

# The vicissitudes of directional affixes in Tarma (Northern Junín) Quechua

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## 1 Language-geographical background

Quechua(n) is the name of a family of closely related languages spoken in the Andean nations Peru, Bolivia, Ecuador, Argentina, Colombia and Chile (here enumerated in order of importance as regards the number of speakers). It can be assumed that all the modern Quechuan languages descend from a common ancestor language, which was spoken somewhere in central Peru during the first millennium A.D. This assumption is motivated by the fact that the greatest and deepest internal variety is found in that area, whereas the similarity between the different languages belonging to the Quechua group as a whole does not suggest a greater time depth.

Traditionally, all Quechuan languages and dialects are called ‘dialects’. There is no consensus as to how many Quechuan languages should be distinguished, and the demarcation between languages and dialects is characteristically vague. However, a general subdivision into two main branches, to be understood at the language level rather than at the dialect level, was recognized in the 1960s (Parker 1963, Torero 1964). This two-fold branching has often been questioned, and it does not seem to account for all dialects, but its overall validity holds firmly. One of the branches is known as Quechua I (Torero 1964, Cerrón-Palomino 1987), Quechua B (Parker 1963) or Central Quechua (Mannheim 1985, Landerman 1994). It comprises the Quechua dialects spoken in the central Peruvian departments of Ancash, Huánuco, Junín and Pasco, as well as some minor dialects spoken in the departments of Huancavelica, Ica, Lima and La Libertad. Quechua I has enough elements in common to be considered a unity, but it is heavily fragmented from a phonological, morphological and lexical point of view. There is certainly no full mutual intelligibility between the different dialects that make up this group. The second branch, Quechua II (Torero 1964, Cerrón-Palomino 1987) or Quechua A (Parker 1963) comprises two main subgroups, Quechua IIB (mainly in northern Peru, Ecuador and Colombia) and Quechua IIC (in southern Peru, Bolivia, Argentina and Chile), which account for most of the Quechua expansion during the past five centuries. Although the internal differentiation within each subgroup is considerable, it can to a large extent be attributed to post-conquest developments. The classification of the dialects originally taken together as Quechua IIA (Torero

1964) is uncertain, and these dialects may not constitute a unity at all. They are spoken in central Peru (department of Lima) and in northern Peru (departments of Cajamarca, Lambayeque and Piura).

The dialects relevant to the topic of this article belong to Quechua I and, to a lesser extent, to the Quechua IIC branch. Quechua IIB has undergone some morphological erosion, as well as mutations in its verbal morphology, which reached their highest degree in Ecuador, Colombia and the northern Peruvian forest dialects. Of the Quechua IIA dialects only a few (e.g. Cajamarca, Ferreñafe) have been investigated in connection with their verbal derivational morphology. Their relevance for the present discussion appears to be limited.

The Quechuan family has no widely accepted external relatives. However, the neighboring Aymaran family (for a justification of the use of this term see Adelaar, with Muysken, 2004: 170) shares many features with Quechuan at the phonological, morphosyntactic and lexical levels. Independently from the unsolved question as to whether or not the two groups are genetically related, there can be no doubt that the recorded similarities are mostly the result of borrowing and convergence. Although the morphological forms discussed in this article are limited to Quechuan, they may originally have been shaped following an Aymaran model, as we shall see below.

## **2 Overall structure of the Quechua verb**

The main morphological device of the Quechuan languages is suffixation. Other formal options consist of vowel alternation and stem-reduplication, the latter not being relevant to the topic under discussion. Verbs exhibit the most elaborate morphological potential, and concatenations of up to eight different suffixes are not exceptional. The overall picture is one of great formal regularity. At the same time, Quechua verbal roots and suffixes operate under a number of formal restrictions which play no role in nominal morphology and thus contribute to making the difference between verbs and nouns more visible.

In order to establish the formal restrictions that regulate Quechua verb structure, one has to make a distinction between final and non-final suffixes. Final verbal suffixes can occur before a pause or before suffixes which are not specifically verbal. They indicate categories such as personal reference, tense, mood, nominalization, and subordination. Sequences of final verbal suffixes occur, but the number of possible combinations is limited. Some final suffixes have portmanteau functions. Verbal roots do not normally occur by themselves, but must be followed by one or more suffixes, including

at least one final suffix. It may be argued that final verbal suffixes in Quechua are always inflectional, bearing in mind, however, that these suffixes are defined here on a purely formal basis. On that basis, the nominalizing suffixes, which occupy the same slot as tense, mood and subordination markers, may also be viewed as inflectional.<sup>1</sup> From a functional point of view, some of the non-final verbal suffixes may be called inflectional as well (see below).

Verbal roots and non-final verbal suffixes share the characteristic that they must end in a vowel. Quechua normally does not allow tautosyllabic consonant clusters, and non-final verbal suffixes can exhibit the following shapes: CV, CCV, CVCV, CCVCV. (There is a maximum of two syllables and internal clusters do not occur.) Consequently, any combination of a verb root with one or more non-final suffixes will always yield a form that, like the verb root itself, (a) ends in a vowel and (b) does not contain any tautosyllabic cluster.<sup>2</sup>

- |     |                                  |                          |
|-----|----------------------------------|--------------------------|
| (1) | <i>punu-ĉi-</i>                  | ‘to put to sleep’        |
| (2) | <i>kuti-rku-</i>                 | ‘to return upwards’      |
| (3) | <i>rima-naku-</i>                | ‘to speak to each other’ |
| (4) | <i>kuĉpa-ykaĉa-</i> <sup>3</sup> | ‘to roll back and forth’ |

In Quechua I dialects, where vowel length is distinctive, non-final suffixes can have the effect of lengthening a preceding vowel (5), of blocking preceding vowel length (6), or they can behave in a neutral way as to preceding vowel length (7, 8). Suffixes with an initial cluster always block preceding vowel length.

