

**BOLIVIAN INDIAN GRAMMARS: TWO**

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# BOLIVIAN INDIAN GRAMMARS: II

*Prepared under the direction*

*of*

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# Introduction

Ten grammars of indigenous Bolivian languages are presented in the two volumes of Bolivian Indian Grammars. The data were gathered and analyzed by members of the Bolivia Branch of the Summer Institute of Linguistics, which has carried on linguistic investigations in this country since 1955.

The corpus on which each grammar has been based was closed far short of an exhaustive treatment. Nevertheless each analysis is based on a minimum of 200 pages of text dictated spontaneously. Gaps in the patterns have been filled in by elicited materials, but no patterns have been established on the basis of elicited materials alone. Most of the linguists have not only gathered far more than the minimum amount of texts, but have also become fluent in speaking the languages, and intimately acquainted with the culture through years of living in the tribal villages.

The grammars are presented in the tagmemic model<sup>1</sup> of Pike with adaptation of the matrices<sup>2</sup> and syntax paradigms<sup>3</sup> developed by him, as well as the basic concepts which characterize the tagmemic model: (1) the postulation of three hierarchies, the phonological, grammatical, and lexical or semantic; (2) the segmentation of the construction occurring on a given level into a string<sup>4</sup> of tagmemes manifested by lower-level constructions or units; (3) the definition of the tagmeme as a class-slot correlative with an obligatory versus optional (+ or ±) characteristic; (4) the assumption that units and patterns exist in a language; (5) the stipulation that a well-defined unit be described in terms of identificational-contrastive features, variants, and distribution; and (6) the establishment of emic (versus etic) units.

<sup>1</sup> Pike, Kenneth L. 1954, 1955, 1960. Language in relation to a unified theory of the structure of human behaviour, Part I, II, III. Glendale, Summer Institute of Linguistics.

<sup>2</sup> Pike, Kenneth L. 1962. "Dimensions of Grammatical Constructions," Language, Vol. 38:3, part 1, July-September.

<sup>3</sup> Pike, Kenneth L. 1963. "A Syntactic Paradigm," Language, Vol. 39, No. 2, April-June.

<sup>4</sup> Longacre, Robert E. 1960. "String Constituent Analysis," Language, Vol. 36, No. 1, January-March.

The grammars begin with a description of the highest level for which a formal definition has been described, and proceed from level to level, ending with roots and affixes. Each construction which manifests a tagmeme in the formulas is analysed on a lower level, or, in case of recursive constructions, on the same or a higher level. Rewrite operations<sup>5</sup> for the generation of sentences from the formulas are not explicit, but are implicit in the grammars. By substituting each formula or lexical unit for its symbol, from the highest level to the root and affix, the grammar generates the grammatical sequences of the language insofar as the grammar and lexicon are correct and complete.

In these volumes of grammars which are uniform in underlying theory and general form of presentation, a comparison of sets of matrices might serve as a guide or outline for typological studies. For example, a glance at the clause matrices of Chacobo and Quechua immediately calls attention to major structural differences between the two languages: the basic cleavage between transitive and intransitive, and between complete and incomplete in the Chacobo, whereas these categories are relatively unimportant in Quechua, which emphasizes an affirmative-negative set of contrasts. Both of these languages have very complex clause structures, but the complexity in the Chacobo is in markedly different areas than that in the Quechua. A comparison of the clause matrices of these two languages with that of Movima again emphasizes the differences in the general structure of the languages.

On the other hand a comparison of sets of matrices for the purpose of establishing or corroborating a genetic relationship is sometimes or in some areas fruitful, sometimes not. It would be difficult to argue a relationship between the Tupi-guaranian Sirionó and Guaraní on the basis of Chart I of the Guaraní grammar (Guaraní 1.1) and Chart I, which most nearly corresponds to it in the Sirionó grammar (Sirionó 2.3.1), although minor features of the grammars are strikingly alike. The combination of function words on the clause level (Sirionó 2.3.3. and 4.12) and of particles in the verb phrase (Sirionó 3.1.2) which are peculiar to Sirionó corresponds very closely to the clutter of clitic particles of the verb phrase periphery which is characteristic of Guaraní (Guaraní 2.1.3). Likewise the series of predicates P1, P2, P3, P4 and the anteverb within one clause in Guaraní (1.1.2) are parallel to the series of dependent clauses filling

<sup>5</sup> Longacre, Robert E. 1964. *Grammar Discovery Procedures, a Field Manual*. The Hague, Mouton and Co.

Sat slots in the content string (Sirionó 2.3.1.2) and the preverb in the verb phrase (Sirionó 3.1.2) of Sirionó.

The comparison of clause matrices in the Arawakan languages is more encouraging. Those of Baure (Chart II, 2.1.1) and Ignaciano (Chart I, 2.1.1.1) show noteworthy similarities as well as differences. In the Tacanan family the matrices of the clause, verb phrase, and verb of Tacana and Eseejja suggest similarity of structure, although some major differences appear (Eseejja Chart I, 2.1.1, Chart II, 3.1.1, and Chart III, 4.1.1; Tacana Chart I, 2.1, Chart II 3.2;1, and Chart IV, 4.1.1.1).

In noting both contrasts and similarities consideration must be given to differences in presentation which reflect the linguist's preferences rather than structural contrasts. An instance is the apparent difference between the Eseejja and Tacana verb charts, due to the presence of the quotative verbs 40 and 50 in Eseejja and the auxiliary verbs 50 in Tacana. This difference is easily determined to be primarily one of presentation by comparing the roots of the two sets of verbs (Eseejja 4.1.6.1 and Tacana 4.1.4), and their ultimate distribution in the quotative clauses (Eseejja 2.1.2 and 3.1.2.1; Tacana 2.2.2).

The comparison of the independent, dependent, and included clause matrices of Quechua (Chart I, 2.1.1 with those of Aymara (unpublished grammar notes by Warkentin, Heaslip, McNeil of the Summer Institute of Linguistics) shows a very striking similarity.

A few miscellaneous features which are particularly exotic or which may be of theoretical interest in the various grammars of this volume are listed below:

(1) In Quechua, included clauses whose distribution class is determined by the verb class (ditransitive, transitive, etc.) and by the noun case (subjective, objective, locative, etc.) of the verbal noun in the filler of the predicate slot result in an exceedingly complex system (Quechua 2.1, 2.4, 4.1, 4.2, et al).

(2) In Guaraní, a supersegmental morphophoneme of nasalization occurs (Guaraní 4.1).

(3) In Sirionó there is a unique morphophonemic span (Sirionó 5.2).

(4) Itonama and Guaraní are characterized by complex levels of morphophonemics (Itonama 5.2, Guaraní 4.2).

(5) In Movima are found noun phrases of extraordinary recursiveness, traced through at least eight layers, which are of high frequency in text and in conversation (Movima 2.3).

(6) Of the great variety of rare semantic categories which cor-

respond to grammatical classes in the various sections of these volumes, those which are described as "rhythm" syffixes classifying action in Itonama are perhaps the most unusual (Itonama 4.1, Classes 1220 and 1230).

#### Conventions of analysis and symbolism

In the following paragraphs various conventions and symbols are explained by means of notes and illustrations.

Generally in the tagmemic model units are considered to be in emic contrast on the basis of two structural differences<sup>6</sup>. These may be two differences in composition (one of which may be recognized by difference in transform potential) which necessitate the writing of separate formulas, or, following Pike, they may be one structural difference and one difference in distribution. For the purposes of these volumes we have further defined the basis of emic distinction as follows: A difference in distribution together with a difference in class of slot fillers which is relevant on different levels and/or is correlated with other emic distinctions (such as the difference in the lists of transitive and intransitive verbs in most languages) establishes emic contrast; however, a difference in distribution plus a difference in lists of slot fillers which are primarily semantically determined does not establish emic contrast. For example, we may describe one phrase, N 1, as manifesting both time and location tagmemes, although the time slot is filled only by a list of those phrases which include a word indicating time, while the location slot is filled by a different list of those phrases which include a word indicating place:

...+T:N 1 +L:N 1 ...

When only one difference between the formulas of two emic classes is apparent, a difference in distribution is to be assumed.

In two of the grammars, the Chacobo and Baure, it was found economical to describe the nuclei of the clauses separately from the margins. The resultant distinction between clause and clause nucleus is not considered to be a bona fide difference in level. The clauses are therefore shown as emically different, although the formulas combining nuclei and margins show that only the nuclei contrast.

We have not tested all combinations implied in the formulas. In a language with a great many clause classes with numerous marginal tagmemes each manifested by a variety of classes of constructions, the potential number of combinations is astronomical. In such cases when no restriction is apparent we have assumed that all possible combinations occur.

<sup>6</sup> Pike, 1962 and Longacre, 1964.

Wherever it has been a matter of choice we have kept the higher levels simple at the expense of complexity on the lower levels.

Pike's technique of multiplication<sup>7</sup> is frequently used; that is, each unit of a matrix (or each formula of a paradigm) is modified in the same way so that a corresponding matrix is established.

Co-occurrent tagmemes are said to be in portmanteau relationship when they are manifested simultaneously by the same construction.

When the formulas of a tagmemic paradigm are identical with the formulas of the tagmatic paradigm except for the slot fillers, the fillers are shown in the tagmemic paradigm, and the tagmatic paradigm is omitted.

When there is variation of order of tagmemes the most frequent order is shown in the formula, and the variations are described.

In tagmemic grammars a phrase is generally described as a construction involving an obligatory tagmeme and at least one other tagmeme, obligatory or optional. For the grammars in these volumes the phrase is better defined as a unit of the level between clause and word, which characteristically manifests a clause-level tagmeme. For economy of description in some instances we have treated as a phrase a single tagmeme manifested by one word, a unit which cannot be expanded, when it shares the distribution of a class of phrases.

In many of the grammars there are hesitation words which may interrupt any construction on any level. We have described the occurrence of the hesitation only where it is frequent or characteristic.

In the matrices each vector is represented by a millenium, century, decade or unit, in an arrangement such that the item in each cell is designated by a combination of the numerical symbols of the row and vector. For example in Chart I, Emic Clause Classes, of Quechua (2.1), the Intr column is numbered 30, and the Ig corr row is numbered 02. The symbol C1 30 refers to any intransitive clause; that is, to any of the clauses 31a to 34b. The symbol C1 02 refers to any interrogative corroborative clause, that is, to C1 12, 22, 32, 42, or 52. The symbol C1 32 refers to the intransitive interrogative corroborative clause. Similarly a row symbol 103 may be combined with decade symbols of the columns to produce the symbols 113, 123, etc.

In general the order of formulas in the paradigms follows column by column the order of the corresponding matrix.

<sup>7</sup> Pike, 1962.

In the abbreviations lower case letters symbolize units which fill slots on the morphological level. The symbols of all higher level units and of all tagmemes begin with capitals. The sentence is labeled Sent, and the clause, C1; a construction whose symbol begins with a capital and which has no other indication of level, may be assumed to be a phrase; i. e. N is to be read "noun phrase," n is to be read "noun." The list of abbreviations gives only the forms with capitals, except in those cases in which the form with capital is not employed.

In citations of the indigenous language, however, capital letters are morphophonemic symbols, which are explained in the morphophonemic section of each grammar. Citations are written morphophonemically only where the morphophonemic form is particularly relevant.

In citations of the indigenous languages, the intonation contours are approximately marked by punctuation. Beyond that the contours are identified only to the extent that they are essential to the description of the grammar.

Class and numerical symbols are generally given together, except that affixes are symbolized by the numerical symbol alone. When, however, an affix numbered under a particular word class occurs in the composition of a different word class, that affix is shown with class symbol as well as numerical symbol:

vb stem 12 = ... +Caus: 3217, but

n stem 4 = +... -Caus:vb affix 3217.

Distribution classes of roots and constructions as well as morphophonemic classes are to be marked in the lexicon of a language. Loans are generally treated as roots.

N not followed by a numerical symbol, symbolizes any noun phrase.

A series designated by a hyphen refers to any one member of the series unless otherwise specified. The symbol C1 11-34 refers to any one clause numbered from 11 to 34. The symbol vb A-L refers to any one verb with a letter symbol from A to L of the alphabet.

If the formula of C1 11-34 includes a corresponding series, for example if it contains the tagmeme +P: Vb 11-34, it is to be assumed that in each clause of the series the numerical symbol within the formula will be identical with the numerical symbol of the clause. This means that in the example above the predicate of C1 23 will be manifested by Vb 23.

$\underline{+}(+A \ +B)$  indicates that the occurrence together of the tagmemes A and B is optional but that neither occurs without the other.

$\underline{+}(+A \ \underline{+}B)$  indicates that the occurrence of tagmeme A or of the

two tagmemes together is optional, but that tagmeme B does not occur without tagmeme A.

$\pm(+A +B)$  indicates that the occurrence of either one of the tagmemes or of the two tagmemes together is obligatory.

$\pm/+/-$  indicates that the occurrence of a tagmeme is optional under stated conditions, and obligatory under other conditions, and that it does not occur under other stated conditions.

$(...)^n$  indicates that the parenthetical item is optionally repeated an indefinite number of times.

$T^3$  indicates that the tagmeme T optionally occurs up to three times in a construction. In morphophonemic writing a superscript merely distinguishes symbols.

T 1, T 2 symbolize two tagmemes which are formally contrastive although they are similar in function.

The formula  $+Base: n r 1/4 Res/8/vb r 10 +Cpd: n r 3 AS$  is to be read as follows: the obligatory Base tagmeme manifested by a noun root of class 1, by members of a restricted list of noun roots 4, by a noun root of class 8, or by a verb root 10; plus the obligatory tagmeme Compound manifested by members of noun root class 3 which arbitrarily select fillers of the Base slot with which to occur.

The symbol Res is thus employed of an etic class which is relevant at only one point in the grammar. The list of  $n r 2 Res$  in one formula is assumed to be a different list from that of  $n r 2 Res$  in another formula in the same language.

In the tagmeme  $+Base: n r 2 (lmo)$ , the form cited in the parenthesis is the only  $n r 2$  which manifests the Base.

When corresponding slot symbols are differentiated by number in tagmemic formulas, the number may be omitted in the tagmatic formula when the fillers clearly show the differentiation: P 22 and P 23 in the tagmemic formulas may be written as P: Vb 22 and P: Vb 23 respectively in the tagmatic formulas.

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December, 1965



# *Abbreviations and Symbols*

A	agent
Abil	abilitative
Abs	absolute
Ac	accompaniment
Act	active
Ad	additive
Adj	adjective
Adjl	adjectival
Adv	adverb
Advs	adversative
Aff	affirmative
An	animate
Antic	anticipatory
Ap	appositive
AS	arbitrary selection
Asp	aspect
Asr	assertive
At	attributive

Att	attitude
Aug	augmentative
Aux	auxiliary
Ben	benefactive
C	consonant
C	complement
Caus	causative
Cd	coordinate
Cert	certification
Char	characterizer
Cir	circumstantial
Cit	citation
Clar	clarification
Clas	classification
Clos	closure
Cn	connective
Col	collective
Com	complete
Con	contour
Cond	condition
Conj	conjunction
Cont	continuative
Coop	cooperative
Cop	copulative

Corr	corroborative
Cp	comparative
Cpd	compound
Ctd	contained
Decl	declarative
Def	definite
Dem	demonstrative
Dep	dependent
Depr	deprecatory
Desc	descriptive
Desid	desiderative
Det	determinative
Detr	detrimental
Dim	diminutive
Dir	direction
Dis	discourse
Ditr	ditransitive
Div	diversification
Dub	dubitive
Dup	duplication
Dur	durative
End	endearment
Emph	emphatic

Eq	equative
Ev	evaluative
Ex	existential
Excl	exclusive
Exclam	exclamatory
Exp	expectation
Ext	external
Exten	extensive
Extra	extraordinary
F	function
Fem	feminine
Frag	fragment
Frust	frustrative
Fv	formative
Gen	genitive
Gd	gender
Hab	habitual
Hes	hesitation
Hm	human
Hort	hortatory
Hyp	hypothetical
I	item

Id	identical, identification
Ig	interrogative
Imper	impersonal
Impv	imperative
Inan	inanimate
Inc	incipient
Incl	inclusive
Incom	incomplete
Ind	independent
Indef	indefinite
Indic	indicative
Indir	indirect
Inf	infinitive
Info	information
Inst	instantaneous
Instr	instrumental
Inten	intention
Intens	intensifier
Inton	intonation
Intr	intransitive
Intro	introducer
Intrv	intransitivizer
Inv	invitation
IO	indirect object
It	iterative

J	junction
L, loc	locative
Lim	limitative
M	manner
Mar	margin
Masc	masculine
Mk	marker
Mod	modification
Mov	movement
N	noun
Neg	negative
Neu	neuter, neutral
Nl	nominal, nominalizer
Nuc	nucleus
Num	number, numeral
O	object
Obl	obligatory
Onom	onomatopoetic
Opt	optative
P	predicate
Par	partitive

Part	particle
Pas	passive
Per	periphery
Perc	perceptive
Perf	perfect
Perm	permissive
Permn	permanent
Pl	plural
Pos	position
Posd	possessed
Postpos	postpositive
Prepos	prepositive
Pres	present
Prevb	preverb
Priv	privative
Pro	pronoun
Prob	probability
Prog	progressive
Proh	prohibitive
Ptc	participle
Ptel	participial
Ptn	potential
Pur	purpose
Q	question

Qual	qualifier
Quan	quantitative
Quot	quotative
R	root
Rad	radical
Rec	reciprocal
Recp	receptor
Red	reduplication
Ref	referent
Refl	reflexive
Rel	relative, relationship
Rep	repetitive
Repr	reportative
Res	restricted
Resp	respectively
S	subject
Sat	satellite
Sem	semelfactive
Sent	sentence
Seq	sequence
Sg	singular
Sim	simultaneous
Spec	specifier
Sub	subordinate

Subj	subjunctive
Subs	substantive
Suc	successive
T	time
Temp	temporal, temporary
Tr	transitive
Trn	transition
Trv	transitivizer
V	vowel
Vb	verb
Vbl	verbal
Voc	vocative

### PERSONS

1 sg

2 sg

3 sg (f)

3 sg (m)

1 pl (excl, incl)

2 pl

3 pl

+ obligatory

- minus

<u>±</u>	optional
/	or
,	and
{ }	tagmemic formula
[ ]	tagmatic formula
~	variation under stated conditions

### PITCH

1	low
2	mid
3	high

# Quechua

by Henry and Ila J. Spent  
Betsy H. Wrisley, and Grace E. Sherman

Quechua<sup>1</sup>, approximately one million speakers situated in the departments of Chuquisaca, Potosí, Cochabamba, and Oruro, Bolivia.

