OBJECT - VERB AGREEMENT IN QUECHUA[1]

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This paper describes verb morphology in Quechua, and argues that verb - object agreement poses a challenge to recent attempts to account for verb inflection in terms of movement through a series of functional head positions.

0. The focus of this discussion will be how the structure of inflected verbs, usu - ally called inflectional verb morphology, is to be conceived and treated within grammatical theory. For present purposes, and without claiming to be compre - hensive, the history of this issue may perhaps be divided into four stages. In tradi - tional European grammar and in structural grammar, morphology was the only type of structure to be given formal expression: if syntax existed at all, it was gen - erally an informal discussion of the uses of the various paradigmatic forms (case, gender, number, person, tense, voice, mood, etc.). In early generative grammar, when syntax was first subjected to comprehensive formal analysis, morphology tended to disappear as an independent branch of grammar: the alternations char - acteristic of morphological systems were to be regarded as produced by phonolog - ical processes, while the word structures themselves were to be regarded as pro - duced by syntactic processes, hopefully with independent motivation in either case. [2]

Since the mid 1970s, as part of the program of restricting the power of both syntactic and phonological systems, the earlier view has often been seen as naive, and the dominant position is to restore morphology as an independent component of language structure with its own word formation processes of a basically differ - ent nature from either syntactic or phonological processes, and most often as -

sumed to belong to the lexicon.[3] Since the mid 1980s, however, a number of syntacticians have been moving in the direction of once again reducing inflectional morphology to fundamentally syntactic principles.[4]

Satisfactorily resolving the issue will of course involve considerable effort on the part of the field as a whole, and cannot be expected in a brief discussion of the present sort. We hope to show, however, that the facts of verb morphology in Quechua are of some interest in the general theoretical context. Though they are not of overwhelming morphological complexity, and in many ways are quite consistent with the recent reductive views, Quechua verbs nevertheless present a serious challenge to these views, particularly in their object agreement properties. We return to a discussion of the theoretical perspective after a description of the relevant facts, using the well described Quechua spoken in the vicinity of Cochabamba, Bolivia as a basis.

1.   A Quechua verb typically has the following six - part structure, where only the verb stem is invariably overt; there is some suppletion, but few obvious phonological distortions and almost no irregularity.

I   <u>Stem</u> - <u>object person</u> - <u>tense</u> - <u>subject person</u> - <u>number</u> - <u>mood</u>[5]

Further, tense and mood cannot both be present, so that examples of maximally complex verbs are as follows.

1)   **apa - wa - rqa - nki - chej**   'you (pl) took me'

2)   **apa - wa - nki - chej - man**   'you (pl) would take me'

The morphemes present in these verbs are:

(a)   Stem   **apa -**   'take'

         Object person   **- wa -**   first: 'me'

         Tense   **- rqa -**   past

Subject person	- nki	second: 'you'
Number	- chej	plural
Mood	- man	conditional: 'would'

The agreement categories in Cochabamba Quechua are the following seven for either the subject or the object, with the independent pronoun form for that category and a common analysis in terms of features.

(b)	noqa	'I/me'	[+1, -2, -pl]
	qan	'you (sing)'	[-1, +2, -pl]
	pay	'he/she/him/her/it'	[-1, -2, -pl]
	noqayku	'we/us (excl)'	[+1, -2, +pl]
	noqanchej	'we/us (incl)'	[+1, +2, +pl]
	qankuna	'you (pl)'	[-1, +2, +pl]
	paykuna	'they/them'	[-1, -2, +pl]

In this feature analysis, third person forms are treated as neither first nor second person ([-1, -2]) and the distinction between exclusive and inclusive first person plural forms can be made by treating the latter as both first and second person ([+1, +2]). Of course there is no inclusive first person singular category.

*[+1, +2, -pl]

A fairly complete paradigm of the finite forms of the transitive verb **apay** 'take' is given as an appendix, including the present (with no overt tense or

mood), the past (with tense **-rqa-**), the future (with tenses **-sqa-** and **-nqa-**), the conditional (with mood **-man**) and the imperative (with no tense or mood, but distinct subject agreement).[6] There are additional non-finite forms and various periphrastic tenses, moods or voices which would not add materially to our discussion of object agreement. Based on this paradigm, we call attention to two phenomena: (i) the presence of 'transitions' marking person agreement, and (ii) the selective behavior of number agreement.