- |     |                  |                         |   |               |                           |
|-----|------------------|-------------------------|---|---------------|---------------------------|
| (5) | <i>miški-ku-</i> | ‘to be very sweet’,     | < | <i>miški-</i> | ‘to be sweet’             |
|     |                  | ‘to be over-sweet’      |   |               |                           |
| (6) | <i>ĉa-ru-</i>    | ‘to arrive (perfective) | < | <i>ĉa:-</i>   | ‘to arrive, to be cooked’ |
| (7) | <i>ĉa:-ĉi</i>    | ‘to cook’               | < | <i>ĉa:-</i>   | ‘to arrive, to be cooked’ |
| (8) | <i>punu-ĉi-</i>  | ‘to put to sleep’       | < | <i>punu-</i>  | ‘to sleep’                |

<sup>1</sup> In contradistinction with the other final verbal suffixes, nominalized verbs can occasionally acquire lexicalized (idiomatic) meanings, which may plead against their classification as inflectional. This matter will not be discussed any further here.

<sup>2</sup> Falling diphthongs in Quechua (e.g. *ay*, *aw*, *uy*, *iw*) are traditionally analyzed as VC, and sequences of full vowels of which the first is high are taken to contain an intermediate glide consonant (*iya*, *uwi*, etc.).

<sup>3</sup> We use the symbol *ĉ* for a retroflex affricate, distinct from alveo-palatal *č*.

Final verbal suffixes are not as restricted in shape as non-final suffixes are. They may end in a consonant (9), and they may even consist of a single consonant (10). In Quechua I dialects, the place of a final suffix can also be occupied by vowel length (11).<sup>4</sup>

- |      |                 |               |
|------|-----------------|---------------|
| (9)  | <i>miku-šun</i> | ‘Let us eat!’ |
| (10) | <i>miku-n</i>   | ‘He eats.’    |
| (11) | <i>miku-:</i>   | ‘I eat.’      |

In Quechua I dialects, final verbal suffixes, like non-final verbal suffixes, may block the vowel length in a preceding suffix or stem. This is the case of all suffixes beginning with a consonant cluster (either synchronically or historically) and of those consisting in a single consonant.

The non-final verbal suffixes constitute the richest and most elusive part of Quechua morphology. In the linguistic literature on Quechua, non-final verbal suffixes are often referred to as ‘derivational suffixes’, ‘modal suffixes’ or ‘pre-transition suffixes’ (Weber 1989). They may appear in sequences in a particular order of occurrence, although not all combinations are permitted, and competing order options may obtain in some cases. Quechua dialects vary considerably in the way they organize the non-final verbal suffixes, some of them allowing more combinations and more order options than others (cf. van de Kerke 1996). From a semantic and functional point of view, the non-final verbal suffixes are heterogeneous. Their functions include valence change, semantic change, pragmatic use, as well as more inflectional categories such as aspect, number, object marking, applicative, speaker orientation, etc.

The overall impression of regularity conveyed by Quechua morphology rapidly disappears when the functional-semantic side of certain non-final verbal suffixes is considered. During the evolution of a Quechua dialect, these non-final verbal suffixes may shift or split functions, move from one category into another (e.g. derivational to inflectional), and produce semantically non-predictable or otherwise idiomatic combinations. There is a distinct tendency for a number of non-final verbal suffixes to merge with particular verb roots, yielding derived verbs with specialized meanings. Some verb roots are never found without a non-final suffix, either a particular one, or one from a set. This phenomenon of verb-suffix merger, referred to as co-

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<sup>4</sup> In at least one dialect area (including Chongos Bajo, near Huancayo) mere vowel length can represent a non-final ‘suffix’ as well, e.g. the perfective aspect marker *-(V):* (<\*-ʔ- < \*-ʔu- < \*-rqu-).

lexicalization in Weber (1989), usually bears consequences for the choice and type of suffix combinations in which the derived verb form can participate. Grammatical descriptions of Quechua dialects tend to be frugal in their specification of the functions and meanings of non-final verbal suffixes.<sup>5</sup> It probably has to do with the endeavor to produce simple and uniform semantic specifications for each suffix. For instance, the suffix *-ku-* is characteristically described as a 'reflexive', whereas it may have a range of other meanings and uses as well. In the Quechua I dialects of the province of Tarma, at least four suffixes *-ku-* must be distinguished not only semantically, but also formally on the basis of their influence on the length of a preceding vowel and differences in the way they co-occur with particular suffixes and subclasses of the verb. In (12), 'reflexive' *-ku-* blocks the inherent length of stem-final *-a-* in a tri-syllabic verb, whereas 'customary' *-ku-*, in (13), is neutral with respect to preceding vowel length.

- |      |                                  |  |
|------|----------------------------------|--|
| (12) | <i>qunqurba-ku-</i> <sup>6</sup> | 'to kneel', 'to prostrate oneself'         |
|      | ( <i>qunqurba(:)-</i>            | 'to kneel')                                |
| (13) | <i>yanaba:-ku-</i>               | 'to always help', 'to be inclined to help' |
|      | ( <i>yanaba(:)-</i>              | 'to help')                                 |

### 3 Particularities of the verb structure in Tarma (Northern Junín) Quechua

The structure of the Quechua verb, as outlined in this paragraph, is based on research of the Quechua I dialects spoken in the province of Tarma in the northern part of the department of Junín. The Quechua of northern Junín and the neighboring department of Pasco has also been called *Yaru* (Torero 1974) or *Northern Junín Quechua* (Black, with Bolli and Ticsi Zárate, 1990) in an effort to underscore the unity of the dialects of that area. It is not unlikely that some of the facts observed in this group of dialects will also hold for other varieties of Quechua I, such as the Huanca dialects in the southern part of Junín, and the Quechua spoken in the departments of Ancash and Huánuco further north. However, the way in which research ques-

<sup>5</sup> Examples of this practice are the six grammars of Peruvian Quechua dialects published in 1976 by the Instituto de Estudios Peruanos and the Peruvian Ministry of Education.

