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DIALECTAL VARIATION IN THE AYMARA LANGUAGE
OF BOLIVIA AND PERU

By
LUCY THERINA BRIGGS

A DISSERTATION PRESENTED TO THE GRADUATE COUNCIL OF
THE UNIVERSITY OF FLORIDA
IN PARTIAL FULFILLMENT OF THE REQUIREMENTS FOR THE
DEGREE OF DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY

UNIVERSITY OF FLORIDA
1976
This description of dialectal variation in the Aymara language of Bolivia and Peru is dedicated to all the Aymara speakers who helped make it possible, and to the Aymara linguists of the future who will improve upon it.
ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

This study is based on research conducted from 1970 through 1975 at the University of Florida and in Bolivia and Peru, under the auspices of (1) a graduate teaching assistantship (1970-71) in the Aymara Language Materials Project funded by Title VI of the National Defense Education Act, (2) a National Science Foundation graduate fellowship (1971-74), and (3) a University of Florida College of Arts and Sciences graduate fellowship (1974-75). To the sources of that support I wish to express my deep appreciation.

Special thanks are due also to my parents, Ellis Ormsbee Briggs and Lucy Barnard Briggs, who gave me financial and moral support throughout my doctoral studies.

My field work in Bolivia was authorized by the Instituto Nacional de Estudios Lingüísticos (INEL) and facilitated by the Instituto de Lengua y Cultura Aymara (ILCA). My field work in Peru was authorized by the Instituto Nacional de Investigación y Desarrollo de la Educación (INIDE). Copies of this study are being made available to the three named entities, for whose cooperation I am very grateful.
The list of persons who assisted me in the research is long. I wish here to single out three persons whose contributions were crucial to my undertaking the task and bringing it to a conclusion. They are Dr. M. J. Hardman, director of my doctoral dissertation, and two native speakers of Aymara who were my teachers at the University of Florida: Ms. Juana Vásquez, writer and artist, and Mr. Juan de Dios Yapita, founder and director of the Instituto de Lengua y Cultura Aymara of La Paz and professor at the Universidad Nacional de San Agustín in La Paz. Whatever insights I have gained concerning Aymara language and culture are due in large measure to their knowledge and patient guidance. Without the training I received from them and their considerable help in the analysis, this study could not have been completed. Specifically, Ms. Vásquez helped me review the extensive literature on Aymara, commenting on the Aymara examples contained therein. Mr. Yapita reviewed a near-final draft of the whole manuscript of this study, sometimes listening to tapes to check the accuracy of the transcriptions of the Aymara examples. Both worked with me in the analysis of translation dialects culminating in Chapter 9.

In the various stages of the work Dr. Hardman was my constant mentor, challenger, and support. The final draft also benefitted from the suggestions of the
other members of my doctoral committee, as well as those of Professor Bohdan Saciuk of the Program in Linguistics of the University of Florida, who kindly read and commented on Chapters 3 and 4. I also wish to thank Dr. Charles Palmer for preparing the final versions of the maps, and Ms. Patricia Whitehurst for typing the final draft of the manuscript.

In acknowledging the help I have received, I do not wish to imply that this study is free of errors. For them I take full responsibility, trusting that researchers who follow me will correct my mistakes with the same zeal that I have applied to correcting my predecessors, in pursuit of the objective we all share—ever more accurate descriptions of the Aymara language.
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The Aymara language is spoken on the high Andean plains of Peru and Bolivia from the northern tip of Lake Titicaca to the salt flats south of Lake Poopó. Southwest of Lake Titicaca it is spoken in the upper reaches of some of the river valleys that descend to the Pacific coast and to the east it extends into the subtropical Yungas valleys, but its domain is primarily the altiplano. The total number of speakers approaches two million, of whom about one and a half million live in Bolivia and the rest in Peru. There are also a few speakers in northern Chile. Predominantly farmers or herders, the Aymara have traditionally traded over a wide area, Aymara women playing a major role in regional marketing of agricultural produce.
Aymara belongs to the Jaqi family of languages whose other extant members are Jaqaru and Kawki, spoken in the department of Lima, Peru. The relationship of Aymara to Quechua, the other major Andean language, is undetermined. Dialects of Aymara have not hitherto been systematically studied, although dialectal variation has been known to exist since colonial times. The present study was conceived to begin the task of determining the extent and character of dialectal variation in Aymara.

Based on research in ten Aymara communities and incorporating data from a survey of the literature from colonial times to the present, this study examines regional variation in phonology, morphophonemics, morphology, syntax and morphosyntax, and semantics, and three translation dialects not specific to any one region: Missionary, Patrón, and Radio Aymara. The appendices include the elicitation list used in fieldwork, a list of onomatopoeic particles, regional versions of greetings, a brief dialogue, a saying, and a riddle, and an index of suffixes.

The study confirms that all dialects share the basic structures attributed to two La Paz dialects in earlier studies by M. J. Hardman and associates at the University of Florida. Aymara is a polysynthetic language in which suffixes play not only morphological but also
syntactic roles and retain or lose their own or preceding vowels according to complex morphophonemic rules. All dialects also have certain linguistic postulates: a system of four grammatical persons, a distinction of human and nonhuman reference, and a distinction of direct and indirect knowledge. All dialects are mutually (though not equally) intelligible.

Regional differences occur primarily in phonology and morphophonemics. Two dialects have a phoneme lacking in the others, and there is considerable variety in phonological shapes in morphemes stemming from phonemic instability and morphophonemic variation. Regional patterning involves two overlapping distinctions: (1) a division into northern and southern dialects (with two intermediate dialects sharing some features of both), and (2) a division into central and peripheral dialects reflecting the spread of La Paz influence toward outlying areas that retain certain features La Paz has lost. The dialectal picture is further complicated by the existence of certain features shared by a few dialects without regard to regional patterning.

While many La Paz innovations are attributable to Spanish influence and all dialects of Aymara appear to be adopting Spanish loans at an accelerating rate, Aymara is a vigorous language that will survive due to natural population increases for at least several generations. In the long run the future of the language will
depend on many factors, not least of which will be the extent to which its speakers succeed in fostering its use as a vehicle of literature and education.
CHAPTER 1
INTRODUCTION

1-1 Demography

1-1.1 Number and location of speakers

Aymara is spoken on the high Andean plains of Peru and Bolivia from the northern tip of Lake Titicaca to the Uyuni salt flats south of Lake Poopó (see Figure 1-1). Southwest of Lake Titicaca it is spoken in the upper reaches of some of the many river valleys that descend to the Pacific coast, and to the east it extends into the subtropical Yungas valleys, but its domain is primarily the altiplano.

The majority of native speakers of Aymara today are Bolivians and constitute approximately a third of the Bolivian population (Hardman et al. 1975:3.2). As the total estimated population of Bolivia in 1973 was 5.3 million (U. S. Department of State 1974:1), Bolivian Aymara alone may account for well over a million and a half speakers.

In Peru, according to the national census of 1961, persons for whom Aymara was the first (maternal) language
Figure 1-1. Area Where Aymara is Spoken
made up only 3.5% of the population five years old and older, or 290,125 out of a total of 8,235,220 (República del Perú 1966:4-45). According to the 1972 Peruvian census, their number had grown to 332,593, although this then constituted only 2.9% of the total population five years old and older (República del Perú 1974:2.646). Allowing for the inclusion of Peruvian Aymara children under five, the total of Aymara speakers in Bolivia and Peru today may be estimated as nearing two million.

The 1961 Peruvian census gave breakdowns of Aymara speakers by department and province. Unfortunately, such figures are not yet available for 1972. The 1961 census indicated that of the total 290,125, 83.9% were in the department of Puno, in the provinces of Puno, Chucuito, and Huancané. Of the rest, 8.4% were in the interior highlands of the departments of Moquegua (province of Mariscal Nieto) and Tacna (province of Tarata), with the remaining 8.5% scattered in the departments of Arequipa (provinces of Arequipa and Islay), Puno (provinces of Sandía and San Román), Lima, and Cuzco.

For Bolivia, reliable statistics on numbers and location of Aymara speakers are not available. The majority of speakers are generally considered to be in the departments of La Paz and Oruro. There are also Aymara in the northern and western parts of the department
of Potosí and (Javier Albó and Walter Peñaranda, personal communications) along the western border of the department of Cochabamba. The presence of Aymara throughout the department of La Paz is well known although the north-eastern provinces beyond the Cordillera Real (Larecajas, Muñecas, Bautista Saavedra, and part of Camacho) are shared with Quechua speakers, some villages being predominantly Quechua, others Aymara. The situation in eastern Oruro is similar, with a preponderance of Quechua as one approaches the Potosí border.

In northwestern Potosí between the departments of Oruro and Cochabamba the linguistic situation is complex. The mining centers just east of the Oruro-Potosí border are Quechua speaking, but surrounding towns, such as Calacala and Morocomarca (see Figure 1-1) are often Aymara. In some of these, as in Calacala, the younger generation is bilingual in Spanish and Quechua rather than Aymara. Although persons over 15 are capable of telling stories in Aymara they obviously prefer to use Quechua; children under 12 do not understand Aymara. The situation is like that noted by O. Harris (1974) in some other communities in the province of Bustillos and in the province of Charcas, where Aymara is spoken only at home; its use in public is met with embarrassment, if not shame, and Quechua is used primarily in public or with strangers. This situation suggests a kind of
diglossia, perhaps a relic of an earlier time when general languages coexisted with the particular languages used in each locale. Harris has also noted, however, that many areas of Potosí traditionally considered to be Quechua speaking are inhabited by Aymara-speaking groups for whom Quechua does not appear to be becoming the dominant language. For example, the valleys of San Pedro de Buena Vista in northern Potosí and the area of Llica in western Potosí near the Uyuni salt flats are Aymara speaking.

In some cases, according to Harris, the designation of a given ayllu (clan group) as Aymara or Quechua speaking is inappropriate; language cuts across ayllu lines. For example, Harris found that the Machas, who live near the border of Chuquisaca department and are generally considered to be Quechua speaking, speak Aymara in the most remote part of their valley, near Carasi, province of Charcas. The situation of the Laymis, on the other hand, is the reverse: in the high puna near Uncía they all know Aymara while in the remote parts of their valley they speak Quechua.

These are examples of the complexities that need further study to determine the exact areas where Aymara is spoken today. The mobility of the Aymara must also be taken into account. Predominantly farmers or herders, the Aymara have traditionally traded over a wide area.
Aymara women play a major role in regional marketing of agricultural produce. Aymara families that move to the cities maintain close ties with their villages and frequently own agricultural property at several ecological levels, a system of vertical archipelagos that has existed since prehistoric times (Murra 1968 and 1972).

Aymara is also spoken in the environs of Arica, Chile, and is taught at the Universidad del Norte in that city (Juan de Dios Yapita, personal communication). It may also be spoken along the Chilean border of the Bolivian department of Oruro. Whether the Aymara population of Chile is native or predominantly of recent Bolivian or Peruvian Aymara settlers also needs further clarification.

1-1.2 Status

Both Bolivia (in 1970) and Peru (in 1971) have recognized Aymara as a national language, together with Quechua and Spanish, but this action has failed to alter the social fact that monolingual Aymara speakers are effectively barred from active participation in national life (Hardman et al. 1975:3.2). This situation is offset by the efforts of small but active groups of Bolivian Aymara speakers to educate other Aymara and the public at large on Aymara language and culture and to stimulate the production of written literature in the language.
These efforts received considerable impetus from the participation of members of the Bolivian Aymara community in the Aymara Language Materials Project at the University of Florida (see 2-4.12) and have continued under the leadership of the Instituto de Lengua y Cultura Aymara (ILCA) and the Instituto Nacional de Estudios Lingüísticos (INEL) in La Paz. The Centro Pedagógico y Cultural de Portales in Cochabamba has promoted the development of teaching materials in Quechua and Aymara and is involved with ILCA and INEL in sociolinguistic surveys to determine speaker attitudes toward education in the two languages.

The government of Peru has recently embarked on an educational development plan which includes primary education in vernacular languages for those who do not speak Spanish. Programs in Aymara have yet to be developed but the government is financing the translation into Spanish of the Aymara teaching and reference grammar produced at the University of Florida (Hardman et al. 1975) for use in training teachers of Aymara children.

1.3 Monolingualism, bilingualism, and multilingualism

Figures for Aymara monolingualism, Spanish-Aymara bilingualism, or multilingualism of other types are either lacking or untrustworthy. The 1961 Peruvian census indicated that of the total of 290,125 speakers
of Aymara five years or older, 162,175 said they did not speak Spanish when asked if they did and that 96% of these were in Puno (República del Perú 1966:2-3). Other official Peruvian sources differentiate coordinate and subordinate bilingualism but the application of these terms to actual cases varies. Redefinitions and refinements of the terms monolingual and bilingual are needed for the Andean situation, which includes such complexities as those of northern Potosí (1-1.1). Some persons encountered in this research who were designated by other Aymara speakers as monolingual appeared to have a receptive if not productive competence in the Spanish language within a narrowly defined set of topics. Other persons who on first acquaintance appeared to be fairly fluent in Spanish later proved to have many difficulties in comprehension and production. The role of cultural and social factors must also be taken into account. (See the remarks for bilingualism of sources, 1-3.3. Present-day Aymara dialects that show heavy Spanish influence are discussed in Chapter 9.)

1-2 History
1-2.1 Language family

Aymara is a member of the Jaqi language family (Hardman 1975) which Torero (1972b) prefers to call the
Aru family. Other extant members of the family are Jaqaru and Kawki, spoken in Tupe and Cachuy, respectively, in the highland province of Yauyos about 150 miles south of Lima, Peru. Jaqaru is still vigorous but Kawki is dying out.

Citing historical and toponymical evidence, Torero (1972b) has established the probable extension of this language family in the 16th century as from the area of two present provinces of Lima, Huarochirí and Yauyos, south to what is now southern Bolivia. Aymara occupied the most extensive area, south and southeast of the River Pampas basin in southern Huancavelica and northern Ayacucho departments, while the other Jaqi languages were spoken in a more restricted area to the north. Hardman (1966:15) has reported evidence for the existence of a Jaqi language in the valley of Canta north of Lima in the early 1900's. According to Torero the language family entered its expansive phase with the rise of Huari (Ayacucho) and Aymara has since moved south, taking over territories of other languages such as Puquina. Torero has cited his and Hardman's glottochronological calculations as indicating approximately 1,490 years of minimal divergence between Jaqaru and Aymara beginning in approximately A.D. 480. By this reckoning Kawki and Aymara are 1,130 years apart, having diverged around A.D. 840.
On the basis of these dates and linguistic evidence from Hardman of a closer linguistic relationship between Kawki and Aymara than between Jaqaru and Aymara, Torero has posited the following phases in the expansion of the language family: (1) a first split in the fifth century A. D. or before, (2) a second split in the ninth century, and (3) a proto-Aymara period a few centuries before the establishment of the Inca empire. Tying these in with archaeological evidence, Torero has identified the first phase with the beginning of Nazca influence in the region of Ayacucho and the second phase as occurring during the Viñaque culture centered in the city of Huari, which controlled the area from Yauyos in Lima to southern Cuzco and Arequipa between A. D. 500 and 1000. The third phase coincided with the third stage of the Middle Horizon after the decline of the important Viñaque centers (Torero 1972b:92,94,97).

With respect to the expansion of Aymara on the altiplano, Torero has calculated the date of divergence between the dialect of Moho in the province of Huancané, department of Puno, and that spoken near La Paz, Bolivia as about A. D. 1550. While holding that a comparison of these dialects with one from southern Bolivia would show a longer period of separation, he has tentatively suggested that Aymara penetrated the area around Lake Titicaca during the 13th century A. D. in the latter part of his third phase (Torero 1972b:62-63).
1-2.2 Dialects

According to colonial and later sources cited by Tschopik (including Cieza de Leon, Bertonio, Rivet, and Markham), the following were independent Aymara states existing before the Inca conquests and in Tschopik's view probably also dialect groups (Tschopik 1946:503).

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Name</th>
<th>Location</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Canchi</td>
<td>Vilcanota valley between Com-bapata and Tinta (department of Cuzco, Peru)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cana</td>
<td>Between Tinta and Ayaviri (department of Puno, Peru)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Colla</td>
<td>On the plains of the Pucara and Ramis rivers as far as the city of Puno, Peru</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lupaca</td>
<td>On the southwestern shore of Lake Titicaca between Puno and the Desaguadero River</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Collagua</td>
<td>North of Arequipa (Peru) on the upper course of the Colca River</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ubina</td>
<td>East of Arequipa in the upper drainage of the Tambo River (department of Moquegua, Peru)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pacasa or Pacaje</td>
<td>South of Lake Titicaca along both banks of the Desaguadero River (Bolivia)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Caranga or Caranca</td>
<td>South of the Desaguadero River to Lake Coipasa (Bolivia)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Charca</td>
<td>Northeast of Lake Poopó near Chuquisaca (Bolivia)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Quillaca or Quillagua
Southeast of Lake Poopó (Bolivia)

Omasuyo
East of Lake Titicaca (Bolivia)

Collahuaya
Provinces of Muñecas and Caupolicán (Bolivia)

Aymara is spoken today in the areas attributed to the Lupaca, Pacasa or Pacaje, and Caranga or Caranca, and in parts of the areas attributed to Omasuyo and Collahuaya, other parts of which, like the other regions cited above, are now largely Quechua speaking. Other areas where Aymara is spoken today are not included above, e.g. the present region of Mariscal Nieto province of Moquegua and of Tarata province of Tacna, Peru. In any case, determining where the early Aymara groups were located is complicated by the ancient Andean system of maintaining vertical archipelagos of colonies at different ecological levels (Murra 1968 and 1972). For example, the report of the administrative inspection (visita general) by García Diez de San Miguel of the Lupaca-controlled Chucuito province in 1567 cited the names of towns subject to Chucuito but located in the valleys sloping westward to the Pacific and eastward to the Yungas and the valley of Cochabamba. Among these towns were the following, most of which have modern counterparts: Moquegua and Torata (department of Moquegua), Sama and Tarata (department of Tacna), Larecaja (department of
La Paz, east of the Cordillera Real), Chicanoma (Chicaloma is a modern town in Sur Yungas province, La Paz department), and Capinota (western Cochabamba department) (Diez de San Miguel 1964:14,17,27,203; modern departments and correspondences supplied).

According to the Relaciones geográficas de Indias (colonial geographic reports), the Pacaxe (sic) also had colonies interspersed among those of the Lupaca near the Pacific coast (Jiménez de la Espada 1881:1.338).

The only detailed information so far available as to the size of any Aymara-speaking population during the colonial period is also for the Lupaca. The earliest figures date from the visita general of 1549 which gave a total of 18,032 heads of household in Chucuito province (Diez de San Miguel 1964:202-203). The 1567 visita found a total of 63,012 persons, children and adults, of whom 15,047 were Urus; the figure of 63,012 was said to include the population of the Chucuito colonies mentioned above. Of the total, 15,404 were identified as taxpayers. The principal cacique of the province, Martín Cari, claimed an additional 5,000 taxpayers, but Diez de San Miguel disputed this claim, saying that the original figure of 15,404 already included 'many Indians that the said caciques and heads of ayllus declared they had in Potosí and La Paz and the province of Charcas and other parts of these Kingdoms' (Diez de
San Miguel 1964:204-206). It may be hoped that as additional visitas from the colonial period become available to scholars (Murra 1970), more details for the populations of the other Aymara nations may come to light.

With respect to the linguistic situation in Chucuito and its colonies, Diez de San Miguel gave little information. He used the term aymaraes to refer to the people but not their language, recommending that priests sent to the area remain long enough to learn 'la lengua colla' (Diez de San Miguel 1964:227). Originally the name of one Aymara nation, Colla acquired a wider connotation under the Incas after they designated their southernmost province Collasuyu. According to Tschopik (1946:503), Cieza de León's Crónica, written about 1550, used the terms Colla and Collao indiscriminately, and the use of the term Aymara to designate a language first appeared in a relation of Polo de Ondegardo of 1559. The term apparently did not come into general use until the 17th century, however.

It is not clear from the visita of 1567 whether the Urus, who were considered a separate ethnic-cultural group from the Aymara, were nevertheless native Aymara-speakers. Torero believes the Urus spoke a language related to Chipaya but also spoke one or more of the general languages of the area (Torero 1972b:60). Urus living among the Aymara would speak Aymara but to what
extent or degree of native fluency is unknown. There is some evidence that the Urus constituted a servant class (Hardman, personal communication).

Differences among Aymara dialects have always been considered minor from colonial times to the present. The priests who went to the mines in Potosí to preach and hear confessions had no trouble understanding Aymara speakers from different provinces, according to the Jesuit missionary Ludovico Bertonio (1612, A 2). Bertonio (1603b and 1612) occasionally identified certain forms as preferred by the Lupaca but not until recent times have compilers of Aymara word-lists or grammars sometimes indicated the geographical origins of the forms cited. The published literature gives no indication whatever of social differentiation of dialects as distinguished from regional variation.

1-2.3 Summary description of La Paz Aymara

The most complete and accurate ethnographic and grammatical description of Aymara to date, based on that spoken in Compi and Tiahuanaco, two communities near La Paz, Bolivia, is contained in Outline of Aymara phonological and grammatical structure by Hardman et al. (1975:3). The Outline describes Aymara as a polysynthetic language in which suffixes and retention or loss of vowels perform almost all grammatical functions.
Suffixes have complex but usually regular morphophonemics. Some suffixes require a preceding consonant, others require a preceding vowel, and others allow either; some suffixes also determine the retention or loss of their own final vowel. Syntactic units are signalled by final suffixes and by morphophonemic vowel loss or retention. Suffix order is usually fixed, as is word order within the noun phrase; otherwise word order is fairly free although some orders are preferred.

The phonemic inventory consists of three vowels, vowel length, and 27 consonants, including plain, aspirated, and glottalized stops and affricates, as well as fricatives, nasals, laterals, glides, and a flap or trill.

Morpheme form classes are roots and suffixes which together form stems. Root classes are nouns, verbs, particles, and a class of interrogatives cutting across the others. Suffix classes are noun (derivaional), verb (derivaional and inflectional), independent nonfinal (occurring before inflection on verbs and before final suffixes on nouns and particles), and final suffixes (occurring on any word, after all other suffixes). Verb roots are bound; nouns and particles are free. Class change through verbalization and nominalization (a special kind of derivation) is extensive and recursive, creating verb and noun themes. Inflection, defined as
closing a root, stem, or theme to further derivation, is limited to verbs and to one noun 'suffix', zero complement vowel drop; noun case suffixes permit further derivation. Accumulation of suffixes on one stem is common.

Morphosyntactic subordination is accomplished by nominalization and use of final suffixes to mark dependent clauses. Syntactic processes include use of the demonstrative uka 'that' as linker and summarizer, and sentence embedding with the reportive verb sa.ña 'to say'.

Apart from these features, Aymara shares with the other Jaqi languages certain linguistic postulates. Hardman (in press a) has defined linguistic postulates as

... recurrent categorizations in [a] language ... the most tightly tied to the perceptions of the speakers. ... The most powerful ... are those involved in the obligatory grammatical system. ... Typically, a postulate is realized at several levels ... morphologically, syntactically, and in the semantic structure.

The principal Jaqi linguistic postulates according to Hardman (1972a) are a four-person system, a distinction of human and nonhuman, and a distinction of direct and indirect knowledge with respect to data source. These three postulates are marked throughout Aymara structure in morphology, syntax, and semantics.
The Present Study

1-3.1 Theoretical bases

Theoretical bases for this study are two: one concerning the nature of language, and the other concerning scientific description of a language.

A language or dialect is a system of interlocking contrasts, or rules, used in social and cultural interaction by a given community. Like all natural phenomena language is always changing. At any moment certain contrasts are being neutralized; certain rules are being suspended temporarily or broken; new rules are being created as people adapt language to their own needs. Some rules are more resistant to change than others; these include the linguistic postulates. But language variation is a major fact of the nature of language: variation within one idiolect, within one dialect, or in a group of dialects. The extreme of language variation is the proliferation of languages that are mutually unintelligible although perhaps still related and sharing a number of rules. The point at which dialects become separate languages is arbitrary, usually determined by political rather than strictly linguistic considerations.

To investigate variation within a language is to seek a more complete description of that language. In a praiseworthy attempt to go beyond one-dimensional,
single-dialect descriptions of English, Labov and his followers have developed the concept of variable rules and a methodology to collect and analyze data reflecting them, using statistical measurements. There is an obvious need for such studies of other languages conducted by native speakers trained in linguistic field methods. In early stages of research, however, what is needed are structural descriptions upon which to base later studies in greater depth. Such descriptions, while limited in accuracy and completeness and relatively informal in presentation, may be considered scientific if they meet certain criteria. These are (1) use of sound field methods for gathering and recording not only linguistic, but also relevant social and cultural data; (2) collection of sufficient data to insure the identification of significant features; and (3) adherence to analytical methods that respect the structure of the target language or dialect and that base the description on that structure.

The last criterion implies a willingness to experiment with different models and to select models that best fit the data, while avoiding the temptation to choose for description only those aspects of a language or dialect that lend themselves to description in terms of currently popular models, or worse, to force the data into a distorting mold. Ideally, this approach
requires the analyst to know how to use a variety of models. Traditional phonemic, generative, or stratificational models might be used for phonology and morphophonemics; structuralism or tagmemics might be appropriate for morphology; generative or interpretive semantics, case grammar, or Chafian models might be used for syntax and semantics.

Unfortunately, questions of time and expediency, as well as personal taste, limit the linguist's access to different models. Moreover, theories and models have a way of evolving into dogmas with schools of more or less fanatic leaders and disciples who demand commitment to one model, one terminology, one faith. The linguistics scholar wishing to try different models must learn to switch philosophies and metalanguages with the skill of a simultaneous interpreter. Even then, he or she often finds that communication across theoretical boundaries is difficult, if not impossible. Theoretical schools tend to draw circles to shut each other out; few draw circles to take each other in (Edwin Markham, *Outwitted*). But different languages and different parts of a given language may call for different theoretical approaches.

For the best results different models should be kept in mind at every stage of analysis. For early stages of the investigation the discovery procedures
developed by Pike and Nida are still unsurpassed; Hockett's item and arrangement and item and process models are still relevant. Generative grammar has refined the item and process model, enabling it to account more adequately for relationships among rules. The generative phonology model, focusing on distinctive features that underlie or compose phonemes, can illuminate and show in an easily grasped notation aspects of phonology and morphophonemics that structural phonemics is not so well prepared to handle; case grammar or Chafian semantics may offer similar advantages lacking in earlier models. Having a repertory of models or conventions to choose from in presenting the rules discovered enhances the likelihood that the linguist will choose the model best reflecting the rules' operation.

This point of view does not reject the existence or the importance of language universals or the need to search for ultimate truth. It merely holds that at present, linguistic diversity, whether among languages or within one language, is more interesting than linguistic uniformity. By the same token, it favors the encouragement of theoretical diversity as ultimately leading to more accurate and therefore more scientific language description.
1-3.2 Purposes and scope

As noted above, the existence of dialectal variation in Aymara was known in the 17th century, although differences were dismissed as insignificant. The Aymara examples cited by Hardman et al. (1975) include some cases of dialectal variation between Compi and Tiahuanaco (La Paz) but other contemporary published references to Aymara dialectal variation are extremely rare. This study was conceived to carry forward the task of describing such variation and thereby to increase knowledge of the language as a whole.

Using the description by Hardman et al. (1975) as a basis for comparison, I decided to sample selectively the Aymara spoken over a wide area (approximately that shown by the shaded area of Figure 1-1), investigating phonological, morphological, morphophonemic, syntactic, and semantic variation with a view toward seeking answers to the following questions: What is the extent of dialectal variation in Aymara? Is it indeed minor, or does it affect intelligibility? In what parts of the grammar does variation occur? Does it occur within as well as across dialects? What kinds of variation are most prevalent and/or significant? What are the major features distinguishing dialects and the major dialect groups identifiable on the basis of them? What of interdialectal
attitudes: are some dialects more prestigious than others? What of the effects of the dominant language, Spanish: is Aymara an 'oppressed language' showing signs of decline, as suggested by Albó (1973a), or is it vigorous and growing?

Apart from their intrinsic interest for linguistics, answers to such questions would have a number of practical applications. A full description of variation in Aymara is needed for reconstruction of proto-Aymara and of proto-Jaqi, a task already begun by Hardman. Descriptions of areal features in conjunction with information contained in colonial documents may enable historians to reconstruct past population movements and relationships among areas (Murra 1970:20). And now that programs of bilingual education are being undertaken or considered in Peru and Bolivia, there is a growing demand for detailed descriptions of Aymara and other indigenous languages to be used for developing teaching materials.

The field work for this study was conducted from July to September 1972 and from March 1973 to January 1974. After returning to the University of Florida, I reviewed the literature on Aymara from the 17th century to the present, incorporating into the analysis of field materials Aymara texts and grammatical information of relevance to the present study. However, the focus of this study is on Aymara as presently spoken in Peru and Bolivia.
1-3.3 Methodology and data

Methodology for the present study was based on that of Pike (1947), Nida (1965), and Samarin (1967) as interpreted and applied by Hardman. Two complementary kinds of data were sought: (1) free texts recorded on tape, and (2) materials obtained through an elicitation list of words, phrases, and sentences presented orally in Spanish to Aymara-Spanish bilinguals for translation into Aymara.

Free texts included messages of greeting; traditional folk tales, riddles, songs, and sayings; and conversations among native speakers, or monologues, on such topics as life in the community, festivals, local agriculture, education, illness, and other personal experiences. Recordings were also made of a Baptist sermon in Aymara, of Baptist and Catholic hymns, and of several Aymara radio broadcasts in La Paz.

The elicitation list in Spanish was developed to obtain a body of data readily comparable from one site to another. Based on the longer Swadesh list, it included words, phrases, and sentences originally elicited in Aymara or one of the other Jaqi languages in earlier research by Hardman and associates and subsequently translated back into Spanish as spoken in the Andean area. In the course of the field work for this study, these materials were modified in order to elicit
already-identified Aymara grammatical categories and syntactic structures, and individual lexical items showing dialectal variation. Eventually the list was refined to eliminate material not showing variation and to focus on areas of differences. In areas having the velar nasal phoneme, Jaqaru words containing it were added to the list in an effort to elicit Aymara cognates.

Although the use of Spanish in the elicitation list sometimes resulted in Aymara translations that reflected Spanish syntactic patterns, this drawback was minimized by deliberate inclusion of Andean Spanish examples already paralleling Aymara structure, and balanced by analysis of free texts recorded in Aymara. Grammatical structures were also elicited directly in Aymara. For example, verb tense paradigms were elicited by changing subject and complement pronouns once an example of a verb with person/tense suffix had occurred. Because the purpose of the investigation was to elicit variation, it was important to encourage use of local forms which sources might tend to suppress if La Paz dialect forms were used to elicit them; the use of Spanish avoided this problem. For example, using Spanish made it possible to elicit in each site a brief selection of common remarks (see Appendix C). A somewhat abbreviated version of the elicitation list is given in Appendix A.
The free texts provided examples of previously unattested forms or variations which were then sought elsewhere. Although no attempt was made to obtain the same folktales in different places, a few occurred more frequently than others, providing readily comparable data complementary to that obtained through the elicitation list. All free texts were tape-recorded; in most cases translations of the elicitation list were not. A total of approximately five hours of tape-recordings, plus another five hours of data transcribed directly without recording, constitutes the basic corpus of this study. (Included in the total are approximately 30 minutes kindly recorded on my behalf in Torata, Moquegua by Francisco Gangotena and Carlos Saavedra.) Another five hours of tape-recorded texts were used as background only. (Included were some recordings made in Oruro and northern Potosí by Javier Albó and generously made available to me.) Several hundred hours were spent in reviewing original transcriptions with one or more native speakers, whenever possible the source of the text or another resident of the same community. (A text recorded in a trilingual area of Potosí was checked with a Quechua speaker from Llallagua to see whether a certain unusual form might be a Quechua loan, but no formal attempt was made to compare Aymara texts with Quechua.) Some texts were later checked with
speakers from other areas, revealing further dialect similarities or differences. Transcriptions were then exhaustively analyzed with regard to phonology, morphology, morphophonemics, syntax, and semantics, including linguistic postulates.

The key factor making possible my entry into and acceptance in the several Aymara communities where I conducted research was my previous training in field methods and study of Aymara language and culture under Hardman and the Bolivian Aymara linguists Juana Vásquez and Juan de Dios Yapita. Carter (1972) has noted that ethnographic research in a given community can succeed only if it is desired by a leading member of the community; this is true of linguistic research also. As the first native speaker of Aymara to receive formal linguistics training and to teach Aymara at universities in Bolivia and in the United States, Yapita is such a leader. In 1972 he founded the Instituto de Lengua y Cultura Aymara (ILCA) in La Paz to encourage the development of scholarly research conducted by and for members of the Aymara community. My initial field work in Bolivia was undertaken with his approval and support and with the help of persons who had been his students or were otherwise associated with him; subsequently my work contacts extended to persons who knew him only by reputation.
In order to facilitate my research in Peru, where his work was not known, Yapita provided me with a two-minute tape-recorded message in Aymara conveying his greetings on behalf of ILCA and the Bolivian Aymara community. This message, supplemented by my explanation of the purposes of my research and by my assurances that its results would be made available to ILCA to advance the study of Aymara language and culture, served to create a very favorable climate for cooperation among the Peruvian Aymara I met.

Although my command of spoken Aymara was rudimentary, making it necessary for me to rely heavily on Spanish as a contact language, my familiarity with Aymara grammar and culture and my association with community leadership enabled me to accomplish most of my research goals.

Questions of ethics and the sources' rights to privacy were considered during the research. In most cases recordings were made with the participants' knowledge; in the few cases when participants were not aware that they were being recorded, the recordings were later played for them with the offer to erase anything unacceptable; this was never requested. Typed transcripts of some of the recorded stories were later provided to the tellers, and some have been published through ILCA or the Aymara Newsletter (2-3.12) with due credit given
the authors. In order to respect sources' privacy, recorded texts or transcriptions containing information of a personal nature will not be made public without the source's permission.

1-3.4 Sites and sources

Communities mentioned in this section may be found in Figure 1-1, except as noted.

In Peru I collected data in the following communities:

Huancané (province of Huancané, department of Puno)
Juli (province of Chucuito, department of Puno)
Calacoa (province of Mariscal Nieto, department of Moquegua)
Tarata and Sitajara (province of Tarata, department of Tacna)

In addition, I recorded in Puno examples of the Aymara of Socca (province of Puno).

In Bolivia I collected data in the following communities:

Corque (province of Carangas, department of Oruro)
Salinas de Garci Mendoza (province of Ladislao Cabrera, department of Oruro)
Calacala (province of Bustillos, department of Potosí)
Compi (province of Omasuyos, department of La Paz)
Achocalla (province of Murillos, department of La Paz; just south of the capital, and not on Figure 1-1)

In addition, in Bolivia I obtained examples of Aymara from the following communities although I did not visit them:

Jopoqueri (Carangas)
Morocomarca (Bustillos)
Jesús de Machaca, San Andrés de Machaca, and Taraco (province of Ingavi, department of La Paz)

Yapita and Vásquez furnished additional data from their own dialects representative of the communities of Compi and Tiahuanaco (Ingavi), respectively, as modified by many years of residence in the city of La Paz. As Aymara translator for the American Universities Field Staff Film Project, Vásquez also provided examples from the dialect of Vitocota (near Ayata in the province of Muñecas, department of La Paz) from the sound tracks of four films made there in 1972.
Serendipity was largely responsible for choice of sites; weather conditions, in particular as they related to the state of the roads, determined the timing of visits. In Peru I intended to visit areas of greatest Aymara concentration as indicated in the 1961 census. While attending a meeting of the International Linguistic Association in Arequipa in March 1973, I met three young Aymara men who responded to Yapita's recording and my description of research interests. One was originally from Juli and provided me with a letter of introduction to his family there. Another was a school teacher in Lima, originally from Huancané; I interviewed him in Lima and visited his family in Huancané. The third was from Socca, near Puno; although I was unable to visit there, I did obtain several texts from him in Puno.

After the Arequipa meeting I went to Tacna hoping to visit Aymara-speaking areas in Tarata province. An Aymara taxi driver encountered by chance in Tacna took me to the town of Tarata, where he helped me find and interview Aymara speakers. Some months later, after roads became passable, he took me to visit his mother in the nearby town of Sitajara. Shortly thereafter he drove me to Moquegua, where he helped me locate an Aymara bus owner from Calacoa who arranged for me to visit that community and stay with his wife's family.
In Bolivia I hoped to collect data in areas where the Aymara was popularly thought to be different from that of the city of La Paz and its environs. The initial selection of areas to visit was made in consultation with Yapita and with Javier Albó, an anthropologist with many years of residence and travel in Bolivia, but as in the case of Peru, final choice of sites was fortuitous. A former student of Yapita's was my first source on the Aymara of Carangas. Through him I met a teacher who arranged a visit to his brother's family in Corque. Later, the teacher's wife invited me to accompany her on a visit to her mother in Salinas de Garci Mendoza (hereafter referred to as Salinas), a trip postponed some months because of impassable roads. With the help of a young woman related to the teacher, I made contact with Aymara speakers in the Quechua mining town of Llallagua, in northern Potosí, who invited me to visit the nearby town of Calacala. In Uncía, near Llallagua, I met through the local parish priest a young Aymara man from the village of Morocomarca and interviewed him in Uncía as time did not allow a visit to Morocomarca.

As in the case of choice of sites, the selection of sources (the term source is being used here in preference to the somewhat negatively loaded term informant) was random. An attempt was made to obtain data from both
sexes, of different ages and educational levels ranging from illiteracy to completion of several years of university study. Occupations included market seller, certified school teacher, bus driver, farmer, student (elementary, secondary, normal school, or university), taxi driver, housewife, university professor, administrator of community development programs, and Baptist minister. All sources 40 and under were bilingual in the sense of being able to carry on an intelligible conversation in Spanish, although in some cases their phonology was heavily Aymara (see 1-1.3).

Below is a chart showing sex, age, and (for sources over 40) knowledge of Spanish, the latter determination based usually on a speaker's self-evaluation. Ages shown are approximate as age was not obtained for all sources. An average of six sources was consulted for each major site, the numbers ranging from one to 13.

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(Totals 55)

(The question mark refers to a speaker who was not heard to speak Spanish and was not asked if he did.)
As may be seen, a preponderance of sources were under 40 and hence by definition bilingual in Spanish. (Sources from Calacala and Morocomarca were trilingual in Spanish, Aymara, and Quechua.) Monolinguals were relatively less accessible to me than were bilinguals primarily because lack of time and difficulties of travel prevented visits to remote communities where monolingualism is reportedly widespread and secondarily because most monolinguals encountered in the communities visited were elderly and infirm, often with missing teeth and consequent faulty diction. Determination of the location of communities with a high proportion of monolinguals of different ages must await future research, preferably with the participation of native speakers trained in linguistic field methods.

With regard to training of native speaker linguists, an informal attempt was made throughout this research to instill in sources the basic concepts of anthropological linguistics and field methods, by example if not in formal classes. For example, two young women from urban centers were taken on field trips to act as interpreters and to learn the basics of informant-investigator relations. One source who already had a firm grasp of the Yapita phonemic alphabet (3-2) was asked to transcribe a tape-recorded story from a dialect other than his own, at whose telling he had
been present. His mistakes in transcription were significant in showing points of difference between the two dialects and, when brought to his attention, made him aware of the ways that one's own language or dialect grid may structure one's perception. Throughout the research I maintained and encouraged in all persons with whom I worked an attitude of respect or even enthusiasm toward the diversity that became apparent, noting, however, their occasional linguocentric comments (see 10-2.6).

1-3.5 Organization of the study

This study is organized into chapters on the following topics: a survey of literature on Aymara from the colonial period to the present; variation in phonemics and in phonological shape of morphemes within and across dialects; variation in morphophonemics, including rules general to all dialects and rules limited to certain dialects; variation in the noun system, in the verb system, and in morphosyntactic and syntactic structures and processes; variation in semantics, including a section on the nonvarying linguistic postulates; three translation dialects: Missionary, Patrón, and Radio Aymara; and a conclusion summarizing kinds of variation, identifying regional dialect groups on the basis of significant variation, and offering suggestions for future research. Following the chapters there are Appendices
as follows: (A) the elicitation list used in field work; (B) a list of onomatopoeic particles; (C) regional versions of greetings and certain common expressions; (D) regional versions of a saying and a riddle; and (E) an index of suffixes.

1-3.6 Conventions and terminology

In this study the following conventions are observed, conforming in most cases to those used by Hardman et al. (1975).

Aymara examples are usually written in the Yapita phonemic alphabet (see 3-2) modified by the use of a colon (:) rather than a dieresis mark ("") for vowel length in order to permit separation of morphemic length from the vowel it occurs on. Occasional examples are given in phonetic transcription within square brackets ([[]]). Place names are spelled as they appear on maps for ease of reference although users of the Yapita alphabet prefer to spell them according to its rules, e.g. Qumpi for Compí. Aymara examples from published sources other than Hardman and associates are usually converted to Yapita orthography. All examples not attested by Hardman et al. (1975) or later reported by Vásquez, Yapita, or me are preceded by a raised cross (†); morphemic as well as phonemic analyses of such forms are mine. An asterisk (*) before an example means it is unattested; context will indicate whether it is
rejected by native speakers or presumed to exist on the basis of other evidence.

Periods separate morphemes within a word, e.g. *uta.xa* 'a/the/my house.' Unaffixed bound roots (verbs) are followed by a hyphen, e.g. *jut-a-* 'come.' In citation form, suffixes which may close a construction are preceded by a hyphen, e.g. the final suffix *-xa*. Other suffixes are preceded and followed by a hyphen, e.g. the verbal derivational suffix *-t'a-*. Recurrent submorphemic partials are placed within hyphens and within slants, e.g. */-pa-/*. A lowered v before a suffix indicates it must be preceded by a vowel; a lowered v after a suffix indicates it must retain its own final vowel when followed by another suffix; a lowered c before a suffix indicates it must be preceded by a consonant; a lowered c after a suffix indicates it must drop its final vowel before a following suffix and/or when it occurs word-finally. For example, in most dialects the possessive/locational suffix */v-na-c* is preceded by a vowel but drops its own vowel word-finally and before following suffixes, e.g. *uta.n, uta.n.xa* 'in/of the house.' When a suffix may be preceded by either a vowel or a consonant the more common (or base) occurrence is indicated above a tilde (~) and the less common below the tilde, e.g. */v-ja~c* first person possessive suffix. *~c*

A similar notation after a suffix indicates it may in
some circumstances keep and in others lose its own final vowel. If no subscript v or c follows a suffix, either other factors determine the retention or loss of the final vowel or the rule has not yet been determined.

Grammatical persons are indicated by the numbers 1, 2, 3, and 4, usually followed by a p, e.g. -ja lp possessive suffix, -ma 2p possessive suffix. Verbal inflectional suffixes have the subject person on the left and the complement person on the right of a right-pointing arrow, e.g. 1+2 means 1p subject, 2p complement.

Verb tenses are sometimes abbreviated as S (Simple), F (Future), I (Imperative), RDK (Remote Direct Knowledge), RIK (Remote Indirect Knowledge), D-1 (Desiderative), D-2 (Remonstrator), IF (Inferential), and NI (Non-Involver).

Aymara examples are underlined when treated as base forms or words (that is, as morphemes or combinations thereof):

```
 juma.mpi 'with you' juma 2p pronoun
     -mpi 'with'
     . . . the suffix -jama and variants . . .
    Jupa.x wali suma jaqi.wa. 'He/she is a good person.'
```

Aymara examples are placed between slant lines when treated as allomorphs:
... /-mpi/ occurs in La Paz, /-nti/ in Salinas ... 

... The suffix -jama has the allomorphs

/-jama/, /-ma/, /-ja/ ... 

What may sometimes appear to be inconsistency with respect to this notation will be due to the fact that a morph that at the individual dialect level is a base form (morpheme) may be considered an allomorph of a morpheme at the supradialectal level and/or in another dialect. In such cases context will dictate whether the morph is to be treated as an allomorph or as a morpheme. If there is only one invariant allomorph for all dialects, it will always be underlined unless given in phonetic transcription. If there is one allomorph that occurs almost everywhere (even if some dialects have others), it will be considered the base form of the morpheme in question and underlined, e.g. the final suffix -xa which has the allomorph /-:/ (vowel length) in some areas. If a morpheme has several allomorphs, they may all be referred to at once in alphabetical order and underlined, e.g. the suffix -mpi ~ -nti, the suffix -taki ~ -tak'i ~ -tay.

Examples are glossed in one of two ways: (1) If the example is short or for added clarity (for example when a morpheme occurs without its final vowel) individual morphemes are glossed to the right:
40

jani.w 'no' jani 'not' -wa final suffix

(2) If the example is long, it will be glossed beneath and followed by a free translation of the whole example:

Kuna.r un.ta.t sar.naq.ta.xa,
anything Look at go 2+3
around S

jaqi.tak p'inga, anu.tak unra.
people shame dog honor

'How stupid you are, you are a shame to the human race, an honor to dogs.' (La Paz/Compi)
(Yapita 1975:3)

As shown here, examples from Yapita are identified as being from La Paz/Compi; similarly, material obtained from Vásquez is identified as being from La Paz/Tiahuanaco. Thus is noted the fact that both have lived many years in the city of La Paz although their dialects are basically those of their communities of origin.

Noun suffixes and verbal derivational suffixes are identified in either (or both) of two ways: (1) by a term describing the function of the suffix, e. g. -mpi agentive/instrumental, or (2) by a gloss, e. g. -mpi 'with, by'. Function terms are not placed within single quotes, while glosses are. The function term
may be a neologism like distancer (used for the verbal derivational suffix -waya-); such terms are those used by Hardman et al. (1975).

Aymara sentences, defined by the presence or absence or certain final suffixes, have the first word capitalized and usually have a period, question mark, or exclamation point at the end. Often the final suffixes in Aymara convey semantic and emotional overtones which are conveyed in spoken English by intonation and in written English by punctuation. When a question mark or exclamation point would be superfluous in Aymara they are usually omitted even though the English gloss may carry them. Aymara examples that are not sentences in Aymara may in some cases be translated by sentences in English but in such cases the Aymara punctuation will usually be adhered to in the gloss as well as in the Aymara example unless meaning would thereby be obscured. Example:

kama.cha.ta::.rak.pacha::.t"a 'what could have happened to me'
(Sitajara)

Embedded quotes are shown within angled brackets:

\[
\begin{align*}
\langle & Jach.k.i.w \rangle \\
\text{cry} & \quad 3+3 \\
S & \\
\text{s.i.way.} & \quad " \text{They are crying,}" \\
& \quad \text{they say.}'
\end{align*}
\]
Spanish words occurring in Aymara sentences are written as Spanish if they were so pronounced, e. g. *contento* 'happy, content'. If they were phonologically adapted to Aymara (Aymarized) they are written as Aymara, e. g. *kuntintu*. In some cases decisions whether to treat a given word as Spanish or Aymara were arbitrary, and a few hybrids occurred, e. g. *Pedru*. 
CHAPTER 2
A SURVEY OF THE LITERATURE

2-1 Introduction

This chapter discusses the contents and merits of selected works relating to Aymara dating from the colonial period to the present. The two major bibliographical sources for works on or in Aymara are (1) Bibliografía de las lenguas quechua y aymará by José Toribio Medina (1930), and (2) the monumental four-volume Bibliographie des Langues Aymará et Kichua by Paul Rivet and Georges de Créqui-Montfort (1951-1956; henceforth Rivet). To my knowledge no bibliographical work specifically on Aymara has been published since Rivet's fourth volume (1956).

2-2 Colonial Period

As is well known, the Spanish found no written materials in the languages of the Inca Empire. In the 16th and early 17th centuries all works published in or on Aymara were written for the purpose of spreading the Christian faith by missionaries assisted by unnamed Aymara
converts bilingual in Aymara and Spanish. Such works consisted of catechisms and other religious tracts and of grammars to be used by missionaries wishing to learn to speak and understand the language. The earliest work known to contain Aymara is the anonymous Doctrina christiana, y catecismo para la instrucción de los Indios, published in Lima in 1584 (Rivet 1951:4-9).

According to Rivet (1956:631) a study of the early Catholic evangelization of Peru from 1532 to 1600 and the use of Aymara and Quechua as languages of conversion is Cristianización del Perú (1532-1600) by Fernando de Armas Medina (1953). Two other publications useful for information about Aymara society in the 16th century are Visita hecha a la provincia de Chucuito... en el año 1567 by a colonial administrator, Garci Diez de San Miguel (1567), reporting on his inspection of Chucuito province (see 1-2.2), and an ethnological appraisal of the Diez de San Miguel inspection, Una apreciación etnológica de la visita by John V. Murra (1964).

The first attempt at a complete grammar of Aymara was written by Ludovico Bertonio in the early 17th century. Born in 1552 in Italy, Bertonio joined the Company of Jesus in 1575. Sent to Peru in 1581, he remained there for 44 years, dying in Lima in 1625 or 1628 (Rivet 1951:26-27). Bertonio apparently spent most
of his time in Juli, capital of the Aymara-speaking Lupaca kingdom, on the shores of Lake Titicaca. There he wrote three grammars of Aymara, a Spanish-Aymara/ Aymara-Spanish dictionary, and several Aymara translations of religious texts. In 1603 he published two grammars, an Arte breve de la lengua aymara (1603a) and an Arte y grammatica muy copiosa de la lengua aymara (1603b). A facsimile edition of the latter was published in Leipzig in 1879 by Julio Platzmann (Rivet 1953:35). Juan de Dios Yapita owns a volume containing the first 14 pages of the Arte breve (Bertonio 1603a) bound together with pages 19 through 348 of the Arte y grammatica muy copiosa (Bertonio 1603b); the latter is missing the title pages, a section entitled Al lector, and pages 207 and 208. A photocopy of the Yapita volume is in the library of the University of Florida.

In his longer grammar of Aymara (1603b), Bertonio gave a detailed description of the language in terms of Spanish and Latin. Spanish spelling is adapted (inconsistently and inaccurately) to Aymara sounds, Spanish grammatical categories are translated into the nearest Aymara equivalents, and Spanish sentences are rendered into Aymara. The grammar is valuable not only as an example of the Latinate grammars of American languages written during the colonial period but also for the wealth of material it provides on the Aymara
language of the Lupaca kingdom in the early 17th century. These data and Bertonio's analyses must be carefully reinterpreted, however, in the light of techniques of contemporary linguistic scholarship and recent discoveries concerning Aymara language and culture. A review of individual forms attested by Bertonio (for example, verb derivational and inflectional suffixes) shows many forms identical with some in general use today, others in use in only one or a few present-day Aymara dialects, and still others not attested in modern Aymara but extant in other Jaqi languages. In some cases the semantics of a form have shifted since Bertonio's time, if his translations may be taken as accurate. But that is a problem: reviewing Bertonio's Aymara sentences with Juana Vásquez has revealed that most of them are unacceptable. At best they sound translated; at worst they are perceived as simply incorrect even when archaic or unknown terms are replaced by contemporary terms. The book contains no native Aymara texts--no sentences forming a narrative that might have been spoken in the language by native speakers--but only translations from Spanish or Latin of isolated words, phrases, or sentences. Bertonio's grammatical analysis of the language missed many important features because of its focus on Spanish categories. Nevertheless, Bertonio was a careful observer and tireless organizer of his material.
On the morphological level his analysis is often accurate in detail. For example, his grasp of the inclusive/exclusive distinction in the Aymara person system is essentially correct (Hardman 1972b). With respect to syntax and cultural content, however, Bertonio's grammatical analysis must be characterized as distorted and inadequate.

According to Rivet (1951:52-53), there exists a third Aymara grammar by Bertonio, Arte de la lengua aymara (1612), containing sentences in Aymara and Spanish and a list of Aymara words; the only known copies are reportedly owned by the Posnansky family in La Paz and by the Biblioteca Nacional in Sucre, Bolivia.

In 1612 Bertonio published his Vocabulario de la lengua aymara which has since appeared in several facsimile editions, most recently in La Paz, Bolivia in 1956. This lengthy book is a dictionary, the first part (474 pages) Spanish-Aymara and the second (398 pages) Aymara-Spanish, with approximately 50 entries to a page. A thorough study of this book with native speakers is long overdue to determine how many and which forms are in use today and to correct errors evident in a sampling of the entries.

LaBarre (1948) (see 2-3) performed the useful service of culling out and repeating, with English translations, some categories of words in the Vocabulario such
as kinship terms, diseases, and sins to be reported in confession. Checking these with Vásquez revealed that many terms cited by Bertonio are perceived today as awkward translations of Spanish terms into Aymara rather than as native words or expressions. In this connection it is interesting to note that in the introductory section to the Vocabulario Bertonio indicated that he took the entries (1) from Aymara translations of the lives of Christ and the saints, sermons, comparisons of vices and virtues, and so forth written by certain Aymara brought up as Christians during the 35 years that the Jesuits had been in Juli, and (2) from similar materials collected by other priests. The entire dictionary, in other words, was based on materials translated from Spanish into Aymara, not the other way around.

An example with respect to kinship is illustrative. In modern Aymara the nominalized verb apaña 'to carry' may also be used with the metaphorical meaning of 'contemporary', 'of the same age' (i.e., a person carried by his/her mother at the same time as another person was similarly carried). Bertonio translated it (or the derived term apaña 'having a contemporary') as 'relative' (Spanish pariente), and used it to translate sentences like 'If that woman is your relative you may not marry her.' The present-day meaning of the Aymara sentence (see 6-3.34.13) is 'If that woman is your
contemporary you may not marry her.' It seems unlikely that a semantic shift has occurred with this word since the 17th century. Rather, the Bertonio gloss probably reflects an initial difficulty in translation when the Aymara interpreter, having no one term in his language for 'relative', finally approximated it with apaña. The bafflement of the Aymara at hearing an injunction to marry only someone older or younger may only be imagined. Other such translation errors or distortions have contributed to the development of the translation dialects Missionary and Patrón Aymara (Chapter 9).

Such errors may well have contributed to the difficulties the missionaries encountered in their efforts to convert the Aymara. Bertonio acknowledged such difficulties in the Vocabulario in a section addressed 'to the priests of the Aymara Nation'. Denying that Aymara was a difficult language (he said the Jesuits in Juli learned to preach in the language in a year), he conceded that students of the language tended to become disheartened, discerning in the Aymara a low capacity for learning and a strong resistance to conversion.

. . . they are so given to bad customs, their hearts are so full of spines and thistles, that the seed of the divine word planted there will not bear fruit . . . (Bertonio 1612: unnumbered page facing A 3; English translation mine)
The stubborn refusal of the Aymara to be converted, in spite of the best efforts of gifted and energetic priests like Bertonio, was attributed then and later to incapacity coupled with sheer cussedness. Recent discoveries with respect to Aymara linguistic postulates (see 8-2) have put the Aymara recalcitrance in a new light. In any event, negative stereotypes of the Aymara character had by the end of 35 years become fully accepted among the colonizers and were to persist well into the 20th century (see 2-3).

Very similar to Bertonio's work although shorter is a grammar by another Jesuit assigned to Juli, Diego de Torres Rubio, whose Arte de la lengua aymara appeared in 1616. A photocopy, the original of which belongs to the Instituto de Lengua y Cultura Aymara in La Paz, is in the University of Florida Library. The photocopy and the original lack pages 65 through 68 and pages 72 through 77. The volume contains following the Arte the complete Catecismo en la lengua españa\'ola y aymara del Piru originally published in Sevilla (1604) on the basis of materials dating from a Provincial Council in Lima in 1583. According to Rivet (1951:75), several known copies of the Torres Rubio 1616 grammar are bound with the Catecismo in this manner.

It is not known whether Torres Rubio and Bertonio collaborated or worked independently. They were almost
the same age and had similar careers. Torres was born in 1557 in Spain, joined the Jesuits in 1572, and arrived in Peru in 1579. He died there in 1637 or 1638 (Rivet 1951:71). In 1967 Mario (to be distinguished from Alejandro) Franco Inojosa published a version of the Torres Rubio Arte in modern Spanish, giving the Aymara in Torres' original spellings followed by transcriptions in the official Peruvian alphabet for Aymara and Quechua adopted in 1946.

After the middle of the 17th century the early fervor of missionary activity subsided and for the next hundred years little was published in Aymara except occasional sermons, few of which have survived. As described by Tovar (1961:186-194) the alternating linguistic policies of the Spanish conquerors help explain the relative dearth of materials published in Aymara between the second half of the 17th century and the late 18th century. In 1550 it was decided to teach the Indians in Spanish. As this attempt proved unsuccessful, in 1583 the policy of using native languages was adopted, stimulating the production of grammars and religious texts in those languages. By 1596 the earlier policy was reinstated over the missionaries' objections. The impasse was resolved in practice by the use of general languages which at first included Aymara although during the 17th century it gave way to Quechua. By the
late 18th century the Spanish crown had expelled the Jesuits from Peru and shortly thereafter the crown restored the Spanish-only policy. Nevertheless, the wealth of material on New World languages which the Jesuits had gathered soon began to be published in Europe, mostly in the form of comparative vocabulary lists. From that time on the amount of published Aymara material gradually increased.

2-3 Prelinguistic Studies--19th and 20th Centuries

Prelinguistic studies are those written without benefit of the theories or techniques of modern linguistic scholarship or dealing primarily with other than linguistic aspects of Aymara culture.

The great European philologists Hervas, Vater, Adelung, Pott, and Jéhan, writing in the late 18th and early 19th centuries, included in their encyclopedic works references to Aymara taken from earlier sources and superficial comparisons of Aymara words with those of other languages. In the second decade of the 19th century political speeches and documents relating to the independence movements in South America were published in some native languages including Aymara.

In 1826 appeared the first Protestant materials in Aymara, translations of the New Testament. From then
on a series of such translations emanated first from the British and Foreign Bible Society and subsequently from the United States. Catholic materials (mostly by Bolivian priests) began to appear in greater numbers also. Later in the 19th century there began to appear accounts by European scholar-adventurers of their travels on the Bolivian and Peruvian altiplano. These usually included grammatical sketches of Quechua and Aymara or word lists of numbers, animals, plants, medicines and diseases, and kinship terms.

The first detailed ethnographic account of the Aymara was On the Aymara Indians of Bolivia and Peru by David Forbes (1870), based on research done in Bolivia and Peru from 1859 to 1863. A British mining engineer of scholarly bent and the stamina necessary to remain for long periods at altitudes up to 15,400 feet, Forbes was best at concrete measurement and description of the activities he witnessed. His account of the Aymara was somewhat sympathetic, revealing the relentless physical hardships and social injustices they suffered, but some of his explanations for Aymara behavior suggest he may have given too much credence to tales spread by whites and mestizos based more on myth than on fact.

Forbes gave Aymara names for objects, activities, and the like most of which, though deformed by an inadequate transcription, are recognizable today. His
grammatical analysis of Aymara is sketchy but accurate so far as it goes. Appendix C of his book is a vocabulary of Aymara words, including kinship terms, with English translations. Forbes cast light on the status of Aymara studies at the time in remarking on his fruitless efforts while in Bolivia to obtain a copy of a 17th century Aymara grammar or dictionary even though he had advertised in the papers that he would pay the 'high sum of 50 dollars' (274, fn.) for it.

In 1891 the German physician-turned-philologist Ernst Middendorf published Die Aimará-Sprache, the fifth volume of his study of aboriginal languages of Peru (Rivet 1952:558). The introduction to Middendorf's Aymara grammar was translated into Spanish by the Bolivian scholar Franz Tamayo in an article published in 1910 in La Paz (Rivet 1952:558). Later, the Peruvian scholar Estuardo Núñez, working from an incomplete copy of the Tamayo translation, revised and added some notes to it and published it in a volume entitled Las lenguas aborígenes del Perú (1959) prepared under the auspices of the Universidad Mayor de San Marcos in Lima to commemorate the 50th anniversary of Middendorf's death. The following section refers to that volume (1959:96-102).

Middendorf indicated that his grammar was based on Bertonio's and on the dialect then spoken in La Paz, which he visited on several occasions. He stated that at
that time both whites and mestizos spoke Aymara but in most cases only as a lingua franca for communication with Aymara servants or sellers in the marketplace. Middendorf was able to find only a few persons with enough knowledge to teach him the language. Like Forbes, he found no one who possessed a Bertonio grammar, adding that no one had even heard of such a book, not even the President of Bolivia or members of his cabinet. Middendorf was finally able to find some lawyers who had lived among rural Aymara and claimed to know more of the language than the city-dwellers. With them Middendorf reviewed a copy of the Bertonio grammar in his possession, comparing forms then in use with earlier ones, noting both, and using them to draw up rules of sentence formation. In the introduction to his Aymara grammar he devoted several paragraphs to Aymara vowel-dropping, giving examples of inflected verbs, and commented on Aymara verbs of going and carrying. It is to be hoped that someday Middendorf's grammar of Aymara may be translated into Spanish.

In 1917 another Aymara grammar based largely on Bertonio's appeared, by Juan Antonio García, a Bolivian priest. Subsequently, etymologies and word lists for such topics as kinship, place names, and musical instruments proliferated, and a number of Aymara stories, poems, and legends were written by self-styled Aymara scholars.
(aymarólogos). Novels on Indian themes, such as Alcides Arguedas' *Raza de bronce* (1945), contained some Aymara phrases. There was a continuous spate of dictionaries or handbooks of Aymara, Quechua, and Spanish words and phrases, as well as both Catholic and Protestant publications.

The matter of a standardized alphabet for Aymara and Quechua has engaged the sporadic attention of scholars and governments for years. In 1939 the Twenty-Seventh International Congress of Americanists proposed an alphabet for Aymara and Quechua which was adopted by official Peruvian government decree in 1946 (Rivet 1956:265). In 1954 the Bolivian government adopted a virtually identical alphabet approved earlier that same year by the Third Inter-American Indigenist Congress (Rivet 1956:675).

Catholic missionaries on the altiplano adopted this alphabet. It represents an improvement over earlier ones in that it shows phonemic vowel length; distinguishes plain, aspirated, and glottalized stops and an affricate in the proper articulatory positions; and distinguishes the velar and postvelar fricatives. But it uses the five Spanish vowels to represent the three phonemic Aymara vowels and allophones of two of them which are not always predictable from the environment, unnecessarily confusing the transcription.
Meanwhile, Protestant missionaries developed a variation which employs some Spanish letters, such as c and gu to represent the Aymara velar stop, in the belief that their use makes it easier for the Aymara to learn Spanish. This alphabet, known as the CALA alphabet for the first initials of the Comisión de Alfabetización y Literatura Aymara (Aymara Literacy and Literature Commission), was adopted as official by Bolivian government decree in 1968, apparently without rescinding support of the earlier alphabet. Since then the two official Bolivian alphabets have coexisted in uneasy competition.

Beginning in the 1930s American anthropologists turned their attention to the study of Aymara society. The Aymara (1946) and The Aymara of Chucuito, Peru 1. Magic (1951) by Harry Tschopik and The Aymara Indians of the Lake Titicaca Plateau, Bolivia (1948) by Weston LaBarre are generally considered classics, but research in the last decade has shown them to be deficient in important respects, based as they were on data obtained through mestizos and whites. A more balanced account is The Aymara of Chinchera, Peru: Persistence and change in a bicultural context (1964) by John Marshall Hickman, reporting on a Peruvian Aymara community near that studied by Tschopik 20 years earlier; Another look at Aymara personality (1966) by John S. Plummer questioned earlier negative assessments of the Aymara character. William E.
Carter has conducted extensive studies among the Bolivian Aymara in the department of La Paz. His *Bolivia, a profile* (1971:89-91) brought together the various expressions of the Aymara negative stereotype and put them in historical perspective. *The Bolivian Aymara* (1971) by Hans C. and Judith-Maria Buechler is a somewhat superficial network analysis of the community of Compi on Lake Titicaca.

*The languages of South American Indians* (1950) by John Alden Mason contains a short section on the Aymara language, but it is full of inaccuracies, not only with respect to the supposed relationship of Aymara to other languages, but also to identification of Aymara-speaking areas and dialects. *Catálogo de las lenguas de América del Sur* (1961) by Antonio Tovar represents a slight improvement in the information provided but the work is still incomplete and inaccurate and the brief grammatical description of Aymara is very weak. Other publications on Aymara well into the 1960s testify to the sorry state of scholarship with respect to the language.

Characteristic are the many virtually identical handbooks or catalogues of common expressions in Aymara, Quechua, and Spanish published in Bolivia, Peru, and even Chile from the middle of the 19th century to the present. (The latest to come to my attention is dated 1971, but new editions have probably appeared since then.) These little books contain the kind of Aymara spoken by
white and mestizo landowners who learned to speak the language imperfectly as children and whose attitude toward the Aymara people and their language ranges from kindly but patronizing to contemptuous. This kind of Aymara is referred to as Patrón Aymara (from the Spanish patrón 'owner') by Bolivian Aymara native speakers. In the catalogues individual forms may be correctly translated but Spanish phrases are translated word for word into Aymara that is usually discourteous if not insulting, and often incorrect. Moreover, chaotic spelling reflects a very inadequate grasp of Aymara phonology. (See Chapter 9 for examples.)