2.1 Since object-verb agreement is not found in Latin or other familiar Western European languages, its description presented some challenge to the colonial missionary grammarians. The dominant analysis, as given for example in González Holguín (1607), uses the notion of 'transition' to treat person agreement.[7] Unlike the analysis presented in I above, where two elements are distinguished, one marking subject person agreement and the other object person agreement, in González' treatment there is a single element which marks agreement with subject-object pairs:

(c)   **-yki**   first to second person   (first transition)

        -sunki   third to second person   (second transition)

        -wanki   second to first person   (third transition)

        -wan   third to first person   (fourth transition)

The term 'transition' as applied here has obvious roots in the traditional term 'transitive' applied to verbs which have objects.

The overall aptness of this analysis is quite vulnerable, however. The so-called third and fourth transitions -**wanki** and -**wan** are easily analyzable into two parts, each marking person agreement with a distinct argument.

3)   **apa-wa-nki**   'you (sg) are taking me'

4)   apa - wa - n   'she is taking me'[9]

Here - **wa** - marks first person object agreement (me), and what remains is identical with the second or third person subject agreement 'you' or 'she'.

5)   **apa - nki**   'you (sg) are taking him'[10]

6)   **apa - n**   'she is taking him'

González explicitly states that there are no transitions corresponding to first or second to third person, so that - **nki** and - **n** in 5) and 6) must be subject person markers identical to those used with intransitive verbs.

Further, the two elements which compose these transitions are not always contiguous; in the past tense, for example:

7)   **apa - wa - rqa - nki**   'you (sg) took me'

8)   **apa - wa - rqa**   'she took me'

9)   **apa - rqa - nki**   'you (sg) took him'

10)   **apa - rqa**   'she took him'

The transition analysis is quite inconsistent with verbs like 7). The case of 8) is slightly less clear since no overt third person subject agreement marking appears; however, as shown by comparison with 10), this is a generalization which applies to third person subject agreement in general, and is not restricted to the fourth transition. It would missing this obvious generalization to maintain that the fourth transition - **wan** has a variant form - **wa** in the past.

The second transition - **sunki** presents an additional complication.

11)   **apa - sunki**   'she is taking you (sg)'

12)   apa - so - rqa   'she took you (sg)' [11]

There is motivation to analyze **- sunki** into two parts: the first element **- su -** marks a second person object ('you') in both 11) and 12). And in the latter, the third person subject is not overtly marked, just as in 8) or 10). But the remaining element **- nki** in 11) is problematic; it is not easy to accept as a further variant of the third person subject agreement marker, because it occurs only in combination with **- su -**. It is equally difficult to accept the transition analysis, because it would be inapplicable to all the relevant cases. There is the interesting phonological identity with the second person subject agreement marker as in 5) or 9); but neither the transition analysis nor the alternative assumed here can account for this detail. If there is a significant relation between the two, it is perhaps to be explained only in historical terms.

The first transition **- yki** presents the strongest case for the transition analysis, since there seem to be no grounds for analyzing it into parts.

13)   **apa - yki**   'I am taking you (sg)'

14)   **apa - rqa - yki**   'I took you (sg)'

15)   **apa - ni**   'I am taking him'

16)   **apa - rqa - ni**   'I took him'

There is no **- su -**, which might be expected on the basis of 11) and 12) to mark a second person object, nor is there **- ni**, the otherwise regular first person subject marker as in 15) and 16). Further, **- yki** is never separated by a tense marker, always following it as in 14). It constitutes an exception to the typical Quechua verb structure in I, and presents a problem for the analysis assumed here parallel to the problem presented by verbs like 7) for the transition analysis. It might be possible to relate an element **- ki** to the **- nki** of **- sunki**, and an element **- y -** to a part of the first person exclusive plural agreement marker **- yku** (see below); but there

would remain the problem of the order and inseparability of the two.[12]   As with
-**sunki**, a historical approach might be more feasible.

A final point concerns the status of reflexive verbs like 17) to 19).

17)   **apa-ku-ni**   'I am taking myself'

18)   **apa-ku-nki**   'you are taking yourself'

19)   **apa-ku-n**   'she is taking herself'

Even though it might seem logical to extend the transition analysis to these cases
as in (d), in fact González does not do so.

(d)   **-kuni**   first to first person

         -kunki   second to second person

         -kun   third to third person

Rather, he recognizes -**ku**- as a separate element, not treated as belonging to the
person agreement system at all, possibly because it does not correlate with any
particular person.[13]   It is treated together with the modal derivational suffixes
(which typically precede agreement marking).