<sup>6</sup> The symbol *q* represents a voiceless uvular fricative (originally a stop). In an area near Tarma the uvular and velar fricatives (*q*, *h*) have coincided, and the pronunciation is variable; e.g., in (12). The merged sound is represented as *x* in Adelaar (1977); in this article we write *q*.

tions have been formulated in relation to these dialects makes it hazardous to postulate a generalized validity for our findings. More field research and text analysis are needed in order to solve this matter.

The structure of the Tarma Quechua verb is subject to a further sub-division of the non-final verbal suffixes into two blocks, a left-hand block and a right-hand block. Each block is characterized by a cluster of features which are partly formal, partly semantic in nature. When suffixes pertaining to the two blocks co-occur in a verb form, those of the left-hand block must precede those of the right-hand block. Although the left-hand block suffixes are fully productive and combinations can be obtained through elicitation, they rarely co-occur in spontaneous discourse, except for a small number of fixed sequences with specialized meanings. As a result, the search for a dominant suffix order in relation to the left-hand block suffixes is largely an academic exercise. At the same time, left-hand block suffixes are frequently found with particular verb roots in idiomatic combinations (co-lexicalization). This, in its turn, may influence the order of the suffixes when another left-hand block suffix is added. In our view, only the left-hand block non-final verbal suffixes can be termed truly derivational.

The left-hand block non-final verbal suffixes that are productive in Tarma Quechua are *-ĉa(:)-* ‘Distributive/Diminutive’, *-ĉa:ri-* ‘Experiment’, *-ĉi-* ‘Causative’, *-ka(:)-* ‘Unintentional/Medio-passive’, *-ku-* ‘Reflexive’, *-na(:)-* ‘Desiderative’, *-pa(:)-/-ba(:)-* ‘Applicative/Goal-directed’, *-ra(:)-* ‘Continuous’, *-rku-/rgu-* ‘Upward direction’, *-rpu-/rbu-* ‘Downward direction’, *-tya(:)-* ‘Interrupted’, *-(y)kaĉa(:)-/-(y)gaĉa(:)-* ‘Hesitation/Back and forth’, *-yku-/ygu-/yu-* ‘Inward direction’. (An additional suffix *-ri-* ‘Inchoative’ is found in part of the dialect area.) Furthermore, there are two sequences which may be lexicalized combinations of suffixes with specialized meanings (*-ĉaku-* ‘Multiple object’ and *-paku-/baku-* ‘Mutual benefit’) and one such combination including a suffix that does not occur by itself *-naku-* ‘Reciprocal’.<sup>7</sup> One of the suffixes just enumerated, the causative marker *-ĉi-*, has a well-defined place in both blocks without a significant variation in meaning. At least one other suffix, *-rku-/rgu-* ‘Upward direction’, reappears in the right-hand block with a rather different function. From a synchronic point of view there is no reason to view these two instances of *-rku-/rgu-* as identical. We shall see that the directional suffixes *-rku-/rgu-* and *-yku-/ygu-/yu-* may have been subject to an additional functional-semantic split.

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<sup>7</sup> Comparison with other Quechua dialects and synchronic semantics preclude the identification of the element *-na-* in *-naku-* with the desiderative suffix. Furthermore, *-naku-* allows preceding vowel length, whereas desiderative *-na(:)-* does not.

Right-hand block non-final verbal suffixes do not occur in fixed and idiomatic combinations with specific verb roots. In other words, they do not co-lexicalize. By contrast, they are frequently combined with each other, even though some combinations are disallowed for semantic reasons. The suffixes that have a place in the right-hand block of non-final verbal suffixes are *-či-* ‘Causative’, *-ku-* ‘Customary (‘always’)', *-la(:)-* ‘Restrictive (‘only’)', *-ma(:)-* ‘First person object’, *-mu-* ‘Speaker-orientation’, *-pa:ku/-ba:ku-* ‘Plural’, *-pu-/-bu-* ‘Benefactive’, *-rka(:)-/-rga(:)-* ‘Plural’, *-:ri-* ‘Plural’, *-ru-* ‘Perfective aspect’, *-rku-/-rgu-* ‘Sequential’, *-šu-* ‘Second person object’, *-ya(:)-* ‘Durative aspect’. This list again includes the causative marker *-či-* and the semantically modified *-rku-/-rgu-* ‘Sequential’. The three plural markers are semantically identical, and their selection depends on the combination in which they occur (see below).

When right-hand block suffixes co-occur, they appear in a prescribed order which does not necessarily reflect the structure of the message. For instance, in some combinations aspect markers and plural markers must precede the causative suffix, even though they refer to the activity and the number of the causer, rather than to those of the causee. An alternative order is neither available, nor allowed. Compare (14) where the plural marker follows the causative suffix with (15) and (16), where both the aspect marker and the plural marker come first:

- (14) *punu-či-pa:ku-n*            ‘They make him/them sleep.’  
 (15) *punu-ya:-či-n*            ‘He is making him/them sleep.’  
 (16) *punu-rka-ya:-či-n*        ‘They are making him sleep.’

An interesting phonological peculiarity of right-hand block non-final verbal suffixes is the fact that all but one of them (viz. plural marker *-pa:ku/-ba:ku-*) allow a preceding low vowel *-a(:)-* to remain long or to become lengthened (depending on one’s analysis), except when they begin with a consonant cluster or did so historically.<sup>8</sup> In this respect, right-hand block non-final verbal suffixes behave like final verbal suffixes. This shared behavior of final verbal suffixes and right-hand block non-final verbal suffixes strengthens the impression that they are both part of an inflectional system, as opposed to left-hand block suffixes, which are derivational (cf. Adelaar 1977, 1994). The presence of vowel length also suggests a ‘looser’ transition

<sup>8</sup> Plural marker *-:ri-* is special in that it lengthens and lowers a preceding vowel *-u-* (*...u- > ...a:ri-*); it does not occur after other vowels.

between inflectional suffixes and their surroundings, on the one hand, than between derivational suffixes and roots, on the other.