A variation on the catalogue is Gramática del kechua y del aymara (1942) by Germán G. Villamor. It contains short grammatical descriptions of Quechua and Aymara, a brief three-way dictionary of words from those two languages and Spanish, and sections on history, myths, and superstitions. Insofar as the Aymara is concerned, the book is deficient in every respect, with incorrect material poorly arranged. Another variation on the catalogue is Vocablos aymaras en el habla popular paceña (1963) by Antonio Paredes Candía, containing Aymara words purported to occur in colloquial La Paz speech. According to Vásquez, who reviewed the book with me, many of the Aymara forms are incorrectly translated and in any case are terms used by whites or mestizos in the city
rather than by rural Aymara. The book is useful primarily to show what the white or mestizo understands by certain Aymara words. Usually the context is not culturally Aymara and the tone is patronizing when not actually insulting.

Two works which avoid the condescending tone of the foregoing are a short Spanish-Aymara dictionary by Mario Franco Inojosa, *Breve vocabulario castellano aymara* (1965), and a more complete dictionary, *Diccionario breve castellano-aymara aymara-castellano* (1970), by Pedro Miranda. Mario Franco Inojosa, who updated the Torres Rubio grammar (1616), uses the official Aymara alphabet adopted by the Peruvian government in 1946. Most terms he cites are the same as those used in La Paz, making it useful for quick reference for that dialect; however, the book is cheaply printed and has many typographical errors. The Miranda dictionary (1970) is more complete and better printed, and employs the official Bolivian alphabet adopted in 1954.

Although it reflects patrón and missionary usages, by far the best of the prelinguistic grammars of Aymara is *Gramática y diccionario aymara* (1965) by Juan Enrique Ebbing. This reference grammar was modeled on Bertonio's longer grammar (1603b) and like it contains a wealth of detail, although the geographical origins of the forms attested are not given. The author's method
is to explain a Spanish grammatical category and then to give its translation equivalent in Aymara. This makes for a repetitious presentation as the same Aymara form may translate several different Spanish forms, and the method skews Aymara structure into a Spanish mold as in the case of Bertonio's grammars. While some of the Aymara examples are acceptable to native speakers, much of the Aymara sounds translated and the book suffers from a generally patronizing tone. The phonology is better than most but confuses velars and postvelars. In spite of its faults, however, this grammar shows an understanding of certain aspects of Aymara usually overlooked such as the fact that certain suffixes are essential to the Aymara sentence, and although given to stating general rules to which exceptions must then be made, Ebbing at least includes the exceptions, making up in accuracy of data for loss of economy in presentation. As a handbook for studying Aymara, his grammar is useful as a source of Aymara glosses of individual Spanish forms. Translations of Spanish sentences should be checked with Aymara native speakers, however, as they are written in a style associated with Catholic priests (for examples see Chapter 9).

The nadir in prelinguistic grammars of Aymara was reached in Suma lajjra aymara parlaña (1969) by Erasmo Tarifa Ascarrunz. Another example of Patrón Aymara, this book contains a wealth of material, but so badly
analyzed and presented as to be very difficult to use. As usual in prelinguistic grammars, the Aymara sounds as if it were translated from Spanish. On the other hand, the Spanish translations of the Aymara (or Spanish sentences from which the Aymara was translated) are in the popular Spanish of the Andean area which reflects Aymara structure to a considerable extent even in the usage of monolingual Spanish speakers. In all, the book is an interesting compendium of fact and misconception which should be checked with native speakers before any of its contents are accepted as valid.

2-4 Linguistic Studies
2-4.1 Synchronic studies

As far as I am aware, the first linguist to note in print that Aymara has a three- rather than a five-vowel system was Bertil Malmberg (1947-48). Kenneth Pike, in his Phonemics (1947:153), included an Aymara problem with data that clearly implied a three-vowel system, although Pike left this conclusion to the reader. Tschopik (1948) and LaBarre (1950) provided partially phonemic renditions of Aymara folktales with English translations but without grammatical analysis. Although transcribed with five vowels and no indication of vowel length or of syntactic final vowel dropping, the texts
appear to be otherwise phonologically accurate native Aymara. (The informants are identified as monolingual.) These texts are useful for the dialectal variants they contain and for comparison with present-day dialects from the same areas for the purpose of identifying changes during the past 30 years.

The first morphological analysis of Aymara was made by Thomas Sebeok (1951a). However, it was based on an Aymara version of Little Red Ridinghood translated from Spanish, rather than on a native Aymara folktale, and the text is an example of Patrón Aymara. Sebeok (1951b) also collected data for an Aymara dictionary, using data from Tschopik, LaBarre, Villamor, Pike, and Floyd Lounsbury as well as his own. Each entry consists of a set of Aymara words sharing the same root morpheme, with English (or in the case of Villamor's data, Spanish) translations.

2-4.11 Missionary grammars and associated studies

The first attempt at a fairly complete grammatical description of Aymara by a linguist using the methods of modern scholarship was made by Ellen M. Ross, whose *Rudimentos de gramática aymara* (1953; second edition 1963) was published by the Canadian Baptist Mission in La Paz with an introduction by Eugene Nida. The preface indicates that the Aymara of Huatajata (department of
La Paz) is the dialect on which the grammar is based and that it is similar to that of the city of La Paz. Three Aymara native speakers collaborated with Ross in producing the grammar, a trilingual textbook for English-speaking missionaries and Spanish speakers. Making use of aural/oral language-teaching methods, the book presents graded Aymara dialogues and drills with translations into Spanish and grammatical explanations in Spanish and English. The grammar includes cultural notes such as a comment on the importance of greetings among the Aymara. While it has an index of grammatical forms and topics (in Spanish), it lacks a table of contents and thus cannot easily be used as a reference grammar.

In any case, although it represents a tremendous improvement over its predecessors, *Rudimentos* contains frequently inaccurate grammatical analyses. More important, the text still reflects, in the tradition of earlier Aymara grammars, the usage of missionaries and their followers. For this reason the Ross grammar should be used with caution by persons not wishing to be identified with or as missionaries. Also, the CALA writing system used presents the learner with certain difficulties, especially with respect to the postvelar fricative symbolized as *jj* and reduplicated as the unwieldy and confusing cluster *jjjj*.
A reference grammar for native speakers of Aymara is Ross's *Manual aymara para los aymaristas* (n.d. [considerably after Ross 1953]). Its purpose is to enable Aymara speakers already bilingual and literate in Spanish to learn to read and write Aymara and to become aware of differences between Aymara and Spanish structure which create difficulties for Aymara monolinguals wishing to learn Spanish. As indicated earlier, the CALA writing system used by Ross is designed to familiarize Aymara speakers with Spanish spelling with a view to facilitating their learning to read and write in that language. Accordingly, Spanish loans, even those which entered Aymara hundreds of years ago and are completely adapted to Aymara phonology, are spelled as Spanish and the five vowels of Spanish are used even though Ross recognized that Aymara has a three-vowel system. Evidence that the CALA alphabet does in fact accomplish the objective of making it easier for Aymara monolinguals to learn Spanish is lacking.

The Ross *Manual* is in effect a contrastive study of Spanish and (Missionary) Aymara, often describing Aymara in terms of Spanish, although this is warned against (n.d.:65). The manual is also prescriptive, for example in Lesson IX on punctuation. The grammatical analysis is lacking in some important respects; for instance, the four-person system is not completely
understood. The distinction of personal and nonpersonal knowledge is recognized, however, for the first time. The importance of morphemic vowel length and morphophonemic vowel dropping is also understood and the reader is urged to write as he speaks, although this injunction is not always followed in the examples given in the text. The role of sentence suffixes (called enclitics) is well covered. But while the Manual has its strengths, nevertheless the message conveyed by the book is that learning to read and write Aymara is merely a means toward learning to be fully literate in Spanish and not a worthy end in itself. This attitude is clear in a discussion of the embedding of direct quotes in Aymara: the reader who wishes to write a more involved style is urged to consult a good Spanish grammar or to observe the style of writers in that language (Ross n.d.:121).

Two subsequent teaching grammars of Aymara owe much to Ross. Paul Wexler and his associates attempted in Beginning Aymara: A course for English speakers (1967) to write a linguistically sound pedagogical grammar of Aymara specifically for English speakers. Intended for Peace Corps volunteers, this grammar was based on research carried out in Bolivia by three American field workers who spent a short time there aided by three Aymara native speakers from La Paz who were bilingual in Spanish. It is of value primarily as an example of what happens when
linguistic researchers fail to take cultural as well as linguistic factors into account in spite of their obvious importance in a grammar designed for foreigners proposing to live and work in an unfamiliar society. While carefully organized into graded dialogues and drills on topics generally relevant to altiplano life, the Aymara sentences in the book sound translated from Spanish, often using missionary and/or patrón terminology, and are therefore both culturally and linguistically unacceptable to some native speakers. Wexler recognized that the Aymara of the informants probably showed heavy Spanish influence, but he was evidently unaware of the social dimension of their dialect--its evangelical cast--although he did recommend further research with monolingual speakers. The book also suffers from problems of translating Andean Spanish into English. For example, wank'u (Wexler wanc'u) is translated 'rabbit' instead of 'guinea pig', probably because the Andean Spanish for guinea pig is conejo (Peninsular Spanish 'rabbit').

The second Aymara grammar owing much to Ross, and the best of the missionary grammars to date, is Lecciones de Aymara (1971-72) by Joaquín Herrero, Daniel Cotari, and Jaime Mejía, said to be based on a dialect from roughly the same area as that of the Ross grammars. Herrero is a native of Spain; Cotari and Mejía are Bolivian Aymara speakers bilingual in Spanish.
Developed for use at the Maryknoll Language Institute in Cochabamba, this grammar is superior to its predecessors in grammatical analysis, but it has the same characteristics perceived by some native speakers as non-Aymara or substandard. An innovation useful for students of Spanish dialects is the provision of two translations of each Aymara dialogue, one in Andean Spanish and the other in Peninsular Spanish.

The alphabet used by Herrero et al. is that adopted by the Bolivian government in 1954. It differs from the CALA alphabet only in its use of k and q for the velar and postvelar stops, respectively, instead of the CALA c and gu for velar and k for postvelar. The phonology section includes numerous minimal triplets illustrating plain, aspirated, and glottalized stops. The importance of morphophonemic vowel dropping is clearly grasped and suffixes are designated as weak (retaining previous vowel) and strong (dropping previous vowel) when they are first introduced, helping the learner to produce correct forms from the beginning. The book is good on the Aymara four-person system (while not calling it that), avoiding Ross's error, repeated by Wexler, of designating the inclusive fourth person as dual. Full verbal inflectional paradigms with affirmative and negative examples are presented in the body of the text.
A much shorter, less complete grammar is Método de aymara (1973) by Marcelo Grondin, using the same alphabet as Herrero. Published in Oruro, the book mentions certain forms as different from those occurring in La Paz but fails to include the distinctive allomorph of the first person possessive suffix (with velar nasal) found in the province of Carangas, Oruro. The Aymara four-person system is clearly grasped, vowel-dropping is understood, and the role of sentence suffixes noted, but the Aymara is presented in short dialogues that sound nonnative. The translations of the dialogues are in Andean Spanish.

The question arises why grammars of Aymara continued for so long to reflect only missionary and patrón usages. The answer lies in the fact that for many years all linguists who undertook to study Aymara in depth were missionaries who, however well prepared in linguistic field methods, were more concerned with translating Scripture from Spanish or English into Aymara than in eliciting native texts on which to base a description of the language. Their informants, being members of the same religious community, were ready to accept the missionaries' authority in matters of style and content. Many missionary linguists, notably Nida (1957:58-60), are aware of the linguistic pitfalls inherent in their approach and try to avoid them; but it is unrealistic to expect missionary grammars to be completely free of the distorting influence of translation.
The few nonmissionary linguists who approached Aymara did so either through missionaries or through mestizos and whites. In such circumstances it is remarkable that Tschopik and LaBarre were able to elicit native Aymara folktales free of missionary or patrón influence. Sebeok was not so fortunate; the story on which he based his morphological analysis is in Patrón Aymara. When the Wexler team sought to study Aymara they proceeded through missionary contacts and thereby unwittingly acquired informants trained in that tradition.

So long as all linguistic research was conducted with sources speaking varieties of Missionary or Patrón Aymara, only data reflecting such dialects could be obtained. A new point of entry into the Aymara community was needed.

2-4.12 Aymara-centered studies

In 1965 M. J. Hardman arrived in Bolivia as a Fulbright lecturer in linguistics. Together with Julia Elena Fortún, Director of Anthropology in the Bolivian Ministry of Education, Hardman founded the Instituto Nacional de Estudios Linguísticos (INEL) in La Paz for the purpose of training Bolivians in linguistics for national development. Hardman had already investigated Aymara's sister languages, Jaqaru and Kawki, and had determined their relationship as members of the Jaqi
language family. Hardman's Jagaru: Outline of phonological and morphological structure (1966) is the first grammar of a Jaqi language described in its own terms rather than from the point of view of Spanish. A second edition in Spanish translation is now in press in Peru. (Pre-Hardman Peruvian sources for the study of Jaqaru and Kawki are the writings of J. M. B. Farfán and of José Matos Mar.)

One of Hardman's students at INEL in La Paz was Juan de Dios Yapita, a native speaker of Aymara from the community of Compi on the shores of Lake Titicaca. Yapita had been educated in La Paz but maintained close ties with monolingual friends and relatives in Compi. As the outcome of an assignment, Yapita wrote the first phonemic alphabet of Aymara ever produced by a native speaker of the language and later, together with Herminia Martín and others studying under Hardman's direction, did field work in the provinces of Ingavi, Pacajes, Andes, Omasuyos, and Manco Capac, department of La Paz. Hardman also did field work in the province of Larecaja. The first published result of this research was Martín's Bosquejo de estructura de la lengua aymara (1969), a brief sketch of the Aymara spoken in the town of Irpa Chico, province of Ingavi. It is important as the first published description of Aymara by a linguist for linguists, combining both adequate theory and competent field investigation.
On the basis of Aymara research undertaken by Hardman and associates in Bolivia, the Aymara Language Materials Project began at the University of Florida in 1969 with support from the U. S. Office of Education of the Department of Health, Education, and Welfare. The goal of the project was to produce teaching and reference grammars of Aymara reflecting linguistic and cultural realities of the language from the point of view of native speakers. The materials were prepared by a team consisting of Hardman, two Bolivian native speakers of Aymara trained in linguistics and anthropology (Yapita and Juana Vásquez, who is from Tiahuanaco), and three graduate students in anthropology and linguistics who assisted with the analysis and tested the teaching materials in Aymara classes. Their work was supplemented by extensive help from a number of other native speakers of Aymara as well as from other University of Florida graduate students and staff.

The primary fruit of the project is a three-volume work by Hardman, Vásquez, and Yapita entitled *Aymar ar yatiqañataki* ('to learn Aymara') which appeared first in 1973 and in a revised edition in 1975. Volume 1, which bears the title of the whole work, is a course in Aymara for English and Spanish speakers, consisting of graded dialogues based on rural Aymara life and drills based on the dialogues, with translations into both Spanish and
English and accompanying tape recordings with English translations. Volume 2, *Teacher's manual to accompany Aymar ar yatigañataki*, is keyed to the course and provides cultural as well as grammatical explanations. Volume 3, entitled *Aymara grammatical sketch* in the first edition (1973) and *Outline of Aymara phonological and grammatical structure* in the second (1975), is a detailed reference grammar which may stand alone. It incorporates University of Florida master's theses by Laura Martin-Barber on phonology and by Nora C. England on verbal derivational suffixes, and my term paper on the structure of the substantive system, as Chapters 3, 6, and 8, respectively. The project has also produced a computerized concordance glossary of words, roots, and suffixes.

Secondary results of the project include numerous student papers for graduate courses in anthropology and linguistics at the University of Florida, for example Norman Tate's ethnosemantic study of verbs of carrying (1970) and a paper by Andrew Miracle and Juana Vásquez on ethnosemantic categories of feces in Aymara (1972). Published articles related to the project include Hardman's on Aymara and Jaqi linguistic postulates (Hardman 1972a and in press a), Yapita's discussion of the role of linguistics in Bolivian national development (1973b), and Pedro Copana's recommendations concerning the education of rural Aymara children (1973).
An increasing number of materials written in the Aymara language have appeared as a result of the project. The *Aymara Newsletter* has been published irregularly at the University of Florida since 1970, originally under the alternating editorships of Yapita and Vásquez, who also collaborated on a correspondence course for Aymara speakers (Vásquez & Yapita 1969). Vásquez has written an Aymara primer (1970) and is preparing another. Yapita has edited several mimeographed Aymara literary journals, among them *Yatiñasawa* (1970) and *Literatura aymara* (1972-73). He has also produced materials for teaching his phonemic alphabet in Bolivia (1973a) and a Spanish-English-Aymara vocabulary (1974).

Former Yapita students who are members of the Bolivian Aymara community have produced materials of their own. Representative are articles by Vitaliano Wanka Torres, describing results of the Aymara literacy program he directs in Tiahuanaco (Wanka 1973a and 1973b); an Aymara primer for adults (1974) by Francisco Calle P., of which a first edition of 17,000 was printed (Chaski 2:1974); and a bilingual manual on medicinal plants and herbs (1974) by Gabino Kispi H. (Wanka and Kispi spell their surnames, traditionally Huanca and Quispe, in Yapita orthography.)

So far, lack of funds has precluded formal publication of more than a few of the Aymara-centered materials that have begun to appear in growing numbers.
2-4.13 Sociolinguistic studies

In Peru the government has in recent years sought the participation of missionary linguists associated with the Summer Institute of Linguistics and of secular linguists from academic institutions in the development of educational programs for speakers of indigenous languages (loosely referred to as bilingual education programs). While most publications on problems of multilingualism in Peru focus on Quechua and the jungle languages rather than on Aymara, several recent studies include references to Aymara. As noted in 1-1, the two most recent Peruvian national censuses (for 1961 and 1972) contain basic demographic data on the numbers and location of Aymara speakers in Peru. The proceedings of a round table on problems of Quechua and Aymara monolingualism held in 1963 have been published in *Mesa redonda sobre el monolingüismo quechua y aymara y la educación en el Perú* (1966). One of the participants in the round table was Alberto Escobar, a Peruvian linguist who later founded the government- and Ford Foundation-supported Plan de Fomento Lingüístico (linguistic development plan) at the National University of San Marcos in Lima and who has written several thoughtful essays on the language problems of Peru such as an article on literacy programs (Escobar 1972a). Escobar edited a collection of articles entitled *El reto del multilingüismo en el Perú* which appeared in
1972, the year the Peruvian government inaugurated a new policy of bilingual education. The book includes articles by Hardman on Aymara linguistic postulates (Hardman 1972a), by Alfredo Torero on historical background (Torero 1972b), and by Escobar on linguistics and politics (Escobar 1972b).

Domingo Llanque Chana, a Peruvian Aymara who is a Maryknoll priest and at present (1976) vicar general of the Prelature of Juli, has presented in Spanish translation an interview he conducted in Aymara with a 56-year-old Aymara man from a rural community near Lake Titicaca (D. Llanque Chana 1973). The topic is social interaction among the Aymara, including the way they treat outsiders as well as each other. To my knowledge this is the first time the topic has been discussed in print by an Aymara. The author observes that the basic element of Aymara interaction is mutual respect expressed primarily through courteous speech as exemplified in greetings.

A graduate of a normal school in Puno, Justino Llanque Chana, has given an overview of the educational situation of Peruvian Aymara based on the results of his 1973 survey of 85 high school students in the town of Chucuito near Puno (J. Llanque Chana 1974). The survey revealed negative attitudes toward Aymara language and culture which the author interpreted as confirming the alienating effects of an educational system stressing acquisition of Spanish skills while banning (in theory if not in strict practice) the use of vernacular languages.
Meanwhile in Bolivia, where the government has yet to give formal support to bilingual education, only one organization has so far as I know published materials relevant to sociolinguistics: the Centro Pedagógico y Cultural de Portales in Cochabamba, which is supported by the Patiño Foundation. In connection with a series of educational conferences and seminars for Aymara and Quechua speakers, Portales (as it is usually called) began in 1973 to publish in mimeographed form such materials as articles by Javier Albó on the future of Aymara and Quechua (which he considers to be 'oppressed languages'; Albó 1973a) and on Aymara and Quechua educational radio programs in Bolivia (Albó 1973b). Also in 1973 Portales published the Yapita phonemic alphabet and in 1974, my article on the Aymara four-person system (Briggs 1974a) and a summary of Hardman's article on Aymara linguistic postulates (Hardman 1972a).

Portales has also assisted sociolinguistic surveys. In 1973 and 1974, Yapita and Pedro Plaza, the director of INEL, conducted with Portales and Ford Foundation support sociolinguistic surveys of groups of Aymara and Quechua speakers in Bolivia using methods developed by Wolfgang Wölck for Quechua in Peru (Wölck 1972 and 1973).

A valid contribution to knowledge of the Aymara-speaking population of northern Potosí department is an
article by the British anthropologist Olivia Harris (1974) on the Laymis and Machas (1-1.1).

2-4.2 Historical studies

Torero set forth well-grounded theories as to the history of Aymara and its sister languages (1-2.1) in an article entitled Lingüística e historia de los Andes del Perú y de Bolivia (1972b). The relationship of Aymara and Quechua, the other major language family of the Andean area, is still a matter of debate. Mason (1950:196) proposed 'Kechumaran' as a term 'to designate the yet unproved but highly probable subphylum consisting of Quechua and Aymara.' Also supporting a fairly close relationship between Quechua and Aymara are Carolyn Orr and Robert E. Longacre (1968) and Yolanda Lastra de Suárez (1970). Hardman ascribes similarities in lexicon and phonology, where they exist, to geographic proximity and overlap rather than to a genetic relationship (Hardman, personal communication). Louisa Stark (1970) has provided convincing data in support of Hardman's position.

2-5 Summary and Projection

The foregoing survey of representative literature on and in Aymara shows how scholarly and
not-so-scholarly treatment of the language has changed in accordance with the focus of each period and the development of more adequate method and theory. While the production of written texts in Aymara is still meager, it is increasing. Like the spoken language on which they are based, these texts show dialectal variation, and they will provide material for further dialect studies as well as investigations of literary style.
CHAPTER 3
VARIATION IN PHONOLOGY AND IN
PHONOLOGICAL SHAPE OF MORPHEMES

3-1 Introduction

The basic phonology of Aymara has been described by L. Martin-Barber (Hardman et al. 1975:3, Chapter 3). To the phonemic inventory therein described must now be added the velar nasal, although it is of limited occurrence. Variations in phonological shape of morphemes both within and across dialects are paralleled by morphophonemic rules operating within dialects, to be discussed in Chapter 4, to which this chapter is an introduction.

3-2 Phonemes
3-2.1 Phonemic inventory

Figure 3-1 shows Aymara phonemes in Yapita phonemic orthography.

There are three vowels (front, central, and back) and a phoneme of vowel length. The 27 consonants are divided into voiceless and voiced. Voiceless consonants are 12 stops, three affricates, and three fricatives.
### Figure 3-1. Aymara Phonemes (Yapita Phonemic Alphabet)

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<th>Vowel length:</th>
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<td>Aspirated</td>
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<td>ch</td>
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<tr>
<td>Aspirated</td>
<td>ch&quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Glottalized</td>
<td>ch'</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Fricatives:</th>
<th>s</th>
<th>j</th>
<th>x</th>
</tr>
</thead>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Voiced:</th>
<th>l</th>
<th>l</th>
<th>n</th>
<th>ň</th>
<th>(nh)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Laterals</td>
<td>---</td>
<td>---</td>
<td>---</td>
<td>---</td>
<td>------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nasals</td>
<td>m</td>
<td>n</td>
<td>ň</td>
<td>(nh)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Glides</td>
<td>w</td>
<td>y</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Flap</td>
<td>r</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Voiced consonants are two laterals, four nasals, two glides, and a flap. The stops occur in four positions of articulation and three manners: plain, aspirated, and glottalized. The three affricates are all palatal and pattern with the stops. The three fricatives are alveolar, velar, and postvelar. The laterals are alveolar and palatal; the glides are bilabial and palatal; the flap, which may be realized as a trill, is alveolar.

Included in the total of four nasals is the velar nasal /nh/ ([ŋ]), a phoneme in the related language Jaqaru. The velar nasal has phonemic status in only two Aymara dialects encountered to date, in the provinces of Carangas (Oruro, Bolivia) and Tarata (Tacna, Peru), specifically in the communities of Jopoqueri and Corque (Carangas) and of Tarata and Sitajara (Tarata). Although the phoneme occurs in few morphemes, these have a high functional load. In both Carangas and Tarata the phoneme occurs in homophonous allomorphs of two suffixes: /-nha/ first person possessive and /-nha/ verbal inflection of first to third person, Future tense. In Tarata the phoneme occurs in two more suffixes of the Future tense (see Figure 6-3) and in at least two noun roots: anhanu 'cheek' and panhara 'grinder.'

The two areas where the velar nasal phoneme occurs are separated by the province of Pacajes, department of La Paz, whose dialects were not investigated directly for
this study. The phoneme was not found in the Pacajes dialects investigated in the research for Hardman et al. (1975). Late in the research for the present study, evidence was obtained for the existence of a relic of the /nh/ phoneme in La Paz/Compi dialect, in one word: the noun ch'inhi 'nit' (Spanish liendre). This contrasts with intervocalic /n/ and /ñ/ (e.g., ch'ina 'human posterior' and ñuñu 'breast, teat'). Another apparent relic of /nh/ is a velarized allophone of /ñ/ occurring in Morocomarca (4-3.21.2). It may possibly also occur in other Aymara dialects not yet investigated. 3

3-2.2 Allophones

The allophones described by L. Martin-Barber (Hardman et al. 1975:3) exist for the dialects of Aymara investigated for this study. The following additional comments may be made.

3-2.21 Vowels

In Spanish-influenced dialects the mid vowel /a/ may approximate Spanish /a/ but in monolingual Aymara (and some nonmonolingual dialects, for example in northern Potosí, a trilingual Quechua-Aymara-Spanish area) /a/ is more closed, being realized frequently as [ʌ] or [ə]. /i/ and /u/, as noted by L. Martin-Barber, are lowered in the environment of postvelar consonants /q/ and /x/
and raised in the environment of /ñ/ and /y/ and word-initially. Elsewhere intermediate or high allophones occur. Additional study will be needed to determine the conditioning.

3-2.22 Consonants

Most allophonic variation of consonants in Aymara is morphophonemically conditioned, and is therefore discussed in Chapter 4.

Friction attending the velar and postvelar fricatives /j/ and /x/ and the flap /r/ is variable but whether the variation is dialectal, stylistic, or idiosyncratic is yet to be determined. Impressionistically it was noted that some Juli speakers pronounced initial /j/ with heavy friction whereas in other dialects initial /j/ is more often a glottal [h]. Dialects having /j/ (Salinas, Jopoqueri) where La Paz and other dialects have /k/, for example in the incomplete verbal derivational suffix -ja- ~ -ka-, articulate a somewhat prevelar, palatalized /j/ and a clearly postvelar /x/. The difference is quite noticeable even to a nonnative in such pairs as

Chur.j.t.wa. 'I'm giving it to him/her/them.'

Chur.x.t.wa. 'I gave it to him/her/them.' (Jopoqueri)

(The second example has the verbal derivational suffix
-xa- completive.) The amount of friction attending both /j/ and /x/ in those dialects seems impressionistically about the same; it is the relative fronting and backing which is distinctive, as in the case of Aymara vowels. The front and back vowels lower in the environment of postvelar consonants by assimilation, thereby assisting the nonnative speaker of Aymara in distinguishing the velar and postvelar consonants. Examples:

- **ik.i** [ik\(^j\)] 'he/she/it/they sleep(s)' (all dialects)

- **iqigu** [eqeq\(\varphi\)] 'mischievous spirit' (all dialects)

- **sar.j.i** [s\(\varphi\)j\(^i\) ~ s\(\varphi\)x\(^i\)] 'it rusted' (La Paz)

- **sar.x.i** [s\(\varphi\)x\(\varepsilon\)] 'he/she/it/they left' (La Paz, elsewhere)

- **puku puku** [p\(\varphi\)k\(\varphi\) ~ p\(\varphi\)k\(\varphi\)] 'small owl' (Juli)

- **puq.u** [p\(\varphi\)q\(\varphi\)] 'it produces, ripens' (Jopoqueri, Salinas, Calacala)

- **p"isi.ja** [p"i\(^i\)-s\(\varphi\)-ja ~ p"i\(^i\)-s\(\varphi\)-x\(\varphi\)] 'my cat' (San Andrés de Machaca)

- **p"isi.xa** [p"i\(^i\)-s\(\varepsilon\)-x\(\varphi\)] 'the/a cat' (San Andrés de Machaca)
In the related language Jaqaru the velar and post-velar fricatives are allophones of the same phoneme (Hardman 1966). Their distinct phonemic status in Aymara is attested by the minimal pairs cited above. In certain dialects, however, there are cases of one morpheme having variants with both the velar and postvelar fricative, which may indicate that the distinction between the two is neutralized in those morphemes or that the phonemic split into /j/ and /x/ is still underway in Aymara, having yet to occur in certain morphemes.

3-2.3 Canonical forms

These do not vary dialectically. As noted by L. Martin-Barber (Hardman et al. 1975:3.69-70) most roots have the canonical form CVCV(CV); another productive form is CVCCV with a reduplicative subclass of the form C_1V_1C_2C_1V_1. Noun suffixes are of the form CV(CV), VCV, or C_1C_2V (C_1 nasal, C_2 stop) except for the verbalizer \(-pta\) which is unique among the noun suffixes in that it consists of two stops followed by a vowel. Verbal derivational suffixes have the shape C_1V((C_2)V) except for a few C_1C_2V in which C_1 is a nasal and one C_1C_2V(C_3)V, \(-rpaya \sim -rpa\) \((VV = V:)\). Verbal inflectional suffixes, except for the Simple and to an extent the Future tense, which have suffixes of the form (C)V and C_1VC(V), are more complex, containing recurrent submorphemic partials
Nonfinal independent suffixes (7-2.21) and final sentence suffixes (7-2.22) are of the form CV(CV). Verb subordinating suffixes (7-4.2) take the form (V)CV(CV) in which the first V, if any, is /i/.

3-2.4 Restrictions on phoneme occurrence
3-2.41 Individual phonemes

The postvelar fricative /x/ occurs in root-initial position in only a few dialects and very rarely. The examples are

- **xaxchi.ña** noun/verb 'bobbin, already threaded; to wind thread on a bobbin' (La Paz/Tiahuanaco)
- **xarsa.ni.ña** 'to have asthma, be out of breath' (Vitocota)
- **Jupa.x xarsa.ni.w.** 'He's out of breath.' (Vitocota)

A phoneme that does not occur initially in native Aymara roots is /r/. (A voiced fricative allophone of Spanish or Quechua /r/ may occur initially in loanwords.) The velar nasal may occur initially in suffixes but not initially in roots, even in the dialect where it is attested in roots. Evidence for the nonexistence of roots with /nh/ in Carangas, where suffixes with the phoneme do occur, is the pronunciation given by a speaker from Jopoqueri to the following Jaqaru
noun roots containing the velar nasal phoneme.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Jaqaru</th>
<th>Aymara (Jopoqueri)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>*inhatsa</td>
<td>[ŋgatsa]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>*kanhara</td>
<td>[kaŋgara]</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Jaqaru-Aymara cognates in which the Jaqaru has /nh/ while the Aymara (also of Jopoqueri) has /nq", /n/, /y/, or /yn/. (Jaqaru words, like those above, are from Hardman, personal communication.)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Jaqaru</th>
<th>Aymara</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>manha</td>
<td>'down'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>anhnatza</td>
<td>'down'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>anhshishpta</td>
<td>'to quarrel'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>yamaha</td>
<td>'comrade, to help'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>manq&quot;a</td>
<td>'down, inside'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>aynacha</td>
<td>'down'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>aynishi.na</td>
<td>'to quarrel'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>yanap.ta.na</td>
<td>'to help'</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

3-2.42 Phoneme sequences

Germinate (reduplicated) vowels may occur as vowel length, but sequences of different vowels
(diphthongs) do not occur. Vowel-glide and glide-vowel sequences do occur; the former are phonetically (but not phonemically) diphthongs. As noted above, two-consonant clusters occur medially in roots and initially in some suffixes. The first consonant is usually not a stop, while the second usually is.

Clusters of two or more consonants may occur word-medially in all dialects as the result of suffixation accompanied by obligatory morphophonemic vowel-deletion. Such clusters may also occur word-initially or finally in certain dialects under certain conditions (see 4-3.12.1, 4-3.32, and 6-4).

3-3 Nonphonemic Phenomena

Nonphonemic phenomena include stress, intonation, and the adaptation of Spanish loans to Aymara. Subphonemic voicing of prevocalic stops is discussed in 4-3.21.3.

3-3.1 Stress

In all dialects stress occurs nonphonemically on the penultimate vowel of a word having more than one vowel. (A word in Aymara may be defined as a free form having at least one vowel, that is, a root, stem, or theme.) Stress may appear to fall on a final vowel if the
final vowel is long.

\texttt{sara.: \ [sar\acute{\text{\textae}}] 'I will go.' \ /-:/ 1+3 F}

Stress may also appear to fall on the final syllable if after stress placement has occurred, the final vowel of the word is devoiced or dropped.

\texttt{sar.\text{\textacute{\textae}}.wa \ ---\rightarrow \sar.\text{\textacute{\textae}}.w(a) 'he/she/it/they went'}

Vowel restoration affects stress placement in the case of certain verbal inflectional suffixes (see 4-3.33).

3-3.2 Intonation

No attempt was made in this study to assess variation in intonation patterns. Certain morphemes and syntactic units in all dialects carry intonation patterns that appear to adhere to them in all or almost all environments. Impressionistically the range of intonation levels appears flatter in La Paz than in dialects distant from the capital. Otherwise, differences in intonation seem to be primarily stylistic, but further study of the patterning is needed before definite statements of conditioning may be made.

3-3.3 Spanish loans

Spanish loans have entered and continue to enter Aymara, especially in urban areas. L. Martin-Barber has
described adaptation of Spanish loans to Aymara phonology (Hardman et al. 1975:3.81-88). Depending on the extent of the speaker's knowledge of Spanish phonology, such loans may be more or less 'Aymarized'. As will be noted in examples in other chapters, certain speakers incorporate Spanish loans that preserve some Spanish phonemes (for example /b/ or /g/) while other speakers adapt such loans to Aymara phonology. The whole process of entry of Spanish loans into Aymara merits a study of its own taking into account sociocultural factors. (See Chapter 9 for a discussion of heavily Spanish-influenced Aymara dialects. Aymara influence on Bolivian altiplano Spanish is now being investigated by H. Martín and Laprade.)

3-4 Phonological Correspondences Within and Across Dialects

One morpheme (the base form) may have a slightly different phonemic shape in one dialect (or idiolect) than in another. Usually differences of one or two phonemes are involved. Some phonological correspondences within or across dialects parallel morphophonemic variation within certain dialects: the rules that change one phoneme to another or delete or retain phonemes in certain morphemes in certain environments. These morphophonemic rules are discussed in Chapter 4.
The dialectal phonological correspondences to be discussed here will be treated by type of phoneme (vowels, consonants) and by morphological class of the morphemes in which they occur. The tilde (~) will be used between phonemes that correspond intra- or cross-dialectally, and between forms which are in free variation within a dialect.

3-4.1 Vowel correspondences
3-2.11 /a/ ~ /i/

Nouns:

'old man' /achachi/ (La Paz/Tiahuanaco)
    /achichi/ (Sitajara)

'toasted corn' /jamp'i/ (Calacoa)
    /jampi/ (Morocomarca)
    /jimp'i/ (Jopoqueri, Salinas, Sitajara)

'beautiful' /k"usa/ (Socca)
    /k"usj/ (Calacoa)
    /kusa/ (La Paz/Compi)

'down, inside' /manq"a/ (La Paz, Juli, Jopoqueri)
    /manq"i/ (Huancane, Sitajara)
    /manq"a ~ manq"i/ (Calacoa)
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Verb</th>
<th>Pronunciation</th>
<th>Location</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>'last year'</td>
<td>/may.mara/</td>
<td>(Jopoqueri, Salinas, Morocomarca)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>/miy.mara/</td>
<td>(Sitajara)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>/may.mara ~ miy.mara/</td>
<td>(La Paz)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'hair cutting'</td>
<td>/rutucha/</td>
<td>(La Paz)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>/rutuchi/</td>
<td>(Socca)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'wild duck'</td>
<td>/qanqata/</td>
<td>(San Andrés de Machaca)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>/qanqati/</td>
<td>(Socca)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'other'</td>
<td>/yaq&quot;apa/</td>
<td>(Vitocota)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>/yaq&quot;ipa/</td>
<td>(La Paz/Tiahuanaco)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Verbs:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Verb</th>
<th>Pronunciation</th>
<th>Location</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>'to lose'</td>
<td>/ch&quot;iqa.ña/</td>
<td>(Salinas)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>/ch&quot;aqa.ña/</td>
<td>(elsewhere)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'to meet'</td>
<td>/jaki.si.ña/</td>
<td>(Juli, Socca)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>/jiki.si.ña/</td>
<td>(La Paz, Jopoqueri, Morocomarca, Salinas, Sitajara, Calacoa)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'to toast in oven'</td>
<td>/jamp'i.ña/</td>
<td>(La Paz, Calacoa)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>/jimp'i.ña/</td>
<td>(Jopoqueri)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'what to do'</td>
<td>/kami.cha.ña/</td>
<td>(Salinas)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>/kama.cha.ña/</td>
<td>(elsewhere)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Suffixes:

Verbal derivationals:

'on top of, up to' /-xita-/ (Salinas)
/-xata-/ (elsewhere)

distancer /-wa-/ (Juli, Huancané, Socca, Calacoa, Calacala)
/-wi-/ (Jopoqueri)
/-waya- ~ -wa:-/ (La Paz)
/-wiya-/ (Salinas)
/-waya- ~ -wa:- ~ -wa-/ (Sitajara)
/-wiya- ~ -wi-/ (Morocomarca)
/-waya- ~ -wiya-/ (Corque)

Verb subordinator:

/-sana/ (Jopoqueri, Morocomarca, Calacala)
/-sin/ (elsewhere)

3-4.12 /a/ ~ /u/

Nouns:

'night, morning' /arama/ (Jopoqueri)
'evening' /arama/ (Salinas)
'night' /aruma/ (La Paz, Juli, Huancané, Calacoa)
'night, morning, midnight to dawn' \( /ar\text{uma}/ \) (Morocomarca)

'morning' \( /ar\text{uma}/ \) (Sitajara)

'chicha maker' \( /ch\text{apira}/ \) (Sitajara)
\( /ch\text{upira}/ \) (Socca)

'blindness' \( /ch\text{arpu}/ \) (Socca, Jopoqueri)
\( /ch\text{urpu}/ \) (Sitajara)

'cloud' \( /q\text{inaya}/ \) (La Paz/Compi)
\( /q\text{inayu}/ \) (Huancané)

Verbs:

'to remember' \( /amt\text{asi.na}/ \) (La Paz)
\( /amt\text{tu.si.na}/ \) (Juli)

'to cover a pot' \( /q\text{ap.t'a.na}/ \) (Jopoqueri, Morocomarca)
\( /q\text{up.t'a.na}/ \) (La Paz/Compi)

Suffixes:

Verbal derivationals:

'away, off' \( /-mucha-/ \) (Salinas)
\( /-muchu-/ \) (La Paz/Tiahuanaco)
'placer' /-nuqa-/ (all dialects)
/-nuqa- ~ -nuqu-/ (Jopoqueri)

Verbal inflectionals:

3➔4 Desiderative /-istaspa ~ -istuspa/ (La Paz)

3➔4 Remonstrator /-istasapa:na ~ -istusapa:na/ (La Paz)

3➔1 RDK /-ituna/ (La Paz)
+//-itana/ (Ebbing 1965:146)

3➔4 RDK /-istana ~ -istuna/ (La Paz)
/-stana ~ -stuna/ (La Paz)

Verb subordinator:

/-ipuna/ [iʰuna] (Calacala)
/-ipana/ (elsewhere)

3-4.13 /i/ ~ /u/⁵

Nouns:

'today' /juch"u:ru/ (Achocalla)
/jich"u:ru/ (elsewhere)
'around' /tuqu/ (Morocomarca, Calacala)
/tuqi/ (elsewhere)

Verbs:
Stems based on the verb iña.ña ~ uña.ña 'to see'.
'to wait for' /iña.s.t'a.ña/ (Morocomarca, Calacala)
/uña.s.t'a.ña/ (Calacoa)
'to look at' /iña.si.ña/ (Morocomarca)
/iña.si.ña ~ uña.si.ña/ (Jopoqueri)
/uña.si.ña/ (elsewhere)
'to know' /iñ.t'a.ña/ (Morocomarca, Calacala)
/uñ.t'a.ña/ (Salinas, La Paz)

Other stems:
'to water' /k'ayi.ña/ (Calacoa)
/k'ayu.ña/ (Sitajara)
'to hate' /iñi.si.ña/ (Salinas, Jopoqueri)
/uñi.si.ña/ (La Paz, Sitajara, Calacoa)
Suffixes:

Verbal inflectionals:

3+1 RIK /-itu/-itu:tu/ (La Paz)
/-itu/ (Morocomarca)
/-itu:tu/ (Salinas)
/-itu ~ -ti:tu/ (Sitajara)
/-ti:tu/ (Jopoqueri)

3+4 RIK /-istitu ~ -sttu ~ -istu:tu/

(La Paz)
/-istu:tu/ (Salinas)
/-istitu/ (Morocomarca)
/-ti:stu/ (Jopoqueri)

Final suffix:

reiterator /-pi/
(La Paz, Juli, Huancané, Socca)
/-pi ~ -pi:/ (Sitajara)
/-pi ~ -pu/ (Jopoqueri, Salinas)
/-pu ~ -pu:/ (Corque)

3-4.14 /a/ ~ /i/ ~ /u/

Examples are two verbs and one independent suffix.
'to cook' /p"aya.ña/ (La Paz, Salinas, Calacola)
/p"aya.ña ~ p"iya.ña/ (Jopoqueri)
/p"uya.ña/ (Morocomarca, Calacala, Huancané)

'to wash clothes' /t'axsa.ña/ (Jopoqueri, Morocomarca, Juli, Sitajara, Calacola)
/t'axsi.ña/ (Salinas)
/t'axsa.ña ~ t'axsi.ña ~ t'axsu.ña/ (La Paz)

Independent suffix:

'really' /-pəni/ (Jopoqueri)
/-pəni/ (Juli, Sitajara, Salinas, Morocomarca, Calacala)
/-pən/ (Huancané, Socca, Calacola)
/-pəni ~ -pən/ (La Paz)

3-4.15 /a/ ~ /u/ and /a/ ~ /i/

This occurred in one verbal derivational suffix:

'sustained action' /-ch'ak"a/- (Sitajara)
/-ch'uki/- (elsewhere)

3-4.16 Vowel ~ Ø

Nouns:
'a while ago' /nink"ara/ (La Paz, Salinas)
/nink"ra/ (Morocomarca)
4p pronoun  /jiwsa/  (Calacoa, Sitajara; also Bertonio 1603b)

/jiwasa/  (elsewhere)

Suffixes:
Verbal inflectional: See the examples for Remonstrator and RDK tenses, 3-4.12. Another example:

3+4 Future  /-istani ~ -stani/  (La Paz)
/-stani/  (Calacoa, Sitajara)
/-sitani/  (Socca)
/-istani/  (elsewhere)

Verb subordinators:

/-ipana ~ -ipna/  (La Paz)
/-sina ~ -sna/  (La Paz, Juli, Socca)
/-sana/  (Jopoqueri, Morocomarca, elsewhere)

3-4.2 Consonant correspondences
3-4.21 Correspondences of plain, aspirated and glottalized stops and affricates

These will be discussed in the following order: bilabials, alveolars, palatais, velars, and postvelars.

3-4.21.1 Bilabials
3-4.21.11 /p/ ~ /p"/

Nouns:

'quinoa'  /jupa/  (Morocomarca)
'quinoa' /jup"a/ (elsewhere)

3p pronoun /jup"a/ (Morocomarca)
/jupa/ (elsewhere)

day after tomorrow' /jurpi/ (Jopoquerei)
/jurp"i/ (Calacoa)
/jurpu:ru/ (La Paz)
/jurp"u:ru/ (Juli)

'five' /pisqa/ (Salinas; also Bertonio 1603b)
/p"isqa/ (La Paz, Juli, Calacoa, Sitajara, Jopoquerei)

'nest' /tapa/ (La Paz/Compi)
/t"apa/ (Salinas, Morocomarca, Juli)
/t"ap"a/ (Jopoquerei, Calacoa)

Suffixes:

Verbal inflectionals: Socca has /p"/ where others have /p/ (or a different form) in 3→3, 3→1, and 3→4 Imperative inflections. Morocomarca has /p"/ where others have /p/ (or a different form) in 3→1 and 3→4 Desiderative and Remonstrative tenses (see Figures 6-5 and 6-6).
3-4.21.12 /p/ ~ /p'/

Noun:

'toasted corn' /jamp'i/ (Morocomarca)
/jamp'i/ (Calacoa)
/jimp'i/ (Jopoqueri, Salinas, Sitajara)

3-4.21.13 /p/ ~ /p"/ ~ /p'/

Noun:

'evening' /jaypu/ (Huancané, Sitajara)
/jayp"u/ (Morocomarca)
/jayp'u/ (La Paz, Jopoqueri)

3-4.21.2 Alveolars /t/ ~ /t"/

(No examples occurred of correspondences between /t/ or /t"/ and /t'/.)

Nouns:

'this morning' /jich"armanti/ (Juli)
/jich"armant"i/ (La Paz)

'flea' /k'uti/ (La Paz/Compi)
/k'uti/ (La Paz/ Tiahuanaco)
Suffixes:

Noun suffix:

'of, from' /-ta/ (La Paz)
/-ta ~ -t"a/ (Juli, Huancané, Calacoa, Jopoqueri)
/-t"a/ (Sitajara, Salinas, Morocomarca)

Verbal inflectionals:

1→3 Simple /-c~a/ (La Paz, Huancané, Calacoa)
/-c~a/ (Calacoa)
/-c~a/ (elsewhere)

1→3 Desiderative and Remonstrator ending in /-ta/ (La Paz, Juli, Huancané)
ending in /-t"a/ (elsewhere)

1→3 RDK /-ta/ (La Paz)
/-t"a/ (elsewhere)

1→3 RDK /-ya:ta/ (La Paz)
/-ya:t"a/ (Jopoqueri, Salinas, Morocomarca)

1→3 RIK ending in /-ta/ (La Paz, Huancané, Socca)
ending in /-t"a/ (Juli, Sitajara, Jopoqueri, Salinas, Morocomarca)
3-4.21.3 Palatal affricates

3-4.21.31 /ch/ ~ /ch"/

Nouns:

'pig' /k"uchi ~ k"uch"i/ (La Paz)

'daughter' /p"ucha/ (La Paz)

/p"ucha ~ p"uch"a/ (Huancane)

Noun suffix:

'the one which' /-chapi/ (Huancané; also Bertonio 1603b)

/-ch"api/ (Sitajara, Jopoqueri)

3-4.21.32 /ch/ ~ /ch"/ ~ /ch'/

Noun:

'chick' /chiwi/ (Socca)

/chiwli ~ ch"iwli ~ ch"iwchi

(La Paz, Tiahuanaco)

/ch"iwch"i/ (San Andrés de Machaca)

Noun suffix:

/-chi/ (La Paz, Calacoa, Juli, Sitajara)

/-ch"i/ (Jopoqueri)
3-4.21.4 Velars
3-4.21.41 /k/ ~ /k"/

Nouns:

'fly' /ch"ich"illanka ~ ch"ich"illanka/ (La Paz)

'beard' /sunka/ (Calacoa)
/sunka ~ sunk"a/ (Sitajara)
/sunk"a/ (La Paz/Compi)

Verbs:

'to count' /jaku.ña/ (Calacoa)
/jak"u.ña/ (La Paz, Sitajara, Socca)

'to carry on donkey' /kumu.si.ña/ (Juli)
/k"umu.nta.ña/ (Salinas) [nda]
/k"umu.nta.ña/ (Salinas) [nda]
/k"umu.ña/ (Calacoa, La Paz)

Particle:

'fast' /ma:ki/ (La Paz)
/mak"i/ (Calacoa)
Suffixes:

Verb derivationals:

'across' /-kata- ~ -k"ata-/ (La Paz)
/-k"ata-/ (Jopoqueri)

'sustained action' /-ch'ak"a-/ (Sitajara)
/-ch'uki/ (elsewhere)

Verbal inflectionals:

1+3, 1+2, and 3+2

Remonstrator /k"/ (Morocomarca)
/k/ (La Paz, Socca, Huancané, Calacoa)

(See Figure 6-6.)

3-4.21.42 /k/ ~ /k'/

The only example occurred in a nonminimal pair; see the fourth example given under 3-4.21.6.

3-4.21.5 Postvelars

3-4.21.51 /q/ ~ /q"/

Noun:

'spindle' /gapu/ (La Paz, Juli, Jopoqueri, Morocomarca)
/g"apu/ (Calacoa)
/gapu ~ g"apu/ (Salinas)
Verb:

'to dance' /t"ug"u.ña/ (Jopoqueri, Morocomarca, Sitajara, Calacoa, San Andrés de Machaca)

/"ug"u.ña ~ /"ugu.ña/ (La Paz/Tiahuanaco, Salinas)

3-4.21.52 /q"/ ~ /q'/

Noun:

'worm' /laq"u/ (Calacoa)

/laq'u/ (Sitajara, Salinas Jopoqueri)

3-4.21.53 /q/ ~ /q"/ ~ /q'/

Noun:

'sweet' /musga/ (Huancané)

/musq'a/ (Jopoqueri)

/musq'a ~ musq'a/ (Salinas, San Andrés de Machaca)

3-4.21.6 Combinations of plain, aspirated, and glottalized stops and affricates

Nouns:

'brooch' /p"ich'i/ (San Andrés de Machaca, Jopoqueri)

/p'ichi/ (Calacoa)

/p"ich'i ~ p'ich'i/ (Salinas)
3-4.22 Correspondences of stops or affricates with fricatives or glide /y/

The velar and postvelar stops and the palatal affricates enter into correspondences with the fricatives. There are also correspondences of velar stops and fricatives plus /i/ (/ki/ or /ji/) with the front glide /y/. Correspondences of /k/ and /j/ and of /ch/ and /s/ are paralleled by certain morphophonemic rules that change the stop or affricate to the fricative under certain conditions in certain dialects (see 4-3.22.23 and 4-3.22.25).

3-4.22.1 Stops and fricatives
3-4.22.11 /k/ ~ /k"/ ~ /j/

Correspondences of velar stop and fricative occur in a number of morphemes including some that have a high
functional load like the verbal derivational suffix 
\[-ka- \sim -k"a- \sim -ja-\].

Nouns:

'big' \(/\text{kach}'a/\) (Juli)
\(/\text{jach}'a/\) (elsewhere)

'same, identical' \(/\text{ki}k\text{pa}/\) (La Paz)
\(/\text{ki}j\text{pa}/\) (Jopoqueri)

Verbs:

'to die' \(/\text{ki}w\text{a}.'\text{na}/\) (Juli)
\(/\text{ji}w\text{a}.'\text{na}/\) (elsewhere)

Particle:

'fast' \(/\text{mak}i/\) (Calacala)
\(/\text{ma}:ki/\) (La Paz)
\(/\text{mak}"i/\) (Calacoa)
\(/\text{ma}:ji/\) (Salinas, Jopoqueri, Morocomarca)

Suffix:

Verbal derivational:

incompletive, 'ahead' \(-ka-\) (La Paz, Juli, Morocomarca)
\(-ja-\) (Jopoqueri, Morocomarca)
\(-ka- \sim -k"a-/\) (Salinas)\(^6\)
3-4.22.12 /k/ ~ /k"/ ~ /j/ ~ /s/

These correspond in the /iri/ forms of the Desiderative and Remonstrator tense inflectional suffixes (Figures 6-5 and 6-6) as summarized below. Clusters of stop-fricative, fricative-stop, or fricative-fricative alternate with single phonemes.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Desiderative</th>
<th>Remonstrator</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>/s/</td>
<td>/sk/</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/k/ ~ /ks/</td>
<td>/k/</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/k/ ~ /j/</td>
<td>/k/</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/s/ ~ /ks/</td>
<td>/k/ ~ /ks/</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/k/ ~ /ks/</td>
<td>/k/</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/j/ ~ /js/</td>
<td>/j/ ~ /js/</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/j/</td>
<td>/j/</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/j/ ~ /s/</td>
<td>/j/ ~ /s/</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/k&quot;/ ~ /s/</td>
<td>/k/ ~ /k&quot;/</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

3-4.22.13 /q/ ~ /x/

Noun:

'dog'  /anugara/  (Jopoqueri, Salinas, Huancané, Vitocota)  /anuxara/  (Sitajara)
Verbal derivational suffix:

'completive' /-ga-/ (Calacala)
/-xa-/ (elsewhere)

3-4.22.2 Velar stop and/or velar fricative plus /i/, and /y/ (or vowel length or zero)
3-4.22.21 /ki/ ~ /y/

Noun suffix:

'for' /-tay/ (Sitajara)
/-taki/ (elsewhere)

3-4.22.22 /ki/ ~ /ji/ ~ /y/

Independent nonfinal suffix:

'just, only' /-ki/ (La Paz, Juli, Jopoqueri)
/-ki ~ -ji/ (Morocomarca, Salinas)
/-ki ~ -y/ (Sitajara)

3-4.22.23 /ki/ ~ /k"i/ ~ /ji/ ~ /y/ ~ /:/ ~ /Ø/

Independent nonfinal suffix:

'aggregate, cautionary' /-raki/ (Juli, Socca, Calacoa, Huancañe, La Paz, Jopoqueri)
/-raki ~ -raji/ (Calacala, Morocomarca)
/-raki ~ -raji ~ -rk ~ -ray/ (Sitajara)
/-raki ~ -rak"i ~ -raji ~ -ra: ~ -ra/ (Salinas)
3-4.22.3 Affricates and fricatives

3-4.22.31 /ch/ ~ /s/

Nouns:

'beard' /chunk"a/ (Salinas)
/sunk"a/ (Sitajara)

'wing' /chiq"a/ (La Paz/Compi)
/siq"a/ (Jopoqueri)

'small' /isk'a/ (Juli, Calacoa)
/ichk'a/ [ičk'a ~ ičk'a] (Sitajara)

'happy' /kusi/ (La Paz, Jopoqueri, Salinas)
/k'uchi/ (Juli, Sitajara)

'five' /pichq"a/ (Calacala)
/piso"a/ (Huancané)

3-4.22.32 /ch"/ ~ /s/ ~ /j/

Verb:

'to lead animal' /ch"ik"a.ña/ (Jopoqueri)
(e. g. cow)' /jik"a.ña/ (La Paz/Compi)
/sik"a.wa.ña/ (Calacoa)

'to lead one small animal' /jik"a.ña/ (Jopoqueri)
The verb 'to ask' displays correspondences of affricates and fricatives in initial position and of the velar stop and fricatives in medial position. In most of the following examples the verbal derivational suffixes -t'a- momentaneous and -si- reflexive/reciprocal occur in the stems.

\[ /chik.t'a.si.ña/ \] (Salinas)
\[ /ch'i.j.t'a.si.ña/ \] (Jopoqueri)
\[ /chis.t'a.si.ña/ \] (Jopoqueri; a different speaker from the above)
\[ /jisk.t'a.si.ña/ \] (La Paz, Sitajara)
\[ /jisk"i.ña/ \] (Sitajara)
\[ /jisk.t'a.ña/ \] (Juli)
\[ /sisk.t'a.ña/ \] (Juli)
\[ /sist'a.si.ña ~ sik.t'a.si.ña/ \] (Morocomarca)

3-4.22.3 Affricate /ch/ and fricative-stop /st/

Verb:

'to come out' \[ /michu.ña/ \] (Calacoa)
\[ /mistu.ña/ \] (elsewhere)
3-4.23 Correspondences of fricatives, nasals, glides, laterals, and flap

3-4.23.1 Fricatives /j/ and /s/

Noun:

'door' /jist'aña/ (La Paz, Morocomarca)
/sit'aña/ (Salinas)
/jist'aña ~ sit'aña/ (Jopoqueri)
/sist'aña/ (Calacoa)

See also the correspondences shown under 3-4.22.32 and the discussion of the verb saña (6-4).

3-4.23.2 Fricative /j/ and nasals

3-4.23.21 /j/ ~ /m/

Verb:

'to select (grapes from a bunch, chuño from a pile, etc.),' /jamu.rpayaña ~ mamu.rpayaña/ (La Paz, Tiahuanaco)

3-4.23.22 /j/ ~ /ñ/

Noun:

'a while ago' /jink'ara/ (Jopoqueri)
/ñink'ara/ (La Paz, Salinas)
3-4.23.23 /j/ ~ /ñ/

Noun:

'ugly, disgusting' /jäxt'aña/ (Sitajara)  
/ñäxt'aña/ (Salinas)

3-4.23.24 /j/ ~ /nh/

Noun:

'face' /anhanu/ (Sitajara)  
/añanu/ (elsewhere)

3-4.23.3 Fricative /j/ and glides

3-4.23.31 /j/ ~ /w/

Noun:

'straw' /jich"u/ (Sitajara, La Paz/Compi)  
/wich"u/ (Jopoqueri, Salinas, Morocomarca, Calacoa)

Verbs:

'to fly' /jala.ña/ (Jopoqueri, Salinas, Morocomarca)  
/wala.ña/ (Calacoa)

'to run' /jala.ña/ (La Paz/Tiahuanaco)
'to count' /jaku.ña/ (Calacoa)
/jak"u.ña/ (La Paz, Socca, Sitajara)
/wak"u.ña/ (Jopoqueri, Salinas)

3-4.23.32 /j/ ~ /y/

Noun:

'other' /jaq"apa/ (Sitajara)
/yaq"apa/ (Vitocota)
/yaq"ipa/ (La Paz/Tiahuanaco)

3-4.23.4 Laterals

Nouns:

'all, completely' /liju ~ liju/ (Salinas)
/liju/ (La Paz, Calacoa)

'stone deaf' /luxt'u/ (Morocomarca, Huancané)
/liju/ (Sitajara)

'brother' /jila/ (all dialects)
/jilla/ (Jopoqueri; one source)

3-4.23.5 Laterals and nasals

3-4.23.51 /l/ ~ /n/

Nouns:

'flower' /kalawila ~ kalawina/ (Calacoa)
<? Spanish clavel 'carnation'
'eye, before' /layra/ (Jopoqueri, Salinas, Morocomarca)
/nayra/ (elsewhere)

Verbs:
'to cause to burn' /lak'a.ya.ña/ (Salinas, Jopoqueri)
/nak'a.ya.ña/ (La Paz/Tiahuanaco)
'to revive' /tulura.ña/ (Sacca)
/tunura.ña/ (Sitajara)

3-4.23.52 /l/ ~ /ña/

Noun:
'hair' /lak'uta ~ ñak'uta/ (Jopoqueri)
/lak'uta/ (Morocomarca)
/ñak'uta/ (Salinas)
/ñik'uta/ (La Paz/Compi, Sitajara, Calacoa)

3-4.23.53 /ll/ ~ /ña/

Noun:
'ant' /llink'i/ (La Paz/Compi)
/ñink'i/ (Jopoqueri)
3-4.23.6  Lateral /ll/ and glides

3-4.23.61  /ll/ ~ /y/

Nouns:

'boy' /lluqalla ~ yuqalla/ (several dialects)

'rain' /jallu/ (Jopoqueri, Salinas, Calacoa)

/jayu/ (La Paz)

Final suffix:

politive /-lla/ (Salinas, Jopoqueri, Juli, Socca, Calacala)

/-ya/ (La Paz, Morocomarca)

/-lla ~ -ya/ (Sitajara, Huancané, Calacoa)

3-4.23.62  /ll/ ~ /w/

Noun:

'wind instrument ensemble' /llichiwayu/ (Corque/Jopoqueri)

/wichiwayu/ (La Paz/Compi)

3-4.23.7  Laterals and flap /r/

3-4.23.71  /l/ ~ /r/

Nouns:

'north' /alaxa/ (La Paz/Compi)

/araxa/ (Jopoqueri)
'youngest child' /ch'uli/ (Sacca)
/ch'uri/ (La Paz/Tiahuanaco, La Paz/Compi)

'naked' /q'alanchu/ (La Paz/Compi)
/q'aranchu/ (Calacoa)

'day before yesterday' /waluru/ (Sitajara, Calacoa)
/walu:ru/ (La Paz, Juli)
/waruru/ (Jopoqueri)
/maruru/ (Morocomarca)

Noun suffix:

'on account of' /-rayku/ (Morocomarca)
/-layku/ (elsewhere)

3-4.23.72 /11/ ~ /r/

Noun:

'flower' /p"anq"all[i/ (Jopoqueri)
/panqara/ (La Paz)
/p"aq"ara/ (Morocomarca)

3-4.23.8 Nasals
3-4.23.81 /m/ ~ /n/

Nouns:

'three' /kimsa/ (Morocomarca, Calacala, Salinas)
/kimsa/ (elsewhere)
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>English</th>
<th>IPA</th>
<th>Location</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>'curve'</td>
<td>/irama/</td>
<td>(La Paz/Compi)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>/irana/</td>
<td>(La Paz/Tiahuanaco)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Noun suffix:</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'with', agentive</td>
<td>/-mpi/</td>
<td>(La Paz, Juli, Socca, Huancané, Calacoa, Sitajara)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>/-nti/ [ndi]</td>
<td>(Salinas)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>/-mpi ~ -nti/</td>
<td>(Jopoqueri, Morocomarca, Calacala)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Verbal derivational suffix:</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'away, off'</td>
<td>/-mucha-/</td>
<td>(Salinas)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>/-muchu-/</td>
<td>(La Paz/Tiahuanaco)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>/-muku-/</td>
<td>(La Paz; also Bertonio 1603b)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>/-nuchu-/</td>
<td>(La Paz)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>/-nuku-/</td>
<td>(La Paz/Tiahuanaco, La Paz/Compi)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

3-4.23.82 /n/ ~ /-nil-

Noun:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>English</th>
<th>IPA</th>
<th>Location</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>'back'</td>
<td>/jik&quot;ina/</td>
<td>(La Paz/Compi)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>/jik&quot;ana/</td>
<td>(Sitajara)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>/jik&quot;añi/</td>
<td>(Calacoa)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>/jik&quot;aña/</td>
<td>(Salinas)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>/jik'iña/</td>
<td>(Morocomarca)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
'behind, west' /k"ina/ (Jopoqueri)

'already' /niya ~ ña/ (all dialects)

'hoe' /lijwana/ (Juli, La Paz)
/liwk'aña/ (Salinas)

3-4.23.9 Nasals and glides
3-4.23.91 /m/ ~ /w/

Nouns:

'woman, wife' /marmi/ (Sitajara; also Bertonio 1603b)
/warmi/ (elsewhere)

'last night' /masayp'u/ (Juli)
/masayp'u ~ wasayp'u/ (La Paz)

'yesterday' /masu:ru/ (Juli, Jopoqueri, Salinas, Morocomarca)
/masuru/ (Calacoa, Sitajara)
/masawru/ (Huancané)
/masu:ru ~ wasu:ru/ (La Paz)

'day before yesterday' /maruru/ (Morocomarca)
/waruru/ (Jopoqueri)
Noun:

'evil, bad one'  /ˈnant̚a/  (La Paz/Tiahuanaco)

lassen /ˈt̚an̚a/  (La Paz; heard by La Paz/Tiahuanaco source)

Nouns:

'how much/many'  /ˈk̚aw̚ata/  (Huancané, Jopoqueri)

/ˈk̚aw̚ata/  (Salinas)

'freeze-dried oca'  /ˈp̚i̲l̲l̲ k̚aw̚a/  (Jopoqueri)

/ˈp̚i̲l̲l̲ k̚aw̚a/  (Salinas)

/kaw̚a/  (Morocomarca)

/kaw̚a/  (La Paz/Compi)

'uncle'  /t̚i̲w̚ula/  (La Paz, Juli, Huancané, Jopoqueri)

/ti̲w̚ula/  (Morocomarca)

'mother's brother'  /t̚i̲w̚ula/  (Socca, Morocomarca)

<Spanish tío 'uncle'

Verb:

'to weave'  /ˈsaw̚u̲.na/  (Vitocota)

/saw̚u̲.na/  (La Paz, Tiahuanaco)
3-4.23.11 Glide /y/ and flap /r/

Verb:

'\textit{to speak}' /parla.ña/ (most dialects)
/payla.ña/ (Calacoa)

<\textit{Spanish parlar} 'to speak'

3-4.23.12 Lateral /l/, nasal /ñ/, and flap /r/

Verb:

'\textit{to do, make}' /ñura.ña/ (Corque)
/rura.ña/ (Morocomarca; a Quechua loan)
/lura.ña/ (elsewhere)

3-4.24 Correspondence of clusters: fricative-affricate /jch/ and fricative-nasal /xñ/

Noun:

'hail' /ch"ijch"i/ (La Paz/Tiahuanaco)
/ch"ixñi/ (Vitocota)

3-4.25 Correspondences of fricative, nasal, or glide and zero

3-4.25.1 Initial /j/ and /Ø/

This correspondence is paralleled by an optional, generally occurring morphophonemic rule (4-3.12.1) that deletes initial /j/.
Nouns:

'this' /aka ~ jaka/ (Morocomarca)
 /aka/ (elsewhere)

'river' /awira/ (Juli)
 /jawira/ (elsewhere)

'small' /isk'a ~ jisk'a/ (Juli, Calacoa)
 /ichk'a/ (Sitajara)
 /jisk'a/ (La Paz, Huancané, Morocomarca, Jopoqueri)

'ugly' /ñaxt'aña/ (Salinas)
 /jaxt'aña/ (Sitajara)
 /axt'aña/ (Juli)

Verbs:

'to run' /jala.ña/ (La Paz)
 /jal.t'a.ña/ (Juli, Calacoa)
 /al.ta.ña/ (Sitajara)

'to be born' /(j)iki.nuqu.ña/ (Jopoqueri)
 /ik.nuqa.ña/ (Juli)

'to spend the night' /ik.nuqa.ña/ (La Paz/Compi)
Bertonio (1603b) gave a number of examples of nouns and verbs beginning with /j/ or a vowel (or either) which in present-day La Paz Aymara have the opposite form or only one of them.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>(Bertonio 1603b)</th>
<th>(La Paz/Tiahuanaco)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>'evening'</td>
<td>+/aypu/</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'bird'</td>
<td>+/amachi/</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'meat'</td>
<td>+/jaycha/</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'to drink'</td>
<td>+/juma-/</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'to take people'</td>
<td>+/jirpa-/</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'to come'</td>
<td>+/juta ~ uta/</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Similar correspondences are found between examples of Puno Aymara given by M. Franco Inojosa (1965) and corresponding terms in La Paz Aymara. Within one dialect, however, especially in verbs, there is little free variation in initial /j/ and Ø since two different verbs may differ solely in the presence or absence of initial /j/.