20)   **apa-ko-rqa-ni**   'I took myself'

21)   **apa-ko-rqa-nki**   'you took yourself'

22)   **apa-ko-rqa**   'she took herself'[14]

2.2   As shown in I, there is a single position for number agreement in Cocha-
bamba Quechua, which can mark the plurality of either the subject, the object or
both.[15]   There are two plural agreement markers, but the distinction between

them does not depend on subject versus object agreement.

(e)   **-ku**   plural for [-2] subject or object

       -chej   plural for [+2] subject or object

In verbs like 25) and 26), these plural markers are easily separable from the pre - ceding subject agreement markers. In verbs like 23) and 24) on the other hand, there are problems which recall the situation with **- sunki.**

23)   **apa - yku**   'we (ex) are taking him'

24)   **apa - nchej**   'we (in) are taking him'

25)   **apa - nki - chej**   'you (pl) are taking him'

26)   **apa - n - ku**   'they are taking him'

That is, the presumed subject agreement elements **-y-** and **-n-** don't appear in other combinations, and neither is identical with the first person singular subject agreement marker **-ni** in a verb like 15) or 17). The former recalls the problemat - ic transition **-yki**, and the latter resembles the third person subject agreement marker **-n** in a verb like 6) or 19). Perhaps this is to be expected in a language which distinguishes exclusive from inclusive first person plurals; certainly the distribution of **-ku** and **-chej** supports the feature analysis given above. The same pattern is found in the reflexive forms with plural subjects.

27)   **apa - ku - yku**   'we (ex) are taking ourselves'

28)   **apa - ku - nchej**   'we (in) are taking ourselves'

29)   **apa - ku - nki - chej**   'you are taking yourselves'

30)   **apa - ku - n - ku**   'they are taking themselves'

The determination of whether the number of the subject or object is to be marked is a rather complicated matter. The general absence of overt third person object agreement extends to number: -**nku** as in 26) or 30) can only represent agreement with a third person plural subject, never with a third person plural object, and all verbs like 5), 6), 15) and 23) to 26) are systematically ambiguous as to the number of their third person object. If the object is second person, the verb may overtly mark its number. Alongside 13) and 11) we have:

31)   **apa - yki - chej**   'I am taking you (pl)'

32)   **apa - sunki - chej**   'she is taking you (pl)'

If the subject is third person plural, the number of the object is marked, but not if the subject is first person plural.

33)   **apa - yku**   'we (ex) are taking you (sg or pl)'

34)   **apa - su - n - ku**   'they are taking you (sg)'

35)   **apa - sunki - chej**   'they are taking you (pl)'

It is worthy of note that in 34) - **sunki** fails to appear even though no overt tense marker is present, the third person singular agreement marker -**n** being used before -**ku**, while in 35) we find -**sunki** before -**chej**.

If the object is first person, the verb always overtly marks its number, but person distinctions in subject agreement may be lost (together with number distinctions). Alongside 3) and 4), we have:

36)   **apa - wa - yku**   'you (sg) are taking us (ex)'

37)   **apa - wa - yku**   'she is taking us (ex)'

38)   apa - wa - nchej   'she is taking us (in)'

If the subject is plural:

39)   apa - wa - nki - chej   'you (pl) are taking me'

40)   apa - wa - yku   'you (pl) are taking us (ex)'

41)   apa - wa - n - ku   'they are taking me'

42)   apa - wa - yku   'they are taking us (ex)'

43)   apa - wa - nchej   'they are taking us (in)'

Thus -**wa**- marks first person object agreement, whether that object is singular or plural, exclusive or inclusive. Reminiscent of 33) above, whenever the object is first person, not only is there no subject number agreement, neither is there any subject person agreement. **Apa - yku** or **apa - nchej** is used whenever the subject is first person plural, and object agreement is suppressed; while **apa - wa - yku** or **apa - wa - nchej** is used whenever the object is first person plural, and subject agreement is suppressed. This considerably complicates the status of -**yku** and -**nchej**; we noted above that they appear to be analyzable into -**y**- followed by -**ku** and -**n**- followed by -**chej**, respectively. In the case of a first person plural subject, it is not implausible to regard the -**y**- and -**n**- as subject person agreement: they occupy the expected position in the verb structure, and in verbs like 23) and 24) they do agree with the subject. However, in 33), 36) to 38) and 40) to 43), they occupy the same position, but agree with the object. If they are taken to mark object agreement in such cases, they will be anomalous in terms of order; if -**yku** and -**nchej** are unanalyzed, then the number marking system will be complicated.