The demarcation between the left-hand and right-hand blocks of non-final verbal suffixes is not clear-cut. We have seen that at least one suffix can occur on both sides, the causative suffix *-či-*. This suffix is characteristically found in the right-hand block. Otherwise, it must be followed by left-hand block suffixes such as Reflexive *-ku-* or Reciprocal *-naku-*. These are precisely the cases that produce competing suffix orders with alternative meanings, as shown in (17) and (18).

- (17) *maqa-či-naku-rga-n*  
 beat-CAU-REC-PL-3S<sup>9</sup>  
 ‘They let each other be beaten.’
- (18) *maqa-naka-ya:-či-n*<sup>10</sup>  
 beat-REC-PROG-CAU-3S  
 ‘He is causing them to beat each other.’

The case of causative *-či-* stands out in that, even from a synchronic point of view, it represents the same function regardless of its position in either one of the two blocks. It may be argued that some of the directional suffixes can also occur on both sides of the demarcation line (see below), but this is due to a functional-semantic split. In the course of time, their meanings and functions have diverged considerably.

#### 4 The orientational suffix *-mu-*

Most, if not all, Quechua dialects have a non-final verbal suffix *-mu-*, which indicates orientation towards the speaker. Tarma Quechua is no exception in this respect. The suffix *-mu-* is located in the right-hand block section of suffixes. It characteristically has a two-fold function: with verbs of motion, it

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<sup>9</sup> Abbreviations used in this article: 1SG/1INCL = first person singular/plural inclusive, 2/3 = second/third person, ACC = accusative case, ALL = allative case, ASP = aspect, CAU = causative, CONT = continuous, DIR = directional, EVID = evidential, FUT = future, GEN = genitive case, HAB = habitual, IMPER = imperative, MIR = mirative, NEG = negative, OPT = optative, PERF = perfective, PL = plural, POSS = possessor, PROG = progressive, PST = past, REC = reciprocal, REFL = reflexive, REL = relativizer, RESTR = restrictive, SEQ = sequential, S = subject, SUBORD = subordinator, TOP = topic, UNINT = unintentional and VENT = ventive.

<sup>10</sup> The lowering of *u* to *a* is automatic in suffixes followed by *-či-*, even when not adjacent (see below).



indicates that the motion is oriented towards the place where the speaker is at the moment of speaking or, less frequently, towards a place which the speaker has in mind; with verbs that do not by themselves refer to motion, it may be used to indicate an action performed at some other location, often with the implication of a circular movement (from the place of the speaker to the location of the action and then back again). The first type of use is obligatory; that is, absence of *-mu-* explicitly indicates that a motion event does *not* imply any movement or dislocation towards the speaker; the second type of use is optional.

The suffix *-mu-* has been referred to as ‘Cislocative/Translocative’ (Bills 1972), ‘Afar’ (Weber 1989), ‘Centripetal’ (Taylor 1994), or ‘Ventive’ (Ade-laar, with Muysken, 2004).<sup>11</sup> In some of the older literature on Quechua, *-mu-* is described as a directional suffix, especially in relation to dialects in which true Directionals as defined in this paper do not occur (e.g. in Bills 1972, Quesada 1976).<sup>12</sup> There is an extensive literature on the suffix *-mu-* and its uses in Quechua, which we will not discuss here in detail. Like other inflectional suffixes belonging to the right-hand block of non-final suffixes, *-mu-* does not enter into fixed combinations with verb roots (although it is an obligatory component of the verb *ša-.-mu-* ‘to come’). It should be noted that *-mu-* cannot add the concept of motion to the meaning of the verb. That concept must already be part of the meaning of the verb for *-mu-* to be used in its motional function. Although some Quechua dialects have more elaborate orientational systems – including a category ‘Itive’ in Cuzco Quechua (suffix *-pu-*), for instance – only *-mu-* is widely used in all varieties and can be reconstructed for the proto-language. Its Aymara counterpart *-ni-* is used in very much the same way.

The suffix *-mu-* is mentioned here because it has to do with motion, either tangible or psychological, and a change of location. It is doubtful, however, if it has anything to do at all with direction. There does not seem to be any functional shift connecting *-mu-* with the directional suffixes in the left-hand block sector, even though the pragmatics of their interaction, or rather the lack of interaction, merits a closer investigation (see below).

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<sup>11</sup> The term ‘Ventive’ was borrowed from an Africanist tradition of language description (cf. Jungraithmayr & Möhlig 1983).

<sup>12</sup> Parker (1976) uses the term ‘Directionals’ for both the true directionals and the suffix *-mu-*.

### 5 The directional suffixes

The system of verbal directional suffixes that can be reconstructed for proto-Quechua I consists of four categories ‘Up’, ‘Down’, ‘In’, and ‘Out’ (cf. Parker 1973: 22-3). Such a system is fully productive in Aymara, where the corresponding suffixes are *-ta-*, *-qa-*, *-nta-* and *-su-*,<sup>13</sup> respectively, but there are no varieties of Quechua that maintain all these distinctions. In Tarma Quechua, as in most of Quechua I, only two categories are used in productive formations: *-rku-* ‘Up’ and *-rpu-* ‘Down’. However, the suffixes *-yku-* and *-rqu-*, representing the categories ‘In’ and ‘Out’, can easily be recognized in symmetric sets of directional verbs consisting of a root element that does not occur by itself and the directional suffixes in question.<sup>14</sup>