1. The sentence
2. The clause
  - 2.1. Emic clause classes
  - 2.2. The independent clause
  - 2.3. The dependent clause
  - 2.4. The included clause
3. The phrase
  - 3.1. The verb phrase
    - 3.1.1. The independent verb phrase
    - 3.1.2. The verbal noun phrase
    - 3.1.3. The participial phrase
  - 3.2. The noun phrase
  - 3.3. The relative phrase
  - 3.4. The adjective phrase
  - 3.5. The adverb phrase
4. The word
  - 4.1. The verb
  - 4.2. The noun
  - 4.3. The relative
  - 4.4. The adjective

<sup>1</sup>The phonemes of Quechua are: p, ph, pʔ, t, th, tʔ, q, qh, qʔ, k, kh, kʔ, č, čh, čʔ, m, n, ñ, l, ll, r, s, š, x, w, y, a, i, u.

- 4.5. The adverb
- 4.6. The introducer word
- 4.7. The negative
- 4.8. The hesitation word
- 4.9. The dubitive
- 4.10. The affirmative
- 4.11. The exclamatory
- 4.12. The conditional word
- 4.13. The onomatopoetic word
- 4.14. The locative word
5. The morphophonemics

## 1. The sentence

### 1.1. Tagmemic sentence paradigm

- Sent 1 = {+Nuc: Cl 01/03/04 +Inton: Contour 1}
- Sent 2 = {+Nuc: Cl 101 +Inton: Contour 2 +Cd: Cl 101 +Inton: Contour 1}
- Sent 3 = {+Sat: Cl 102 +Inton: Contour 2 +Nuc: Cl 01/03/04/ +Inton: Contour 1} ~ {+Nuc: Cl 01/03/04 +Inton: Contour 2 +Sat: Cl 102 +Inton: Contour 1}
- Sent 4 = {+Nuc: Cl 02 +Inton: Contour 3}

### 1.2. Citation sentence paradigm

- Sent 1 = manqayka tʔimpušan pampitapika 'my-pot boiling on-ground' (my pot is boiling on the ground).
- Sent 2 = ñuka lloxsiyman carka--warmiytax wakanman carka 'I would-leave have--my-wife would-cry have' (if I had left my wife would have cried).
- Sent 3 = čaupi tuta patron wasiyman xamunka čayka--miqhunata kusax 'middle night boss to--my-house comes if--food I-will-give' (if the boss comes to my house in the middle of the night, I will give him food).

Sent 4 = sarata kunqi ču payman 'corn you-give q to-him'  
(did you give the corn to him?).

### 1.3. The intonation

The intonation contour is described in terms of the pitch of the final three syllables of the clause, or sentence fragment.

Contour 1 = 1-2-1

Contour 2 = 1-2-2

Contour 3 = 1-2-3 ~ 1-2-elided final syllable

Contour 4 = Varies according to the sound imitated

Contour 5 = 1-1-3↓

Sentences and sentence fragments of one or two syllables occur with only the last or next-to-the-last pitch of the appropriate contour.

### 1.4. The sentence fragment

#### 1.4.1. Tagmemic sentence fragment paradigm

Sent frag 1 = {+Nuc: exclam 2-3 +Inton: Contour 5}

Sent frag 2 = {+Nuc: aff/Phrase/n 17 +Inton: Contour 1}

Sent frag 3 = {+Nuc: n 17/Phrase +Inton: Contour 3}

Sent frag 4 = {+Nuc: onom +Inton: Contour 4}

Sent frag 5 = {+Nuc: aff +Ig: exclam 1 +Inton: Contour 3}

The following Spanish expressions, usually with Spanish intonation, occur commonly among the sentence fragments of Quechua: pues 'well', entonces 'then', porque 'because', y 'and', a ver 'let's see'.

#### 1.4.2. Citation sentence fragment paradigm

Sent frag 1 = atatay 'it-hurts'; alalay 'it's-cold'.

Sent frag 2 = ari 'yes'.

Sent frag 3 = čayri 'and-that?'.

Sent frag 4 = laphax Sound of dog lapping

Sent frag 5 = ari--a 'yes--q' (isn't that so?).

2. The clause2.1. Emic clause classes

	Ditr	Tr	Intr	Quot	Desc	
	10	20	30	40	50	
<b>Independent</b>						
Decl	Aff 01 a	11a	21a	31a	41a	51a
	Neg 01 b	11b	21b	31b	41b	51b
Ig corr	02	12	22	32	42	52
Ig info	Aff 03 a	13a	23a	33a	43a	53a
	Neg 03 b	13b	23b	33b	43b	53b
Impv	Aff 04 a	14a	24a	34a	44a	54a
	Neg 04 b	14b	24b	34b	44b	54b
<b>Dependent</b>						
Hyp	101	111	121	131	141	151
Cond	102	112	122	132	142	152
<b>Included</b>						
Cir	201	211	221	231	241	251
Cir	202	212	222	232	242	252
Relative	203	213	223	233	243	253
Subjective	204	214	224	234	244	254
Subjective	205	215	225	235	245	---
Objective	304	314	324	334	344	354
Objective	305	315	325	335	345	355
Ac	404	414	424	434	444	454
Ac	405	415	425	435	445	---
L	504	514	524	534	544	554
L	505	515	525	535	545	555
Pur	604	614	624	634	644	654
Pur	605	615	625	635	645	655

Chart I. Emic clause classes

2.2 The independent clause2.2.1. Tagmemic independent clause paradigm

Ditransitive

Cl 11a = {+IO +S +P 11 +O}

Cl 12 = {+O +S +P 11 +Q 2 +IO}

Cl 13a = {+Q 1 +S +O +P 11 +IO}

Cl 14a = {+P 14 +O +IO}

Transitive

Cl 21a = {+S +O +P 21}

Cl 22 = {+S +P 21 +Q 2 +O}

Cl 23a = {+Q 1 +O +P 21}

Cl 24a = {+O +P 24}

Intransitive

Cl 31a = {+S +P 31}

Cl 32 = {+S +P 31 +Q 2}

Cl 33a = {+Q 1 +P 31 +S}

Cl 34a = {+P 34}

Quotative

Cl 41a = {+S +P 41 +O +Cit}

Cl 42 = {+S +P 41 +Q 2 +O +Cit}

Cl 43a = {+Q 1 +S +P 41 +O +Cit}

Cl 44a = {+O +P 44 +Cit}

Descriptive

Cl 51a = {+C +P 51 +S}

Cl 52 = {+S +C +Q 2 +P 51}

Cl 53a = {+Q 1 +C +P 51 +S}

Cl 54a = {+C +P 54}

2.2.2. Tagmatic independent clause paradigm

In the following formulas, the order of tagmemes is free except that the Cn always occurs clause-initial, and the T usually occurs near the beginning of the clause. When only two or three tagmemes occur, the P usually occupies the final position.

The maximum number of tagmemes occurring simultaneously in a clause is nine. The most frequent number is four.

In the interrogative Cl 03, the Q tagmeme usually occurs clause-initial. One other tagmeme in the clause, whatever tagmeme is manifested by the same relative as that manifesting the Q tagmeme, occurs in the clause-initial position in portmanteau relationship with the Q tagmeme.

There is a tagmeme +Hes:hes which optionally inter-

rupts any syntactic construction on any level. It is mentioned only here.

Agreement of number between fillers of the P and S slots is not obligatory.

### Ditransitive

- Cl 11a = [+Cn:intro 1-4 +Dub:dub +T:N 51-58/Rel 6  
 +Cir<sup>2</sup>:Cl 201-202 +Pur<sup>2</sup>:Cl 203/Cl 604-605/N 61-  
 67/n 64-67/Rel 5/12 +S:Cl 203-205/N 35b/N 11-  
 17/n 14-17/Rel 1/8 +IO:N 41b-47b/Rel 7/n 44b-  
 47b +Ac:Cl 203/404-405/N 31-37/Rel 3/10/n 34-  
 37 +P:Vb 11-15 +Report:Vb 41 (nin, niska) +O:  
 Cl 203/304-305/N 21-27/Rel 2/9/n 24-27 +M:N  
 19/Adv/adv 1-4 +L:Cl 203/504-505/N 41-49/Rel  
 4/11/n 44-47]
- Cl 12 = [+O:Cl 203/304-305/N 21-27/Rel 2/9/n 24-27  
 +Neg:neg 1 +S:Cl 203-205/N 11-17/35b/Rel 1/8/  
 n 14-17 +P:Vb 11-15 +Q 2:neg 2 +IO:N 41b-47b/  
 Rel 7/n 44b-47b]
- Cl 13a = [+Cn:intro 1-4 +Dub:dub +T:N 51-58/rel 18 +Q 1  
 a:rel +Q 1 b:rel +Ac:rel 31-35 +S:Cl 203-205/  
 N 11-17/n 14-17/rel 11-15 +O:Cl 203/304-305/N  
 21-27/n 24-27/rel 21-25 +P:Vb 11-15 +Voc:N 11  
 +IO:N 41b-47b/n 44b-47b +L:Cl 203/504-505/N  
 41-49/n 44-47/rel 41-45/47 +M:rel 16 +Pur:rel  
 61-65]
- Cl 14a = [+Cn:intro 1-4 +Voc:N 11 +S:Cl 203-205/N 11-17/  
 Rel 1/8/n 14-17 +L:Cl 203/504-505/N 41-49/Rel  
 4/11/n 44-47 +Cir:Cl 201-202 +P:Vb 17 +O:Cl  
 203/304-305/N 21-27/Rel 2/9/n 24-27 +IO:N 41b-  
 47b/Rel 7/n 44b-47b +T:N 51-58/Rel 16 +M:Adv]

### Transitive

- Cl 21a = [+Cn:intro 1-4 +Dub:dub +T:N 51-58/Rel 6  
 +Cir<sup>2</sup>:Cl 201-202 +S:Cl 203-205/N 11-17/Rel 1/  
 8/n 14-17 +L:Cl 203/504-505/N 41-49/Rel 4/11/  
 n 44-47 +O:Cl 203/304-305/N 21-27/Rel 2/9/n  
 24-27 +P:Vb 21-25 +Report:Vb 41 (nin, niska)

+M: N 19/Adv/adv 1-4 +O Ap: Cl 203/304-305/N  
21-27/Rel 2/9/n 24-27 +Ac: Cl 203/404-405/N 31-  
37/Rel 3/10/n 34-37 +Voc: N 11 +S Ap: Cl 203-  
205/N 11-17/Rel 1/8/n 14-17 +Pur: Cl 203/604-  
605/N 61-67/Rel 5/12/n 64-67]

Cl 22 = [+S: Cl 203-205/N 11-17/Rel 1/8/n 14-17 +Neg: neg  
1 +Pur: Cl 203/604-605/N 61-67/Rel 5/12/n 64-  
67 +P: Vb 21-25 +Q 2: neg 2 +O: Cl 203/304-305/  
N 21-27/Rel 2/9/n 24-27 +L: N 41-49/Rel 4/11/n  
44-47]

Cl 23a = [+L: Cl 203/504-505/N 41-49/n 44-47/rel 41-45/47  
+Q 1: rel +M: Adv/adv 1-4/rel 16 +T: N 51-58/rel  
18 +O: Cl 203/304-305/N 21-27/n 24-27/rel 21-25  
+P: Vb 21-25 +Pur: Cl 604-605/N 61-67/n 64-67/  
rel 61-65 +S: Cl 203-205/N 11-17/n 14-17/rel 11-  
15 +Ac: Cl 203/404-405/N 31-37/n 34-37/rel 31-  
35 +Cir: Cl 201-202]

Cl 24a = [+T: N 51-58/Rel 6 +L: Cl 203/504-505/N 41-49/  
Rel 4/11/n 44-47 +O: Cl 203/304-305/N 21-27/  
Rel 2/9/n 24-27 +Voc: N 11 +P: Vb 27]

Intransitive

Cl 31a = [+Cn: intro 1-4 +Voc: N 11 +L: Cl 203/504-505/N  
41-49/Rel 4/11/n 44-47 +S: Cl 203-205/N 11-17/  
Rel 1/8/n 14-17 +Cir<sup>2</sup>: Cl 201-202 +T: N 51-58/  
Rel 6 +Ac: Cl 203/404-405/N 31-37/Rel 3/10/n  
34-37 +M: Adv/adv 1-4/N 19 +P: Vb 31-35 +Pur:  
Cl 203/604-605/N 61-67/Rel 5/12/n 64-67]

Cl 32 = [+Neg: neg 1 +Dub: dub +S: Cl 203-205/N 11-17/Rel  
1/8/n 14-17 +L: Cl 203/504-505/N 41-49/Rel 4/  
11/n 44-47 +P: Vb 31-35 +Q 2: neg 2]

Cl 33a = [+Q 1: rel 11-19/31-65 +T: N 51-58/rel 18 +L: Cl  
203/504-505/N 41-49/n 44-47/rel 41-45/47 +S: Cl  
203-205/N 11-17/n 14-17/rel 11-15 +P: Vb 31-35  
+Pur: Cl 203/604-605/N 61-67/n 64-67/rel 61-65  
+M: Adv/rel 16/adv 1-4 +Ac: rel 31-35 +Voc: N 11  
+Cir: Cl 201-202]

Cl 34a = [+P:Vb 37 +Cir:Cl 201-202 +M:Adv +L:Cl 203/  
504-505/N 41-49/n 44-47/Rel 4/11]

#### Quotative

Cl 41a = [+Cn:intro 1-4 +Dub:dub +T:N 51-58/Rel 6 +S:  
Cl 203-205/N 11-17/Rel 1/8/n 14-17 +P:Vb 41-  
45 +Report:Vb 41 (nin, niska) +O:Cl 203/304-  
305/N 21-27/Rel 2/9/n 24-27 +Cit:Dis/Indir dis]

Cl 42 = [+S:Cl 203-205/N 11-17/Rel 1/8/n 14-17 +Neg:neg  
1 +P:Vb 41-45 +Q 2:neg 2 +O:Cl 203/304-305/  
N 21-27/n 24-27 +Cit:Dis/Indir dis]

Cl 43a = [+T:N 51-58/rel 18 +Q:rel +M:Adv/rel 16/adv 1-  
4 +P:Vb 41-45 +S:Cl 203-205/N 11-17/n 14-17/  
rel 11-15 +O:Cl 203/304-305/N 21-27/n 24-27/  
rel 21-25 +Pur:rel 61-65 +Ac:rel 31-35 +L:rel  
41-45/47 +Cit:Dis/Indir dis]

Cl 44a = [+O:Cl 203/304-305/N 21-27/n 24-27/Rel 2/9 +P:  
Vb 47 +Cit:Dis]

#### Descriptive

Cl 51a = [+Cn:intro 1-4 +Dub:dub +T:N 51-58/Rel 6  
+Voc<sup>2</sup>:N 11 +L:Cl 203/504-505/N 41-49/Rel 4/11/  
n 44-47 +C:Cl 204-205/N 11-17/19/Adj +P:Vb  
51-52a/53-55 +Report:Vb 41 (nin, niska) +S:Cl  
203-205/N 11-17/Rel 1/8/n 14-17/N 35b]

Cl 52 = [+Neg:neg 1 +Voc:N 11 +S:Cl 203-205/N 11-17/Rel  
1/8/n 14-17 +C:Cl 204-205/N 11-17/19/Adj +Q  
2:neg 2 +P:Vb 51-52a/53-55]

Cl 53a = [+Q 1:rel 11-19/31-65 +C:Cl 204-205/N 11-17/19/  
Adj +P:Vb 51-52a/53-55 +Pur:Cl 203/604-605/N  
61-67/n 64-67/rel 61-65 +S:N 11-17/rel 11-15/n  
14-17 +T:rel 18 +L:rel 41-45 +Ac:rel 31-35  
+Voc:N 11 +M:rel 16]

Cl 54a = [+C:Cl 204-205/N 11-17/19/Adj +P:Vb 57]

### 2.2.3. Citation independent clause paradigm

#### Ditransitive

Cl 11a = čaymanka--apaskanqu--kurita kulkita--tuquy

ladumanta 'to-that--they-carried--gold silver--  
all from sides' (they carried gold and silver there  
from all sides).

ñaupa timpupika--españoles čayamušaxtinquka--qay  
inqas--ašqha kulkita ašqha kurita--apayqačax  
qaskanqu 'early time--spaniards when-arriving--  
these incas--much silver much gold--carrying  
they-were' (a long time ago when the Spaniards  
were arriving, the Incas used to carry about a lot  
of silver and a lot of gold).

pay--rantiwarka--sarata 'he--bought-me--corn' (he  
bought me corn).

pay--ñukapax--ruwanka--ux wasita 'he--for-me--  
will make--a house' (he will make a house for me).

Cl 12 = sarata--kunqi--ču--payman 'corn--give-you--ig--  
to-him' (did you give him corn?).

Cl 13a = masqapi--vindiwanqiri 'in-how-much--you-sell-  
me' (for how much will you sell it to me?).

Cl 14a = uxnin qax mulayqimanta--kuway--ñukamanka--  
arruzllata 'from one of your mules--give-me--to-  
me--just-rice' (from one of your mules give me  
just rice).

#### Transitive

Cl 21a = kan--almuirsuta--waqičišanqi--ñuka--calleman--  
rinayqama rantix 'you--dinner--prepare--I--to-  
street--go buy' (you prepare dinner while I go to  
the street to buy).

Cl 22 = miqhuqunayqipax--munanqi--ču 'for-your-eating--  
you-want--ig' (did you want it in order to eat it?).

Cl 23a = čay lakha uqhupi--imaynata--riqunqiri 'that dark  
inside--how--you-see' (how do you see in that  
darkness?).

Cl 24a = watayčix 'you-tie' (you tie it up).

#### Intransitive

Cl 31a = sapallanña--t?impuqusaxtinka--qay runa--  
kayllayquska 'each--when-boiling--this man--

approached' (when it was boiling on it's own, this man drew near).

Cl 32 = lluqhalla--qaypi--ču--puñun 'servant--in--this--ig--he--sleeps' (does the servant sleep here?).

Cl 33a = imamanta--kan--wakašanqi 'what--from--you--cry--ing' (why are you crying?).

Cl 34a = uskayta--xamullayña 'quickly--come' (just come quickly).

#### Quotative

Cl 41a = niska--runa--čay kučalataka--mayman rišanqi 'said--man--that woman--where going' (the man said to the woman, "where are you going?").

Cl 42 = anča saxra--qanqi--pay--nirka--ču--čayta 'very bad--are--he--say--ig--that' (did he say, "you are very bad?").