2.3   In light of the above discussion, the following generalizations can be offered as true of object agreement in (Cochabamba) Quechua.

II   Third person objects are unmarked as opposed to first or second person objects.

III First person objects are marked with **-wa-**.

IV   Second person objects are marked with **-su-** unless the subject is first person.

V   Singular objects are unmarked as opposed to plural objects.

VI   Third person plural objects are unmarked.

VII First person plural objects are marked with **-yku** or **-nchej**.

VIII Second person plural objects are marked with **-chej** unless the subject is first person plural.

It is clear that both person and number agreement are characterized by a hierarchy in which first person is strongest, followed by second and then third.

3.   In the recent approach to inflectional morphology referred to at the outset of this discussion, an inflected verb is taken to move through a series of functional positions (X, Y, Z in (A) below), each of which bears morphological material: an affix which is attached to the verb, but which is syntactically the head of the phrase projected from it. This movement must be in accord with the syntactic conditions which apply to such movements, and which are not peculiar to morphological systems.

Somewhat less well understood syntactic principles should also determine (or at least limit, in terms of parameters) the set of possible head affixes and the hierarchical order in which they may be arranged. In this way, predictions are generated concerning possible morphological systems: they will have affixes from the determined set, which will be arranged in the determined order. In particular, arrangements like I for Quechua are predicted to be possible morphological systems.

(A)

XP
NP   X'
    X   YP
        NP   Y'
            Y   ZP
                NP   Z'
                    Z   VP
                        NP   V'
                            V   ...

(B)