The following minimal pairs are from La Paz/Tiahuanaco:

- **ay.tα.ña**  'to pick up a cylindrical object'
- **ayt.us.ña**  'to rinse a pot'
- **jay.tα.ña**  'to leave'
- **jayt.us.ña**  'to abandon'
3-4.25.2 /x/ ~ /Ø/

Noun:

'stone deaf' /lúxt'u/ (Huancané, Morocomarca)
/lluta/ (Sitajara)

3-4.25.3 /m/ ~ /Ø/

Noun:

'girl' /mimilla/ (Sitajara; also Bertonio 1603b:200)
/imilla/ (elsewhere)

Verbal inflectional suffix:

1-2 Future /-mama/ (Calacoa)
/-ma:ma/ (Sitajara)
/-:ma/ (La Paz, Jopoqueri, Salinas, Morocomarca)
/-mama ~ -:ma/ (Julí, Socca, Huancané)

3-4.25.4 /n/ ~ /Ø/

Nouns:

'a while ago' /nink"a:ra/ (La Paz, Compi)
/nink"ara/ (Salinas)
/nik"ira/ (Sitajara)
/nik"iri/ (Socca)
'flower' /panqara/ (La Paz)
/p"anq"alli/ (Jopoqueri)
/p"aq"ara/ (Morocomarca)

Noun/verb:

'food/to eat' /manq'a/ (La Paz, Huancané, Sitajara, Jopoqueri, Calacoa)
/maq'a/ (Salinas, Morocomarca)

3-4.25.5 /ñ/ ~ /Ø/

(See 3-4.25.1, 'ugly'.)

3-4.25.6 /y/ ~ /Ø/

Noun:

'much' /ayncha/ (Corque)
/ancha/ (La Paz)

3-4.25.7 /w/ ~ /Ø/

Noun:

'smoke' /jiwq'i/ (La Paz/Compi)
/jiq'i/ (La Paz/Tiahuanaco)

3-4.3 Correspondences of vowels and/or vowel length and nonstop consonants

3-4.31 Correspondence of plain and/or lengthened vowel and vowel-glide-vowel

This type of correspondence is paralleled by a morphophonemic rule (4-3.22.14) that reduces sequences of
vowel-glide-vowel to long or plain vowel in certain morphemes under certain conditions.

Nouns:

lp pronoun /naya/ (La Paz)
/ñ̃ na:/ (Huancané, Sitajara)
/ñ̃ na: ~ nayा/ (elsewhere)

'over there' /k"a:~ (Calacoa)
/k"aya/ (elsewhere)

'way over there' /k"u ~ k"u:/ (Salinas)
/k"u:/ (Huancané)
/k"uyu/ (Morocomarca)

'black' /ch'ara/ (Sitajara)
/ch'i yara/ (elsewhere)

Verbs:

'to carry a long, rigid object' /axaruwaña/ (Calacoa)⁹
/ayaña/ (elsewhere)

'to come' /jutaña/ (most dialects)
/jawutana/ (San Jesús de Machaca)
'to cook' /p"aː.ña/ (Sitajara)
/p"aya.ña/ (La Paz, Salinas, Calacoa)
/p"aya.ña ~ p"iya.na/ (Jopoqueri)
/p"uya.ña/ (Calacala, Morocomarca, Huancané)

'to be born' /yuri.ña/ (Juli, parts of La Paz; also Bertonio 1603b)
/yawri.ña/ (La Paz/Tiahuanaco)

Verbal derivational suffixes:

'multiple action' /-rpa:-/ (Sitajara, Salinas, Jopoqueri, Corque; also Bertonio 1603b)
/-rpaya-/ (elsewhere)

'causative' /-:-/ (Calacala, Morocomarca)
/-:- ~ -ya-/ (Huancané)
/-ya-/ (elsewhere)

'distancer' /-wa-/ (Juli, Huancané, Socca, Calacoa, Calacala)
/-wa- ~ -wa:- ~ -waya-/ (Sitajara)
/-waya- ~ -wa:/ (La Paz)

Similar correspondences occur in the 1p possessive suffix and in the 1→3 Future suffix (see 3-4.32) and in the 3→3 RIK suffix (see Figure 6-10).
3-4.32 Correspondences of nonstop consonants and vowel length

Correspondences of nonstop consonants and vowel length occur in initial position in three suffixes, all of very frequent occurrence: the lp possessive noun suffix (5-3.24), the 1→3 Future verbal inflectional suffix (Figure 6-3), and the attenuator/topic final suffix (7-2.22.12). The lp possessive and 1→3 F suffixes have correspondences of velar and postvelar fricatives, palatal and velar nasals, palatal glide, and vowel length. The palatal lateral occurs initially in the lp possessive allomorph of one dialect (Vitocota). In all dialects vowel length occurs as an allomorph of 1→3 F; vowel length as an allomorph of lp possessive occurs in only two dialects (Socca, La Paz/Tiahuanaco). The allomorphs of the lp possessive and 1→3 F suffixes in one dialect are not necessarily identical; the 1→3 F suffix has more allomorphs than does the lp possessive.

Only the postvelar fricative and vowel length correspond in the attenuator/topic suffix.

3-4.32.1 /j/ ~ /x/ ~ /l/ ~ /n/ ~ /nh/ ~ /y/ ~ /:/

Noun suffix:

lp possessive^{10} /-ja/ (Juli, Huancané, Socca, Calacoa, Compi, San Andrés de Machaca, Vitocota)
/\-xa/ (La Paz city, La Paz/ Tiahuanaco)

/\-ll\a/ (Vitocota)

/\-\n\a/ (Salinas, Morocomarca, Calacala)

/\-\n\a/ (Sitajara, Jopoqueri)

+ /\-ya/ (Ross 1963)

/\-/: (Socca, La Paz/ Tiahuanaco)

3-4.32.2  /\j/ ~ /\x/ ~ /\n/ ~ /\n/ ~ /\y/ ~ /\:/

Verbal inflectional suffix: 1-3 Future

/\-ja/ (La Paz)

/\-ja:/ (Juli, Socca, Huancané, Calacoa)

/\-ja/ (Juli, Huancané, Calacoa)

/\-\:xa/ (La Paz, Juli, Huancané, Calacoa)

/\-\n\a ~ -\n\a:/ (Salinas)

/\-\n\h(a)/ (Sitajara, Jopoqueri)

/\-ya ~ -\y:/ (Morocomarca, Calacala)

/\-ya:/ (La Paz, Socca)

/\-/: (all dialects)

3-4.32.3 Final suffix: attenuator/topic

/\-/: (Morocomarca)

/\-: -\xa/ (Sitajara, Juli, Calacoa, Salinas)
3-4.4 Metathesis

This is a common process in Aymara both within and across dialects and even within idiolects. It most often occurs in nouns. There are two main types: (1) reversal of two phonemes in sequence, and (2) transposition of features, of vowels, or of consonants.

3-4.4.1 Reversal of two phonemes in sequence
3-4.4.1.1 Stops

Noun:

'same, identical' /kipka/ (Sitajara)
/kipka ~ kikpa/ (La Paz)

3-4.4.1.2 Lateral-glide

Nouns:

'cage' /jalwa ~ jawla/ (La Paz) <Spanish jaula

'gull' /qillwa ~ qiwlla/ (La Paz)

'fish' /challwa ~ chawlla/ (La Paz)
3.41.3 Nasal-glide

Noun:

'egg'  /k'anwa/  (Salinas)
/k'awna/  (La Paz, Sitajara, Calacoa)

Verbal inflectional suffix:

3→3 RIK  /-tayna ~ tanya/  [taŋa]  (La Paz, Calacoa)

3.4.41.4 Glide-flap

Nouns:

'quinoa'  /jiwra/  (Sitajara, Calacoa)
/jirwa ~ jiwra/  (Socca)

'needle'  /yarwi/  (Salinas)
/yawri/  (Sitajara, La Paz)

'llama'  /qarwa ~ qawra/  (Jopoqueri, La Paz)
/qarwa/  (Salinas)
/q"arwa/  (Morocomarca)
/q"awra/  (Sitajara)

'cold wind'  /wayra ~ warya/  (La Paz)
/wayra/  (Jopoqueri, Salinas)
3-4.41.5 Vowel-fricative

Noun:

'small' /isk'a/ (Juli, Calacoa)
/sik'a/ (Jopoqueri)

Verbal inflectional suffixes:

3+4 Simple /-istu/ (La Paz, Huancané, Jopoqueri, Salinas, Morocomarca)
/-situ/ (Socca)

3+4 Future /-istani/ (La Paz, Huancané, Jopoqueri, Salinas, Morocomarca)
/-sitani/ (Socca)

3-4.41.5 Vowel-glide

Nouns:

'dry grain' /juvra/ [júira] (La Paz/Compi)

'quinoa' /juvra/ [júira] (Jopoqueri, Salinas)
/jiwra/ [jífura] (Sitajara, Calacoa, Socca)

3-4.41.6 Vowel-nasal

Noun:

'already' /niya ~ inya/ (Jopoqueri)
3-4.42 Transposition of features, vowels, or consonants

3-4.42.1 Features

3-4.42.11 Aspiration and plainness

Noun:

'five' /p_isqa/ (La Paz, Juli, Calacoa, Sitajara)

/pisq_a/ (Huancané, Morocomarca)

Verb:

'to dance' /tuq_u._ña/ (Juli)

/t_uqu._ña/ (La Paz, Salinas)

3.4.42.12 Aspiration and glottalization

Noun:

'brooch' /p_ich_i/ (Jopoqueri)

/p_ich_i ~ p_ich_i/ (Salinas)

3-4.42.2 Vowels

Nouns:

'thorn' /ch_api ~ ch_ipa/ (Calacoa)

'morning' /arumarji ~ arumirja/ (La Paz)

'skunk' /aaginator/ (Juli, Salinas)

/aaginator/ (Huancané)
3-4.42.3 Consonants

Nouns:

'ant' /sik'imi/ (Salinas, Morocoma)  
/k'isi ~ sik'imi/ (La Paz/Compi)

'cap' /ch'ullu, lluch'u/ (La Paz)

3-4.5 Correspondence of final (C)CV sequence with another CV sequence or zero

In the following three-vowel nouns the final (C)CV may be a frozen suffix that is no longer productive.

3-4.51 /nku/ ~ /ya/

'skunk' /añat'unku ~ anat'uya/ (Socca)  
/anat'uya ~ anat'uya/ (Huancané)  
/anat'uya/ (Juli, Salinas)

3-4.52 /qa/ ~ /qu/ ~ /chu/

'alpaca' /allpaqa/ (La Paz)  
/allpaqu/ (Jopoqueri)  
/allpaqu/ (Sitajara, Salinas)

3-4.53 /qa/ ~ /la/

'partridge' /pisagya/ (Jopoqueri, Salinas)  
/pisala/ (Sitajara, Calacoa)
3-4.54 /chu/ ~ /chi/ ~ Ø

'guinea pig' /wank'uchu/ (Calacoa)
/wank'uchi/ (Vitocota)
/wank'u/ (La Paz, Jopoqueri, Salinas, Sitajara)

3-4.55 /ta/ ~ Ø

'sandal' /wisk'uta/ (Vitocota)
/wisk'u/ (elsewhere)

3-4.56 /wa/ ~ Ø

'slingshot' /q'ura/ (Sitajara)
/q'urawa/ (elsewhere)

3-4.6 Correspondence of final /n(V)/ and zero

Verbal inflectional suffixes:

3→3 Imperative /-pa ~ -pan/ (La Paz)
/-pa/ (Huancané)
/-pan/ (Sitajara, Jopoqueri, Salinas)
/-pana/ (Juli)
/-p'ana/ (Socca)
/-sapa:na/ (Calacoa)

3→3 Desiderative /-(:)sp''a ~ -(:)sp''ana/ (Morocomarca)
/-spa/ (La Paz, Juli, Socca, Huancané, Calacoa, Jopoqueri, Salinas)
4→3 Desiderative  /-sna ~ -sman/  (La Paz)
/ -sña/  (Huancané)
/ -sna/  (elsewhere)

2→1 Desiderative  /-itasma ~ -itasmian/  (La Paz, Juli)
/ -itasma/  (elsewhere)

1→2 RDK  /-sma/  (La Paz, Socca)
/ -sna/  (Huancané)
/ -sma:na/  (Jopoqueri)
/ -sma:n/  (Morocomarca)

3→2 RDK  /-sma/  (La Paz)
/ -tama/  (Socca)
/ -tama:na/  (Jopoqueri)
/ -tma:na/  (Morocomarca)

Independent nonfinal suffix:

'really'  /-puni/  (Jopoqueri)
/ -puni/  (Juli, Sitajara, Salinas, Morocomarca)
/ -puni/  (Huancané, Socca, Calacoa)
/ -puni ~ -puni/  (La Paz)
/ -puni ~ -pi/  (Calacala)
3-4.7 Correspondence of initial /ja/ and vowel length or zero, and correspondence of final /ma/ and zero

Noun/independent suffix:

'like' /-jama ~ ja:ma ~ -ja/ (La Paz)
/-jama ~ -ja/ (Juli, Huancané, Sitajara)
/-ja:ma ~ -ja ~ -k"a ~ :-ma/ (Jopoqueri)
/-ja ~ :-ma ~ :-mu/ (Salinas)
/-ja:ma ~ :-ma ~ :-ma/ (Morocomarca)
/-ja/ (Calacoa, Socca)

3-4.8 Combinations of correspondences in one word

Several of the examples already given display different kinds of correspondences. Two unusually variable morpheme sets are the following nouns:

'a while ago' /jink"ara/ (Jopoqueri)
/nik"ira/ (Sitajara)
/nik"iri/ (Socca)
/nink"ara/ (Salinas, La Paz)
/nink"a:ra/ (La Paz)
/nink"ra/ (Morocomarca)

'sweet' /misk'i/ (Calacala, Morocomarca)
/musq'a ~ musq"a/ (Salinas)
/misk'i ~ musqa ~ muxsa/ (Huancané)

(continued)
3-5 Conclusion

As shown by the evidence presented in this chapter, the only dialect division that can be made for Aymara on the basis of phoneme inventory alone is the division between the two dialects having the velar nasal phoneme (Carangas and Tarata) and all the rest. Apart from this distinction all Aymara dialects share canonical form restrictions on shapes of roots and suffixes, a basic word stress pattern, and rules for the adaptation of Spanish loans to Aymara.

Cross-dialectal phonemic correspondences and free variation within dialects show that in Aymara as a whole certain phonemes are more stable than others. Vowel instability is evident in the considerable number of cross-dialectal vowel correspondences that occur and in processes of vowel deletion and devoicing (see Chapter 4). Of the consonants the stops are the most stable although aspiration and glottalization rather easily shift from one stop or affricate to another in a word, or may be absent in one allomorph and present in another. The velar stop and to a lesser extent the postvelar stop are less stable than the other stops, corresponding in some allomorphs to
the velar or postvelar fricatives, respectively. The affricate is also unstable, corresponding often to fricatives, which is not surprising in view of its fricative offset. The velar and postvelar fricatives and the voiced nonstop consonants are the most unstable Aymara consonants.

Summarizing, the unstable phonemes of Aymara are the sonorants (the vowels and voiced consonants), the affricates, and the fricatives. They all have in common the articulatory feature nonstop, permitting passage of air throughout or at some stage of the articulation. (The term continuant used by Pike to refer to nonstop consonants is being avoided here since in contemporary usage it excludes nasals.)

Phonological correspondences alone do not permit grouping of dialects. Still, some dialectal patterning of phoneme correspondences occurs. La Paz tends to have /k/ in a number of morphemes where other dialects may have /j/, and this dialect gives an overall impression of less aspiration, partly because of the absence of aspiration on certain high-frequency morphemes that have it in other dialects. Dialects having initial nasals in the lp possessive suffix (the southern dialects Jopoqueri, Salinas, Morocomarca, and Calacala plus the intermediate dialect Sitajara) may be distinguished from those having initial velar or postvelar fricatives in that suffix (the northern dialects La Paz, Juli, Socca, Huancané,
Calacoa). Additional dialect groupings on the basis of patterning of phonological correspondences are given in the conclusions to Chapters 5, 6, and 7 and in Chapter 10.

Other phonological variation that occurs in Aymara is attributable to dialect-specific morphophonemic rules affecting the phonetic realizations of phonemes (for example voicing of stops) or causing phoneme shifts or deletions. These are discussed in Chapter 4.
Notes

1 Vowel length often corresponds to glide plus vowel. See note 2 below.

2 Vowel length corresponds to glide plus vowel in a number of cases (see 3-4.3). A lengthened vowel may act phonetically like vowel plus glide making it impossible to tell whether length or glide is occurring when the homorganic glide follows /i/ or /u/. For example, /-pi:/ and /-pu:/ occur as variants of the final suffix -pi ~ -pi: ~ -pu ~ -pu: reiterator of known information (7-2.22.4). /-pi:/ and /-pu:/ retain vowel height before the postvelar fricative /x/, as would be the case with /piy/ and /puw/ but not with /pi/ and /pu/. Examples of /-pi:/ and /-pu:/ before /x/ (the sentence suffix -xa) are the following (see also note 10):

Intinti.pi:.xa. 'She understands!' (Sitajara)

Sa.ta.pu:.xa. 'It's called.' (repeating name of place) (Corque)

3 A source from San Andrés de Machaca told me that near Zepita and Desaguadero (both in the province of Chucuito, department of Puno) there is another place called Carangas where /nh/ also occurs. Whether it is in fact the phoneme or merely an allophone of another nasal needs to be determined.

4 Contrary to L. Martin-Barber (Hardman et al. 1975:3.76), /m/ may occur before stops other than the /p/ series, e. g. amta.si.ña 'to remember'.

5 Some Spanish loans with /i/ ~ /u/ correspondences, that occur in all dialects, entered Aymara at different times before and after the Spanish sibilant shift. According to Alonso (1967), that shift took place between 1550 and 1630 and involved a change of /ʃ/ (spelled x) to /x/ (spelled j).
The reason for the original borrowing's shift in initial vowel from the back mid /o/ (whose reflex in Aymara would be /u/) to the front /i/ is unknown; it may be that a vowel harmony rule was then in effect in Aymara (see 4-3.22.11).

6 Salinas has a morphophonemic rule whereby the /k/ of this suffix becomes /j/ in certain environments; see 4-3.22.23.

7 Huancané has a morphophonemic rule whereby /-raki/ becomes /-raj/ before -chi NI (see 4-3.22.23).

8 See also 4-3.22.23 and 7-2.21.4.

9 Although *a:.ña did not occur in the data, the existence of a:.xaru.wa.ña implies its existence, if only as an underlying form. The suffix -xaru- requires a preceding consonant, but here the length is retained by a morphophonemic rule (see 4-3.22.15) whereby vowel length in verb roots is retained before consonant-requiring suffixes. Bertonio (1603b) cited several verb roots with long vowel, including +a:-, the semantic equivalent of La Paz aya.ña.

10 Speakers using /-ja/ lp possessive have no homophony with the final suffix -xa in this instance (see the examples under 3-2.3), but dialects having /-xa/ lp possessive do have homophony with final suffix -xa. Thus, in the latter the following is either 'my cat' or 'the/a cat': p"isi.xa. Of course, the lp suffix /-xa/ may be followed by the final suffix -xa giving p"isi.xa.xa 'my cat'.

11 Correspondences of /:/, /j/, /n/, and /nh/ occur in 2-3 Future, and of /:/, /n/, and /nh/ in 2-1 Future (see Figure 6-3).
CHAPTER 4
VARIATION IN MORPHOPHONEMICS

4-1 Introduction

Morphophonemics may be defined as the rules which determine the phonological shapes of morphemes under different phonological, morphological, and syntactic conditions. All three kinds of conditioning occur in Aymara. All morphophonemic rules in the language are morphologically conditioned in that they apply within morphemes or across morpheme boundaries, and/or to certain morphemes or morpheme classes and not to others. Some are also phonologically conditioned, involving (1) instability of certain phonemes; (2) permitted and unpermitted phoneme sequences and the effects of phonemes on each other when they occur in sequence; and (3) hierarchical ordering of phonemes (i.e. predominance of one over another). Some are syntactically conditioned by the sentence position or function of the word that is subject to the rule in question.

Of overriding importance in Aymara are the regressive and progressive vowel-deleting and -retaining
rules, most of which pertain to suffixes. The rules for suffixes are all morphologically determined in that they apply to individual morphemes, but some are also phonologically and syntactically conditioned.

Vowel-deletion and -retention in noun roots, stems, and themes are subject to syntactic considerations (position and function as head or modifier of a noun phrase, or function as subject or object of a verb) and also to phonotactics (e.g. the number of vowels in a modifier in a noun phrase). The particle root jani 'no, not' loses its final vowel in certain syntactically-conditioned circumstances. Vowel-deletion and -retention in certain verb stems are also subject to phonotactic considerations.

4-2 Morphologically Determined Vowel-Deleting and -Retaining Rules (Morphophonemics of Suffixes)

In addition to its classification by phonemic shape and grammatical function, each suffix in Aymara may be defined in terms of the effect it has (1) on the immediately preceding environment with respect to presence or absence of vowel or consonant, and (2) on the disposition of its own final vowel. Some of the conditioning is phonological and some syntactic, but it is primarily morphological and must be stated for each suffix, as is
done in Chapters 5, 6, and 7. The following generalizations about suffix classes may be made.

4-2.1 Phonological and morphological conditioning

All suffixes starting with /ː/ vowel length, /y/, and /ll/ require a preceding vowel. All suffixes starting with /w/ require a preceding vowel except -wa final suffix which may take either a preceding vowel or consonant. All suffixes beginning with a vowel (always /i/) require a preceding consonant, except that the nominalizing suffix -iri when following vowel length verbalization in Huancané (see 4-3.22.12) permits a preceding /a/, the /i/ then becoming the homorganic glide /y/.

All but three noun suffixes beginning with a voiced consonant and all but two verbal derivational suffixes beginning with a voiced consonant always require a preceding vowel. The three noun suffixes that do not always require a preceding vowel are -layku- -rayku 'on account of' and -ma- -mma (a frozen suffix) which basically require a preceding vowel but are subject to the three-vowel rule (see 4-3.22.16), and -na 'on, in' which is usually preceded by a vowel but has more complex morphophonemics in certain dialects.

Verbal derivational suffixes that begin with the nasal /n/ but may be preceded by either a consonant or a vowel are -naqa- 'around, aimlessly' and -nuqa- placer.
Verbal inflectional suffixes beginning with nasals require a preceding vowel except that one suffix beginning with /m/, 2→3 Imperative, is affected by the preceding morphological environment (see 6-3.33). Verbal inflectional suffixes ending in nasals may be assumed to have an underlying final /a/ since it reappears before the final suffix -lla ~ -ya, and in fact all nasal-final verbal inflectional suffixes have allomorphs that end in vowels in one or more dialects. Most verbal inflectional suffixes ending in a vowel keep it before final suffixes although they may lose it word-finally, but verbal inflectional suffixes ending in /Vna/ or /:na/ and allomorphs of 1→3 ending in /ta/ or /t"a/ (except in Calacoa) drop the final /a/ before following suffixes except -lla ~ -ya. The behavior of the final vowel of the 2→3 Imperative suffix -ma and of a few other suffixes also involving the 2p varies dialectically.

4-2.2 Morphological conditioning

Noun suffixes and verbal derivational suffixes specify whether a consonant or vowel will precede, but (except for certain of the noun complement/relational suffixes; see 5-3.31) do not control the retention or loss of their own final vowel. Verbal inflectional suffixes both specify the preceding environment and control the retention and loss of their own final vowel (within the phonological limitations indicated above).
4-2.3 Phonological and syntactic conditioning

Phonotactic (canonical form) considerations such as (1) the number of preceding vowels on a stem, or (2) avoidance of final consonant clusters caused by syntactically-determined final vowel-deletion, condition regressive vowel-deletion or -retention by certain noun and verbal derivational suffixes. (See 4-3.22.16 on the three-vowel rule; 5-3.24 on the personal possessive noun suffixes; and 7-4.21.23 on the suffix combination -nā.taki 'in order to'.)

4-2.4 Morphological and syntactic conditioning

Nonfinal independent suffixes specify the preceding environment but allow the previous morpheme, syntactic considerations, and/or the following suffix to override their basic morphophonemics. Final suffixes (except -lā~-ya politive which requires a preceding vowel by phonological conditioning) allow previous morphemes and syntactic considerations to decide their preceding environments. The retention or loss of their final vowels is subject to stylistic conditioning.

4-3 Phonotactically Conditioned Rules (Canonical Form Conditions)

The following rules are conditioned by position of the phoneme or phoneme sequence in the word and involve
loss of phonemes or phoneme sequences, addition or restoration of phonemes or phoneme sequences, cluster reduction, allophonic variation, and phoneme shifts. They sometimes pertain only to certain morphemes or morpheme classes, sometimes or more than one class. They often result from suffix morphophonemics. A few are tied to syntactic considerations. Most are optional, but a few are obligatory.

4-3.1 Word-initial position

4-3.11 Initial /j/ --> Ø

Optional loss of initial /j/ in rapid speech is not to be confused with existence of different allomorphs of one morpheme (either within a dialect or across dialects), one beginning with a vowel and the other with that vowel preceded by /j/ (see 3-4.25).

Initial /j/ often drops from the particle jalla 'thus' as in the common expression

\[(j)\text{a}l\text{l} \text{u}k\text{a}.t \ 'so then, thus' \ (\text{Socca})\]

Loss of initial /j/ also occurs across juncture (word-boundary), as in

\[\text{qam.}i\text{r.}a\text{q}i < \text{qam.}i\text{r} \ j\text{a}q\text{i} \ 'rich person' \ (\text{Huancané})\]

\[j\text{i}c\text{h}''a\text{y}p\text{'}u^2 < j\text{i}c\text{h}'a\text{ jayp}'u \ (\text{La Paz})\]
4-3.12 Initial (C)V deletion

Optional deletion of initial fricative-vowel, palatal lateral-vowel, or vowel alone occurs after devoicing of the vowel in rapid speech. That is, the sequence is $(C)V \rightarrow (C)V \rightarrow \emptyset$.

4-3.12.1 /jV/ $\rightarrow \emptyset$

Optional loss of initial /jV/ occurs most often in nouns, but it has also occurred in particles and in a verb. Examples:

Nouns:

- $\text{ch".u:ru}^3 < \underline{jich"a} \text{\ ūru 'today'}$ (Salinas)
  - jich"a 'now uru 'day'

- $\text{ch'a.mma.la}^4 < \underline{jach'a} \text{\ mama.la 'grandmother'}$
  - (Jopoquerei) jach'a 'big' mama.la 'mother'

- $\text{sk'a:nu}^5 < \underline{jisk'a} \text{\ anu 'little dog'}$ (La Paz/Compi)
  - jisk'a 'little' anu 'dog'

- $\text{ma: k'a.ta.x} < \underline{ma: juk'a.ta.x} \text{ 'a little'}$ (Sitajara)
  - ma: 'a' juk'a 'little'
  - -ta 'from, of'

- $\text{pa.x} < \underline{jupa.x}$ 3p pronoun (Huancané)
Verb:

\[ k.xat.ta.tayna \sim q"at.ta.tayna \sim jik.xat.ta.tayna \]

'he met' (Salinas)

Particles:

\[ ni.w < jani.w \quad 'no' \quad (Salinas, Calacoa, Huancane) \]

\[ jani \quad 'no' \quad -wa \quad \text{final suffix} \]

\[ sa.lla < jisa.lla \quad 'yes' \quad (Salinas) \]

\[ jisa \quad 'yes' \quad -lla \quad \text{final suffix} \]

\[ sa.ya < jisa.ya \quad 'yes' \quad (La Paz, Calacala) \]

\[ -ya \quad \text{final suffix} \]

4-3.12.2 /sa/ \rightarrow \emptyset

The root sa- of the verb sa.ña 'to say' may drop when followed by -sa subordinator suffix (7-4.23.1).

\[ sa.w \quad s.i < sa.sa.w \quad s.i \quad 'saying he said' \quad (La Paz, Sitajara) \]

\[ -wa \quad \text{final suffix} \]

\[ -i \quad 3\rightarrow3 \quad \text{Simple tense} \]

4-3.12.3 /lla/ \rightarrow \emptyset

The following were said by the same person in Sitajara on two different occasions.
Wal  k"ichu.si.ta.p.x.t. 'I am very unhappy.'

Wal llak"ichu.s.t. 'I am very unhappy.'

The variant without initial /lla/ was perceived by speakers from Socca and Jopoqueri as 'archaic' (Spanish arcaico).

4-3.12.4 /u/ --> Ø

Loss of initial /u/ occurs on the demonstrative uka 'that' when suffixed by -jama 'like' in the form uk.jama (or uk"ama; see 4-3.22.22).

k"ama.w ch"a.x < uk"ama.w jich"a.x 'so now' (Huancane)

In other instances the first vowel of -jama becomes /u/ apparently through the progressive influence of the original initial /u/ of uka.

k"um [k"v m] < uk"am (Huancané, Sitajara)

4-3.13 Initial /si/ or /ji/ on the verb sa.ña

Optional preposition of /si/ or /ji/ to the verb sa.ña 'to say' when inflected for the Simple tense occurs frequently in La Paz, less often in Juli and Socca, and to some extent in Huancané, to eliminate initial consonant clusters that would otherwise occur as the result of the morphophonemics of certain suffixes that require a
preceding consonant, when the suffixes occur on the mono-
syllabic sa.ña root.

In view of the existence in Aymara of morphophonemic rules for deleting initial CV and the absence of
prefixing as a productive grammatical process in the
language, it might be better to analyze sa.ña as having
the underlying root *iisa- which obligatorily loses its
initial CV when suffixed with -ña (perhaps to avoid
homophony with jis sa.ña 'to say yes') but may keep it
or lose it otherwise, depending on dialectal and styli-
stic considerations. (For a full discussion of the morpho-
phonemics of this verb, see 6-4.)

4-3.2 Medial position

The following rules occur either medially in a
word or across juncture in a noun phrase.

4-3.21 Allophonic variation
4-3.21.1 /q'/ --> [']

Reduction of a glottalized postvelar stop to
glottal stop alone occurs sporadically in the noun/verb
root maq'a 'food/to eat' in Salinas, Calacala, and Moro-
comarca, as in the following examples:

    maq'a.na.:nt [ma(q)'anda:nt] 'you will eat' (Calacala)
In Morocomarca a palatalized velar allophone of /ñ/, articulated with the blade of the tongue moving forward from velum to palate, may optionally occur in the 1p possessive suffix allomorph /-ňa/ when it directly follows a postvelar, velar, or palatal consonant (except the glide /y/, perhaps because of its fronted onset) as the result of morphophonemic vowel dropping. (See 5-3.24 for a discussion of personal possessive suffix morphophonemics.) The allophone [ŋ] also occurs after the alveolars /t/ and /r/. No examples after /s/ or /l/ were obtained. Examples:

kullak.ňa  [kuũakŋa] 'my sister'

kullaka.nak.ňa  [kuũakanakŋa] 'my sisters'

After bilabials, [ň] always occurs.

Warm.ňa.wa.  [warmũawa] 'She's my wife.'

The articulation of a palatalized velar allophone of /ñ/ suggests a phonetic relic of the velar nasal phoneme /nh/ which does not exist as such in the Aymara of

maq'a.lla  [ma(q)'alla] 'food' (Salinas)
Morocomarca today although it occurs in the nearby dialect of Jopoqueri.

4-3.21.3 Stop-voicing rules

Stop phonemes are usually voiceless in Aymara. Voicing, if any, is subphonemic. It may be accompanied by frication, the stop in question changing to a homorganic voiced fricative.

4-3.21.31 Voicing and frication of intervocalic plain stops

This occurs optionally in all Aymara dialects in the demonstratives aka 'this' and uka 'that' when they occur suffixed. It occurs occasionally in certain other morphemes, in some dialects. It occurs before but not after a stressed vowel and most often in fast speech.

Examples:

aka [áka] 'this' (never *[ðga]) (all dialects)

uka [úka] 'that' (never *[ðga]) (all dialects)

Kuna.rak aka.sti? [agásti] 'What is this?' (Huancané)

uka.t [ugát] 'then' uka.x [ugáx] 'that' (all dialects)

uka.t.raji [ugatráji] 'and then' (Calacala)

An example from Calacala with uka.n 'in there, in that place' shows diphthong avoidance as well as
voicing and frication of /k/.

padre  uka.n  [padregán]  'at the priest's house'

Other examples in other morphemes are the following:

ma:  gala  [b]  at.xa.na.k.s  'on top of a stone'  (Calacoa)
      [p]  gala  'stone'  pata  'top'

na.naka.x  [nanagáx]  lp pronoun  'we/us'  (Calacala)
            -naka plural

jaqu.x  [jagóx]  'he fell'  (Calacala)  jaqu.ña  'to fall'

pur.ipun  [puriwén]  'having arrived'  (Calacala)
            puri.ña  'to arrive'
            -ipuna  subordinating suffix

Ma:  gamaqi.ki.:n.wa.  [gamaqegé:nwa]  'He was just a fox.'
       (Salinas)  -ki  'just'

In Calacala /k/ of the final suffix -ka topic/attenuator (which may sometimes be a reduced form of uka) may be realized as [g] (see 7-2.22.11).
4-3.21.32 Voicing and frication of prevocalic /p/ in -pa 3p suffix

This occurred only in Calacala. The vowel following /p/ is stressed. In both examples /p/ is preceded by a stop rather than a vowel as in the previous rule.

\[ \text{ut.pa.ru } [\text{u} \begin{array}{c} v \\ b \end{array} \text{aru}] \text{ 'to his house'} \]

\[ \text{lak.pa.ru } [\text{l} \begin{array}{c} v \\ b \end{array} \text{aru}] \text{ 'to his mouth'} \]

In the second example the voicing and frication are also regressive, affecting the /k/ of laka 'mouth'. It is interesting to note that -pa is the only personal possessive suffix that begins with a stop; the others all begin with nonstops. Whether this fact has any bearing on the frication of /p/ in this instance is not yet determined. This may instead be a case of operation of the intervocalic voicing rule (4-3.21.31) on the underlying forms *uta.pa.ru and *laka.pa.ru, followed by operation of the rule deleting the vowel preceding -pa (5-3.24).

4-3.21.33 Prevocalic voicing after homorganic nasal or palatal lateral

This rule is obligatory in Salinas within morphemes regardless of position of word stress. The rule may be tentatively written as follows as if it applied after any
nonstop voiced consonant, even though the only examples available have nasals or the palatal lateral.

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{art} & \rightarrow +vd \\
\text{cons} & \rightarrow +vd \\
\text{stop} & \rightarrow -vd \\
\end{align*}
\]

art = point of articulation  
vd = voiced  
cons = consonantal

It will be noted that in this rule frication does not occur; the stops remain stops.

In the following examples from Salinas, voicing is required as the stop in question occurs within a morpheme.

Nouns:

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{ampara} & \ [\text{ambára}] \quad \text{'hand, arm'} \\
\text{kunka} & \ [\text{kôngga}] \quad \text{'neck'} \\
\text{punku} & \ [\text{pônggu}] \quad \text{'door'} \\
\text{tunka} & \ [\text{tôngga}] \quad \text{'ten'} \\
\text{tunqu} & \ [\text{tônggo}] \quad \text{'corn'} \\
\text{qunquri} & \ [\text{qôngóri}] \quad \text{'knee'}
\end{align*}
\]
Noun suffix:

-nti [ndi] 'with' ma.nti [mandi] 'again'

Verbs:

manta.ña [mandaña] 'to enter'

gallta.ña [qatdana] 'to begin'

wangi.ña [wangeña] 'to wait for'

Verbal derivational suffix:

-nta- [nda] 'into' ira.nta.ña [irandaña]

Verbal inflectional suffixes:

-nta [nda] 2+3 Future

-itanta [itanda] 2+1 Future

An example of an alternation between [k] and [g] within a morpheme is the following:

\[ \text{tink.t.wa [ti\text{ g}twa]} \quad \text{'I fell'} \]

\[ \text{tinku.ña [tiguña]} \quad \text{'to fall'} \]

In the first instance the voicing rule is blocked by the presence of the voiceless stop /t/ after /k/. The rule is also blocked before juncture if the stop
occurs immediately before a final dropped vowel; if the vowel is not dropped (even if it is devoiced) the rule will operate:

\[ \text{Ma.ni} \, \text{[mandi]} \, \text{ala.ni.rap.ita.11.} \, \text{'Buy it again for me.'} \]

\[ \text{ma.ni} \, \text{'again'} \, \text{ala.ni.ña} \, \text{'to buy'} \]

In the next example, \text{tunqu} 'corn' as zero complement (4-3.31.2) loses its final vowel, blocking the voicing rule even though the following word begins with a vowel.

\[ \text{Tunq0} \, \text{[tonq]} \, \text{ap.j.t''a} \, \text{ampara.ni} \, \text{[ambarang_i]} \]

'I am carrying corn in my hands.' \quad \text{tunqu} 'corn'
\text{ampara} 'hand'

Aspiration or glottalization also blocks voicing, as in the following:

\[ \text{wint''u} \, \text{[wint'u]} \, \text{'corner'} \]

\[ \text{wank'u} \, \text{[wank'u]} \, \text{'guinea pig'} \]

Nor does voicing occur in Spanish loans that lack it.

\[ \text{si\text{r}winta} \, \text{[si\text{r}winta]} \, \text{< Spanish sirvienta} \]
Nor does it occur if the nasal or lateral and the following stops are not homorganic.

\textit{gillga.na} [qe\textipa{\textae}\textipa{\textael}] 'to write'

The palatal affricate /ch/, which patterns with the stops, does not voice after the nonhomorganic alveolar /n/. (No examples of palatal /\textipa{n}/ followed by /ch/ have occurred in the data.)

\textit{jinchu} [hin\textipa{\textek}] 'ear'

Across morpheme boundaries within a word, voicing may optionally occur if the voiced consonant and the following stop are homorganic, unless the word stress occurs before the voiced consonant, a restriction not applying within single morphemes. Examples:

\textit{mam.p\textipa{\textae}} [m\textipa{\textaa}mpa] 'his mother' \textit{mama} 'mother' -\textipa{pa} 3p possessive

\textit{jan} sa::tan.t\textipa{\textae} [sa:tan\textipa{\textael}] 'we will not say to him'
\quad -\textipa{tan} 4\textnumero3 Future
\quad -\textipa{ti} negative final suffix

The morpheme combination -\textipa{n.ka-}, composed of -\textipa{na} noun suffix 'in, on' plus -\textipa{ka-} verbalizer, acts
morphologically like a unit; -ka- verbalizer never occurs except preceded by -na (usually reduced to the velar nasal allophone of /n/, which is homorganic to /k/). In this combination /k/ always voices in Salinas.

aka.n.k.i.wa [akaníwa] 'it's here' -na 'in, of'
-ka- verbalizer

In other cases where the sequence /nk/ occurs across morpheme boundaries and the word stress occurs after the nasal, voicing may or may not occur depending on whether the nasal is realized as homorganic to the following velar, or not. (Nonhomorganic realizations occur in more careful speech.)

Nonhomorganic:

mun.ka.:na [munka:na] 'he wanted' muna.ña 'to wait'
-ka- incompletive

yapu alira.n.k.i [aliránki] 'the field is sprouting'
-ni- approacher
-ka- incompletive

Homorganic:

tani.n.k.i:pan [taníngí:pan] 'running'
-ni- approacher
-ka- incompletive
In addition to its obligatory and optional occurrences in Salinas, voicing of prevocalic stops occurred sporadically after homorganic nasals in several other dialects. In Calacala it occurred sporadically in the following:

Particle:

\[\text{ampi} \quad [\text{amp} \sim \text{ambi}] \quad \text{'right?'}\]

Noun suffix:

\[-\text{mpi} \sim -\text{nti} \quad [\text{mpi} \sim \text{mbi} \sim \text{nti} \sim \text{ndi}] \quad \text{'with'}\]

In Sitajara voicing occurred more often in the speech of one speaker (a woman under 30, bilingual in Spanish) than in that of another (a monolingual woman over 60) and always in suffixes, not roots.

In Corque voicing occurred in songs and in a story told by a woman about 50, but it was generally less noticeable than in Sitajara, Calacala, or Salinas.

In Huancané optional voicing of \(-\text{n.ka-}\) (\(-\text{na plus -ka-} \) verbalizer) occurred as in the following:

\[\text{kawki.n.ka.s.ka.raki?} \quad [\text{kawki} \quad \sim \quad \text{askarak}i] \quad \text{'Where is it?'}\]
4-3.22 Phonemic variation

4-3.22.1 Vowels

4-3.22.1.1 Predominance of /u/ over /i/ in verbs

In verbs a final root vowel /u/ obligatorily predominaates over an initial /i/ of a following suffix.

\[ \text{tuqu-} \ 'dance' + \text{-iri} \ 'actor/purpose' > \]

\[ \text{tuqu.ri} \ 'dancer/in order to dance' (La Paz) \]

In Salinas the rule extends to the second /i/ of -iri.

\[ \text{tuqu.ru} \ 'dancer/in order to dance' (Salinas) \]

On verbs having the final root vowel /a/ it drops before -iri.

\[ \text{chura-} \ 'give' + \text{-iri} > \text{chur.iri} \ 'giver' \]

The predominance of /u/ over /i/ in Aymara is limited to inflection and therefore to verbs. In the following example of a noun plus a derivational suffix beginning with /i/, the final root vowel /u/ does not predominate over the following /i/.

\[ \text{ajanu} \ 'face' + \text{-itu} \ 'little' > \text{ajan.itu} \ 'little face' \]

(La Paz)
4-3.22.12 Geminate vowel sequences and vowel length

Geminate vowel sequences may occur at the word boundary (juncture) between a modifier and a head in a noun phrase or as a result of suffixation with a morpheme of vowel length such as 1+3 F (see 6-3.32) or vowel length verbalization (see 5-3.41.2).

Uka aru.wa. 'It's that word.' (La Paz; Hardman et al. 1975:3.110)

Sara.: 'I will go.' --: 1+3 Future (all dialects)
kawkiri 'where' + _v: verbalizer + _c: 'actor' >
kawkiri:i:ri:8 'which' (La Paz)

k"uri 'way over yonder' + _v: verbalizer + _c: 'actor' >
k"ur:i:ri:8 'that one way over yonder' (La Paz)

The length may optionally reduce to simple vowel.

kawkiri 'which' (La Paz)

Nongeminate vowel sequences are not permitted in Aymara surface structure, and trigger other rules; see 4-3.22.13.
Avoidance of nongeminate vowel sequences

As in the case of the interrogative kawki 'where' and the demonstrative k"uri 'way over yonder', the demonstratives aka 'this', uka 'that', and k"aya 'over yonder' (see 5-2.2) may also be suffixed with -:- verbalizer plus -iri 'actor/purposeful'. In these cases a rule obligatory everywhere except Huancané converts the vowel sequence */ai/ to /i:/, e.g. *akairi is realized as ak.i:ri.

Across juncture in certain temporal roots a similar process occurs, converting the vowel sequence */au/ to /u:/.

jich'a 'now' + uru 'day' > jich'u:ru 'today'
(La Paz, Juli, Sitajara, Jopoqueri, Salinas, Morocomarca)

maya 'one, other' + uru 'day' >
mayu:ru (Salinas)
mayuru (La Paz, Jopoqueri)

Other similar compound temporals consisting of a modifier root (not always free) plus uru 'day' are shown in Figure 5-1. Another example is kunu:ru 'what day, when' from kuna 'what' plus uru 'day'.

In the temporal examples above, the initial vowel /u/ of the head noun uru dominates the final /a/ of the modifier. A different rule occurs with the time interrogative kuna.wrasa 'when, what time' consisting of kuna 'what' plus urasa 'hour' (from Spanish horas 'hours'). By this rule, which occurs in La Paz, Juli, Socca, Calacoa, and Sitajara, the vowel sequence */au/ is realized as the vowel-glide sequence /aw/⁹ instead of reducing to /u:/ or /u/.

In Huancané /a/ followed by /u/ is regularly realized as /aw/ rather than /u:/ or /u/, as in the following examples:

\[
\begin{align*}
kuna & \ 'what' + \ uru \ 'day' + \ -sa \ interrogative \ suffix \ > \\
& \underline{kuna.wru.sa} \ 'when'
\end{align*}
\]

\[
\begin{align*}
kuna & \ 'what' + \ urasa \ 'hours' + \ -sa \ interrogative > \\
kuna\.wsa.sa \ (urasa > /usa/ > /wsa/) \ 'what \ time'
\end{align*}
\]

\[
\begin{align*}
jich"a & \ 'this' + \ uru \ 'day' > jich"a.wru \ 'today' \\
(\text{also in Calacoa})
\end{align*}
\]

\[
\begin{align*}
sapa & \ 'every' + \ uru \ 'day' > sapa.wru \ 'every \ day'
\end{align*}
\]

Other examples of /aw/ for Huancané are given in Figure 5-1. In Huancané the diphthong */iu/ similarly changes
to /iw/, but */ai/ may change to /ay/ or /i:/.

uka 'that' + -:- verbalizer + -iri 'actor' >

uka.yri ~ uk.i:ri 'that one there'

Similar vowel sequence avoidance rules may be frozen in the 3→1 and 3→4 Remote Indirect Knowledge tense suffixes in certain dialects (see 6-3.35.2).

4-3.22.14 Reduction of vowel-glide-vowel to long or plain vowel

Reduction of vowel-glide-vowel to long or plain vowel affects only a few morphemes, although they have a high functional load: certain nouns (two numbers, two demonstratives, and a personal pronoun) and a verbal derivational suffix. In all cases but one the vowel-glide-vowel sequence is /aya/; /uyu/ occurs in a demonstrative in one dialect.

All dialects having /aya/ (or /uyu/) base forms in nouns reduce the vowel-glide-vowel sequence to long vowel when the nouns occur as modifiers. All dialects also reduce vowel-glide-vowel sequences in certain nouns before certain suffixes.

The two nouns that occur in all dialects in vowel-glide-vowel form are the numbers /maya/ 'one' and /paya/ 'two'. In Jopoqueri the reduced allomorphs /ma:/ and /pa:/
occur not only as modifiers, as they do elsewhere, but also in compound numbers, e.g. /tunka ma:.ni/ 'eleven', /tunka pa:.ni/ 'twelve' (see 5-2.4).

The demonstratives that have vowel-glide-vowel sequences are /k"aya/ 'over there' (La Paz, Juli, Socca, Huancané, Jopoqueri, Salinas), /k"ayu/ 'over there' (Cala-cala), and /k"uyu/ 'way over there' (Morocomarca). All occurred in vowel length form as modifiers except /k"ayu/, for which no example as modifier is available. (For additional details on reduction of these demonstratives to the vowel length form, see 5-2.2.)

The personal pronoun that has a vowel-glide-vowel sequence is /naya/ lp, which occurs in all dialects except Huancané and Sitajara. These dialects have only the reduced forms /na:/ or /na/. All dialects with /naya/ reduce it to /na/ before the plural suffix -naka. (See 5-2.3, also.)

In La Paz the verbal derivational suffix -waya-distancer has an optional allomorph /-wa-/ occurring before suffixes that require a preceding vowel. (See 6-2.23, also.)

4-3.22.15 Retention of long vowel in certain verb roots

The verbs ama:.ña 'to like, want' and p"a:.ña 'to cook', which occur in Sitajara, have in their roots vowel length which corresponds to /ya/ in the related
verb root amuya.ña 'to think, consider' and the cognate verb root p"aya.ña 'to cook' occurring in most dialects. That this vowel length is morphophonemically like a consonant plus vowel is shown by the fact that the length persists even before consonant-requiring suffixes.

\[ p"a:- + -t'a- 'momentaneous' + -si- reflexive + -ña nominalizer > p"a:.t'a.si.ña 'to cook for oneself at once' \]

On a verb root ending in plain vowel, the suffix -t'a- would cause the final root vowel to drop, e.g. chura- 'give' plus -t'a- is chur.t'a-. When a stem ending in long vowel is followed by a suffix requiring a preceding consonant, the vowel length drops leaving a plain vowel, as in warmi.t.wa 'I am a woman', in which the 1→3 Simple tense suffix -c-ta_c reduces verbalizing vowel length to simple vowel. If length were not there in the underlying representation, the form would be *warm.t.wa.

Thus, when -t'a- occurs on the verb p"a:-, *p"a.t'a- would be expected, the vowel length reducing to plain vowel. However, in p"a:.t'a.si.ña length is clearly present, showing that verb root vowel length can block the operation of a consonant-requiring rule or to put it another way, that verb root vowel length is in fact a sequence of glide plus vowel (3-5.3).
Furthermore, for the two verbs here discussed the verbal inflections for 1→3 Simple tense and for 1→3 Remote Direct Knowledge (RDK) tense fall together, since root vowel length is indistinguishable from the vowel length mark of RDK, and geminate vowel length (vowel length longer than two vowels) does not occur. That is, the following forms do double duty for 1→3 in both the Simple and RDK tenses.

\[
\text{ama:t'a 'I wanted' } \quad \text{p'a:t'a 'I cooked'}
\]

Another kind of vowel length in a root is that occurring with the verb sa.ña plus Simple tense in Jopoquequi (see Figure 6-11). This length results from a rule lengthening the root vowel to avoid an initial consonant cluster. In Sitajara one allomorph of the 1→3 Simple tense with sa.ña (the only irregular verb in Aymara) has a long vowel, although initial consonant clusters in sa.ña are common in that dialect.

4-3.22.16 Three-vowel rule (Vowel deletion)

4-3.22.16.1 Nouns

By a syntactically conditioned rule, noun roots having two vowels always keep the final vowel when serving as modifiers in noun phrases. (Nouns ending in a sequence of vowel-glide-vowel reduce it to long vowel; see 4-3.22.14.)
Noun roots or stems having three or more vowels lose the last vowel when occurring as modifiers in noun phrases. That is, the head noun causes the final vowel of the modifier to drop if the modifier has three or more vowels. Examples:

- **jang'u ch'ugi**  
  1 2  
  'white potato' (La Paz)

- **ch'iyar ch'ugi**  
  1 2 3  
  'black potato' (La Paz)
  
  ch'iyara 'black'

- **taq.pach kurpu**  
  1 2 3  
  'whole body' (La Paz)
  
  taqi 'all' -c_pacha 'same'

- **tata.la.ñ yap.pa**  
  1 2 3 4  
  'my father's field' (Morocomarca)
  
  (see 4-4.3) -ña lp possessive

When the modifier ends in the possessive suffix -na, the final /a/ may or may not be retained, according to rules specific to that suffix which override the three-vowel rule in certain dialects (see 5-3.31.2).

A noun phrase embedded in another may behave syntactically like a single modifier, in which case the three-vowel rule will apply.
aka tugu laru.n 'on this side' (Juli)

aka 'this' tugi 'around'

laru 'side' < Spanish lado

But successive noun phrases having a different immediate constituency from the above do not necessarily manifest the three-vowel rule; see 7-4.2 and additional examples cited by Hardman et al. (1975:3.373-374).

4-3.22.16.2 Noun suffixes

In all dialects the noun suffixes -layku ~ -rayku 'on account of', -pura 'between, among', and -kama 'among, all, each, up to, as far as, until' act like heads of noun phrases, requiring that modifiers having more than three vowels drop the last one, except that in cases of modifiers that are themselves noun phrases the rule is variable as indicated above.

In Huancané the personal possessive suffixes and the complement/relational suffix -taki 'for' usually follow the three-vowel rule. Examples:

kuñtu.ja 'my story' kuñtu 'story' /-ja/ lp possessive

< Spanish cuento

awich.ja 'my grandmother' awicha 'grandmother'
In the following example (still for Huancané), the possessive -ma 2p keeps a previous vowel although four vowels precede it, but loses its own vowel before a following -taki, indicating that when more than one suffix subject to the three-vowel rule occurs on a noun, the rule applies only to the suffix occurring last on the stem.

The frozen suffixes -ma ~ -mma and -ta ~ -tta that occur on certain kinship terms in Jopoqueri (see 5-3.11.14 and 5-3.11.15) may be considered reduced forms of the noun roots mama 'mother' and tata 'father' that lost their first vowel because it was the third in sequence in the new stem. Examples:

'father's youngest brother's wife'

'uncle'
When the two suffixes occur on noun stems that already have three vowels, these stems lose the final vowel by the three-vowel rule.

\[\text{sullk.ir.ma}^{11}\] 'father's younger brother's wife'
\[1 \quad 2 \quad 3\]

\[\text{sullk.iri}\] 'younger'

\[\text{sullk.ir.tta}\] 'father's younger brother'
\[1 \quad 2 \quad 3\]

The verbalizing suffix \(-\text{kipta-}\), which also usually takes a preceding vowel, causes the third vowel of a three-vowel noun to drop.

\[\text{usu.r.kipta.na}\] 'to become sickly' (La Paz/Tiahuanaco)
\[1 \quad 2 \quad 3\]

\[\text{usu.ri}\] 'sick person'

Before other suffixes that require a preceding vowel (such as \(-\text{pta-}\) verbalizer) three-vowel noun roots and stems keep the final vowel.

\[\text{Ch'iyara.pta.s.k.i.w.}\] 'It is turning black.' (La Paz)
\[1 \quad 2 \quad 3\]

\[\text{usu.ri.pta.na}\] 'to become sickly' (La Paz)
\[1 \quad 2 \quad 3\]
4-3.22.16.3 Verb suffixes

Certain verbal derivational suffixes that normally take a preceding vowel follow the three-vowel rule on verb stems ending in the verbal derivational suffix -si-frozen to the root (see 6-2.21). The suffixes are -mucha- ~ -muchu- ~ -nuku- 'away, off', -paya- helper/mocker, and -tata- scatterer.

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{ali.s.muchu.ña} & \sim \text{ali.s.nuku.ña} & \text{'to throw out'} \\
\underline{1} \underline{2} \underline{3} & \underline{1} \underline{2} \underline{3} \\
\text{(La Paz/Tiahuanaco)} & \text{ali.si.ña} & \text{'to sprout'} \\
\text{ali.s.paya.ña} & \text{'to throw someone out'} & \text{(La Paz, Salinas)} \\
\underline{1} \underline{2} \underline{3} \\
\text{aru.s.tata.ña} & \text{'to say'} & \text{(Salinas; not used in La Paz)} \\
\underline{1} \underline{2} \underline{3} \\
\text{-tata- scatterer} & \text{aru} & \text{'word, speak'}
\end{align*}
\]

The verbal derivational suffix -cha-, which can verbalize nouns, follows the three-vowel rule when it occurs on a noun stem ending in -ni possessor suffix. Normally, -cha- requires a preceding vowel.

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{gullgi.n.cha.ña} & \text{'to cause someone to win'} & \text{(La Paz/Tiahuanaco)} \\
\underline{1} \underline{2} \underline{3} \\
\text{gullqi.ni} & \text{'money-haver'}
\end{align*}
\]
When the verbal derivational -kipa- 'past a point' occurs on a two-vowel noun verbalized with -cha-, the three-vowel rule also applies although -kipa- usually requires a preceding vowel.

\underline{uta.ch\_kipa.si.ni.ña} 'to fix the roof of a house'

1 2 3

(La Paz/ Tiahuanaco) \underline{uta} 'house'

The examples suggest that the three-vowel rule may have applied more generally in the past than it does today. That is, the fact that some suffixes trigger the three-vowel rule on roots or stems having three vowels may reflect a stage during which the rule operated for all suffixed three-vowel stems regardless of whether the suffix in question normally required a preceding vowel or consonant.

4-3.22.2 Consonants

The following rules apply after suffixation accompanied by vowel-dropping has created certain consonant clusters.

4-3.22.21 Geminate consonant clusters

Examples of geminate consonant clusters were given in 4-3.22.16.2. They usually reduce to one. Three successive geminate consonants usually reduce to two.
Jani.w at.t.ti [atti]. 'I can't.' (Salinas)

ati.ña 'to be able'

-ta 1+3 Simple tense

-ti negative final suffix

4-3.22.22 Reduction of stop-fricative clusters to aspirated stops (Neutralization)

When morphophonemic vowel-dropping results in a /kj/, /kx/, or /qx/ cluster, the result is indistinguishable phonetically from /k"/ or /q"/. /kx/ tends to assimilate to /q"/, the postvelar fricative exerting regressive influence on the point of articulation of the stop.

4-3.22.23 Frication of velar stop before consonant /k/ \textrightarrow /j/ / [+cons]

By this rule the velar stop /k/ changes to the homorganic velar fricative /j/. The rule occurs only in Salinas and Huancané.

In Salinas the rule applies to two suffixes containing /k/ after morphophonemic vowel dropping has created a cluster of /k/ plus another consonant (not another /k/). The suffixes are -ka- verbal derivational incompletive and -raki nonfinal independent. The only consonants that have occurred after /k/ in examples noted
to date are /t/ and /s/. Examples:

\[\text{Ni.w chur.k.i.ti.} \quad \text{'He/she/they didn't give it (to X).' }\]
\[\text{no give} \quad -i \quad 3\+3 \text{ Simple tense} \]

\[\text{Ni.w chur.j.t.ti.} \quad \text{'I didn't give it (to X).' }\]
\[\text{-c\_c \quad 1\+3 \text{ Simple tense} }\]

\[\text{kuna.raki} \quad \text{'and what?' }\]

\[\text{kuna.:ma.s.ka.raj.ta}^{12} \quad \text{'and how are you?' }\]
\[\text{-c\_a} \quad 2\+3 \text{ Simple tense} \]

In Huancané the rule operates on -raki before the consonant-requiring verbal inflectional suffix -chi NI.

\[\text{Wali.ka.raj.chi.ni.t.} \quad \text{'It may not be good.' }\]
\[\text{-NI \quad 3\+3 \quad F} \]

(In this example vowel length verbalization on wali is reduced to plain vowel before the consonant-requiring -ka- incompletionive suffix.)
4-3.22.24  Reduction of fricative clusters
/sj/, /js/, /sjs/  -->  [ʂ]

This rule operates in Salinas on the output of
the rule in 4-3.22.23 when /j/ is preceded and/or fol­
lowed by /s/, reducing the cluster to the alveolar frica­
tive [ʂ].

lura.s.j.ta  [lurašta] 'you were making/doing'
   -si-  reflexive/reciprocal
   _c-ta_-  2+3 Simple tense

kuyn.t'.ka.raj.sma  [kuynšt'karašma] 'I've told the
story to you'
   _c-sma_  1+2 Simple tense

In.j.ta.s.j.sma.wa.  [injtašmawa] 'I know you.'
   -si-  reflexive/reciprocal

4-3.22.25  Affricate reduction rules
4-3.22.25.1  /ch/  -->  [ʂ]  /  [-cons]  ___  [+stop]

The affricate /ch/ may reduce to the fricative
allophone [ʂ] when /ch/ occurs before a stop in noun or
verb roots or in the verbal derivational causative and
verbalizing suffix -cha-. (As noted under 4-3.22.24,
[ʃ] also results from reduction of sequences of /s/ and /j/ in Salinas. The neutralization of /ch/ and /sj/ is evidence of the instability of the three phonemes as indicated in Chapter 3.) In all roots and in the suffix -cha- /ch/ is preceded by a vowel. Reduction to [ʃ] is obligatory in some morphemes, optional in others, and varies dialectally. Examples:

Nouns:

pachpa [paʃpa] 'same' (most dialects)

pichq'a [piʃq'a] 'five' (Calacala)

itch'a [ičk'a - ışk'a] 'little' (Sitajara)

Verbs:

jich'i- 'carry grains in the hand' + -t'a- momentaneous >

jich.ta [jic'ta] (Morocomarca)

[jist'a] (Salinas)

(In this example /ch'/ loses glottalization before the consonant-requiring suffix -t'a-, in rapid speech.)
Noun + -cha- verbalizer:

kama.cha- 'what happened' + -ta 2+3 S + -sa final suffix >

kama.ch.ta.sa [kamačtasa] 'what happened to you?'
(La Paz/Compi; does not reduce to [ʔs])

[kamačtasa] (Socca; obligatory)

When the /ch/ of -chi NI verbal inflection follows the /ch/ of -cha- verbal derivational suffix, the geminate /chch/ reduces to one which then obligatorily reduces to [ʔs] in La Paz.

yati- 'know' + -cha- causative + -chi NI +

-c-ta 1+3 S > *yati.ch.ch.ta >

yati.ch.ta [yatišta] 'maybe I teach' (La Paz)

4-3.22.25.2 /ch/ --> /s/ / [+cons] ___ [+cons]

Reduction of /ch/ to the alveolar fricative phoneme /s/ occurs in certain restricted circumstances involving the verbal inflectional suffix -chi NI. In all dialects investigated the /ch/ of -chi NI obligatorily reduces to /s/ when it occurs before a consonant. In all available examples the consonant is /t/. 
yati- 'know' + -c\text{-}chi \text{NI} + -c\text{-}ta\text{-}c \rightarrow 3 S >
yat.s.ta [yatsta] 'maybe I know' (La Paz, Socca)

muna- 'want' + -c\text{-}ka- incompletive + -c\text{-}chi \text{NI} +
\quad -c\text{-}ta\text{-}v 2\rightarrow 3 S + -xa \text{ final suffix} >
mun.k.s.ta.x [munkstax] 'maybe you want' (La Paz)

wijita 'old lady' + -c\text{-}xa- completive + -c\text{-}chi \text{NI} +
\quad -c\text{-}ta\text{-}c 1\rightarrow 3 S + -xa \text{ final suffix} + -ya \text{ final suffix} >
wijita.x.s.t.xa.y [wijitaxstxay] 'I'm an old lady already.'
\quad (Corque)

wijita < Spanish viejita

4-3.22.25.3 /ch/ --> /s/ / /x/ \_\_\_ [-\text{cons}]

In Jopoqueri /ch/ reduces to /s/ when it occurs after the postvelar fricative /x/ and before a vowel.

maq'a- 'eat' + -nta- 'into' + -c\text{-}xa- completive +
\quad -c\text{-}chi \text{NI} + -itanta 2\rightarrow 1 F + -lla politive >
maq'a.nt.x.s.itanta.lla [maq'antxsitanta\text{-}la]

'you may eat me'
The above rule does not apply in La Paz, the allophone [c̃] occurring whenever /ch/ is followed by a vowel, regardless of what precedes. The corresponding form in La Paz is as follows.

\[
\text{manq'a } 'eat' + \text{-nta } 'into' + \underline{\text{-xa}} \text{ completive } + \\
\underline{\text{-c̃hi}} \text{ NI } + \text{-ita:ta } 2+1 \text{ F } + \underline{\text{-ya}} \text{ politive } > \\
\text{manq'a.nt.x.ch.ita:ta.y } [\text{manq'antx̃ita:tay}] \\
\]

'you may eat me'

4-3.22.26 /ñ/ --> /11/ / / / [-cons]

The palatal nasal becomes a palatal lateral after the alveolar lateral and before a vowel in the following examples from Morocomarca:

\[
\text{mama.la } 'mother' + \underline{\text{-c̃ña}} \text{ lp possessive } + \underline{\text{-ña}} \text{ possessive } > \\
\text{mama.l.ña.n } [\text{mamañan}] 'my mother's'
\]

4-3.3 Final position in morphological word

4-3.31 Retention or loss of final vowel of morphological word (syntactically conditioned)

4-3.31.1 Verb subjects

In the basic Aymara sentence (see 7-3) the subject noun (or head of a noun phrase serving as subject) retains
its final vowel before final sentence suffix(es) if any.14

In La Paz and Sitajara (and possibly elsewhere--data are incomplete) a pronoun subject of a verb inflected for the Imperative usually loses its final vowel and takes no independent or final suffixes. The vowel loss is tied to co-occurrence with certain person/tense suffixes of the Imperative, however, and the rules in La Paz differ from those in Sitajara. In Morocomarca the subject of an Imperative verb does not lose its final vowel. (For a fuller discussion of these rules see 6-3.33.)