Cl 43a = pi--nisurka--ama khella ama suwa ama llulla 'who--say--to--you--don't lazy don't steal don't lie' (who said, "don't be lazy, don't steal, don't lie?")

Cl 44a = ari--niy 'yes--say' (say, 'yes').

#### Descriptive

Cl 51a = uxninpata--sutin--qaska--xusi 'one--it's--his--name--was--Joseph' (the name of one of them was Joseph).

Cl 52 = wirakuča--kan--čh--navidad--qawax 'sir--you--ig--Christmas--be' (sir, might your name be Christmas?).

Cl 53a = imaynapuni--palumitayqiri 'how--always--your--dove' (how is your sweetheart then?).

Cl 54a = allillanta--qaquyčix 'well--be' (just be good).

### 2.2.4. The negative independent clause

#### 2.2.4.1. Tagmemic negative independent clause paradigm

Cl 11b-54b

Obtain formulas of Cl neg 11b-54b by multiplication of the formulas of Cl 11a-54a, minus Cl 02, as follows:

To the formulas of Cl 01 and 03 add the tagmemes +Neg 1: neg 1 in any position preceding the P and +Neg 2: neg 2 immediately following the P. To the formulas of Cl 04 add the tagmemes +Neg 1: neg 3 in any position preceding the P and +Neg 2: neg 2 immediately following the P.

2.2.4.2 Citation negative independent clause paradigm

- Cl 11b = mana--ñukaka--ni--piman--kuyqičixman--ču 'not--  
I--nor--to-whom--give-you-pl--not' (I might not  
give to you or to anyone).  
Cl 14b = amaña--apayčix--ču 'not-already--carry--not'  
(don't carry any longer).  
Cl 24b = ičitu--ama--panquriway--ču 'wild-grass-not--  
touch-me--not' (don't puncture me, little wild  
grass).  
Cl 31b = mana--ninallowan--ču--tʔimpun 'not--with-fire--  
not--it-boil' (it boils without fire).  
Cl 51b = mana--xuqʔuča--ču 'not--rat--not' (it isn't a rat).

2.3. The dependent clause

2.3.1. Tagmemic dependent clause paradigm

In the following formulas, the order of tagmemes preceding the P is free.

- Cl 111 = {+S: N 11-17 +Dub: dub +L: N 41-49 +P: Vb 16  
+O: N 21-27}  
Cl 112 = {+Neg: neg 1 +S: N 11-17 +L: N 41-49 +P: Vb 11-  
15 +O: N 21-27 +Cond: cond}  
Cl 121 = {+Voc: N 11 +P: Vb 26}  
Cl 122 = {+Cn: intro 1-4 +Dub: dub +P: Vb 21-25 +Cond:  
cond}  
Cl 131 = {+S: N 11-17/n 14-17 +L: N 41-49/n 44-47 +P: Vb  
36}  
Cl 132 = {+S: N 11-17 +L: N 41-49 +P: Vb 31-35 +Cond:  
cond}  
Cl 141 = {+P: Vb 46 +Dub: dub}

- Cl 142 = {+S:N 11-17 +P:Vb 41-45 +Cond:cond}  
 Cl 151 = {+S:n 14-17 +C:N 11-17/19/Adj +P:Vb 56}  
 Cl 152 = {+Neg:neg 1 +C:N 11-17/19/Adj +P:Vb 51-55  
 +Cond:cond}

### 2.3.2. Citation dependent clause paradigm

- Cl 111 = rantirkamuyman--papitata 'I-might-buy--potato'  
 (I might go to buy potatoes).  
 Cl 112 = kan--apamuwanqi--papa qargata--čayka 'you--  
 bring-me-you--potato load--if' (if you might bring  
 me a load of potatoes).  
 Cl 121 = duña carluta--yačawax 'Miss Charlotte--you-might-  
 know' (Charlotte, you might know).  
 Cl 122 = purqe--čus--riqunquman--čus qarka--čayka 'be-  
 cause--dub--might-see--dub was--if' (because  
 if you would have seen).  
 Cl 131 = ñukaka--rikubaman--rirkuyman 'I--to-market--  
 might-I-go' (I might go to the market).  
 Cl 132 = čay runa--qampupi--puñunka--čayka 'that man--  
 in-the-country--will-sleep--if' (if that man will  
 sleep in the country).  
 Cl 141 = kʔaya--ñuka--niyqiman 'tomorrow--I--might-say-  
 to-you' (I might say to you tomorrow).  
 Cl 142 = čay wirakuča--nisunqi--čayka 'that gentleman--  
 says-to-you--if' (if that gentleman says to you).  
 Cl 151 = ñuka xina--wawitasniyux--qawax 'I like--with-  
 children--might-be' (you might have children as I  
 have).  
 Cl 152 = mana--walixlla--qanqi--čayka 'not--well--you-  
 be--if' (if you will not be well).

### 2.4. The included clause

#### 2.4.1. Tagmemic included clause paradigm

In the formulas of included Cl 203, the Rel tagmeme occurs clause-initial. One other tagmeme in the clause, whatever

tagmeme corresponds to the relative manifesting the Rel tagmeme, occurs in clause-initial position in portmanteau relationship with the Rel tagmeme.

In many cases the following formulas do not show contrast between included clauses which are indicated by decade number to be emically different. We assume that the lack of contrast is due to the limitation of the corpus, since the expected contrastive features, which are optional, occur in some clauses of each set. Therefore, the entire sets are treated as though in contrast, partly on the basis of pattern pressure and partly because of the expectation that the contrastive features will later appear in each of the clauses in text and in conversation.

Cl 504 is subdivided into distribution classes a and b. Class b includes those Cl 504 whose P slot is filled by a Vbl n phrase in which the head tagmeme is manifested by a n 1040 b; Class a includes all other Cl 504.

Ditransitive

Cl 211 = {+IO: N 41-49/n 44-47 +L: N 41-49/n 44-47 +P: Ptc 1101/Vbl n 1151-1152 +O: N 21-27/n 24-27}

Cl 212 = {+S: N 11-17/n 14-17 +L: N 41-49/n 44-47 +P: Ptc 1102/Vbl n 1151-1152}

Cl 213 = {+Rel: rel +Dub: dub +P: Vb 11-15/Vbl n 1121}

Cl 214 = {+P: Vbl n 1111a}

Cl 215 = {+P: Vbl n 1111b}

Cl 314 = {+O: N 21-27/n 24-27 +P: Vbl n 1121a}

Cl 315 = {+O: N 21-27/n 24-27 +P: Vbl n 1121b}

Cl 315 = {+O: N 21-27/n 24-27 +P: Vbl n 1121b}

Cl 414 = {+P: Vbl n 1131a}

Cl 415 = {+P: Vbl n 1131b}

Cl 514 = {+P: Vbl n 1141a}

Cl 515 = {+O: N 21-27/n 24-27 +P: Vbl n 1141b}

Cl 614 = {+P: Vbl n 1161a}

Cl 615 = {+O: N 21-27/n 24-27 +P: Vbl n 1161b +L: N 41-49/n 44-47}

## Transitive

- Cl 221 = {+O: N 21-27/n 24-27 +M: Adv +Neg: neg 1 +P:  
Ptc 1201/Vbl n 1251-1252}
- Cl 222 = {+O: N 21-27/n 24-27 +S: N 11-17/n 14-17 +P: Ptc  
1202/Vbl n 1251-1252}
- Cl 223 = {+Rel: rel +S: N 11-17/n 14-17 +Dub: dub +P: Vb  
21-25/Vbl n 1221}
- Cl 224 = {+O: N 21-27/n 24-27 +P: Vbl n 1211a}
- Cl 225 = {+P: Vbl n 1211b}
- Cl 324 = {+S: N 11-17/n 14-17 +P: Vbl n 1221a}
- Cl 325 = {+S: N 11-17/n 14-17 +Neg: neg 1 +P: Vbl n 1221b}
- Cl 424 = {+P: Vbl n 1231a}
- Cl 425 = {+P: Vbl n 1231b}
- Cl 524 = {+P: Vbl n 1241a}
- Cl 525 = {+P: Vbl n 1241b}
- Cl 624 = {+O: N 21-27/n 24-27 +P: Vbl n 1261a}
- Cl 625 = {+O: N 21-27/n 24-27 +P: Vbl n 1261b +O Ap: N  
21-27/n 24-27}

## Intransitive

- Cl 231 = {+Neg: neg 1 +L: N 41-49/n 44-47 +P: Ptc 1301/  
Vbl n 1351-1352}
- Cl 232 = {+S: N 11-17/n 14-17 +Neg: neg 1 +L: N 41-49/n  
44-47 +P: Ptc 1302/Vbl n 1351-1352}
- Cl 233 = {+Rel: rel +Neg: neg 1 +S: N 11-17/n 14-17 +P: Vb  
31-35/Vbl n 1321 +L<sup>2</sup>: N 41-49/n 44-47}
- Cl 234 = {+Ac: N 31-37/n 34-37 +P: Vbl n 1311a +L: N 41-  
49/n 44-47}
- Cl 235 = {+S: N 11-17/n 14-17 +P: Vbl n 1311b}
- Cl 334 = {+S: N 11-17/n 14-17 +P: Vbl n 1321a}
- Cl 335 = {+S: N 11-17/n 14-17 +Neg: neg 1 +P: Vbl n 1321b  
+M: N 19/Adv/adv 1-4}
- Cl 434 = {+Neg: neg 1 +P: Vbl n 1331a}
- Cl 435 = {+P: Vbl n 1331b}
- Cl 534 = {+P: Vbl n 1341a}
- Cl 535 = {+L: N 41-49/n 44-47 +P: Vbl n 1341b}
- Cl 634 = {+P: Vbl n 1361a}

Cl 635 = {+Neg: neg 1 +S: N 11-17/n 14-17 +L: N 41-49/n  
44-47 +P: Vbl n 1361b}

#### Quotative

Cl 241 = {+P: Ptc 1401/Vbl n 1451-1452}

Cl 242 = {+S: N 11-17/n 14-17 +P: Ptc 1402/Vbl n 1451-  
1452}

Cl 243 = {+Rel: rel +P: Vb 41-45 Vbl n 1421}

Cl 244 = {+P: Vbl n 1411a}

Cl 245 = {+P: Vbl n 1411b}

Cl 344 = {+P: Vbl n 1421a}

Cl 345 = {+S: N 11-17/n 14-17 +P: Vbl n 1421b}

Cl 444 = {+P: Vbl n 1431a}

Cl 445 = {+P: Vbl n 1431b}

Cl 544 = {+S: N 11-17/n 14-17 +P: Vbl n 1441a}

Cl 545 = {+P: Vbl n 1441b}

Cl 644 = {+P: Vbl n 1461a}

Cl 645 = {+P: Vbl n 1461b}

#### Descriptive

Cl 251 = {+C: Cl 204-205/N 19/Adj +P: Ptc 1501a-1501b/  
1501e/Vbl n 1551b-1552a}

Cl 252 = {+Neg: neg 1 +S: N 11-17/n 14-17 +C: Cl 204-205/  
N 19/Adj +P: Ptc 1502a/Vbl n 1551b-1552a}

Cl 253 = {+Rel: rel +C: Cl 204-205/N 19/Adj +P: Vb 51-52a/  
53-57/Vbl n 1521}

Cl 254 = {+C: Cl 204-205/N 19/Adj +P: Vbl n 1511a}

Cl 354 = {+C: Cl 204-205/N 11/Adj +P: Vbl n 1521a}

Cl 355 = {+S: N 11-17/n 14-17 +C: Cl 204-205/N 11/Adj +P:  
Vbl n 1521b}

Cl 454 = {+P: Vbl n 1531a}

Cl 554 = {+S: N 11-17/n 14-17 +P: Vbl n 1541a}

Cl 555 = {+P: Vbl n 1541b}

Cl 654 = {+P: Vbl n 1561a}

Cl 655 = {+Neg: neg 1 +C: Cl 204-205/N 11/Adj +P: Vbl n  
1561b}

2.4.2. Citation included clause paradigm

## Ditransitive

- Cl 211 = ux kuri čʔuluta--čurayquspa 'one gold cap--putting'  
(putting on a gold cap).
- Cl 212 = ñuka--qalliman--rinayqama rantix 'I--to-the-  
street--while-I-go to-buy' (while I go to the  
street to buy).
- Cl 213 = pi--čus--apaskantaka 'who--dub--carry' (who-  
ever carries).
- Cl 214 = kuy 'give' (to give).
- Cl 215 = taqiskan 'his-singing'.
- Cl 314 = kʔumirqunasta--apamuxta 'green-pl--bring' (the  
one who brings the greens).
- Cl 315 = rantinasniyta 'my-buying'.
- Cl 414 = rantinaswan 'with-buying' (with what is bought).
- Cl 415 = apanasninwan 'with-his-carrying'.
- Cl 514 = apanaman 'to-what-he-carries' (toward what he  
carries).
- Cl 515 = llantʔa--apaskanpi 'firewood--in-his-carrying'  
(his carrying firewood).
- Cl 614 = apaskapax 'for-carrying'.
- Cl 615 = dañusta--pagačiqunančixpax 'damage--we-pay-for'  
(in order that we pay the damages).

## Transitive

- Cl 221 = yačaspa--čaytaka 'knowing--that'.
- Cl 222 = manqata--khawamuxtinka 'pot--when-looked'  
(when he looked into the pot).
- Cl 223 = ima--uywa--čus--dañuquskanta 'what--animal--  
dub--his-damage' (whatever animal damaged).
- Cl 224 = piluta--xaytʔax 'ball--kicker' (the football player).
- Cl 225 = miqhunan 'his-food'.
- Cl 324 = pukuxta 'producer' (the one that produces).
- Cl 325 = miqhunanta 'his-food'.
- Cl 424 = miqhunawan 'with-food'.
- Cl 425 = miqhunasninwan 'with-his-eating'.
- Cl 524 = miqhunapi 'in-the-food'.

- Cl 525 = xap<sup>?</sup>isuskanqumanta 'from-their-grabbing-you'  
(because of their grabbing you).  
Cl 624 = xap<sup>?</sup>inapax--liuntaka 'for-grabbing--lion' (for  
grabbing the lion).  
Cl 625 = khaywinanrayqu--almuirsuta 'he-stir-for--dinner'  
(in order to stir the dinner).

Intransitive

- Cl 231 = wasiman--yayquspa 'to-house--entering' (enter-  
ing into the house).  
Cl 232 = mana--mesa--tiyaxtin 'not--table--when-was'  
(when there was not a table).  
Cl 233 = imaynata--čus--qaymanta--k<sup>?</sup>aras--riskanquta--  
istancia laduman 'how--perhaps--from-this--  
young-people--they-go--farm side-to' (how the  
young people went from here to the country).  
Cl 234 = q<sup>?</sup>ančaririšax--k<sup>?</sup>ančis qulurmanta 'light-the-one-  
who--seven color-of' (the shiny one of seven  
colors).  
Cl 235 = čay runa--sayaskan 'that man--his-standing'  
(where the man is standing).  
Cl 334 = p<sup>?</sup>iskus--č<sup>?</sup>axwasaxta 'birds--the-one-that-sings'  
(the birds that sing).  
Cl 335 = pay--rinanta 'he--his-going' (he, the one who  
goes).  
Cl 434 = yarkhaywanka 'with-hungry' (hungry).  
Cl 435 = wañuskasninwan 'with-his-dead-ones'.  
Cl 534 = wañuskaman 'to-the-dead-one'.  
Cl 535 = kaka patapi--puñuskaypi 'cliff on-top--in-my-  
sleep' (in my sleep on top of the cliff).  
Cl 634 = puñunapax 'for-sleeping'.  
Cl 635 = mana--tata inti--phiñaqunanrayqu 'not--father  
sun--for-his-anger' (in order not to anger father  
sun).

Quotative

- Cl 241 = nispa 'saying'.

- CI 242 = nixtinka--atawallpaka 'say-when--Atawallpa'  
(when Atawallpa said).
- CI 243 = pi--čus--nix 'who--dub--the-one-that-said' (who  
was it that said?).
- CI 244 = nix 'the-one-who-says'.
- CI 245 = niskasnin 'his-sayings'.
- CI 344 = nisaxta 'the-one-who-is-saying'.
- CI 345 = pay--niskanta 'he--his-saying' (what he said).
- CI 444 = niskawan 'with-what-he-said'.
- CI 445 = niskasniyqiwan 'with-your-sayings'.
- CI 544 = sumax xatun misi angura--niskamantapuni 'very  
big cat Angora--say-from-always' (of a very big  
cat that was always called Angora).
- CI 545 = niskanpi 'in-what-he-said'.
- CI 644 = ninapax 'for-saying'.
- CI 645 = ninanpax 'for-what-he-said'.

## Descriptive

- CI 251 = sulq?a--qaspapis 'younger--being-also' (although  
being the youngest).
- CI 252 = qaxtinka 'when-he-is'.
- CI 253 = pi--suwas--čus--caskanqu 'who--thieves--per-  
haps--they-are' (who are perhaps thieves).
- CI 254 = cumidur--qax 'dining-room--the-one-being' (one  
which is the dining room).
- CI 354 = sulq?itan--caxta 'younger-his--one-who-is' (the  
one who is his youngest).
- CI 355 = bruxu--qaskanta 'witch-doctor--his-being' (be-  
ing a witch doctor).
- CI 454 = qaxwan 'being-with-the-one-who-is'.
- CI 554 = qaxmanka 'to-the-one-who-is'.
- CI 555 = qaskanpi 'in-his-being'.
- CI 654 = qaxpax 'for-the-one-who-is'.
- CI 655 = q?ačitu--qananpax 'pretty--for-her-being' (in  
order that she be pretty).

3. The phrase

3.1. The verb phrase

3.1.1. The independent verb phrase

3.1.1.1. Emic independent verb phrase classes

		Ditr 10	Tr 20	Intr 30	Quot 40	Desc 50
Declarative						
Simple	01	11	21	31	41	51
	02a	12a	22a	32a	42a	52a
Complex	02b	12b	22b	32b	42b	
	02c	12c	22c	32c	42c	
Present obligation	03	13	23	33	43	53
Past obligation	04a	14a	24a	34a	44a	54a
Past hypothetical	04b	14b	24b	34b	44b	54b
Habitual	05	15	25	35	45	55
Hypothetical	06	16	26	36	46	56
Imperative	07	17	27	37	47	57

Chart II. Emic independent verb phrase classes

3.1.1.2. Tagmemic independent verb phrase paradigm

Ditransitive

Vb 11 = {+H:vb 11-12}

Vb 12a = {+Aux:aux +H:n 1113/1123}

Vb 12b = {+H:n 1113 +Aux:aux}

Vb 12c = {+Aux:vb 61 +H:n 1117}

Vb 13 = {+H:n 1114 +Aux:vb 31 (tiyan)}

Vb 14a = {+H:n 1114 +Aux:vb 51}

Vb 14b = {+H:vb 12 +Aux:vb 51}

Vb 15 = {+H:n 1117 +Aux:vb 51}

In Vb 05 the Aux tagmeme is usually omitted when it would

be manifested by a third person singular verb present tense.