- |      |  |  |
|------|--|--|
| (19) | hypothetical root <i>*ya-</i>                  | ‘to go’  |
|      | <i>yarku-</i> , <i>yargu-</i>                  | ‘to climb’   |
|      | <i>yarpu-</i> , <i>yarbu-</i>                  | ‘to descend’                                       |
|      | <i>yarqu-</i>                                  | ‘to go out’, ‘to leave’                            |
|      | <i>yayku-</i> , <i>yay(g)u-</i>                | ‘to enter’   |
| (20) | hypothetical root <i>*qa-</i>                  | ‘to herd’ (cf. <i>qati-</i> ‘to follow’)           |
|      | <i>qarku-</i> , <i>qargu-</i>                  | ‘to drive or herd upwards’                         |
|      | <i>qarpu-</i> , <i>qarbu-</i>                  | ‘to drive or herd downwards’                       |
|      | <i>qayqu-</i> , <i>qayku-</i> , <i>qaygu-</i>  | ‘to drive or herd inwards’ <sup>15</sup>           |
|      | <i>qarqu-</i>                                  | ‘to drive or herd outwards’                        |
| (21) | hypothetical root <i>*ĉu-</i>                  | ‘to place’ (cf. <i>ĉura-</i> ‘to place’)           |
|      | <i>ĉurku-</i> , <i>ĉurgu-</i>                  | ‘to put on top’,                                   |
|      |  | ‘to load (an animal)’                              |
|      | <i>ĉurpu-</i> , <i>ĉurbu-</i>                  | ‘to put (food) in the pan’                         |
| (22) | hypothetical root <i>*hu-</i> (< <i>*su-</i> ) | ‘to take’ (cf. <i>huqa(ri)-</i> ‘to lift’)         |
|      | <i>hurqu-</i> ( <i>*surqu-</i> )               | ‘to take out’                                      |
|      | <i>sulku-</i> ( <i>*surku-</i> )               | ‘to take water from a well’                        |
|      |  | (Jauja Quechua)                                    |
|      | <i>sulpu-</i> ( <i>*surpu-</i> )               | ‘to put down (e.g. pan from fire)’ (Jauja Quechua) |

<sup>13</sup> The formal specification of these suffixes includes the fact that a preceding vowel is suppressed before *-ta-* and *-su-*, not before *-qa-* and *-nta-*. (e.g. *ir-su-* ‘to lead out’, but *ira-qa-* ‘to lead down’).

<sup>14</sup> For a similar situation in Huánuco Quechua see Weber (1989: 121).

<sup>15</sup> The form *qayqu-* is more widely distributed than the expected *qayku-*; it may reflect a case of consonant harmony reinforcing the identity of *qayqu-* as a root.

(23)	<i>šaya(:)-</i>	‘to stand’
	<i>ša:(ku)-</i>	‘to stand’
	<i>šarku-, šargu-</i>	‘to stand up’
	<i>šay(g)u-</i>	‘to stop’
(24)	<i>taya(:)-</i>	‘to sit’
	<i>ta:(ku)-</i>	‘to sit’
	<i>targu-</i>	‘to be erected’
	<i>tarpu-, tarbu-</i>	‘to sow’ (?)
	<i>tay(g)u-</i>	‘to sit down’
(25)	defective root <i>ana-</i>	‘to look’
	(ana- occurs with other derivational suffixes as well)	
	<i>anarku-, anargu-</i>	‘to look upwards’
	<i>anarpu-, anarbu-</i>	‘to look downwards’
	<i>anay(g)u-</i>	‘to look inside’

Some of these forms are found in Quechua II dialects as well. Noteworthy, however, is the low evidence for *-rku-* and *-rpu-*. While they are common in Quechua I, their former occurrence in Quechua II can only be conjectured from verbs such as *warku-* ‘to hang’, *tarpu-* ‘to sow’ and the derivational suffix *-rpari-* ‘leaving behind’.<sup>16</sup> On the other hand, Quechua II dialects present ample evidence of the existence of *-rqu-* and *-yku-*, which survive as derivational suffixes with specialized, non-directional meanings.

## 6 (Morpho)phonological and dialectal variation of the directional suffixes

Non-final verbal suffixes ending in *-u-* have allomorphs in *-a-*. The occurrence of these *-a-* allomorphs is determined by the choice of a following non-final suffix. The suffixes *-či-* and *-mu-*, mentioned earlier, are among the ones that trigger this type of lowering (even when another suffix intervenes). Verbal roots containing an obligatory directional element, such as *qarku-*, *yarqu-*, etc. show the same alternation of their final vowel, which betrays the suffix origin of their root-final elements. The alternation in question does not apply to the verb *tarpu-* ‘to sow’, which casts doubt on the suffix origin of the root-final element in this particular case. From a semantic point of view,

<sup>16</sup> The Quechua II dialect of Cotabambas (Apurimac), as exemplified in an impressive collection of autobiographic texts narrating the lives of cattle-thieves, shows a frequent use of a suffix *-rpa-*, so far unexplained (Escalante and Valderrama 1992). There is no reason to conclude that this suffix has anything to do with *-rpu-* ‘Down’.

however, the element *-rpu-* in *tarpu-* ‘to sow’ may very well represent the ‘Down’ directional.

Two directional suffixes, *-rqu-* and *-yku-*, can be affected by a simplification of their initial clusters. In that case, the simplified version of *-rqu-* is *-ru-*, and that of *-yku-* is *-yu-*. (Further simplification to *-r-* and *-y-* is found in the San Pedro de Cajas subdialect; these forms diverge from the canonical shape of suffixes as outlined above.) A similar simplification also affects a verb such as *yayku-*, which is found as *yaygu-* or *yayyu-* in subdialects of the area. The simplification is part of a development that also affected other suffixes with an initial consonant cluster, such as *-rqa* ‘past tense’. It is found in a large number of Quechua dialects, regardless of the subgroup or branch to which they belong. In Tarma Quechua all these suffixes continue to block preceding vowel length, also in their simplified version.