In sentences containing a main and a subordinated verb (see 7-4.2), pronoun subjects may lose or retain their final vowels. The following example is from La Paz/Compi, with -chi NI (reduced to /s/) plus Simple tense on the subordinated verb and Imperative (or Future) tense on the main verb.

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{\underline{Jum}}_2 & \quad \text{\underline{jan}}_3 & \quad \text{\underline{mun.k.s.ta.x}}_4 \\
\text{\underline{Juma.x}}_2 & \quad \text{\underline{nay}}_1 & \quad \text{\underline{sara..}}_3 \\
\text{2p} & \quad \text{no go want} & \quad \text{1p} & \quad \text{go 1→3 F/I}
\end{align*}
\]

'If you don't want to go, I'll go.'

All four of the possible combinations with and without
final vowel on the subjects were acceptable, although the first example elicited had no vowel on either. The same example occurred in Juli, and similar ones occurred in Huancané, Sitajara, and Calacoa.

Without the negative, forms with final vowel are preferred, as in the following example which has -chi NI (reduced to /s/) plus Simple tense on the subordinated verb, and Imperative on the main verb.

\[
\text{Juma} \times \text{ch'uq} \quad \text{mun.s.ta.x} \quad \text{ma:} \quad \text{kustal} \quad \text{apa.n.ma.}
\]

\[
\begin{array}{c}
\text{2p} \\
\text{potato} \\
\text{want 2+3} \\
\text{NI S}
\end{array}
\]

\[
, \quad \text{a} \quad \text{bag} \quad \text{bring 2+3} \quad \text{I}
\]

'If you want some potatoes, bring a bag.' (Juli)

In Morocomarca, Jopoqueri, and Salinas, on the other hand, pronoun subjects never occur without their final vowels, though in sentences of the types here exemplified they usually occur unsuffixed.

\[
\text{Juma} \quad \text{jani} \quad \text{sara.ñ} \quad \left\{ \begin{array}{c}
\text{muna.sma} \\
\text{2+3} \\
\text{D-1} \\
\text{uka} \\
\text{naya} \\
\text{go 1+3} \\
\text{F}
\end{array} \right. \\
\text{mun.ta.ti} \\
\text{2+3} \\
\text{S}
\]

'If you don't want to go, I'll go.' (Jopoqueri)

In all dialects investigated except Morocomarca, a pronoun subject of a verb subordinated with -ipana
(and other members of the paradigm, if any) occurs without a final vowel (see 7-4.22.2).

4-3.31.2 Verb zero complements

A noun root or stem or a nominalized theme serving as the zero complement of a verb is marked by obligatory loss of the final stem vowel before final (sentence) suffixes, if any (except the final suffix -lla~ya, which requires a preceding vowel; see 4-3.32.2 and 5-3.33 for examples).

4-3.31.3 Negative jani

The final vowel of the negative particle jani drops when it modifies a noun root (except an interrogative), stem, or theme, a subordinated verb, or a verb with the Imperative tense, and when it occurs in negative information questions and answers thereto. When modifying an interrogative, jani loses its initial /ja/. (See 7-4.53.3.)

4-3.32 Tolerance or avoidance of final consonant clusters in the morphological word

4-3.32.1 Verbs

Three dialects permit stem-final consonant clusters in verbs inflected with the Imperative tense: Juli, Socca, and Huancané. Juli and Socca permit such clusters only
when the verb ends with the 2→3 Imperative inflection ~cm, while Huancané permits them in stems ending in the 3→2, 2→1, 3→1, and 3→4 Imperative inflections as well (see 6-3.33). Examples, all of 2→3 I, are

Jut.m. 'Come!' (Socca)

Al.t'a.si.w.m uk. 'Buy that one.' (Huancané)

Apa.n.m. 'Bring it.' (Huancané)

4-3.32.2 Nouns

Socca permits final consonant clusters on a noun ending in the suffix -na possessive, when the noun occurs as modifier in a noun phrase.

K"it.n wutilla.p.s jala.ga.ya.raq.ta?
whose bottle knock over 2→3
S

'Whose bottle did you knock over on purpose?'

(See 5-3.31.2 for further discussion of the suffix -na.)

In Morocomarca, when a final consonant cluster occurs on a noun stem ending in a personal possessive suffix as the result of syntactically conditioned vowel dropping, the vowel before the last consonant will be obligatorily restored (see 5-3.24).
In all dialects morphological word-final clusters are permitted in nouns when they occur within a morpheme and as a result of final vowel-dropping.

\[
\text{Wawa.mp apa.sma. 'You should take the baby, too.'}
\]

\[
\text{baby take -mpi 'with, and' (La Paz/Compi)}
\]

In this example, \text{wawa.mp} is a zero complement, losing its final vowel.

4-3.33 Stem-final vowel restoration (stress on antepenultimate vowel of a verb)

As indicated in 3-3.1, stress in Aymara is non-phonemic, always occurring on the penultimate vowel. Vowel length after a penultimate stressed vowel, or loss of a final vowel, may make the stress appear to fall on the last vowel of a word. Restoration of a final vowel /a/ to an inflected verb after stress placement may make the stress appear to fall on the antepenultimate vowel. This effect has so far been heard only in La Paz and Sitajara on verbs inflected with suffixes ending in nasals. These suffixes are the 2\to 3 \text{ Imperative \_vm}, 3\to 2 \text{ Simple \_c\text{-tam}}, and 4\to 3 \text{ Simple \_c\text{-tan}}. The stress pattern occurs most often on 2\to 3 \text{ Imperative}, rarely on the others. In La Paz the pattern occurs most frequently in radio advertisements and announcements but has also been heard in sermons (see 9-3 for examples).
Apart from the contexts of advertising, announcing, or preaching, the pattern occurs rarely in La Paz. In one instance it occurred with the final /a/ devoiced, in conversation.

Ratu.ki apā.ni.ma. 'Bring it right away.'

In Sitajara both the regular and antepenultimate patterns occurred with 2→3 Imperative in a description of making chicha (a corn drink) which included exhortations like the following:

Umā.nta.ma chicha, aka k'us um.t'a.mā.lla.

'Drink chicha, please drink this chicha!'

Stress occurs on the antepenultimate vowel in the first word above, with a final /a/ restored to the 2→3 Imperative inflection. The last word in the sentence has regular penultimate stress on the /a/ of -m(a), restored before the suffix -lla politive. In the first word, stress placement occurred before final vowel restoration, while in the last, vowel restoration occurred, then suffixation with -lla, then stress placement. The two rules may be stated as follows:

1. Stress placement on penultimate syllable
2. Final vowel restoration
In the case of umá.nta.ma, beginning with the base form uma.nta.m the rules apply in the order 1, 2. In the case of um.t'a.má.llla, beginning with the base form um.t'a.m the rules apply in the order 2, 1 with the intervening suffixation of -lla between 2 and 1.

Since um.t'a.má.llla is more polite, having the polite suffix -lla, one is tempted to infer that the restoration of the final vowel to umá.nta.ma may be an attempt to soften the command by preparing the verb stem to take the polite, but since stress has already been placed, the word is closed to further suffixation.

4-3.4 Final position in syntactical word
4-3.41 Final vowel-dropping or -devoicing

In all dialects the final sentence suffixes (for example, -wa, -xa, -lla ~ -ya, -sa, and -ti) commonly lose their final vowels phrase-finally within a sentence; -wa and -lla ~ -ya commonly lose them sentence-finally as well. Such vowel-dropping may well depend on stylistic considerations, as Hardman has suggested.

Instead of dropping, final vowels may devoice sentence-finally, as in the example given in 4-3.33 above. A final vowel which must be retained because of its grammatical function, for example the verb inflection 3→3 Simple -i, may devoice, especially if it occurs between two voiceless consonants sentence-medially. (For an
example of sentence-medial final vowel devoicing, see 4-3.21.33.) L. Martin-Barber has provided a phonetic transcription showing vowel devoicing in a story told by a speaker from Compi (Hardman et al. 1975:3.92-93).

For the nonnative, it is often difficult to distinguish word-final vowel dropping from word-final vowel devoicing. A devoiced final vowel, though undetectable to a foreigner, is still present morphophonemically and discernible to a native speaker since syntactic distinctions are made by presence or absence of final vowels.

4-3.42 Final consonant clusters

In all dialects final consonant clusters are permitted on nouns if they result from zero complement vowel drop followed by a final suffix.

\[ \text{Wawa.p.x apa.sma.} \quad \text{'Wouldn't it be nice if you took baby take 2+3} \]
\[ \quad \text{D-1 her baby.'} \quad \text{pa 3p possessive} \]
\[ \quad \text{-xa final suffix} \]
\[ \quad \text{(La Paz/Compi)} \]

4-4 General and Dialect-Specific Rules

The majority of morphophonemic rules in Aymara are found in all dialects, but certain rules are dialect-specific.
4-4.1 Variation in morphophonemics of suffixes

Noun suffixes (5-3) that vary in their morphophonemics from one dialect to another are the personal possessives and the complement/relational. While all dialects have certain noun suffixes that observe the three-vowel rule, in Huancané the rule also operates for -taki complement/relational and the personal possessives, which do not follow the rule in other dialects. In Jopoqueri the three-vowel rule extends to certain frozen suffixes. In Morocomarca, Calacala, Jopoqueri, and Salinas the personal possessive suffixes have variable morphophonemics conditioned by final consonant cluster avoidance rules.

Only two verbal derivational suffixes (6-2) have variable preceding morphophonemics: -naqa- 'aimlessly' and -nuga- placer. These vary within as well as across dialects. Verbal derivational suffixes subject to the three-vowel rule in La Paz (and possibly elsewhere) are -cha- verbalizer of nouns, -kipa- 'past a point,' -muchu- (and variants) 'away', -paya- helper, and -tata-scatterer.

Of the verbal inflectional suffixes (6-3), 2+3 Imperative is unique in requiring a preceding consonant in Juli, Socca, Huancané, and Morocomarca, except when the verbal derivational suffix -ka- incomplete precedes
the inflection. In La Paz, Sitajara, Calacoa, Jopoqueri, and Salinas I always requires a preceding vowel.

4-4.2 Variation in other morphophonemic rules
4-4.21 Rules occurring in all dialects
4-4.21.1 Obligatory rules

Obligatory rules occurring in all dialects are predominance of /u/ over a preceding /i/ in verb stems; vowel sequence avoidance rules (some differences occur in the rules themselves); reduction of /aya/ to /a:/ (and of /uyu/ to /u:/) in modifiers in noun phrases; the three-vowel rule (exerted by heads of noun phrases on modifiers and by certain noun suffixes on preceding stems; some dialects have additional suffixes subject to the rule); interconsonantal affricate reduction to /s/; morphological word-final vowel retention for subjects of main verbs (except with the Imperative tense in certain contexts and dialects); morphological word-final vowel loss for zero complements; morphological word-final vowel loss on jani negative in certain environments.

4-4.21.2 Optional rules

Optional rules occurring in all dialects are dropping of initial (C)V preceded by devoicing of the vowel; intervocalic stop-voicing and frication under
certain conditions; geminate consonant reduction; neutralization of stop-fricative clusters and aspirated stops; syntactical word-final vowel devoicing and deletion.

4-4.22 Dialect-specific rules

4-4.22.1 Obligatory rules

Obligatory dialect-specific rules are voicing of prevocalic stops after homorganic nasals and the palatal lateral within a morpheme, Salinas; frication of velar stop before consonant in certain morphemes, Salinas; reduction of clusters of alveolar fricative plus velar fricative, Salinas; affricate reduction to /s/ after /x/, Jopoqueri; loss of morphological word-final vowel on verb subjects in certain environments in certain dialects; avoidance of morphological word-final consonant clusters on nouns with personal possessive suffixes, Morocomarca.

4-4.22.2 Optional rules

Optional dialect-specific rules are preposition (or recovery) of initial /ji/ or /si/ on saña before Simple tense inflection, La Paz, Juli, Huancané, Socca; reduction of /q'/ to ['], Salinas, Calacala, and Morocomarca; palatalized velar allophone of /Ñ/, Morocomarca; voicing of stop after homorganic nasal and before vowel, Calacala, Corque, Huancané, Sitajara; voicing and frication of prevocalic /p/ in -pa 3p suffix, Calacala;
lateralization and denasalization of /nh/, Morocomarca; final vowel restoration and antepenultimate stress on 2→3 Imperative and certain other person/tense suffixes, La Paz and Sitajara.

4-5 Conclusion

Taken as a whole and in spite of its complexities, morphophonemics is a rather stable area of Aymara grammar, contributing to mutual dialect intelligibility (although speakers from La Paz have some difficulty with dialects having extensive stop voicing and frication). Few suffixes differ in morphophonemics from one dialect to another, although some are affected by phonologically and syntactically conditioned rules that are dialect specific. Some dialect groups that may be identified by morphophonemic rules are as follows.

4-5.1 Dialects preposing (or restoring) /si/ or /ji/ to saña

La Paz (preferred); Juli, Socca, Huancané (less frequent).

4-5.2 Dialects voicing stops after homorganic nasal or palatal lateral before a vowel

Salinas (obligatory within a morpheme, permitted across morpheme boundaries under certain conditions; Calacala, Corque, Huancané, Sitajara (optional).
4-5.3 Dialects whose personal possessive suffixes have variable morphophonemics (see 5-3.24)

Huancané, Sitajara, Jopoqueri, Salinas, Morocomarca, Calacala; possibly also Juli, Socca, and Calacoa

4-5.4 Dialects whose personal possessive suffixes have invariant morphophonemics, always requiring a preceding vowel

La Paz (Compi and Tiahuanaco)
Notes

1 An optional rule is one whose constraints are not yet fully understood. Many are probably stylistically conditioned.

2 The geminate vowel cluster /aa/ resulting from loss of /j/ reduces to /a/; see 4-3.22.12.

3 The final vowel of jich'a drops by a vowel sequence avoidance rule; see 4-3.22.13.

4 The first vowel of mama drops by the three-vowel rule; see 4-3.22.16.

5 This example shows that initial consonant clusters are permitted in La Paz/Compi dialect in nouns. They are usually avoided in verbs; see 4-3.13. Geminate /a/ here results in /a:/.

6 By a regular morphophonemic rule (see 4-3.22.22) /j/ or /x/ tends to reduce to aspiration following the homorganic stop. In the nonhomorganic combination /kx/ the velar /k/ tends to assimilate to the following post-velar /x/, resulting in /q'/.

7 According to Hardman (personal communication) voicing and frication of stops are common in Andean languages, especially in Quechua. Place names often reflect this, e.g. Cochabamba.

8 In the derivations of kawk.i:ri and k"ur.i:ri the following intervening forms may be postulated since vowel length verbalization requires a preceding vowel while -iri requires a preceding consonant or, as in these cases, reduces a preceding long vowel to one vowel.

With morpheme divisions:

*kawkiiiri > [kawkiiiri] /kawki:ri/ kawk.i:ri

*k"uriiiri > [k"uriiiri] /k"uri:ri/ k"ur.i:ri
The morphemic divisions are placed as if the vowel length were occurring on the first /i/ or -iri, although actually the vowel length results from two /i/'s in succession, one on the root and one in -iri. More accurate morphemic renderings would be kawki.iri and k"uri.iri, but since geminate vowels are symbolized as vowel plus /ː/ in Yapita orthography, the above compromise is followed in these forms and other similar ones that occur elsewhere in this study; see 4-3.22.12, 5-2.1, and 5-2.2.

The existence of the glides /w/ and /y/ as distinct from the vowels /u/ and /i/ is supported by the minimal pair uywa 'animal' / wiwa 'long live' < Spanish viva. (Native Aymara roots beginning with /wi/ include wila 'blood' and a number of others). Examples of /i/ or /u/ preceded or followed by the homorganic glide are

chura.y.itu 'he/she caused to give to me' (all dialects)

iya.ña 'to grind' (Jopoqueri)

sawu.ña 'to weave' (all dialects)

Yapu.wa. 'It's a field.' (all dialects)

Since in some dialects certain verbal derivational suffixes also follow the three-vowel rule, it might be more accurate to say that in being subject to the rule, heads of noun phrases act like certain suffixes.

The geminate /mm/ here reduces to /m/.

In Salinas the allomorph /-raji/ may optionally occur before vowel-requiring suffixes and in word-final position, so it is possible to consider it an alternate base form of the morpheme as was done in 3-4.22.23.

A morphological word is defined by Hardman as a free form capable of taking the sentence (final) and/or independent (nonfinal) suffixes (Hardman et al. 1975: 3.144).
14 See 7-4.21.22 for examples of final-vowel retention on nouns serving as topics (or goals) of verbs nominalized with -ña obligatory.

15 A syntactical word is defined by Hardman as a free form consisting of a morphological word plus independent and/or sentence suffixes (Hardman et al. 1975: 3.144).
CHAPTER 5
VARIATION IN THE NOUN SYSTEM

5-1 Introduction

The noun system of Aymara consists of roots and derived roots (stems), which are all free, derivational suffixes, and zero complement vowel drop. Nouns occur alone and in noun phrases as heads and modifiers; some occur modifying verbs. The open class of nouns takes in loanwords freely. Closed classes of roots do not freely admit loanwords, although they may have done so in the past. They are interrogatives, demonstratives, personal pronouns, numbers, positionals, and temporals. There is also a small class of ambiguous noun/verb roots. Other closed classes are shapes used in weaving, and kinship and age terms, which were only sporadically investigated in this research although meriting detailed study.

Noun suffixes occur only on noun roots, stems, and nominalized themes. The limitations on their occurrence help define noun classes. There are three order classes of noun suffixes and a class of limited occurrence. (Verbal derivational suffixes that can verbalize
nouns are discussed in 6-2. Suffixes that nominalize verbs are discussed in 7-4.21 and 7-4.22.)

5-2 Closed Classes of Noun Roots
5-2.1 Interrogatives

In all dialects, interrogatives usually occur followed by the sentence suffix -sa information interrogative with or without intervening suffixes. Interrogatives may also serve as indefinite pronouns when properly suffixed (see 7-4.24). The interrogative roots are

kama – kamisa 'how'

kawki 'where'

kuna 'what'

k"iti 'who'

gawq"a (and variants) 'how much/how many'

Only the first and the last show any variation in the root. The second, third, and last enter into a number of derived formations which display some dialectal variation.
5-2.11 Variable roots

5-2.11.1 kama ~ kamisa

The only dialect encountered so far having the allomorph /kama/ is Salinas. Elsewhere /kamisa/ occurs. In dialects having /kamisa/, /kama-/ exists only as an interrogative verb root in two verbs, the first used to inquire about someone's situation when the answer is expected to be negative and the second used to ask what someone said.

kama.chaña -cha verbal derivational/verbalizer

kam.saña saña 'to say'

5-2.11.2 qawq'a ~ q"awqa ~ q"awq'a ~ q"ayq'a

/qawq'a/ (La Paz, Huancané, Sitajara)

/q"awqa/ (Morocomarca)

/q"awq'a/ (Huancané, Jopoqueri)

/q"ayq'a/ (Salinas)

*/qayq'a/ (Reported to occur in parts of Ingavi [department of La Paz] and in Chile)

+/qayq'a/ (Bertonio 1603b)

It is possible that the /q"a/ ending certain allomorphs above may consist of /q/ plus -ja 'amount, quantity' (see 5-3.12.3).
5-2.12 Derived formations

5-2.12.1 Based on kawki 'where'

The following gloss as 'which':

kawk.iri (La Paz)

kawk.i:ri (La Paz, Socca, Huancané, Jopoqueri)

kawk.n.iri (La Paz, Juli)

kawk.n.i:ri (La Paz, Juli)

kawk.ch'api (Sitajara)

kawk.p.iri (Socca, Morocomarca)

kawki.p.iri (Morocomarca)

Most of the above are built with the nominalizing suffix -iri, sometimes with vowel length (see 4-3.22.12). The /n/ in two of the forms is probably an occurrence of the suffix -na possessive/locational (see 5-3.31.2). The suffix -ch'api is of limited distribution. The /p/ which occurs in the last two examples above may be a reduced form of the recurrent partial /-pa-/ related to the 3p possessive suffix -pa which occurs with no discernible 3p meaning in several nouns (see 5-3.24).

The derived forms kawk"a and kayk"a 'what place' are believed composed of the root kawki or *kayki plus
the suffix -ja 'quantity'; *kayk"a was not found in this research but is reported to be used in Awallamaya near Sicasica, department of Oruro.

The common query Kawki.n.k.iri.ta.sa? means 'Where are you from?' in La Paz, but elsewhere it means 'Where do you usually stay?' or 'Where are you usually?' Hardman (personal communication) found that around Puno and Chucuito it may also mean 'Where have you traveled?'

Other similar queries meaning 'Where are you from?' are

Kawki.ta.ta.sa? (Jopoqueri, Morocomarca, Salinas, Juli)

Kawki.ta.sa? (Sitajara, Huancané, Jopoqueri)

Kawki.ta.raki.ta? (Salinas, Calacala)

Kawki tuqi.ta.sa? (Socca) tuqi 'around'

5-2.12.2 Based on kuna 'what'

The root kuna occurs in several derived forms glossing 'why, for what reason', with the complement/relational suffixes -ru, -ta ~ -t"a, and -taki (and variants) and with the independent suffix -raki (and variants), as in

kuna.ru.sa (La Paz, Sitajara)
kuna.ta (Juli, Salinas)
kuna.t.sa (La Paz)
kuna.t"a (Juli, Salinas, Morocomarca)
kuna.ta.raki (Huancané)
kuna.t.raji (Salinas)
kuna.taki.sa (La Paz)
kuna.tay.sa (Sitajara)

With the suffix -jama 'like' and its variants, kuna glosses 'how'. In the dialects studied, these forms are more common than kamisa or kama 'how'.

kun.jama.sa (La Paz)
kun.jama.raki (Huancané)
kuna.ma.t.sa (Calacala)
kuna.:ma (Salinas)
kuna.:ma.s - kun.ja:ma.s (Jopoqueri)
kun.ja.t.s (Sacca)
kun.ja.sa (Sitajara)

Another derived form of kuna glossing 'how' is

kuna.lla.n.taki.rak (Jopoqueri)
kamisa and kun.jama.sa occur in the same context in the following statements:

\[
\text{Kamisa.raki.x uka.x sis.t.pi.y. (Vitocota)} \quad \text{1-3} \quad S
\]

\[
\text{Kun.jama.:pacha.s uka.x sis.t.wa. (La Paz/Tiahuanaco)} \quad \text{1-3} \quad S
\]

'Whatever will be, will be, I said.'

The following is reportedly said in Llica, Potosí (south of Salinas), according to a Salinas source:

\*kuna.ri.:na 'how was it?'

Here /ri/ is probably analogous to the /-iri-/ that occurs with Remote tenses in certain areas (see 6-3.37). A similar form used in Compi in speaking to an elderly lady, is

\[
\text{Kun.jam.iritam.s? "How did it affect you?"} \quad \text{3+2} \quad \text{RDK}
\]

La Paz Aymara today has the frozen form kunaymana2 'what a lot of', as in

\[
\text{Kunayman ch'ama.mpi.w waw uywa.si.s.k.ta. difficulty child raise 1-3 S}
\]

'What a lot of trouble I had raising my child.'
Elsewhere, it translates as 'of all kinds, whatever.'

A form based on {kuna} which immediately identifies the user as belonging to a Protestant sect or as speaking as its members do is {kuna.layku.ti.xa} used to mean 'because' (see 9-5).

{kuna} is the base for several time interrogatives all glossing 'when'. They include the temporal roots {uru} 'day', {pacha} 'time, period', and the Spanish loans {urasa} (from Spanish {horas} 'hours') and {wsa} (a reduced form of {urasa}). Examples:

-kun.u:ru (Salinas)
-kuna.wru.sa (Huancané)
-kuna pacha.sa (La Paz, Calacoa, Jopoqueri, Salinas, Morocomarca)
-kuna.wrasa.sa (La Paz, Juli, Socca, Calacoa, Sitajara)
-kuna.wsa.raki (Huancané)
-kuna.ws.pacha.sa (Huancané)

5-2.12.3 Based on {gawq"a} (and variants) 'how much/many'

This root combines with {pacha} in inquiries about time.

-gawq"a pacha 'how many times' (La Paz/Tiahuanaco)
gaw"a pacha.ta 'since when' (La Paz/Tiahuanaco)

+ gay"a pacha 'how much time' (Bertonio 1603b:183)

+ gay"a pacha.ta 'since when' (Bertonio 1603b)

It may also occur with personal possessive suffixes, as in these examples from Huancané.

q"awq"a.pa.sa 'how many of theirs' -pa 3p

q"awq"a.ja.sa 'how many of mine' /-ja/ 1p

q"awq"a.ma.sa 'how many of your people' (sic) -ma 2p

5-2.2 Demonstratives

Demonstratives are deictic pronouns expressing four degrees of distance. They readily enter into derived formations. In noun phrases they may modify human nouns, but their use as pronouns to refer to human beings is usually considered rude.

The root demonstratives, presented in order of relative proximity to a fixed point (e.g. the speaker or writer of a sentence), are

aka ~ jaka 'this, here'

uka 'that, there'

k"aya ~ k"a: ~ k"a ~ -k"ayu 'that over there, over there'
k"uyu ~ k"u: ~ k"u ~ k"uri 'that way over yonder, way over yonder'

5-2.21 Variable roots

The variant /jaka/ occurs in Morocomarca, in jak.sa tuqi.t"a 'around here', but has not been heard elsewhere; /aka/ occurs everywhere. A possible variant of uka, /ukaya/, occurs in Sitajara, in ukay.ti 'is it that?' (See 7-2.21.1 for another analysis of this form.)

In Jopoqueri and Socca, uwa sometimes occurs instead of uka in combination with -ta, sounding like [wat]. Hardman has suggested (personal communication) that uwa is probably a remnant of a proto-Jaqi demonstrative *uwa, since the three-way distinction aka - uka - uwa still exists in modern Kawki and the related form watga occurs in Jaqaru.

The base morpheme k"aya reduces to /k"a:/ when acting as modifier in a noun phrase (by a regular morphophonemic rule; see 4-3.22.14) in the following dialects: La Paz, Juli, Socca, Huancané, Jopoqueri, and Salinas. In Huancané, Salinas, and Juli the reduced form with or without vowel length may also occur with complement/relational suffixes, e.g. in Juli k"aya.na ~ k"a.na 'over there'; in La Paz only the full form occurs with complement/relationals. In Calacoa and Sitajara the
only form which occurred for this root was /k"a:/.
/k"ayu/ occurs in Calacala only. /k"uyu/ occurs in
Morocomarca. Two La Paz speakers do not recognize
/k"uyu/ as a demonstrative, but rather as the 3±3 Simple
tense of the verb k"uyu.ña 'to whistle, to winnow grain'.
Huancané has both /k"u:/ and /k"uri/; Salinas has both
/k"u/ and /k"u:/.

Sitajara does not use /k"uri/. Bertone (1603b) cited +/ku/ (156) and +/kuri/ (225).
Ebbing (1965:64) had +/k"uyu/ and +/k"uri/.

It is possible that /k"uri/ is a derived form
built of /k"u(yu)/ plus verbalization vowel length plus
-iri nominalizer, but if this is the case it has long
been a frozen stem, inasmuch as the base /k"uri/ readily
takes -:- plus -iri (see below).

The compound form k"a: k"uri 'way~ over
yonder' occurs in Juli, Huancané, and Calacoa. Huancané
has the compound form akawkana, from aka uka.na,
meaning 'large community'.

5-2.22 Derived formations

Like the interrogative kawki, all demonstrative
roots may take -:- verbalization plus -iri nominalizer
with or without a preceding /-n-/. The only complete
paradigms available are for La Paz, as follows:

ak.i:ri 'this one here'
uk.i:ri  'that one there'

k"ay.i:ri  'that one over there'

k"ur.i:ri  'that one way over yonder'

ak.n.i:ri  'this one that's closer'

uk.n.i:ri  'that one that's farther away'

k"ay.n.i:ri  'that one over there that's farther away'

k"ur.n.i:ri  'that one way over yonder that's farther away' (Compi)

kuy.n.i:ri  'that one way over yonder' (Tiahuanaco)

Both /uk.i:ri/ and /uka.yri/ occur in Huancané (see 4-3.22.13).

aka and uka apparently combine with the suffix -ja 'quantity' in the forms ak"a 'this much' and uk"a 'that much'. The demonstratives also combine with /-ja/ allomorph of -jama 'like', which is not always distinguishable from -ja 'quantity'. Spelling with " or /j/ is arbitrary.

ak.ja.naka.ta  'around here' (La Paz)

Ut.a.p.a.n  uk"a.w.  'His house is there.' (La Paz)

uk.ja.ll  'that one' (Sitajara)
The following clearly appears to have _-ja_ 'quantity':

\[\text{uk}.\text{ja}\ \text{taqi}\ 'a\ great\ deal'\ (Sitajara)\]

Expressions of time based on demonstratives include the following:

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{aka}.\text{t} & \quad \text{q}"\text{ipa.ru} \quad \text{(La Paz)} \\
\{\text{jich}.\text{a}.\text{t} & \quad \text{k"a}.\text{ru.x} \quad \text{'}from\ now\ on' \quad \text{(Jopoqueri)} \\
\text{jich}.\text{a}.\text{t} & \quad \text{k"uy.sa.ru} \quad \text{(La Paz)} \\
+\text{aka}.\text{t.jama.tak} & \quad \text{'}all\ of\ a\ sudden' \quad \text{(La Paz)} \quad \text{(Wexler 1967:455)}
\end{align*}
\]

Interestingly, \text{k"uy.sa.ru} was said by a source who rejected \text{k"uyu} as a demonstrative, showing that a dialect may reject a root form but use a derived form.

An expression of space using demonstratives is \text{k"ur.sa.r ak.sa.r} 'back and forth' (La Paz). The expression \text{k"a\: a\: lalaxa} 'heaven' is used in Calacoa. Other dialects have \text{alax.pacha} (or \text{arax.pacha}) or \text{silu} (from Spanish \text{cielo}) for 'heaven'.

By far the most common demonstrative in all dialects is \text{uka}, which occurs alone and in derived formations as a syntactic linker and summarizer.

\[\text{uka}.\text{t} \quad \text{'then, afterwards'}\]
**uk.jama** (uk"ama) 'thus, like that; moreover, also'

**uka mpi.sa** 'with that, also'

The last example has quite a different meaning in the lexicon of members of Protestant sects, who use it disjunctively to mean 'but' (see 9-5).

In Huancané **uka.na** is used as a linker in stories, meaning 'at that', 'then'. It has not been encountered as a linker in other dialects.

5-2.3 Personal pronouns

All dialects have four personal pronouns not specific for gender or number. The only one that shows no variation whatever is 2p **juma** 'you'; the others show minor phonological variations.

**lp** 'I/me, we/us but not you' occurs as three allomorphs, /na/, /na:/, and /naya/. The allomorph /na/ occurs in all dialects before -naka plural (see 5-3.25). In other environments Huancané and Sitajara have /na/ and /na:/; Calacoa has /naya/ as well but uses it less than the other allomorphs. La Paz has /naya/, /na:/, and /na/, as do the remaining dialects. Juli seems to favor /na/ over the other two. In Jopoqueri and Salinas /naya/ occurs before the complement/relational suffix -ru, and /na/ before the complement/relational suffix -na. Morocomarca prefers /naya/
before those suffixes but has /na:/ as well as /naya/
when unsuffixed.

To some speakers of Aymara who are bilingual in
Spanish and conscious of the Spanish singular/plural
distinction, /naya/, /na:/, and /na/ are always singular,
'I/me', and na.naka must be used for the plural 'we/us
but not you'. That monolinguals do not make this
distinction is clear in a number of examples, as in the
following from a free text recorded in Sitajara from a
monolingual woman over 60. In both cases the optional
verb-pluralizing suffix combination -p.xa- occurs on
the verb; number concord is not required in Aymara.

\[ \text{Alp}'a \text{ sa.p.x.t na.x. 'We say alfalfa.'} \]

\[ \text{Na.ru.xa rispach.xa.p.x.it ya:sta. 'Dismiss us already.'} \]

3p /jup"a/ occurs in Salinas and Morocomarca;
/jupa/ occurs elsewhere.

4p /jiwsa/ occurs in Calacoa, Sitajara, Surupa
(a community across from Socca), and is the form cited
by Bertonio (1603b); /jiwsa/ occurs elsewhere.

5-2.4 Numbers

Variation in number roots is phonological only.
Forms derived from numbers show some lexical variation.
5-2.41  

maya ~ ma: 'one' and paya ~ pa: 'two'

In all dialects maya and paya occur singly or as heads of phrases. Like k"aya and naya, their /ya/ sequences reduce to vowel length form when they occur as modifiers, e.g. /ma:/ in ma: uta 'one house'; and as already noted (4-3.22.14), in Jopoqueri the vowel length allomorphs also occur in compound numbers.

5-2.41.1  
maya ~ ma:

maya ~ ma: has several derived meanings and forms. In its basic form as modifier /ma:/ means 'one'. When modifying a pluralized noun, it translates as 'some' (unos in Spanish), e.g. ma: achachila.naka.x 'some old men'. It may modify another number, as in ma: pa: ch'akura 'some two stakes' (Corque).

maya ~ ma: plus -mpi ~ -nti 'with' has the meaning 'once more, again'. Allomorphs are regionally predictable but will be given here to illustrate their differing phonological shapes, which can cause inter-dialectal confusion. For example, a La Paz speaker did not recognize the Salinas voiced variant [ma::ndi] and resisted accepting it as the equivalent of his /maya.mpi/.

/maya.mpi/ (La Paz, most other dialects)

/ma::mpi/ (Calacoa)
/ma:.mpi/ (with optional realization [ma:.mbi]) (Calacala)

/ma:.mpi ~ ma:.nti/ (Jopoqueri)

/ma:.nti/ [ma:.ndi] (Salinas)

*maya* also has two derived meanings: 'suddenly, all at once' and 'another, different'. *maya* 'suddenly' occurs to modify a verb.

Uka.t may puraka.pa.x p"alla.tata.w.j.iritayn. then stomach burst 3-3 RIK

'Then suddenly her stomach burst.' (Calacoa)

It also occurs in derived formations.

*maya.ki* 'suddenly' (La Paz) -ki 'just'

*may.ti* 'suddenly' (Juli) -ti frozen suffix

*ma:.ki* 'fast, quickly, at once' (Calacoa)

*maya.ki may.sa.r* 'all at once' (La Paz)

-sa 'side' -ru 'to, at'

*maya* 'another, different' has always occurred suffixed or reduplicated or in a compound with *uru* 'day' in this research. It does not have an allomorph /ma:/ in dialects investigated so far.
may.maya 'first one, then the other' (La Paz/Compi)

maya.ki 'different, other' (Calacoa)

may.ja 'different' (Jopoqueri, Sitajara, La Paz)
/-ja/ 'like'

may.ja jaqi 'another class of person' (euphemism for dishonest person) (La Paz)
jaqi 'person'

may.ja.ta 'in a certain way' (La Paz) /-ta/ 'of, from'

maya.:ma 'different, other' (Morocomarca) /-:ma/ 'like'

maya.:mu 'different, other' (Salinas) /-:mu/ 'like'

may.ni 'the other one' (human) (La Paz, Salinas)
/-ni 'possessor'

may.ni.nha 'my spouse' (Jopoqueri) /-nha/ 1p possessive

may.n.ch"ap.iri 'someone, another one' (Jopoqueri)
/-ch"api/ 'the one which' -iri nominalizer

taqi may.ni.s 'everyone' (La Paz) taqi 'all'
/-sa sentence suffix

may.ti 'different, suddenly' (Juli)

may.kip uru 'every other day' (Tiahuanaco; also Bertonio 1603b:173)
/-kipa 'every other'
may.u:ru 'another day' (all dialects); also means 'tomorrow' (Sitajara)

uru 'day'

(This last contrasts with ma: uru 'one day', showing that maya 'different, other' is a different morpheme from maya ~ -ma: 'one', although it overlaps with maya ~ ma: 'suddenly'.)

+maya.jamu 'in one manner' (Bertonio 1603b:174)

+may.s.ja 'different' (Sebeok 1951a:55)

5-2.41.2 paya ~ pa:

paya ~ pa: occurs in derived formations also.

pa.ni 'two people' (all dialects) -ni 'enumerator'

pa.ni.sa⁴ 'we (4p) two' (La Paz; also Bertonio 1603b)

-sa 4p

pay.pacha 'the two [nonhuman]' (Huancané) -pacha 'all, same'

pa.cha.si.na 'to doubt, be of two minds' (La Paz; also Wexler 1967:455)

-cha causative verbalizer -si reflexive

-na nominalizer

+pa.mp.pacha.ni 'the two [human]' (LaBarre 1950:42)

+pay.uru 'two days' (Tschopik 1948:109)
5-2.42 Other numbers

/kinsa/ 'three' occurs in Morocomarca and Salinas, /kimsa/ elsewhere. The variants occur consistently in the compound numbers 'eight', 'thirteen', etc.

/p"usi/ 'four' occurs in Calacoa, /pusi/ elsewhere.

/pisqa/ 'five' occurs in Salinas (and is alleged by Bertonio); /p"isqa/ occurs in La Paz, Juli, Calacoa, Sitajara, and Jopoqueri; /pisqa/ occurs in Huancané and Morocomarca; /pichqa/ occurs in Calacala.

All present-day dialects have suxta, 'six'; Bertonio cited +chuxta (1603b:167).

Orinoca, a town on Lake Poopó in Oruro, reportedly has */paqaluqu/ 'seven'; all dialects encountered in this research have paqallgu.

The variants /kimsaqallqu/ and /kinsaqallqu/ 'eight' occur as indicated for /kimsa/ and /kinsa/, above.

llatunka 'nine', tunka 'ten', and waranga 'thousand' are invariable in present-day dialects, except that in Salinas, where there is an obligatory rule voicing stops after nasals and before vowels, there are distinctive phonetic realizations: [llatuŋga], [tuŋga], and [waranaŋga]. Bertonio gave +llallatunka for 'nine' and three different translations for 'thousand':
+jachu and +junu (Bertonio 1603b:167) and later +waranga (Bertonio 1612:2.150).

5-2.5 Positionals

Positionals are a class of nouns referring to spatial orientation, real and metaphorical. They often occur as heads in phrases with each other and other nouns, but all may act as free roots occurring alone. They take -ka- verbalizer (after the suffix -na) but usually do not take vowel length or -pta- verbalizer. Nouns which are semantically positionals but do not readily combine with full members of the class may be considered borderline members. There is more dialectal variety in these borderline cases than in the six regular and one defective positionals which constitute the class proper.

5-2.51 Regular positionals

The six regular positionals are

ança 'outside'

chiq a 'straight(ness), truth'

manq'a ~ manq"i 'inside, below'

pata 'top, altiplano'

q"ipa 'after, behind' (also a temporal; see 5-2.6)

taypi 'middle, midst'
These are found throughout the Aymara world. All have a high functional load except anga. Bertonio cited +manq"a meaning 'inside' and +manq"i meaning 'below' (Bertonio 1603:23). Some present-day dialects have one variant and others the other. La Paz, Juli, Jopoqueri, Salinas, and Morocomarca have manq"a; Huancané and Sita-jara have manq"i; Calacoa has both manq"a and manq"i for 'inside' and manq"a for 'below'.

5-2.52 Defective positional

The defective positional is tuqi~tuqu 'around, in the area of'. It is defective in that it does not occur as a modifier in phrases, but only as head, like a clitic on the way to becoming a suffix; but it may also occur alone as a root. /tuqi/ occurs everywhere. The alternate form /tuqu/ occurs in Calacoa (the one instance was in a riddle) and in Morocomarca and Calacala. In Morocomarca only /tuqi/ was acceptable before the suffix -na possessive/locational.

5-2.53 Borderline positionals

These roots will be listed in alphabetical order with examples of their occurrences and an indication of where they occurred, although their isoglosses are yet to be finally determined.
alaya 'above, next' (La Paz)

alay pata 'up there' pata 'top'

alay sawaru 'next Saturday' sawaru 'Saturday'

/alaxa/ 'north' (La Paz)

alax.pacha 'sky, heaven' pacha 'space, time'

/araxa/ 'north' (Jopoqueri)

arax.pacha 'sky, heaven'

amsta 'upward' (La Paz, Huancané)

awk"wa meaning uncertain; occurred in

jich"a.t awk"wa.ru 'from now on' (Salinas)

jich"a 'now' -ru 'to'

aynacha 'descent, slope, below' (La Paz, Juli, Calacoa, Jopoqueri)

chaqa ~ chaq"a 'around, in the area of' (Morocomarca)

chika 'next to, beside' (Juli, Jopoqueri, Calacala, San Andrés de Machaca)

na.mp chik 'at my side' (Juli)

na lp -mpi 'with'
chika.ta 'next to, beside' (Tiahuanaco)

-ta 'from, of'

chika 'halfway, middle' (Compi, Juli, Huancané, Calacoa; also a temporal)

chika.ta 'half' (La Paz)

ch'ina 'after, behind' (Tiahuanaco, in folk tale only; also Bertonio 1603b:223)

uta ch'in.kat.xa.y 'behind the house' (Tiahuanaco)

uta 'house' -kata 'across'

-xa sentence suffix -ya sentence suffix

jik"a 'behind' (Huancané)

k"ina 'behind, west' (Jopoqueri)

laru 'beside' < Spanish lado 'side' (Juli, Huancané, Jopoqueri, Salinas, Morocomarca)

/layra/ 'eye, before, in front of' (Salinas, Morocomarca; also a temporal)

/nayra/ 'eye, before, in front of' (La Paz, Juli, Socca, Huancané, Calacoa, Sitajara, Jopoqueri; also a temporal)

pacha 'space, time, epoch' (all dialects; also a temporal)

juk'a pacha.ki 'little amount' (Morocomarca)

juk'a 'little amount' -ki 'just'
This important class contains a number of roots and a few root-like recurrent partials referring to segments of time. In all dialects the class has taken in certain Spanish time words which pattern like the Aymara roots.

5-2.61 Full temporal roots

Full temporal roots may be defined as potentially occurring as heads in phrases or compounds with jich'a 'now' as modifier, or as modifiers in phrases or compounds with uru 'day' as head. These two roots, which occur in all dialects, themselves belong to the class of full temporal roots as they occur in the combination jich"u:ru as well as in other combinations. Full temporal roots, including those that are Spanish loans, are the following (for dialectal distribution of native Aymara temporal roots, see Figures 5-1 and 5-2):

5-2.61.1 Heads with jich'a as modifier

alwa < Spanish alba 'dawn', 'early, morning'

arama ~ aruma 'night, morning, period from midnight to dawn, before daylight'
arumanti ~ arumant'ì 'morning, tomorrow, period from midnight to dawn'
arumarji ~ arumirja 'morning'
jaypu ~ jayp'u ~ jayp'u 'afternoon, evening'
mara 'year'
p'axsi 'month'
q'alta ~ q"alt'i 'morning, tomorrow' (Bertonio 1603b cited +qalta)
ratu < Spanish rato 'while'
simana < Spanish semana 'week'
tarti < Spanish tarde 'afternoon, evening, late'
timpu < Spanish tiempo 'time'
urasa ~ -wrasa ~ -wsa < Spanish horas 'hours'
uru 'day'

By a morphophonemic rule affecting nouns with initial /jV/, jich"a may optionally lose its sequence /ji/ (see 4-3.12.1).

5-2.61.2 Modifiers with uru as head

chika 'halfway, middle' (also borderline positional)

jich"a ~ juch"a9 'now'
jurpi ~ Jurp"i 'day after tomorrow'

maya 'another' (homophonous with maya 'one')

q'alta ~ q"alt'i 'morning, tomorrow' (Bertonio 1603b cited + qalta)

q"ara 'tomorrow'

q"ipa 'after' (also a positional)

wasa 'another, other'

Forms with uru as head show the operations of the different vowel sequence avoidance rules characteristic of the dialects concerned (see 4-3.22.13).

q'alta ~ q"alt'i 'morning, tomorrow' is included here since a possibly related /qalt.uru/ 'first day (of month)' occurred embedded in a noun phrase in La Paz/Tiahuanaco (see the end of 5-2.64), even though the first two allomorphs were not found to occur before uru. They are also included here because /q"alt'i/ modifies /jurp"i/ 'day after tomorrow' and pacha 'time, epoch' in Salinas.

5-2.62 Rootlike recurrent partials

The rootlike recurrent partials that are members of this class occur only as modifiers, in all dialects. They are

mar- ~ war- ~ wal- 'two (days) ago' (+ uru)
mas-~ was- 'one (day) ago' (+ jayp'u and uru)

They occur without final vowels, but may be assumed to have final /a/ by analogy with the root wasa, which occurs as a free root in La Paz; masawa 'long ago' was alleged by Bertonio (1603b:50).

The Spanish days of the week have been borrowed into all Aymara dialects. They occur both as heads with jich"a as modifier, and as modifiers with uru as head. They also frequently occur as heads modified by alaya 'next' and pas.ir 'last' and as modifiers of alwa, jayp'u, and probably others. The days are

\begin{align*}
lunisa & < \text{lunes} \quad \text{'Monday'} \\
martisa & < \text{martes} \quad \text{'Tuesday'} \\
mirkulisa & < \text{miércoles} \quad \text{'Wednesday'} \\
juywisa & < \text{jueves} \quad \text{'Thursday'} \\
wirnisa & < \text{viernes} \quad \text{'Friday'} \\
sawaru & < \text{sábado} \quad \text{'Saturday'} \\
tuminku & < \text{domingo} \quad \text{'Sunday'}
\end{align*}

5-2.63 Restricted temporal roots

Temporal roots which are more restricted in their occurrences than full temporal roots and root-like
recurrent partials but formally and semantically belong in the class are

alaya 'next', modifier of days of the week and of

p"axsi; a borderline positional also (all dialects)

arumara 'another day' (Juli)

arunta 'night' (La Paz, Calacala)

kuti 'time, occurrence', modified by the interrogative

gawq"a, demonstratives aka and uka, and numbers,
as in ma: kuti 'one time' (La Paz)

layra ~ nayra 'before', modifier with pacha, timpu,

and frozen suffix -qata; also a borderline

positional (all dialects)

pacha 'time, epoch', modified by interrogatives kuna and

gawq"a, demonstratives, layra~nayra, and q"alt'i;

also a borderline positional (all dialects)

Also classifiable as restricted temporals are the hours of the day which in all dialects have been borrowed from Spanish, e. g. la una 'one o'clock', las uchu < las ocho
'eight o'clock.' They answer questions with kuna.wrasa.sa 'what time'.

The Spanish months of the year have also been borrowed into Aymara everywhere. They usually occur modifying p"axsi 'month', e.g. awril p"axsi 'the month of April'. The months are

- iniru < enero 'January'
- p"iwriru < febrero 'February'
- marsu < marzo 'March'
- awril < abril 'April'
- mayu < mayo 'May'
- juñu < junio 'June'
- jullu < julio 'July'
- awustu < agosto 'August'
- sitimri < setiembre 'September'
- uktuwri < octubre 'October'
- nuwimri < noviembre 'November'
- risimri < diciembre 'December'

Bertonio (1603b:181-182) gave names for the Aymara months
which according to Vásquez are not months, but rather
descriptions of agricultural activities appropriate to
different seasons. These do not correspond to fixed
months, probably because the agricultural seasons in
the Aymara-speaking world vary widely according to alti­
tude, availability of water, and quality of the soil as
well as to annual fluctuations in rainy and dry cycles
within areas. Below are given Bertonio's 'months' and
his glosses, followed by Vásquez' interpretations.

+chinu p"axsi 'January, month of the ant'

chinn p"axsi 'tying month' chinu.ña 'to tie' (La Paz)

(Vásquez suggests this may refer to tying the kipu,
the knotted string records kept in ancient times.)

+marka p"axsi or q"ulli.wi p"axsi 'February, month to be in town
in order to divide fields into those to lie fallow and those
to be plowed'

marka 'town' q"ulli.ña 'to plow' q"ulli.wi 'plowing time'
(La Paz)

+llupa.llamayu 'March'

llupa.ña 'to cover' llamayu.ña 'to hoe'

llamay p"axsi 'hoeing month' (La Paz)

+amka.llamayu 'April' (unknown in La Paz)
isk'a wati or kasi.wi 'May, little hunger'

jisk'a awati 'assumption of duties by new team of shepherds sent to herd and cut wool; in some places may occur in January or March' (La Paz)

jisk'a 'little' awati.ña 'to herd'

kasi.wi (unknown)

jach'a jawti 'June, big hunger'

jach'a awtji 'big hunger' (La Paz)

jach'a awti 'big drought' (La Paz)

jach'a 'big' awtji 'hunger' awti 'drought'

k"asu lapaga 'September'

lapaga 'drought caused by the sun' (sequedad del sol) (La Paz)

k"asu (unknown)

sata.wi lapaga 'October'

sata.w lapaga 'planting drought' (La Paz)

sata.ña 'to plant'

waña chucha 'November' (unknown in La Paz)

uma chucha 'December' (unknown in La Paz)

uma 'water' (La Paz)
chucha pankata: 'kind of beetle that comes in November and December when there is still drought'

chucha pankataya 'beetle that comes during heavy rains in December' (La Paz)

At least one misinterpretation is apparent in Bertonio's data. In contemporary Aymara awati is 'herding', not 'hunger', which Bertonio gives as +jawti in +jach'a jawti and which is awtji in present-day La Paz.

Expressing frustration at not being able to elicit names clearly corresponding to the months as Europeans knew them, Bertonio complained:

The etymology of these that we have declared is not understood by all the same way; nor do the months begin with the punctuality of ours, because of their lack of sophistication (policia) and knowledge. (Bertonio 1603b:182)

The Aymaras' detailed knowledge of their agricultural cycle was evidently lost on Bertonio.

A small set of native Aymara terms for times of day is the following provided by Vásquez (La Paz/Tiahuanaco):

inti tuyta 'eight a.m.'  inti 'sun'

jalsu 'six to seven a.m.' (i.e., sunrise)

willjtta 'five a.m., when the stars fall'

Bertonio (1603b:185) also gave the term +inti sunaqi.n.kipa.na
for 'noon'. Vásquez indicates this means 'on the top of the head'.

The following restricted temporal roots do not enter into noun phrases but instead modify verbs:

anch"ita 'right away'

jink"ara (Jopoqueri) ~ nik"ira (Sitajara) ~ nik"iri
(Socca) ~ nink"ara (Salinas, La Paz) ~ nink"a:ra
(La Paz) ~ nink"ra (Morocomarca) 'a while ago'

maya ~ may.ti 'all at once' (see 5-2.4)
maya.mpi ~ ma.nti 'again' (see 5-2.4)

niya ~ ña 'already'

wasita (La Paz, Calacoa, Sitajara) ~ wasa (Juli)

'again' (possibly related to wasa)

5-2.64 Temporals in combination with nouns of other classes

In all dialects nouns from other classes combine with temporals. Compound forms with the interrogatives kuna and qawq"a are shown in 5-2.1. The demonstratives and the numbers, especially maya ~ ma: 'one' and maya 'another' (which are simultaneously temporals), may also modify temporals.
The normal positional q"ipa 'after' and the borderline positionals chika 'halfway, middle' and layra~nayra 'before' are simultaneously members of the temporal class and modify other temporals in all dialects.

Two verbs nominalized with -iri modify temporals. They are jut.iri 'coming, next' and pas.iri 'last, past' (from Spanish pasa- 'pass'), as in the following. (The examples are from La Paz but probably occur elsewhere as well.)

jut.iri mara 'next year'

jut.iri p"axsi 'next month'

pas.iri lunisa 'last Monday'

pas.iri p"axsi 'last month'

The suffix -kama should also be included in a discussion of temporals (see 5-3.32.1).

5-2.65 Distribution of temporal roots and derived forms

Figures 5-1.1 and 5-1.2 give dialectal distribution and glosses of full root and derived temporals that show variation, in alphabetical order. Where a slot in the pattern is filled by a different form, it is shown in parentheses. Blanks mean no form was elicited for the gloss shown. Figure 5-2 shows the overlapping glosses of
Figure 5.1.1. Temporals

- roots
- gloss
- figures
- day after day
- after after day
- day after tomorrow
- after tomorrow
- morning
- this morning
- tonight
- last night
- evening
- tonight
- last night
- midnight
- dawn
- early morning
- morning
- this morning
- tonight
- last night
- marçomarca
- Salinas
- Jurpu:ru
- Jurpi
- Masaypu'ru
- Masayru
- jurpu:ru
- jurpi
- jurpiwru
- jurpuq:ru
- (q:a'l'i)
- aruma
- aruma
- amarumanti
- amarumanta
<table>
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<th>Roots</th>
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<td>(alwa) (arumanti) ← q'alta → q&quot;alt'</td>
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<td>k'uri mara</td>
<td>(alwa) (arumanti) ← q'alta → q&quot;alt'</td>
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<td>jutir mara</td>
<td>(alwa) (arumanti) ← q'alta → q&quot;alt'</td>
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|        | q'alta    |                |                |          | Bertonio 1603b    |             |
|        | q'alca    | Calacoa        | Salinas        |          | Sitajara         |             |
|        | q'al'it'i | Jopoqueri      | Salinas        |          | Morocomarca      |             |
|        |           |                |                |          |                   |             |

|        | q'ara     |                | Salinas        |          | Morocomarca      |             |
|        | q'aru:ru  |                | La Paz         |          | Jopoqueri        |             |
|        |           |                |                |          | Juli             |             |
|        |           |                |                |          | Huancané         |             |
|        | q'ara:ru  |                |                |          |                   |             |
|        | q'ipu:ru  |                |                |          |                   |             |
|        | q'ipawru  |                |                |          |                   |             |

Figure 5-2. Temporals - Overlapping Glosses
certain root and derived temporals. Forms alleged for Juli by Bertonio (1603b) are boxed to set them off from contemporary forms. 11

5-2.66 Semantics

Phonologically identical or similar roots with the same meanings across dialects are the Spanish loans and the following:

jaypu ~ jayp'u ~ jayp'u 'evening'

jich'a 'now'

jink'ara (and variants) 'a little while ago'

jurpi ~ jurp'i 'day after tomorrow'

pacha 'time, epoch'

p'axsi 'month'

uru 'day'

Phonologically identical or similar derived forms with the same meanings across dialects, in their La Paz versions, are

may.mara ~ miy.mara 'last year'

jurp.u:ru ~ 'day after tomorrow' (except in Morocomarca)
As may be seen in Figure 5-2, the semantic field of aruma ~ arama and arumanti still lacks a precise formulation, but certain outlines are clear. The glosses at first seemed bewilderingly in conflict: 'morning' and 'night'. To complicate matters further, aruma means 'orange color' in Jopoqueri. Two sources, one from Morocomarca and the other from Jopoqueri, accepted 'time period from midnight to dawn' as a roughly accurate definition of aruma (Morocomarca) and arumanti (Jopoqueri). According to a La Paz source, the period begins at bedtime: arum chiga.ru is 'at dusk' (Spanish al atardecer) or 'at night' (Spanish por la noche). A source in Calacoa said the following:

\[
\begin{array}{ccc}
\text{Aruma.:w.x.i.w} & \text{iki.nta.w.ja.:tan.} \\
3+3 & 4+3 \\
\text{S} & \text{F}
\end{array}
\]

'It's already \{ late \} night, let's go to bed.'

In La Paz, Calacoa, and Huancané, aruma also means 'early morning, before daylight' as in the following:

\[
\begin{array}{ccc}
\text{Aruma.t} & \text{sara.ñani.xa.} & \text{'Let's go early (before it gets light).' (Huancané)} \\
4+3 & 4+3 & \text{F}
\end{array}
\]
The period thus seems to begin after dark, approximately when people retire for the night, and end before dawn, when they get up. Perhaps it refers to the period when work is normally suspended; it is evidently tied to darkness. Depending on one's point of reference in time it may be translated variously.

The root arumanti overlaps the semantic field of 'tomorrow'. La Paz, Juli and Huancané have both arumanti and a q'ara form for 'tomorrow'. A q'ara form was not elicited for Calacoa, which alone of the arumanti 'tomorrow' group also has q'alta for 'morning'. Salinas and Jopoqueri have q'alt'i for 'morning' and q'ara forms for 'tomorrow'; in Salinas q'alt'i also means 'tomorrow'. Salinas and Morocomarca have q'alt'i for both 'morning' and 'tomorrow' and Huancané has arumanti for both meanings. La Paz has ch'armant'i 'this morning' built on arumanti, and arumanti 'tomorrow'. La Paz and Huancané also have forms based on q'ara for 'tomorrow' and La Paz also has arumarji ~ arumirja for 'morning'. Bertorio (1603b) indicated there were separate terms for the two, +qalta 'morning' and +maylluru 'tomorrow'. In contemporary dialects forms built of maya plus uru mean 'another day' rather than 'tomorrow' except in Sitajara, where the form has both meanings. (It may also have had both meanings in 17th century Juli.)
In Morocomarca q"ar.u:ru means 'day after tomorrow', the slot filled by the jurpi series elsewhere, and jurp.uru means 'day after day after tomorrow', a semantic slot not elicited for other dialects.

In La Paz q'alta ~ q"alt'i were rejected, although a possibly related gallt.uru occurred in the phrase mayu p"axs gallt.uru 'the first day of May' (La Paz/Tiahuanaco). In Salinas arumanti was recognized as used elsewhere but not there. Not all terms were tested in all areas, so some not shown for a given area may in fact be acceptable there.

5-2.7 Ambiguous noun/verb roots

A few ambiguous noun/verb roots have been identified in this research. The following occur generally unless otherwise noted:

aru 'word, language; talk, speak'

awati 'herding; herd'

ch'aqa 'lost; lose'

ch'uwa 'transparent, crystalline; be transparent' (said of water, milk)

isi 'clothes; put on clothes'

jacha 'tear; cry'
k"ita 'messenger; send a messenger'

manq'a - maq'a 'food; eat, feed'

mink'a 'help; help' (Morocomarca)

nink"ara 'a while ago; be a while ago' (La Paz)

puq'a 'full; pay a bill (fulfill)'

gillaq'a 'letter; write'

qinaya 'cloud; cloud' (La Paz)

q"una 'square stone used to grind corn; grind corn' (La Paz)

q'ipi 'bundle; carry a bundle on the back'

A special kind of noun/verb root is the syntactic filler inchi, which occurs to fill space while the speaker searches for a word. Examples:

Uka.ta.w (inchi) kuna.sa ... 'Then (uh) what ...'
(Calacoa)

inchi.w.iri.x (Calacoa) -wa- verbal derivational 'distancer'

-iri nominalizer

inchi.ru.x (Sitajara) -ru 'to, at'

inchi.ta (Calacala) -ta 'of, from'
Certain verb roots plus derivational suffixes may act like derived nouns. Examples are given in 6-2.

5-3 Noun Suffixes

Noun suffixes occur only on noun roots, noun stems, and nominalized themes. Noun suffix classes are four: a class of limited occurrence and three order classes. Class 1 consists of locational, diminutives, a possessor/enumerator, personal possessives, and plural. Class 2 consists of complement/relational (case) suffixes and final noun suffixes. Class 3 noun suffixes are the verbalizers.

Figure 5-3 shows the order classes of noun suffixes. This figure, adapted from my earlier version (Hardman et al. 1975:3.281), shows all noun suffixes and their allomorphs encountered in the research for this study.

For general comments on noun suffix morphophonemics, see 4-2.

5-3.1 Class of limited occurrence

5-3.1.1 Frozen limited suffixes

Frozen suffixes occur most often as recurrent partials frozen in stems that do not occur without them, but some also occur on certain free roots. Their meaning is not usually apparent.
### Limited Class (Non-frozen)

- _chapi_ 
- _ch'api_ 
- _ch'a_ 
- _ch'a_ 
- _ch'apa_ 
- _t'ka_ 
- _t'ya_ 
- _v'a_ 
- _rayku_ 
- _t'ora_ 
- _v'qata_ 
- _v'ra_ 
- _v'rama_ 
- _v'wisa_ 
- _v'wisu_

### Class 1

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Locationals</th>
<th>Possessives</th>
<th>Plural</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>- <em>sa</em></td>
<td>- <em>kata</em></td>
<td>- <em>v'ja</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>- <em>kata</em></td>
<td></td>
<td>- <em>v'jita</em></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Diminutives</th>
<th>Possessor/ Enumerator</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>- <em>v'cha</em></td>
<td>- <em>v'ila</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>- <em>v'illa</em></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>- <em>v'ilta</em></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>- <em>v'situ</em></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

### Class 2

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Complement/ Relational</th>
<th>Final Suffixes</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>- <em>v'mp'p</em> - <em>nt't</em></td>
<td>- <em>v'kama</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>- <em>v'na</em> - <em>v'pacha</em></td>
<td>- <em>v'kama</em> (and variants)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

### Class 3

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Verbalizers</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>- <em>c'la</em> - - <em>ka</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>- <em>t'pa</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>- <em>v'kpta</em> - <em>v'k'lpta</em></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

### Key:
- Suffixes separated by a dotted line may change places.
- Suffixes separated by a solid line may not change places.
- 1 May follow - _mpipi_ and - _pacha_.
- 2 May separate - _mpipi_ and - _pacha_.
- 3 May precede - _nt't_ and locationals - _v'jita_, - _v'jita_.

Morphophonemics of allomorphs are the same as on the first allomorphs shown, unless otherwise noted.

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Adapted from Briggs (Hardman et al. 1975:3.281)

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Figure 5-3. Aymara Noun Suffixes
5-3.11.1 Kinship markers

Kinship markers are -chi ~ -ch'i ~ -ch''i, -ku, -la, -ta ~ -tta, and -ya. They occur on kinship terms used in certain areas. Both -chi or -ta and -la occur on certain stems, -la always last.

5-3.11.11 -chi ~ -ch'i ~ -ch''i ~

Kinship terms with this partial are

achachi 'grandfather' (Morocomarca, also Bertonio 1603b)

'old man' (Calacoa)

'stupid/dirty old man, old (animal)'

(La Paz)

achachila 'grandfather' (Juli, Calacala, Jopoqueri)

achichi 'stupid old man, old' (Sitajara)

allchi 'grandchild(ren)' (most dialects)

allch'i 'grandchild(ren)' (Jopoqueri)

'apachi 'grandmother' (Bertonio 1603b; not attested in modern Aymara)
awkch'i 'father-in-law' (Huancané, Salinas, Morocomarca; awki occurs there and elsewhere, meaning 'father' or 'old man')

jach'achila 'grandfather' (Morocomarca) jach'a 'big'

taykchi 'mother-in-law' (Huancané)

taykch'i 'mother-in-law' (Salinas; tayka occurs there and elsewhere, meaning 'mother' or 'old woman')

This frozen suffix has a preceding vowel in some stems, and a preceding consonant in others.

5-3.11.12 -yku

This has occurred only in mamaku 'mother' and tataku 'father', terms reportedly used today in the towns of Huatajata and Janco Amaya near Compi (La Paz); they were used in Compi during the childhood of persons who are now middle-aged. The forms mama 'mother/ma'am' and tata 'father/sir' are in general use throughout the Aymara area.

5-3.11.13 -y'la

This occurs as follows:

achachila 'grandfather' (Juli, Calacala, Jopoqueri)

ch'ammala 'grandmother' < jach'a mamala (Jopoqueri)
jach'achila 'grandfather' (Morocomarca)

jach'attala 'grandfather' < jach'a tatala (Jopoqueri)

jach'a 'large'

mamala 'form of address used by mother speaking to daughter'

(Vitocota)

mamala 'mother' (Calacoa, Morocomarca)

jach'a mamala 'great grandmother' (San Andrés de Machaca)

jil.ir mamala 'mother's older sister' (Morocomarca)

tatala 'form of address used by mother speaking to son'

(Vitocota)

tatala 'father' (Calacoa, Jopoqueri, Morocomarca)

tatala 'offensive term' (La Paz/Tiahuanaco)

Dios tatala 'God the Father' (Torata, Moquegua)

tiwula < Spanish tío 'uncle' (previously used in Compi)

tiwula 'fox' (La Paz, Socca, Sitajara, Jopoqueri)
tiyala 'sister or female cousin of father' < Spanish tía
(Juli)

tiyula < Spanish tío 'uncle' (Morocomarca)

5-3.11.14 ~va~ ~mma
This is probably a reduced form of mama 'mother/ma'am'. It has occurred only in Jopoquerei, in the following:

jil.ir.may 'father's older brother's wife'

tayp.ir.ma 'father's middle brother's wife'

sullk.ir.ma 'father's younger brother's wife'

pichumma 'father's youngest brother's wife'

This suffix basically requires a previous vowel, but it follows the three-vowel rule (4-3.22.16).