NmP
NP   Nm'
    Nm   SpP
        NP   Sp'
            Sp   TP
                NP   T'
                    T   OpP
                        NP   Op'
                            Op   VP
                                NP   V'
                                    V   ...
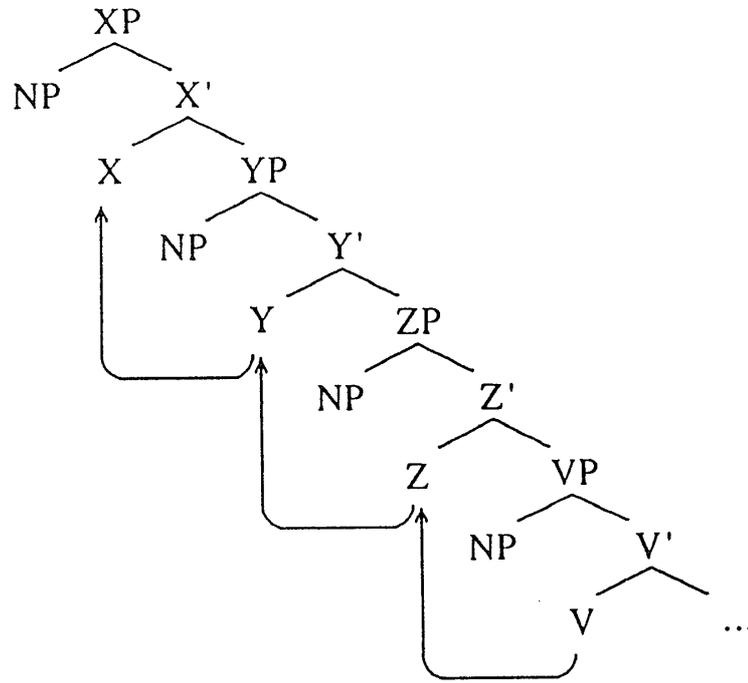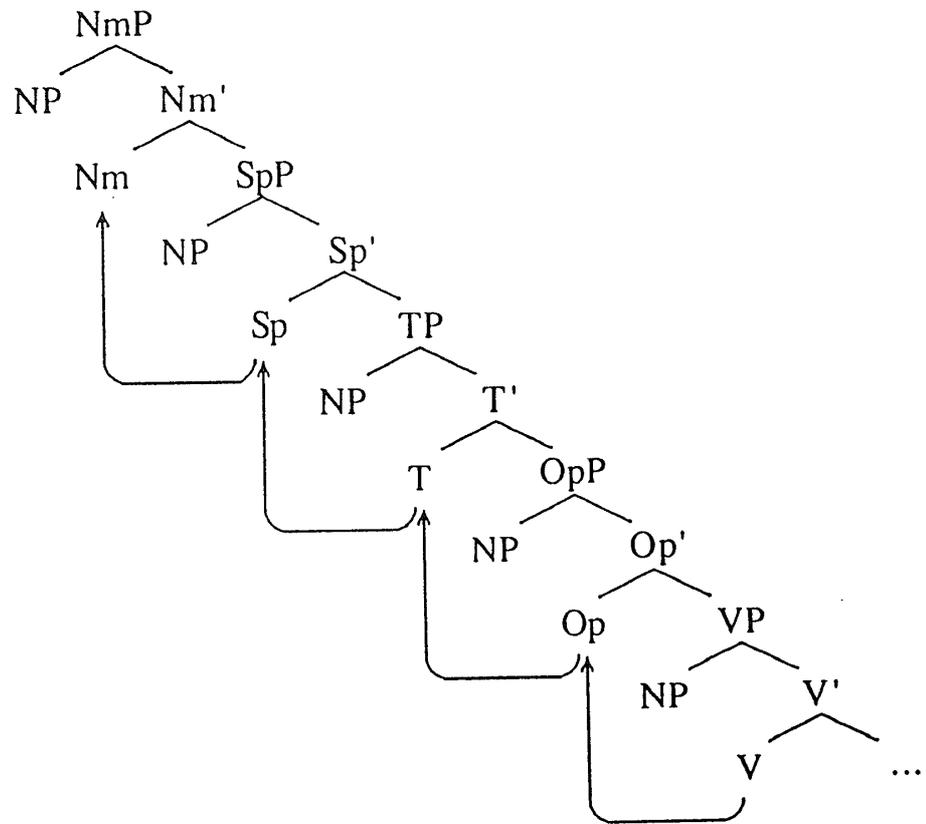
The relevant structure for Quechua should be something like (B) above, where Op represents object person agreement,[20] T represents tense, Sp represents sub - ject person agreement, and Nm represents number agreement. The suffixes - **wa** -, - **su** - and - **ku** - will be Ops,[21] and the suffixes - **ku** and - **chej** will be Nms. The system should allow for zero suffixes; in particular a zero Op must be assumed when the object is third person, and a zero Nm when the object is singular or third person. Also the choice of suffix represented by suppletion should be allowed at every level. The major constraint imposed by the approach would seem to be that as the verb proceeds from one level to the next, this choice must be determined on the basis of information available at the current level. Thus in the case of the sec - ond transition - **sunki**, - **su** - will be suffixed to the verb at the Op level, and that information, together with whether an overt tense has also been suffixed, will be available at the SP level to select the suffix - **nki** as a third person subject agree - ment suffix. In the case of - **wayku** and - **wanchej**, - **wa** - will similarly be suffixed at the Op level, and if the information [±2] (i. e. exclusive or inclusive) comes with it, then - **yku** or - **nchej** can be appropriately chosen at the Nm level. Whether the residues - **y** - and - **n** - belong to Sp or Nm (that is, whether they are subject agreement suffixes or part of suppletive variants of number agreement suffixes) can be decided on the basis of other considerations. At the more general level, since Nm is the highest level, whether plurality of the subject or object is to be marked can be decided on the basis of the relevant properties of both. In this way, the generalizations II, III, V, VI, VII and VIII above may be incorporated.

The major challenge which is posed by Quechua verb - object agreement to this theory of inflectional morphology comes from generalization IV, having to do with second person object agreement. While mechanically, this might seem to be a simple matter of choosing a suppletive zero second person object agreement suf - fix instead of - **su** - if the subject is first person, in this case the condition for the suppletion will not be present at the point where the choice must be made, because subject agreement takes place at a level two stages later than object agreement. The verbs in question are 13), 31) and 33), repeated for convenience.

13)   **apa - yki**   'I am taking you (sg)'

31)   **apa - yki - chej**   'I am taking you (pl)'

33)   **apa - yku**   'we (ex) are taking you (sg or pl)'

13) and 31) are unambiguous, and contain the problematic first transition
-**yki**; 33) is ambiguous in the number and also the person of the object (cf. 23),
and contains the problematic suffix -**yku**. But this difference is not pertinent,
since the problem is not choosing -**yki** or -**yku** to the exclusion of other subject
agreement or plural suffixes, but rather choosing the zero suffix for second person
object agreement instead of -**su**-.