Vb 16 = {+H:vb 12}

Vb 17 = {+H:vb 13}

#### Transitive

Vb 21 = {+H:vb 21-22/ n 1211}

Only two instances of the occurrence of the verbal noun 1211 manifesting the head tagmeme of Vb 21 have been found in text. It appears to have the same distribution as the finite verb.

Vb 22a = {+Aux:aux +H:n 1213/1223}

Vb 22b = {+H:n 1213 +Aux:aux}

Vb 22c = {+Aux:vb 61 +H:n 1217}

Vb 23 = {+H:n 1214 +Aux:vb 31 (tiyan)}

Vb 24a = {+H:n 1214 +Aux:vb 51}

Vb 24b = {+H:vb 22 +Aux:vb 51}

Vb 25 = {+H:n 1217 +Aux:vb 51}

Vb 26 = {+H:vb 22}

Vb 27 = {+H:vb 23}

#### Intransitive

Vb 31 = {+H:vb 31-32/61-62/n 1311}

Only two instances of the occurrence of the verbal noun 1311 manifesting the head tagmeme of Vb 31 have been found in text. It appears to have the same distribution as the finite verb.

Vb 32a = {+Aux:aux +H:n 1313/1323}

Vb 32b = {+H:n 1313 +Aux:aux}

Vb 32c = {+Aux:vb 61-62 +H:n 1317}

Vb 33 = {+H:n 1314 +Aux:vb 31 (tiyan)}

Vb 34a = {+H:n 1314 +Aux:vb 51}

Vb 34b = {+H:vb 32 +Aux:vb 51}

Vb 35 = {+H:n 1317 +Aux:vb 51}

Vb 36 = {+H:vb 32/62}

Vb 37 = {+H:vb 33/63}

#### Quotative

Vb 41 = {+H:vb 41-42}

Vb 42a = {+Aux:aux +H:n 1413/1423}

- Vb 42b = {+H:n 1413 +Aux:aux}  
 Vb 42c = {+Aux:vb 61 +H:n 1417}  
 Vb 43 = {+H:n 1414 +Aux:vb 31 (tiyan)}  
 Vb 44a = {+H:n 1414 +Aux:vb 51}  
 Vb 44b = {+H:vb 42 +Aux:vb 51}  
 Vb 45 = {+H:n 1417 +Aux:vb 51}  
 Vb 46 = {+H:vb 42}  
 Vb 47 = {+H:vb 43}

Descriptive

- Vb 51 = {+H:vb 51-52}  
 Vb 52a = {+Aux:aux +H:n 1513/1523}  
 Vb 53 = {+H:n 1514 +Aux:vb 31 (tiyan)}  
 Vb 54a = {+H:n 1514 +Aux:vb 51}  
 Vb 54b = {+H:vb 52 +Aux:vb 51}  
 Vb 55 = {+H:n 1517 +Aux:vb 51}  
 Vb 56 = {+H:vb 52}  
 Vb 57 = {+H:vb 53}

3.1.1.3. Citation independent verb phrase paradigm

Ditransitive

- Vb 11 = kuni 'I-give' or 'I-have-given'.  
 Vb 12a = munan--kuyta 'he-wants--to-give'.  
 Vb 12b = kuy--atini 'to-give--I-am-able' (I am able to give).  
 Vb 12c = rin--apanux 'he-has-gone--to-bring'.  
 Vb 13 = apanasuy--tiyan 'my-carrying-you--there-is' (I have to take you).  
 Vb 14a = apanan--qarka 'his-carrying--was' (he had to carry).  
 Vb 14b = čukayquwanqiman--qarka 'you-might-throw-it-to-me--have' (you might have thrown it to me).  
 Vb 15 = apayqačax--qaskanqu 'carry-about--they-were' (they used to carry about).  
 Vb 16 = vindiyquwanqiman 'would-you-sell-it-to-me-q' (would you sell it to me?)  
 Vb 17 = kuy 'give'.

## Transitive

Vb 21 = miqhušani 'I-am-eating'.

Vb 22a = wayqʔuquyta--munani 'to-cook--I-want' (I want to cook for myself).

Vb 22b = cačariy--munan 'to-free--he-wants' (he wants to set free).

Vb 22c = rin--miqhux 'he-has-gone--to-eat'.

Vb 23 = uyarinawayqi--tiyan 'listening-to-me--there-is' (you ought to listen to me).

Vb 24a = miqhunan--qarka 'his-eating--was' (he had to eat).

Vb 24b = sakiwanqiman--qarka 'you-would-leave-me--was' (you would have left me).

Vb 25 = miqhux--qaska 'to-eat--was' (he used to eat).

Vb 26 = miqhuyquyman 'I-would-eat-it'.

Vb 27 = miqhuy 'eat'.

## Intransitive

Vb 31 = puñušan 'he-is-sleeping'.

Vb 32a = kallariska--wakayta 'he-began--to-cry'.

Vb 32b = tiyaquy--atin 'to-seat-oneself--he-is-able' (he is able to seat himself).

Vb 32c = rini--puñux 'I-go--to-sleep'.

Vb 33 = puñunayqi--tiyan 'your-sleep--there-is' (you have to sleep).

Vb 34a = tiyaqunan--qarka 'his-living--was' (he had to live).

Vb 34b = wañunquman--qarka 'die-they-would--were' (they would have died).

Vb 35 = qausax--qanqu 'to-live--they-are' (they used to live).

Vb 36 = puñuqampuwax 'you-might-sleep' (you might go to sleep).

Vb 37 = tiyaquy 'sit-down'.

## Quotative

Vb 41 = niska 'he-had-said'.

Vb 42a = munan--niyta 'he-wants--to-say'.

- Vb 42b = niy--kallariska 'to-say--he-began' (he began to say).  
 Vb 42c = ripurka--nix 'he-went-away--to-say'.  
 Vb 43 = ninayqi--tiyan 'your-saying--there-is' (you have to say).  
 Vb 44a = ninan--qarka 'his-saying--was' (he had to say).  
 Vb 44b = niyman--qarka 'I-would-say--was' (I would have said).  
 Vb 45 = nix--qanqu 'to-say--they-were' (they used to say).  
 Vb 46 = niwax 'you-might-say'.  
 Vb 47 = niy 'say'.

Descriptive

- Vb 51 = qaska 'he-had-been'.  
 Vb 52a = munan--qayta 'he-wants--to-be'.  
 Vb 53 = qanayqi--tiyan 'your-being--there-is' (you have to be).  
 Vb 54a = qanan--qarka 'his-being--was' (he had to be).  
 Vb 54b = qawax--qarka 'you-might-be--was' (you would have been).  
 Vb 55 = qax--qanqu 'to-be--was-they' (they used to be).  
 Vb 56 = qawax 'you-might-be'.  
 Vb 57 = qay 'be'.

3.1.2. The verbal noun phrase

3.1.2.1. Emic verbal noun phrase classes

		Ditr 100	Tr 200	Intr 300	Quot 400	Desc 500
Subjective	1011a	1111a	1211a	1311a	1411a	1511a
	1011b	1111b	1211b	1311b	1411b	
Objective	1021a	1121a	1221a	1321a	1421a	1521a
	1021b	1121b	1221b	1321b	1421b	1521b
Ac	1031a	1131a	1231a	1331a	1431a	1531a
	1031b	1131b	1231b	1331b	1431b	
L	1041a	1141a	1241a	1341a	1441a	1541a
	1041b	1141b	1241b	1341b	1441b	1541b
Cir	1051a	1151a	1251a	1351a	1451a	
	1051b	1151b	1251b	1351b	1451b	1551b
	1052a	1152a	1252a	1352a	1452a	1552a
	1052b	1152b	1252b	1352b	1452b	
	1052c	1152c	1252c	1352c	1452c	
Pur	1061a	1161a	1261a	1361a	1461a	1561a
	1061b	1161b	1261b	1361b	1461b	1561b

Chart III. Emic verbal noun phrase classes

3.1.2.2. Tagmemic verbal noun phrase paradigm

## Ditransitive

Vbl n 1111a = {+H:n 1111-1113/1117}

Vbl n 1111b = {+H:n 1114-1116}

Vbl n 1121a = {+H:n 1121/1123/1127}

Vbl n 1121b = {+H:n 1124/1126}

Vbl n 1131a = {+H:n 1131/1133/1137}

Vbl n 1131b = {+H:n 1134/1136}

Vbl n 1141a = {+H:n 1141/1143/1147}

Vbl n 1141b = {+H:n 1144/1146}

Vbl n 1151a = {+H:n 1153}

Vbl n 1151b = {+H:n 1154-1155}

Vbl n 1152a = {+Aux:aux n +H:n 1123} (see 4.2.7.)

Vbl n 1152b = {+H:n 1113 +Aux:aux n}

Vbl n 1152c = {+Aux:n 1654 +H:n 1117}

Vbl n 1161a = {+H:n 1161/1163/1167}

Vbl n 1161b = {+H:n 1164/1166}

Transitive

Vbl n 1211a = {+H:n 1211-1213/1217}

Vbl n 1211b = {+H:n 1214-1216}

Vbl n 1221a = {+H:n 1221/1223/1227}

Vbl n 1221b = {+H:n 1224/1226}

Vbl n 1231a = {+H:n 1231/1233/1237}

Vbl n 1231b = {+H:n 1234/1236}

Vbl n 1241a = {+H:n 1241/1243/1247}

Vbl n 1241b = {+H:n 1244/1246}

Vbl n 1251a = {+H:n 1253}

Vbl n 1251b = {+H:n 1254-1255}

Vbl n 1252a = {+Aux:aux n +H:n 1223}

Vbl n 1252b = {+H:n 1213 +Aux:aux n}

Vbl n 1252c = {+Aux:n 1654 +H:n 1217}

Vbl n 1261a = {+H:n 1261/1263/1267}

Vbl n 1261b = {+H:n 1264/1266}

Intransitive

Vbl n 1311a = {+H:n 1311-1313/1317}

Vbl n 1311b = {+H:n 1314-1316}

Vbl n 1321a = {+H:n 1321/1323/1327}

Vbl n 1321b = {+H:n 1324/1326}

Vbl n 1331a = {+H:n 1331/1333/1337}

Vbl n 1331b = {+H:n 1334/1336}

Vbl n 1341a = {+H:n 1341/1343/1347}

Vbl n 1341b = {+H:n 1344/1346}

Vbl n 1351a = {+H:n 1353}

Vbl n 1351b = {+H:n 1354-1355}

Vbl n 1352a = {+Aux:aux n +H:n 1323}

Vbl n 1352b = {+H:n 1313 +Aux:aux n}

Vbl n 1352c = {+Aux:n 1654 +H:n 1317}

Vbl n 1361a = {+H:n 1361/1363/1367}

Vbl n 1361b = {+H:n 1364/1366}

## Quotative

- Vbl n 1411a = {+H:n 1411-1413/1417}  
 Vbl n 1411b = {+H:n 1414-1416}  
 Vbl n 1421a = {+H:n 1421/1423/1427}  
 Vbl n 1421b = {+H:n 1424/1426}  
 Vbl n 1431a = {+H:n 1431/1433/1437}  
 Vbl n 1431b = {+H:n 1434/1436}  
 Vbl n 1441a = {+H:n 1441/1443/1447}  
 Vbl n 1441b = {+H:n 1444/1446}  
 Vbl n 1451a = {+H:n 1453}  
 Vbl n 1451b = {+H:n 1454-1455}  
 Vbl n 1452a = {+Aux:aux n +H:n 1423}  
 Vbl n 1452b = {+H:n 1413 +Aux:aux n}  
 Vbl n 1452c = {+Aux:n 1654 +H:n 1417}  
 Vbl n 1461a = {+H:n 1461/1463/1467}  
 Vbl n 1461b = {+H:n 1464/1466}

## Descriptive

- Vbl n 1511a = {+H:n 1511-1513/1517}  
 Vbl n 1521a = {+H:n 1521/1523/1527}  
 Vbl n 1521b = {+H:n 1524/1526}  
 Vbl n 1531a = {+H:n 1531/1533/1537}  
 Vbl n 1541a = {+H:n 1541/1543/1547}  
 Vbl n 1541b = {+H:n 1544/1546}  
 Vbl n 1551b = {+H:n 1554-1555}  
 Vbl n 1552a = {+Aux:aux n +H:n 1523}  
 Vbl n 1561a = {+H:n 1561/1563/1567}  
 Vbl n 1561b = {+H:n 1564/1566}

3.1.2.3. Citation verbal noun phrase paradigm

## Ditransitive

- Vbl n 1111a = apana 'what-he-carries'.  
 Vbl n 1111b = taqiskan 'his-singing'.  
 Vbl n 1121a = apayta 'the-carrying'.  
 Vbl n 1121b = rantinasniyta 'my-purchases'.  
 Vbl n 1131a = rantinaswan 'with-the-purchases'.  
 Vbl n 1131b = apanasinwan 'with-his-carrying'.

- Vbl n 1141a = apanaman 'to-what-is-carried' (toward what is carried).  
 Vbl n 1141b = apananpi 'in-his-carrying'.  
 Vbl n 1151a = kuytawanka 'after-giving'.  
 Vbl n 1151b = apaskanpi 'in-his-carrying'.  
 Vbl n 1152a = munaskanpi--kuyta 'in-his-wanting--to-give'.  
 Vbl n 1152b = kuy--munaskanpi 'to-give--in-his-wanting' (in his wanting to give).  
 Vbl n 1152c = rinayqama--rantix 'until-I-go--to-buy'.  
 Vbl n 1161a = apaskapax 'for-carrying'.  
 Vbl n 1161b = rantinasniypax 'for-my-purchases'.

Transitive

- Vbl n 1211a = khawax 'he-who-looks'.  
 Vbl n 1211b = miqhunan 'his-food'.  
 Vbl n 1221a = pukuxta 'produce-the-one-which' (the one which produces).  
 Vbl n 1221b = miqhunanta 'his-food'.  
 Vbl n 1231a = miqhunawan 'eat-with' (with food).  
 Vbl n 1231b = miqhunasninwan 'his-eatings-with' (with his food).  
 Vbl n 1241a = miqhunapi 'in-the-food'.  
 Vbl n 1241b = xap<sup>?</sup>isuskanqumanta 'from-grabbing-you' (because they grabbed you).  
 Vbl n 1251a = miqhuytawan 'after-eating'.  
 Vbl n 1251b = tariskayqipi 'in-your-finding'.  
 Vbl n 1252a = kallarikanpi--pakayquyta 'in-his-beginning--to-hide'.  
 Vbl n 1252b = pakayquy--kallarikanpi 'to-hide--in-his-beginning' (in his beginning to hide).  
 Vbl n 1252c = yayqumuskanta--dañuqux 'that-he-entered--to-damage'.  
 Vbl n 1261a = miqhunapax 'for-food' (for eating).  
 Vbl n 1261b = miqhunayqipax 'for-your-eating' (in order that you eat).

Intransitive

- Vbl n 1311a = wañuska 'the-dead-one'.

- Vbl n 1311b = wañuskan 'his-dead'.  
 Vbl n 1321a = wañuskasta 'the-dead-ones'.  
 Vbl n 1321b = wañuskasninta 'his-dead-ones'.  
 Vbl n 1331a = wañuskaswan 'with-the-dead-ones'.  
 Vbl n 1331b = wañuskasninwan 'with-his-dead-ones'.  
 Vbl n 1341a = wañuskaman 'to-the-dead-one'.  
 Vbl n 1341b = riskanpi 'in-his-going'.  
 Vbl n 1351a = xamuytawan 'after-coming'.  
 Vbl n 1351b = puñuskaypi 'in-my-sleep'.  
 Vbl n 1352a = atiskanpi--tiyaquyta 'in-his-being-able--to-sit'.  
 Vbl n 1352b = puñuy--munaskanpi 'to-sleep--in-his-wanting' (in his wanting to sleep).  
 Vbl n 1352c = rinayqiqama--puñux 'until-you-go--to-sleep'.  
 Vbl n 1361a = puñunapax 'for-sleeping'.  
 Vbl n 1361b = puñunanrayqu 'because-of-his-sleep'.

#### Quotative

- Vbl n 1411a = nix 'he-who-says'.  
 Vbl n 1411b = niskasnin 'his-sayings'.  
 Vbl n 1421a = nisaxta 'the-speaker'.  
 Vbl n 1421b = niskanta 'what-he-said'.  
 Vbl n 1431a = niskawan 'with-what-he-said'.  
 Vbl n 1431b = niskasniyqiwan 'with-your-saying'.  
 Vbl n 1441a = niypi 'in-the-saying'.  
 Vbl n 1441b = niskanpi 'in-the-saying'.  
 Vbl n 1451a = niytawan 'after-saying'.  
 Vbl n 1451b = niskanpi 'in-his-saying'.  
 Vbl n 1452a = munaskanpi--niyta 'in-his-wanting--to-say'.  
 Vbl n 1452b = niy--kallariskanpi 'to-say--in-his-beginning' (in his beginning to say).  
 Vbl n 1452c = rinayqama--nix 'until-I-go--to-say'.  
 Vbl n 1461a = ninapax 'for-saying'.  
 Vbl n 1461b = ninanpax 'for-his-saying'.

#### Descriptive

- Vbl n 1511a = qax 'the-one-who-is'.  
 Vbl n 1521a = qaxta 'the-one-who-is'.

- Vbl n 1521b = qaskanta 'his-being'.  
 Vbl n 1531a = qaxwan 'with-the-other'.  
 Vbl n 1541a = qaxmanka 'to-the-one-who-is'.  
 Vbl n 1541b = qaskanpi 'in-his-being'.  
 Vbl n 1551b = qaskanmanta 'because-his-being' (because of his being).  
 Vbl n 1552a = munaskanpi--qayta 'in-his-wanting--to-be'.  
 Vbl n 1561a = qaxpax 'for-the-one-who-is'.  
 Vbl n 1561b = qananpax 'for-his-being'.

