
A re-analysis of verb morphology in South Bolivian Quechua: a case study of the Uma Piwra rural variety

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This study reanalyzes the verb morphology for *Uma Piwra* Quechua variety (UPQ), spoken in the Southern part of Bolivia. The analysis is supported by 20 hours natural speech corpus collected in the everyday conversations and daily work activities. This paper contributes providing a thorough description of the verb morphology and considers the standing of UPQ in recent work of typology of morphologically complex verbs (Mattissen 2017 and Fortescue 2017). It challenges three descriptive claims that are either made explicitly or presupposed in studies of South Bolivian Quechua (Garland D., et al 1971, Muysken 1986, Herrero & Sanchez 1978, Van de Kerke 1993 and Plaza 2009): (i) there are no lexical restrictions on the productivity of derivational suffixes; (ii) some suffix-suffix combinations are built incrementally and compositionally rather than as complex lexemic chunks; and (iii) variable affix ordering always covaries with a distinction in scope. Additionally, the data in previous studies are not based on naturalistic speech and hence many examples are infelicitous or only marginally acceptable. My analysis primarily uses natural speech followed by native speaker judgements to arrive to a deep understanding of UPQ morphology. Concerning recent work on typology of morphologically complex verbs, following Mattissen (2017) and Fostescue (2017), I argue that Quechua displays typical polysynthetic verb structure with regard to its rich morphological elaboration, but is atypical because it does not allow any compounding nor verbal suffixes with typical adjectival or nominal meaning types.

Contrary to claims made in previous studies, most derivational suffixes are not in fact fully productive in natural speech. For example, the suffix *-kipa* in (1a) appears described as productive suffix meaning “*repetition*” in Herrero and Sanchez (1978) and Van de Kerke (1993); however, according to my analysis this suffix is a lexeme-building suffix since it only appears combined to two verbs and it denotes the meaning: ‘*to change texture of grains by softly grinding or toasting*’, indeed it only applies to grain type objects as follows:

- (1) *jank’a-spa* (*quinoa*) *kuta-kipa-nchik*, *maylla-nchik*
toast-GER grind-TRANS-1PL wash-1PL

‘we softly grind it (quinoa) after toasting, we wash it’

This study also shows that productive suffixes are built incrementally and compositionally. For example, in (2) and (3) the suffix *-chi* meaning ‘*X causes/makes Y to do V*’ and *-pu* ‘benefactive’ each suffix bears a compositional meaning when they co-occur.

- (2) *achkha* *llant’a-s-ta-pis* *apa-chi-ni*
A lot wood-PL-ACC-also carry-CAUS-1SG > 3SG
‘I also made someone carry a lot of wood’ (Asteria)

- (3) *kachi* *yaku-pi* *chullu-chi-pu-ni*
salt water-LOC sock-CAUS-BEN-1SG > 3SG
‘I make it (chicken meat) soak in salt water’ (Angela)

However, certain productive suffixes in UPQ, when combined, form suffix clusters whose meaning is no longer compositional. Previous studies by Solá and Lastra (1964), Bills et al., (1971), Herrero & Sanchez (1978), Muysken (1986), Van de Kerke (1993) and Plaza (2009), do not observe suffix-suffix clusters. For example, in (4) the meaning of the cluster *-kampu* ‘to do V, for good/safeness to avoid the bad presentiment the subject has’ cannot be predicted from the individual meanings *-ku* ‘reflexive’ *-mu* ‘motion’ *-pu* ‘benefactive’. In my analysis, when these three suffixes co-occur they necessarily involve phonological changes and occupy single slots rather than different slots in the verb template. In fact, such non-compositional meanings remain understudied in wider literature (Fortescue 1980).

- (4) *imapis* *jap’i-nman* *ni-spa,*
 we never know what catch-3SG.COND say-GER,
qati-kampu-ni *ah*
 take animals-**back.for.good**-1SG ah
 ‘We never know what it can catch it (the brooding turkey sitting far away from home) saying that I took/take it back for good’ (Angela)

This study also uncovers examples where variable affix ordering does not covary with a difference in scope. While the literature suggests more suffixes freely varying with respect to each other, the analysis found restricted free-variation among single productive suffixes. Only *-rqu* and *-rpa* can freely vary with respect to *-ysi*. Indeed, the free affix variation occurs without an obligatory difference in scope, as exemplified in (5) and (6).

- (5) *t’iqpa-ysi-rpa-lla-sqayki*
 peel-ASSIT-suddenly-keep-1 > 2SG.FUT
 ‘I help you keep peeling (dry corn)’
- (6) *t’iqpa-rpa-ysi-lla-sqayki*
 peel-suddenly-ASSIT-keep-1 > 2SG.FUT
 ‘I help you keep peeling (dry corn)’

This study presents a holistic description for UPQ morphology. Even though UPQ has limited polysynthesis typologically because it lacks compounding, and adjectival- and nominal-type verbal suffixes, productive non-inflectional suffixes display very concrete and well elaborated adverbial meanings. In the following examples, we can see that concrete adverbial meanings are expressed in the way the verb is performed. The fact that only adverbial-type suffixes are well elaborated makes UPQ typological atypical.

- (7) *chiri-pi-chá* *wañu-rpa-saq* *ni-chka-ni* *jajaja*
 cold-LOC-DUB die-**suddenly**-1SG.FUT say-PROG-1SG hahaha
 ‘I am saying that “I will suddenly drop dead in the cold”’ (Angela)
- (8) *runt-it-u* *ka-pti-n* *runtu* *wayk’u-rqu-ku-ni*
 egg-DIM exist-if-3SG eggs cook-**nimbly**-REF-1SG
 ‘If there are eggs, I nimbly and happily cook eggs myself’ (Genoveva)

- (9) 'talaq, talaq' *ni-ri-chi-chka-nku* *imata-chá*
 'talaq, talaq' sound-*nicely*-CAUS-PROG-3PL something-DUB
 'talaq, talaq, it seems they are making sound on something' (Copertino)

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