One subdialect, which surrounds the provincial capital of Tarma and extends further southward as far as the border of the Jauja (Huanca) dialect, has undergone voicing of grave stops after a non-nasal consonant. In this variety *-rku-*, *-rpu-* and *-y(k)u-* have become *-rgu-*, *-rbu-* and *-y(g)u-*, respectively. This development bears no relation to the simplification process described above.

### 7 Motional input of the directional suffixes

All suffixes used as true directionals are left-hand block suffixes. When directional suffixes are used productively with verb roots that do not denote motion themselves, they can add an element of motion to the meaning of the verb base; e.g. *punu-* ‘to sleep’, *punu-rpu-* ‘to descend to a lower place and spend the night there’. This represents a fundamental difference with the behavior of the orientational suffix *-mu-* (see above), where the meaning of the verb remains essentially the same. The following remarkable example illustrates the absence of interaction between a true directional and the orientational suffix.

- (26) *punu-rpa-mu-šaq*  
 sleep-Down-VENT-1SG.FUT  
 ‘I will go down to sleep in a lower place and then come back up here.’

As the example shows, the directional suffix adds motion to the meaning of a verb that normally does not refer to motion (‘to go down and sleep’), but the orientational suffix is interpreted in the context of the original non-motional meaning of the verb (‘to go somewhere, sleep, and then come back to speaker’s place’).

### 8 Etymology of the directionals

Quechua verbal suffixes do not normally provide any clue as to what lexical origin, if any, they might have. At least one of the directionals, *-yku-* ‘In’, is exceptional in that it seems to be derived from a lexical term, namely *uku* or *uk<sup>h</sup>u*, which means ‘inside’ or ‘interior’ in the Quechua II dialect branch. For *-rqu-* ‘Out’, one may venture to say that it could be derived from the word *urqu* (‘mountain’ in Quechua I) since mountains are an ubiquitous feature of the Andean landscape. For the other two directionals, no ready etymology can be found. (The word *urpu* ‘chicha jar’ as an etymology for the ‘Down’ directional seems rather far-fetched.). However, the latter has been found as a nominal affix in one single word from the area near Tarma, *çagirbu* ‘the foot (of a mountain)’ from *çagi* ‘foot’. As far as we know, this form is not found in other dialects.

### 9 The development of directionals in Tarma Quechua and neighboring dialects

Although we may assume that the meaning of the suffixes *-rku-*, *-rpu-*, *-rqu-* and *-yku-* was originally purely directional, at least three of them have been affected by a series of developments in the Quechua of northern Junín. There is no indication that Tarma Quechua *-rpu-* ‘Down’ has anything else but a directional meaning. It operates as a left-hand block non-final verbal suffix. Nevertheless, a derived meaning for the equivalent of this suffix ‘Overcoming resistance’ has been recorded in the Huanca dialects of the Huancayo area (Cerrón-Palomino 1976a: 201).

- (27) *ñakay-pa*                      *puñu-lpu-?ña?*                      *ka-*  
 suffering-GEN                      sleep-Down-PERF-MIR                      be-1SG.S  
 ‘With difficulty I managed to sleep.’<sup>17</sup>

The most radical and unambiguous change of function affecting any of the original directional suffixes can be observed in what happened to *-rqu-* ‘Out’. The directional meaning of this suffix was lost in all Quechua dialects, except for the lexicalized cases such as *yarqu-*, *qarqu-* and *hurqu-*. During the development of southern Quechua I the suffix *-rqu-* moved from the left-hand block to the right-hand block and acquired a purely aspectual meaning. In Northern Junín Quechua (including Tarma Quechua) the suffix *-rqu-* became formally simplified to *-ru-*. The aspectual meaning of *-rqu-*

<sup>17</sup> Cerrón-Palomino (1976a) uses an etymological (polylectal) spelling *puñu-lpu-qhu-ñaq kaa*. The mirative requires the presence of the auxiliary ‘to be’.

and its reflexes in southern Quechua I is ‘perfective aspect’ with shades of meaning reminiscent of the use of perfective verbs in Russian.

- (28) *punu-ru-nki-man-taq*  
 sleep-PERF-2S-OPT-REMINDER  
 ‘Watch out, you may fall asleep (if you do not take care)!’
- (29) *unayla punu-ra-ru-n*  
 long.while sleep-CONT-PERF-3S  
 ‘He has finally slept for quite a while.’

Perfective *-ru-* is mutually exclusive with the progressive aspect suffix *-ya(:)-* (< *\*-yka(:)-*). Both aspect markers occupy the same slot in the order of right-hand block non-final suffixes. They are both extremely frequent, and they are pragmatically related in the sense that they are found in clusters of sentences marking the dynamic passages in a discourse or text (cf. Adelaar 1988). Some speakers tend to use aspect markers in every verb form in which their presence is allowed. An environment in which their presence is not allowed is the main verb of a negative sentence, where only forms unmarked for aspect are found. Apparently, events that do not take place cannot be marked for aspect in Tarma Quechua.<sup>18</sup>

- (30) *aywa-ru-n*  
 go-PERF-3S  
 ‘He has gone.’
- (31) *aywa-ya-n*  
 go-PROG-3S  
 ‘He is going.’
- (32) *mana-m aywa-n-čū*  
 not-EVID go-3S-NEG  
 ‘He does not go.’ ‘He has not gone.’ ‘He is not going.’