3.1.3. The participial phrase

3.1.3.1. Emic participial phrase classes

	Ditr 100	Tr 200	Intr 300	Quot 400	Desc 500
1001a	1101a	1201a	1301a	1401a	1501a
1001b	1101b	1201b	1301b	1401b	1501b
1001c	1101c	1201c	1301c	1401c	
1001d	1101d	1201d	1301d	1401d	
1001e	1101e	1201e	1301e	1401e	1501e
1002a	1102a	1202a	1302a	1402a	1502a
1002b	1102b	1202b	1302b	1402b	
1002c	1102c	1202c	1302c	1402c	
1002d	1102d	1202d	1302d	1402d	

Chart IV. Emic participial phrase classes

3.1.3.2. Tagmemic participial phrase paradigm

Ditransitive

- Ptc 1101a = {+H:ptc 111}  
 Ptc 1101b = {+Aux:aux ptc 111 +H:n 1123}  
 Ptc 1101c = {+H:n 1113 +Aux:aux ptc 111}  
 Ptc 1101d = {+Aux:ptc 161 +H:n 1117}  
 Ptc 1101e = {+H:n 1117 +Cp:adv 1}  
 Ptc 1102a = {+H:ptc 112}

Ptc 1102b = {+Aux:aux ptc 112 +H:n 1123}

Ptc 1102c = {+H:n 1113 +Aux:aux ptc 112}

Ptc 1102d = {+Aux:ptc 162 +H:n 1117}

#### Transitive

Ptc 1201a = {+H:ptc 121}

Ptc 1201b = {+Aux:aux ptc 121 +H:n 1223}

Ptc 1201c = {+H:n 1213 +Aux:aux ptc 121}

Ptc 1201d = {+Aux:ptc 161 +H:n 1217}

Ptc 1201e = {+H:n 1217 +Cp:adv 1}

Ptc 1202a = {+H:ptc 122}

Ptc 1202b = {+Aux:aux ptc 122 +H:n 1223}

Ptc 1202c = {+H:n 1213 +Aux:aux ptc 122}

Ptc 1202d = {+Aux:ptc 162 +H:n 1217}

#### Intransitive

Ptc 1301a = {+H:ptc 131}

Ptc 1301b = {+Aux:aux ptc 131 +H:n 1323}

Ptc 1301c = {+H:n 1313 +Aux:aux ptc 131}

Ptc 1301d = {+Aux:ptc 161 +H:n 1317}

Ptc 1301e = {+H:n 1317 +Cp:adv 1}

Ptc 1302a = {+H:ptc 132}

Ptc 1302b = {+Aux:aux ptc 132 +H:n 1323}

Ptc 1302c = {+H:n 1313 +Aux:aux ptc 132}

Ptc 1302d = {+Aux:ptc 162 +H:n 1317}

#### Quotative

Ptc 1401a = {+H:ptc 141}

Ptc 1401b = {+Aux:aux ptc 141 +H:n 1423}

Ptc 1401c = {+H:n 1413 +Aux:aux ptc 141}

Ptc 1401d = {+Aux:ptc 161 +H:n 1417}

Ptc 1401e = {+H:n 1417 +Cp:adv 1}

Ptc 1402a = {+H:ptc 142}

Ptc 1402b = {+Aux:aux ptc 142 +H:n 1423}

Ptc 1402c = {+H:n 1413 +Aux:aux ptc 142}

Ptc 1402d = {+Aux:ptc 162 +H:n 1417}

#### Descriptive

Ptc 1501a = {+H:ptc 151}

Ptc 1501b = {+Aux:aux ptc 151 +H:n 1523}

Ptc 1501e = {+H:n 1517 +Cp:adv 1}

Ptc 1502a = {+H:ptc 152}

### 3.1.3.3. Citation participial phrase paradigm

#### Ditransitive

Ptc 1101a = apaspa 'carrying'.

Ptc 1101b = munaspa--kuyta 'wanting--to-give'.

Ptc 1101c = kuy--kallarispá 'to-give--beginning' (beginning to give).

Ptc 1101d = rispa--kux 'going--to-give'.

Ptc 1101e = apax--xina 'to-carry--like' (just while carrying).

Ptc 1102a = rantixtiy 'when-I-go-buying'.

Ptc 1102b = munaxtin--kuyta 'when-he-wants--to-give'.

Ptc 1102c = kuy--munaxtin 'to-give--when-he-wants' (when he wants to give).

Ptc 1102d = rixtin--rantix 'when-he-goes--to-buy'.

#### Transitive

Ptc 1201a = miqhuspa 'eating'.

Ptc 1201b = kallarispá--miqhuyta 'beginning--to-eat'.

Ptc 1201c = miqhuy--kallarispá 'to-eat--beginning' (beginning to eat).

Ptc 1201d = rispa--miqhuj 'going--to-eat'.

Ptc 1201e = pakaqux--xina 'to-hide--like' (just while hiding).

Ptc 1202a = tarixtin 'when-he-finds'.

Ptc 1202b = kallarixtin--miqhuyta 'when-he-begins--to-eat'.

Ptc 1202c = miqhuy--kallarixtin 'to-eat--when-he-begins' (when he begins to eat).

Ptc 1202d = çayamuxtin--miqhux 'when-he-arrives--to-eat'.

#### Intransitive

Ptc 1301a = puñuspa 'sleeping'.

Ptc 1301b = munaspa--puñuyta 'wanting--to-sleep'.

Ptc 1301c = puñuy--munaspa 'to-sleep--wanting' (wanting to sleep).

- Ptc 1301d = rispa--tiyaqux 'going--to-sit'.  
 Ptc 1301e = wakax--xina 'to-cry--like' (just when crying).  
 Ptc 1302a = wañuxtin 'when-he-dies'.  
 Ptc 1302b = munaxtin--wakayta 'when-he-wants--to-cry'.  
 Ptc 1302c = wakay--munaxtin 'to-cry--when-he-wants'  
 (when he wants to cry).  
 Ptc 1302d = lluxsixtin--llanqax 'when-he-leaves--to-work'.

### Quotative

- Ptc 1401a = nispa 'saying'.  
 Ptc 1401b = kallarispa--niyta 'beginning--to-say'.  
 Ptc 1401c = niy--kallarispa 'to-say--beginning' (beginning  
 to speak).  
 Ptc 1401d = xuraq?aspa--nix 'getting-down--to-say'.  
 Ptc 1401e = nix--xina 'to-say--like' (about to say).  
 Ptc 1402a = nixtinka 'when-he-says'.  
 Ptc 1402b = kallarixtin--niyta 'when-he-begins--to-say'.  
 Ptc 1402c = niy--kallarixtin 'to-say--when-he-begins'  
 (when he begins to say).  
 Ptc 1402d = ripuxtin--nix 'when-he-goes--to-say'.

### Descriptive

- Ptc 1501a = qaspa 'being'.  
 Ptc 1501b = munaspa--qayta 'wanting--to-be'.  
 Ptc 1501e = rispa--qax 'going--to-be'.  
 Ptc 1502a = qaxtinka 'when-he-is'.

## 3.2. The noun phrase

### 3.2.1. Emic noun phrase classes

		S	O	Ac	L	T	Pur
		10	20	30	40	50	60
Simple	01	11	21	31	41	51	61
Poss 1	02	12	22	32	42		62
Poss 2	03	13	23	33	43	53	63
Ownership	04	14	24	34	44		64
Ap	05a	15a	25a	35a	45a	55a	65a
	05b	15b	25b	35b	45b		65b
Dup	06	16	26	36	46		66
Poss 3	07	17	27	37	47		67
Par	08	18			48	58	
Relationship	09	19			49	59	

Chart V. Emic noun phrase classes

3.2.2. Tagmemic noun phrase paradigm

N 11 = {+Spec:n 17 +Num:n 11 +Att 1:adj +Att 2:adj  
+Qual:n 11 +H:Cl 204/n 11}

N 12 = {+Gen:N 18 +H:Cl 205/N 13}

N 13 = {+Spec:n 17 +Num:n 11 +Att:adj +Qual:n 11 +Cp:  
adj r +H:n 12}

N 14 = {+Spec:n 17 +Num:n 11 +Att:adj +Qual 1:n 11  
+Qual 2:n 11 +H:n theme 113}

N 15a = {+H:N 11 +Ap:Cl 204/N 11}

N 15b = {+H:N 11-14 +(Cd:N 11-14)<sup>n</sup>}

N 16 = {+Dup:n 16 +H:n 16}

Fillers of Dup and H slots are identical

N 17 = {+Spec:n 17 +Qual:n 11 +H:n 13}

N 18 = {+Spec:n 17 +Qual:n 11 +H:n 73}

N 19 = {+H:N 11-13 +Cp:adv 1}

N 21-27

Obtain formulas N 21-27 by multiplication of N 11-17 as follows: For each n 10 or N 10 manifesting the H tagmeme, substitute the corresponding n 20 or N 20, and for Cl 204 substitute Cl 304.

## N 31-37

Obtain N 31-37 by multiplication of N 11-17 as follows:  
For each n 10 or N 10 manifesting the H tagmeme, substitute  
the corresponding n 30 or N 30, and for Cl 204 substitute  
Cl 404.

## N 41-47

Obtain N 41-47 a and b by multiplication of N 11-17 as  
follows: For each n 10 or N 10 manifesting the H tagmeme,  
substitute the corresponding n 40 or N 40, and for Cl 204  
substitute Cl 504 a and b.

N 48 = {+Att:adj +Qual:n 11 +Qual<sup>2</sup>:n 11 +Cp:adj r +H:  
loc}

N 49 = {+Qual:N 13 +H:loc}

N 51 = {+Num:n 11 +H:n 51}

N 53 = {+H:n 52}

N 55a = {+Qual:n 11 +H:n 1323}

N 58 = {+Qual:n 51-52 +H:n 51}

## N 61-67

Obtain N 61-67 by multiplication of N 11-17 as follows:  
For each n 10 or N 10 manifesting the H tagmeme, substitute  
the corresponding n 60 or N 60, and for Cl 204 substitute  
Cl 604.

3.2.3. Noun phrase citation

N 11 = čay--čunqa--yurax--kuwisitus 'that--ten--white--  
little--rabbits' (those ten little white rabbits).

N 12 = čay ñaupa runaspa--sutinka 'that ancient men's--  
his-name' (the name of those ancient men).

xuqʷučax--taquiskan 'the-rat's--singing'.

N 13 = qinsa--wawasnin 'three--his-children' (his three  
children).

N 14 = yana--pʷačayux 'black--with-clothes' (he who owns  
black clothes).

N 15a = čay čʷiti--ripux 'that boy--who-goes' (that boy  
who goes away).

- N 15b = tatan--maman--wawasnin 'his-father--his-mother--his-children' (his father, his mother and his children).
- N 16 = wax--wax 'another--another' (another and another).
- N 17 = čay--misixtaka 'that--cat's'.
- N 18 = cay--intix 'this--sun's'.
- N 19 = xamp?atu--xina 'toad--like' (like a toad).
- N 21 = q?ačitu--č?apa--alkuta 'pretty--woolly--dog' (the pretty woolly dog).
- N 32 = čaypa--wawanwan 'that--his-child-with' (with his child).
- N 42 = manqax--uqhunman 'pot's--to-it's-inside' (to the pot's inside).
- N 48 = urku--aswan pataman 'mountain--more to-the-top' (more to the top of the mountain).
- N 49 = čay wasinčix--uqhuman 'that our-house--to-inside' (to the inside of our house).
- N 51 = ux--qutika 'one--time' (once upon a time).
- N 53 = unayninmanña 'to-it's-time' (after a long time).
- N 55 = qilla--lluxsimuytaka 'moon--leaving' (at the rising of the moon).
- N 58 = k?ayantin--pakarinka 'tomorrow--morning'.
- N 59 = qunan--tuta 'now--night' (tonight).
- N 64 = yana--traxiyuxpax 'black--for-owner-of-clothes' (for the one with the black clothes).

### 3.3. The relative phrase

#### 3.3.1. Tagmemic relative phrase paradigm

- Rel 1 = {+Neg: neg 4 +H: rel 11-14}
- Rel 2 = {+Neg: neg 4 +H: rel 21-24}
- Rel 3 = {+Neg: neg 4 +H: rel 31-33}
- Rel 4 = {+Neg: neg 4 +H: rel 41-42/47}
- Rel 5 = {+Neg: neg 4 +H: rel 61-64}
- Rel 6 = {+Neg: neg 4 +H: rel 18}
- Rel 7 = {+Neg: neg 4 +H: rel 43}

- Rel 8 = {+Att:adj r (tucuy) +H:rel 11-12}  
 Rel 9 = {+Att:adj r (tucuy) +H:rel 21-22}  
 Rel 10 = {+Att:adj r (tucuy) +H:rel 31-32}  
 Rel 11 = {+Att:adj r (tucuy) +H:rel 41-42}  
 Rel 12 = {+Att:adj r (tucuy) +H:rel 61-62}

### 3.3.2. Citation relative phrase paradigm

- Rel 1 = ni--ima 'no--what' (nothing).  
 Rel 2 = imata 'what'.  
 Rel 3 = piwan 'who-with' (with whom).  
 Rel 4 = maypi 'where-in' (where).  
 Rel 5 = maykinpax 'which-for' (for which).  
 Rel 6 = ni--mayq?ax 'no--when' (never).  
 Rel 7 = piman 'to-whom'.  
 Rel 8 = tucuy--ima 'all-what' (everything).  
 Rel 9 = imata 'what'.  
 Rel 10 = imawan 'with-what'.  
 Rel 11 = tucuy--imanman 'all--to-his-what' (to all of his  
 whatever).  
 Rel 12 = tucuy--imapax 'all--for-what' (for everything).

### 3.4. The adjective phrase

#### 3.4.1. Tagmemic adjective phrase paradigm

- Adj 1 = {+Intens:adj r Res +Qual:adj +H:adj}  
 Adj 2 = {+Dup:adj +H:adj}

The fillers of the Dup and H tagmemes are identical.

#### 3.4.2. Citation adjective phrase paradigm

- Adj 1 = anča--q?ačitu 'very--pretty'.  
 Adj 2 = k?ala--k?ala 'all--all' (completely).

### 3.5. The adverb phrase

3.5.1. Tagmemic adverb phrase formula

Adv = {+Intens:adj r Res +H:adv 3}

3.5.2. The adverb phrase citation

Adv = anča--sumaxta 'very--good'.

4. The word

4.1. The verb

4.1.1. Emic verb classes

	Ditr 10	Tr 20	Intr 30	Quot 40	Desc 50	Mot 60
Decl 01a-d	11a-d	21a-d	31	41a-d	51	61a-d
Hyp 02a-b	12a-b	22a-b	32a-b	42a-b	52a-b	62a-b
Impv 03	13	23	33	43	53	63

Chart VI. Emic verb classes

4.1.2. The inflected verb

4.1.2.1. Tagmemic inflected verb paradigm

Ditransitive verb 10

vb 11a = {+Base 10 +O ref +Tense +Person S/Person O}

vb 11b = {+Base 10 +O ref b +Tense +Person O b}

vb 11c = {+Base 10 +Tense +Person O}

vb 11d = {+Base 10 +O ref d +Tense +Person O d}

vb 12a = {+Base 10 +(O ref +Person S/Person O) +Hyp}

vb 12b = {+Base 10 +Hyp +Person S}

vb 13 = {+Base 10 +O ref +Impv +Person S}

Transitive verb 20

vb 21a = {+Base 20 +O ref +Tense +Person S/Person O}

vb 21b = {+Base 20b +O ref +Tense +Person O b}

vb 21c = {+Base 20 +Tense +Person O}

- vb 21d = {+Base 20d +O ref +Tense +Person O d}  
 vb 22a = {+Base 20 +(+O ref +Person S/Person O) +Hyp}  
 vb 22b = {+Base 20 +Hyp +Person S}  
 vb 23 = {+Base 20 +O ref +Impv +Person S}

## Intransitive verb 30

- vb 31 = {+Base 30 +Tense +Person S}  
 vb 32a = {+Base 30 +Person S a +Hyp a}  
 vb 32b = {+Base 30 +Hyp b +Person S b}  
 vb 33 = {+Base 30 +Impv +Person S}

## Quotative verb 40

- vb 41a = {+Base 40 +O ref +Tense +Person S/Person O}  
 vb 41b = {+Base 40 +O ref b +Tense +Person O b}  
 vb 41c = {+Base 40 +Tense +Person O}  
 vb 41d = {+Base 40 +O ref d +Tense +Person O d}  
 vb 42a = {+Base 40 +(+O ref +Person S/Person O) +Hyp}  
 vb 42b = {+Base 40 +Hyp +Person S}  
 vb 43 = {+Base 40 +O ref +Impv +Person S}

## Descriptive verb 50

- vb 51 = {+Base 50 +Tense +Person S}  
 vb 52a = {+Base 50 +Person S a +Hyp a}  
 vb 52b = {+Base 50 +Hyp b +Person S b}  
 vb 53 = {+Base 50 +Impv +Person S}

## Motion verb 60

- vb 61a = {+Base 60 +O ref +Tense +Person S/Person O}  
 vb 61b = {+Base 60 +O ref b +Tense +Person O b}  
 vb 61c = {+Base 60 +Tense +Person O}  
 vb 61d = {+Base 60 +O ref d +Tense +Person O d}  
 vb 62a = {+Base 60 +(+O ref +Person S/Person O) +Hyp}  
 vb 62b = {+Base 60 +Hyp +Person S}  
 vb 63 = {+Base 60 +O ref +Impv +Person S}

On three occasions in text a motion verb 60 has been found to include the tagmemes O ref and Person O. The inclusion of these tagmemes in the formulas of the vb 60 is based on elicited data, and has not otherwise been corroborated in careful speech. The vb 60 has been shown as dis-

tributed in the transitive verb phrase Vb 31 rather than in the transitive Vb 21 because the clause-level tagmeme O has so far not been found in a clause whose predicate is manifested by a phrase with a head slot filled by a vb 60.