It might appear that this challenge can be met by adopting a filter approach:
that is, letting the choice of -**su**- or zero be free at the Op level, and excluding as
ill -formed any verbs with second person objects which do not contain exactly one
of the suffixes -**su**-, -**yki** and -**yku**. Mechanically this device would account for
the morphological facts. The problem with it (and so far as I can see, with alter -
native devices which come to mind) is that it renders the morphological predic -
tions of the approach vacuous. Allowing filters increases the power of the syntac -
tic system to that of an independent morphology with disjunctive ordering. And
such power is precisely what this syntactic approach to inflection seeks to avoid.

Present

<table>
<tr><td>Object

Subject</td><td>1st singular

noqata</td><td>2nd singular

qanta</td><td>3rd singular

payta</td></tr>
<tr><td>1st
singular

noqa</td><td>apa-ku-ni</td><td>apa-yki</td><td>apa-ni

(payta)</td></tr>
<tr><td>2nd
singular

qan</td><td>apa-wa-nki</td><td>apa-ku-nki</td><td>apa-nki

(payta)</td></tr>
<tr><td>3rd
singular

pay</td><td>apa-wa-n</td><td>apa-sunki</td><td>apa-ku-n
apa-n
(payta)</td></tr>
</table>

<table>
<tr><td>1st
plural
exclusive
noqayku</td><td></td><td>apa-yku

(qanta)</td><td>apa-yku

(payta)</td></tr>
<tr><td>1st
plural
inclusive
noqanchej</td><td></td><td></td><td>apa-nchej

(payta)</td></tr>
<tr><td>2nd
plural

qankuna</td><td>apa-wa-nkichej</td><td></td><td>apa-nkichej

(payta)</td></tr>
<tr><td>3rd
plural

paykuna</td><td>apa-wa-nku</td><td>apa-su-nku</td><td>apa-nku

(payta)</td></tr>
</table>

<table>
<tr><td>1st plural exclusive

noqaykuta</td><td>1st plural inclusive

noqanchejta</td><td>2nd plural

qankunata</td><td>3rd plural

paykunata</td></tr>
<tr><td></td><td></td><td>apa-ykichej</td><td>apa-ni

(paykunata)</td></tr>
<tr><td>(qan)
apa-wa-yku</td><td></td><td></td><td>apa-nki

(paykunata)</td></tr>
<tr><td>(pay)
apa-wa-yku</td><td>(pay)
apa-wa-nchej</td><td>(pay)
apa-sunkichej</td><td>apa-n

(paykunata)</td></tr>
</table>

apa-ku-yku		apa-yku (qankunata)	apa-yku (paykunata)
	apa-ku-nchej		apa-nchej (paykunata)
(qankuna) apa-wa-yku		apa-ku-nkichej	apa-nkichej (paykunata)
(paykuna) apa-wa-yku	(paykuna) apa-wa-nchej	(paykuna) apa-sunkichej	apa-ku-nku apa-nku (paykunata)

Past

Object Subject	1st singular noqata	2nd singular qanta	3rd singular payta
1st singular noqa	apa-ko-rqa-ni	apa-rqa-yki	apa-rqa-ni (payta)
2nd singular qan	apa-wa-rqa-nki	apa-ko-rqa-nki	apa-rqa-nki (payta)
3rd singular pay	apa-wa-rqa	apa-so-rqa	apa-ko-rqa apa-rqa (payta)

1st plural exclusive noqayku		apa-rqa-yku (qanta)	apa-rqa-yku (payta)
1st plural inclusive noqanchej			apa-rqa-nchej (payta)
2nd plural qankuna	apa-wa-rqa-nkichej		apa-rqa-nkichej (payta)
3rd plural paykuna	apa-wa-rqa-nku	apa-so-rqa-nku	apa-rqa-nku (payta)

1st plural exclusive noqaykuta	1st plural inclusive noqanchejta	2nd plural qankunata	3rd plural paykunata
		apa-rqa-ykichej	apa-rqa-ni (paykunata)
(qan) apa-wa-rqa-yku			apa-rqa-nki (paykunata)
(pay) apa-wa-rqa-yku	(pay) apa-wa-rqa-nchej	(pay) apa-so-rqa-chej	apa-rqa (paykunata)

apa-ko-rqa-yku		apa-rqa-yku (qankunata)	apa-rqa-yku (paykunata)
	apa-ko-rqa-nchej		apa-rqa-nchej (paykunata)
(qankuna) apa-wa-rqa-yku		apa-ko-rqa-nkichej	apa-rqa-nkichej (paykunata)
(paykuna) apa-wa-rqa-yku	(paykuna) apa-wa-rqa-nchej	(paykuna) apa-so-rqa-chej	apa-ko-rqa-nku / apa-rqa-nku (paykunata)

