | die-CAUS-DS-3 SG (-TOP) | Pedro-GEN |
| tata-n | phiña-ka-mu-nqa. | |
| father-3SG, POSS | get angry-REFL-up here-FUT, 3SG | |
| | | (SOV, SV) |

'If José kills Pedro, Pedro's father will be upset'.

(H, Q)

- (2) Husi Piru-ta khirha-ku-qti-n (-qa)
 José Pedro-ACC punish-REFL-DS-3SG (-TOP)
 kusi-ka-mu-nqa-nku.
 please-REFL-up here-FUT, 3PL
 'If José punishes Pedro, they will be glad'. (H, Q) (SOV, V)
- (3) Para-mu-qti-n huq'u-su-nki.
 rain-DIRECTION-DS-3SG get wet-
 'If it rains, you will get wet'. (L 49)

(-su-nki indicates that the subject is a third person singular and the object a second person singular (Hosokawa 1988:1605, p. c.). Hosokawa (p. c.) notes that (3) sounds strange to him.)

Second, the word *chay* appears to function rather like a conjunction, occurring between the conditional clause and the main clause. The verb of a *chay* clause 'always has a future or a conditional morpheme. ... The marker [*chay* —TT] occurs either with the independent suffix -qa, topic marker, or the intensive independent suffix -ri; [*chayqa* —TT] is more frequent than [*chayri* —TT]' (Lastra pp. 61-62).

- (4) Husi Piru-ta wañu-chi-n chay-qa Piru-q
 José Pedro-ACC die-CAUS-3 SG that-TOP Pedro-GEN
 tata-n phiña-ka-mu-nqa.
 father-3SG, POSS get angry-REFL-up here-FUT, 3 SG
 'If José kills Pedro, Pedro's father will be angry'. (H, Q) (SOV, SV)
 (Hosokawa (p. c.) notes that the two clauses in (4) can be interpreted as adposed.)
- (5) Mana para-mu-nqa chay-qa ri-sun.
 NEG rain-up here-FUT, 3 SG that-TOP go-1 PL, INCL, FUT
 (NEG V, V)
 'If it doesn't rain, we'll go'. (L 62)

24. Purpose clause and main clause

There are two ways to express purpose. First, the verb is attached with the 'same subject' suffix -na and the purposive case suffix -paq, with a person-plus-number suffix intervening between them. 'The actor is usually

different from the one in the main clause' (Lastra p. 60). The purpose clause can either precede or follow the main clause (There are three examples and eight examples, respectively). Hosokawa (H, Q) states that he is not certain which order between (1) and (2) is basic or neutral.

- (1) Piru lluksi-y-ta ati-na-n-paq
 Pedro go out-INF-ACC can-SS-3SG-PURP
 Husi wasi-n-pi
 José house-3SG-LOC
 kira-ku-chka-rqa(-n).
 stay-REFL-PROG-PAST (-3SG) (S MAIN AUX, S ADV V)
 'José stayed home so that Pedro could go out'. (H, Q)

(Note that the verb of the purpose clause has the accusative suffix.)

- (2) Husi (-qa) wasi-n-pi kira-ku-chka-rqa Piru lluksi-y-ta
 (-TOP)
 ati-na-n-paq. (S ADV V, S MAIN AUX)
 'As above'. (H, Q)
- (3) Husi lluksi-pu-na-n-paq
 José go out-off there-SS-3 SG-PURP
 wasi-nchis-pi
 house-1 PL, INCL, POSS-LOC
 kira-ku-y-chis.
 stay-REFL-IMPERA-1 PL, INCL (S V, ADV V)
 'Let's stay in our house so that José will go out'. (H, Q)

- (4) Hamu-ni mikhu-na-n-paq.
 come-1SG eat-SS-3SG-PURP
 'I came so that he could eat'. (L 61)

Second, clauses whose verb has the suffix *-q* express a purpose. 'The actor is always the same as that of the main clause. Verbs occurring in the main clause are usually verbs of motion'. (Lastra p. 59). Contrary to Lastra's view, Hosokawa considers these verbs as infinitives. (Judging by the examples, Hosokawa's view seems the more appropriate.) The purpose clause/infinite can either precede or follow the main clause/verb. (It precedes in five of the six examples available.)

- (5) Mikhu-q lluksi-ni.
eat-INF go out-1SG 'I went out to eat'. (H, Q)
- (6) Lluqusi-ni mikhu-q. 'As above'. (H, Q)
- (7) Q'ipi-ta apa-ka-pu-q hamu-ni.
bundle-ACC take-REFL-off there-INF come-1SG
'I came to take the bundle away'. (L 59)

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