4.1.2.2. Tagmemic inflected verb paradigm

Ditransitive verb 10

- vb 11a = [+Base:vb stem 10 +O ref:1110 +Tense:1120  
+Person S:1131-1137/Person O:1132/1134/1136  
+Expanse:1210 +Temporal:1220 +Cert:1230  
+Corr:1240 +Add:1250 +Prob:1260 +Emph:1270]
- vb 11b = [+Base:vb stem 10 +O ref:1111 +Tense:1120  
+Person O:1134-1135 +Expanse:1210 +Temporal:  
1220 +Cert:1230 +Corr:1240 +Add:1250 +Prob:  
1260 +Emph:1270]
- vb 11c = [+Base:vb stem 10 +Tense:1120 +Person O:1138-  
1139 +Expanse:1210 +Temporal:1220 +Cert:1230  
+Corr:1240 +Add:1250 +Prob:1260 +Emph:1270]
- vb 11d = [+Base:vb stem 10 +O ref:1112 +Tense:1120  
+Person O:1132/1136 +Expanse:1210 +Temporal:  
1220 +Cert:1230 +Corr:1240 +Add:1250 +Prob:  
1260 +Emph:1270]
- vb 12a = [+Base:vb stem 10 +(O ref:1110 +[Person S:1131/  
1133-1135/1137]/Person O:1138-1139) +Hyp:1151  
+Expanse:1210 +Temporal:1220 +Cert:1230  
+Corr:1240 +Add:1250 +Prob:1260 +Emph:1270]
- vb 12b = [+Base:vb stem 10 +Hyp:1152 +Person S:1136  
+Expanse:1210 +Temporal:1220 +Cert:1230  
+Corr:1240 +Add:1250 +Prob:1260 +Emph:1270]
- vb 13 = [+Base:vb stem 10 +O ref:1110 +Impv:1140  
+Person S:1132-1133/1136-1137 +Expanse:1210  
+Temporal:1220 +Cert:1230 +Corr:1240 +Add:  
1250 +Prob:1260 +Emph:1270]

L. M. Shedd in his grammar "A Pedagogical Grammar of the Quechua Tongue" included -suyquichej as an alternative form of -suycu, first pl excl S with 2nd pl O. It may be included in the above formulas by adding affix 1139 to the

fillers of the Person O slot in the formulas of vb 11 and 21.

Transitive verb 20

- vb 21a = [+Base:vb stem 20 +O ref:1110 +Tense:1120  
+Person S:1131-1137/(Person O:1132/1134/1136)  
+Expanse:1210 +Temporal:1220 +Cert:1230  
+Corr:1240 +Add:1250 +Prob:1260 +Emph:1270]
- vb 21b = [+Base:vb stem 20 +O ref:1111 +Tense:1120  
+Person O:1134-1135 +Expanse:1210 +Temporal:  
1220 +Cert:1230 +Corr:1240 +Add:1250 +Prob:  
1260 +Emph:1270]
- vb 21c = [+Base:vb stem 20 +Tense:1120 +Person O:1138-  
1139 +Expanse:1210 +Temporal:1220 +Cert:1230  
+Corr:1240 +Add:1250 +Prob:1260 +Emph:1270]
- vb 21d = [+Base:vb stem 20 +O ref:1112 +Tense:1120  
+Person O:1132/1136 +Expanse:1210 +Temporal:  
1220 +Cert:1230 +Corr:1240 +Add:1250 +Prob:  
1260 +Emph:1270]
- vb 22a = [+Base:vb stem 20 +(O ref +[Person S:1131/1133-  
1135/1137]/Person O:1138-1139) +Hyp:1151  
+Expanse:1210 +Temporal:1220 +Cert:1230  
+Corr:1240 +Add:1250 +Prob:1260 +Emph:1270]
- vb 22b = [+Base:vb stem 20 +Hyp:1152 +Person S:1136  
+Expanse:1210 +Temporal:1220 +Cert:1230  
+Corr:1240 +Add:1250 +Prob:1260 +Emph:1270]
- vb 23 = [+Base:vb stem 20 +O ref:1110 +Impv:1140  
+Person S:1132-1133/1136-1137 +Expanse:1210  
+Temporal:1220 +Cert:1230 +Corr:1240 +Add:  
1250 +Prob:1260 +Emph:1270]

Intransitive verb 30

- vb 31 = [+Base:vb stem 30 +Tense:1120 +Person S:1131-  
1137 +Expanse:1210 +Temporal:1220 +Cert:  
1230 +Corr:1240 +Add:1250 +Prob:1260 +Emph:  
1270]
- vb 32a = [+Base:vb stem 30 +Person S:1131/1133-1135/1137  
+Hyp:1151 +Expanse:1210 +Temporal:1220

- +Cert:1230 +Corr:1240 +Add:1250 +Prob:1260  
+Emph:1270]
- vb 32b = [+Base:vb stem 30 +Hyp:1152 +Person S:1136  
+Expanse:1210 +Temporal:1220 +Cert:1230  
+Corr:1240 +Add:1250 +Prob:1260 +Emph:1270]
- vb 33 = [+Base:vb stem 30 +Impv:1140 +Person S:1132-  
1133/1136-1137 +Expanse:1210 +Temporal:1220  
+Cert:1230 +Corr:1240 +Add:1250 +Prob:1260  
+Emph:1270]

## Quotative verb 40

- vb 41a = [+Base:vb stem 40 +O ref:1110 +Tense:1120  
+Person S:1131-1137/Person O:1134/1136  
+Expanse:1210 +Temporal:1220 +Cert:1230  
+Corr:1240 +Add:1250 +Prob:1260 +Emph:1270]
- vb 41b = [+Base:vb stem 40 +O ref:1111 +Tense:1120  
+Person O:1134-1135 +Expanse:1210 +Temporal:  
1220 +Cert:1230 +Corr:1240 +Add:1250 +Prob:  
1260 +Emph:1270]
- vb 41c = [+Base:vb stem 40 +Tense:1120 +Person O:1138-  
1139 +Expanse:1210 +Temporal:1220 +Cert:1230  
+Corr:1240 +Add:1250 +Prob:1260 +Emph:1270]
- vb 41d = [+Base:vb stem 40 +O ref:1112 +Tense:1120  
+Person O:1132/1136 +Expanse:1210 +Temporal:  
1220 +Cert:1230 +Corr:1240 +Add:1250 +Prob:  
1260 +Emph:1270]
- vb 42a = [+Base:vb stem 40 +( +O ref:1110 +[Person S:  
1131/1133-1135/1137]/Person O:1138-1139) +Hyp:  
1151 +Expanse:1210 +Temporal:1220 +Cert:1230  
+Corr:1240 +Add:1250 +Prob:1260 +Emph:1270]
- vb 42b = [+Base:vb stem 40 +Hyp:1152 +Person S:1136  
+Expanse:1210 +Temporal:1220 +Cert:1230  
+Corr:1240 +Add:1250 +Prob:1260 +Emph:1270]
- vb 43 = [+Base:vb stem 40 +O ref:1110 +Impv:1140  
+Person S:1132-1133/1136-1137 +Expanse:1210  
+Temporal:1220 +Cert:1230 +Corr:1240 +Add:  
1250 +Prob:1260 +Emph:1270]

## Descriptive verb 50

- vb 51 = [+Base:vb stem 50 +Tense:1120 +Person S:1131-1137 +Expanse:1210 +Temporal:1220 +Cert:1230 +Corr:1240 +Add:1250 +Prob:1260 +Emph:1270]
- vb 52a = [+Base:vb stem 50 +Person S:1131/1133-1135/1137 +Hyp:1151 +Expanse:1210 +Temporal:1220 +Cert:1230 +Corr:1240 +Add:1250 +Prob:1260 +Emph:1270]
- vb 52b = [+Base:vb stem 50 +Hyp:1152 +Person S:1136 +Expanse:1210 +Temporal:1220 +Cert:1230 +Corr:1240 +Add:1250 +Prob:1260 +Emph:1270]
- vb 53 = [+Base:vb stem 50 +Impv:1140 +Person S:1132-1133/1136-1137 +Expanse:1210 +Temporal:1220 +Cert:1230 +Corr:1240 +Add:1250 +Prob:1260 +Emph:1270]

## Motion verb 60

- vb 61a = [+Base:vb stem 60 +O ref:1110 +Tense:1120 +Person S:1131-1137/Person O:1134/1136 +Expanse:1210 +Temporal:1220 +Cert:1240 +Add:1250 +Prob:1260 +Emph:1270]
- vb 61b = [+Base:vb stem 60 +O ref:1111 +Tense:1120 +Person O:1134-1135 +Expanse:1210 +Temporal:1220 +Cert:1230 +Corr:1240 +Add:1250 +Prob:1260 +Emph:1270]
- vb 61c = [+Base:vb stem 60 +Tense:1120 +Person O:1138-1139 +Expanse:1210 +Temporal:1220 +Cert:1230 +Corr:1240 +Add:1250 +Prob:1260 +Emph:1270]
- vb 61d = [+Base:vb stem 60 +O ref:1112 +Tense:1120 +Person O:1132/1136 +Expanse:1210 +Temporal:1220 +Cert:1230 +Corr:1240 +Add:1250 +Prob:1260 +Emph:1270]
- vb 62a = [+Base:vb stem 60 +(O ref:1110 +[Person S:1131/1133-1135/1137/Person O:1138-1139) +Hyp:1151 +Expanse:1210 +Temporal:1220 +Cert:

- 1230 +Corr:1240 +Add:1250 +Prob:1260 +Emph:1270]
- vb 62b = [+Base:vb stem 60 +Hyp:1152 +Person S:1136 +Expanse:1210 +Temporal:1220 +Cert:1230 +Corr:1240 +Add:1250 +Prob:1260 +Emph:1270]
- vb 63 = [+Base:vb stem 60 +O ref:1110 +Impv:1140 +Person S:1132-1133/1136-1137 +Expanse:1210 +Temporal:1220 +Cert:1230 +Corr:1240 +Add:1250 +Prob:1260 +Emph:1270]

4.1.2.3. Citation inflected verb paradigm

Ditransitive verb 10

vb 11a = apamu-su-nqičix 'bring -to-you -he-to-you-pl' (he brings to you).

ku-wa-rka-nqi 'give -to-me -past -you-to-me' (you gave to me).

ku-n-rax-puni-čá 'give -he -yet -really -perhaps' (would he have given it yet?).

vb 11b = ku-wa-yqu 'give -to-us -to-us excl.' (has given to us).

ruwa-wa-rka-nčix 'make -us -past -he-to-us incl.' (he made for us).

vb 11c = apamu-yqi 'bring -I-to-you' (I bring to you).

ku-ska-yqičix 'give -I-fut -I-to-you-pl' (I will give to you).

vb 11d = munaqu-su-nqi 'love -to-you -he-to-you' (he loves you).

yačači-su-nqičix 'teach -to-you -he-to-you-pl' (he teaches you).

vb 12a = ku-yqu-man 'give -we-excl -might' (we might give).

vindiyqu-wa-nqi-man 'sell -to-me -you -might' (you might sell it to me).

vb 12b = ku-wax 'give -you-might' (you might give).

ku-wax-čix 'give -you-might -you-pl' (you might give).

- vb 13 = ku-wa-y 'give -to-me -you' (give to me).  
 apamu-ču-nqu 'bring -impv -they' (let them bring).

## Transitive verb 20

- vb 21a = wayqʔu-ni 'cook -I' (I cook).  
 miqhu-rka-nqi 'eat -past -you' (you ate).  
 vb 21b = mayllapu-wa-rka-nčix 'wash -us -past -she-to-us  
 incl' (she washed for us).  
 vb 21c = suya-ska-yqi 'wait-for -I-fut -I-to-you' (I will  
 wait for you).  
 vb 21d = suya-su-nqičix 'wait-for -you-pl -he-to-you' (he  
 waits for you).  
 vb 22a = rantiqu-yqu-man 'buy -we-excl -might' (we might  
 buy).  
 wayrač1-y-man 'winnow -I -might' (I might winnow).  
 miqhuyqu-y-man 'eat-heartily -I -might' (I might eat  
 heartily).  
 vb 22b = muna-wax 'want -you-might' (you might want).  
 vb 23 = aluxa-wa-y 'lodge -me -you-impv' (lodge me).

## Intransitive verb 30

- vb 31 = ati-ni 'be-able -I (I am able).  
 tiyaqu-nqi 'live -you' (you live).  
 puñuša-n-rax-ča 'sleeping -he -yet -perhaps' (he  
 may still be sleeping).  
 vb 32a = ati-y-man 'be-able -I -might' (I might be able).  
 vb 32b = puñuqampu-wax 'sleep -you-might' (you might  
 sleep).  
 vb 33 = tiyaqu-y 'sit -you-impv' (sit).  
 tiyaqu-ču-nqu 'sit -they-impv -they' (let them sit).

## Quotative verb 40

- vb 41a = ni-wa-nqi 'say -to-me -you-to-me' (you say to me).  
 ni-nqu-ča-ri 'say -they-perhaps -emph' (maybe they  
 say).  
 vb 41b = ni-wa-yqu 'say -to-us -he-to-us excl' (he says to  
 us).  
 vb 41c = niša-rka-yqi 'saying -past -I-to-you' (I was say-  
 ing to you).

- vb 41d = ni-su-nqi 'say -to-you -he-to-you' (he says to you).  
 vb 42a = ni-yqi-man 'say -I-to-you -might' (I might say to you).  
 vb 42b = ni-wax 'say -you-might' (you might say).  
 vb 43 = ni-y 'say -you-impv' (say).  
 ni-wa-y 'say -to-me -you-impv' (say to me).

Descriptive verb 50

- vb 51 = qa-nka 'be -he-fut' (he will be).  
 qa-ni 'be -I' (I am).  
 vb 52a = qaqu-y-man 'remain -I -might' (I might remain).  
 qa-n-man-ri 'be -he -might -emph' (he might be).  
 vb 52b = qa-wax 'be -you-might' (you might be).  
 vb 53 = qa-y 'be -you-impv' (be).

Motion verb 60

- vb 61a = xamu-ska-nqu 'come -past -they' (they came).  
 puri-ni 'walk -I' (I walk).  
 ri-ska-nqu-pača-ña-tax-ka 'go -past -they -expanse  
 -already -and -emph' (and they had already gone then).  
 vb 61b = xamu-wa-nčix 'come -to-us -he-to-us incl' (he comes to us).  
 vb 61c = lluxsi-ska-yqičix 'come-out -I-fut -to-you-pl' (I will come out to you).  
 vb 61d = ri-su-nqi 'go -to-you -he-to-you' (he goes to you).  
 čayamu-su-nqičix 'arrive -to-you -he-to-you-pl'  
 (he arrives to you).  
 vb 62a = xamu-y-man 'come -I -might' (I might come).  
 vb 62b = xamu-wax 'come -you-might' (you might come).  
 vb 63 = ri-y 'go -you-impv' (go).  
 uraquamu-y 'come-down -you-impv' (come down).

4.1.3. The verb stem

4.1.3.1. Tagmemic verb stem paradigm

In the formulas of vb 11 and 21 the symbol +/\_ indicates

that either the Caus or Coop tagmeme is obligatory if the Refl tagmeme occurs; otherwise one of the two tagmemes is optional.

#### Ditransitive 10

- vb stem 11 = {+Base 10 +/+Caus/Coop +Refl}  
 vb stem 12 = {+Base 12 +Caus/Coop}  
 vb stem 13 = {+Base 13 +Caus 1 +Caus 2/Coop}

#### Transitive 20

- vb stem 21 = {+Base 21 +/+Caus/Coop +Refl}  
 vb stem 22 = {+Base 22 +Refl}  
 vb stem 23 = {+Base 23 +Caus/Coop}  
 vb stem 24 = {+Base 24 +Vbz 1 +Caus 1}  
 vb stem 25 = {+Base 25 +Vbz 1 +Caus 2}  
 vb stem 26 = {+Base 26 +Vbz 2 +Caus}  
 vb stem 27 = {+Base 27 +Caus 1}  
 vb stem 28 = {+Base 28 +Caus 2}  
 vb stem 29 = {+Base 29 +Vbz 3}

#### Intransitive 30

- vb stem 31 = {+Base +Refl}  
 vb stem 32 = {+Base 32 +Refl}  
 vb stem 33 = {+Base 33 +Vbz 1 +Refl}  
 vb stem 34 = {+Base 34 +Vbz 2 +Refl}

#### Quotative 40

- vb stem 41 = {+Base 41 +Caus +Refl}

#### Descriptive 50

- vb stem 51 = {+Base 51 +Refl}

#### Motion 60

- vb stem 61 = {+Base 61 +Caus/Coop +Refl}

#### 4.1.3.2. Tagmatic verb stem paradigm

The maximum number of tagmemes occurring simultaneously in a verb stem is six.