Future

Object / Subject	1st singular noqata	2nd singular qanta	3rd singular payta
1st singular noqa	apa-ku-saj	apa-sqa-yki	apa-saj (payta)
2nd singular qan	apa-wa-nki	apa-ku-nki	apa-nki (payta)
3rd singular pay	apa-wa-nqa	apa-so-nqa	apa-ko-nqa / apa-nqa (payta)

1st plural exclusive noqayku		apa-sqa-yku (qanta)	apa-sqa-yku (payta)
1st plural inclusive noqanchej			apa-su-nchej (payta)
2nd plural qankuna	apa-wa-nkichej		apa-nkichej (payta)
3rd plural paykuna	apa-wa-nqa-nku	apa-so-nqa-nku	apa-nqa-nku (payta)

1st plural exclusive noqaykuta	1st plural inclusive noqanchejta	2nd plural qankunata	3rd plural paykunata
		apa-sqa-ykichej	apa-saj (paykunata)
(qan) apa-wa-sqa-yku			apa-nki (paykunata)
(pay) apa-wa-sqa-yku	(pay) apa-wa-su-nchej	(pay) apa-so-nqa-chej	apa-nqa (paykunata)

apa-ko-sqa-yku		apa-sqa-yku (qankunata)	apa-sqa-yku (paykunata)
	apa-ku-su-nchej		apa-su-nchej (paykunata)
(qankuna) apa-wa-sqa-yku		apa-ku-nkichej	apa-nkichej (paykunata)
(paykuna) apa-wa-sqa-yku	(paykuna) apa-wa-su-nchej	(paykuna) apa-so-nqa-chej	apa-ko-nqa-nku apa-nqa-nku (paykunata)

Conditional

Object / Subject	1st singular noqata	2nd singular qanta	3rd singular payta
1st singular noqa	apa-ku-y-man	apa-yki-man	apa-y-man (payta)
2nd singular qan	apa-wa-nki-man	apa-ku-nki-man	apa-nki-man apa-waj (payta)
3rd singular pay	apa-wa-n-man	apa-sunki-man	apa-ku-n-man / apa-n-man (payta)

	1st singular	2nd singular	3rd singular
1st plural exclusive noqayku		apa-yku-man (qanta)	apa-yku-man (payta)
1st plural inclusive noqanchej			apa-nchej-man (payta)
2nd plural qankuna	apa-wa-nkichej-man		apa-nkichej-man apa-wajchej (payta)
3rd plural paykuna	apa-wa-nku-man	apa-su-nku-man	apa-nku-man (payta)

1st plural exclusive noqaykuta	1st plural inclusive noqanchejta	2nd plural qankunata	3rd plural paykunata
		apa-ykichej-man	apa-y-man (paykunata)
(qan) apa-wa-yku-man			apa-nki-man apa-waj (paykunata)
(pay) apa-wa-yku-man	(pay) apa-wa-nchej-man	(pay) apa-sunkichej-man	apa-n-man (paykunata)

apa-ku-yku-man		apa-yku-man (qankunata)	apa-yku-man (paykunata)
	apa-ku-nchej-man		apa-nchej-man (paykunata)
(qankuna) apa-wa-yku-man		apa-ku-nkichej-man	apa-nkichej-man apa-wajchej (paykunata)
(paykuna) apa-wa-yku-man	(paykuna) apa-wa-nchej-man	(paykuna) apa-sunkichej-man	apa-ku-nku-man apa-nku-man (paykunata)

Imperative

Object Subject	1st singular noqata	2nd singular qanta	3rd singular payta
1st singular noqa			
2nd singular qan	apa-wa-y	apa-ku-y	apa-y (payta)
3rd singular pay	apa-wa-chun	apa-su-chun	apa-ku-chun apa-chun (payta)

1st plural exclusive noqayku			
1st plural inclusive noqanchej			apa-na-chej (payta)
2nd plural qankuna	apa-wa-ychej		apa-ychej (payta)
3rd plural paykuna	apa-wa-chunku	apa-su-chunku	apa-chunku (payta)