Although the directional element *-rqu-* and the perfective suffix *-ru-* are historically the same, they can co-occur, as in *yarqu-ru-n* ‘it came out’, ‘it has come out’, ‘it finally comes out’. As a matter of fact, of all verb roots in Tarma Quechua only *ni-* ‘to say’ seems to be resistant to the use of the per-

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<sup>18</sup> The dialect of Pacaraos in the province of Huaral (department of Lima), which has a similar aspect system, does allow the negation of main verbs marked for aspect. This difference has no explanation so far.

fective aspect marker (unmarked *ni-n* ‘he says, etc.’ is preferred over *\*ni-ru-n*).<sup>19</sup>

The close historical relation between the ‘Out’ directional and the perfective aspect marker in Tarma Quechua is borne out by the following interesting data. Verbs belonging to a directional set, such as *yarqu-* ‘to go out’, can be divided into two parts (*ya-...-ru-*) with infixation of a suffix *-ku-*.

- (33) *ya-ku-ru-n*  
 go(.out)-ASP-Out-3S  
 ‘It got out.’

This *-ku-*, probably the result of a functional split of the ‘reflexive’ marker *-ku-*, has acquired a marginal aspectual function and indicates the completion of a change of position. Since *-ku-* is aspectual, it cannot be combined with the perfective aspect marker *-ru-*. Instead, *-ru-* is to be interpreted as a formally simplified version of the petrified directional suffix *-rqu-*. (In the parallel form *ya-ku-yu-n* ‘it got inside’, *-yu-* also has to be interpreted as the simplified version of the directional suffix *-yku-*.)

In other Quechua dialects the suffix *-rqu-* ‘Out’ has taken a different course. In Ancash Quechua (Quechua I), it became part of the tense system, referring to a ‘Recent past’ (Parker 1976). In Ayacucho and Cuzco Quechua (Quechua IIC) it indicates, among other things, a sense of urgency or compulsion (Parker 1969, Cusihuaman 1976). It cannot be interpreted as a part of the aspectual system because it can co-occur with the progressive aspect marker (*-čka-* in the Ayacucho dialect; cf. Parker 1969: 64).

The two remaining directional suffixes *-rku-* and *-yku-* also have undergone changes in meaning and function, sometimes amounting to a semantic split. However, it is more difficult to isolate their functions, and their participation in the right-hand block of non-verbal suffixes is less easy to determine than in the case of *-rqu-*.

Apart from its use as a directional, *-rku-* has at the least two other applications. It can refer to an action of which the speaker wants to emphasize the positive social implications: ‘**Please**, stay a while!’, ‘Let us have a drink, **if you feel like it!**’ ‘I shall continue my way, **if I may.**’ etc. When used in this way, *-rku-* can follow true directionals.

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<sup>19</sup> The almost ubiquitous occurrence of the suffix *-ru-* in combination with its elusive function constituted a real test of patience for a beginning field linguist.

- (34) *kaĉa-rgu-rgu-šaq*  
 let.go.of-Up-Social.Act-1SG.S.FUT  
 ‘I shall let go (of the balloon), if you agree.’

In this function, *-rku-* does not normally co-occur with the aspect markers (although admittedly the distinction between the directional ‘Up’ and the ‘Social Act’ functions is not always crystal-clear). One may suspect that the Social Act function represents an additional aspectual category, or, more correctly, that it encodes perfective aspect with an additional shade of meaning of social desirability. If this analysis is correct, we may conclude that *-rku-* ‘Social Act’ has found a place in the right-hand block of non-verbal suffixes in the slot of the aspect markers.<sup>20</sup> More examples of *-rku-* ‘Social Act’ are:

- (35) *upya-ku-rgu-šun*  
 drink-REFL-Social.Act-1INCL.S.IMPER  
 ‘Let us have some drinks!’
- (36) *ka-rku-y*  
 be-Social.Act-2S.IMPER  
 ‘Please stay a while!’

The second application of *-rku-* ‘Sequential’ is widely found in Quechua I dialects and occurs under very restricted circumstances, namely in combination with the subordinator *-r*. The latter indicates subordination of a verb to a main verb and is part of the switch-reference system. It is used when the subjects of both verbs are identical. The use of *-rku-...-r* indicates a close temporal consecutiveness of the two events. Sequential *-rku-* is definitely part of the aspectual system, although the difference in function with perfective *-ru-* is not great. Use of the perfective aspect marker implies a previous effort or development (37), whereas sequential *-rku-* indicates a more neutral temporal relationship (38-39).

- (37) *išgi-ra-mu-r*                      *pampa-man*                      *qutu-ka-ru-n*  
 fall-PERF-VENT-SUBORD    ground-ALL                      pile.up-UNINT-PERF-3S  
 ‘Once they have fallen down, they remain piled up on the ground.’

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<sup>20</sup> In Adelaar (1977) *-rku-* ‘Social Act’ and *-yku-* ‘Special Care’ (see below) were classified as derivational (left-hand block) suffixes. The present article proposes a revision of that classification.



- (38) *maki-n-ta*      *kutu-rku-r*  
 hand-3POSS-ACC cut.off-SEQ-SUBORD  
*warmi-qa*      *intrega-ru-ra*      *maki-n-ta*  
 woman-TOP      hand.over-PERF-3PST      hand-3POSS-ACC  
 ‘After cutting off her hand, the woman gave it to him.’
- (39) *rumi-ta*    *isqira-man*    *muyu-rga-ĉi-r*  
 stone-ACC    mud-ALL      turn-SEQ-CAU-SUBORD  
*wayi-ta*    *rura-q*  
 house-ACC    house-3HAB.PST  
 ‘After turning stone into mud, they would build houses.’

As a productive suffix, the directional suffix *-yku-* is usually found in its simplified form (*-yu-*) in Northern Junín Quechua (although *-ygu-* also occurs in the dialect that has voicing of velar stops). It has not entirely lost its directional function, except that the original meaning ‘inwards’, which is still present in specialized verbs such as *yayku-* and *qayqu-*, has been replaced by the meaning ‘towards an indicated location’. By this means *-y(g)u-* is frequently used to add direction or motion to the meaning of the verb root.