Ditransitive 10

vb stem 11 = [+Base:vb r 10 +Deg:1320/(+Atd:1331-1332  
+Intent:1340)/(+Atd:1333 +Intent:1340) +Extent:  
1350 +Intens:1360 +/+Caus:1370/Coop:1390  
+Refl:1410 +Mot:1420 +Ben:1430 +Cont:1440  
+Lim:1450]

vb stem 12 = [+Base:vb r 20/60 +Deg:1320/(+Atd:1331-1332  
+Intent:1240)/(+Atd:1333 +Intent:1340) +Extent:  
1350 +Intens:1360 +Caus:1370/Coop:1390 +Mot:  
1420 +Ben:1430 +Cont:1440 +Lim:1450]

vb stem 13 = [+Base:vb r 30 +Deg:1320/(+Atd:1331-1332  
+Intent:1340)/(+Atd:1333 +Intent:1340) +Extent:  
1350 +Intens:1360 +Caus 1:1370/Coop:1390  
+Caus 2:1380/Coop:1390 +Mot:1420 +Ben:1430  
+Cont:1440 +Lim:1450]

Transitive 20

vb stem 21 = [+Base:vb r 20 +Deg:1320/(+Atd:1331-1332  
+Intent:1340)/(+Atd:1333 +Intent:1340) +Extent:  
1350 +Intens:1360 +Caus:1370/1380/Coop:1390  
+Refl:1410 +Mot:1420 +Ben:1430 +Cont:1440  
+Lim:1450]

vb stem 22 = [+Base:vb r 10 +Deg:1320/(+Atd:1331-1332  
+Intent:1340)/(+Atd:1333 +Intent:1340) +Extent:  
1350 +Intens:1360 +Refl:1410 +Mot:1420 +Ben:  
1430 +Cont:1440 +Lim:1450]

vb stem 23 = [+Base:vb r 30 +Deg:1320/(+Atd:1331-1332  
+Intent:1340)/(+Atd:1333 +Intent:1340) +Extent:  
1350 +Intens:1360 +Caus:1370/1380/Coop:1390  
+Mot:1420 +Ben:1430 +Cont:1440 +Lim:1450]

vb stem 24 = [+Base:n r Res/adj r Res +Vbz:1311 +Deg:  
1320/(+Atd:1331-1332 +Intent:1340)/(+Atd:1333  
+Intent:1340) +Extent:1350 +Intens:1360 +Caus:  
1370 +Mot:1420 +Ben:1430 +Cont:1440 +Lim:  
1450]

vb stem 25 = [+Base:n r Res/adj r Res +Vbz:1311 +Deg:  
1320/(+Atd:1331-1332 +Intent:1340)/(+Atd:1333  
+Intent:1340) +Extent:1350 +Intens:1360 +Caus:

1380 +Mot:1420 +Ben:1430 +Cont:1440 +Lim:  
1450]

vb stem 26 = [+Base:n r Res/adj r Res +Vbz:1312 +Deg:  
1320/(+Atd:1331-1332 +Intent:1340)/(+Atd:1333  
+Intent:1340) +Extent:1350 +Intens:1360 +Caus:  
1370 +Mot:1420 +Ben:1430 +Cont:1440 +Lim:  
1450]

vb stem 27 = [+Base:n r Res/adj r Res +Deg:1320/(+Atd:  
1331-1332 +Intent:1340)/(+Atd:1333 +Intent:  
1340) +Extent:1350 +Intens:1360 +Caus:1370  
+Mot:1420 +Ben:1430 +Cont:1440 +Lim:1450]

vb stem 28 = [+Base:n r Res/adj r Res +Deg:1320/(+Atd:  
1331-1332 +Intent:1340)/(+Atd:1333 +Intent:  
1340) +Extent:1350 +Intens:1360 +Caus:1380  
+Mot:1420 +Ben:1430 +Cont:1440 +Lim:1450]

vb stem 29 = [+Base:Rel (ima) +Vbz:1313]

#### Intransitive 30

vb stem 31 = [+Base:vb r 30 +Deg:1320/(+Atd:1331-1332  
+Intent:1340) +Extent:1350 +Intens:1360 +Refl:  
1410 +Mot:1420 +Ben:1430 +Cont:1440 +Lim:  
1450]

vb stem 32 = [+Base:vb r 20 +Deg:1320/(+Atd:1331-1332  
+Intent:1340) +Extent:1350 +Intens:1360 +Refl:  
1410 +Mot:1420 +Ben:1430 +Cont:1440 +Lim:  
1450]

vb stem 33 = [+Base:n r Res/adj r Res +Vbz:1311 +Deg:  
1320/(+Atd:1331-1332 +Intent:1340) +Extent:  
1350 +Intens:1360 +Refl:1410 +Mot:1420 +Ben:  
1430 +Cont:1440 +Lim:1450]

vb stem 34 = [+Base:n r Res/adj r Res +Vbz:1322 +Deg:  
1320/(+Atd:1331-1332 +Intent:1340) +Extent:  
1350 +Intens:1360 +Refl:1410 +Mot:1420 +Ben:  
1430 +Cont:1440 +Lim:1450]

#### Quotative 40

vb stem 41 = [+Base:vb r 40 +Deg:1320 +Extent:1350  
+Intens:1360 +Caus:1370/1380/Coop:1390 +Refl:

1410 +Mot:1420 +Ben:1430 +Cont:1440 +Lim:  
1450]

Descriptive 50

vb stem 51 = [+Base:vb r 50 +Refl:1410 +Cont:1440 +Lim:  
1450]

Motion 60

vb stem 61 = [+Base:vb r 60 +Deg:1320/(+Atd:1331-1332  
+Intent:1340) +Extent:1350 +Intens:1360 +Caus:  
1370/1380/Coop:1390 +Refl:1410 +Mot:1420  
+Ben:1430 +Cont:1440 +Lim:1450]

4.1.3.3. Citation verb stem paradigm

Ditransitive 10

vb stem 11 = apa-mu-ysi 'carry -mot -help' (help bring).  
ku-lla 'give -just' (just give).

vb stem 12 = yača-či 'know -cause' (teach).

tuqu-ča 'finish -cause' (cause to finish).

vb stem 13 = wañu-rpa-ri-či 'die -violence -extent -caus'  
(kill).

Transitive 20

vb stem 21 = taripa-či-qu 'find -caus -refl' (overtake).  
yača-pa-ya 'know -divertative -intention' (mimic).  
taqi-na-ya 'sing -involvement -intention' (want to  
sing).

vb stem 22 = ruwa-qu 'make -refl' (make for one's self).  
čura-qu 'put -refl' (put for one's self).

vb stem 23 = wañu-či 'die -cause' (kill).

urma-či 'fall -caus' (to make fall).

vb stem 24 = wira-ya-či 'fat -vbz -caus' (make fat).

allin-ya-či 'well -vbz -caus' (to make well).

vb stem 25 = suti-ya-ča 'name -vbz -caus' (to name).

vb stem 26 = wawa-lli-či 'child -vbz -caus' (cause to bear).

vb stem 27 = anima-či 'lively -caus' (make lively).

vb stem 28 = alku-ča 'dog -caus' (make a fool of).

vb stem 29 = ima-na 'thing -vbz' (do something).

## Intransitive 30

vb stem 31 = puñu-qu 'sleep -refl' (sleep).

waka-ša 'cry -cont' (continue crying).

vb stem 32 = qača-ri-qu 'send -extent -refl' (free one's self).

č̣ulti-yqu-qu 'submerge -intens -refl' (fall in).

vb stem 33 = wira-ya 'fat -vbz' (become fat).

sutʔi-ya 'clear -vbz' (dawn).

vb stem 34 = juča-lli-qu 'sin -vbz -refl' (commit sin).

ayča-lli-qu 'flesh -vbz -refl' (to become incarnate).

## Quotative 40

vb stem 41 = ni-ša 'say -cont' (saying).

## Descriptive 50

vb stem 51 = qa-qu-ša-lla 'be -refl -cont -just' (just continue to remain).

qa-ša 'be -cont' (being).

## Motion 60

vb stem 61 = yayqu-mu 'enter -motion-toward' (come in).

ri-pu-sa 'go -ben -cont' (going away).

4.1.4. The verb root4.1.4.1. Citation verb root paradigm

## Ditransitive 10

vb r 10 = ku- 'give'; apamu- 'bring'; yačači- 'teach'.

## Transitive 20

vb r 20 = khawa- 'look'; miqhu- 'eat'; taqi- 'sing'.

## Intransitive 30

vb r 30 = waka- 'cry'; puñu- 'sleep' tiyaqu- 'sit'.

## Quotative 40

vb r 40 = ni- 'say'.

## Descriptive 50

vb r 50 = qa- 'be'.

## Motion 60

vb r 60 = ri- 'go'; lluxsi- 'go-out'; yayqu- 'enter'.

4.1.5. The verb affix (see 5)

## The inflectional verb affix 1100-1200

1110 Object referent

1111 -wa First person object referent

1112 -su Second person object referent

1120 Tense

1121 -rka Past

1122 -ska Historical

1123 -nka Future with third subject except with first plural object, and of 2nd plural subject with 3rd plural object.

1124 -sa Future with 1st singular subject of intransitive and transitive verbs, and in verbs with 3rd object.

1125 -ska Future with 1st singular subject, and with 1st plural exclusive subject or object.

1126 -su Future imperative, conditional with 3rd singular subject with first plural inclusive object of a transitive verb; first plural inclusive subject with intransitive verb, and with transitive verb with 3rd object.

1130 Person

1131 -NI 1st singular subject intransitive and subject transitive with 3rd object; 1st singular possessive.

1132 -Nqi 2nd singular subject, and 2nd singular object with 3rd singular subject.

1133 -N 3rd singular subject; 3rd singular possessive.

1134 -SUnčix 1st plural inclusive subject, and 1st plural inclusive object with 3rd subject; 1st plural inclusive possessive.

1135 -Yqu 1st exclusive subject, and 1st exclusive object; 1st plural exclusive possessive.

1136 -Nqičix 2nd plural subject, 2nd plural object with 3rd singular subject.

1137 -nqu 3rd plural subject and possessive

- 1138 -yqi 1st singular subject with 2nd singular object;  
2nd singular possessive.
- 1139 -yqičix 1st singular subject with 2nd plural object;  
2nd plural possessive.
- 1140 Imperative
- 1141 -Y 2nd imperative
- 1142 -ču 3rd Imperative
- 1150 Hypothetical
- 1151 -man Hypothetical with subject or object of all persons  
except 2nd singular.
- 1152 -wax Hypothetical with subject 2nd person
- 1160 Participial
- 1161 -spa Participle with same subject as principal verb
- 1162 -xti Participle with subject other than principal verb
- 1210 -pacha Expanse
- 1220 Temporal
- 1221 -rax Continuative
- 1222 -ña 'already'.
- 1230 -puni Certainty
- 1240 -pis Corroborative
- 1250 -tax Additive
- 1260 -ča Probability
- 1270 Emphasis
- 1271 -ri
- 1272 -ka
- 1273 -min

Tagmeme Cert optionally precedes the tagmeme Expanse or the tagmeme Temporal. A majority of these verb affixes 1000 will be found also affixed to nouns and words of other classes.

The verb stem affix 1300-1400

- 1310 Verbalizer
- 1311 -yA
- 1312 -lli
- 1313 -na
- 1320 Degree of forcefulness
- 1321 -rpa Violence

- 1322 -rku Pleading, deprecatory  
 1330 Attitude  
 1331 -na Tendency  
 1332 -ra Immanence  
 1333 -pa Divertative  
 1340 -ya Intention  
 1350 -ri Extent  
 1360 -yqu Intensifier  
 1370 -či Causative  
 1380 -ča Causative of state  
 1390 -ysi Cooperative  
 1410 -qU Reflexive, reciprocal, passive  
 1420 -mU Direction  
 1430 -pU Benefactive  
 1440 -ša Continuative  
 1450 -lla Limiter

Intensifier 1360 is found to precede 1320 in some instances.  
 Causative 1380 is found to precede 1360 in some instances.  
 Benefactive 1430 is found to precede 1420 in some instances.  
 Limiter 1450 optionally precedes 1440.

Certain sequences of affixes have specialized meanings as follows: -naqu Reciprocal action; -naya Anticipated action; -paya Diverted action; -raya Customary action; -rpari Violent action; -yčača- Circular or aimless action.

#### 4.1.6. The auxiliary

The auxiliary verbs comprise an arbitrary list of verbs of various verb classes with inflection of those classes.

##### 4.1.6.1. Inventory of auxiliary stems

Ditransitive 10

aux 10 = yačāči 'teach'.

Transitive 20

aux 20 = qrii 'believe'; kallari 'begin'; kunka 'forget';  
 khiču 'take-off-away'; mančāči 'fear'; muna

'wish, want'; tuqu 'finish'; yača 'know'; yuya  
'think'; yuyari 'remember'.

Quotative 40

aux 40 = ni 'say'.

#### 4.1.7. The participle

##### 4.1.7.1. Emic participle classes

	Ditr 10	Tr 20	Intr 30	Quot 40	Desc 50	Mot 60
Same subject 101	111	121	131	141	151	161
Different subject 102	112	122	132	142	152	162

Chart VII. Emic participle classes

##### 4.1.7.2. Tagmemic participle paradigm

ptc 111-161 = {+Base:vb stem 10-60 +Ptc1:1161 +Lim:  
1450 +Emph:1272}

ptc 112-162 = {+Base:vb stem 10-60 +Ptc1:1162 +Lim:  
1450 +Poss:1131/1133-1135/1137-1139 +Extent:  
2131 +Emph:1272}

##### 4.1.7.3. Citation participle paradigm

ptc 111 = apamu-spa-ka 'bring -ptcl -emph' (bringing).

ptc 132 = wakariqapunaya-xti-n-ka 'cry -ptcl -he -emph'  
(when he wanted to cry).

The auxiliary participles, aux ptc, comprise an arbitrary list of participles of various classes with the inflection of those classes.

This list corresponds to the list of auxiliary stems. (see 4.1.6.1.)

4.2. The noun

4.2.1. Emic noun classes

		S 10	O 20	Ac 30	L 40	T 50	Pur 60	Gen 70
<b>Noun</b>								
Simple	01	11	21	31	41	51	61	--
Possessive	02	12	22	32	42	52	62	--
Genitive	03	*13	23	--	43	--	63	73
<b>Pronoun</b>								
Personal simple	04	14	24	34	44	--	64	--
Personal genitive	05	*15	25	35	45	--	65	75
Impersonal simple	06	16	26	36	46	--	66	--
Demonstrative	07	17	27	37	47	--	67	--
Ownership	08	18	--	--	--	--	--	--
<b>Verbal noun</b>								
Simple 1	1001	1011	1021	1031	1041	-----	1061	-----
Simple 2	1002	1012	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----
Simple 3	1003	1013	1023	1033	1043	1053	1063	-----
Possessive 1	1004	1014	1024	1034	1044	1054	1064	-----
Possessive 2	1005	1015	-----	-----	-----	1055	-----	-----
Possessive 3	1006	1016	1026	1036	1046	-----	1066	-----
Simple 4	1007	1017	1027	1037	1047	-----	1067	-----

Chart VIII. Emic noun classes

\* The genitive noun 13 is identical with noun 23.

The genitive noun 15 is identical with noun 25.

Verbal nouns 1011-1067, as shown in Chart VIII, are further subdivided into distribution classes 1111-1667 designated in the numerical symbol by centuries. The decades of the verbal nouns correspond to the decades of the noun classes, while the centuries of the verbal nouns correspond to the decades of the verb stems which manifest the Base tagmeme of the verbal noun.

4.2.2. The inflected noun4.2.2.1. Tagmemic inflected noun paradigm

## Subject 10

- n 11 = {+Base:n theme 11-12/14 +Extent:2131 +Add:1250  
+Emph:1270}
- n 12 = {+Base:n theme 12 +Extent:2131 +Add:1250 +Emph:  
1270}
- n 14 = {+Base:n theme 15 +Extent:2131 +Add:1250 +Emph:  
1270}
- n 16 = {+Base:n theme 17 +Extent:2131 +Add:1250 +Emph:  
1270}
- n 17 = {+Base:n theme 18 +Extent:2131 +Add:1250 +Emph:  
1270}
- n 18 = {+Base:n theme 113}
- n 1011 = {+Base:n theme 111a}
- n 1012 = {+Base:n theme 111b}
- n 1013 = {+Base:n theme 111c}
- n 1014 = {+Base:n theme 112a}
- n 1015 = {+Base:n theme 112b}
- n 1016 = {+Base:n theme 112c}
- n 1017 = {+Base:n theme 111d}

## Object 20

- n 21 = {+Base:n theme 11-12/14 +O mk:2125 +Extent:2131  
+Add:1250 +Emph:1270}
- n 22 = {+Base:n theme 12 +O mk:2125 +Extent:2131 +Add:  
1250 +Emph:1270}
- n 23 = {+Base:n theme 13 +O mk:2125}
- n 24 = {+Base:n theme 15 +O mk:2125 +Extent:2131  
+Emph:1270}
- n 25 = {+Base:n theme 16 +O mk:2125 +Emph:1270}
- n 26 = {+Base:n theme 17 +O mk:2125}
- n 27 = {+Base:n theme 18 +O mk:2125}
- n 1021 = {+Base:n theme 111a +O mk:2125}
- n 1023 = {+Base:n theme 111c +O mk:2125}
- n 1024 = {+Base:n theme 112a +O mk:2125}

n 1026 = {+Base:n theme 112c +O mk:2125}

n 1027 = {+Base:n theme 111d +O mk:2125}

Accompaniment 30

n 31 = {+Base:n theme 11-12/14 +Ac:2126 +Extent:2131  
+Emph:1270}

n 32 = {+Base:n theme 12 +Ac:2126 +Emph:1270}

n 34 = {+Base:n theme 15 +Ac:2126}

n 35 = {+Base:n theme 16 +Ac:2126}

n 36 = {+Base:n theme 17 +Ac:2126}

n 37 = {+Base:n theme 18 +Ac:2126}

n 1031 = {+Base:n theme 111a +Ac:2126}

n 1033 = {+Base:n theme 111c +Ac:2126}

n 1034 = {+Base:n theme 112a +Ac:2126}

n 1036 = {+Base:n theme 112c +Ac:2126}

n 1037 = {+Base:n theme 111d +Ac:2126}

Location 40

n 41a = {+Base:n theme 11-12/14 +L:2121-2125 +Extent:  
2131 +Add:1250 +Emph:1270}

n 42a = {+Base:n theme 12 +L:2121-2125 +Emph:1250}

n 43a = {+Base:n theme 13 +L:2121-2125}

n 44a = {+Base:n theme 15 +L:2121-2125}

n 45a = {+Base:n theme 16 +L:2121-2125}

n 46a = {+Base:n theme 17 +L:2121-2125}

n 47a = {+Base:n theme 18 +L:2121-2125}

n 1041a = {+Base:n theme 111a +L:2121-2125}

n 1043a = {+Base:n theme 111c +L:2121-2125}

n 1044a = {+Base:n theme 112a +L:2121-2125}

n 1046a = {+Base:n theme 112c +L:2121-2125}

n 1047a = {+Base:n theme 111d +L:2121-2125}

Obtain formulas of n 41b-47b by multiplication as follows:

For the tagmeme +L:2121-2125 substitute +L:222.

Time 50

n 51 = {+Base:n theme 11-12 +Extent:2131 +Emph:1270}

n 52 = {+Base:n theme 12 +L:2122 +Temporal:1222}

n 1053 = {+Base:n theme 111c +O mk:2125 +Ac:2126  
+Extent:2131 +Emph:1270}

- n 1054 = {+Base:n theme 112a +Extent:2131}  
 n 1055 = {+Base:n theme 112b +(O mk:2125 +Ac:2126)/  
 L:2121/2123}

#### Purpose 60

- n 61 = {+Base:n theme 11-12 +Pur:2127 +Emph:1270}  
 n 62 = {+Base:n theme 12 +Pur:2127}  
 n 63 = {+Base:n theme 13 +Pur:2127}  
 n 64 = {+Base:n theme 15 +Pur:2127}  
 n 65 = {+Base:n theme 16 +Pur:2127}  
 n 66 = {+Base:n theme 17 +Pur:2127}  
 n 67 = {+Base:n theme 18 +Pur:2127}  
 n 1061 = {+Base:n theme 111a +Pur:2127}  
 n 1063 = {+Base:n theme 111c +Pur:2127}  
 n 1064 = {+Base:n theme 112a +Pur:2127}  
 n 1066 = {+Base:n theme 112c +Pur:2127}  
 n 1067 = {+Base:n theme 111d +Pur:2127}

#### Genitive 70

- n 73 = {+Base:n theme 13}  
 n 75 = {+Base:n theme 16}

#### 4.2.2.2. Citation inflected noun paradigm

##### Subject 10

- n 11 = xampʔatu-ña-tax 'toad -already -and' (and the toad also).  
 n 12 = runamasisnillančix-tax 'our-country-men -and' (and our countrymen).  
 n 14 = pay-ña-tax 'he -already -and' (and he also).  
 n 16 = waxquna-ña-tax 'other -already -and' (and others also).  
 n 17 = čay-ka 'that -emph' (that).  
 n 18 = kʔipičanayux 'owner-of-cloth-for-carrying-things'.  
 n 1011 = apana 'carry' (what he carries).  
 n 1012 = kuska 'give' (what he gives).  
 n 1013 = kuy 'give' (to give).  
 n 1014 = rantinasniy 'my-purchases'.