5-3.11.15 ~ta~ ~tta
This is probably a reduced form of tata 'father/sir'.

ipata 'father's sister' (Jopoquerei) ipa 'aunt'

jach'attala < jach'a tatala 'grandfather' (Jopoquerei)
jilata 'brother' (Calacoa, Sitajara, Salinas, Morocomarca)

jila 'brother' (most dialects)

jil.iri.tty 'father's older brother' (Jopoqueri)

jil.iri 'older' (most dialects)

larita 'uncle' (Calacoa)

lari 'fox' (Jopoqueri, Salinas, Morocomarca, 'neighbor' (Compi)

'father's brother' (Bertonio 1603b:202)

laritta 'uncle' (Jopoqueri)

pichu.r.tta 'father's youngest brother' (Jopoqueri)

pichu.ri 'youngest' (Jopoqueri)

sullk.ir.tta 'father's younger brother' (Jopoqueri)

sullka 'younger' (most dialects)

tayp.ir.tta 'father's middle brother' (Jopoqueri)

taypi 'middle' (all dialects)
The morphophonemics of this suffix are the same as those of -ma ~ -mma.

5-3.11.16  v\text{\textae}

This suffix occurs on jilaya 'brother', jil.ir.may 'father's older brother's wife', and jil.ir.ttay 'father's older brother', all used in Jopoqueri, and in sullka tata.ya 'father's younger brother', used in Socca. In the last example it may be an allomorph of 1p possessive suffix (see 5-3.24.1).

5-3.12 Nonfrozen limited suffixes

The meanings of these suffixes are usually apparent.

5-3.12.1  chapi ~ ch"api 'the one which/that'

This suffix does not occur in La Paz. It occurs in Huancané, Sitajara, and Jopoqueri, usually with the aspirated allomorph, on the interrogative kawki, the demonstratives aka and uka, and the derived number may.ni. Examples:

kawk.ch"api.sa  'which, who is that?'  (Sitajara)
ak.chapi  'this one'  (Huancané)
uk.chapi  'that one'  (Huancané)
may.n.ch"ap.iri  'someone' (Jopoqueri)

The following examples were cited by Bertonio (1603b) and Tschopik (1948):

+ kawki.chapi  'which' (Bertonio 1603b:237)
+ kawk.chap.iri.sa  'which of us' (Tschopik 1948:110)
+ jach'a.chapi  'the large one' (Bertonio 1603b:193)
+ jiwa.ta.chapi  'the one that is dead' (Tschopik 1948:110)
+ wila.chapi  'the red one' (Bertonio 1603b:192)

(The glottalization shown on the second example is probably in error.)

5-3.12.2 - c.ch'a  'size, extent'

This suffix has occurred on the interrogative gawq"a, the demonstrative uka, and the number maya. It is general in all dialects. Examples:

 gawq"a.ti  gawq.ch'a.ti  'however much' (Huancané)
 uk.ch'a.ki.y  'just that size' (La Paz)
 Uk.ch'a.ki.w. 'That's all.' (story ending, Juli, La Paz)
ma: uk.ch'a 'a while' (Jopoqueri)

yat may.ch'a.x 'in some places' (La Paz)

uk.ch'a.x.kama.xa 'meanwhile' (Tschopik 1948:108)

5-3.12.3 -cja 'amount, quantity'

This suffix occurs on only a few roots and is difficult to distinguish from a homophonous allomorph of the Class 2 noun suffix -jama 'like', except when it (-ja 'quantity') occurs before a complement/relational suffix (see jayp'.ja.ru below). It must also be distinguished from the allomorph /-ja/ of lp possessive and from the verbal derivational suffix -ja- that may verbalize noun roots. It may be this suffix that occurs in the derived demonstratives ak"a and uk"a and in the interrogatives kawk"a and gawq"a. It occurs on wali in wal.ja 'a lot', contrasting with wal.jama 'pretty good'. Two other examples, on temporals, are jayp'.ja.ru 'in the afternoon' (San Andrés de Machaca) and ur.ja 'by day' (Salinas).

5-3.12.4 -ckipa 'every other'

In contemporary La Paz Aymara, this suffix occurs only on numbers, as in may.kipa 'every other one', pay.kipa 'every other two'. It may be identical with the homophonous verbal derivational suffix meaning 'action
around the edge, past a point, back and forth' which is known to verbalize one noun root (see 6-2.15.1), although the verbal suffix has different morphophonemtics, requiring a preceding vowel. Bertonio (1603b:172-173) cited -kipa on numbers and on the following forms which are unacceptable in La Paz today:

+ gayq"a.kipa.n.ki.s 'how far back in line'

(qawq"a.n.k.k.i.s means 'how far back in line' in La Paz today)

+nayra.kipa 'second in line'

+pani.kipa 'third in line'

5-3.12.5 -:ka 'general location'

This suffix occurs only on the demonstratives aka, uka, and k"aya in La Paz. It also occurred once in Socca on aka. It was not formally elicited nor did it occur spontaneously elsewhere. Possibly a reduced form of aka, it lessens the preciseness of a location. The following examples are from La Paz/Compi.

aka.:ka.n sar.naga.s.ka.:na 'he was going around here'

k"aya.:ka.n 'around there'
uka:kan 'around there'

*k"uri:kan (rejected)

The following pair, the second with -:ka, occurred in Socca.

Aka.n.k.a.s.k.a.ki.ya:wa. 'I'll be here in this place.'

Aka:kan.k.a.s.k.a.ki.ya:wa. 'I'll be around here.'

5-3.12.6 -:k"a 'through'

Only one example of the suffix k"a 'through' has occurred, in uta:k"a 'through the house' in Morocomarca, where neither the combination /-n.jama/ nor /-na.ma/ 'through' occurs (see 5-3.32.3). It may perhaps consist of -:ka 'general location' plus /-ja/ allomorph of -jama 'like'.

5-3.12.7 -rayku ~ -rayku 'on account of'

/-rayku/ occurs in Morocomarca, /-layku/ elsewhere. In most dialects use of this suffix in a question implies perplexity and annoyance on the part of the questioner, e. g.,

Kuna.layku.s jut.ta? 'Whatever possessed you to come?'
what come 2+3 S
Statements with this suffix do not usually have the strong emotional overtone of the question, as in

\[ \text{Manu.layku.w jut.ta. 'I came because of a debt.'} \]
\[ \text{debt} \quad 1+3 \]
\[ \text{S} \]

Missionary Aymara uses the term \text{kuna.layku.ti.xa 'because'} (see 9-5).

This suffix follows the three-vowel rule (4-3.22.16).

\[ \text{5-3.12.8 \quad -v_pura 'between, among' (reciprocal)} \]
\[ \text{c} \]

This suffix occurs primarily on human nouns.

\[ \text{warmi.pura 'among women' (La Paz)} \]

\[ \text{mimill waw.pura.tan 'we're just women' (Sitajara)} \]
\[ \text{4+3} \]
\[ \text{S} \]

\[ \text{mimilla 'girl' wawa 'child'} \]

\[ \text{Jupa.nak.pura.ki.w. 'They're just by themselves.'} \]
\[ \text{3p} \]

Bertonio used this suffix with body parts, as in \text{nayra.pura 'both eyes'}, but in present-day La Paz this is rejected in favor of using the frozen stem \text{purapa 'both'} (see 5-3.24) as a modifier, e. g. \text{purap kayu 'both feet'}.\]
This suffix follows the three-vowel rule (4-3.22.16).

5-3.12.9 \(-vqata\)

This suffix is known to occur on only two roots: nayra 'before' and sapa 'only'. The stem nayra.qata 'in front of' is used in La Paz, Jopoqueri, and probably elsewhere. The stem sapa.qata 'each one' occurs in La Paz.

5-3.12.10 \(-vra\) 'through'

Like -:k"a, -ra is a suffix occurring in only one dialect, in this case Jopoqueri, with the meaning 'through'.

uta.ra.n 'through the house'

5-3.12.11 \(-vra\)a intensifier

In La Paz this suffix occurs as in the following:

laq'a.rara 'covered with earth' laq'a 'earth'

lichi.rara 'spotted with milk' lichi 'milk'

qala.rara 'covered with stones' qala 'stone'

In Irpa Chico, province of Ingavi, La Paz, it occurred in these examples cited by Martín (1969:34).
\[+\text{niq"i.rara} \quad \text{'very muddy'} \quad \text{niq"i} \quad \text{'mud'}\]
\[+\text{k"uchi.rara} \quad \text{'very dirty'} \quad \text{k"uchi} \quad \text{'pig'}\]

5-3.12.12 \[\gamma\text{wisa} \sim \gamma\text{wisu} \quad \text{'without'}\]

This suffix is no longer productive in any dialect investigated for this study, although in Bertonio's time it apparently was (Bertonio 1603b:214,215). Its use is now taken over by \text{jani} negative plus the possessor/enumerator suffix \text{-ni}, as in \text{jan nasa.ni} 'without a nose'. Today the only forms attested with \text{-wisa} are for Compi and Tiahuanaco: \text{jinchu.wisa} 'hard of hearing' and \text{nayra.wisa} 'having bad eyesight' (which would not be said within earshot of the person referred to, as they would be considered rude) and \text{jayu.wisa} 'lacking salt'. \text{-wisa} occurs in Tiahuanaco, \text{-wisu} in Compi.

5-3.2 Class 1 suffixes

5-3.21 Locationals

I have described locational suffixes elsewhere (Hardman et al. 1975:3.287-290). No special effort was made to elicit them in this study, and no variations in their occurrences were noted. They are \text{-c\text{sa}} 'side', \text{-c\text{kata}} \sim \text{-kati} 'across', \text{-\gamma\text{wja}} 'place', \text{-c\text{jita}} 'exactly in a place', \text{-c\text{xa}} 'over, on', and \text{-:\text{xa}} 'beside'.
5-3.22 Diminutives

The following diminutives have occurred in this research: -cha, -illa ~ -lla, -ita, -itu, and -situ. The last three are clearly Spanish loans; -illa ~ -lla may be. The first two and -itu are fully productive, -ita is less so, and -situ occurs only frozen in stems but is included here because of its structural and semantic closeness to the others. The diminutives do not usually co-occur with the locationals.

5-3.22.1 -cha

This suffix, which may be related to the Jaqaru -cha limitative (Hardman 1966:87), occurs in Calacoa and Huancané on any noun that is limited or qualified as small.

uka.cha.x 'then' (Huancané)

marka.cha 'little town' (Calacoa)

nasa.cha 'little nose' (Calacoa)

It is used on kinship terms and in forms of address as a mark of affection and/or courtesy.

tiyu.cha.ja 'my uncle' (Calacoa)

quli suma.cha mama 'dear good lady' (Huancané)

jisk'a lluqalla.cha 'little boy' (Calacoa)
It may occur with other diminutives, as in the following, which has -cha followed by -itu reduced to /ch.tu/ by the three-vowel rule (see 4-3.22.16).

\textit{papa.ch.tu.ja} 'my daddy' (Huancané)

5-3.22.2 -c\underline{ì}l\underline{ì}a \textasciitilde -v\underline{ì}l\underline{ì}a

/-lla/ diminutive, which occurs in Huancané, Sijara, Corque, Jopoqueri, and Salinas, is to be distinguished from /-lla/ 1p possessive which occurs in Vitorcota and from /-lla/ allomorph of -ya \textasciitilde -lla polite final (sentence) suffix, which occurs in some of the dialects that have /-lla/ diminutive. Both the diminutive /-lla/ and the final suffix /-lla/ may occur on the same stem, and they are clearly distinct in meaning.

/-illa/ has occurred in the speech of one source from Salinas who also uses /-lla/, but the latter is more common. It may reduplicate for emphasis. A speaker from Jopoqueri used both \textit{pisaq.ita} and \textit{pisaq.lla} 'little partridge' in the same story. Other examples:

\textit{Uk.jama.lla.ki.w.} 'It's just like so.' (Salinas)

\textit{may.lla} 'just one little one' (Salinas)

\textit{Sik'a.lla.lla.wa.} 'It's tiny.' (Salinas) \textit{sik'a} 'little'

\textit{Jisk'a.lla.ki.w.} 'It's very small.' (Huancané) \textit{jisk'a} 'little'
jamach'i.lla 'little bird' (Salinas)

jila.lla.naka 'brothers' (Corque)

tayka.lla 'little old lady' (Salinas)

5-3.22.3 -ita

This suffix is the borrowed Spanish diminutive -ita. It occurs infrequently and usually only in frozen forms such as mamita 'mother' (a term of endearment used to one's own mother). It also occurs on a few roots ending in /a/.

kullak.ita 'little sister' (Calacoa) kullaka 'sister'
nas.ita 'little nose' (Salinas) nasa 'nose'

pisaq.ita 'little partridge' (Jopoqueri)

pisaqa 'partridge'

5-3.22.4 -itu

This suffix is the borrowed Spanish diminutive -ito. It is not used in Calacoa but is elsewhere more productive than -ita, occurring on nouns without regard to the gender of the referent, as in tawaq.itu 'young woman' (Juli), although in this case the choice of -itu rather than -ita may be influenced by the fact that the root tawagu ends in /u/.
5-3.22.5 -\textit{situ}

This is a variant of -\textit{itu}, from Spanish -\textit{cito}. It occurs rarely, like -\textit{ita}, and appears frozen to the roots on which it occurs, which are all kinship or age terms.

\begin{itemize}
  \item \textit{papa.situ} 'father, daddy' < Spanish \textit{papacito} (La Paz)
  \item \textit{allchi.situ} 'grandchild' (Huancané)
  \item \textit{awki.situ} 'little old man' (Juli)
\end{itemize}

5-3.23 -\textit{ni} possessor/enumerator

This suffix is in general use in all areas. The following is a summary and revision of my earlier treatment (Hardman et al. 1975:3.291-294). The semantics of -\textit{ni} are further discussed in 8-2.24.

5-3.23.1 -\textit{ni} possessor

The suffix -\textit{ni} turns a noun into a possessor of that noun, except as noted in 5-3.23.2. A noun stem with -\textit{ni} may be verbalized with the verbal derivational suffix -\textit{cha} causative as well as by -\texttt{--} verbalizer.

\begin{itemize}
  \item \textit{qullqi.ni} 'one who has money'
  \item \textit{qullqi.n.cha.ña} 'to make someone win' (La Paz)
\end{itemize}
The negative *jani* modifying a noun with *-ni* means 'without', as in *jan chacha.ni* 'without a husband' (Jopoqueri, La Paz).

5-3.23.2 *-ni* enumerator

*-ni* is used in forming certain numbers, for counting, and when the following classes of nouns are used with reference to human beings: numbers, quantity nouns (such as *taqi* 'all', *taq.pacha* 'all', *wal.ja* 'a lot, much, many', and *juk'a* 'a few'), or the interrogative *gawq'َا* 'how much, how many'.

5-3.24 Personal possessives

There are four personal possessive suffixes corresponding to the four personal pronouns (5-2.3) and occurring on the item possessed. All refer exclusively to human possessors except the third person, which is unmarked for human or nonhuman (i.e., it may refer to human or nonhuman possessors, animate or inanimate).

There is no phonemic variation in the morphemes of 2p, 3p, and 4p, which correspond to the last syllable of the corresponding personal pronoun: 2p *-ma*, 3p *-pa*, and 4p *-sa*. However, as already indicated in 3-4.32, there is considerable variation in the allomorphs of 1p. The 3p suffix is unique in that it occurs frozen in certain stems.
5-3.24.1 Allomorphs of lp suffix

/-ja/ (La Paz/Compi, Juli, Socca, Huancané, Calacoa; also alleged in Bertonio 1603b)

/-xa/ (La Paz)

/-:/ (La Paz [rarely], Socca)

/-lla/ (Vitocota)

/-nha/ (Sitajara, Jopoqueri; reportedly general throughout most of the provinces of Tarata [Tacna] and Carangas [Oruro])

/-ña/ (Salinas, Morocomarca, Calacala)

+/ya/ (Ross 1964: Addendum, n. 4 to p. 25; locale not indicated)

The allomorphs above correspond to some of the allomorphs of 1→3 Future tense (6-3.32), but the correspondence is not exact within all dialects.

5-3.24.11 Complete correspondence ('I'll go to my house.')

\underline{Uta.nha.r} \underline{sar.xa.nha.} (Sitajara, Jopoqueri)

\underline{Uta.ña.r} sara.ña. (Salinas)

\underline{Uta.ja.r} sara.ja. (La Paz/Compi, Juli, Huancané, Calacoa)

*\underline{Uta..r} sara.. (Socca; not elicited)

\underline{uta} 'house' \underline{sara-} 'go'
5-3.24.12 Incomplete correspondence

Uta.ja.r ~ uta.xa.r  sara.:ja ~ sara.: ~ sara.:xa. (La Paz)

Sara.:  ut.ña.ru. (Morocomarca)

*Ut.ña.r  sara.ya. (Morocomarca; not elicited, but likely)

*Uta.ja.r  sara.ja: ~ sara.ya. (Socca; not elicited, but likely)

In general there are more different allomorphs of l→3 F than there are of lp possessive, in a given dialect.

5-3.24.2 Convergence of lp and 4p

In Sitajara lp and 4p have fallen together in the speech of some persons, but not completely, giving such anomalous possibilities as jiwsa.n  uta.nha, literally 'our (4p) house-my', where the person is /jiwsa/ 4p 'our' inclusive, but the possessive suffix is /-nha/ lp exclusive. The intended meaning is 'our (4p) house'. How widespread this convergence may be is not known at this time.

5-3.24.3 Frozen 3p suffix -pa

The 3p suffix -pa is frozen in certain stems, most of them containing base forms which may occur independently as noun roots but may not take other personal possessive suffixes. In two cases the base forms without -pa occur as noun suffixes rather than as roots. Below, the base forms are given first.
jaq"a- 'other' (see yaq"a below)

jaq"apa 'another person' (Sitajara; also Bertonio 1603b:192)

kij- 'same'

kijpa 'same, identical' (Jopoqueri)

kiki 'same'

This occurs in La Paz with all four personal possessive suffixes, e.g., 4p Jiwas kiki.sa.w. 'It's we ourselves.' The frozen stem with -pa is

kikpa 'same, identical' (La Paz)

kipka 'same, identical' (La Paz, Sitajara; metathesized form)

-pacha 'same', Class 2 noun suffix

pachpa 'same, unchanged' (La Paz, Calacoa, Jopoqueri; also Bertonio 1603b:266)

pachpa 'right there' (Sitajara)

-pura 'between, among', limited noun suffix

purapa 'both' (La Paz; also Bertonio 1603b:267)

taqi 'all'

taqip ~ taqpa 'all' (Morocomarca; this acts morphophonemically like a root plus possessive suffix, see 5-3.24.4)
yaq"a 'other'

yaq"apa 'another person, some people' (Vitocota; also Bertonio 1603b:195)

yaq"ipa 'another person, some people' (La Paz; also Bertonio 1603b:195)

The /p/ that occurs in the following is probably also a frozen form of the 3p suffix -pa:

kawki.p.iri.s 'which?' (Calacala)

kawk.p.iri.s 'which?' (Morocomarca)

5-3.24.4 Morphophonemics of personal possessive suffixes

In most dialects the morphophonemics of personal possessive suffixes are variable (see 4-5.3 and below).

In Sitajara 4p -sa always takes a preceding consonant in a manner analogous to the shape of the 4p pronoun in that dialect, jiwsa, and the other three personal possessives require a preceding consonant when occurring on certain forms nominalized with -ta (see 7-4.21.3).

In Morocomarca the four personal possessive suffixes require a preceding consonant unless a stem-final consonant cluster would thereby result, in which case the suffixes require a preceding vowel. That is, allomorphs requiring a preceding vowel occur in zero complements (see 5-3.33) and in the case of 1p and 2p suffixes, in
modifiers of other nouns. In both cases the vowel re-
stored before the possessive suffix prevents the occur-
rence of a stem-final consonant cluster. Examples:

Subject:

\[
\text{Yap.}\tilde{n}a \text{ jaya.}\tilde{n}.\text{k.i.wa.} \quad \text{'My field is far away.'}
\]

\[
\begin{array}{c}
1p \\
3+3 \\
S
\end{array}
\]

Zero complement:

\[
\text{Yapu.}\tilde{n}\emptyset \text{ sata.ni.}.\quad \text{'I'm going to plant my field.'}
\]

\[
\begin{array}{c}
1p \\
\text{plant} \\
1-3 \\
F
\end{array}
\]

Modifier in noun phrase:

\[
\text{Tatala.}\tilde{n} \text{ yap.pa.wa.} \quad \text{'It's my father's field.'}
\]

\[
\begin{array}{c}
1p \\
3p
\end{array}
\]

('my father his field')

\[
\text{Tatala.m yap.pa.wa.} \quad \text{'It's your father's field.'}
\]

\[
\begin{array}{c}
2p \\
3p
\end{array}
\]

('your father his field')

Modifiers with 3p or 4p as the final morpheme do not
occur in this context in Morocomarca.

\[
\begin{array}{c}
\text{*Tatala.}\tilde{p} \text{ yap.pa.wa.} \\
3p
\end{array}
\]

\[
\begin{array}{c}
\text{*Tatala.}\tilde{s} \text{ yap.pa.wa.} \\
4p
\end{array}
\]
If the possessive suffix -na (see 5-3.31.2) follows the lp or 2p suffix in Morocomarca, the vowel before the personal possessive drops by the regular morphophonemic rule for personal possessives.

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{Tatal.} \tilde{n}a.n & \quad \text{yap.pa.wa.} \quad \text{'It's my father's field.'} \\
\text{Tatal.} \tilde{a}n & \quad \text{yap.pa.wa.} \quad \text{'It's your father's field.'} \\
\text{Tatal.pa.n} & \quad \text{yap.pa.wa.} \quad \text{'It's his/her father's field.'} \\
\text{Tatal.sa.n} & \quad \text{yap.pa.wa.} \quad \text{'It's our father's field.'}
\end{align*}
\]

The order of the rules and the conditioning may be stated as follows.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Zero complement</th>
<th>Conditioning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1. yapu + -cposs. --&gt; yap.(\tilde{n})a</td>
<td>Morphological</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>yap.ma</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>yap.pa</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>yap.sa</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. yap.(\tilde{n})a + zero complement --&gt; *yap.(\tilde{n})(\tilde{\theta})</td>
<td>Syntactic</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. *yap.(\tilde{n}) + vowel restoration --&gt; yapu.(\tilde{n})</td>
<td>Phonological</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Noun modifier | Conditioning
---|---
1. **tatala** + -c poss. --> **tatal.ña** etc. | Morphological
2. **tatal.ña** as modifier of another noun loses final vowel by three-vowel rule: | Syntactic & Phonological
   * tatal.ña --> *tatal.ň
3. **tatal.ň** + vowel restoration --> **tatala.ň** | Phonological

In Calacala, Jopoqueri, and Salinas personal possessive suffixes may take a preceding consonant unless a final consonant cluster would thereby result, but they often take a preceding vowel even though no consonant cluster would otherwise occur. In other words, in those dialects there seems to be some free variation in the morphophonemics of the suffixes, except when avoidance of final consonant clusters is a factor.

In Huancané personal possessive suffixes require a preceding vowel on two-vowel nouns but a consonant on nouns or noun stems having more than two vowels. That is, the three-vowel rule operates before personal possessives. The examples are all of single noun subjects; what happens when the nouns lose their final vowels as zero complements or modifiers is not known. Examples:

- **kuñtu.ja** 'my story' < Spanish *cuento*
- **awich.ja** 'my grandmother'  **awicha** 'grandmother'
'none of his clothes were good, nor was his appearance attractive, saying'

In stems frozen with 3p -pa (see above) the morphophonemics of the personal possessive vary, some forms having -pa with a preceding consonant, some with a preceding vowel. A relic of a rule of vowel loss before possessives, with no final consonant-cluster avoidance, is found in a term used in La Paz for the Virgin Mary.

Tayk.s Mariya.x 'Our Mother Mary' tayka 'mother'

In Morocomarca, the /ŋ/ of 1p -ña may be realized as [ɲ] (a palatalized velar nasal) in certain environments, and in Calacala the /p/ of 3p -pa may be realized as the voiced labial fricatives [v] or [b]; these alternations result from phonologically-conditioned morphophonemic rules (see 4-3.21.2 and 4-3.21.32).

This suffix occurs in all dialects. As indicated in 5-2.3, number is not obligatorily marked in Aymara. In the speech of monolinguals, plural may be marked on
some, all, or none of the following: a verb subject, a verb complement, or the verb itself (with the suffix -p- alone or in the combinations /-p.ka-/, /-p.ja-/, or /-p.xa-/; see 6-2.26). Absence of a plural mark does not mean singular in Aymara.

Writers of Aymara grammars frequently maintain that plural is a category in the language, insisting that regular and consistent use of -naka and the verb pluralizer is the norm. It is true that bilinguals translating from Spanish into Aymara tend to reflect Spanish plurals in Aymara, but most plural concord in the speech of bilinguals is merely evidence of syntactic borrowing from the dominating language. As shown in the following examples from the speech of a monolingual from Sitajara, such regularity is not natively Aymara; rather, -naka is used as an optional emphatic or intensifier.

In the first example -naka occurs on the subject, but there is no plural mark on the verb.

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{Alp"irawu.naka.w} & \quad \text{ut.j.i.} & \quad \text{'There are alferados.'} \\
\text{alferado} & \quad \text{3+3} & \quad \text{S} & \quad (? < \text{Spanish alférez 'official')} \\
\text{Uka.t} & \quad \text{uka piwuna.naka.x} & \quad \text{ya} & \quad \text{uka chicha.mpi.x} & \quad \text{then those peon that with} \\
\text{tunu.r.i.w.} & \quad \text{'Then those } \underline{\text{peones}} \text{ (workers) feel strengthened strength 3+3 with chicha.'} & \quad \text{S}
\end{align*}
\]
In the following, -naka is absent but there is plural in translation:

\[
\text{piyuna.tay} \ '\text{for the workers}'
\]

Sometimes two parts of a sentence will be marked for plural.

\[
\text{Na.naka.ru.x sirwi.p.x.it.} \ '\text{Serve us.'}
\]

(See also the examples in 5-2.3, 6-2.26, and 8-2.4.)

The suffix -naka usually occurs before the personal possessive suffixes if both occur on a stem, but in Calacoa the opposite order is more common, e. g.,

\[
\text{wawa.ja.naka.x} \ '\text{my children'} \ (\text{Calacoa})
\]

\[
\text{wawa.naka.ja.x} \ '\text{my children'} \ (\text{La Paz})
\]

Both orders are acceptable everywhere, however.

5-3.3 Class 2 suffixes

Class 2 consists of five complement/relational suffixes, three final noun suffixes, and zero complement vowel loss. They are general in all Aymara dialects, with minor phonological variations.

The suffixes -mpi ~ -nti (complement/relational) and -pacha (final noun) have two positions of occurrence
each and different meanings associated with the positions, but (as in the case of -ni possessor/enumerator, 5-3.23) they are considered one suffix each, rather than two homophonous suffixes, because only one -mpi ~ -nti or -pacha may occur on one stem. The positions of occurrence are discussed below under each suffix.

5-3.31 Complement/relationals

These suffixes are (in alphabetical order)

-mpi ~ -nti conjoiner/accompanier/agentive/instrumental
-na possessive/locational
-ru directional 'to, at'
-ta ~ -t"a directional 'of, from'
-taki ~ -tak"i ~ -tay beneficiary/purposive

Except for -mpi ~ -nti, which as conjoiner or accompanier may precede any of the others, the complement/reational suffixes do not co-occur on one stem. (Some co-occurrence is possible on a noun theme that has been verbalized and then renominalized.)

These suffixes have case functions. Each may occur to mark a complement of the verb inflection suffix (see 6-3) or to mark the relations of other nouns to the verb stem or to some other part of the sentence.
The special nature of these suffixes is reflected in their morphophonemics. Unlike most other noun suffixes of general occurrence, whose morphophonemics do not vary from one dialect to another,13 two of the complement/relational suffixes, -na and -taki ~ -tak'i ~ -tay, vary in preceding morphophonemics, and all of the complement/relational suffixes control the loss or retention of their own final vowels except before consonant-requiring final noun suffixes or the sentence suffixes -lla ~ -ya or -:-. The reason for this is that final vowel-retention and -dropping rules that are syntactically conditioned, identifying subjects and direct objects (zero complements) of verbs or modifiers in noun phrases, do not apply to stems or themes ending in the complement/relational suffix, the case relations expressed by the latter being in complementary distribution with the case or order relations expressed by the former. That is, a stem ending in a complement/relational suffix cannot also be simultaneously a subject, modifier of a head of a noun phrase, or a zero complement. The one exception to this rule is -mpi ~ -nti which as conjoiner or accompanier may occur on a subject or zero complement.

5-3.31.1  -mpi ~ -nti conjoiner/accompanier/agentive/instrumental

This morpheme has two base allomorphs. /-mpi/ occurs in La Paz, Juli, Socca, Huancané, Calacoa, Sitajara,
Jopoqueri, Morocomarca, and Calacala. /-nti/ occurs in Jopoqueri, Salinas, Morocomarca, and Calacala. Voiced allomorphs occur by obligatory morphophonemic rule in Salinas and optionally in Sitajara and Calacala. Dialects that have both /-mpi/ and /-nti/ use them interchangeably; through the influence of La Paz, /-mpi/ may be driving out /-nti/ in dialects that have it.

Examples of this suffix on the number _maya_ ~ _ma_: 'one' were given in 5-2.4. Additional examples:

/-mpi/

_kuna.mpi.sa_ 'with what'

k'iti.mpi.sa 'with whom'

Mama.ma.mp ala.ya.m. 'Have your mother buy it.' 2p buy 2->3 1

[-mbi]

_achachila.[mbi]k_ 'with the grandfather' (Calacala)

_juma.[mbi]_ 'with you' (Sitajara)

/-nti/

_taqi chuyma.nt_ 'wholeheartedly' (Jopoqueri)

all heart

K"iti.s uta.nti.ja.ni? 'Who will stay with (caretake) who house 3->3 the house?' (Jopoqueri) F
/-nti/ (continued)

kuna.\text{nti}.sa 'with what?' (Calacala)

[-ndi]

kuna.\text{ndi}.sa 'with what' (Calacala, Salinas)

k"iti.\text{ndi}.sa 'with whom' (Salinas)

juma.\text{ndi} 'with you' (Salinas)

Use of both /-mpi/ and /-nti/ by the same speaker in one sentence occurs in the following:

\text{jira.ya}.\text{na}.\text{wa} u\text{ywa.naka}.nt \ldots \text{uka}.t u\text{ywa.naka}.mp
fertilize animal then

\text{ana}.\text{nta}.\text{na}. 'You have to fertilize with animals \ldots
herd then herd animals (over the area)' (Corque)

In Calacoa /-mpi/ loses its final vowel before nonfinal independent -raki and final sentence suffix -sa. Elsewhere the suffix keeps its final vowel except before consonant-requiring final noun suffixes. It usually loses its final vowel word-finally. Calacoa examples:

\text{ma}.:\text{mp}.raki 'again'

\text{Kuna}.\text{mp}.s manq'.\text{sna} ch'u\text{\'nu}? 'With what can we eat chuno?'
what eat 4→3 D-1
I might meet with my relatives.'

An example with /-mpi/ occurring as conjoiner on two subjects, the second preserving the final stem vowel, is the following sentence from La Paz/Compi:

Juma.mp naya.mpi.x sara.ña. Author. 'Let's you and me go.'
2p 1p 4-3 F

Examples of /-mpi/ conjoiner followed by zero complement are found in 4-3.32.2.

5-3.31.2 -na possessive/locational

The morphophonemics of this suffix vary dialectically.

/-c na_c/ possessive (Socca)

/-c na_v/ ~ /-v na_c/ possessive (Juli)

/-v na_c/ locational (Socca, Juli)

/-v na_c/ possessive (Calacoa)

/-v na_v/ locational (Calacoa) (before final suffix -sa)
/\-vna\/_ possessive and locational (elsewhere)

As may be seen above, the most common form of this suffix is that requiring a preceding vowel and dropping its own vowel in all environments. In Socca and Calacoa the possessive and locational functions are distinguished by morphophonemics; in Juli two allomorphs serve as possessive, but only one of them serves as locational. 

-na keeps its final vowel before the final sentence suffix -sa in Calacoa and when preceded by consonant in Juli; elsewhere it loses its final vowel in all environments. Examples:

papa.situ.j.na kullaka.pa 'my father's sister' (Juli)

papa.situ.ja.n tullqa.pa 'my father's sister's husband' (Juli)

(3p)

wutilla.p.s jala.qa.ya.raq.ta? bottle 3p knock over 2+3

S

(K"iti.n)

(11)

Kawki.n.k.i.sa? 'Where is he/she?' (all dialects)

ma: mugu.na.s 'on top of a hill' (Calacoa)
'I'll see you on your return.' (Morocomarca)

/-c na_c/ occurred once in La Paz/Tiahuanaco dialect in the first words of the Lord's Prayer (which may be considered a frozen relic). Juncture has shifted in accordance with present rules.

Na.nak.n awki /nanak nawki/

A limited use of -na locational is that on certain noun stems verbalized with the verbal derivational causative -cha- (6-2.11).

Finally, it may be -na that occurs on kawki and the demonstratives, requiring a preceding consonant (see 5-2.1 and 5-2.2).

5-3.31.3 -v ru directional 'to, at'

Like -na and -mpi -nti the suffix -ru has variable morphophonemetics. Everywhere it requires a preceding vowel, but the behavior of its own vowel varies. It loses its final vowel before the final sentence suffixes -sa and -xa in Calacoa and Torata (Moquegua). In Socca and Sitajara it may either keep or lose its final vowel before those two suffixes. Elsewhere it keeps its
own vowel except before consonant-requiring final noun suffixes. It usually loses its vowel word-finally.

Examples:

Kuna.r.s pur.ta.x? 'Why did you come?' (Calacoa)
what ar 2+3 rive S

Kawki.r.s trawaji.tan.x? 'Where are we going to work?'
where work 4+3 F (Torata)

Na.x juma.r.x kumpaño.sma.w. 'I've accompanied you.'
1p 2p 1+2 S (Torata)

Kuna.r.s jut.ta.x? 'Why did you come?' (Socca)
what come 2+3 S

Kuna.ru.s chura.to.ta.x? 'Why are you going to give it to
what give 2+3 (the dog)?' (Socca) F

Kuna.r.s sara.nhat? 'Why are you going to go?' (Sitajara)
what go 2+3 F

Kuna.ru.s sar.k.ta? 'Why are you going?' (Sitajara)
what go 2+3 S

5-3.31.4 -ta ~ -t"a directional 'from, of'

The allomorph /-t"a/ occurs in Juli, Huancané, Calacoa, Sitajara, Jopoqueri, Salinas, and Morocomarca,
and is the form reported by Bertonio (1603b) and Tschopik (1948). Only /-t"a/ occurs in Sitajara, Salinas, and Morocomarca. In other dialects there seems to be some free variation of /-t"a/ and /-ta/, except in La Paz, which has only the unaspirated allomorph.

Bertonio (1603b:69) indicated that this suffix could mark the complements of certain verbs that usually took -na complements, although -na was more common. Examples in Bertonio also imply that an unexpressed +/-t"a/ complement could occur in a sentence, as in the following:

\[\begin{array}{llll}
+ & \text{juma} & \text{kuna.layku} & \text{aru.s.naq.itta?} \\
2p & \text{what for} & \text{speak} & 2\rightarrow 1 \\
\end{array}\]

'Why do you go around saying bad things about me?' (Bertonio 1603b:327)

In present-day La Paz the sentence would be rendered as

\[\begin{array}{llll}
\text{juma.x} & \text{kuna.layku.s} & \text{nay.xa.t} & \text{parla.s.ista?} \\
2p & 1p & \text{speak} & 2\rightarrow 1 \\
\end{array}\]

with the complement nay.xa.t 'about me' (with -xa locational) necessarily expressed in the sentence by a noun plus /-ta/, not merely by the verbal inflection as in the Bertonio example. Today, if a /-ta/ complement is not expressed by a noun in a sentence, the sentence usually implies a _ru complement,\(^{14}\) as in
'Why did you talk to me?' (naya.ru 'to me' implied)

The combination /-xa.t/ 'about' usually occurs in La Paz; elsewhere /-ta/ or /-t"a/ alone may be used with that meaning, e.g. (in Jopoqueri),

\[
\text{Juma.t} \quad \text{parla.si.p.xa.ñani.} \quad \text{Let's talk about you.}
\]

2p 4→3 F

This suffix often occurs on interrogatives and numbers, sometimes in reduplicative phrases.

\[
\text{gawg"a.t.s} \quad \text{gawg"a.t.s} \quad \text{'how many by how many'} \quad (\text{La Paz})
\]

\[
\text{may.ni.t} \quad \text{may.ni.ta} \quad \text{'one by one'} \quad (\text{La Paz})
\]

\[
\text{kuna.t"a} \quad \text{why'} \quad (\text{Juli, Morocomarca}) \quad \text{kuna} \quad \text{'what'}
\]

\[
\text{kuna.ta.raki} \quad \text{why'} \quad (\text{Huancané})
\]

This suffix sometimes occurs where the English translation would have 'in' or 'by', as in aymar aru.t"a 'in Aymara' and awtu.t 'by car'. In Morocomarca it occurs sometimes with the special meaning 'instead of', which elsewhere is expressed by the root noun lanti. The following all gloss 'I came instead of him':
Juta.n.t'a jupa.t'a. (Morocomařca)
come 1→3 3p S

Lanti.pa.t.x pur.t'a. (Salinas)
3p come 1→3 S

Jupa lanti.t jut.t'a. (Jopoqueri)
3p come 1→3 S

This suffix may also gloss 'after', as in

jagu.rpa.t.pa.t 'after his throwing it out' (Sitajara)
throw out >N 3p

Everywhere this suffix requires a preceding vowel. It keeps its final vowel before the independent nonfinal suffix -raki in Huancané. Elsewhere it loses its final vowel before a following suffix unless the latter requires a preceding vowel. It may keep or lose its vowel word-finally.

5-3.31.3 - taki ~ -tak'i ~ -tay beneficiary/purposive

/-tay/ occurs in Sitajara; /-taki/ occurs elsewhere. Some Salinas speakers have /-taki'i/ in free variation with /-taki/.

When the verbal derivational suffix -rapi- occurs on a verb stem, the complement is a beneficiary
of the action, and if that complement is expressed by a noun in the sentence, it is suffixed with -taki ~ -tak"i ~ -tay. If there is no -rapi in the verb stem, the verb complement is not a beneficiary, but there may be a noun marked by -taki ~ -tak"i ~ -tay expressing a goal or purpose of the action.

\[
\text{Jupa.x naya.tak law ay.ta.s.i.} \\
3p 1p stick pick up 3+3 S
\]

'He picked up a stick for me (i.e. to hit me with).' (La Paz)

Here naya 1p is not the complement of the verb inflection, which is 3+3 -i, but rather is the goal of the action.

The foregoing example was inspired by an example in Bertonio (1603b:294) which was intended to have the above meaning but has -rapi- verbal derivational suffix on the verb. For contemporary speakers, this makes the /-taki/ complement the beneficiary, changing the meaning of the sentence to 'He picked up a stick on my behalf'. That is, -rapi- always implies a beneficiary in Aymara today. It seems unlikely that the meaning has shifted since the 17th century; rather, Bertonio's translation was probably in error.

Additional examples of /-taki/ and /-tay/ are the following:

\[
\text{Na.tay.wa. 'It's for me.' (Sitajara)}
\]
yapu.nha.tay 'for my field' (Sitajara)

kuna.tay.s 'why, what for' (Sitajara)

Na.taki.wa. 'It's for me.' (Huancané)

Jiwas.taki.wa. 'It's for us (4p).' (Huancané)

kuna.taki.rak ~ kun.taki.rak 'what for' (Compi)

Occurrences of -taki ~ -tak'i ~ -tay on stems ending in -ña nominalizer (the purposive subordinator) are discussed in 7-4.21.23.

In Compi /-taki/ permits either a preceding vowel or consonant after the interrogative kuna but requires a preceding vowel in other environments. In Jopoqueri /-taki/ permits either a preceding vowel or consonant after the nominalizer suffix -ña but otherwise requires a previous vowel. In Huancané /-taki/ follows the three-vowel rule. Elsewhere /-taki/ requires a preceding vowel. It keeps its final vowel before following suffixes, except consonant-requiring final noun suffixes. It may keep or lose its final vowel, word-finally.

/-tay/, which occurs only in Sitajara, requires a preceding vowel. It is parallel in shape to /-ray/, the Sitajara allomorph of -ra 'yet' and/or -raki 'aggregate/complainer' independent nonfinal suffixes (see 7-2.21.3 and 7-2.21.4).
5-3.32 Final Class 2 suffixes

The last suffixes to occur on a noun stem or theme before verbalization, if any, are _kama aggregate/attainer, -pacha 'all, same', -jama 'like', and zero complement vowel drop (which may not be followed by verbalization).

_kama may occur before the complement/relational but usually does not. -pacha may occur before all complement/relational except _mpi ~ _nti, and its meaning is tied to its position of occurrence. -jama may follow -kama on a stem, but not vice versa. -pacha has not co-occurred with either -kama or -jama except on the stems frozen with -jama: ak"ama and uk"ama.

5-3.32.1 _kama aggregate/attainer

This suffix means 'among, all, each' on human nouns, as in warmi.kama 'among women'. On nonhuman, inanimate nouns _kama refers to spatial and temporal orientation. An example of spatial orientation is the following from La Paz/Tiahuanaco:

\[ \text{Juli.mpi.r Ch'uqi.yap.kama.mpi.ru.w pur.i.} \]

\[ 3\Rightarrow3 \]

\[ S \]

'He arrived as far as Juli and Chuquiago.'

Usually, however, _kama occurs after the complement/relational
suffixes \textit{-mpi} -\textit{nti}, \textit{-ru}, etc., as in the following example from La Paz/Compi:

\textit{Ch'uqi.yapu.r.kama.ki.w.} 'It's just as far as Chuquiayago.'

This suffix occurs with temporal orientation on time words and nominalized verbs, most often as a form of leave-taking with the prospect of another meeting.

\textit{arumant.kama} 'until tomorrow' (La Paz, Huancané)

\textit{may.ur.kam} 'until tomorrow' (Sitajara)

\textit{g"ar.u:r.kama} 'until tomorrow' (La Paz, Juli)

\textit{jiki.si.\text{\text{"}}.kama} 'until (we) meet again' (La Paz)

\textit{\text{"}jich"a.kama.sa} 'until now' (Tschopik 1948:113)

In Salinas the variant \textit{/-ka:ma/} was heard, but this may have been paralinguistic: \textit{ratu.ka:ma} 'so long'.

\textit{-kama} is subject to the three-vowel rule.

5-3.32.2 \textit{-pacha} 'all, same'

This suffix was originally considered two separate homophonous suffixes because it has different meanings in two positions of occurrence. When it occurs before the complement/relationals it means 'all';
when it occurs after them, it means 'the same, the very, itself'. However, it never co-occurs with itself, and when it occurs without a complement/relational, it may have either meaning or may act as an intensifier of the meaning of the root it occurs on.

This suffix must be distinguished from the verbal inflection -pacha 3-3 Inferential and from the restricted temporal root pacha 'time, epoch' (5-2.6). The frozen stem pachpa 'same' is evidence that -pacha suffix was once a root. The suffix -pacha may occur on certain temporal roots (but not on pacha).

mar.pacha 'all year, the same year' (La Paz)

ur.pacha 'by daylight' (La Paz)

An example of a temporal root plus pacha 'time, epoch' is q"alt'i pacha 'in the morning' (Salinas), in which the vowel of the modifier is retained.

Other examples of -pacha suffix are

puq".pacha 'full up' (Salinas)

laka.r.pach laka.r.pach 'gasping for breath' (Corque)

In Juli, La Paz, and Calacoa -pacha occurs on naya ~ na: 1p pronoun, meaning 'myself'; elsewhere it
is rejected in that context. -pacha occurs frozen on
the roots taqi 'all' and liju 'all' in stems having the
same meaning: tag.pacha and lij.pacha, which then act
as roots, taking Class 1 noun suffixes.

5-3.32.3 -cjama (and variants) 'like'

This suffix has a number of different allomorphs
in different dialects. It occurs on all classes of noun
roots, stems, and nominalized themes. It is unique among
the noun suffixes in occurring on the nominalizer subordinat­
ing suffixes -iri, -sa, and -sina. -jama combines
with the complement/relational suffix -na possessive/
locational with unpredictable meanings.

The sequence /jama/ or a reduced variant /ja/
may occur in certain inflected verb stems, and -jama
on nouns may be preceded by the independent suffix -ki.
These facts suggest that the suffix -jama should be
classified as an independent nonfinal suffix. However,
while such an analysis works well for some examples, it
does not for others. These complexities are discussed
in more detail in 6-2.11 and 6-2.3.

Bertonio (1603b:241) cited the following example
showing +jama as a separate root:

\[ +\text{Kamisa na lura.t"a, jama.ki juma.naka lura.jata.} \]
\[
\text{how 1p do 1-3 thus 2p pl. do 2-3} \quad \text{S F}
\]

'As I did, thus you will do.'
In present-day La Paz/Tiahuanaco dialect this is rendered as

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{Kamisa.ti.x} & \quad \text{naya.x} & \quad \text{lur.k.t.xa}, & \quad \text{uk"ama.rak} \\
\text{how} & \quad \text{1p} & \quad \text{do 1-3} & \quad \text{thus also} \\
\text{lura.p.xa.m.} & \quad \text{As I did, thus do you also.'} \\
\text{do pl. 2-3} & \quad \text{I} \\
\end{align*}
\]

Here -jama occurs in the frozen demonstrative uk"ama 'thus'. In contemporary Aymara jama does occur as a noun root, but only with the meaning 'excrement'.

The suffix -jama is distinguished from the homophonous root by always requiring a preceding consonant, while the root does not. Syntactic homophony is rare but possible.

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{Achak.jama.w.} & \quad \text{It's like a mouse.'} \\
\text{Achak jama.w.} & \quad \text{It's mouse dung.'} \\
\end{align*}
\]

In the second example the final vowel of achaku 'mouse' drops by the three-vowel rule.

The allomorphs of -jama are given below with geographic areas of occurrence and examples.

/-jama/ (La Paz, Juli, Huancané, Calacoa, Sitajara)

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{kun.jama.sa} & \sim \text{kun.jam.sa} \quad \text{how, like what'} \\
\text{kuna} & \quad \text{what'}
\end{align*}
\]
uk"ama 'thus'    uka 'that'

nay.jama 'like me'    naya lp

wal.jama 'pretty good'    wali 'well, good'

risa.s.jama 'while praying' (La Paz) pray

-sa subordinator

+risa.sin.jama 'while praying' (Bertonio 1603b:234)

-sina subordinator

/-ja:ma/ (La Paz, Jopoqueri, Morocomarca)

kun.ja:ma.sa 'how' (La Paz, Jopoqueri).

yaq"ama 'different' (Morocomarca)

/-ja/ (La Paz, Socca, Juli, Huancané, Calacoa, Sitajara, Jopoqueri, Salinas)

kun.ja.sa 'how' (Sitajara)

kun.ja.t.s 'how' (Socca)

Uk.ja.w. 'They are like those.' (Huancané)

may.ja 'different' (Jopoqueri, Sitajara, La Paz)

may.ja.ta 'in a certain way' (La Paz)

+inti.ja 'like the sun' (Bertonio 1603b:263)
/-k"a/ (Jopoqueri)

\[ \text{Naya.x ak.k"a.n.k.j.iri.t.wa.} \]
\[ \text{1p here 1-3 S} \]

'I'm from around here, more or less.'

/:ma/ (Jopoqueri, Salinas, Morocomarca)

\[ \text{kuna.:ma.s 'how, like what'} \]
\[ \text{maya.:ma 'different'} \]
\[ \text{uta.:ma 'like a house'} \]

\[ \text{Awt.ja.ta.:ma.k.:it.sa. 'I'm sort of hungry.'} \]
\[ \text{hunger of >V 3-1 S} \]

(literally, 'Of hunger like is to me.')

One example of /-ma/ was heard for Juli, as follows:

\[ \text{juma.ki.ki.:ma.s 'just like you'} \]
\[ \text{2p} \]

/-vma/ (Morocomarca)

\[ \text{uta.ma 'like a house'} \]
\[ \text{awayu.ma 'like an awayu' (a kind of shawl)} \]

/-:mu/ (Salinas)

\[ \text{maya.:mu 'different'} \]
Bertonio (1603b:174) gave a similar variant with final /u/, +/-jamu/, occurring only on numbers.

+ maya.jamu  'in one manner'

+ paya.jamu  'in two manners' (etc.)

The suffix -na possessive/locational occurs with -jama and variants in the following combinations having various meanings.

/-n.jama/

layi.n.jama  'through the irrigation ditch' (Calacoa)

p"axsi.n.jama  'like on the moon' (La Paz/Tiahuanaco)

uru.n.jama  'like in the day' (La Paz/Tiahuanaco)

Bertonio (1603b:231) gave the following examples:

+ mara.n.jama  'every year'

+ marka.n.jama  'in every town'

+ paqsi.n.jama  'every month'

+ uru.n.jama  'every day'
Two other related variants have occurred. /-:ma/ 'through' occurred in San Andrés de Machaca, giving the following contrast:

ut.jama 'like a house'  uta.ma 'through the house'

The contrast in Tiahuanaco is

ut.jama 'like a house'  uta.na.ma 'through the house'

Also in Tiahuanaco, /-jama/ may occur after /-na.ma/ on a stem.

ak.na.m.jam 'by this (same path)'  aka 'this'

The above evidence would seem to indicate that /-na.ma/ in Tiahuanaco and /-:ma/ in San Andrés de Machaca should be considered suffixes in their own right, the unitary morphemes -nama and -:ma.

In Morocomarca the combinations of -na with -jama are rejected, and 'through the house' is translated into
Aymara as *uta.k'a (5-3.12.5). In Jopoqueri it is translated *uta.ra.n (5-3.12.10).

Present-day allomorphs of -jama beginning with /j/ or /k"/ require a preceding consonant; those beginning with vowel length of course require a preceding vowel. Bertonio's inconsistent spelling precludes certainty about the morphophonemics of the allomorphs in his day. The morphophonemics of -nama are variable, sometimes requiring a preceding vowel, sometimes a preceding consonant. The various allomorphs keep their final vowels except before /-jama/ itself (which may occur after -nama and may reduplicate on itself) and when zero complement final vowel dropping occurs.

5-3.33 Zero complement vowel drop

In Aymara each verb root or stem has many potential zero complements. These are noun roots, stems, or themes whose occurrence with a given verb root or stem depends on semantic constraints inherent in the verb root and in the verbal derivational suffixes which may occur in the verb. As these suffixes change, the zero complements change also. They are called zero complements because they are marked by obligatory loss of the final stem vowel before final sentence suffixes, if any, except -lla ~/ -ya. The loss of vowel may occur on an independent suffix, if any occurs on the noun root, stem,
or theme. This vowel loss, the mark of zero complement, is not actually a suffix at all, but rather the result of a phonological deletion rule, morphologically and syntactically conditioned, and belongs in a discussion of Aymara morphophonemics and syntax. It is being included among the noun suffixes because it occurs only on noun roots, stems, and themes and is thus a part of the Aymara noun system. It is inflectional, closing a stem to further class change.

Noun roots, stems, and themes, singly or in phrases, may serve as zero complements. They usually occur directly before the verb to which they correspond.

Kun∅.s taq".i? 'What's he looking for?' (La Paz)

what look 3➔3 for S

... uk.ja.11∅ lluchch'u.wa.chi.xa.y 'that, he robbed' (Sitajara)

that rob NI

... jani kuntrula.∅ puyri.wak.t.ti.x.

no control able 1➔3 S

'I am unable to control . . .' (Sitajara)

Waw∅ pirti.si.y.itu. 'She made me lose (my) children.'

child lose 3➔1 S

(Socca)

Kullaka.∅ wank.j.t".a. 'I'm waiting for my sister.'

sister 1p await 1➔3 S

(Morocomarca)
A noun stem or theme with an independent suffix, for example -ki 'just, only', may be a zero complement.

\[\text{Inklisa.ki.0.xa.y \ parla.p.x.s.t xa.} \]
\[\text{English \ speak \ } 1+3 \ S\]

'We speak only English.' (Hardman et al. 1975:3.406)

A zero complement may occur after its verb.

\[\text{Na.x \ suy.t'a.s.k.t'a \ jich'a.x \ chacha.ji.0.wa.} \]
\[\text{1p \ wait \ } 1+3 \ \text{now husband 1p} \]

'I am waiting now for my husband.' (Huancané)

\[\text{Kuna.mpi.ra(ki) \ mag'a.si. \ ch'uñ0.ka?} \]
\[\text{what \ eat \ } 1+3 \ F\]

'What am I going to eat chuño with?' (Morocomarca)

This type of word order is more common in Aymara translations of Spanish elicitation sentences (as was the case with the two previous examples) than in nontranslated, free texts. In translating from Spanish to Aymara some speakers pronounce the final vowel of zero complements, even when placing them before the verb, in a kind of citation-form delivery.

\[\text{Jin \ marka.sa \ sara.w.ja.tana. \ 'Let's go to our town.'} \]
\[\text{town \ 4p \ go \ } 4+3 \ F\]

(Calacoa)
In normal speech contexts the vowel drops unless a pause separates the zero complement from the verb.

\[ ... \text{uwija} \ldots \text{ana.k.t na.x.} \ldots \text{sheep} \ldots \text{I was herd 1-3 1p herding.' (Sitajara)} \]

The following shows retention of the final stem vowel before \(-ya\) final suffix:

\[ \underline{\text{Uma.ma.y wax.t'a.si.\text{"nani.}}} \text{ 'Let's invite someone to have water 2p invite 4-3 some of your water.' (La Paz/ Compi)} \]

5-3.4 Class 3 suffixes (verbalizers)

There are four noun suffixes that verbalize noun roots, stems, and themes: two defective verbalizers and two full verbalizers. The full verbalizers create a normal verb stem that may be inflected for all verb person/tense suffixes (6.3). The defective verbalizers take the four persons as subjects only, not as complements, and are also restricted in the verbal derivations they may take.

5-3.4.1 Defective verbalizers

These are of very frequent occurrence.
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5-3.41.1 -ja- ~ -ka-

In all dialects studied, the suffix -ja- ~ -ka- occurs only after -na possessive/locational (which does not occur before the other verbalizers, although it may be verbalized with the verbal derivational suffix -cha- (see 6-2.11). This suffix turns a possessive or a location into a verb. In Jopoqueri the allomorph /-ja-/ is more common than /-ka-/, which occurs in all dialects. Examples:

Kawki.n.ka rak.ta.sti? 'And where are you?' (Huancané)
where 2 3
S

Naya.x Lima.n.k.t.wa. 'I'm in Lima.' (Huancané)
lp 1 3
S

Kawki.n.k.i.sa? 'Where is it?' (La Paz, Juli, Socca, Calacoa, Sitajara)
3 3
S

Kawki.n.ka rak.i? 'Where is it?' (Salinas, Morocomarca)
3 3
S

utah.n ja.s.j.t"a 'I'm in my house' (Jopoqueri)
house 1p 1 3
S

K'i'ti.s uta.n~a.ni? 'Who will be in the house?' (Jopoqueri)
k 3 3
F
In Jopoqueri the allomorph /-ka-/ usually occurs before /-ja-/ allomorph of -ja- ~ -ka- verbal derivational incompletive.

\[
\text{Misa.x jani naya.n.k.j.i.ti. 'The table isn't mine.'}
\]

\[
\text{table no lp 3+3 3+3 S}
\]

In other dialects /-ka-/ verbalizer followed by /-ka-/ incompletive results in a geminate /kk/ cluster, as in

\[
\text{Jani.w naya.n.k.k.i.ti 'It's not mine.'}
\]

(In speech, /kk/ reduces to /k/.)

Another allomorph occurring in Jopoqueri is /-k"a-/ . Compare the allomorph /-k"a/ of -jama

(5-3.32.3), which occurs first on the following stem:

\[
\text{Naya.x ak.k"a.n.k".iri.t.wa. 'I'm from around here, more or less.'}
\]

\[
\text{lp here 1+3 S}
\]

A variation of the above is

\[
\text{Naya.x ak.ja.n.j.iri.t.wa.}
\]

This implies a certain consonant harmony; further study is needed to determine whether or not this is idiosyncratic to one speaker.
As in the case of zero complement vowel-drop, vowel length is more properly a morphophonemic process than a suffix, but as it occurs to verbalize noun roots, stems, and themes, it is here included with the other verbalizers.

When vowel-length verbalization is followed by a suffix that requires a preceding consonant, the length may be somewhat reduced, or the vowel in question may revert to simple length, or it may remain somewhat lengthened; length appears to vary from one speaker to another. A timed spectrographic analysis of texts containing vowel length verbalization is needed to define the length in different contexts. In this study some examples containing the morpheme of vowel-length verbalization show the notation /:/ before a consonant-requiring suffix, if more than one vowel-length was perceived to occur. If only one vowel-length was perceived, the notation /:/ is usually omitted from the transcription, the presence of a vowel before a consonant-requiring suffix being sufficient to indicate the underlying presence of the vowel-length morpheme in that context.

This suffix is in complementary distribution with -ka- ~ -ja- verbalizer, never occurring after -na possessive/locational. Examples:
kawk.i:ri 'which' (La Paz, Socca, Huancané, Jopoqueri; see 5-2.1)

kawk.n.i:ri 'which' (La Paz, Juli; see 5-2.1)

Kuna.:chi.x? 'Why should it be? (Sitajara)

Aruma.:x.iritayna.w. 'It was already night.' (Juli)

A story told in Huancané yields several examples of the use of verbalization vowel length on verb stems nominalized with -ta resultant.

Yati.ta.:x.chi. 'They got to know each other.'

Jani jiq"a.ta.:n muna.tayna.t. 'He didn't want to meet him.'

An example of verbalization of a noun phrase is the following from La Paz:

Ma: jisk'a uta.ni:.t.wa. 'I have a little house.'

('A little house owner am I.')
According to Herrero et al. (1971-2:1.126), an allomorph of vowel length verbalization, +/-ya-/, occurs in Omasuyos province of La Paz, but only in certain contexts: on the nominalizer suffix -iri before 1➔3 and 2➔3 Future affirmative, but not negative. Glosses for the following were not given, but the verb is yati.cha.ña 'to teach'.

\[ +\text{yati.ch.iri.ya.:wa} \]
\[ \text{1➔3} \]
\[ \text{F} \]

\[ +\text{yati.ch.iri.ya.:ta.wa} \]
\[ \text{2➔3} \]
\[ \text{F} \]

The negative forms are the following, with /-:-/ verbalizer:

\[ +\text{jani.w yati.ch.iri.:ka.:ti} \]
\[ \text{1➔3} \]
\[ \text{F} \]

\[ +\text{jani.w yati.ch.iri.:ka.:ta.ti} \]
\[ \text{2➔3} \]
\[ \text{F} \]

Since /-ka-/ incompletive requires a preceding consonant, the negative forms could contain +/-ya-/ also, reduced to /y/ homophous with /i:/, that is

\[ *\text{jani.w yati.ch.iri.y.ka.:ti} \]
\[ \text{1➔3} \]
\[ \text{F} \]
However, the other affirmative forms in the paradigm are given with /-:-/ before vowel-requiring suffixes, e. g.

\[ + \text{yati.ch.iri.::ni.wa} \]

5-3.42 Full verbalizers
5-3.42.1 \(-_\text{pta-}\)

This suffix is of less frequent occurrence than \(-_\text{ka-}\) and \(-:_-\) verbalizers.

Hardman has pointed out (Hardman et al. 1975: 3.402) the relationship of \(-_\text{pta-}\) and the verbal derivational suffix \(-_\text{ta-}\) 'up, inceptive', whose cognate in other Jaqi languages is \(-_\text{pta-}\). In present-day Aymara \(-_\text{ta-}\) does not usually verbalize, except in La Paz/Tiahuanaco where it was found in free variation with \(-_\text{pta-}\) on one root.

\[ \{ \text{Ch'iyan.ta.s.k.i.w.} \} \]

\[ \{ \text{Ch'iyanara.pta.s.k.i.w.} \} \]

'It turned black.'
Bertonio (1603b:305) said

Some Indians say that \texttt{pta} and \texttt{ta} are not distinguished on nouns but rather mean the same thing.

This implies that the two were in free variation in 17th century Juli, but Bertonio does not indicate whether they both occurred on verbs. \texttt{+pta-} as verbal derivational has been cited in two published sources (see 6-2.16) but has not occurred in the spoken data investigated for this study. Since \texttt{-ta-} usually does not verbalize and \texttt{-pta-} usually is not a verbal derivational, it has been decided to treat \texttt{-pta-} as the verbalizer and \texttt{-ta-} as the verbal derivational, recognizing that they overlap but seem to be diverging.

The combination \texttt{-pta-} verbalizer plus \texttt{-ña} nominalizer implies a human subject in the following examples from La Paz/Tiahuanaco:

\begin{itemize}
  \item \texttt{k'umara.pta.ña} 'to become healthy' \texttt{k'umara} 'healthy'
  \item \texttt{gullqi.ni.pta.ña} 'to progress, to become rich'
    \begin{itemize}
      \item \texttt{gullqi.ni} 'one who has money'
    \end{itemize}
  \item \texttt{llamp'u.pta.ña} 'to humble oneself, repent, change character'
    \begin{itemize}
      \item \texttt{llamp'u} 'clear'
    \end{itemize}
\end{itemize}

If a verb stem does not permit a human subject (because of Aymara semantic constraints), a noun plus the
combination -pta.ña will be rejected, e. g. *muxsa.pta.ña 'for a person to turn sweet'. However, with a nonhuman (usually inanimate) subject, an inflected form of a verb created with -pta- may be acceptable.

\[ \text{laranja.x muxsa.pt.i} \ 'the orange turned sweet (ripened)' \]

Until this situation was understood, a number of nouns that actually take -pta- verbalizer were thought not to.

5-3.42.2 -kipta- accelerated verbalizer

Contrasting examples with this suffix and with -pta- are the following, all from La Paz. (The suffix -kipta- was not found in other dialects and should be looked for in future research.)

\[ \text{janq'u.kipta-} \ 'turn white suddenly' \]
\[ \text{janq'u.pta-} \ 'turn white' \]
\[ \text{achach.kipta.ña} \ 'to become old' \]
\[ \text{qam.ir.kipta.ña} \ 'to win a lottery' (get rich quickly) \]
\[ \text{qam.iri.pta.ña} \ 'to get rich' \]

As may be seen, usually -kipta- seems to accelerate the verbalization. At first the /ki/ of the suffix was thought
to be the independent nonfinal suffix -ki but morphophonemics eliminate that possibility, as the morphophonemics of -kipta- follow the three-vowel rule, while -ki independent suffix takes a preceding vowel. Morphophonemics also distinguish -kipta- verbalizer from the verbal derivationals -kipa- plus -ta- (see 6-2.15.1 and 6-2.16).

5-4 Summary and Conclusions
5-4.1 Types of variation in the noun system

In general, variation in the Aymara noun system is not extensive. There are two main types: internal and external. Internal variation includes differences in the phonological shape of morphemes (roots and suffixes) due to instability of certain phonemes and to operation of different phonotactically conditioned rules. Other kinds of internal variation are found in the morphophonemics of suffixes and in the inventory and meaning of certain roots and suffixes.

External variation in the noun system involves the introduction of Spanish loans. These have entered the open class of noun roots freely and continue to do so. Some dialects may use a Spanish loan where others may use a native Aymara term; some examples of this are given in 8-3.1. The only closed classes of Aymara nouns
that have taken in Spanish loans are the kinship terms and the temporals. The only Aymara suffixes that are Spanish loans are the noun diminutives.

The following sections summarize internal variation in the noun system.

5-4.11 Variation in noun roots

5-4.11.1 Closed classes

Variation in shape occurs in all the closed noun classes, e.g. the interrogatives kamisa ~ kama and gawq"a and variants, the demonstratives of third and fourth degrees of distance, the personal pronouns except the second person, and several numbers, positionals, and temporals. Some temporals have different shapes attributable to different morphophonemic rules, e.g., those affecting jich"a and uru (loss of initial /jV/ in the first case, and different vowel sequence avoidance rules in the second case).

Variations in inventory and semantics are few. The demonstrative uwa apparently occurs in a few dialects. The temporals show the widest variety in inventory, some terms occurring only in certain dialects and not others, or with different meanings (see 5-4.2).

5-4.11.2 Open class

The majority of noun roots in the open class are the same everywhere, with a few differences in shape noted
in examples in Chapter 3. Examples of shifts of meaning across dialects are given in 8-3.12.

5-4.12 Variation in suffixes

Suffixes that show variations in phonemic shape are the lp possessive, the complement/relationals (except -ru and -na), -jama 'like', and the verbalizer -ja- -ka-. Those that show variation in morphophonemics are the personal possessives, the complement/relationals, and three suffixes that follow the three-vowel rule: -layku 'on account of', -pura 'among', and -kama 'until'. Suffixes that occur only in certain dialects are -chapi -chap"i 'the one which/who' (which also shows phonological variation), -ra 'through', and -cha diminutive.