- (40) *qita-ra-y(g)u-y*      (< *\*hita-ra(:)-* ‘to lie down’)  
 throw-CONT-Direction-2S.IMPER  
 ‘Lie down over there!’
- (41) *qita-ra-yu-nqa-n*      *gaq-man*  
 throw-CONT-Direction-REL-3S    place-ALL  
 ‘to the place where he is lying down’

Apart from its directional function, the reflex of *-yku-* has a second application. It can indicate that the action is performed with special care or attention, while emphasizing that the job is not particularly extensive (‘just a small matter that has to be handled with care’). In this function *-yu-* may also follow its directional counterpart, as in (42).

- (42) *ana-yu-yu-y*  
 look-In-Special.Care-2IMPER  
 ‘Take a little peek inside!’ ‘Have a look inside!’

In its ‘special care’ reading *-yu-* is not normally combined with aspect markers, and we may conclude that it encodes an aspect meaning itself, for instance, ‘perfective aspect plus special care’, rather than special care alone. Black *et al.* (1990) have analyzed *-yu-* as an ‘aspect of affectivity’ marker.

The following example shows the close parallelism between *-yu-* ‘Special Care’ and the perfective aspect marker *-ru-* as illustrated in (37) above.

- (43) *kalana-ta nina-man čura-ku-yu-r*  
 clay.pot-ACC fire-ALL place-REFL-Special.Care-SUBORD  
*čay-man-mi čibi-rbu-nčik ismayču-ba rapra-n-ta*  
 that-ALL-EVID tear-Down-1INCL.S plant.name-GEN leaf-3POSS.ACC  
 ‘After putting the clay pot on the fire, we cut up the leaves of the *ismayču* plant and drop it (in the pot).’

The suffix *-yu-* is sometimes found in a combination with the suffix *-ku-* (*-ku-yu-*) following a directional, for instance, *-rpu-*. The exact meaning of this combination and the modalities of its use remain to be explored, but it appears to refer to a protracted process involving a change in substance or position. It may also convey the meaning ‘completely’.

- (44) *čaki-rpu-ku-yu-n*  
 dry-Down-ASP(?)-ASP(?)-3S  
 ‘It is drying out completely.’

## 10 Plural marking

A complex and rather unusual part of the verbal morphology of Tarma Quechua is the way in which plurality of subject (in unambiguous contexts also of direct or indirect object) is indicated, especially in connection with the aspect markers. Plural marking will not be treated here in detail, but some aspects of it are relevant to the present article. Whereas directionals usually combine with the regular default plural marker *-pa:ku-/ba:ku-*, the perfect aspect marker *-ru-* can only be combined with the plural marker *-:ri-*, yielding a rather characteristic sequence *-ra:ri-* (with obligatory lowering and lengthening of the vowel *-u-*).<sup>21</sup> The plural marker *-:ri-* is furthermore found after other ex-directionals that lost their original meaning, in particular *-rku-* ‘sequential’, for which it is the only option available (*-rku-r* > *-rka:ri-r*). In this way, the selection of plural markers contributes to underscoring the difference between directional and non-directional functions of markers that are historically the same. Interestingly, when directional or ex-direc-

<sup>21</sup> An alternative representation of this suffix is *-a:ri-*, which would be in conflict with the canonical form of verbal suffixes mentioned before. The source of the suffix may be a sequence *-ya:ri-*; both *-ya-* and *-ri-* are plural markers in other dialects (cf. Cerrón-Palomino 1987).

tional suffixes are preceded by *-ku-* (regardless of its status or function), *-:ri-* is also the only option for plural marking. If *-ku-* is absent, speakers hesitate as to which type of plural marker should be selected.<sup>22</sup> Note that *-rka(:)-*/*-rga(:)-* is the plural marker normally required after *-ku-*; it is the combination of *-ku-* with an (ex-)directional that requires *-:ri-*.

- (45) *čimpan chimpan čura-naka-ya-:ri-r*  
 opposite.side opposite.side place-REC-DIR-PL-SUBORD  
 ‘standing in front of each other’  
 (lit.: ‘after (carefully) placing each other at opposite sides’)
- (46) *ya-ka-ya-:ri-n*  
 go.in-ASP-In-PL-3S  
 ‘They got inside.’  
*ya-ka-ra-:ri-n*  
 go.out-ASP-Out-PL-3S  
 ‘They got outside.’
- (47) *upya-ka-rga-:ri-la-y* *tayta*  
 drink-REFL-Social.Act-PL-RESTR-2S.IMPER Sir  
 ‘Please have a drink, gentlemen!’

## 11 Conclusion

The historical identity and the formal uniqueness of verbal affixes in Quechua are challenged by the occurrence of functional and semantic splits and shifts. Derivational directional markers in Quechua I show a tendency to develop into perfective aspect markers more closely associated with the inflectional part of the verb. Of the four directional markers that can be reconstructed for Proto-Quechua I, three are productively used in Tarma Quechua with some kind of directional function, although only the vertical directionals (‘Down’, ‘Up’) have retained their original meanings. The fourth directional marker (‘Out’) has lost its directional function entirely and is now productively used only as an aspect marker. While retaining their directional uses, two directional markers (‘Up’, ‘In’) have acquired additional functions. One of these functions (‘Sequential’) is also aspectual. Two other functions (‘Social Act’, ‘Special Care’) combine aspectual use with attitudinal shades of meaning. There are no clear cases of combined use of these aspectual-attitudinal markers with real aspect markers, which seems to indicate that they operate as specialized aspectual markers themselves. Throughout this his-

<sup>22</sup> Black *et al.* (1990) report a wider use of the marker *-:ri-*, in contexts not treated here.

torical process Tarma Quechua has maintained a sharp distinction between the orientational marker *-mu-*, which is part of the inflection, on one hand, and the originally derivational directional affixes with their reflexes on the other.

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