- n 1015 = rantiskasnin 'his-purchases' (what he has bought).  
 n 1016 = kuyniyqi 'your-giving' (what you give).  
 n 1017 = taqix 'the-one-who-sings'.

Object 20

- n 21 = runas-ta-pis 'men -o -also' (men also).  
 n 22 = kulkintin-ta-rax-tax 'all-his-money -o -yet -and'  
 (and all his money yet).  
 n 23 = sulq'itanzux-ta 'their-younger-brother's -o' (their  
 younger brother's)  
 n 24 = pay-ta-puni 'he -o -always' (always him).  
 n 25 = kanpa-ta-ka 'your's -o -emph' (your's).  
 n 26 = wax-ta 'other -o' (the other).  
 n 27 = qay-ta 'this -o' (this).  
 n 1021 = rantinas-ta 'purchases -o' (purchases).  
 n 1023 = apay-ta 'carry -o' (the carrying).  
 n 1024 = rantinan-ta 'his-buying -o' (what he buys).  
 n 1026 = kuyniyqi-ta 'your-giving -o' (what you give).  
 n 1027 = rix-ta 'go -o' (the one who goes).

Accompaniment 30

- n 31 = ninalla-wan-puni 'fire-just -with -always' (always  
 just with fire).  
 n 32 = lixrasnin-wan-ka 'his-wings -with -emph' (with his  
 wings).  
 n 34 = payquna-wan 'they -with' (with them).  
 n 35 = kanpa-wan 'yours -with' (with yours).  
 n 36 = waxquna-wan 'others -with' (with the others).  
 n 37 = ñay-wan 'that -with' (with that).  
 n 1031 = rantinas-wan 'purchases -with' (with the pur-  
 chases).  
 n 1033 = munay-wan 'want -with' (with love).  
 n 1034 = miqhunasnin-wan 'his-eating -with' (with what he  
 eats).  
 n 1036 = yarqhaynin-wan 'his-hunger -with' (with his  
 hunger).  
 n 1037 = puñux-wan 'sleeper -with' (with the one who  
 sleeps).

## Location 40

- n 41 = punqu-manta-pača-ka 'door -from -abundant -emph'  
(absolutely from the door).
- n 42 = wasillanqu-pi 'only-their-house -in' (only in their house).
- n 43 = siq'imiritax-man 'ant's -to' (to the ant's place).
- n 44 = ñuka-man-ka 'I -to -emph' (to me).
- n 45 = paypa-man 'his -to' (to his).
- n 46 = waxquna-man 'others -to' (to the others).
- n 47 = čay-man 'that -to' (there).
- n 1041 = apana-man 'carry -to' (to where it is carried).
- n 1043 = rantiy-manta 'buy -from' (of what is bought).
- n 1044 = apanan-pi 'carrying -in' (in his carrying).
- n 1046 = rantiy-niy-manta 'buying -from' (from what I buy).
- n 1047 = qax-man-ka 'be -to -emph' (to the one who is).

## Time 50

- n 51 = kʔaya-qama 'tomorrow -until' (until tomorrow).
- n 52 = kʔayantin 'tomorrow-it's' (the following day).
- n 1053 = xamuytawan-qama-ka 'coming -until -emph' (after having come).
- n 1054 = tinqunančix-qama 'our-meeting -until' (until we meet).
- n 1055 = ripuskanqutawan 'as-soon-as-they-had-gone-away'.

## Purpose 60

- n 61 = supay-pax 'devil -for' (for the devil).
- n 62 = wixsay-pax 'my-stomach -for' (for my stomach).
- n 63 = sačʔaxpa-pax 'tree's -for' (for the tree's).
- n 64 = ñuka-pax 'I -for' (for me).
- n 65 = kanpa-pax 'yours -for' (for yours).
- n 66 = waxqunas-pax 'others -for' (for the others).
- n 67 = čay-rayqu 'that -for' (because of that).
- n 1061 = miqhuna-pax 'food -for' (for eating).
- n 1063 = rantiy-pax 'buy -for' (for buying).
- n 1064 = mučʔanayqi-pax 'your-kissing -for' (for your kissing).

n 1066 = rantinasniy-pax 'my-purchases -for' (for my purchases).

n 1067 = taqix-pax 'singer -for' (for the one who sings).

Genitive 70

n 73 = wawax 'the-child's'.

n 75 = paypa 'his'.

#### 4.2.3. The noun theme

##### 4.2.3.1. Tagmemic inflected noun theme paradigm

The noun theme is subdivided into distribution classes 111a, 111b, 111c, 111d, corresponding to the affixes 2211, 2212, 2213, 2214 respectively that manifests the Nom tagmeme.

If the Lim tagmeme occurs in the verb stem, it is not repeated in the noun theme.

n theme 11 = {+Base:n stem +Dim:2220 +Pl 1:2230 +Pl 2:2240 +Lim:1450}

n theme 12 = {+Base:n stem +(Pl 2:2240 +Trn:2250)  
+Lim:1450 +Entirety:2260 Poss:1131/1133-1135/  
1137-1139}

n theme 13 = {+Base:n stem +(Pl 2:2240 +Trn:2250  
+Poss:1131/1133-1135/1137-1139)/Pl 2:2240/  
(+Trn:2250 +Poss:1131/1133-1135/1137-1139)  
+Gen:2271}

n theme 14 = {+Base:n stem +(Pl 2:2240 +Trn:2250)  
+Ownership:2272}

n theme 15 = {+Base:n r 2 +Pl 2:2240 +Lim:1450}

n theme 16 = {+Base:n r 2/4 +Pl 2:2240 +Gen:2271}

n theme 17 = {+Base:n r 3 +Pl 2:2240 +Lim:1450}

n theme 18 = {+Base:n r 4 +Pl 2:2240 +Lim:1450}

n theme 111 = {+Base:vb stem +Nom:2210 +Lim:1450}

n theme 112a = {+Base:vb stem +Nom:2211 +O ref:1110  
+(Pl 2:2240 +Trn:2250) +Poss:1131/1133-1135/  
1137-1139}

n theme 112b = {+Base:vb stem +Nom:2212 +(Pl 2:2240  
+Trn:2250) +Poss:1131/1133-1135/1137-1139}

n theme 112c = {+Base:vb stem +Nom:2213 +(Pl 2:2240  
+Trn:2250)/Trn:2250 +Poss:1131/1133-1135/  
1137-1139}

n theme 113 = {+Base:vb stem +Nom:2211 +Ownership:  
2272}

#### 4.2.3.2. Citation inflected noun theme paradigm

n theme 11 = xampʔatu-s-lla 'toad -pl -only' (only the toads).

n theme 12 = runamasi-s-ni-lla-nčix 'countryman -pl -trn  
-only -our' (only our countrymen).

n theme 13 = ux-ni-n-pata 'one -trn -his -gen' (one of his).

n theme 14 = xuqʔuta-s-ni-yux 'sandal -pl -trn -ownership'  
(the owner of sandals).

n theme 15 = pay-quna-lla 'he -pl -only' (only they).

n theme 16 = kan-pata 'you -gen' (yours).

n theme 17 = wax 'other'.

n theme 18 = čay 'that'.

n theme 111 = rupha-y 'burn -nom' (heat).

n theme 112a = ranti-na-s-ni-y 'buy -nom -pl -trn -my'  
(my purchases).

n theme 112b = taqi-ska-n 'sing -nom -his' (his singing).

n theme 112c = yarqha-y-ni-n 'hunger -nom -trn -his' (his  
hunger).

n theme 113 = kʔipi-ča-na-yux 'pack -vblz -nom -ownership'  
(owner of cloth for carrying things).

#### 4.2.4. The noun stem

##### 4.2.4.1. Tagmemic noun stem paradigm

n stem 1 = {+Base:n r 1}

n stem 2 = {+Base:n r 1 Res +Extent:2300}

##### 4.2.4.2. Citation noun stem paradigm

n stem 1 = alko 'dog'; wasi 'house'.

n stem 2 = llaxta-masi 'town -likeness' (countryman).

4.2.5. The noun root

4.2.5.1. The noun root citation

n r 1 = warmi 'woman'; xuqʔuča 'rat'.

n r 2 = pay 'he'.

n r 3 = wax 'other'.

n r 4 = čay 'that'.

4.2.6. The noun affix 2100 (see 5)

2110 -nix Direction

Location 2120

2121 -manta 'from'.

2122 -man 'to'.

2123 -pi 'in'.

2124 -nta 'by, through'.

2125 -ta Object marker

2126 -wan 'with, and'.

2127 -pax, -rayqu 'for'.

Extent 2130

2131 -qama 'until'.

The noun theme affix 2200

Nominalizer 2210

2211 -na Future nominal

2212 -ska Past, present nominal

2213 -y Infinitive 1

2214 -x Infinitive 2

2220 -SitU Diminutive (see 5)

2230 -quna Plural 1

2240 -Es Plural 2

2250 -ni- Transition

2260 -nti- Entirety

Possession 2270

2271 -X Genitive, possessor

2272 -yux Ownership

The noun stem affix

2300 -masi Likeness

#### 4.2.7. The auxiliary verbal noun

The auxiliary verbal nouns, aux n, comprise an arbitrary list of verbal nouns of various verbal noun classes, with the inflection of those classes.

This list corresponds to the list of auxiliary stems. (see 4.1.6.1.)

The derivation of the following word classes is indeterminate. Recurrent partials phonologically resembling the affixes of the preceding classes are frequent, but without the functions and meanings of those affixes. We have therefore disregarded such resemblances.

#### 4.3. The relative

##### 4.3.1. The inflected relative

In the formula of each of the following series, the digit of the numerical symbol of the rel is identical with that of the theme which manifests the Base tagmeme.

##### 4.3.1.1. Tagmemic relative paradigm

rel 11-18 = {+Base:rel theme 1-8 +Extent:2131 +Add:1250  
+Emph:1270}

rel 21-25 = {+Base:rel theme 1-5 +O mk:2125 +Extent.  
2131 +Add:1250 +Emph:1270}

rel 31-35 = {+Base:rel theme 1-5 +Ac:2126 +Add:1250}

rel 41-45/47 = {+Base:rel theme 1-5/7 +L:2121-2124  
+Extent:2131 +Add:1250 +Emph:1270}

rel 61-65 = {+Base:rel theme 1-5 +Pur:2127 +Extent:2131  
+Emph:1270}

##### 4.3.1.2. Citation relative paradigm

rel 11-18 = ima-tax 'what -and' (and what?).

- rel 21-25 = imas-ta 'what -o-mk' (whatever).  
 rel 31-35 = pi-wan-tax 'who -with -and' (and with whom?).  
 rel 41-45/47 = ima-manta-ña 'what -from -already' (from  
 what yet?).  
 rel 61-65 = ima-pax-tax 'what -for -and' (why?).

#### 4.3.2. The relative theme

##### 4.3.2.1. Tagmemic relative theme paradigm

- rel theme 1 = {+Base:rel r 1 +P1 1:2230 +P1 2:2240}  
 rel theme 2 = {+Base:rel r 1 +(+P1 2:2240 +Trn:2250)  
+Poss:1131/1133-1135/1137-1139}  
 rel theme 3 = {+Base:rel r 3 +Lim:1450}  
 rel theme 4 = {+Base:rel r 4}  
 rel theme 5 = {+Base:rel r 5}  
 rel theme 6 = {+Base:rel r 6 +Lim:1450}  
 rel theme 7 = {+Base:rel r 7 +Lim:1450}  
 rel theme 8 = {+Base:rel r 2}

##### 4.3.2.2. Citation relative theme paradigm

- rel theme 1 = ima-quna-s 'what -pl -pl' (what things).  
 rel theme 2 = ima-n 'what -his' (his whatever).  
 rel theme 3 = pi-lla 'who -just' (anyone).  
 rel theme 4 = maykin 'which'.  
 rel theme 5 = mašqha 'how-much'.  
 rel theme 6 = imayna-lla 'how -just' (just how are you?).  
 rel theme 7 = may-lla 'where -just' (just where?).  
 rel theme 8 = mayq?ax 'when'; xayq?ax 'when'.

##### 4.3.3. Relative root inventory

- rel r 1 = ima 'what'.  
 rel r 2 = mayq?ax 'when'; xayq?ax 'when'.  
 rel r 3 = pi 'who'.  
 rel r 4 = maykin 'which'.  
 rel r 5 = mašqha 'how-much'.

rel r 6 = imayna 'how'.

rel r 7 = may 'where'.

#### 4.4. The adjective

##### 4.4.1. Tagmemic adjective paradigm

adj 1 = {+Base:adj r +Lim:1450}

adj 2 = {+Base:n r Res/vb r Res +Cpd:adv r 2 +Lim:1450}

##### 4.4.2. Citation adjective paradigm

adj 1 = sumax 'good'.

adj 2 = millma-sapa 'wool -each' (woolly).

##### 4.4.3. Adjective root citation

adj r = wira 'fat'.

#### 4.5. The adverb

##### 4.5.1. Tagmemic adverb paradigm

adv 1 = {+Base:adv r 1 +Lim:1450 +Add:1250 +Emph:  
1270}

adv 2 = {+Base:adv r 2 +Lim:1450 +Poss:1131/1133-1135/  
1137-1139 +O mk:2125 +Extent:2131 +Emph:  
1270}

adv 3 = {+Base:adj r Res +Lim:1450 +O mk:2125 +Extent:  
2131 +Emph:1270}

adv 4 = {+Base:adv r 3}

##### 4.5.2. Citation adverb paradigm

adv 1 = xina-lla-tax 'like -just -and' (just like that also).

adv 2 = sapa-lla-yqi-ta-ka 'each -just -your -o-mk -emph'  
(just by yourself).

adv 3 = kʷala-ta-puni 'all -o-mk -always' (completely).  
uskhay-ta 'fast -o-mk' (rapidly).

adv 4 = watix 'again'.

4.5.3. Adverb root citation

adv r 1 = xina 'like'.  
 adv r 2 = sapa 'each'.  
 adv r 3 = watix 'again'.

4.6. The introducer word

4.6.1. Tagmemic introducer paradigm

intro 1 = {+Base:čanta +Emph:1272}  
 intro 2 = {+Base:čay +L:2121-2122 +Exp:1210 +Emph:  
 1272}  
 intro 3 = {+Base:Spanish loan}  
 intro 4 = {+Base:entonces +Emph:1272}

4.6.2. Introducer word inventory

intro 1 = čanta 'then'.  
 intro 2 = čaymanta 'after'.  
 intro 3 = i, asta 'and, until'.  
 intro 4 = entonces 'then'.

4.7. The negative

4.7.1. Tagmemic negative paradigm

neg 1/3 = {+Base:neg r 1/neg r 3 +Temporal:1220}  
 neg 2 = {+Base:neg r 2 +Emph:1270}  
 neg 4 = {+Base:neg r 4 +Lim:1450 +Add:1250}

4.7.2. Citation negative paradigm

neg 1 = mana-rax 'no -yet' (not yet).  
 neg 2 = ču-ri 'no -emph' (emphatically not).  
 neg 3 = ama-ña 'no -already' (not yet).  
 neg 4 = ni-lla-tax 'no -just -and' (neither).

4.7.3. Negative root inventory

neg 1 = mana Negative

neg 2 = ču Negative, Interrogative

neg 3 = ama Negative

neg 4 = ni Negative

4.8. The hesitation word4.8.1. Tagmemic hesitation word paradigm

The hesitation word optionally occurs with the same inflection as that of the following word.

hes = {+Base:hes r +.....}4.8.2. The hesitation word citation

hes = na-manta 'ummm -from!'; na-wan 'ummm -with!.

4.8.3. The hesitation root citation

hes r = na 'ummm'.

4.9. The dubitive (root)

dub = čus 'perhaps'.

4.10. The affirmative (root)

aff = ari 'yes'.

4.11. The exclamatory (root)

exclam 1 = a 'eh'.

exclam 2 = atatay 'it-hurts'.

exclam 3 = alalay 'it's-cold'.

4.12. The conditional word

4.12.1. Tagmemic conditional word formula

cond = {+Base:n r (čay) +Emph:1272}

4.12.2. The conditional word citation

cond = čay-ka 'that -emph' (if).

4.13. The onomatopoetic word

4.13.1. Onomatopoetic word citation

onom = čur Sound of partridge

onom = tʔix tʔis Sound of water dropping on fire

4.14. The location word

4.14.1. The location word citation

loc = pata 'top'.

loc = uqhu 'inside'.

5. The morphophonemics

5.1. Phonologically determined variations

-SitV 2220 Diminutive = -sito following a consonant or -i-  
~ -itV elsewhere. The V is identical with the  
noun stem-final vowel.

-Es 2240 Plural = -es following consonant (occurring in  
Spanish loans only) ~ -s elsewhere.

-X 2271 Genitive, possessor = -x following vowel ~ -xpa  
elsewhere.

5.2. Lexically determined variations

Stem-final V of noun =  $\emptyset$  preceding the tagmeme Diminutive  
~ V elsewhere.

-NI 1131 'I' = -x following 1124 Fut ~ -y in nouns and  
preceding 1151 Hypothetical in verbs ~ -ni else-  
where.

- Nqi 1132 'you' = - $\emptyset$  with affixes 1141, Second person Impv, and 1152 Hypothetical ~ -nqi elsewhere.
- N 1133 'he' = - $\emptyset$  following affixes 1120 Tense ~ -n elsewhere.
- SUnčix 1134 'we incl' = -sun ~ freely -sunčix preceding affix 1151 Hypothetical ~ -nčix elsewhere.
- Yqu 1135 'we excl' = -xqu following -sa 1124 Fut ~ -yqu elsewhere.
- Nqičix 1136 'you pl' = -čix following affixes 1141 Second person Impv, and 1152 Hypothetical ~ -nqičix elsewhere.
- Y 1141 Second person Impv = - $\emptyset$  preceding -yqu ~ -y elsewhere.
- yA 1311 Vbz = -y in the word waka-y-ča 'guard' ~ -ya elsewhere
- rkU 1322 Pleading = -rka preceding -ča, -mu ~ -rku elsewhere.
- YqU 1360 Intens = -yqa preceding -ča, -mu, -rpa ~ -yqu elsewhere.
- qU 1410 Refl = -qa preceding -pu, -mu, -ča ~ -qu elsewhere.
- mU 1420 Dir = -m preceding -pu ~ -mu elsewhere.
- pU 1430 Ben = -pa preceding -mu, -ya ~ -pu elsewhere.

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