1st plural exclusive noqaykuta	1st plural inclusive noqanchejta	2nd plural qankunata	3rd plural paykunata
(qan) apa-wa-yku			apa-y (paykunata)
(pay) apa-wa-chu-yku		apa-chun (qankunata)	apa-chun (paykunata)

	apa-ku-na-chej		apa-na-chej (paykunata)
(qankuna) apa-wa-yku		apa-ku-ychej	apa-ychej (paykunata)
(paykuna) apa-wa-chu-yku		apa-chunku (qankunata)	apa-ku-chunku apa-chunku (paykunata)

[1] This paper was prepared for presentation at the International Conference on Language, Language Policy and Education in the Andes held at the University of Delaware, October 28-30, 1991. Some of the contents were presented less formally at UCLA twice during the fall of 1990. I am grateful for comments received on those occasions.

[2] For an example on the syntactic side, see the treatment of English finite verb inflection in Noam Chomsky, Syntactic Structures, The Hague: Mouton, 1957.

[3] There is a large literature; I have in mind particularly Stephen Anderson, 'Where's Morphology', Linguistic Inquiry 13: 571-612, 1982.

[4] The approach originates in Noam Chomsky, Barriers, Cambridge: MIT Press, 1986. It is applied notably in Jean-Yves Pollock, 'Verb Movement, UG and the Structure of IP'. Linguistic Inquiry 20: 365-424, 1989.

[5] This does not exhaust the structure of Quechua verbs. Any of a number of modal suffixes may come between the stem and the object person marker, and any of a number of evidential suffixes may follow the mood marker.

[6] The facts at issue are presented in many grammars and textbooks of Cochabamba Quechua. See for example Joaquín Herrero and Francisco Sánchez de Losada, Gramática Quechua: estructura del Quechua Boliviano contemporáneo, Cochabamba: Editorial Universo, 1978. The form of the paradigms given here is the work of Jaime Luis Daza, who uses them in his Quechua classes at UCLA. I am grateful to him not only for these materials, but also for teaching me what Quechua I know.

[7] Diego González Holguín, Gramática y Arte Nueva de la Lengua General de todo el Peru, llamada Qquichua, o lengua del Inca, Lima: Francisco del Canto, 1607. Cited from the facsimile edition with a preface by Bernard Pottier.

[8] González spelling of these are: yqui, sunqui, huanqui and huan.

[9] In glossing Quechua verbs, a third person singular subject is arbitrarily rendered 'she'.

[10] In glossing Quechua verbs, a third person singular object is arbitrarily rendered 'him'.

[11] The phonetic variation between -su- and -so- is an effect of the following uvular stop (q), and not morphologically significant.

[12] Other instances of -y- as an apparent first person singular agreement marker are the first person singular conditional apa-y-man 'I would take him' and the first person singular possessive suffix.

[13] -ku- also occurs with intransitive verbs, where it could not be analyzed as object agreement, much in the manner of the Spanish reflexive se.

[14] The variation between -ku- and -ko- is the same mentioned in footnote 11.

[15] Unfortunately, colonial grammarians like González do not give complete paradigms for the plural verb forms; while in the singular it is sufficiently clear that the object agreement system in Cochabamba Quechua does not differ significantly from that of colonial Cuzco as described by González, this may not be the case for plurals. In particular, some forms suggest that there may have been independent plural marking for subjects and objects. Some discussion of this, and a summary of the facts of object agreement in several additional contemporary dialects can be found in Peter Landerman, Quechua Dialects and their Classification, UCLA dissertation, 1991.

[16] In the plural paradigm, there seem to be no forms in which a first person plural inclusive co-exists with a second person, possibly due to overlap of the feature [+2]. But neither are the expected meanings included among reflexive forms like 27) to 30).

[17] See footnote 16.

[18] See footnote 16.

[19] For an unrelated language in which a similarly structured object agreement system is found, see George Bedell, 'Agreement in Lai', to appear in Papers from the Fifth Annual Meeting of the Southeast Asian Linguistics Society, 1995.

[20] A similar category to cover mood (-man) should no doubt be added above the NmP in (B). For purposes of simplicity, the linear order of elements has not been changed between (A) and (B). Presumably in Quechua a head follows its complement XP.

[21] But see footnote 13.