5-4.2 Dialectal patterning

Dialectal patterning in the noun system is most evident in the temporals and in the shape of personal possessive suffixes. The following dialect groups may be distinguished on the basis of the morphemes indicated; there is, however, a good deal of isoglossic overlapping.

5-4.21 Juli, Socca

jayp'u 'evening/night'
5-4.22 Juli, Socca, Huancané, Calacoa, La Paz

aruma 'night/early morning' arumanti 'tomorrow'
Initial velar or postvelar fricative in lp possessive

5-4.23 Calacoa, Socca, and Sitajara

g'alta 'morning' (also means 'tomorrow' in Calacoa and Sitajara)

5-4.24 Calacoa and Sitajara

No forms based on g'ara (all other dialects have them)

5-4.25 Jopoqueri, Salinas, Morocomarca

g"alt'i 'morning/tomorrow'

jayp"u 'evening/night' (also Calacoa)

5-4.26 Jopoqueri, Salinas, Morocomarca, Calacala, Sitajara

Initial nasals in lp possessive suffix:
Jopoqueri and Sitajara: /nh/
Salinas, Morocomarca, Calacala: /ŋ/

5-4.27 Huancané, Sitajara, Jopoqueri, Salinas, Morocomarca, Calacala

Variable morphophonemics for personal possessive suffixes
5-4.28 La Paz/Compi and La Paz/Tiahuanaco

Invariable morphophonemics for personal possessive suffixes
Notes

1 For a fuller description of the Aymara noun system in Compi and Tiahuanaco, see my Chapter 8 in Outline of Aymara phonological and grammatical structure (Hardman et al. 1975:3.246-394).

2 The sequence /mana/ exists today only in this frozen form. Bertonio (1603b:247) alleged 'kawki.mana 'wherever', but this was rejected by Vásquez.

3 As in the case of kawk.n.iri ~ kawk.n.i:ri, the /n/ which may occur is probably an instance of -na possessive/locational frozen to the root. It intensifies the meaning of the demonstrative.

4 Any personal possessive suffix may occur in the stem.

5 Javier Albó (personal communication).

6 In Tiahuanaco and elsewhere today ch'ina means 'human posterior, ass' and by extension metaphorically 'base' (e.g. of a pot, a cup). In La Paz/Compi ch'in.kata means 'a place to sit inside the house'. As -kata- is a verbal derivational suffix, it may be that ch'ina is an ambiguous noun/verb root (see 5-2.7).

7 Some members of the temporal class were identified by Hardman et al. (1975:1.152-166). The present analysis presents the first full description of the class and is therefore longer than sections on other noun classes, which have been described previously. Bertonio cited only a few temporals (1603b:50).

8 In La Paz three compound forms of uru occur together with the meaning 'week': jich".ur q"ar.ur jurp".ur (literally 'today, tomorrow, day after tomorrow').

9 juch".u:ru 'today' occurs in Achocalla (La Paz).
10 In La Paz nink"ara is a noun/verb root. An example of its occurrence as a verb is Nink"ara.tayna.w. 'It was a while ago.' nink"ara also occurs with the verbal derivational suffixes -t'a- momentaneous and -ja- divider, but without subsequent verbal inflection, i.e., as nouns: Nink"ar.t'a.w ~ Nink"ar.ja.w. 'It was a while ago.' (The latter may instead be a case of /-ja/ allomorph of -jama 'like' on the root acting as a noun.) Other examples of verb roots plus verbal derivational forming stems that serve as nouns are given in 6-2.

11 Temporals were not obtained for Socca until very late in the research; they are not included in Figures 5-1 and 5-2. Those obtained are the following:

- alwa 'morning'
- aruma 'night'
- arumanti 'tomorrow'
- q'alta 'morning'
- g"ar.u:ru 'tomorrow'
- suji.suji 'gray time before dawn'
- suj.s.t"api 'dusk'

12 The Spanish demonstrative este 'this', which serves a similar filler function, has been borrowed into Aymara as isti and occurs in variation with inchi, as in the following:

(isti.x) naya.xa (inchi.w) sara.ki.tayna.x ... lap go 3+3 RIK

'(uh) I (uh) he just left ...' (Juli)

13 As we have seen, the personal possessive suffixes also have differing morphophonemics across dialects.

14 Certain verbs take -ta ~ -t'a rather than -ru complements, e.g. mayi.ña 'to borrow'.
It is possible that some relics of *jama 'like' as a root still occur. In Calacala an old lady was heard to say jama.ch.i.xay 'so it may be' rather than uk"ama.chi.xa.y, the normal expression in La Paz and elsewhere. For other possible relics of a noun *jama 'like', see 6-2.3.
CHAPTER 6
VARIATION IN THE VERB SYSTEM

6-1 Introduction

The verb system of Aymara consists of verb roots and verb suffixes, which together form verb stems. A verbalized noun root or stem is a verb theme. Verb roots, stems, and themes are usually cited with the nominalizing suffix -ña, unless the resulting form implies a semantically unacceptable human subject. (See 8-2.25 for more on -ña semantics.) The verb saña 'to say' (see 6-4) is set off from all others by its phonological structure (it is the only monosyllabic root in the language) and by its function as a syntactic subordinator. Most Aymara verbs have two-vowel roots; a few (mostly Spanish loans) have three-vowel roots. Spanish verbs enter Aymara freely, e.g. puyriña 'to be able' from Spanish poder. There is also a class of ambiguous noun/verb roots, as noted in 5-2.7.

Verb suffixes are of two types: derivational and inflectional. Both types are closed classes that do not admit loans. Verbal derivational suffixes modify
the action or the persons involved in the action. A special kind of derivation is nominalization, which changes a verb root or stem to a noun theme. The suffixes that nominalize verbs are discussed in 7-4.2 as they are used in morphosyntactic subordination. Verbal inflectional suffixes indicate person and tense, and these suffixes close verb stems to further derivation. Verbal inflectional suffixes may be separated from derivational suffixes by the class of independent nonfinal suffixes that occur on both nouns and verbs.

Verbs of carrying and placing belong to covert classes according to manner of motion and attributes of the item moved (Tate 1970). Some examples from La Paz are included in the elicitation list, Appendix A.

6-2 Verbal Derivational Suffixes

The basic data and analysis on which this section is based were provided by England (Hardman et al. 1975: 3.148-208) and have been supplemented by my analysis of additional data obtained in my field work and from Bertonio (1603b); see Figure 6-1. Class 1 suffixes affect the action of the verb (e.g., its direction, intensity, duration) and are tied to the selection of its zero complements. Class 2 suffixes affect the inflection (the persons involved in the action and/or the tense or aspect of the verb). Suffixes occurring on the
Figure 6-1. Aymara Verbal Derivational Suffixes: Order Classes

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Class 1</th>
<th>1</th>
<th>2</th>
<th>3</th>
<th>4</th>
<th>5</th>
<th>6</th>
<th>7</th>
<th>8</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>-v\text{cha}</td>
<td>-cJa-</td>
<td>-c\text{su}-</td>
<td>-v\text{re}-</td>
<td>-\text{c'ta}\text{api}</td>
<td>-c\text{ta}-</td>
<td>-c\text{ta}-</td>
<td>-c\text{ta}-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>-v\text{ki}-</td>
<td>-v\text{na}-</td>
<td>-v\text{ka}-</td>
<td>-v\text{uta}-</td>
<td>-v\text{uta}-</td>
<td>-v\text{uta}-</td>
<td>-v\text{uta}-</td>
<td>-v\text{uta}-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>-v\text{cha}-</td>
<td>-v\text{mucha}-</td>
<td>-v\text{nuka}-</td>
<td>-v\text{mucha}-</td>
<td>-v\text{nuka}-</td>
<td>-v\text{nuka}-</td>
<td>-v\text{nuka}-</td>
<td>-v\text{nuka}-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>-v\text{tata}</td>
<td>-v\text{tata}</td>
<td>-v\text{tata}</td>
<td>-v\text{tata}</td>
<td>-v\text{tata}</td>
<td>-v\text{tata}</td>
<td>-v\text{tata}</td>
<td>-v\text{tata}</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>-v\text{paya}</td>
<td>-v\text{paya}</td>
<td>-v\text{paya}</td>
<td>-v\text{paya}</td>
<td>-v\text{paya}</td>
<td>-v\text{paya}</td>
<td>-v\text{paya}</td>
<td>-v\text{paya}</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6</td>
<td>-v\text{paya}</td>
<td>-v\text{paya}</td>
<td>-v\text{paya}</td>
<td>-v\text{paya}</td>
<td>-v\text{paya}</td>
<td>-v\text{paya}</td>
<td>-v\text{paya}</td>
<td>-v\text{paya}</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Key:

1. Suffixes which can verbalize certain noun roots.
2. Suffixes which can verbalize certain noun roots and stems.
3. Suffix which can verbalize noun roots, stems, and themes with (-\text{Ha})

Adapted from England (Hardman et al. 1975:3.151)
border of Class 1 and Class 2 (-t'a- momentaneous, -si- reciprocal/reflexive, and -ya- causative) share attributes of both classes. Members of both classes may determine, in ways as yet little explored, the semantic features of verb subjects and complements (see 8-2.25). Class 3 consists of a group of semantically related suffixes all containing the phoneme /ch/ and forms deriving from the suffix -jama 'like'.

Certain verb roots never occur without derivational suffixes. Two are *ana- 'herd' and *ma- 'go'. The nonoccurrence of the plain root *ana- was noted by Bertonio (1603b:271). The root *ma- was apparently productive in Bertonio's time, but in contemporary Aymara it occurs only in a few frozen stems, such as mantaña 'to enter' (with the verbal derivational suffix -nta-'into') and mak'ataña 'to go across' (with the derivational suffix -k'ata- 'across'), both used in La Paz.

Certain verb roots plus derivational suffixes may occur as derived nouns. Examples are

*ana.nta  'concentration of people or animals; herd'
           (Jopoqueri) -nta- 'into'

arum.t'a 'greeting; greet' (La Paz) -t'a- momentaneous

irpa.qa  'betrothal; take a person down' (general) -qa- 'down'
g"uma.nta 'hug; embrace' (Juli) -nta- 'into'

uñ.naga 'appearance; appear' (Huancané) -naga- 'around'

See 4-2 for general morphophonemic rules that affect verbal derivational suffixes beginning with voiced consonants and specifically with nasals. Verbal derivational suffixes beginning with the fricatives /j/ or /x/ require a preceding consonant. The morphophonemetics of the remaining suffixes are unpredictable and must be specified for each suffix. Suffixes subject to the three-vowel rule are listed in 4-3.22.16.

6-2.1 Class 1 suffixes

The 22 suffixes\(^2\) of this class are discussed below in the order of their occurrence in stems. Thirteen of these suffixes can verbalize noun roots. Four can also verbalize certain noun stems, and one of the four can verbalize noun themes ending in -ña nominalizer.

6-2.11 -v.cha- verbalizer, causative

In all dialects -v.cha- occurs most often as a verbalizer of noun roots. Examples:

isi.cha.ña 'to gradually acquire a lot of clothes over a period of time' (La Paz/Compi)

jiwq'i.cha.ña 'to cause smoke' (Calacoa)
junt'u.cha.ña 'to heat' (Calacoa)

kama.cha.ña 'what to do' (all dialects) kama 'how'

lik'i.ch.iri 'fat-maker' (Salinas)

niya.cha.ña 'to be nearly finished' (La Paz)

suma.cha.ña 'to make amends, decorate' (La Paz)

In contemporary Aymara -cha- does not verbalize animate nouns. Bertonio (1603b:273) gave the example +gawra.cha.³ 'to create llamas' (said of God), but Vásquez (La Paz/Tiahuanaco) rejected it in favor of gawr uywa.ña 'to llama-raise' or gawr uñ.s.ta.ya.ña 'to make llamas appear' (metaphorical).

-ch'a- may also occur as a verbalizer of noun stems ending in certain suffixes: -na possessive/locational and -ni possessor. It is not always possible to tell which of the two is occurring, because on such stems the three-vowel rule applies (see 4-3.22.16), causing the vowel of the noun suffix to drop before -cha-. The following examples cited by Bertonio (1603b:273) have the same meanings in La Paz today:

uma.n.cha.ña 'to mix something dry with water'

gullqi.n.cha.ña 'to make someone win (money)'
Some other examples used today in La Paz/Tiahuanaco are

- **asukara.n.cha.ña** 'to add sugar'
- **jayu.n.cha.ña** 'to add salt'
- **jinchu.n.cha.ña** 'to put ears on'

The last example refers to a practice attributed to Catholic priests, of having sexual intercourse with a pregnant woman; the woman is allegedly told by the priest beforehand that it is necessary 'in order to make the baby's ears'. A nickname for such a priest is **jinchu.n.ch.iri** 'ear-maker'.

- **-cha-** as verbalizer may also occur on verbs nominalized with **-ña**. Again, the vowel of **-ña** drops by the three-vowel rule. When it occurs on **-ña**, **-cha-** is usually followed by the sequence /jama/ (or a reduced variant /ja/) that is best analyzed as the suffix **-jama** occurring primarily on nouns (see 5-3.32.3). All the following examples are from Compi:

- **Juta.ñ.ch.itu.w.** 'It seems that it comes to me.'
  \[
  \text{come} \quad 3\rightarrow 1 \quad S \\
  \]

- **Juta.ñ.ch.jama.k.itu.w.** 'It makes me want to come/
  I would like to come.'

- **juta.ñ.ch.ja.k.itu** 'I think I'll just come'
Lup'i.ň.ch.ja.ki.rak.itu.wa. 'I'm thoughtful/It makes me think'
I want to think/I want to be thoughtful."

Literal translations would be 'to come, like, is to me'
or 'to think, like, is to me', given the 3-t inflections.

Set 3 verbal derivational suffixes all contain
the phoneme /ch/, which may in some cases be a frozen
form of this suffix (see 6-2.3).

-ch- occurs as a verbal derivational causative
on only a few verb roots.

yati.cha.ňa 'to teach' yati.ňa 'to know'
waki.cha.ňa 'to prepare' waki.ňa 'to provide' (Socca)
'to provide mutually' (La Paz/Compi)

6-2.12 -ja- verbalizer, divider

This suffix is to be distinguished from /-ja-/
allomorph of -ka- verbalizer (5-3.41.1), from -ja 'amount'
(5-3.12.3), from /-ja-/ allomorph of the Class 2 verbal
derivational incompletive (6-2.25), and from /-ja/ allo-
morph of the suffix -jama (5-3.32.3).

In all dialects this suffix occurs frequently
as a verbalizer of noun roots.
lup. ja. si. ña 'to heat with sunlight'  lupi 'sunlight'

t"ay. ja. : si. ña 'to catch cold' (La Paz)

t"aya 'cold' -:- causative

uma. t p"ar. j. itu 'I'm thirsty' (La Paz)

uma 'water' p"ara 'dry'

uma. t wañ. j. itu 'I'm thirsty' (Calacoa)

On verbs -ja- is also frequent everywhere.

ayw. ja. ra. ña 'to spread out all over' (La Paz)

ayw. ja. ra. ña 'to spread out all over' (La Paz)

'for many to go to different places'

(Bertonio 1603b:279)

aywi. ña 'for many to go together' (Socca)

manq'. ja. ña 'to chew' (La Paz)

manq'. ja. ña 'to chew' (La Paz)

'manq'. ja. ña 'to give to eat' (Bertonio 1603b:279)

manq'. ja. ña 'to give to eat'

p'at. ja. ña 'to grab and pull in various places' (Compi)

p'at. ja. ña 'to grab and pull in various places'

p'ata. ña 'to grab and pull with teeth or beak' (Compi)

6-2.13 - c su- 'out', completive

In these data, -su- has verbalized only as follows:

q"aw. s. ta. ña 'to shed its skin' (La Paz)

q"awa 'snake skin, tiger skin; dance costume'
g"aw.su- 'to take off shirt' (Bertonio 1603b:302)
+g"awa 'shirt' (Bertonio spelling: caua)

On verb roots the meaning of this suffix is either literally 'out of' or a completive, or metaphorical.

ar.su.ña 'to babble, be barely able to speak; to decide'
(La Paz/Tiahuanaco)
'to describe something orally, reveal, bring out'
(Bertonio 1603b:302)

ar.su.ya.ña 'to cause to say' (Salinas)
aru 'word, language, speech, speak' (noun/verb root)

-ya- causative

6-2.14 -ra- and -t"api-
6-2.14.1 -vra- serializer, reverser

-ra- occurs infrequently as a verbalizer. Example:

kaka.ra.si.ña 'place to defecate' (Corque) <

Spanish caca 'feces'

As noted by Bertonio (1603b:292), and still the case today, on verbs of carrying and placing the suffix usually reverses the action; on other verbs it signifies serial or repeated action.
apa.ra.ña 'to take away' (Sitajara, Salinas) apa.ña 'to carry'

iqa.ra.ña 'to take off clothing, pull at a cloth' (Juli, La Paz)
iqa.ña 'to carry cloth'

jist'a.ra.ña 'to open' (La Paz) jist'a.ña 'to close'

uma.ra.ña 'to have a party' uma.ña 'to drink' (La Paz)
' to drink a little' (Bertonio 1603b:292)

willi.ra.ña 'to throw things down or off' (e. g. contraband off a bus, by customs agent) (La Paz)
' to spill a little water' (Bertonio 1603b:292)
willi.ña 'to spill, pour' (La Paz)

usu.r.ta.si.ña 'to get pregnant' (Calacoa)
usu.ña 'to be sick'

6-2.14.2 -t"api- gatherer

-t"api- verbalizes infrequently. In available examples, all from La Paz, it may verbalize roots, stems, and themes. In the following example, it verbalizes a nominalized verb, lunt"a.ta 'stolen':

lunt"a.t.t"api.ña 'to steal from various places' (La Paz/ Tiahuanaco)
' to steal with other people' (Ebbing 1965:245)
lunt"a.ña 'to steal'

This suffix occurs most often as a verbal derivational.
manq'.t"api.ña 'to eat everything--a banquet' (La Paz)
  'to eat together' (Ebbing 1965:245)

ampar ay.t"api.ña 'to bend the arm, to have a paralyzed arm'
  (La Paz)
  ayana 'to carry a cylindrical, rigid object'

ampar a:.t"api.ña 'to bend the arm' (Bertonio 1603b:304)

gun.t"api.ña 'to sit down together' (two people); 'to sit up' (bringing two halves of body closer together) (La Paz)

A use of a verb stem with -t"api- in a metaphorical sense is the following from La Paz:

iki.ña t"al.t"api 'youngest child', literally, 'shakes the bed'
  t"ala.ña 'to shake'

6-2.15 -kipa-, -nuqa- ~ -nuqu-, -qa-, and -xata- ~ -xita
6-2.15.1 -vkipa- 'past a point', verbalizer

This suffix may verbalize, as in

uru.kipa.ña 'to delay, be late' uru 'day' (La Paz)
  'to delay a day or more' (Bertonio 1603b:291)

But it is more common as a verbal derivational. Originally thought to be in the 6-2.17 order set, it has been found occurring before -ta- 'up' (6-2.16) in La Paz.
In combination with -ta- 'up' it is to be distinguished from the verbalizer -kipta- (5-3.42.2).

parla.kipa.ña 'to communicate information' (La Paz)
parla.ña 'to talk'

qillqa.kipa.ña 'to transfer information from one book to another' (La Paz; also Bertonio 1603b:290)
qillqa.ña 'to write'

uta.ch.kipa.sini.ña 'to fix the roof of a house' (La Paz)
uta.cha.ña 'to build a house' (La Paz)
'to again build houses around something, like an inherited property' (Bertonio 1603b:320)

The following show occurrences of -kipa- and of -kip.ta- on the same roots, all from La Paz:

jaqu.kipa.ña 'to turn over clothes'
jaqu.kip.ta.ña 'to pass near (a town); turn over in bed'
jaqu.ña 'to throw'
muyu.kipa.ña 'to turn around'
muyu.kip.ta.ña 'to turn; pass a hill' muyu.ña 'to turn'
pasa.kipa.ña 'to pass to the other side'
pasa.kip.ta.ña 'to pass a person' pasa.ña 'to pass'
< Spanish pasar
6-2.15.2  -v\textsubscript{nuqa-}  ~  -v\textsubscript{nuqu-}  placer, cessation of action

The consonant-requiring form of /-nuqa-/ is the more common, but the vowel-requiring form is acceptable. /-nuqu-/ occurred only in Jopoqueri, which also has /-nuqa-/. /-nuqa-/ verbalizes infrequently but occurs often on verbs. Examples:

ali.nuqa.\textbar\textbar  'to sprout'  ali.\textbar\textbar  'to sprout'  (Corque, Salinas)

iki.nuqa.\textbar\textbar  'to sleep'  (Jopoqueri)  iki.\textbar\textbar  'to sleep'

ik.nuqa.\textbar\textbar  'to spend the first night of a trip; or the first night in the grave'  (said of a corpse)  (La Paz)

'\textbar\textbar  to be born, give origin to'  (Juli)

'\textbar\textbar  to fling oneself down to sleep or to sleep flung out'  (Bertonio 1603b:286)

(j)iki.nuqu.\textbar\textbar  'to be born'  (Jopoqueri)

nuwa.nuqa.\textbar\textbar  'to hit, beat up; to give someone what's coming to them'

nuwa.\textbar\textbar  'to hit'  (La Paz)

t'axlli.nuqa.\textbar\textbar  'to pummel'  (La Paz; also Bertonio 1603b:276)

6-2.15.3  -v\textsubscript{qa-}  ~  -xa-  'down', remover

This suffix, which does not verbalize, occurs often with carrying verbs and other verbs of motion.
A variant /-xa-/ occurred in Salinas.

jaqu.\textit{x}ta.\textit{ña} 'to whip' jaqu.\textit{ña} 'to fall'

Elsewhere the allomorph is /-qa-/.

ala.\textit{ga.ña} 'to buy' ala.\textit{ña} 'to buy' (Calacala, Morocomarca)

asa.\textit{ga.ña} 'to remove plate or hat, down from above' (La Paz)

asa.\textit{ña} 'to carry a plate-like object' (La Paz)

ima.\textit{ga.ña} 'to save food for someone'

ima.\textit{ña} 'to keep' (La Paz)

'im to hide something' (Bertonio 1603b:272)

6-2.15.4 -\textit{x}ata- \textit{~ x}ita- 'on top of, up to'

This suffix does not verbalize. /-xita-/ occurred in Salinas. Examples:

ik.\textit{x}ata.\textit{ña} 'to sleep on top of something' (La Paz, also Bertonio 1603b:283)

iq.\textit{x}ita.\textit{ña} 'to carry a saddle-bag' (Salinas)

iq.a.\textit{ña} 'to carry a cloth'

pur.\textit{x}ata.\textit{ña} 'to arrive (rain, hail, etc.)' (La Paz)

pur.i.\textit{ña} 'to arrive, to come'
6-2.16 - _ta_ 'up', inceptive

-ta- rarely verbalizes in any dialect. Other homophonous suffixes, distinguished by morphophonemics from this one and each other, are given in 5-3.31.4. Examples of -ta- verbal derivational in combination with -kipa- are given in 6-2.15.1. Other examples with -ta-:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Verb</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
<th>Location</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>pur.ta.na</td>
<td>'to arrive' (Sitajara)</td>
<td>puri.na 'to arrive'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sar.ta.na</td>
<td>'to get up' (La Paz); 'to leave, set out' (Salinas)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sara.na</td>
<td>'to go'</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>jala.q.ta.na</td>
<td>'to fall down from above' (La Paz)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>jala.na</td>
<td>'to run'</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>jaqu.q.ta.na</td>
<td>'to fall down from a height' (La Paz)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>jaqu.na</td>
<td>'to fall'</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>junt'u.ch.ta.wa.na</td>
<td>'to heat up (an oven)' (Calacoa)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>junt'u</td>
<td>'hot'</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

As indicated in 5-3.42.1, this suffix is related to -pta- verbalizer of noun roots and stems. The allomorph /-pta-/ has not occurred as a verbal derivational in the spoken Aymara analyzed for this study, but it does occur in two examples from published texts.
The first is reportedly from the city of La Paz, the second from La Paz department.

Bertonio (1603b:308) cited in addition to +ta- the variants +/uta-/'up' and +/(u)talta-/ inceptive. Forms with these are unacceptable to present-day speakers. One speaker in Juli used /-tu-/ instead of /-ta-/, but this may have been idiosyncratic. Examples:

un.tu.t 'seen' uná.ná 'to see'
jal.tu.w.jiri.tayn 'he had flown' jala.ná 'to fly' RIK

6-2.17 -jata- ~ -kata- ~ -katá-, -naga-, -nta-, -mucha- ~ -muchu- ~ -muku- ~ -nuku-, -tata-, -xaru-, -xa:si-, -xaya-

These suffixes precede -t'a- momentaneous and do not co-occur with suffixes 6-2.13, 6-2.14, and 6-2.15.

6-2.17.1 -jata- ~ -kata- ~ -katá- 'across'

This suffix verbalizes infrequently. /-jata-/ was used by one speaker from Salinas and one from
Jopoqueri; /-k"ata-/ occurred in a song sung by speakers from Jopoqueri and in variation with /-kata-/ in La Paz. Examples:

\[
\begin{align*}
&\text{it.kata.na} \quad \text{to put (a rock) up against (a wall)' (La Paz/Compi)} \\
&\text{itu.na} \quad \text{to carry a heavy object' (general)} \\
&\text{ma k"ata.na} \quad \text{to come/go up in front of someone, to go across' (Compi/Jopoqueri) *ma- 'go'} \\
&\text{iñ.jat.ka.p.x.ista} \quad \text{you are looking across at us' (Salinas)} \\
&\text{S iña.na} \quad \text{to look' (Salinas)} \\
\end{align*}
\]

6-2.17.2 \_vnaqa\_= 'around, aimlessly' \\
\[\_\]

The suffix \_naqa\_ does not verbalize. In contemporary La Paz Aymara this suffix is preceded by a vowel on some roots and by a consonant on others; on some roots either form is acceptable. Examples from Calacoa and Sitajara have a preceding vowel; examples from Calacoa, Huancañe, and Salinas have a preceding consonant. Examples:

\[
\begin{align*}
&\text{sar.naqa.na} \quad \text{to go around, get along, live' (La Paz, Calacoa)} \\
&\text{sara.naqa.na} \quad \text{to go around, get along, live' (Calacoa, Sitajara, Bertonio 1603b: 284)} \\
&\text{sara.na} \quad \text{to go'} \\
\end{align*}
\]
suma un.naga.s.iri 'having a good appearance' (Huancané)
   uña.ña 'to look' suma 'good'

pur.naga.ña 'to turn over and over' (Salinas)
   puri.ña 'to arrive, to come'

In one instance, two stems with -naga-, one with a preceding vowel and the other with a preceding consonant, are distinguished in meaning.

ira.naga.ña 'to handle' ira.ña 'to handle small objects'
   (La Paz)

ir.naga.ña 'to work the fields in the morning' (La Paz)
   'to work (in general)' (Missionary Aymara; see 9-6.2)

In the second example above, the root ir- is probably not identical to the ira- of ira.ña, since the meanings are quite distinct.

6-2.17.3 -nta- 'into', slow inceptive

-nta- can verbalize, as in

link'u.unta.ña 'to zigzag' (La Paz) link'u link'u 'zigzag line'

k'ari.unta.ña 'to spread lies' (La Paz) k'ari 'lie'

In dialects having the morphophonemic rule voicing prevocalic
stops after nasals (Corque, Salinas, and northern Potosí),
the suffix is phonetically [nda]. The meaning on verbs
of motion is usually 'into', while on other verbs it is
usually an inceptive.

iki.nta.ña 'to go to bed' (everywhere) iki.ña 'to sleep'
manta.ña 'to enter' (everywhere) *ma- 'go'
manta.nta.ña 'to enter' (Socca) (manta- as frozen stem)
puri.nta.ña 'to arrive' (Tarata, Jopoqueri)
puri.ña 'to arrive'
sara.nta.ña 'to enter' (La Paz; also Bertonio 1603b:287)
sara.ña 'to go'
[wina.nda.ña] 'to put in' (Corque, Salinas)
*wina.ña 'to put' (unattested)
yati.nta.ña 'to learn by oneself' (Calacoa) yati.ña 'to know'

An interesting use of -nta- with the meaning 'not on pur-
pose, by bad luck' is the following:

uta nak"a.nta.ya.siri 'a person whose house burned down
through bad luck' (La Paz/
Tiahuanaco)
nak"a.ña 'to burn'
Without -nta- the above would imply the houseowner burned the house down on purpose.

6-2.17.4 -\textit{mucha} - -\textit{muchu} - -\textit{muku} - -\textit{nuku} - 'away, off'

This suffix can verbalize, but it is more often found as a derivational. The preferred form in certain La Paz dialects, including Jesús de Machaca, is /-muku-/ which is the only allomorph cited by Bertonio (1603b:283). /-nuku-/ is preferred in Compi and Tiahuanaco; a speaker from La Paz/Tiahuanaco also uses /-muchu-/ . /-mucha-/ occurs in Salinas. A La Paz speaker reports having heard /-nuchu-/ somewhere, but it is not included here since its provenance is unknown at present. Examples:

\begin{verbatim}
alis.muchu.na\textsuperscript{5} ~ alis.nuku.na 'to throw out' (La Paz/Tiahuanaco)

alis.mucha.na 'to throw out' (Salinas)

alis.si.na 'to run after someone' (La Paz/Compi)

apa.nuku.na 'to abandon, cast off (a person); to throw away' (San Andrés de Machaca) apa.na 'to carry'

iki.nuku.na 'to sleep away from home, without notifying one's family' (La Paz; also Bertonio 1603b:283)

iki.na 'to sleep'

jaqu.nuku.na 'to throw off' jaqu.na 'to throw' (La Paz)
\end{verbatim}
6-2.17.5 -tata- scatterer

This suffix may verbalize. In La Paz, if a stem with -tata- cannot take a human subject, but only a non-human one, it cannot be nominalized with -ña. In this respect stems with -tata- resemble stems with -pta- verbalizer. Some examples given by Bertonio (1603b) with either human or nonhuman subjects may take only nonhuman subjects in La Paz today, as follows:

Chullu.tat.i.w. 'The ice melted.' chullu 'ice' (La Paz) Chullu.tat.i.w. 'The ice melted.' chullu 'ice' (La Paz)

\[ \text{3+3} \]
\[ S \]

Jang'u.tata.s.k.i.w. 'A soiled thing is becoming clean.' (La Paz) Jang'u.tata.s.k.i.w. 'A soiled thing is becoming clean.' (La Paz)

\[ \text{3+3} \]
\[ \text{S} \]

Janq'u 'white'

k'umar.tata.ña 'to be cured' (La Paz) k'umara 'healthy'

\[ \text{6} \]

Q'ana.tata.s.k.i.w. 'It's clearing up (after rain). (La Paz) Q'ana.tata.s.k.i.w. 'It's clearing up (after rain). (La Paz)

\[ \text{3+3} \]
\[ S \]

Q'ana 'clear'

Uma.tat.i.w. 'It melted.' (La Paz) uma 'water'

\[ \text{3+3} \]
\[ S \]

'He sweated/It began to melt!' (Bertonio 1603b:305) Uma.tat.i.w. 'It melted.' (La Paz) uma 'water'

The following are examples of -tata- as derivational:

alli.tata.ña 'to fall outward' (e. g. walls of a building) (La Paz) 'to spread out grain, potatoes, etc.' (La Paz; also Bertonio 1603b:304)

alli.ña 'to dig' (La Paz)
aru.s.tata.ña  'to say' (Salinas; not used in La Paz)
       aru  'word, language'

jacha.tata.ña  'to begin to cry suddenly' (La Paz)
       jacha.ña  'to cry'

manq'a.tata-  'bite suddenly' (said of a dog) (La Paz)
       manq'a.ña  'to eat' (La Paz)

       mang'a.na  'to eat' (La Paz)

        tuki.tata.ña  'to faint' (San Andrés de Machaca)
       tuki.ña  'to stretch out'

6-2.17.6  -xaru- preparative of motion

This suffix occurs only on verbs. It has occurred only on verbs of motion, especially carrying verbs. In Sitajara it occurred on verb stems used to translate plain carrying verbs, without any preparative connotation. Examples:

       an.xaru.ña  'to get ready to herd' (La Paz; also Bertonio 1603b:282)
       *ana-  'herd'

way.xaru.ña  'to carry by handle' (Sitajara)
       wayu.ña  'to carry by handle'

6-2.17.7  -xasi- static, cessation of motion

This suffix does not verbalize, and is of rather infrequent occurrence. It is not listed as a suffix by
Bertonio (1603b), although it occurs in a few examples.

\[3+3\]

\[
\text{Judas aycha.xas.i} \quad \text{'Judas hanged himself.' (1603b:300)}
\]

\[
\text{S}
\]

\[\text{Jirp.xasi-} \quad \text{'to take someone with one (as a master his servant)' (1603b:313)}
\]

In La Paz the above are today rendered as follows:

\[
\text{Judasa.x jaych.xa:s.i. jaycha.ña} \quad \text{'to quarrel'}
\]

\[
\text{Irpa.ña} \quad \text{'to take a person'}
\]

6-2.17.8 -c_xa_y_a- accompanier

This suffix does not verbalize and does not occur with verbs of carrying. Bertonio (1603b:280) gave it as +/-xa:-/. Examples:

\[
\text{Ar.xaya.ña} \quad \text{'to talk with someone' (Jesús de Machaca)}
\]

\[
\text{Aru} \quad \text{'word, language'}
\]

\[
\text{Parl.xaya.ña} \quad \text{'to deceive, to declare love falsely' (Calacoa)}
\]

\[
\text{Parla.ña} \quad \text{'to speak'}
\]

\[
\text{Ik.xaya.ña} \quad \text{'to sit up with a sick person' (La Paz)}
\]

\[
\text{Iki.ña} \quad \text{'to sleep'}
\]
+ik.xa: - 'to sleep with a sick person' (Bertonio 1603b:280)

6-2.18 -ch'ak"a- -ch'uki-, -t'a-

6-2.18.1 -ch'ak"a- -ch'uki- sustainer of action, teaser

The first allomorph occurred only in Sitajara.

uñ.ch'ak"a.n.ititu.x '(the dog) stared at me'

\[ ^3 \text{S} \] una.ña 'to look'

/-ch'uki-/ occurred in La Paz, Calacoa, and Socca.

Examples:

uñ.ch'uki.ña 'to look at steadily, or frequently' (La Paz, Calacoa)

is.ch'uk.t'a.ña 'to listen' (Socca) is.t'a.ña 'to listen'

jaq.ch'uki.na 'to throw (stones) at someone teasingly' (La Paz)

jaqu.ña 'to throw'

lar.ch'uki.ña 'to pull someone's leg' (La Paz)

laru.ña 'to laugh'

6-2.18.2 -t'a- momentaneous

This suffix occurs as verbalizer of noun roots and stems, on most verbs, and is of very frequent occurrence everywhere. The meaning is sometimes a politive.

Examples:
warmt'a.sí.na 'to have a mistress' (La Paz) warmi 'woman'

wayne.t'a.sí.na 'to have a lover (male)' (La Paz)

wayne 'young man'

An example on a noun stem ending in -ta nominalizer is

wayk' iya.t.t'a.sí.t'ayná 'pepper has been ground' (Jopoquere)

RIK iya.na 'to grind'

An example on a noun stem ending in -ni possessor is

jan punchu.n.t'a.ta 'without poncho' (Huancané)

The following are examples on verbs:

ampar jamp'a.t't'a.na 'to kiss the hand' (La Paz)

jamp'ati.na 'to kiss'

irpt'a.na 'to give a child back to his own mother or father'

(La Paz)

irpa.na 'to take a person'

jirt.t'a.na 'to make mazamorra' (a corn-based soft drink)

(Sitajara)

jirta.na 'to move'

The suffix occurs frequently as a softener with imperatives, as in the following examples from Calacoa:
say.t'a.ki.m 'stand up' saya.ña 'to stand'

almus.t'a.wa.tana 'let's eat lunch' almusa.ña 'to lunch'

yanap.t'.ita 'help me' yanapa.ña 'to help'

parl.t'a.p.xa.m 'you (plural) talk' parla.ña 'to talk'

6-2.19 -paya-, -rpaya- ~ -rpa:-
6-2.19.1 -v payer helper, mocker

This suffix is very infrequent and was not identified by England. Certain forms cited with it by Bertonio (1603b:287) are not acceptable in La Paz today. Other forms with the suffix do occur in La Paz, some of them with -paya- frozen to the root. Examples:

k"uya.paya.ña 'to have mercy, give help' (La Paz)

* k"uya.ña (does not occur)

yat.xa.paya.ña7 'to imitate in order to mock' (La Paz)

yati.ña 'to know'

muyu.paya.ña 'to take a look around, like a guard' (La Paz)

muyu.ña 'to turn around'
ali.s.paya.ña 'to throw someone out' (La Paz, Salinas)
ali.si.ña 'to run after someone' (La Paz/Compi)

In the last two examples the meanings are closer to some examples of -rpaya-.

6-2.19.2 -rpay-a- ~ -rpa:- multiplier of action, intensifier

This suffix does not verbalize. /-rpay-a-/ occurs in most dialects; /-rpa:-/ occurs in Sitajara, Corque, Jopoqueri, and Salinas, and was cited by Bertonio (1603b: 297). Both variants occur in Compi. The suffix occurred more frequently in Salinas and Jopoqueri than elsewhere. One speaker in Corque voiced the /p/ after /r/, giving the phonetic rendition [rba:] in rapid speech. In Corque this is not a regular rule like that voicing prevocalic stops after nasals in Salinas, but rather an optional rule like the one that voices stops intervocally (see 4-3.21.31). Examples:

jamu.rpay-a.ña 'to select chuño from a pile, to be ground into smaller pieces' (La Paz)
*jamu.ña (does not occur in La Paz/Compi)
+jamu.rpa:- 'to understand something well' (Bertonio 1603b:108)
jaqu.rpa:-.ña 'to throw away' (Jopoqueri, Sitajara)
jaqu.rpaya.ña 'to throw away' (La Paz, Salinas)
   jaqu.ña 'to throw'

jara.rpaya.ña 'to untie' (La Paz)
   [jara.rba:.ña] 'to untie' (Corque) jara.ña 'to untie'

jat'i.rpaya.ña 'to pick up thorns and thistles' (Salinas)
   jat'i.ña 'to scratch'

k"ita.rpaya.ña 'to send' (Salinas) k"ita.ña 'to send'

p"ichu.rpaya.ña 'to untie' (Salinas) p"ichu.ña 'to tie up'

6-2.2 Class 2 suffixes

These suffixes occur in all dialects on almost any verb root, stem, or theme and are more closely tied to the inflection than to the preceding part of the verb. Of the nine suffixes in the class, four affect case relations of the subject and complement person contained in the inflection: -si- reciprocal/reflexive, -ya- causative, -rapi- beneficiary, and -raga- victimary. -ni- approacher and -wa- distancer (and its variants) indicate spatial relations (physical, temporal, or metaphorical) of the person(s) involved in the action. The incompletive and completive suffixes are aspects of the
tense, which is also contained in the inflection. -p-is a pluralizer of persons.

-si- and -ya- may reduplicate on a stem. If -ja- ~ -ka- incompletive or -xa- ~ -qa- completive occurs before -p- on a stem, it may reduplicate after -p-.

6-2.21 -si- reciprocal/reflexive

This suffix is of very frequent occurrence, especially in La Paz. It focuses upon the persons of the inflection and may be translated as a reciprocal, a reflexive, or an emphatic.

Reciprocal:

parl.t'a.si.ña 'to talk to each other' (La Paz)

quarrel

nuwa.si.ña 'to fight each other' (La Paz)

Reflexive:

asa.qa.si.ña 'to take off one's own hat' (La Paz)

as.a.qa.ña 'to take off a hat'

qama.si.ña 'to stay' (Corque)
qama.ña 'to do nothing, to rest'
ala.si.ña 'to buy oneself something' (everywhere)

buy

ala.ña 'to buy'

Emphasis:

ar.naqa.si.: 'I will yell' (Calacala)
yell 1x3
F

jaws.kat.t'a.si.: 'I will call someone' (La Paz/Compi)
call

The following examples of verbalization with this suffix have occurred in La Paz:

p'inga.si.ña 'to be ashamed, embarrassed' p'inga 'shame'

warmi.si.ña 'to take oneself a mistress' warmi 'woman'

wayna.si.ña 'to take oneself a (male) lover' wayna 'young man'

This suffix occurs frozen in a few verb stems that act as roots, taking suffixes normally occurring before -si-.

ali.si.ña 'to sprout' (La Paz/Tiahuanaco)

'  to run after someone' (La Paz/Compi)

ali.s.muchu.ña ~ ali.s.nuku.ña 'to throw out' (La Paz/Tiahuanaco)
alīs.mucha.ña 'to throw out' (Salinas)
alīs.paya.ña 'to throw someone out' (La Paz, Salinas)
aru.si.ña 'to complain, protest, speak against someone' (La Paz); 'to speak' (Bertonio 1603b:327)
aru 'word/speak'
aru.s.tata.ña 'to say' (Salinas)
uṇa.si.ña 'to look at each other' (La Paz)
uṇa.s.t'ä.ña 'to wait for someone' (Calacoa, Sitajara)

-si- does not co-occur with -rapi- beneficiary or -raga-victimary. -si- may occur before or after the suffixes -ya- ~ -ː- causative, -ni- approacher, and -wa- distancer (or its variants). -si- often occurs in combination with -ja- ~ -ka- incompletive, resulting in its at first being considered a continuative. However, it may also occur with -xa- completive.

When it precedes -ya- on a stem, -si- usually glosses as a reciprocal. -si- following -ya- usually glosses as a reflexive. When -si- occurs twice on a stem, separated by -ya-, the first -si- is a reciprocal, and the second, a reflexive. When two -si-'s occur in succession, the second is usually followed by the incomplete suffix -ja- ~ -ka-.
Examples of -si- with the other Class 2 suffixes mentioned above are the following:

jay.cha.si.ya.na 'to cause others to argue with each other' (La Paz; also Bertonio 1603b:317)

jay.cha.si.na 'to argue disrespectfully with someone to whom respect is due' (La Paz)

jay.cha.ya.si.na 'to allow someone to argue (talk) disrespectfully with one' (La Paz/Compi)

jay.cha.:si.na 'to get oneself beaten up' (Bertonio 1603b:317)

jay.cha.si.ya.si.na 'to allow someone to go on arguing disrespectfully with one' (La Paz)

nuwa.si.ya.si.na 'to referee a fight' (La Paz)

Manta.si.n.ka.ki.m. 'Come on in.' (La Paz)

usu.r.ta.si.w.x.i 'she became pregnant' (Calacoa)
jay.cha.wa:st.ta 'I scolded him' (La Paz/Tiahuanaco)
quarrel \( 1 \rightarrow 3 \) 
\[ S \]

Aka.n.ka.s.k.i.ti? 'Is he here?' (most dialects) 
\[ 3 \rightarrow 3 \] 
\[ S \]

Aka.n.ka.s.j.i.ti? 'Is he here?' (Jopoqueri)

maq'a.n.ta.s.xa.tayna 'he ate it up' (Salinas)
eat \( 3 \rightarrow 3 \) 
\[ \text{RIK} \]

Qullq apa.s.xa.m. 'Take the money again.' (La Paz; also Bertonio 1603b: 301)
money take \( 2 \rightarrow 3 \) 
\[ I \]

ala.s.xa:.ma 'I'll buy you' (Corque)
buy \( 1 \rightarrow 2 \) 
\[ F \]

nuwa.si.s.t"a 'I'm fighting' (Calacoa)
fight \( 1 \rightarrow 3 \) 
\[ S \]

Nuwasi.s.k.t.wa. 'I'm fighting.' (Juli, La Paz, Huancané) 
\[ 1 \rightarrow 3 \] 
\[ S \]

arma.si.si.p.k.itasma 'you might forget us' (Juli)
forget \( 2 \rightarrow 1 \) 
\[ D \rightarrow 1 \]
In Morocomarca -si- occurred where the nominalizer -ña would occur in other dialects, in the following type of sentence:

Kuna.mpi.rak maq'a.s.i ch'ũũu.ka?
what with eat 3+3 chuño

'SWith what is chuño eaten?'

This use of -si- may be due to the influence of Spanish, from which the sentence was translated: Con qué se come chuño? The possible influence of Spanish se reciprocal/reflexive on the incidence of -si- in Aymara needs further investigation.

6-2.22 -ya- -:- causative

This suffix has been found to verbalize few noun roots, and only in La Paz.

jayp'u.ya.ña 'to get late' (nonhuman subject); 'to spend the day waiting in one place' (human subject) (La Paz)

uru.ya.ña 'to celebrate a wedding or a birthday by giving someone a party' (La Paz)

Bertonio (1603b) gave examples similar to the above, but with phonologically conditioned allomorphs: +/-wa-/ after
/u/, +/-ya-/ after /i/, and either vowel length or +/-ya-/ after /a/. In contemporary dialects these alterations have not been found to occur. Most dialects use /-ya-/; Compi uses both /-ya-/ and /-:-/; /-:-/ has also been found in Huancané and in northern Potosí.

Examples:

- **apa.:.ña** 'to cause someone to carry' (Calacala)
  carry

- **apa.ya.ña** 'to cause someone to carry' (elsewhere)

- **ar.su.ya.ña** 'to cause someone to say' (Salinas)
  say

- **chura.ya.ña** 'to cause someone to give' (general)
  give

The following has /-:-/ reduced to simple vowel before a consonant-requiring suffix:

- **Amu.s.t'a.q.i.lla.** 'He made him be quiet.' (Calacala)
  S /-qa-/ completive (see 6-2.25)

The Compi equivalent of the above has /-ya-/ reduced to /y/.

- **Amu.s.t'a.y.x.i.ya.** 'He made him be quiet.'
In the foregoing examples the verb stem takes a human subject and a human agentive complement (the person who is caused to do something). Some verbs that do not take a human subject may take one if -ya- is added to the stem. If it is desired to have a human agentive complement as well, -ya- must be reduplicated. Examples:

achu.ña 'for a field to produce' (nonhuman subject) (La Paz)

achu.ya.ña 'to cause a field to produce' (human subject) (La Paz)

puqu.ña 'for a field to produce' (nonhuman subject) (Jopoqueri)

puqu.ya.ña 'to cause a field to produce' (human subject) (Jopoqueri)

uma.pta- 'for something to melt' (nonhuman subject) (La Paz)

uma.pta.ya.ña 'to cause to melt' (human subject) (La Paz)

uma.pta.ya.ya.ña 'to make someone melt something' (human subject and complement)

uma 'water'

Some examples of -ya- on stems with -si- were given in 6-2.21. See also the examples in 8-2.25.

6-2.23 -vni-, -vwa- -waya- -wa:- -wi- -wiya-

These suffixes appear to be semantic opposites, but they may co-occur on one stem with a meaning different
from either alone. When both occur, -ni- always precedes -wa- or variants.

6-2.23.1 -ni- approacher

This suffix has only one allomorph in all dialects. It reduces spatial, temporal, or emotional distance between the persons of the inflection (who may be the speaker, hearer, both, or neither) or between person(s) and place(s). Examples:

\[ \text{jir.ta.ni.ña 'to go to move something' (Sitajara)} \]
\[ \text{ 'to go to move something with a stick' (La Paz/Compi)} \]
\[ \text{jiru.ña, jir.ta.ña 'to stir'} \]

\[ \text{iki.ni.ña 'to go somewhere to sleep' (La Paz; also Bertonio 1603b:285)} \]
\[ \text{iki.ña 'to sleep'} \]

\[ \text{manq'a.ni.ña 'to approach to eat' (La Paz)} \]
\[ \text{ 'to go to eat, to have just eaten' (Bertonio 1603b:285)} \]
\[ \text{manq'a.ña 'to eat'} \]

\[ \text{gillqa.n.ch.itsma 'you could write to me' (La Paz)} \]
\[ \text{gillqa.ña 'to write'} \]

In Calacoa -ni- often occurs with sa.ña 'to say', with the Imperative, Future, and Desiderative tenses.
This suffix increases spatial, temporal, or emotional distance between the persons of the inflection, or between person(s) and place(s). There may be a change of location, or several locations, for the person(s). The suffix may imply action before leaving for somewhere else or while on the way somewhere else. The suffix may serve as a softener or emphatic with such meanings as 'quickly', 'at once', or 'by the way'.

The most common shape of this suffix is /-wa-/, which reduces to /w/ before consonant-requiring suffixes. This variant occurs in Juli, Huancané, Socca, Calacoa, Sitajara, and Calacala. The allomorph /-waya-/ occurs in La Paz, reducing to /way/ before consonant-requiring suffixes. It may reduce to /wa/ before vowel-requiring suffixes. Parts of La Paz also have an alternate form /-wa:-/ (also attested in Bertonio 1603b), which reduces to /wa/ before consonant-requiring suffixes.

In Sitajara /-waya-/ (reduced to /way/) occurs before /i 3\rightarrow3 Simple tense; /-wa-/ (reduced to /w/) occurs before other /i/-initial suffixes; and /-wa:-/ occurs elsewhere, reduced to /wa/ before consonant-requiring suffixes.
/-wiya-/ occurs in Salinas and Corque. /-wi-/ occurs in Jopoqueri. In Morocomarca /-wi-/ or /-wiy-/ occurs before /i/ (resulting phonemically in /wi:/ or /wiyi/), and /-wiya-/ occurs elsewhere, reducing to /wiy/ before consonant-requiring suffixes. Examples:

Take it away.' (San Andrés de Machaca)  
2➔3
I  apa.ña 'to carry'

Chura.waya.m.  
Give it to him quickly, at once, on the way.'  
give 2➔3
I  (La Paz)

Chura.way.ita.  
Give it to me (as you're leaving right away)."  
2➔1
I  (La Paz)

Iskula.y jala.q.ta.way.i.w.  
He played hooky.' (stayed out of school) (Sitajara)  
3➔3
S  jala.qa.ña 'to fall'

Manq'a waya.m.  
Eat and go right afterwards.' (La Paz)  
eat 2➔3
I

Manq'a way.i.wa.  
They ate (somewhere else).' (Sitajara)  
3➔3
S

ch"aq a.way.i  
he got lost (somewhere out there)' (Sitajara)  
3➔3
S  ch"aq a.ña 'to get lost'
waxcha.t'a.si.way.t.xa: 'I was left an orphan' (Achocalla)
orphan 1➔3 S

Puri.wa.ta.ti? 'Did you arrive (today)?' (Sitajara)
2➔3 S -c- 2➔3 S (This example is an instance of
/-wa:-/ reduced to /wa/ before
the inflection.)

sara.wa.:xa 'I'm going to go' (San Andrés de Machaca)
go 1➔3 F

sara.w.xa.: 'I'm going' (Juli)
1➔3 F

jayta.wa.p.ka.taytu '(our grandparents) left us (our
leave 3➔1 RIK
language)' (Juli)

pa:.t'a.si.wa.ñani 'let's cook' (Sitajara)
cook 4➔3 F

Sa.w.ma.lla. 'Tell him on the way.' (Socca)
say 2➔3 I

t'uqu.wa.ta.x 'you will dance (there)' (Socca)
dance 2➔3 F

jayta.wi ya.:tan 'we will leave (the sheep with him while
leave 4➔3 we go to church)' (Salinas)
ar.ta.wiy.i  'he called (the birds to him, from the sky)'
call 3➔3 (Salinas)

"aq.ta.wiya.:ma.x  'I will look for you (there in La Paz)
look for 1➔2 (Salinas)

yapi.nta.wiya.tay  'she tied her up (before going off) (Corque)
tie up 3➔3 RIK

Chura.wiy.t.wa.  'I left it for him (and went away again).
give 1➔3 (Morocomarca)

way.xaru.wi.ña  'to carry water in a pail' (Jopoqueri)

way.xaru.ña  'to carry by handle'

The combination of -ni- plus -wa- (or its variants) is common in all Aymara dialects. In many instances it means action on the way back from another place.

ap.ta.ni.wa.:  'on my way back I'll bring X' (Juli)
bring 1➔3 F

sara.ni.waya.ña  'to stop off somewhere on the way back go from a farther point' (La Paz)

England found that this combination could also
express discrepancies between where
the speaker was at the time of an action
and where he is when he tells about it.
(Hardman et al. 1975:3.177)

An example of this from my research is the following said
by a young man from Socca who had left his town as a boy:

... mist.su.ni.wa.sn ... ak"am jayt.ja.ni.w.t"a ... 
leave thus leave 1+3
S

'... leaving (my community) ... thus, I left (everything)
...'

The combination may also be used to express discrepancies
between the location of a person or persons involved in
an action, and the location of a hearer, as shown in the
following examples which occurred in a recorded message
from a man in Juli to his nephew in another city. The
message concerned the author's visit to Juli, during
which the nephew was not present.

Parl.t'a.ni.w.i.w. 'She spoke.'
speak 3+3
S

graba.g.t'a.si.ni.w.k.i 'she made tape recordings'
3+3 < Spanish grabar 'to record'
S

Ap.s.t'a.ni.wa.rak. 'And she took photographs.'
take
In Calacoa the combination /-w.ja-/ occurs very frequently, apparently as a softener since none of the other meanings of the distancer seem to apply. The combination seems to occur on any verb stem and with a variety of tenses. Examples:

Chura.w.j.sma.w. 'I gave it to you.'
give 1+2 S

sa.w.j.iri.tayn 'he said'
3+3 RIK

sara.w.ja.tan 'we will go'
go 4+3 F

Yati.w.ja.ma.lla. 'You learn, then.'
know 2+3 I

The /-ja-/ in this combination is not identical with /-ja-/ allomorph of the incompletive suffix (see 6-2.25.1). In Calacoa the allomorph of the incompletive is /-ka-/
and /-w.ja-/ may precede it on a stem. */-w.ka-/ has not occurred in Calacoa.

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{Jan} & \quad \text{puyri.w.j.k.t.ti.} \quad 'I \text{ have not been able to.'} \\
\text{no} & \quad \text{able} \quad \text{S} \\
\text{puyri-} & \quad < \text{Spanish puede} \quad '\text{is able'}
\end{align*}
\]

It is possible that /-wja-/ is a unitary suffix identical in shape to the noun locational suffix -wja- (see 5-3.21). When occurring before the completive -xa-, /-wj.xa/ reduces to /w.xa/.

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{Aruma.w.x.i.w} & \quad \text{iki.nta.w.xa.tan.} \quad '\text{It's already late, let's go to bed.'} \\
\text{night} & \quad \text{bed} \quad \text{S} \quad \text{F}
\end{align*}
\]

On verbs /-wja-/ is rejected in Socca as 'sounding like baby talk.' /-w.xa-/ is, however, of frequent occurrence in Socca and Juli. A series of verbs with /-w.xa-/ occurred in an account of the death and burial of the archbishop of Juli.

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{pasa.w.xa.tayn} & \quad '\text{he passed' (died)} < \text{Spanish pasar} \\
\text{3+3} & \quad \text{RIK}
\end{align*}
\]

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{jiw.t'a.w.xa.tayn} & \quad '\text{he had died} \quad \text{jiwa.ña} \quad '\text{to die'}
\end{align*}
\]

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{yati.w.xa.sin} & \quad '\text{having learned'} \\
\text{know}
\end{align*}
\]
/-w.xa-/ also frequently occurs with /-iritayna/ (iri plus 3→3 RIK) and other compound forms with -chi NI, in stories told in Juli and Socca (see 6-3.36.1 and 6-3.37.2).

/-w.xa-/ occurs with the Imperative in Socca, meaning 'do it this minute!' on sara.ña 'to go' and sa.ña 'to say' but conveying a gentle, friendly plea on chura.ña 'to give', thus illustrating the different connotations verbal derivational suffixes, even those of Class 2, may have on different verbs.

In Morocomarca /-wiy.xa/ and /-xa.wiya-/ both occur. In some instances one order is preferred. Examples occurred with the Simple tense.

1→3 Chur.xa.wiy.t.wa. 'I left it for him.'

2→3 Chur.xa.wiy.ta.wa. 'You left it for him.'

3→3 Chura.wiy.x.i.wa. 'He left it for him.'

4→3 (not elicited)

3→2 Chura.wiy.x.tma.wa - chur.xa.wiy.tma.wa. 'He left it for you.'

3→1 Chur.xa.wiy.itu.wa. 'He left it for me.'

3→4 Chur.xa.wiy.istutu.wa. 'He left it for us.'
The source rejected a 3→3 form with a preceding -xa-. (For a discussion of ordering -xa- directly on verb roots, see 6-2.25.2). Further research will be needed to determine how best to describe the above.

6-2.24 -rapi-, -raqa-

These suffixes are mutually exclusive.

6-2.24.1 -rapi- beneficiary

The presence of -rapi- in a verb stem indicates that the verb complement expressed in the inflection is a beneficiary of the action.¹² This suffix is of frequent occurrence and no dialectal variation in its use has been noted.

6-2.24.2 -raqa- victimary

The presence of -raqa- victimary in a verb stem indicates that the verb complement expressed in the inflection is the victim of action by the subject against a possession of the complement person. That is, the complement person is adversely affected indirectly, through his possession.¹³ This use of the suffix -raqa- is general, although it is of less frequent occurrence than -rapi-, and no variation in its use has been noted.
6-2.25  -\(\text{cja-} \sim \text{-ka-} \sim \text{-k"a-}\) incompletive, \(\text{-xa-} \sim \text{-qa-}\) completive

The incompletive and the completive may occur before and/or after \(-p-\) plural. They usually do not co-occur on a stem; when they do, the incompletive precedes the completive.

6-2.25.1  \(\text{cja-} \sim \text{-ka-} \sim \text{-k"a-}\) incompletive

This suffix must be distinguished from the partially homophonous \(-\text{ja-} \sim \text{-ka-}\) verbalizer (5-3.41.1) and \(-\text{ja-}\) Class 1 verbal derivational suffix (6-2.12). The form \(-\text{ka-}\) occurs in most dialects, but not in Corque and Jopoqueri, which instead have \(-\text{ja-}/\). In Salinas, a morphophonemic rule (4-3.22.23) reduces \(-\text{ka-}\) to \(/j/\) before consonant-requiring suffixes. The allomorph \(-\text{k"a-}/\) occurred sporadically instead of \(-\text{ka-}/\) in the speech on one Salinas source. Both \(-\text{ka-}/\) and \(-\text{ja-}/\) occur in Calacala and Morocomarca, where it appears that the two morphs may have separate morphophonemic status, \(-\text{ja-}\) 'ahead of' and \(-\text{ka-}\) incompletive.

This brings us to the semantics of this suffix. In some contemporary Aymara dialects the suffix usually translates 'ahead of' when it occurs directly on a root.

\[\text{ap.ka.ña} 'to carry ahead of someone' \ (\text{La Paz})\]
\[\text{apa.ña} 'to carry'\]
sar.ka.ña 'to go on ahead' (La Paz) sara.ña 'to go'
sar.ja.ña 'to go on ahead' (Jopoqueri)

However, in some dialects this suffix translates as a continuative.

Chur.k.t.wa. 'I'm giving it to him.' (Morocomarca)
give
\[1 \rightarrow 3\]
S

Chur.ka.:t.wa. 'I was giving it to him.' (Morocomarca, San Andrés de Machaca)
\[1 \rightarrow 3\]
RDK

Chur.j.t.wa. 'I'm giving it to him.' (Salinas, Jopoqueri, Corque)
\[1 \rightarrow 3\]
S

Chur.ja.ya:t.wa. 'I was giving it to him.' (Salinas, Jopoqueri, Corque)
\[1 \rightarrow 3\]
RDK

In La Paz the continuative is usually expressed by -si- plus -ka-.

Manq'a.s.k.i.w. She's eating.'
\[3 \rightarrow 3\]
eat
S

Aka.n.ka.s.k.i.w. She's here.'
\[3 \rightarrow 3\]
here
S

He's
It's
She's
It's
Elsewhere the continuative may be so expressed also, with /-ka-/ or /-ja-/.

\[ \text{Jacha.s.k.i.way.} \quad \text{'They are crying.'} \quad \text{(Calacoa)} \]

\[ 3+3 \]

\[ S \]

\[ \text{Uta.nha.n.k.a.s.k.a.:n.wa.} \quad \text{'He was in my house.'} \quad \text{(Sitajara)} \]

\[ \text{house lp} \quad \text{3+3} \]

\[ \text{RDK} \]

\[ Aka.n.k.a.s.j.i.w. \quad \text{'He's here.'} \quad \text{(Jopoqueri and Corque)} \]

\[ \text{here} \quad \text{3+3} \]

\[ S \]

One speaker in Salinas, whose Aymara was probably influenced by that of La Paz, used both /-ja-/ and /-s.ka-/ continuative in the same sentence in a story.

\[ \text{Aka.n.x na.x sawu.n.j.t''w, sawu.si.s.k.t na.x.} \]

\[ \text{here lp} \quad \text{weave 1+3} \quad \text{weave 1+3 lp} \]

\[ \text{S} \quad \text{S} \]

'Here I'm weaving, it's weaving I am.'

A popular song in Calacoa has /-s.ka-/ in one stanza and /-ka-/ alone in another.

\[ \text{Jacha.s.k.i.way.} \quad \text{'They are crying.'} \]

\[ \text{cry} \quad \text{3+3} \]

\[ S \]
"They are crying," they say.

Although this suffix frequently occurs with negative expressions, some negatives occur without it, or with the completive -xa- instead. Negative expressions are discussed in 7-4.5.

With the Inferential -pacha, /-ka-/ incompletive may occur with the meaning 'instead of.' The following example was inspired in a La Paz/Tiahuanaco speaker by Ebbing (1965:100):

Uka chacha.x jach.k.pacha.:n.x laru.s.xa.k.i.w.
that man cry 3+3 laugh 3+3
RDK S

'That man instead of crying is just laughing.'

However, in an example from Jopoqueri /-ja-/ with -pacha is simply a continuative.

Jun.j.pacha.w. 'He must be pecking.'

junu.ña 'to peck, pierce'

This suffix occurs often on subordinated verbs to indicate action ahead of the action of the main verb or incompleted action (see 7-4.24).
6-2.25.2  -xa- ~ -qa- completive

In view of the /k/ ~ /j/ alternation for the incompletive, the possibility that a similar alternation of /q/ ~ /x/ exists for the completive---or may have existed in the past---must be kept in mind. Tschopik (1948:109) gives one example of a /q/ which is probably a variant of this suffix, but /-xa-/ also occurs in his transcription, which in any case is not completely phonemic.

In Calacala there occurred a /q/ which may be a realization of the completive. It could not be -qa- 'down', as it occurred after the causative suffix -ya- ~ -ys- (here reduced to plain vowel).

\[ \text{Amu.s.t'a.q.i.lla. } '\text{He made him be quiet.'} \]

The Compi equivalent of the above has /-xa-/ (see 6-2.22). Further investigation will be needed to see if /-qa-/ completive is a productive suffix in Calacala and elsewhere.

Examples of the completive are given below with different tenses.

Simple: Chur.x.t.wa. 'I've already given it to him.'

\[ \frac{\text{give}}{1+3} \quad (\text{La Paz}) \]
Sar.x.i.w. 'He left.' (La Paz)
go 3+3

Jani.w mun.x.i.ti. 'It doesn't want to.' (La Paz)
no want 3+3

Future: sar.xa.: 'I'm going home' (La Paz)
1+3

Imperative: chur.x.ma 'give it to him' (Socca)
2+3

apa.n.x.ita 'bring it to me' (Huancané)
2+1

Desiderative: Jiw.xa.sma.wa. 'You may die.' (Salinas)
die 2+3

In Huancané /-xa-/ occurred on many verbs used in telling a story. The tenses used were RIK, Simple, and -chi NI. Examples of /-s.xa-/ and /-w.xa-/ are given in 6-2.21 and 6-2.23.2, where it was noted that /-xa-/ sometimes occurs before /-wiya-/ in Morocomarca. It appears that /-xa-/ can occur directly on a root, forming a stem which may take other suffixes that usually precede /-xa-/.

England considered this /-xa-/ a different suffix of limited occurrence (Hardman et al. 1975: 3.152). Other examples are
Atip.a.s.ka.k.i.w.  'It (the headache) overcame her.'  
\(3+3\)  
S  
atipa.\(\tilde{n}\)a 'to overcome'

yat.xa.paya.\(\tilde{n}\)a 'to imitate in order to make fun of' (La Paz)  
yati.\(\tilde{n}\)a 'to know'

\(+\)sar.xa.way.xa.tayna 'he left' (LaBarre 1950:43)  
\(3+3\)  
RIK

In the last example /-xa-/ reduplicates on the verb stem. The combination /-ka-/ incompletive plus /-xa-/ occurs infrequently.

sar.k.xa.tayna.x 'he had gone (for good)' (Huancané)  
\(3+3\)  
RIK

\(+\)Jani.w sar.t.ir.jama...k.xa..n.ti.  
\(3+3\)  
RDK

'He could not get up (and never would again).' (Wexler 1967:456)

Other examples of incompletive and completive suffixes, sometimes with reduplication, are given in the next section.
6-2.26  -_p_- plural

No dialect has been found in this research with the form of this suffix cited by Bertonio (1603b): +_piska-_. Examples from different regions bear out the contention earlier expressed that the suffix -p_ is optional in Aymara. It may express plurality of the subject, the complement, or both. There are some examples of its occurrence when no plural appears in translation, or conversely, there may be plural in translation but no -p_ in Aymara (this latter is the more common possibility). When the noun plural suffix -naka occurs on a subject or complement, -p_ may or may not occur on the verb, and vice versa (see 5-2.3, 5-3.25, and 8-2.4). 

-p_ occurs without a following incompletive or completive in Calacoa, Sitajara, and Morocomarca.14 /-p.ka-/ and/or the variant /-p.ja-/, where applicable, and /-p.xa-/ occur everywhere, including those areas that may have -p_ alone. The following are examples of -p_ without a following incompletive or completive:

Puri.t.ma.taki p"uya.p.t.wa. 'For your coming I've cooked (a lot).' (Morocomarca)

Juma.x na.naka.r uñ.kata.p.itta. 'You are looking at us.' (Sitajara)
Jumà.naka un.ch'uki.s.kà.p.ìsta.x.  
\[2p \quad \text{look at} \quad \frac{2+1}{S}\]

You (pl.) are looking at me.' (Calacoa)

The combination /-p.ka-/ frequently occurs preceded by /-si-./

Chik.t'a.si.p.k.t.wa. 'We are asking.' (Salinas)  
\[\text{ask} \quad \frac{1+3}{S}\]

ut.ja.si.p.k.t'a 'we are living together' (Sitajara)  
\[\text{live} \quad \frac{1+3}{S}\]

ala.si.p.k.t'a 'we buy' (Calacala)  
\[\text{buy} \quad \frac{1+3}{S}\]

k'usa.si.p.k.i 'they are making chicha' (Sitajara)  
\[\text{chicha} \quad \frac{3+3}{S}\]

sar.xata.si.ni.p.ka.k.itasman 'you should come up to us, that's all' (Juli)  
\[\text{go} \quad \frac{2+1}{D-1}\]

In the following examples /-p.ja-/ is preceded by /-ka-/ or /-ja-/:

iña.si.n.ka.p.j.ìsta 'you are looking at us' (Morocomarca)  
\[\text{look at} \quad \frac{2+1}{S}\]
iña.sí.n.ja.p.j.ista 'you are looking at us' (Jopoqueri)

By far the most common combination with -p- is /-p.xa-/ , often preceded by -si- or other suffixes.

sara.p.xa.ta.pa 'their departure' (La Paz)
go 3p

tuk.t'a.p.x.chi 'they played music' (Juli)
tukaña > Spanish tocar 'to play'

wisita.p.x.itu 'she visited us' (Salinas)
visit 3+1 S wisitaña < Spanish visitar 'to visit'

lura.sí.p.x.ta 'I have done' (Socca)
do 1-3 S

amt.t'a.sí.p.xa.tayna.x 'they agreed' (Huancané)
agree 3+3 RIK

nuwa.sí.p.x.ta 'you are fighting' (Morocomarca)
fight 2+3 S

parla.sí.p.xa.ña 'let's talk' parlaña > Spanish parlar talk 4+3 'to talk'
sa.ta::si.p.x.t 'we call it' (Sitajara)
say 1+3 S

Apa::ni.p.x.ita:ta.pi.y. 'Please have them sent to me.'
send 2+1 F

In the following, /-p.xa-/ occurs preceded by 
/-ja-/ or /-xa-/.

Kuna.ma::s.ja.p.x.ta.s? 'How are you?' (Jopoqueri)
2+3 S

Sar.xa.p.x.i.wa. 'They left.' (Morocomarca)
3+3 S sara.ña 'to go'

6-2.3 Class 3 suffixes

This class consists of a group of related suffixes 
all containing the phoneme /ch/ (or a reduced form /s/) 
and the sequence /jama/ (or reduced forms thereof) re-
lated to the noun/independent suffix -jama 'like'. They 
have so far been found only in La Paz (Tiahuanaco and 
Compi) and are attested by Ebbing (1965). The following 
allomorphs occurred in spoken texts:

/-c.chjama-/ La Paz/Compi (Hardman 1975:1.305)

/-ichja-/ La Paz/Tiahuanaco (also Ebbing 1965:209)
The following occurred in examples which Vásquez (La Paz/Tiahuanaco) reported having heard; their geographic origin is unknown:

/-vsmach-/  La Paz/Tiahuanaco

/-vsmachja-/  La Paz/Tiahuanaco

The following was cited by Ebbing (1965:223):

/-cchja-/  

/-csja-/  

/-vsjamach-/ (also Ebbing 1965:223)

The following was cited by Ebbing (1965:223):

+/-vsamach-/  

The meaning of these is expressed by a number of glosses, including 'I think', 'it seems that', 'it looks as if', 'it looks like', 'it is likely that'. They are here classified as verbal derivationals because they occur as units after Class 2 verbal derivationals and before independent or verbal inflectional suffixes.

Bertonio (1603b) and Ebbing (1965) have provided evidence which permits speculation about the probable derivation of some of these forms. (In the following analyses, presumed underlying morphemic, or
partial boundaries are shown for clarity even though the forms are synchronically unitary.)

As indicated in 5-3.32.3, a free root +jama occurs after an inflected verb in a sentence cited by Bertonio (1603b:204). In the following example (Bertonio 1603b:104) +jama occurs followed by /cha/, perhaps the verbal derivational suffix -cha- which may verbalize noun roots.

\[ +\text{Chura.sina jama.cha.sma.} \]
\[ 1\overset{1+2}{\text{S}} \]
\[ \text{'It seems to me that I gave it to you.'} \]

A more literal translation might be 'I having given to you, like' as -sina is a suffix which turns a verb root or stem into a subordinated verb (a kind of nominalization; see 7-4.22.1). In the above example, although the verbal inflectional suffix -sma 1+2 Simple tense occurs on +jama.cha-, the relation of subject and complement is actually tied to the verb root chura-. This indicates that the whole phrase functions as a syntactic and morphological unit. With corrected morphophonemics it would be *chura.sin.jama.cha.sma. In this analysis the suffix -cha- reverbalizes the nominalized theme *chura.sin.jama, permitting it then to take a verbal inflection.
In modern Aymara -jama does occur on the subordinators -sa and -sina, e. g. sa.s.jam 'saying, like' (Hardman et al. 1975:3.408). The following is an example given by Ebbing (1965:223) that resembles the Bertonio example cited above and is acceptable to Vásquez:

\[\text{jallu.s } \underline{\text{jama.ch.i}} \text{ 'it looks like it's raining'}\]

Written as a unit, it would be jallu.s.jama.ch.i. Ebbing said the form was archaic and that the following was to be preferred:

\[\text{+Jallu.s.ka.s.ama.ch.i.wa. 'It looks like it's raining.'}\]

Vásquez renders it as follows:

\[\text{Jallu.s.ka.s.ma.ch.i.wa.}\]

Ebbing heard a stress on the vowel before +/sama/, e. g.

\[\text{+Jallu.s.ka.s.ama.ch.i.wa/}\]

This can be explained by assuming a double /s/ which would tend to lengthen the preceding vowel.
We may assume the following derivations:

\[ *\text{jallu.s.ka.s sama.ch.i.wa} \]

The phonological rules, briefly, are \(/s + j/ \rightarrow /ss/ \rightarrow \).\(^\text{15}\)

Other examples, from La Paz/Tiahuanaco today, are the following:

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{t'aq.s.ta.s ma.ch ja.k.i.w.} & \quad \text{I think (the donkey) broke loose.}' \\
S & \quad \text{t'aqa.} \text{ña} \quad \text{to break}' \\
& \quad \text{t'aq.su.} \text{ña} \quad \text{to break loose}'
\end{align*}
\]

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{Ut.ja.s ka.s ma.ch ja.k.i.w.} & \quad \text{It looks like there is some there.}'
\end{align*}
\]

The \(/-ja-/ after \/-s.ma.ch/- appears to be a reduplication of \/-jama/ in its reduced allomorph \(/-ja-/). If we consider \/-s.ma.ch/- as three morphemes, then the final \(/-ja-/ acts like an independent suffix, coming after the verbalizer \/-cha-/ and before the verbal inflection \/-i/.

However, other combinations of /ch/ and /jama/ (or /ja/) cannot be analyzed as above. These other combinations may be divided into two types: those in which a verbal inflection occurs before /ch/ and those in which it occurs after /ch/.

Examples of /ch/ occurring after -i 3➔3 Simple inflection are the following:

\[ \text{Jut.i.ch.ja.w. 'I think he has come.' (La Paz/Tiahuanaco) } \]
\[ \text{Jut.i.ch.ja.ki.w. 'I think he has come.' (Ebbing 1965:209)} \]
\[ \text{Juta.p.x.i.ch.ja.ki.wa. 'I think they have come.' (Ebbing 1965:209)} \]

The three forms above may tentatively be analyzed as containing, after the inflection -i 3➔3 Simple tense, the alternative question suffix -cha, a sentence suffix after which no further suffixation may occur. The /ja/ which follows must then be interpreted as the root *ja, a reduced form of *jama 'like', followed optionally by the independent suffix -ki and the sentence suffix -wa. This is obviously not a satisfactory analysis in synchronic terms, as *jama 'like' is not a root today, and a reduced form *ja would furthermore be the only
monosyllabic free root in the language. \(16\) We must therefore conclude that /-i.ch.ja-/ is a frozen form in contemporary Aymara.

Examples of /-ch\(\)/ followed by /-jama\(\)/ plus verbal inflection are the following, which occurred in Compi:

\[\text{T'aq.su.ch.jama.raki.tayna.sa: } \text{‘I think (the donkey) broke loose.’} \text{ (Hardman et al. 1975:1.305)}\]

\[\text{T'aq.su.ch.jam.i.w. } \text{‘I think he broke loose.’}\]

\[\text{Juta.ch.jama.k.itu.w. } \text{‘It seems it comes to me.’}\]

\[\text{Al.ja.ra.ch.jama.k.ta.wa. } \text{‘I think you have sold it.’}\]

\[\text{Chura.ch.jama.k.tam.wa. } \text{‘I think he gave it to you.’}\]

In most of the above cases /-jama\(\)/ is followed by an independent suffix, either -raki or -ki, but it is not required.

Determination of the derivation of /-ch\(\)/ in the above forms is tentative pending further investigation, but certain possibilities may be eliminated. It is not
the verbal derivational suffix -cha-, as it occurs before other Class 1 and 2 derivational suffixes, whereas in the above examples /ch/ occurs after Class 1 suffixes. It is not -chi NI, which takes a preceding consonant. It is not -cha alternative question, which occurs after inflections, as noted above. Eliminating these three possibilities, we are left with the hypothesis that /-ch.jama-/ is a frozen form, perhaps a metathesis of /-jama.cha-/, possibly formed by analogy with the combination of -cha- verbal derivational as verbalizer, plus -jama--/-ch.jama-- which occurs on noun roots and stems. In the following form from Campi (see also 6-2.11) the vowel before -cha- drops by the three-vowel rule:

\[
\text{Jut}a::\overset{n}{\text{ch}}.\text{jama}.k.\text{itu}.w. \ 'I \ just \ feel \ like \ coming.'
\]

\[
\text{come} \quad 3+1
\]

\[
\text{S}
\]

(A more literal translation would be 'Something makes me feel like coming', given the causative suffix /-:-/ and the 3+1 S inflection -itu.)

Finally, the following forms have been heard by Vásquez but their provenance is unknown.

\[
\text{Jut.ch.ja.k.i.w.} \ 'I \ think \ he \ has \ come.'
\]

\[
\text{come} \quad 3+3
\]

\[
\text{S}
\]
These might be thought to contain \(-\text{chi}\) NI or a reduced variant \(/s/\) occurring before \(/j/\), except that the sentence suffix \(-\text{wa}\) (here reduced to \(/w/\)) does not occur with the NI suffix (Hardman et al. 1975:3.413). The \(/\text{ch}/\) is not \(-\text{cha-}\) verbal derivational, as it requires a preceding vowel unless the three-vowel rule applies. The \(/\text{ja}/\) in this suffix may be analyzed as \(/-\text{ja}/\) allomorph of \(-\text{jama}\) occurring before verbal inflection.

To summarize, in Class 3 suffixes beginning with \(/\text{v}/\) the partial \(/-\text{jama}/\) may be analyzed as the suffix \(-\text{jama}\) which occurs primarily on nouns and occasionally as an independent, if \(-\text{cha-}\) may verbalize a stem ending in an independent suffix. If \(/-\text{jama}/\) is reduplicated in suffixes beginning with \(/\text{v}/\), the reduplicated occurrence must be analyzed as an independent suffix. In \(/-\text{ichja}-/\), \(/\text{ja}/\) is a frozen root, synchronically submorphemic. In suffixes beginning with \(/\text{v}/\text{ch}/\), \(/-\text{jama}/\) may be an independent suffix, but until the partial \(/\text{v}/\text{ch}/\) is better identified, \(/-\text{v}/\text{chjama}-/\) is unanalyzable. In suffixes beginning with \(/\text{c}/\text{ch}/\), \(/\text{ja}/\) may also be identified as an allomorph of the independent \(-\text{jama}\), but as \(/\text{c}/\text{ch}/\) cannot as yet be identified, the suffixes are not analyzable.

In all these cases the partial \(/-\text{jama}/\) or \(/-\text{ja}/\) derives from a form which was apparently once a free root meaning
'like' and which today occurs most often as a suffix on nouns, sometimes on verbs (but only when accompanied by a preceding or following /ch/ or /s/) and sometimes frozen in forms which are synchronically unanalyzable.

/-ch/ in these suffixes derives from several different underlying forms. In suffixes beginning with /-s/ it may be the verbal derivational verbalizer -cha-. In /-ichja-/ it may be the alternative question suffix -cha, frozen and no longer a morpheme in this context. In /-vchjama-/ and /-vchja-/ it may be the verbal derivational verbalizer -cha- metathesized to a position before /-jama/. In /-cchja-/) and /-csja-/ /-ch/ is not identifiable. The possibility exists that in some or all of these cases /-ch/ is related to the present-day noun suffix -cha diminutive which occurs in only a few dialects, not including those which are sources of the Class 3 suffixes so far obtained. In the sister language Jaqaru there is a noun suffix -cha 'limitative' semantically equivalent to the Aymara independent suffix -ki 'only, just' (Hardman 1966:87).

Although forms beginning with /-s/ may be analyzed synchronically, the other suffixes having /-ch/ and /-jama/ (and their reduced variants) cannot be. It seems best at this time, therefore, to present them all as Class 3 verbal derivationals pending further investigation.
6-3 Verbal Inflectional Suffixes

6-3.1 Introduction

The Aymara verb inflection system consists basically of eight paradigms of nine suffixes each. The eight paradigms, usually referred to as tenses, are the Simple (S), Future (F), Imperative (I), Desiderative (D-1), Remonstrator (D-2), Remote Direct Knowledge (RDK), and Remote Indirect Knowledge (RIK). There are also compound tenses, consisting of certain of the plain tenses with either the Non-involver -chi (NI) or the Inferential -pacha (IF), and there are various combinations with the nominalizer -iri.

Each of the nine suffixes in each tense is a synchronically unitary morpheme representing semantically that tense plus one of the four grammatical persons as subject and another person as complement. The suffixes are therefore called person/tense suffixes. (Tenses in Aymara also convey direct or indirect acquisition of information; see 8-2.3.) These suffixes are not synchronically analyzable into morphemes but do contain submorphemic recurrent partials (see below) identifiable as representing individual persons or tenses. The subject-complement relations expressed by the nine suffixes are 1➔3, 2➔3, 3➔3, 4➔3, 1➔2, 3➔2, 2➔1, 3➔1, and 3➔4. (2➔4 exists in the related Jaqi language.
Jaqaru but not in Aymara today.) The order just given will be adhered to throughout this section as it is believed to be the best for displaying structural similarities and differences, but it is, of course, arbitrary.

For each tense paradigm a figure showing the person/tense suffix allomorphs in each of nine dialect areas will be given. Included in most paradigms are a few contemporary forms alleged in published sources, identified by a preceding raised +. Also included are forms alleged for late 16th-century Juli by Bertonio (1603b); these are listed between contemporary La Paz and Juli forms and boxed to distinguish them clearly from contemporary forms. Other variants cited in the paradigms occurred either in free texts or in elicited paradigms, or in both. A blank in a paradigm means that no form for it was obtained, but does not necessarily imply that it does not exist. Each tense is analyzed for the morphophonemics, structure, and distribution of its person/tense suffixes.

The verb chura.ña 'to give' was used to elicit all paradigms, as it occurs freely with all person/tense suffixes. It should be pointed out, however, that even when given in paradigms (an essentially artificial framework), Aymara verbs usually occur with verbal derivational suffixes, and often with independent and final suffixes, as well as inflectional ones. For the sake
of clarity and simplicity all but the inflectional suffixes have here been stripped away.

For general rules concerning the morphophonemics of verbal inflectional suffixes, see 4-2.1 and 4-2.2. Additional rules specific to each tense and/or to individual person/tense suffixes will be given in the section on the tense in question. In the figures accompanying the tenses the morphophonemics of suffixes will be shown only in the case of exceptions. If a final /a/ is in parentheses, it means it usually drops when there is no subsequent suffixation. If a final /n/ or /na/ is in parentheses, it means its presence varies with its absence.

6-3.2 Verbal inflectional distinctive features

Hardman (1975) has reconstructed the person system of the Jaqi languages using as bases the personal pronouns, the personal possessive suffixes, and two verb tenses, the Simple (Present in Jaqaru and Kawki) and Future. Person is marked in these and other tenses by submorphemic recurrent partials. Other partials are associated with tense.

6-3.21 Person markers

Following are the partials associated with verb subject person and verb complement person, incorporating
data from Hardman (1975) and data for other tenses dis­covered in my research.

Subject 1→
Future, D-1 /sa/ forms:
/-ja/ ~ /-xa/ ~ /-nha/ ~
/-ña/ ~ /-ya/ ~ /-ñ:/

Other tenses:
/-c tc / ~ /-c t"ac ~

Subject 2→
I, D-1, and D-2 /sa/ forms:
/-m(a)/

Other tenses:
/-c tc / ~ /-tama/

Subject 3→
I, D-1 /sa/ forms, D-2:
/-p(a)/

Other tenses:
/-i/
Subject 4+       Complement ➔4

S, I, F, D-1 and D-2 /iri/       All tenses: /-s-/  
forms, RDK, RIK:                  
/-tana/                          

S, I, F, D-1 and D-2 /sa/       
forms, RDK:                      
/-(s)na/ ~ /-(s)ña/               

The 4p forms above are complex, perhaps reflecting two systems that have not completely merged. Since 4p is semantically 1p plus 2p, the following analysis is plausible (//-na/ having now fallen out of the 1p alternations):

/-ta/ + */-na/ --> /-tana/  
2p 1p 4p

Forms with /-na/ or /-ña/ alone are marked only for 1p, while those forms preceded by /-s-/ (not to be confused with the /-s-/ or /-sa-/ marking D-1 and D-2) are marked for 4p and 1p. 20

6-3.22 Tense markers

The following partials are associated with tense:

S - Unmarked
F - Homophonous with 1p possessive, with exception of reduplicative bilabial nasal in 1→2 in some dialects

I - Unmarked. Forms homophonous with personal possessive suffixes for subject, except 2→1 which is unmarked for subject

D-1 and D-2 - /iri/ forms: /-s-/, /-k-/, /-ks-/, /-j-/, /-js-/

/sa/ forms: /-s(a)-/

(D-2 is marked also for Remote: /iri/ forms: /-:-/

/sa/ forms: /-:-na/)

RDK - /-ya-/, /-:-/, and /-n(a)/ (in different combinations)

RIK - /-ta:-/ ~ /-tay-/- /-taw-/-; some 3→3 marked also with /-:-na/; forms reduplicative of inflection, 2→1, 3→1, 3→4 only

6-3.3 Tenses

6-3.31 Simple tense

Spanish used to elicit: 1→3 Yo le di. 'I gave to him/her.'

6-3.31.1 Morphophonemics

All consonant-initial suffixes except Calacoa

4→3 /-všna/ require a preceding consonant. All allomorphs of 1→3 except Calacoa /-t"a/ lose the final vowel before
final suffixes except the vowel-requiring suffix -lla ~ -ya. Only in Calacoa may the distinction between 1→3 S and 2→3 S be made solely on the basis of the presence or absence of aspiration: 1→3 /c't"a_v/, 2→3 /c'ta_v/. Elsewhere the distinction is made primarily by morphophonemics: 1→3 /c'ta_c/ ~ /c't"a_c/, versus 2→3 /c'ta_v/. That is, 2→3 keeps its final vowel before all following suffixes. Other suffixes in this tense do also.

6-3.31.2 Structure and distribution (see Figure 6-2)

1→3 /t"a/ is found everywhere but in La Paz and Huancané, which have /-ta/. In Calacoa the aspirated form appears to be more common in the speech of women, and the unaspirated in the speech of men.

2→3 /-ta/ everywhere.

3→3 /-i/ everywhere.

4→3 Morocomarca has /-sna/, identical to the 4→3 D-1 found in all dialects except Calacoa. For 4→3 S Calacoa has an alternate form /v.sña/ identical in shape, but not morphophonemics, to its 4→3 D-1. /-tana/ occurs in Sitajara and was cited by Bertonio. Socca has /-tan/ alternating with /-tña/. Elsewhere the allomorph is /-tan/, except that in La Paz /-tana/, with antepenultimate stress on the word, was heard in a Protestant sermon (see 4-3.33).
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>La Paz</th>
<th>Bertoni 1693b</th>
<th>Juli</th>
<th>Socca</th>
<th>Huancas</th>
<th>Calcoa</th>
<th>Sitajara</th>
<th>Jopoquerí</th>
<th>Salinas</th>
<th>Morocomarca</th>
</tr>
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<td>-t&quot;a</td>
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<td>-t&quot;a</td>
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<td>-tan-</td>
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<td>-tana</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3+3</td>
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<td>-sma</td>
<td>-sna</td>
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<tr>
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</table>

Figure 6-2. Simple Tense
Salinas has /-ma/, homophonous with 2➔3 I in Juli, Socca, Huancané, and Calacala. Huancané has /-sna/, identical to Morocomarca 4➔3 S and to all 4➔3 D-1 except Calacoa. Elsewhere the allomorph is /-sma/; the variant /-sman/ also occurs in Tiahuanaco.  

Sitajara has /-ta:ma/; Morocomarca has /-tma/; Socca has /-tam/ alternating with /-tma/. Elsewhere the allomorph is /-tam/, except that in La Paz /-tama/, with antepenultimate stress on the word, occurs at times in radio announcements (see 4-3.33).  

/-ista/ everywhere except Sitajara, which has /-itta/, the form attested by Bertonio. (The former has /-s-/ marker of 4p, and the latter /-it(a)/ marker of 1p complement and /-ta/ marker of 2p.)  

/-itu/ everywhere.  

/-stu/ in Calacoa and Sitajara; /-situ/ in Socca; four variants frozen with /-(s)ch/, Juli. Elsewhere /-istu/ (also attested by Bertonio).  

6-3.31.3 Dialectal patterning

Several dialects have idiosyncratic allomorphs of one person/tense suffix in this tense. In Huancané  

1➔2 /-sna/, in Calacoa 4➔3 /-sña/, in Salinas 1➔2 /-ma/,
and in Morocomarca 4→3 /-sna/ are each identical to a suffix found more commonly in another tense and/or person, usually in a different dialect. In Sitajara, 2→1 /-itta/ corresponds to the form cited for the same person/tense suffix by Bertonio but not found in any other contemporary dialect investigated.

6-3.32 Future tense

Spanish used to elicit: 1→3 Voy a darle 'I'm going to give him'.

6-3.32.1 Morphophonemics

Except for 3→4 forms starting with /s/ or /ch/, suffixes beginning with a consonant require a preceding vowel. Although collection and analysis of data regarding behavior of suffix-final vowels for this tense is not yet complete, it appears that in most cases vowels are retained before most suffixes. An example of a suffix needing further study is 1→3 /-nha/ which loses the /a/ before -ti (and probably before certain other final suffixes) but keeps it before -wa, -xa, and -lla ~ -ya aforesaid.

6-3.32.2 Structure and distribution (see Figure 6-3)

The distinctive mark of this tense is a long vowel, a glide, a nasal, or a velar or postvelar fricative.
Figure 6-3. Aymara Future Tense
Notes to Figure 6-3

1 Original written with stress (accent) rather than length.

2 Calacala has /-ña/.

3 Calacala has /-ta/ and [-nda].

4 Some speakers have [-nda].

5 Compi

6 Some speakers have [-itanda].

7 Calacala has /-ita:ta/ and [-nda:ta].
The tense is thus an excellent example of nonstop consonant instability in Aymara.

1→3 /-ː/ (vowel length) everywhere; voiceless fricatives in La Paz, Calacoa, Juli, Socca, Huancané; voiced nonstops elsewhere: velar nasal, Sitajara and Jopoqueri; palatal nasal, Salinas; palatal glide, La Paz, Socca, and Morocomarca. 22

2+3 /-ːta/ everywhere except Sitajara; preceded by voiceless fricative, Calacoa (also cited by Bertonio); preceded by velar nasal, Sitajara; preceded by alveolar nasal, Corque and Salinas.

3→3 /-ni/ everywhere.

4+3 /-tana/ and /-ːtana/, Calacoa (+/-tana/ also cited by Bertonio); /-ñani/, /-tan/, and /-ːtan/, Salinas; /-ñani/, /-tna/, and /-ːtna/, Morocomarca; /-ñani/ elsewhere.

1+2 Peruvian dialects, /-mama/ and variants; Bolivian dialects, /-ːma/. (Vitocota, near Ayata, province of Muñecas, in the department of La Paz, also has /-mama/.) The following also have /-ːma/: Juli, Socca, and Huancané. Sitajara has /-ːma:/; La Paz has /-ːman/ in addition to /-ːma/.

3→2 /-ːtam/, La Paz, Socca; /-ːtam/ and /-ː(ː)tma/, Juli; /-ː(ː)tma/, Calacoa and Morocomarca. Forms
with initial alveolar nasal are found in Huan-
cané, Jopoqueri, and Salinas; with initial velar
nasal, in Sitajara; Bertonio cited a form with
initial velar fricative.

2→1 /-ita:ta/ La Paz, Juli, Socca, Calacoa, Morocom-
marca; alveolar nasal instead of vowel length,
Huancané, Jopoqueri, Salinas; velar nasal between
two vowels, Sitajara; velar fricative between
two vowels, cited by Bertonio.

3→1 /-itani/ everywhere.

3→4 /-stani/ La Paz, Calacoa, Sitajara; /-istani/
La Paz, Huancané, Jopoqueri, Salinas, Morocom-
marca, and cited by Bertonio; /-sitani/ Socca.
Juli has forms frozen to preceding /-(s)ch-/.

6-3.32.3 Dialectal patterning

6-3.32.31 Phonological

1. Dialects with initial or medial alveolar,
velar, or palatal nasals in 1→3, 2→3, 3→2,
and 2→1: Sitajara, Jopoqueri, Salinas.
Huancané lacks a nasal form of 1→3 but has
the others. Calacala may lack a nasal form
for 3→2 (no information is available) but
has the others.

2. Dialects with a voiced palatal glide in
1→3: La Paz, Socca, and Morocomarca.
3. Dialects with voiceless fricatives in 1→3:
   La Paz, Juli, Socca, Huancané, Calacoa.

6-3.32.32 Morphological

1. Dialect having /-tana/ and /-:tan/, but not /-ñani/, for 4→3: Calacoa.
2. Dialects having /-():tan/ or /-():tna/ and /-ñani/ for 4→3: Salinas and Morocome-marca.
3. Dialects using /-ñani/ for 4→3, but not /-tana/ or variants thereof: La Paz, Juli, Socca, Huancané, Sitajara, Jopoqueri.

6-3.32.33 Semantic

Dialects having only /-ñani/ for 4→3 F perceive /-tana/ and variants as past, not future. An attempt was made to discover whether dialects having both /-tana/ (or a variant thereof) and /-ñani/ distinguish them semantically in some way, but the evidence so far is inconclusive. Either form may gloss, depending on context, as vamos a 'we're going to' or as a plain future 'we will'. In Salinas only /-ñani/ was given for 4→3 Imperative, which is identical in form to 4→3 Future, but it may be that /-tana/ could also occur for the Imperative, as both forms do in Calacala.
6-3.33 Imperative tense

Spanish used to elicit: 2→3 Dáselo a él. 'Give it to him.'

6-3.33.1 Morphophonemics

For forms homophonous with the Future (see below), see that tense. 2→3 varies as indicated below and in Figure 6-4. 3→2 (except the Juli form homophonous with 3→3) requires a previous vowel. 3→3 requires a previous consonant. Imperative suffixes usually take no final suffixes other than -lla ~ -ya.

6-3.33.2 Structure and distribution (see Figure 6-4)

1→3 All forms are homophonous with the Future.
2→3 La Paz, Calacoa, Sitajara, Jopoqueri, and Salinas have an allomorph that requires a preceding vowel and drops its own vowel except before the final suffix -lla ~ -ya. Examples:

Chur.a.m. 'Give it to him/her/them.'

Chur.a.m.a.y. 'Please give it to him/her/them.'

An allomorph requiring a preceding vowel and retaining its own final vowel, with stress on
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>La Pez</th>
<th>Bertonio 1603b</th>
<th>Juli</th>
<th>Socca</th>
<th>Huancanh</th>
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</tr>
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</table>

1San Andrés de Machaca
2Horoocomarca
3Conpi (not in Hardman et al. 1975)

Figure 6-4. Aymara Imperative Tense
the antepenultimate vowel of the word, occurs infrequently in Sitajara and La Paz (see 4-3.33). In Socca, Huancané, Juli, and Morocomarca 2→3 I usually requires a preceding consonant, but when -ka- incomplete occurs before 2→3 I on the stem, 2→3 I requires a preceding vowel.

\textbf{Chur.m(a).} 'Give it to him/her/them.'

\textbf{Jani.w chur.ka.m.ti.} 'Don't give it to him/her/them.'

Generally, allomorphs of 2→3 I that require a preceding consonant may keep or drop their own vowel, while allomorphs that require a preceding vowel drop their own vowel except before the final suffix -lla ~ -ya or when preceded by antepenultimate stress.

\textbf{3→3} The full form is found in Juli and Socca (with aspiration). The form without final vowel occurs in Sitajara, Jopoqueri, and Salinas. Forms optionally losing the final nasal are found in La Paz (also cited by Bertonio). Calacoa /-sapa:na/ is identical in shape, but not morphophonemics, to its 3→3 D-2 /-v.sapa:na/.

\textbf{4→3} All forms are homophonous with the Future.

\textbf{1→2} All forms are homophonous with the Future.
La Paz, Juli, Socca, Calacoa, Sitajara, and Salinas have forms homophonous with the Future; the last four have only those forms. La Paz and Juli also have forms with /-pa-/.

The fullest allomorph of the Juli /-pa-/ form, /-pana/, is homophonous with its 3→3 I. Jopoqueri has only forms with /-pa-/ (also cited by Bertoni). Huancané has a form that looks like the Future form of other dialects but is not Future in Huancané, plus a /-pa-/ form.

/-ita/ everywhere. Huancané and La Paz also have /-itma/.

These suffixes follow the pattern of 3→3, except in Calacoa which has forms homophonous with the Future. In Huancané and Sitajara 3→4 has fallen out and 3→1 does duty for both.

Dialectal patterning

Morphophonemic

1. 2→3 /-\nu\text{ma}_\text{\textsubscript{C}}/ La Paz, Calacoa, Sitajara, Jopoqueri, Salinas.

2. 2→3 /-\nu\text{ma}_\text{\textsubscript{C}}/ Socca, Huancané, Juli, Morocomarca
6-3.33.32 Morphological

1. 2➔3 and 2➔1 peculiar to the Imperative, and 1➔3, 4➔3, and 1➔2 homophonous with the Future: All dialects.
2. 3➔3, 3➔1, and 3➔4 peculiar to the Imperative: All except Calacoa.
3. 3➔2 peculiar to the Imperative (3➔2 Future form not used): Huancané, Jopoqueri (also cited by Bertonio).
4. Only 1➔3, 4➔3, and 1➔2 homophonous with the Future: Huancané, Jopoqueri.
5. 3➔2 homophonous with the Future: La Paz, Juli, Socca, Calacoa, Sitajara, Salinas.
6. No 3➔2 form peculiar to the Imperative: Socca, Calacoa, Sitajara, Salinas.
7. Both Future and Imperative forms for 3➔2: La Paz and Juli.

6-3.33.33 Semantic

In Huancané and Sitajara 3➔1 and 3➔4 have fallen together and only the 3➔1 form survives.

In analyzing the Imperative it must be kept in mind that it overlaps the Future both formally and semantically to a large extent. The Future rather than the Imperative will often be used as a polite command,
especially for 1→2, 2→1, and 2→3 (the suffixes involving the first and second persons in the relationship of subject/complement, or the second person as subject). However, as pointed out by Hardman, in La Paz Aymara the overlap is not to be interpreted as indicating an incomplete Imperative paradigm filled with Future forms, as the Imperative is morphosyntactically marked by a morphophonemic rule: When stated, the subject of an Imperative verb drops the final vowel and carries no sentence suffix, except in the case of 3→2, where the subject 3p must retain the final vowel and carry a sentence suffix (Hardman et al. 1975:3.226). Example:

\[
\begin{array}{c}
\text{Jum} \quad \text{jupa.r} \quad \text{chura.m.} \quad \text{'You give it to him/her/them.'} \\
2p \quad 3p \quad \text{give 2→3} \\
\end{array}
\]

As a person subject often is not expressed by a noun or pronoun in an Aymara sentence (since it is already expressed in the person/tense suffix on the verb), in this research it was not always possible to elicit an expressed pronoun subject which might be checked for presence or absence of its final vowel. In Sitajara, the only dialect for which pronoun subject forms were obtained with the Imperative for most person/tense suffixes, the vowel drops for 1→3, 3→3 and 4→3 but is retained and followed by a sentence suffix for 1→2, 3→1,
and 3→4; information is lacking for 3→2 and 2→1. In the case of 1→2 it may be that the Future, rather than the Imperative, was elicited.24

In Morocomarca, the vowel was retained on the 2p subject with 2→3 I.

\[ \text{Juma chur.x.ma. 'You give it back (to him/her/them).'} \]
\[ 2p \text{ give } 2\overset{3}{\text{I}} \]

6-3.34 Contrary-to-fact tenses: Desiderative (D-1) and Remonstrator (D-2)

Each of these tenses consists of two incomplete and (in some dialects) partially overlapping paradigms, one built on the recurrent partial /-sa-/ (the mark of contrary-to-fact tenses) and the other built on the nominalizing suffix \(_{iri}\)25 plus the partial /-sa-/ (or other phoneme sequences replacing it; see below). Bertonio (1603b) distinguished the two sets, calling the /-sa-/ paradigms the 'Optative' and 'Pluperfect Preterite Optative' tenses, and the \(_{iri}\) paradigms the 'Subjunctive' and 'Pluperfect Preterite Subjunctive' tenses. However, the gaps in the paradigms and the semantic identity of the examples given show that in fact the four 'tenses' had already collapsed into two in Bertonio's time.
In the following sections the -iri and /-sa-/ paradigms will be discussed, first with reference to the Desiderative tense and then to the Remonstrator. The forms will be referred to as /iri/ forms and /sa/ forms.

6-3.34.1 Desiderative tense (D-1)

Spanish used to elicit: 1+3 Yo le daría a él/Yo puedo darle. See Figure 6-5.

'I may/might/can/could give to him/her/them.'

6-3.34.11 /sa/ forms of D-1

6-3.34.11.1 Morphophonemics

1→3 and 4→3 require a preceding consonant; 2→3, 3→3, and 3→2 require a preceding vowel. All /sa/ suffixes retain final vowels before following suffixes.

6-3.34.11.2 Structure and distribution

No spoken dialect was found to have a /sa/ form for 1→3. 2→3 and 3→3 end in the partial corresponding to the personal possessive suffix for the subject person. In Calacoa 4→3 is marked by /-ña/, which corresponds to one allomorph of lp possessive (but not that used in Calacoa); elsewhere 4→3 is marked by /-na/, a partial
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>La Paz</th>
<th>Bertone 160.2r</th>
<th>Juli</th>
<th>Socca</th>
<th>Huancané</th>
<th>Calacoa</th>
<th>Sitajara</th>
<th>Jopoquerí</th>
<th>Salinas</th>
<th>Moroconmarca</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1-3</td>
<td>-trista</td>
<td>-rixtsta</td>
<td>-rixtsta</td>
<td>-rixtsta</td>
<td>-rixtsta</td>
<td>-rixtsta</td>
<td>-rixtsta</td>
<td>-rixtsta</td>
<td>-rixtsta</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>+-rixtsta</td>
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<td>-rixtsta</td>
<td>-rixtsta</td>
<td>-rixtsta</td>
<td>-rixtsta</td>
<td>-rixtsta</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
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<td>-sna²</td>
<td>-sna²</td>
<td>-sna²</td>
<td>-sna²</td>
<td>-sna²</td>
<td>-sna²</td>
<td>-sna²</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2-3</td>
<td>-sna</td>
<td>-sna</td>
<td>-sna</td>
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<td>-sma</td>
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<td>-sma²</td>
<td>-sma²</td>
<td>-sma²</td>
<td>-sma²</td>
<td>-sma²</td>
<td>-sma²</td>
<td>-sma²</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3-3</td>
<td>-spa</td>
<td>-spa</td>
<td>-spa</td>
<td>-sna</td>
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<td>-sma</td>
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<td>-sma</td>
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<td>-sma</td>
<td>-sma</td>
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<td>4-3</td>
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<td>-sna(n)</td>
<td>-sna(n)</td>
<td>-sna(n)</td>
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</tr>
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<td>-trisma</td>
<td>-trisma</td>
<td>-trisma</td>
<td>-trisma</td>
<td>-trisma</td>
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<td>-trisma</td>
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<td>-trisma</td>
<td>-trisma</td>
<td>-trisma</td>
<td>-trisma</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>+-ja1spn</td>
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<td>-ja1spn</td>
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<td>-ja1spn</td>
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<td>-ja1spn</td>
<td>-ja1spn</td>
<td>-ja1spn</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2-1</td>
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<td>-itisma(n)</td>
<td>-itisma(n)</td>
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<td>-itisma²</td>
<td>-itisma²</td>
<td>-itisma²</td>
<td>-itisma²</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3-1</td>
<td>-itspa</td>
<td>-itspa</td>
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<td>-itspa</td>
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<td>-itspa</td>
<td>-itspa</td>
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<tr>
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<td>+-itspa</td>
<td>-itspa</td>
<td>-itspa</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>+chitspa</td>
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<td>-chitspa</td>
<td>-chitspa</td>
<td>-chitspa</td>
<td>-chitspa</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Figure 6-5. Aymara Desiderative Tense (D-1)
Notes to Figure 6-5

1 Ebbing (1965:124).

2 Bertonio (1603b:335) indicates these shapes change when the inflections are followed by certain sentence suffixes.

3 Used with the verb saña 'to say'.

4 Identical in shape but not morphonemics to 4→3 S /-ysña/. Two examples of /-ysña/ as 4→3 D-1 were also obtained, one in Calacoa and the other from nearby Torata, and both occurred after -t'a- verbal derivational suffix:

   un.t'a.sña  'we might get to know each other'
   mant.t'a.sña  'we want to go in'

However, it is possible that the two examples contain -si- reciprocal/reflexive reduced to /s/ before /-csna/, with the geminate /s/ reduced to one, e.g.:

   un.t'a.s.sña
   mant.t'a.s.sña

5 Ebbing (1965:149); he also attests +/-istaspa/.
resembling in its initial nasal various 1p possessive allomorphs, although none has yet been found with the alveolar nasal. Ebbing (1965:124) attests +/-sa/ for 1➔3 D-1 (La Paz). Bertonio (1603b:335) cites +/-sna/ for both 1➔3 and 4➔3 D-1.

There is no 1➔2 /sa/ form for D-1. 3➔2 is represented by two forms attested only by Bertonio, both similar to 3➔3. 2➔1 and 3➔1 are built on the recurrent partial /-ita-/ mark of 1p complement, plus 2➔3 D-1 /-sma/ or 3➔3 D-1 /-spa/. 3➔4 is based on 3➔1 plus the 4p mark /-s-/.

In order to account for variations between /sa/ forms for the D-1 and D-2 tenses, an underlying vowel /a/ may be assumed after /s/ in the D-1 forms. In D-1 the vowel drops by morphophonemic rule; in D-2 it is retained.

6-3.34.12 /iri/ forms of D-1
6-3.34.12.1 Morphophonemics

These suffixes all end in Simple tense forms which lose or keep their final vowels as indicated for the Simple tense.

6-3.34.12.2 Structure and distribution

The mark of contrary-to-fact which occurs with /iri/ forms varies regionally. The possible combinations
are /s/, /k/, /ks/, /j/, and /js/. For D-1 the appropriate Simple tense suffix follows.

\[
/\text{iri} + \left\{ \begin{array}{c}
    s \\
    k(s) \\
    j(s)
\end{array} \right\} + \text{Simple tense}
\]

Each dialect employs characteristic variants of the contrary-to-fact mark, as indicated below.

- La Paz: /s/
- Huancané: /s/ ~ /ks/
- Juli: /k/ ~ /ks/
- Socca: /k/ ~ /j/
- Calacocoa: /k/ ~ /ks/
- Sitajara: /j/ ~ /js/
- Jopoqueri: /j/
- Salinas: /j/ ~ /s/
- Morocomarca: /s/ ~ /k"/

**Bertonio (1603b)** + /k/

In order to account for variations between /iri/ forms for D-1 and D-2, an underlying vowel /a/ (or in one or two cases /i/) may be assumed. The underlying full forms for both D-1 and D-2 /iri/ forms may then be stated as follows:
The comparative incidence of /sa/ and /iri/ forms of the D-1 tense in different dialects is discussed in 6-3.34.3.

6-3.34.13 Semantics of D-1

In the affirmative, the meaning of D-1 is of possibility or desirability. Examples from Bertonio indicate, however, that 2+3 /-sma/, 2→1, and sometimes 3→3 were used as a cautionary.

\[ / sa \quad + \quad \{ k_{3}^{a} (s) \} / \]

\[ j_{3}^{a} (s) \]

The examples above are perceived by present-day Aymara speakers not as warnings not to do something but...
as statements of desirability or possibility, e. g. 'Why don't you give?', 'You should marry your contemporary'. For these speakers the Desiderative is not a cautionary unless the independent suffix -raki also occurs in the sentence. Compare the following from a folk tale about a fox and a lake bird (wallata) told in Compi in the late 1960s:

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{Sikuya} & .\text{ya pik.t'}.\text{itasma}, \text{kayña} & .\text{raki pik.t'}.\text{itasma}.
\end{align*}
\]

\begin{align*}
\text{thorn} & \quad \text{pierce} \quad 3+1 \quad \text{spine} \quad \text{pierce} \quad D-1
\end{align*}

'Thorns don't you pierce me, spines don't you pierce me.'

(L. Martin-Barber, Hardman et al. 1975:3.97)

In editing the story for publication another speaker from Compi replaced the sentence suffix -ya on the first word with another -raki, giving the following:

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{Sikuya} & .\text{rak pik.t'}.\text{itasma}, \text{kayña} & .\text{raki pik.t'}.\text{itasma}.
\end{align*}
\]

(L. Martin-Barber, Hardman et al. 1975:3.101)

Another example from the La Paz area is

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{Jagi.ru} & .\text{rak ach.ja.ya.s.ka.sma}.
\end{align*}
\]

\begin{align*}
\text{people} & \quad \text{bite} \quad \text{cause} \quad 2+3 \quad D-1
\end{align*}

'Be careful you don't let them bite people.'

(Hardman et al. 1975:1.208)
An example from Socca is

\[
\text{Ch"aq.xa.p.xa.raki.sma. 'Don't get lost.'}
\]

\[
\text{lose}  \\
\text{D-1}
\]

Bertonio used 2➔3 +/-irikta/ as distinguished from 2➔3 +/-sma/ to indicate possibility or ability, as in

\[
^+gillq.\text{irikta} \quad \text{puedes escribir} \quad '\text{you can (are able to) write}'
\]

\[
\text{(Bertonio 1603b:108)}
\]

But Bertonio also used 3➔3 +/-spa/ to imply possibility or ability, rather than as a cautionary.

6-3.34.2 Remonstrator tense (D-2)

Spanish used to elicit: 1➔3 \( \text{Yo le hubiera dado a él}. \)

'I should have given to him.'

See Figure 6-6.

6-3.34.21 /sa/ forms of D-2

6-3.34.21.1 Morphophonemics

All /sa/ forms of D-2 require a preceding vowel except 4➔3 in Sitajara and 3➔4 forms starting with /s/ or /ch/.

6-3.34.21.2 Structure and distribution

Most D-2 forms built on /sa/ consist of the corresponding D-1 inflection, sometimes with the vowel /a/
Figure 6-6. Aymara Remonstrator Tense (D-2)
Notes to Figure 6-6

1Ebbing (1965:124).

2Ross (1963:155); attributed to Iquipuni, between Ancoraimes and Puerto Acosta, Province of Camacho, Department of La Paz.

3Used with affirmative.

4Used with negative.

5One speaker had /-c^5^*ma^5^*na/.

6An unusual shape for this person/tense, resembling 4→3 as cited by Bertonio.

7Used with affirmative and negative.

8Used with negative by one speaker who used /-iri^5^*ja^5^*na/ for affirmative.

9Tiahuanaco, with the verb sa.ña.

10Ebbing (1965:149); probably has vowel length on the penultimate vowel and probably submorphemically /-iri^5^*ss^5^*ma^5^*na/.

11Submorphemically probably /-iri^5^*ss^5^*ma^5^*:n/.

12Ebbing (1965:149); these probably have vowel length on the penultimate vowel.

13/-iri^5^*j^5^*ta^5^*:na/ attested by one speaker.
reinstated and usually followed by two marks of the Remote Direct Knowledge (RDK) tense: /-:-/ plus /-na/.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>D-2</th>
<th>D-1</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1+3</td>
<td>/-sa:na/</td>
<td>/-sa/</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2+3</td>
<td>/-s(a)ma:na/</td>
<td>/-sma/</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3+3</td>
<td>/-s(a)pa:na/</td>
<td>/-spa/</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4+3</td>
<td>/-sna:na/</td>
<td>/-sna/</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>/-sasna/</td>
<td>/-sna/</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2+1</td>
<td>/-itas(a)ma:na/</td>
<td>/itasma/</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3+1</td>
<td>/-itas(a)pa:na/</td>
<td>/itaspa/</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3+4</td>
<td>/-istas(a)pa:na/</td>
<td>/istaspa/</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Calacoa forms differ in having /si/ before the /sa/ form, or replacing it, in the following:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>D-2</th>
<th>D-1</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>2+3</td>
<td>/-sisama:na/</td>
<td>/-sma/</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3+3</td>
<td>/-sisapa:na/</td>
<td>/-spa/</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4+3</td>
<td>/-sina:na/</td>
<td>/-sña/</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
The remaining two forms, both of which occur only in Huancané, differ from the others in beginning with /-ta-/ marker of 2p. They may be analyzed as follows:

1➔2 /-ta:sna/ = /-ta-/ + 1➔2 RDK */-sna/27

3➔2 /-taspa:na/ = /-ta-/ + 3➔3 D-2

6-3.34.22 /iri/ forms of D-2

6-3.34.22.1 Morphophonemics

The behavior of the final vowels of /iri/ forms of D-2 corresponds to that of the final vowels of the RDK (see 6-3.35.1) or D-2 /sa/ suffixes with which they end.

6-3.34.22.2 Structure and distribution

As indicated for D-1, /iri/ forms are followed by a phoneme or combination of phonemes that mark the contrary-to-fact tenses. The contrary-to-fact mark is not exactly the same in D-2 as in D-1, even allowing for reinsertion of vowels.

\[
\begin{array}{ccc}
\text{La Paz} & /-iri- \sim \text{iriska-}/ & /-iris-/ \\
\text{Juli} & /-irik\hat{a}^-/- & /-irk- \sim -iriks/- \\
\end{array}
\]
When, as is usually the case, there is more than one /iri/ plus contrary-to-fact form in a given dialect, there may be switches from D-1 to D-2 in one person/tense, e. g. Morocomarca 1+3 D-1 /-iri_st_a/ and 1+3 D-2 /-iri"a_t"a/.

In La Paz D-2 forms, /sk/ appears where only /s/ appears in D-1. The form with /k/ may represent a metathesis of the combination /ks/ that occurs frequently in other dialects.
Following the contrary-to-fact mark, /iri/ forms with 3p complement have the appropriate RDK (non /-ya-/) inflection, as shown in the following examples:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>D-2</th>
<th>RDK</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1→3</td>
<td>La Paz /-iriska-/ + /-ta/ = /-iriska:ta/</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2→3</td>
<td>Sitajara /-irja-/ + /-ta/ = /-irja:ta/</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3→3</td>
<td>Jopoqueri /-iriya-/ + /-na/ = /-iriya:na/</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4→3</td>
<td>Bertonio +/-irika-/ + +/&lt;-v tana/=+/-irikatana/ (1603b)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Ebbing (1965:124) cites a 1→3 form for La Paz with RDK /-/ya:ta/, +/-iriskaya:ta/.

/iri/ inflections for 1→2 and 3→2 D-2 are more complex, as may be seen below. 'Part 1' is an abbreviation for '/iri/ plus contrary-to-fact mark'.

1→2 Part 1 + 1→2 S + /-na/ (Sitajara)

1→2 S (reduced) + /-na/ (Jopoqueri, Salinas)

1→2 RDK (/-/ya-/) (Juli)

2→3 D-2 /sa/ form (La Paz, Socca, Calacoa, Salinas, Morocomarca)

+1→2 RDK (Bertonio 1603b)
3➔2 Part l + 3➔2 S + /-:na/ (La Paz, Calacoa, Sitajara, Jopoqueri, Salinas, Morcomarca; also Bertonio 1603b)

3➔2 RDK (non /-ya-/) (Socca, also cited in Ebbing 1965)

3➔2 RDK (/-ya-/) (Juli)

+3➔3 D-2 /sa/ form (Ebbing 1965)

+/-ta-/ 2p mark + 3➔2 RDK (non /-ya-/) (Ebbing 1965)

The other forms are

2➔1 Socca /-iri-/ + 2➔1 D-2 /sa/ form /-itasama:na/ = /-iritasama:na/

3➔1 /-iri-/ + contrary-to-fact mark + 3➔1 RDK (non /-ya-/)

3➔4 /-iri-/ + contrary-to-fact mark + 3➔4 RDK (non /-ya-/)

Sitajara 3➔1 and 3➔4 have fallen together. The 3➔1 form has apparently fallen out, leaving only 3➔4 for both. On the other hand, in Morocomarca 3➔4 appears to be falling out, as at first the 3➔1 form was given for both 3➔1 and 3➔4.

6.3.34.3 Dialectal patterning of /sa/ and /iri/ forms

A comparison of the incidence of /iri/ and /sa/ forms in the D-1 and D-2 tenses shows that, as might be expected, the most complete paradigms for both sets
are those cited by Bertonio (1603b). Of contemporary dialects, Salinas has the most forms of both types. Contemporary dialects may be divided into two main groups, those with a preponderance of /sa/ over /iri/ forms (Juli, La Paz, Socca, Huancané, Calacoa, and Morocomarca) and those with a preponderance of /iri/ over /sa/ forms (Sitajara, Jopoqueri, and Salinas).

Dialects with a preponderance of /iri/ forms have both /iri/ and /sa/ forms for certain person/tense slots: Sitajara 2→3, Jopoqueri 3→3, and Salinas 3→1 and 3→4. This overlap is lacking in dialects having a predominance of /sa/ forms, the only exceptions being the forms attested by Ebbing (1965) and Ross (1963) for La Paz 1→3, and Morocomarca 3→4 D-1 /-irik"a/, a form anomalous in shape and possibly in error. Interestingly, dialects with a predominance of /iri/ have forms for 3→1 and 3→4 which are missing from Bertonio (1603b), although he cited 4→3 /iri/ forms which the former lack.

Except for La Paz dialects alleged by Ebbing and Ross, no known contemporary dialects have /sa/ forms for 1→3, but rather only the /iri/ form. 1→3 and 4→3 /sa/ forms have fallen together as 4→3, and the 4→3 /iri/ form has disappeared. The /iri/ forms apparently took over the 1→3 slot when 1→3 and 4→3 /sa/ forms fell together as 4→3.
Dialects with a preponderance of /sa/ forms have /iri/ forms with /k(s)/ or /s(k)/ contrary-to-fact markers. Dialects with a preponderance of /iri/ forms have them with /j(s)/ contrary-to-fact markers.

6-3.34.31 Dialects with a preponderance of /sa/ forms

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>/iri/</th>
<th>/sa/</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>La Paz</strong></td>
<td>D-1: 3 (1→3, 1→2, 3→2)</td>
<td>6 (+1→3, Ebbing)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>D-2: 3 (1→3, 1→2, 3→2)</td>
<td>6 (+1→3, Ross and Ebbing)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Juli, Calacoa</strong></td>
<td>D-1 &amp; D-2: 3 (1→3, 1→2, 3→2)</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Socca</strong></td>
<td>D-1: 3 (1→3, 1→2, 3→2)</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>D-2: 4 (1→3, 1→2, 3→2)</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Huancané</strong></td>
<td>D-1: 3 (1→3, 1→2, 3→2)</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>D-2: 2 (1→3, 3→3)</td>
<td>7 (including 1→2, 3→2 /ta/ forms)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Morocomarca</strong></td>
<td>D-1: 4 (1→3, 1→2, 3→2, 3→3)</td>
<td>6 (the rest + 3→4)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>D-2: 3 (1→3, 1→2, 3→2)</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
6-3.34.32 Dialects with a preponderance of /iri/ forms

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>/iri/</th>
<th>/sa/</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Bertonio (1603b)</td>
<td>D-1: 6 (all but 2+1, 3+1, 3+4)</td>
<td>8 (all but 1+2)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>D-2: 6 (all but 2+1, 3+1, 3+4)</td>
<td>7 (all but 1+2, 4+3)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

6-3.34.33 Dialectal distribution of /iri/ and /sa/ forms by persons and tense

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>/iri/</th>
<th>/sa/</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1+3</td>
<td>all dialects</td>
<td>(Ebbing, Ross)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2+3</td>
<td>Sitajara; also Bertonio</td>
<td>all dialects</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/iri/</td>
<td>/sa/</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-------</td>
<td>------</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3➔3</td>
<td>D-1: Sitajara, Jopoqueri, Salinas; also Bertonio&lt;br&gt;D-2: Same as D-1 plus Huancané</td>
<td>D-1: all dialects except Sitajara&lt;br&gt;D-2: all dialects except Sitajara and Huancané</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>D-1: no contemporary dialects; cited by Bertonio</td>
<td>D-1: all dialects&lt;br&gt;D-2: all dialects (not cited by Bertonio)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4➔3</td>
<td>D-1: all dialects</td>
<td>D-1: all dialects</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>D-2: all except Huancané</td>
<td>D-2: Huancané</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3➔2</td>
<td>D-1: all dialects</td>
<td>D-1: no contemporary dialects; cited by Bertonio&lt;br&gt;D-2: all except Huancané</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2➔1</td>
<td>D-1: no dialects</td>
<td>D-1: all dialects&lt;br&gt;D-2: Sitajara&lt;br&gt;D-2: all except Sitajara</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3➔1</td>
<td>Sitajara, Jopoqueri, Salinas</td>
<td>all except Sitajara and Jopoqueri</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3➔4</td>
<td>D-1: Sitajara, Jopoqueri, Salinas, Morocomarca</td>
<td>D-1: all except Sitajara and Jopoqueri&lt;br&gt;D-2: Sitajara, Jopoqueri, Salinas</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
6-3.35 Remote tenses

Two remote tenses were encountered in this research: one direct knowledge tense (RDK) and one indirect knowledge tense (RIK). The distinction of direct, personal knowledge and of indirect (sometimes called non-personal) knowledge is a linguistic postulate of Aymara (see 8-2.3). RDK (called personal or near remote) and RIK (called far, or hearsay remote) were discussed by Hardman et al. (1975:3.218-222). Only RDK was attested by Bertonio (1603b) as a paradigm, although RIK 3→3 occurred in examples of sentences. In contemporary dialects the most commonly occurring Remote inflections are the 3→3 suffixes of each tense, as noted by Hardman et al. (1975:3.219) for La Paz.

All consonant-initial Remote suffixes (except allomorphs of 3→4) require a preceding vowel.

6-3.35.1 Direct knowledge remote tense (RDK)

Spanish used to elicit: *Yo le di.* 'I gave it to him/her.'

*Yo le estaba dando.*

'I was giving to him/her.'

6-3.35.11 Structure and distribution (see Figure 6-7)

As in the case of the Desiderative and Remonstrator tenses, this tense appears to represent a
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>La Paz&lt;sup&gt;1&lt;/sup&gt;</th>
<th>Bertonso&lt;sup&gt;2&lt;/sup&gt; 1603b</th>
<th>Juli</th>
<th>Socca</th>
<th>Huancane</th>
<th>Calacao</th>
<th>Sitajara</th>
<th>Jopoqueri&lt;sup&gt;3&lt;/sup&gt;</th>
<th>Salinas&lt;sup&gt;4&lt;/sup&gt;</th>
<th>Morocomarca&lt;sup&gt;4, 5&lt;/sup&gt;</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1-3</td>
<td>-t&quot;a</td>
<td>-t&quot;a</td>
<td>-t&quot;a</td>
<td>-t&quot;a</td>
<td>-t&quot;a</td>
<td>-t&quot;a</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>-tana</td>
<td>-yata</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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<td></td>
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<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2-3</td>
<td>-t&quot;a</td>
<td>-t&quot;a</td>
<td>-t&quot;a</td>
<td>-t&quot;a</td>
<td>-t&quot;a</td>
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<td>-yata</td>
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</tr>
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<td>-yata</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>4-3</td>
<td>-tana</td>
<td>-yata</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
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<td>-tana</td>
<td>-yata</td>
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<td></td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>-smana</td>
<td>-yasa:ma</td>
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<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>3-2</td>
<td>-taman:ta</td>
<td>-ya:ta</td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
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<td>-tamana</td>
<td>-ya:ta</td>
<td></td>
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<td></td>
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<td>-lta:ta</td>
<td>-lta:ta</td>
<td>-lta:ta</td>
<td>-lta:ta</td>
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<td>-ltata</td>
<td>-lta:ta</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>-stana</td>
<td>-yita</td>
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<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Figure 6-7. Aymara Remote Direct Knowledge Tense (RDK)
Notes to Figure 6-7

1 La Paz forms not otherwise identified are from the paradigm for Compi and Tiahuanaco (Hardman 1975) which preface all non-/-ya-/ forms by -chi NI, -pacha If, or a verbal derivational suffix such as /-ka-/ incompletive.

2 No vowel length was indicated for these forms.

3 Non-/-ya-/ forms occurred preceded by -chi NI or by /-ja-/ incompletive.

4 Except for /-ita:na/ which occurred preceded by -chi, these forms occurred preceded by /-ka-/ incompletive.

5 A source from San Andrés de Machaca, province of Ingavi, La Paz, had forms identical to these, also (except for /-ita:na/) preceded by /-ka-/ incompletive.

6 Ross (1963:145); attributed to Iquipuni, between Ancoraimes and Puerto Acosta, province of Camacho, La Paz.

7 Ebbing (1965:121).

8 Occurred preceded by /-ka-/ incompletive or /-s.ka-/ continuative.

9 Ebbing (1965:146).

10 Occurred preceded by -chi NI.

11 San Andrés de Machaca.

12 Occurred on the verb sa.ña 'to say'.
falling-together of two paradigms, one with the partial
/-ya-/ in initial (occasionally medial) position in the
suffix, and one without. This is not a case of phono-
logical alternation of /ya/ ~ /:/, as in almost all
cases the /-ya-/ is followed by /:/ mark of Remote
tenses. There are indications that forms with /-ya-/
gloss as more remote (farther in the past) than forms
without it, but at present the contrast is not clear
enough to postulate two separate tenses. In any case,
complete paradigms of forms with and without initial
/-ya-/ were obtained for only one dialect, Jopoqueri,
while most dialects had a mixture of the two forms,
with one favored over the other: Juli has mostly /-ya-/forms, Socca and Morocomarca have one /-ya-/ form each,
and La Paz has six. One dialect, Sitajara, apparently
has no /-ya-/ forms, as sources interpreted stems with
/-ya-/ as containing /-ya-/ causative. In dialects
that do have /-ya-/ Remote forms, the causative may pre-
cede the Remote.

Chura.ya.ya:t.wa. 'I made X give to Y.' (La Paz)

Socca is the only dialect for which all forms
without /-ya-/ were obtained without preceding suffixes
in the verb stem. In other dialects, except for 3→3
/-:na/, RDK person/tense suffixes without /-ya-/ almost
always occurred preceded by a verbal derivational suffix or one of the compounding suffixes: -chi Non-Involver, -pacha Inferential, or -iri. Forms with /-ya-/ occurred more readily without preceding suffixes.

When preceded by -ja- ~ -ka- incompletive, this tense translates as a past progressive. This use has occurred in La Paz, Morocomarca, Salinas, and Jopoqueri. Examples of 1→3 with the verb chura.ña 'to give' are

chur.ka.:t"a (Morocomarca)

chur.ka.:ta ~ chur.ka.ya:ta (San Andrés de Machaca)

Chur.ja.t.wa. (Jopoqueri)

Yo le estaba dando. 'I was giving to him/her.'

Apart from this fairly common usage, this tense (especially the forms without /-ya-/) occurs most often in the speech of elderly persons, for example in discussing their illnesses.

3→1 Kap"iyaspirina.w riskansa.y.ita:na.
'Cafeaspirina eased my pain.' (Compi)
(-ya- causative)

3→1 kama.cha.ta..rak.pacha.:t"a
'what could have happened to me' (Sitajara)
It also occurred in the speech of young persons talking with older ones about their illnesses.

2➔3 Qal g'ip.naq.pacha.:ta.x.
stone carry if

'You must have carried a load of stone.' (Sitajara)

3➔2 Kun.jam.iri.:tam.s? 'How did it use to affect you?' what like (Campi)

Ratu.t ratu.ru.t sar.t.iri.:tam?
time go up

'From time to time did it use to hurt you?' (Compi)

In the last two examples, the RDK inflection follows -iri nominalizer plus :- verbalizer, which becomes neutralized in the length of the RDK inflection. Other dialects use the -iri plus RDK forms in stories (see 6-3.37).

As indicated in 6-3.34, the Remonstrator tense contains the partials that mark the RDK.

Apart from the sometime presence of /-ya-/ , the marks of this tense are vowel length or alveolar nasal or both together plus /a/. One dialect, Jopoqueri, has plain vowel marking 1➔3 and 2➔3 forms without /-ya-/ , although its /-ya-/ forms are followed by vowel length.

In general, inflections with 3p and 2p complements consist
of vowel length or alveolar nasal plus Simple inflection, or Simple inflection plus /-:na/, except in the case of 3➔3 which is /-(ya):na/ (unmarked for person). The structure of the 2➔1, 3➔1, and 3➔4 suffixes is discussed below.

6-3.35.11.1 Forms without /-ya-/  

1➔3  
1➔3 S preceded by long vowel (plain vowel in Jopoqueri) except for La Paz variants alleged by Ross (1963) and Ebbing (1965), which have 1➔3 S plus /-:na/.  

2➔3  
2➔3 S preceded by long vowel in most dialects and thus homophonous with the Future. Socca uses 2➔3 S instead. Jopoqueri has 2➔3 S preceded by plain vowel. Ebbing (1965) attested 2➔3 S preceded by /n/.  

3➔3  
/:-na/, all dialects.  

4➔3  
La Paz and Socca have 4➔3 S preceded by long vowel. Jopoqueri and Morocomarca have forms homophonous with their 4➔3 D-2 /sa/ forms, except that the Morocomarca allomorph loses its final vowel. Ross (1963) and Ebbing (1965) attested 4➔3 S preceded by either /-n-/ alone or /:-n-/.

1➔2  
La Paz, Socca, and Huancané have 1➔2 S preceded by long vowel. Jopoqueri and Morocomarca have forms homophonous with their 2➔3 D-2 /sa/ forms.
3+2 La Paz and Socca have 3+2 S preceded by long vowel. Jopoqueri and Morocomarca have 3+2 S plus /-:na/.

2+1 Not attested for Compi, Tiahuanaco, and San Andrés de Machaca. Jopoqueri has 2+1 S plus /-n/ without preceding vowel length. Morocomarca has a form homophonous with its 2+1 F. Ebbing attested +/-itanta/, not homophonous with his 2+1 F, +/-itata/.

3+1 /-ita(:)n(a)/ everywhere. Ebbing attests forms alternating vowel /a/ and /u/.

3+4 /-ista(:)n(a)/ everywhere except Juli and Socca, which have /-sita:na/. Juli also has the usual compound forms. Jopoqueri's /-istan/ is homophonous with its 2+1. Ebbing attested forms alternating vowel /a/ and /u/.

6-3.35.11.2 Forms with /-ya-/  

1+3 /-ya-/ plus vowel length plus 1+3 S occurred in La Paz, Juli, Jopoqueri, and Salinas.

2+3 /-ya-/ plus vowel length plus 2+3 S occurred in La Paz, Juli, and Jopoqueri.

3+3 /-ya:na/ occurred only in Jopoqueri.

4+3 /-ya-/ plus vowel length plus 4+3 S occurred in La Paz, Juli, and Jopoqueri.

1+2 /-ya-/ plus vowel length plus 1+2 S occurred in La Paz, Juli, and Jopoqueri.
3→2 /-ya-/ plus vowel length plus 3→2 S occurred in La Paz, Juli, and Jopoqueri. Ebbing attested /-ya-/ plus 3→2 S.

2→1 /-ya-/ plus vowel length plus 2→1 S, Jopoqueri; forms with medial /-ya-/ , apparently based on 2→1 S, in La Paz, Juli, and Socca. Ebbing alleged another similar form.

3→1 /-y-/ plus 3→1 S, Juli and Socca; /-y-/ plus vowel length plus 3→1 S, Jopoqueri.

3→4 /y/ plus vowel length plus 3→4 S, Jopoqueri.

6→3.35.12 Dialectal patterning

Although final analysis must await the elicitation of full paradigms for Huancané, Calacoa, Sitajara, and Salinas, the following summary statement may be made at this time. The dialect with the greatest number of /-ya-/ forms is Jopoqueri, which also has a full paradigm of non-/ya-/ forms. Spoken La Paz dialects investigated in this research have /-ya-/ forms for all but 3→3, 3→1, and 3→4 and non-/ya-/ forms for all but 2→1; but a non-/ya-/ 2→1 form was alleged by Ebbing. One /-ya-/ form occurred for Salinas 1→3, but none for Morocomarca, which has a full paradigm of non-/ya-/ forms. It is interesting to note that Bertonio (1603b) attested only forms without /ya-/ in this tense.
6-3.35.2 Remote indirect knowledge tense (RIK)

Spanish used to elicit: Tú le habías dado.
'You gave it to him!'
(surprisal)

6-3.35.21 Structure and distribution (see Figure 6-8)

Suffixes with 3p or 2p complements are formed on the base of /-ta:-/ or /-tay-/ recurrent partial marker of remote indirect knowledge plus the corresponding Simple tense suffix. Person/tense suffixes with 1p and 4p complements have some allomorphs formed by the same rule as the above, but also have allomorphs (those that begin with the vowel /i/) that are reduplicative or formed in more complex ways.

The most varied suffix in this tense is 3+3, commonly used in stories and as a surprisal. Although /-tayna/ occurs in all dialects except Morocomarca, other allomorphs also occur. /-taña/, probably a metathesis of /-tayna/, occurs in La Paz and Calacoa. /-ta:na/ occurs in La Paz. The form /-tawi/ alternates with /-tana/ in Morocomarca and Calacala. For some speakers the /w/ of /-tawi/ is somewhat unrounded, approximating /y/. /-tay(i)/ occurs in Sitajara, Jopoqueri, and Salinas. Tschopik (1948) attested +/-tawna/ in stories recorded in 1940-42 in Chucuito, near Juli and Socca. The variants cited by Bertonio (1603b) are +/-tawina/ and +/-tawi/.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>La Paz</th>
<th>Bertoni 1603b</th>
<th>Juli</th>
<th>Socco</th>
<th>Huancané</th>
<th>Calacoa</th>
<th>Sitajara</th>
<th>Jopoquerí</th>
<th>Salinas</th>
<th>Morocomaera</th>
</tr>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>+tawl</td>
<td>-tayna -tayna -tayna</td>
<td>-tayna -tayna -tayna</td>
<td>-tayna -tayna -tayna</td>
<td>-tayna -tayna -tayna</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Figure 6-8. Aymara Remote Indirect Knowledge Tense (RIK)
Notes to Figure 6-8

1 Tarata, Tacna, Peru.
2 Occurred after -iri.
3 Only 4+3 S could be elicited here; */-taytana/ was rejected.
4 Ebbing (1965:147).
5 Occurred in an account by an older speaker.
6 Occurred in paradigm given by a young speaker.
In certain texts from Huancané, Jopoqueri, and Salinas, there occur instances of /-ta/ where other dialects would use 3→3 RIK. This /-ta/ is probably best analyzed as the resultant nominalizer -ta, used instead of a verb inflection (see 7-4.21.3). Examples:

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{Jani ut.j.ka.ta.t uka.t sar.xa.ta.} \\
\text{no exist so leave}
\end{align*}
\]

'There being none, he left.' (Huancané)

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{Manq'.xa.ta.wa.} \\
\text{eat}
\end{align*}
\]

'They have eaten.' (Huancané)

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{Sawu.p ap.ta.si.s sara.ta.} \\
\text{weaving carry go}
\end{align*}
\]

'Carrying her weaving, she left.' (Jopoqueri)

The following was said by another Huancané speaker who also used /-tayna/ in another instance:

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{Qamaqui.raki.s sar.k.xa.ta.xa:.} \\
\text{fox and go}
\end{align*}
\]

'And the fox was gone for good!'

If the /-ta/ in all these examples is in fact the resultant nominalizer used in place of verb inflection,
it suggests the following hypothetical derivations of RIK 3+3, determination of whose correctness must await further study.

\[-ta \text{ resultant } + \left[ */-ya-/ \right] \text{ verbalizer } \rightarrow \left[ */-taya-/ \right]
\[ */-wa-/ \left[ */-tawa-/ */-ta:-/ \right] \]

\[ */-taya-/ \left[ */-tawa-/ */-ta:-/ \right] + /-na/ \text{ remote } \rightarrow \left[ /-tayn\sim -tañ\alpha/ \right]
\[ /-tawn\alpha/ /-ta:na/ \]

\[ */-taya-/ \left[ */-tawa-/ */-ta:-/ \right] + -i 3+3 S \rightarrow \left[ /-tayi/ \right]
\[ /-tawi/ \]

\[ /-tawi/ + /-na/ \text{ remote } \rightarrow /-tawina/ \]

Neither */-ya-/ nor */-wa-/ has been attested as a verbalizer in modern Aymara, but they may be postulated as underlying forms on the basis of the existence of */-wa-/ verbalizer in Jaqaru (Hardman 1966:109) and the */-wa-/ attested by Bertonio as a variant of the causative verbal derivational suffix whose other allomorphs, */-ya-/ and */-:-/, exist today. The alternation of */-ya-/ and */-:-/ in numerous other morphemes across and within dialects is also common (see 3-4.31).

In some dialects RIK 3+3 forms occur after /-iri/ nominalizer in stories (see 6-3.37). For a further discussion of the use of 3+3 RIK, see 9-6.13.
6-3.35.22 Dialectal patterning

Leaving aside the 3\rightarrow3 allomorph /-tayna/, which all dialects except Morocomarca attest, two main dialect groups may be identified for this tense: dialects having forms based on /-tay-/ (Juli, Socca, Sitajara, and probably Calacoa, for which a paradigm was not obtained) and dialects with forms based on /-ta:/ (all the rest).

6-3.36 Compound tenses

Paradigms for La Paz for these tenses were given by Hardman et al. (1975:3.222-23). For the present study they were not elicited in paradigms but did occur in texts. They consist of -chi Non-Involver or -pacha Inferential followed by tense inflection, except in the case of 3\rightarrow3 S forms which consist of -chi or -pacha alone.

6-3.36.1 -chi Non-Involver

This suffix enters into compounds with the Simple, Future, Desiderative, Remonstrative, and Remote tenses.

6-3.36.11 Morphophonemics

-chi requires a preceding consonant. Its vowel drops if the following suffix requires a preceding
consonant. If a cluster of /ch/ plus consonant occurs, /ch/ reduces to /s/ (see 4-3.22.25.2).

6-3.36.12 Structure and distribution

When it occurs with D-2 /iri/ forms, -chi separates the /iri/ plus contrary-to-fact mark from the rest of the inflection. Examples of this have been found in La Paz, Jopoqueri, and Tarata, Peru (near Sitajara).

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>La Paz</th>
<th>Jopoqueri</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1➔3 /-iriskchi:ta/</td>
<td>/-irijchi:ta/ (also Tarata)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3➔3 (not elicited)</td>
<td>/-irijchi:na/</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1➔2 /-iriskchisama:na/</td>
<td>/-irijssma:n/</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3➔1 (not elicited)</td>
<td>/-irijchita:na/</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3➔4 (not elicited)</td>
<td>/-irijchista:na/</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

In Juli, as indicated earlier, all tenses have 3➔4 forms frozen to a preceding /-chi-/ or /-schi-/.
Those frozen to /-chi-/ are homophonous with the Non-involver 3➔4 forms (except in the case of the Imperative, with which the Non-involver does not occur).

6-3.36.13 Semantics

Bertonio (1603b:276) called this suffix a conditional or dubitative. He noted that the Aymara tended
to use it when repeating back an order which they had been given—an interesting illustration of the semantics of this suffix, conveying non-involvement of the speaker. The non-involvement usually implies lack of control over a situation or outcome rather than unwillingness or doubt as to its desirability, but forms with this suffix have often been misinterpreted in translation.

-\textit{chi} is very common in all Aymara dialects and is used extensively in conversation. Examples:

3➔3 S: \textit{Wali kus jach' marka.chi.y.} \textit{very beautiful big country}

'It must be a very beautiful big country.' (Sitajara)

1➔3 S: \textit{Wijita.x.s.t.xa.y.} 'I'm an old lady already.' (Corque)

< \textit{Spanish viejita} 'little old lady'

2➔3 F: \textit{Inas jan sar.k.chi.:ta.ti.} \textit{perhaps no go}

'Perhaps you will not go.' (La Paz/Tiahuanaco)

6-3.36.14 Dialectal patterning

Certain dialects use \textit{-chi} not only as indicated above, but also as a narrative device in stories.
Contemporary dialects that do this are Juli, Socca, and Huancané; Tschopik (1948) reported it for Chucuito, and Bertonio (1603b:276) used it to translate a passage about the death of St. Stephen by stoning.

6-3.36.2 -pacha Inferential

According to Hardman et al. (1975:3), this suffix occurs with the Simple, Future, and Remote tenses. It is mentioned here only to complete the list of tenses, as it occurred but rarely in this research.

-pacha requires a preceding consonant. Its final vowel drops if the following suffix requires a preceding consonant.

As indicated in 6-2.26, the combination of the derivational -ka- ~ -ja- incompletive with -pacha means 'instead of' in La Paz/Tiahuanaco and was cited with this meaning by Ebbing (1965), but it does not necessarily have this meaning elsewhere.

-pacha occurred with the 2➔3 Imperative in Calacoa and Juli, in forms which are rather rude.

\[\text{Am.pacha.m.} \quad 'Shut up!' \quad (Calacoa)\]

\[\text{Am.pacha.p.x.ma} \quad 'You (pl.) shut up!' \quad (Juli)\]

\[\ast \text{amu.ña} \quad 'to shut up' \quad \text{(unattested)}\]

\[\text{amuki.ña} \quad 'to shut up' \quad (La Paz)\]
6-3.37 Combinations with -iri nominalizer

6-3.37.1 With -:- verbalization--Customary

The combination of -iri nominalizer (see 7-4.21.1) plus -:- verbalization plus verb inflection means to be accustomed to do an action. Such combinations are to be distinguished from the /iri/ forms of D-1 and D-2.

Customary: chur.iri:.sma

\[
\text{1} \rightarrow \text{2} \quad \text{S}
\]

'I usually give to you'

D-1: chur.irisma

\[
\text{1} \rightarrow \text{2}
\]

'I may give to you'

Examples with the Remote tenses are the following:

3+1 RDK: Kap"iyaspirina.x nayra.x t'aku.y.iri:.ita:n.

\[
\text{before ease pain}
\]

'Cafeaspirina used to ease my pain before.' (Compi)

2+3 RDK: Pata.tug sar.iri:.ya:ta.ti?

\[
pampa \quad \text{go}
\]

'Did you use to go around the pampa?' (Hardman et al. 1975:1.422)

6-3.37.2 Without verbalization, with 3+3 RIK--Narrative

-iri plus 3+3 RIK without intervening verbalization is used in Juli, Socca, Chucuito (Tschopik 1948),
and Calacoa in telling stories. These dialects also use the 3→3 RIK without -iri in stories but seem to prefer forms with -iri. In view of the absence of verbalization it would probably be better to view the combinations as synchronically unitary, as in the case of D-1 and D-2 /iri/ forms. Examples:

sar.x.iritayna.x  'he left' (Juli)

jisk.t'.iritayn  'she asked' (Sacca)

+sar.x.iritawna  'he went' (Chucuito)

g'ip.kata.w.j.iritan  'he had carried her' (Calacoa)

A case of -iri apparently frozen to a verb root is the following from Calacoa. The verb is sa.ña, which is highly irregular in all its inflected forms (see 6-4).

Sir.sma.w.  'I said to you.' /-sma/ 1→2 S

Jani.w  sir.k.sma.ti.  'I didn't say to you.'

Note that in the second example the verbal derivational suffix /-ka-/ incompletive intervenes between /iri/ and the inflection, whereas in the previous examples of /iri/ plus 3→3 RIK the verbal derivationals preceded /iri/ on the stem.
The Verb **saña** 'to say'

This verb is of extremely frequent occurrence in Aymara as a reportive and subordinator. Embedding with **saña** is discussed in 7-4.4.

Variation in inflected forms of **saña** is extensive. This is due to its unusual canonical shape, and the different morphophonemic rules operating upon it in different dialects. As indicated earlier, **saña** is the only verb in contemporary Aymara with only one unlengthened root vowel.28 (The verb *ma-* survives today only frozen in longer stems like **ma.nta.na** 'to go in', and the verb **pa:.ña** 'to cook', used in Sitajara, has a long root vowel.)

Actually, as indicated in 4-3.13, it is probably best to postulate the underlying form of **saña** as **jisá-**, which loses its initial **CV** obligatorily before the nominalizer suffix **-ña** and optionally in other circumstances that vary dialectically. In many dialects, the reduced root occurs before suffixes that require a preceding consonant, creating an initial **/sC/** cluster. This occurs, for example, with Simple tense inflections.

In La Paz and Huancané such initial clusters are commonly, though not invariably, avoided by retention of **/si/** or **/ji/** on the verb root. In Socca, initial
/si/ or /ji/ is usually deleted; according to two speakers in their twenties, forms with initial /ji/ or /si/ sound overly emphatic and old-fashioned, 'the way old people talk'. The one form that usually has a preposed /si/ or /ji/ in Socca is 3➔4 S. Huancané has /ji/ on 1➔3 S and /j/ alone, optionally, on 2➔3 S; /ji/ occurs optionally on 3➔3 RIK also, as in (ji)s.xa.tayn, but is required before -chi NI. Bertonio attests forms with optional initial /i/ (but no /j/ or reduplicated /s/).

Like La Paz and Huancané, Jopoquerí usually avoids initial clusters in sa.ña, but does so not by retaining /si/ or /ji/ but by reduplicating the root vowel and retaining the length before consonant-requiring suffixes beginning with a consonant, e. g. 1➔3 S sa:.t"a 'I said'. In Sitajara, where initial clusters in sa.ña are more usual, the root vowel of the verb may also sometimes be lengthened. (Vowel length retention, rather than vowel reduplication, occurs in Sitajara in certain other verb roots whose vowel length is analogous to the phoneme sequence /ya/; see 4-3.22.15).

Lengthening of the root vowel of sa.ña results in certain forms for the Simple tense which are homophonous with RDK in certain persons, namely 1➔3, 2➔3, 4➔3, 1➔2, and 3➔2. When there is a verbal derivational suffix in the stem, however, it is clear that the length goes with the root, not the inflection. Examples:
1→3 S: `sa::t"a' 'I said to him/her/them'

1→3 RDK: `sa::t"a' 'I said to him/her/them' (Sitajara, Jopoqueri)

1→3 S with /-ja-/ incompletive: Jani.w sa::j.t.ti.

'I didn't say to him/her/them.' (Jopoqueri)

In the third example above, it is clear that the vowel length goes with the verb root before the derivational suffix /-ja-/ (which usually takes a preceding consonant). If the vowel length went with the tense, it would go between the /j/ and the /t/. 1→3 F with /-ja-/ also has vowel length on the verb root.

Another dialect that avoids initial consonant clusters with `sa.ña' is Calacoa. Like Jopoqueri, Calacoa does not prepose /si/ or /ji/, but unlike Jopoqueri, it does not lengthen the root vowel. Instead, Calacoa forms occur with the root `sa-' followed by verbal derivational or the initial /s/ followed by -iri, when there would otherwise be an initial cluster.

Only the Simple and Future tenses were formally elicited for this verb, but many examples of other tenses occurred in texts.

6-4.1 `sa.ña' with Simple tense (see Figure 6-9)

Some comments about Simple forms have already been made above. In La Paz and Juli the alternation of
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<tr>
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<th>Calacoa</th>
<th>Sitajara</th>
<th>Jopoquerí</th>
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<td>s.t&quot;a</td>
<td>s.t&quot;a</td>
<td>s.t&quot;a</td>
<td>s.t&quot;a</td>
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<td></td>
<td>J</td>
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<td></td>
<td>+s.1rl.t&quot;a</td>
<td>sa.t&quot;a</td>
<td>sa.t&quot;a</td>
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<td>*(ssits)*a</td>
<td>s</td>
<td>-l.s.ta</td>
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</table>

Figure 6-9. saña with Simple Tense
/s/ ~ /j/ occurs in the root consonant in 2→1, and in Socca and Huancané, in 3→4. Forms elicited paradigmatically for Calacoa all had the continuative /-s.ka-/ followed by the independent suffix /-puni/ 'really', or else were built on -iri (see 6-3.37). 1→3 with -iri was also attested by Bertonio. The continuative is common with sa.ña in other dialects, namely Sitajara, Salinas, and Morocomarca. The independent /-pini/ 'really' and the independent -ki 'just' occur in Morocomarca 2→1 S. An epenthetic vowel /u/ occurs in Morocomarca 1→3 before the sentence suffix -wa: s.t".u.wa 'I said'. The Morocomarca forms having variants with /-s.ka-/ are anomalous in that /-ka-/ keeps its final vowel before consonant-requiring suffixes. Such forms are probably instances of RDK rather than Simple tense, although forms different from some of those in the regular RDK paradigm occurred.

Juli forms for 3→4 contain a zero allomorph of the root sa-, apparently by assimilation of the initial /s/ to the /ch/ or /sch/ of the 3→4 inflection.

As with all Aymara verbs, the proper use of sa.ña requires facility in manipulating verbal derivational and independent suffixes. The following forms built on 3→3 S occurred frequently in this research and all gloss 'he/she/they said', with different degrees of personal knowledge not pertinent to this discussion:
s.i.lla (Sitajara) sa.wiy.wa (Morocomarca)

s.i.pi.lla (Sitajara) sa.k.i.lla (Salinas)

s.x.i.wa (Salinas) sa.s.ka.rak.i (Corque)

s.i.wa (all dialects) sa.s.ka.pun.i (Calacoa)

6-4.2 sa.ña with Future tense (see Figure 6-10)

Future forms for sa.ña were elicited for all dialects except Morocomarca and Calacala. The La Paz forms shown are from San Andrés de Machaca. In La Paz, Juli, and Socca, 4+3 Future with sa.ña has vowel length in the inflection, which it does not usually have with other verbs. A variant of 3+4 with a three-consonant initial cluster occurred in Socca: s.t'.sitani, with the verbal derivational suffix -t'a-. For La Paz speakers it is a tongue-twister, the corresponding La Paz variant being ji.s.t.'istani.

The form that occurred for 3+2 F in Jopoqueri, /sa.mpa/, contains the allomorph /-mpa/ that occurred earlier as the 3+2 Imperative in that dialect. Further checking will be required to see if the form /-mpa/ is shared by both the Imperative and Future tenses.

The Calacoa paradigm has the distinctive verbal derivational suffix -wja- which accompanies most tenses in that dialect. Most of the Sitajara forms
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<tr>
<td>3-2</td>
<td>sa.:tam</td>
<td>sa.:tam</td>
<td>sa.:tam</td>
<td>sa.w.ja.tma</td>
<td>*sa.nhata:ma1</td>
<td>sa.mpa</td>
<td>sa.nma</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2-1</td>
<td>s.ita:ta</td>
<td>s.ita:ta</td>
<td>s.ita:ta</td>
<td>s.ita:ta</td>
<td>s.itanhata</td>
<td>s.itanta</td>
<td>[s.itanda]</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3-1</td>
<td>s.itani</td>
<td>s.itani</td>
<td>s.itani</td>
<td>sa.w.j.itani</td>
<td>s.itani</td>
<td>s.itani</td>
<td>s.itani</td>
<td>s.itani</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3-4</td>
<td>s.istani</td>
<td>s.istani</td>
<td>s.istani</td>
<td>sa.w.j.istani</td>
<td>s.istani</td>
<td>sa.wa.istani</td>
<td>s.istani</td>
<td>s.istani</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

1 Not elicited, but fits pattern.

Figure 6-10. sa.na with Future Tense
occurred with the combination /-ni.wa-/_. (Of course, it is quite possible that the combinations of derivational suffixes that occurred in essentially artificial elicited paradigms might not necessarily occur so often in free texts.)

Negative forms with the Future were elicited only for Jopoqueri and Salinas. A preposed jani.w 'no, not' and the final suffix _-ti_ negative occurred with these. In Jopoqueri and Salinas negatives occur with and without incompletive or completive suffixes, according to rules as yet imperfectly understood; see 7-4.5.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Jopoqueri</th>
<th>Salinas</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1→3 /sa:.ja.nh.ti/</td>
<td>/s.ka:.tii/</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2→3 /sa.nta.ti/</td>
<td>[sa.nda.ti]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3→3 /sa.ni.ti/</td>
<td>/sa.ni.ti/</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4→3 /sa.ñani.ti/</td>
<td>/s.ka.ñani.ti ~</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>sa:.tani.ti/</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1→2 /sa:.ja:.ma.ti/</td>
<td>/s.ka:.ma.ti/</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3→2 /sa:.ja.mpa.ti/</td>
<td>/s.ka.nma.ti/</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2→1 /s.itanta.ti/</td>
<td>[s.itanda.ti]</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
6-4.3 *sa.ña* with other tenses

The only complete paradigm of *sa.ña* with the Imperative was obtained for Juli.

1→3  /sa.xa - sa.ja.xa/

2→3  /sa.m/

3→3  /s.pana/

4→3  /sa.ña.ni/

1→2  /sa.mama/

3→2  /s.pana/

2→1  /s.ita:ta/ (Future)

3→1  /s.itpa(na)/

3→4  /si.s.chistpana/

2→3 /sa.m/ is very common in all dialects, even those in which initial clusters are common, probably to avoid confusion with 1→2 S /s.sma/. In the following examples from Socca the source's comments, if any, are shown in parentheses:
Sa.mall. 'Say it.' ('not so imperative')

Sa.w.mall. 'Tell him on your way.'

Sa.w.x.mall. 'Tell him right this minute!' (peremptory)

In Sitajara 2+1 Imperative occurred instead of the Future form given in Juli: /s.ita/ 'tell me'.

The following example of saña with the Desiderative occurred in Calacoa:

/sa.ni.p.xa.sma.lla/ 'You (pl.) should say . . .' 2+3

The following examples of saña with Remote tenses occurred in Huancané:

3→1 RDK /sa.rak.ita:n.s/ '. . . and he said to me . . .' 3→3 RIK /ji.s.xa.tayn/ 'he said' (narrative)

Other forms commonly used in stories are given in 7-4.4.

6-4.4 Dialectal patterning

As has been said, inflected forms of saña display considerable variation. Dialects tending to avoid initial consonant clusters are La Paz, Huancané, Jopoqueri, and Calacoa, but each of these uses different recourses for avoiding them.
There is some semantic variation as well. In Sitajara sa.ña 3+1 and 3+4 S forms have fallen together as /s.itu/, with loss of the 3+4 form, and sa.ña 1+3 and 4+3 F forms have fallen together as sa.ni.wa.nha, with loss of the 4+3 form. In Socca the sa.ña 3+1 and 3+4 F forms /-sitani/ and /s.sitani/ are in process of falling together.

6-5 Summary and Conclusions
6-5.1 Types of variation in the verb system

As in the case of the noun system, variation in the verb system may be divided into internal and external. External variation involves the entry of Spanish verbs into Aymara, a continuing process. In certain areas Spanish loans have apparently replaced native roots still in use elsewhere. Examples of these are given in 8-3.21.

Internal variation in the verb system is summarized in the following sections.

6-5.11 Variation in verb roots and stems

Internal variation in verb roots is slight and may be divided into two types: phonological (variation in the shape of the root) and semantic (where a given root has different meanings in different dialects or
exists only in some and not in others). Examples of phonological variation in verb roots were given in Chapter 3. Semantic variation in verb roots is discussed in 8-3.21.

Variation in verb stems depends on the suffixes occurring in them.

6-5.12 Verb suffixes

Verb suffixes display phonological and semantic differences across dialects. Variation in verbal derivational suffixes is relatively slight; that in verbal inflectional suffixes is more extensive.

6-5.12.1 Derivational suffixes

Six of the Class 1 suffixes have variable phonological shapes involving alternations of /ya/ ~ /:/, vowels, stops and continuants, and plain and aspirated stops. The two Class 1 suffixes beginning with /nV/ (-nuqa- ~ -nugu- and -naka-) have variable morphophonemics with respect to preceding vowel or consonant. Another Class 1 suffix beginning with /n/, -nta-, is affected by obligatory stop-voicing in Salinas (see 4-3.21.33).

Variation in Class 2 suffixes involves different shapes for four, with alternations of /ya/ and /:/, vowels, and stops and nonstops. A morphophonemic
rule in Salinas reduces the /k/ of /-ka-/ incomplete to /j/ in certain environments (see 4-3.22.23). Certain dialects usually have the incomplete (or less often, the complete) suffix in negative expressions, while other dialects do not (see 7-4.5). With respect to inventory and meaning, Calacoa alone has the apparently unitary suffix -wja-.

No formal attempt was made in this research to determine whether all verbal derivational suffixes occur in all dialects or whether those that occur have the same or different meanings. However, it appears that the meanings of Class 2 suffixes are usually predictable, while the meanings of Class 1 suffixes vary according to the root, stem, or theme they occur on. Sometimes a stem containing the same root and derivational suffix(es) was found to gloss differently in one dialect than in another. Additional examples of such stems will be found in 8-3.2, but a more thorough determination of regional variation in this respect will require more research.

6-5.12.2 Inflectional suffixes

Most variation in verbal inflectional suffixes is in phonological shape attributable to instability of vowels and nonstop consonants and to a lesser extent, of stops; the latter also vary in presence or absence of
aspiration. Other variations in phonological shape are attributable to different processes of morphological change with preservation or loss of different (now submorphemic) recurrent partials. In two tenses, D-1 and D-2, extensive variation results from the apparent falling-together of two separate paradigms in each tense. Still other variations in shape are due to processes of analogy at work within a dialect, resulting in symmetrical variation across all its tenses. The most striking instance of this is the shape of 3+4 suffixes in all tenses elicited for Juli. All have allomorphs frozen to the NI suffix -chi and thus homophonous, in that person/tense, with NI compound verb forms.

Not only is there variation in shape across dialects; there is considerable variation in allomorphs within dialects, and a larger sample of speakers would probably turn up more forms. While most Aymara speakers have a receptive competence in inflectional variants they do not use themselves, recognizing them as the way some people talk, not all variants are equally acceptable. What belongs in one tense in one dialect may belong in a different tense in another. For example, speakers who have only /-ñani/ for 4→3 F reject the use of /-tana/ for it, saying it means a past action, not future. There are also some overlaps of person and tense, a given suffix being used for a certain subject,
complement, and tense in one dialect and for a different subject, complement, and tense in another dialect (see 8-3.22 for examples).

In some dialects, in some tenses, person/tense suffixes involving lp and 4p have fallen together or are in process of doing so, but this does not appear to be a very widespread phenomenon (see 8-2.1).

The most complex and variable person/tense suffixes in all tenses are 1+2, 3+2, and 2+1. The 3+3 suffixes are almost invariable except that D-1, D-2, and RIK have complex allomorphs.

In contrast to the variety of their shapes, the morphophonemics of verbal inflectional suffixes are remarkably uniform across dialects. The only differences noted so far are in the 1+3 Simple suffix, which keeps its final vowel before succeeding suffixes in Calacoa but loses it in other dialects; and in the morphophonemics of the 2+3 I suffix, which in some dialects vary according to whether the verb is used in the affirmative or the negative.

6-5.2 Dialectal patterning

Certain dialect groups emerge on the basis of phonological, morphophonemic, and morphological variation in the verb system, especially in verbal inflectional suffixes. As in the case of the noun system, there is considerable isoglossic overlapping.
6-5.21 Dialects near Lake Titicaca (northern group)

La Paz, Juli, Socca, Huancané:

6-5.21.1 Retention of /si/ or /ji/ on saña

6-5.21.2 Initial velar or postvelar fricatives in 1→3 F

6-5.21.3 Preponderance of /sa/ forms in D-1 and D-2, and of /iri/ forms with /k(s)/ or /s(k)/ in those tenses

6-5.21.4 Negative usually accompanied by /-ka-/ incom­plete or /-xa-/ complete on verb

The following subgroups in the northern group may be identified on the basis of the features indicated.

Juli, Socca, Huancané:

6-5.21.5 /-wa-/ allomorph of distancer (verbal derivational suffix)

6-5.21.6 -chi NI plus 3+3 S in stories

Juli, Socca:

6-5.21.7 -iri plus 3→3 RIK in stories

6-5.21.8 RIK forms based on /-tay-/ rather than /-ta:-/

La Paz, Huancané:

6-5.21.9 In general, lack of aspiration where other dialects have it in verbal inflectional suf­fixes
6-5.22 Dialects farther from Lake Titicaca (southern group)

Jopoqueri, Salinas, Morocomarca (and/or Calacala):

6-5.22.1 /-wi/ ~ /-wiya-/ allomorph of distancer

6-5.22.2 /-ja-/ allomorph of incompletive, either as the sole allomorph or alternating with /-ka-/ or as the result of a morphophonemic rule operating on /-ka-/.

6-5.22.3 Negative usually not accompanied by presence of incomplete or completive suffix(es)

The following subgroups in the southern group may be identified on the basis of the features indicated.

Jopoqueri, Salinas:

6-5.22.4 Initial or medial alveolar, palatal, or velar nasals in four Future suffixes: 1→3, 2→3, 3→2, and 2→1

6-5.22.5 Suffixes of the D-1 and D-2 tenses identical or very similar in both dialects, with a preponderance of /iri/ over /sa/ forms in those tenses

Salinas, Morocomarca, Calacala:

6-5.22.6 4→3 Future /-v\tan(a)/ ~ /-:tan/ ~ /-:tna/

6-5.23 Dialects sharing features of both groups

Calacoa, Sitajara:

These two dialects have several features in common with the northern group and one each in common
with the southern group, but only three features in common with each other. One of the latter is shared with Morocomarca alone of the southern group:

6-5.23.1 Occurrence of plural -p- without a following incompletive or completive suffix.

Below are listed the features that Calacoa and Sitajara share with the northern and southern groups.

Calacoa:

6-5.21.3 (northern group)
6-5.21.4 (northern group)
6-5.21.5 (northern group)
6-5.22.6 (southern group)

Sitajara:

6-5.21.4 (northern group)
6-5.21.5 (northern group)
6-5.21.8 (northern group)
6-5.22.4 (southern group)

As may be seen, Calacoa and Sitajara share 6-5.21.4 and 6-5.21.5 in addition to 6-5.23.1.
6-5.24 Dialects sharing features across regional lines

Two dialects that belong respectively to the northern and southern groups have one feature each of the opposite group. These are Huancané (in the north) and Morocomarca (in the south). Huancané shares the feature 6-5.22.4 with Sitajara and with Jopoqueri and Salinas of the southern group, except that in Huancané the 1→3 F suffix has no nasal. Morocomarca shares the feature 6-5.21.3 with Calacoa and with the northern group. It may also be noted that Calacoa and Morocomarca have similar unusual forms for 4→3 S not found elsewhere: Calacoa /-v*sna/ and Morocomarca /-sna/.

The morphophonemics of the 2→3 Imperative suffix also may be cited as an example of a feature cutting across regional lines. Socca, Huancané, and Juli in the northern group and Morocomarca in the southern group have a rule whereby the 2→3 I suffix requires a preceding vowel after the suffix -ka- incompleteive but otherwise takes a preceding consonant. This rule has not been found elsewhere.
Notes

1 These suffixes were not considered verbal derivational by England.

2 The suffix -paya- has been added to the 21 listed by England, who identified 10 verbal derivational suffixes as verbalizing noun roots only. The three additional verbalizers now identified are -su-, -ta-, and -kipa-. Verbal derivational suffixes that can verbalize certain noun stems as well as roots are -cha-, -tapi-, and -t'a-. -cha- also verbalizes noun themes ending in -ña.

3 Citation forms of verb roots and stems are not given with -ña in Bertonio's grammars, but rather with i->3 Simple tense. Verbs from Bertonio will here be cited by stem alone.

4 In this stem the three-vowel rule operates to cause the three-vowel stem uta.cha- to lose its final vowel before -kipa-.

5 The three-vowel rule operates on this and the next two examples built on ali.si-, a stem with -si- frozen to the root (see 6-2.19.1 and 6-2.21, below).

6 Again, the three-vowel rule causes the final vowel of k’umara to drop before -tata-, as it also does in the case of aru.s.tata.ña.

7 The /-xa-/ in this stem is believed to be an instance of the Class 2 completive suffix frozen to the root (see 6-2.25.2).

8 The present treatment of -si- differs from England's.

9 Some verbs with -si- take complements which must be marked with the noun suffix -mpi~-nti. (See my earlier treatment in Hardman et al. 1975:3.323).
In dialects studied, -si- does not occur before the incompletive in negative expressions, e. g.

*Jani.w aka.n.ka.s.k.i.ti.

Rather, the following occur:

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{Jani.w aka.n.k.k.i.ti.} \\
\text{no} \\
\text{3➔3} \\
\text{S} \\
\text{Jani.w aka.n.k.j.i.ti.}
\end{align*}
\]

'He is not here.'

Some verbs with -ya- require that the agentive complement (the someone who is caused to do something) be marked with the noun complement suffix -ru; others mark the agent with the noun complement suffix -mpi - -nti.

If the beneficiary complement is expressed by a noun in the sentence, it is marked by the suffix -taki; see 5-3.31.5.

The victimary complement may be expressed in the sentence by a possessive noun phrase, or the possession alone may be indicated.

In order to determine the vowel of the suffix -p-, it will be necessary to elicit forms that require a preceding vowel, for example the Remote or Future.

/sj/ reduces to [ʃ] in Salinas; see 4-3.22.24.

Another form which lends itself to analysis as -cha- alternative question plus *ja root is

\[+\text{Jani.ch.ja.w.} \text{ 'I don't think so.' (Ebbing 1965:209)}\]

In this -ch.ja- occurs on the particle jani 'no'.

The basic analysis of Aymara verbal inflectional suffixes, for the dialects of Compi and Tiahuanaco, is in Hardman et al. (1975:3.209-245).
Verbal inflectional suffixes with 3p complements (1→3, 2→3, 3→3, and 4→3) may have no expressed complement in translation, e.g.

\[ \text{chur.i} \quad \text{he/she gave (something to someone)} \]

\[ 3 \rightarrow 3 \]

For an explanation of what are meant by D-1 and D-2 /sa/ forms and /iri/ forms, see 6-3.34.

Hardman (Hardman et al. 1975:3.233) has pointed out that contemporary 2→1 forms represent a falling-together of earlier 2→1 and 2→4 forms. Semantically 2→4 has now fallen out, but some contemporary 2→1 forms have a formal vestige of the 4p complement in an /s/ that recurs intermittently in different tenses. It also recurs in the 1→2 S suffix -sma (see also Hardman 1975).

As indicated in note 20, the /s/ in 1→2 Simple -sma is a vestige of the 4p marker.

When 1→3 F /-:/ is followed by -xa sentence suffix, the resulting combination /-:xa/ is indistinguishable from one of the other voiceless fricative allomorphs of 1→3 F, /-:-xa/. The latter may be followed by the sentence suffix -wa, as in the following examples from Compì:

\[ \text{Sara.:xa.w.} \quad \text{I'm going to go.} \]

\[ \text{Chura.:xa.w.} \quad \text{(Now that you ask) I will give it to him.} \]

However, -xa sentence suffix does not occur after /-:-xa/ 1→3 F; *chura.:xa.xa is rejected. We are left with a possible ambiguity in such forms as chura:xa, which may be analyzed as either chura.:xa or chura.:xa. So far, no predictable difference in meaning has been discovered that would facilitate determining which is occurring.

An example of 1→3 F with palatal glide, for La Paz and Socca, is

\[ \text{Aka.n.ka.s.ka.ya:.wa.} \quad \text{I will be here.} \]
Yapita (La Paz/Compi) indicates that 3+1 or 3+4 may sometimes occur with final vowel and sentence suffix other than -wa, which implies that the syntactic conditioning here discussed needs further investigation in La Paz as well as elsewhere. Of course, where the suffix is a form peculiar to the Imperative (for example 3+1 and 3+4 for La Paz and most other places), the presence or absence of vowel or sentence suffix is irrelevant for identifying the tense. It is only in the case of forms homophonous with the Future that the syntactic mark may be significant.

D-1 and D-2 based on -iri are to be distinguished from sequences of -iri plus -:- verbalizer plus inflection (see 6-3.37).

apaña 'to carry' has in contemporary La Paz Aymara the derived meaning 'person of the same age, contemporary'; see 2-2.

1+2 D-1 has not yet been elicited for Huancané, but the form */-sna/ fits the pattern for that tense and dialect.

A second one-vowel verb root discovered late in the research is ta- 'make a noise' (inanimate object). See Chapter 7, Note 73.

These forms have 1+3 /-:/ or /-ja:/ plus -xa sentence suffix.

According to Hardman (personal communication) -p- without a following incomplete or completive also occurs occasionally in La Paz, but I have yet to hear it myself.
CHAPTER 7
SYNTACTIC AND MORPHOSYNTACTIC VARIATION

7-1 Introduction

Morphosyntactic structures are morphemes belonging to neither the noun nor verb systems but operating at both the morphological and syntactic levels. They are (1) particles, and (2) syntactic suffixes. Particles are roots that take neither noun nor verb suffixes, although they may take syntactic suffixes. Syntactic suffixes, which occur on nouns, verbs, and particles, are subdivided into nonfinal (independent) and final (sentence) suffixes. Nonfinal suffixes occur on nouns, verbs, and particles before final suffixes. On nouns nonfinal suffixes occur after noun suffixes; on verbs they separate derivation from inflection. Final suffixes occur after all other suffixes, marking phrase and sentence boundaries. They define sentence types, conveying attenuation, absolute-ness, vouching for information, repetition of information known to the hearer, disclaiming of knowledge, and contingency; they mark yes/no questions, alternate questions, and information questions; they list in a series, link
sentences, and subordinate one part of a sentence to another. Their meanings are often lost in translation, however, which is why most Aymara grammars have dismissed them as ornamental.

Morphosyntactic processes in Aymara include reduplication; subordination by noun-phrase embedding, nominalization, or with sentence suffixes; use of the demonstrative uka 'that' as summarizer and sentence linker; sentence embedding with the reportive verb sa.ña 'to say'; and negation. In Aymara word order is fixed only within the noun phrase and in the placement of the summarizer uka after what is being summarized.

Syntactically-conditioned vowel retention and dropping rules were discussed in 4-3.31.

7-2 Particles and Syntactic Suffixes

7-2.1 Particles

Particles are roots that take neither noun nor verb suffixes. Some of them take nonfinal or final suffixes; others always occur unsuffixed. Some of the most common are listed below in alphabetical order. (Onomatopoeic particles are listed in Appendix B.)

ampi 'isn't that so?', 'no?' (tag question)

(Calacala, Jopoqueri; also Herrero 1971-72:228, for Omasuyos)
'You sell potatoes, don't you?'

ampi softener; 'please, then, so'

amp juta.ma.y 'please come, then' (La Paz/Compi)

ina.ki 'in vain' (Calacala)

inak'i 'in vain' (Salinas)

ina.ta.lla 'in vain' (Sitajara)

ina.y 'in vain' (Sitajara)

+ina.maya.ki 'needlessly, in vain' (Tschopik 1948:111,112)

jalla 'thus, like that' (all dialects)

Aka Istaru Uniru.n jall asiru.x ut.j.chi.x. United States steel exist NI

'There may be steel like that in the United States.' (Sitajara)

jina 'let's go' (all dialects)

ma:ji 'quickly' (Jopoqueri, Salinas, Morocomarca)

maki 'quickly' (Calacala; also reduplicated, mak.maki)

ma:ki 'quickly' (La Paz/Tiahuanaco)

mak'i 'quickly' (Calacoa)
A special class of particles consists of terms for affirmation and negation. The negative jani and its occurrences in negative phrases are discussed in 7-4.5. The affirmative jisa 'yes' occurs in all dialects also; sometimes either jani or jisa may lose its first syllable. In some dialects jisa usually occurs with the final suffix -lla ~ -ya. Examples:

jisa (La Paz, Juli, Huancané, Jopoqueri, Morocomarca)

jisa.ya (Morocomarca, Calacala)

sa.lla (Salinas)

sa.ya (La Paz, Calacala)
iyaw  'okay, yes'  (most dialects)

'you're welcome'  (Calacoa; thought by source to be a Quechua word)

Other affirmative particles are the following, both given by a source in Sitajara; the second is attributed to Candarave (also in the province of Tarata).

kuwat.xa  'yes'  (Sitajara)

ja:t.xa  'yes'  (attributed to Candarave by Sitajara speaker)

Interjections are a special kind of particle. They usually end in /w/ or /y/ (possibly the final suffixes -ya or -wa). These were not elicited for all dialects, so the following is probably an incomplete list.

achijuway  'it's hot!'  (La Paz/Tiahuanaco)

ach"ich"iw

ach"ik"iw  expressions of pain (La Paz/Compi)

alalaw  'it's cold, brrr!'  (La Paz/Compi, Corque)

alalay  'it's cold, brrr!'  (Corque)

añay  'how pretty!'  (La Paz/Tiahuanaco)

atataw  expression of pain (La Paz/Compi)
atatay expression of pain (La Paz/Tiahuanaco)

titila ~ titilay expression of disgust (La Paz/Tiahuanaco)

wa: ~ way [bay]¹ 'wow!' expression of admiration or surprise (La Paz/Compi, La Paz/ Tiahuanaco, and probably elsewhere)

ju: 'wow!' expression of dismay (Hardman et al. 1975:1.170)

There are also several particles which are Spanish loans (see Hardman et al. 1975:3.134).

7-2.2 Syntactic suffixes

7-2.21 Nonfinal (independent) suffixes

These suffixes occur on a stem before final suffixes. They may become part of a preceding noun or verb stem and be immediately followed by verbalization or nominalization, or they may occur after such thematic alternation. On inflected verbs they occur directly before the inflectional suffix. A noun stem ending in -ki or -pini (etc.) may be a zero complement, the independent losing its final vowel. -raki (etc.) occurs after zero complement (Hardman et al. 1975:3.403-409).

7-2.21.1 -vki ~ -ji ~ -y 'just, only' (limitative)

The allomorph /-ji/ was heard in Salinas and Morocomarca in word-final position. These dialects also have /-ki/ both medially and finally. The allomorphs
/-ki/ and /-y/ occurred in Sitajara. /-ki/ occurs elsewhere. The suffix requires a preceding vowel, except in Huancané when following -raki. It loses its vowel before consonant-requiring suffixes, in zero complement vowel drop, when preceding the final sentence suffix -sa in Calacoa, and when preceding the final suffix -sti in Sitajara.

/-ki/ may reduplicate on a stem. It frequently occurs as a softener on verbs with the Imperative.
Examples:

suma.ta.jp 'slowly' (Salinas)

suma.ta.ik 'gently' (La Paz/Compi)

k'acha.ta.jp 'slowly' (Morocomarca)

juk'apacha.ik 'a little' (Morocomarca)

juta.rak.ki.ni.w. 'They will arrive.' (Huancané)

Uk"ama.ki..s.kak.ch.i.xa.y. 'That's the way it always is.' (Huancané)

juma.ki.ki..ma.s 'just like you' (Juli)

t"aq.ta.s 'looking and looking' (Calacoa)

Say.t'a.ki.m. 'Stand up.' (Calacoa)
uka.y.ti 'and that?' (Sitajara)

Sara.s.ka.y.ma. 'Just go on.' (Sitajara)  
\[2+3\]
I

ija.nha.ru.k.sti 'and to my daughter' (Sitajara)

is.t'a.ki.na 'to listen quietly' (La Paz/Tiahuanaco)

Sara.ki.ya: 'I'll just go.' (Sacca)  
\[1+3\]
F

Chura.k.ita.lla. 'Please give me.' (Jopoqueri)  
\[2+1\]
I

Sa.ki.pin.itu.wa. 'He always told me.' (La Paz/Tiahuanaco)  
\[3+1\]
S

In Calacoa /-ki/ plus -sa final suffix usually occurred on the head of the first noun phrase in a riddle, as in the following examples:

Ma: gala.taypi.na.k.s ma: pala.cha ucha.nta.ta-  
a stone middle a stick place

:s.k.i.w. Uka.x kuna.s? Ampar sillu.  
\[3+3\]
that what finger nail
S

'In the middle of a stone a little stick is placed. What is it? A fingernail.'
Ma: warmi.k.s wilt.ka.sin wilt.ka.sin usu.r.ta.si.w.x.i.
a woman turning turning pregnant 3+3

Uka.x kuna.s? Q"apu.w.
distaff

'A woman turning, turning gets pregnant. What is it?
A distaff.'

7-2.21.2 -vpini ~ -puni ~ -pani ~ -pi emphatic

/-pani/ occurs in Jopoqueri; /-pi/ occurs in Calacala; /-pini/ occurs in Juli, Sitajara, La Paz, Salinas, Calacala, and Morocomarca and was alleged by Bertonio (1603b); /-puni/ occurs in Huancané, Socca, Calacoa, and La Paz and was alleged by Tschopik (1948). As this indicates, /-pini/ and /-puni/ occur in La Paz, and /-pi/ and /-pini/ occur in Calacala, /-pi/ either before /-pini/ or before -pi sentence suffix. The meanings of this suffix may be expressed in translation as 'always', 'still', 'really', or 'definitely', but it is basically an emphatic. Examples:

Ina.ki.pini.w. 'It's really in vain.' (Calacala)

ch'uqi.pi.pini.k 'just potatoes, really' (Calacala)

Uka.pi.ki.pi.y. 'It's just that, really.' (Calacala)
There seems to be some relation between this suffix and the sentence suffix -pi, although it may be due only to their partial homophony. As shown in the example given above for Calacala, /-pi/ allomorph of the nonfinal suffix may occur before /-pini/ or before -pi sentence suffix, in both cases with reduplication of the segment /pi/.
In the following pair of utterances, where Vitocota has the sentence suffix -pi La Paz/Tiahuanaco has the independent /-puni/.

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{Jani.pu}u. & \quad \text{jala.qa.y.i.ti.xa.} \\
\text{no} & \quad \text{fall} \quad \text{3+3} & \quad \text{(Vitocota)} \\
\end{align*}
\]

'He did not cause it to fall.'

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{Jani.pu}u. & \quad \text{jala.qa.y.k.i.ti.} \\
\text{ja} & \quad \text{g.ta.y.k.i.ti.} & \quad \text{(La Paz/Tiahuanaco)} \\
\end{align*}
\]

7-2.21.3 \(-\text{ray} - \text{-rara} - \text{-:ra} - \text{-ray}\) 'still, yet'

In Modern Aymara this suffix persists only on the negative particle jani. (It is a productive final suffix in Jaqaru; see Hardman 1966.) It is classified as a nonfinal suffix in Aymara because its allomorph /-rara/ has occurred before -raki nonfinal independent on a stem. /-ray/ occurs only in Sitajara. /-:ra/ and /-ra/ occur in Huancané. /-ra/ occurs in La Paz/Compi. /-rara/ occurs in Juli; /-rara/ and /-ra/ occur in Jopoqueri. Elsewhere /-ra/ or /-:ra/ occurs.

Some occurrences of /-ray/ may be analyzed as allomorphs of -raki (7-2.21.4). However, occurrences of /-ray/ on jani occupy the same slot as /-ra/ and /-rara/, with the same meaning, and therefore must belong to this suffix. Examples:
This suffix translates variously, as an aggregate, cautionary (see 6-3.34), complainer, objector, or challenger. It may occur on interrogatives immediately before or in place of the final suffix -sa. It occurs after zero complement vowel drop on a noun stem.

As for morphophonemics, this suffix requires a preceding vowel except after the complement/relational suffixes -na and -ta ~ -t"a and zero complement vowel drop. In one instance (Calacala) it was preceded by a consonant on a verb root.

Dialects that have only /-raki/ are Juli, Socca, Calacoa, Jopoqueri, and La Paz. In Huancané this suffix often occurs instead of -sa interrogative; /-raki/ is the most usual allomorph, but /-raj-/ occurs before
-chi NI. In Salinas /-raj-/ occurs before consonant-requiring verbal inflectional suffixes; /-raji/ or /-rak'i/ occurs before vowel-requiring inflectional suffixes; /-raji/, /-raki/, /-ra:/ and /-ra/ alternate freely word-finally on interrogatives. In Calacala and Morocomarca /-raji/ and /-raki/ both occur.

In Sitajara /-raki/ and /-raji/ are in free variation medially before verbal inflections; the allomorph /-rk/ occurred once before verbal inflection; and /-ray/ also occurred before the final suffix -sa although a homophonous /-ray/ is the allomorph of the suffix -ra ~ -ray in Sitajara (see 7-2.21.3). It might be better to analyze all occurrences of /-ray/ in Sitajara, both those on jani and others, as an independent suffix resulting from the convergence of -ra 'yet' and -raki aggregate and overlapping the domains of both in other dialects: on jani it means 'yet', and elsewhere it has the meanings of -raki. Examples of -raki and its allomorphs on different roots, stems, and themes are given below.

7-2.21.41 On interrogatives

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{Kuna.rak} & \quad \text{aka.sti?} & \text{(Huancané)} \\
\text{Kuna.ra:} & \quad \text{aka.sti?} & \text{(Salinas)}
\end{align*}
\]

'And what is this?'
Kuna.\textsubscript{ra} uka ispiritu.sti? 'And what are those spirits?' (Salinas)

Kun.\textsubscript{ra}: lura.\textsubscript{ñ} mun.ta? 'What do you want to do?' (Salinas)

Kuna.taki.\textsubscript{ra}ks? (Huancané)

Kuna.taki.raki? 'Why?' (Morocomarca)

Kuna.t.raj? (Morocomarca)

*kuna.taki.raj (rejected in Morocomarca)

Wawki.\textsubscript{ray}.sa? 'Where is it?' (Sitajara)

Wawki.t.raj(j) pur.ta? 'Where are you coming from?' arrive 2-3 (Salinas)

Wawki.ru.raj sara.nta? 'Where are you going?' (Salinas)

7-2.21.42 On other nouns and nominalized forms

juma.raj 'you too' (all dialects)

wali.raj 'well' (Sitajara)

Aka.raj.s. 'Here it is.' (Sitajara)
Sañana. 'It must be said.' (Sitajara)

Allchínhapiniray. 'He's really my grandchild.' (Sitajara)

Ukataraj 'and then' [ugatraji] (Calacala)

Ujtur paxsinirakwa. 'It was in the month of October.' (Corque)

7-2.21.43 On inflected verb stems or themes

Saraksmaavy. 'I already told you!' (Calacoa) 1

Wali:karajchini't. 'It may not be good.' (Huancané) 1

(Note: -- verbalizer reduces to plain vowel before -ka- incomp­leteive.)

Kamachatakakakapachatt'a 'what could have happened to me' (Sitajara)

Munarajtwaw. 'I want.' (Salinas) 1

Tanikirakitay 'he ran again' (Salinas)

Mag'rak'i 'and he ate' (Calacala)
7-2.22 Final (sentence) suffixes

Final, or sentence, suffixes occur after all other suffixes on nouns, verbs, and particles. They mark phrase, clause, or sentence boundaries and play a role in syntactic subordination. All except -lla ~ -ya polite and -: emphatic, which require a preceding vowel, allow the preceding morpheme or syntactic considerations to determine their preceding environments.

Final suffixes encountered in this research which do not vary in phonemic shape or usage from one dialect to another are -cha alternative interrogative, -sa information interrogative/indefinite/linker, -sti follow-up, -ti yes/no interrogative and negative, -: emphatic, and -wa absolute. An unvarying suffix combination is -wa.ya, consisting of -wa absolute plus -ya polite, which almost always is accompanied by rising intonation and always occurs in this form even in dialects which have the allomorph /-lla/ instead of /-ya/ for the polite (see below). All dialects sometimes have final vowel length :- as an exclamatory, and this may be indistinguishable from instances of /-ya/ reduced to /y/ after /i/.
Sentence suffixes which do show variation, either in locale of occurrence, frequency of occurrence, phonemic shape, or combinations thereof, are the topic/summarizer suffix -ka (probably a reduced form of aka or uka demonstratives), -lla ~ -ya politive, -m disclaimer and its variants, and -pi ~ -pi: ~ -pu ~ -pu: reiterator of absolute (stating information already known to the hearer). Sentence suffix combinations showing variation are -pi.lla ~ -pi.ya ~ -pi.:, -sa.ya ~ -sa:, -xa.lla ~ -xa.ya, and -ti.xa which occurs as a subordinator in certain dialects and will be discussed under subordination (7-4.23.3).

7-2.22.1 -ka topic/summarizer and -xa ~ -: topic/attenuator

Only one contemporary dialect, Calacala, was found to have both -ka and /-xa/. Bertonio (1603b) cited +ca (phonemically /ka/ or /qa/? and +kha (phonemically /xa/ or /k"a/ or /q"a/? occurring in environments apparently like those of -ka and -xa ~ -: in contemporary dialects. Most dialects today have only /-xa/. Morocomarca was found to have only -ka and /-:/.
This /-:/ must be distinguished from other morphemes of vowel length. It is clearly not -: emphatic since it occurs in the same or similar environments as /-xa/ attenuator with apparently the same function and meaning.
This suffix has occurred only in Morocomarca and Calacala. At first it was thought that it might be *-qa cognate to Jaqaru -qa final suffix (Hardman 1966), or possibly a borrowing from Bolivian Quechua -qa topic marker, as all sources for Morocomarca and Calacala were bilingual in Quechua. However, the suffix here referred to is clearly phonemically /ka/, beginning with the velar stop, and as noted in note 2 to Chapter 5, /k/ is not considered a normal reflex of /q/ in Jaqi languages.

It was then thought that -ka might represent a falling-together of several suffixes, perhaps related to the Jaqaru final suffix -ja surprisal or to the Jaqaru noun suffix -ja accusative, cognate to Aymara zero complement (Hardman 1966). As we have seen, the alternation of /j/ ~ /k/ does occur in Aymara and presumably might across Jaqi languages. The semantics of Jaqaru -ja surprisal do not correspond to the semantics of Aymara -ka, however, and Jaqaru -ja accusative is cognate to Aymara zero complement, while Aymara -ka occurs on both subjects and complements.

Yapita (La Paz/Compi), who assisted me in analyzing a recorded Calacala text, indicated that he would replace most instances of -ka with -xa topic/attenuator.
The distributions of the two suffixes are not identical, however. Unlike most final suffixes, including -xa, -ka has not occurred before -lla ~ -ya politive in data analyzed so far. And, in some cases, Yapita would replace -ka by either -xa topic/attenuator or the demonstrative uka as syntactic summarizer (7-4.3).

As will be seen in the examples that follow, -ka seems to function both as topic marker and as a summarizer of what precedes it in a sentence. The latter function is fulfilled in all Aymara dialects (including those that have -ka topic/summarizer) by the demonstratives uka and (to a lesser extent) aka. In all Aymara dialects, also, aka and uka act like suffixes in phrases such as naya.n uka 'my house', literally 'mine, that' but conveying the sense of the French chez moi.

In the data analyzed for this study, -ka occurs only on nouns of the open class or the demonstratives aka and uka and usually only when they occur sentence-initially or -finally. On the demonstratives, -ka recalls the noun suffix -:ka that occurs on demonstratives in La Paz and Socca and possibly elsewhere (see 5-3.12.6). In one case in Calacala -ka ([ga]) is obviously a reduced form of uka 'chez', being followed by the noun suffix -na 'in, of': padre.[ga].n 'at the priest's (house)'. The suffix -ka might therefore be considered a noun suffix, but for the fact that when it occurs
word-finally (without a following -na) it seems to require something before it to summarize.

On aka and uka, which already have a potential summarizing function, -ka occurs directly on the root, whether it is sentence-initial or -final. On other nouns the behavior of -ka is different. Sentence-initial nouns may take final -ka only if one or more derivational suffixes (or zero complement vowel drop, which acts like a suffix) precede it on the stem; -ka does not occur directly on a plain noun root occurring sentence initially. On the other hand, sentence-final nouns are not so restricted. Such nouns may take the suffix -ka whether or not there are any derivational suffixes on the noun root.

All of this suggests that when it occurs word-finally (with no other suffixes after it), -ka must have something before it longer than a single root. Thus, in order to take -ka a sentence-initial noun must have suffixes on it. A sentence-final noun need not have such suffixes, because when -ka occurs on a sentence-final noun, -ka summarizes not only the word it occurs on but all else that went before it in the sentence.

Although this hypothesis needs further testing, it appears that -ka is probably best analyzed at present as a reduced (but already frozen) form of uka or aka. More study of its occurrences is needed to determine
whether it should be considered a noun suffix, albeit one with a special summarizing function when it occurs word-finally, or whether it belongs in the final suffix class, in which case occurrences of -ka followed by -na must be considered morphophonemic reductions of aka or uka rather than occurrences of the final suffix -ka.

7-2.22.11.1 Distribution of -ka in Morocomarca

-ka was rejected on certain nouns. It occurred on the first noun in a sentence if the stem ended in -naka plural, a personal possessive suffix, or zero complement vowel drop, but it did not occur on plain noun roots that occurred first in a sentence, unless they were zero complements. However, Yapita (La Paz/Compi) reported hearing -ka on the plain demonstrative aka occurring first in a sentence, in an utterance by a speaker in the town of Morocomarca.

-ka did occur on plain nouns occurring at the end of a sentence. Where -ka was not permitted (namely, on plain roots occurring first in a sentence), plain vowel or vowel length (probably an allomorph of -xa topic/attenuator; see 7-2.22.12) occurred. Vowel length did not occur on the last vowel of a sentence-final noun, where either -ka or plain vowel occurred. Examples of occurrences and non-occurrences of -ka in Morocomarca are the following:
'The uncles are good people.'

'My table is big.'

'What am I going to eat the chuño with?'

'What is chuno eaten with?'

'This is a house.' (reported by Yapita)

'My name is Eusebio.' ('My name Eusebio is called.')
7-2.22.11.2 Distribution of -ka in Calacala

In Calacala -ka occurred primarily in stories, on the first noun in a sentence (or the head of a noun phrase) ending in the diminutive -ita or -ta nominalizer. It also occurred on the last noun in a sentence or phrase, a position where -xa (and in one case -qa) also occurred. -xa, vowel length, or plain vowel occurred on a sentence-initial plain root. When -ka occurred after a vowel or a voiced continuant such as /r/, the /k/ usually reduced to the voiced fricative [g]. (In Calacala stops frequently voice before vowels, regardless of the preceding environment; see 4-3.21.32.) In the following examples voiced stops are shown in square brackets, unless they occur in Spanish loans in Spanish phonology.

"He had another Acholita, a burro, brought."

'He had another Acholita, a burro, brought.'

'Then the priest thought it was true that he had had the young woman brought.'
[ga] in the above example would be replaced by -xa by Yapita (La Paz/Compi).

"Don't send anyone", he told him.

'Treat me (for illness)" said the old man.'

La Paz/Compi version of the above:

'That night he had the old man's burro brought.'

La Paz/Compi version of the above:
The following examples show the distribution of -ka compared to /-xa/ and /-:/ and plain vowel, all in Calacala:

Kuna.s uka. k ? 'What is that?'

Kuna.s aka.xa ? 'What is this?'

Aka.: misa.wa. 'This is a table.'

Naya chura.n ch'uqi. 'I will give him potatoes.'

An example which appears to have a reduced form of uka.n 'in (someone's) place' (i.e. in someone's house) is the following:

Uka k'us uma.p xa.taw padre.[g]a.n am[b]i ?
that chicha drink 3+3 no?

'RIK
'They drank that chicha at the priest's house
(padre uka.n) didn't they?'

As mentioned earlier, uka summarizer does occur in Morocomarca and Calacala, as in the following example from Morocomarca which incidentally has vowel length on uka.

Jan chur.ita:t uka.: k'asa.:wa. 'If you don't give it
no give 2+1 cry 1+3 to me, I'll cry.'
/-xa/ occurs in data obtained for all dialects except Morocomarca but may possibly occur there in free texts, none of which were obtained for that dialect. On the other hand, the /-:/ which occurs in Morocomarca may be the sole allomorph of this suffix occurring there. The allomorph of vowel length does not occur in Socca, Jopoqueri or La Paz dialects encountered so far; however, it was attested for Irpa Chico, Ingavi province, by H. Martín (1969). Vowel length occasionally occurred instead of /-xa/ in Sitajara and Juli in material translated from Spanish, but only on the first person pronoun. In Jopoqueri /-xa/ was occasionally absent where it might be expected in La Paz. In Calacoa and Salinas /-xa/ was often absent or replaced by /-:/ on personal pronouns in translations from Spanish, but /-xa/ occurred more often in free texts. In Calacala /-xa/ was found in all types of data, elicited and free; again, when /-:/ or plain vowel occurred, it was usually on personal pronouns.

The suffix -xa~-: occurs most often on nouns, but also on verbs and particles. The number of /-xa/s occurring in a given sentence varies according to the degree of attenuation expressed and appears also to vary dialectically or idiolectically, but this needs further
study. Some dialects have plain vowel where other dia-
lects would have /-xa/ or /-:/-. Such absences of /-xa/
and /-:/ must be distinguished from their syntactically-
conditioned absence on subjects of subordinated verbs;
see 4-3.31.1. Examples of /-xa/, /-:/-, and their absence
follow:

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{Charmanti.x} & \quad \text{juma.x} & \quad \text{iskuyla.x} & \quad \text{jut.ta.xa.} \\
\text{this morning} & \quad 2p & \quad \text{school} & \quad \text{come} \quad 2\rightarrow3 \\
& & & \quad \text{S}
\end{align*}
\]

'This morning you came to school (I do believe, right?).'
(Hardman et al. 1975:3.413; La Paz)

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{Naya.x} & \quad \text{sara.:wa.} & \quad \text{'I will go.'} \\
1p & \quad \text{go} & \quad \text{'}
\end{align*}
\]

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{Naya.x} & \quad \text{sara.:xa.} & \quad \text{I will go, okay?'} \\
1\rightarrow3 & \quad F
\end{align*}
\]

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{Kuna.s} & \quad \text{suti.ma.xa?} & \quad \text{'What's your name?'} & \quad \text{(La Paz, Socca,} \\
\text{what} & \quad \text{name} & \quad \text{2p} & \quad \text{Jopoqueri, Calacoa, Juli, Salinas)}
\end{align*}
\]

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{Naya.xa} & \quad \text{aka Lima} & \quad \text{marka.n} & \quad \text{ut.j.ta} & \quad \text{pir jan.i.w} \\
1p & \quad \text{Lima} & \quad \text{town} & \quad \text{live} \quad 1\rightarrow3 & \quad \text{but not} \quad \text{S}
\end{align*}
\]

\[
\begin{align*}
naya.: & \quad \text{aka.:k.t.ti.} \\
\text{here} & \quad 1\rightarrow3 & \quad \text{S}
\end{align*}
\]

'I live in Lima but I'm not (from) here.' (Huancané)
Na.: 
\[ \text{chura.nh. 'I will give to him.' (Sitajara)} \]
give \(1+3\) F

Na.x

Na.: aka waynu.wa taqi chuyma tirik.t'a.w.sma.

huayño all heart dedicate \(1 \rightarrow 2\) S

'I dedicate this huayño (song) to you with all my heart.' (Juli)

(In the last two examples \textit{na.:} could be /\textit{na:/} allomorph of first person pronoun.)

\[ \ldots \text{\underline{naya aru.nt.t'a.ni.p.x.ma.} \ldots 'I greet you'} \]

(Jopoqueri)

\[ \text{Juma un.ch'uki.s.ka.p.ista.x na.naka.ru.} \]

look at \(1 \rightarrow 2\) lP

'S you are looking at us.' (Calacoa)

\[ \text{Jupa manq'a.ya.w.i wawa.pa.naka.r.x.} \]

feed \(3 \rightarrow 3\) child S

'He fed his children.' (Calacala)

\[ \text{Na uta.ja.n.ka.s.ka.t.wa. 'I was in my house.' (Calacoa)} \]

house \(1 \rightarrow 3\) S
'With what can we dig potatoes?' (Calacoa)

\text{Uta.pa.}:
\begin{align*}
\text{jach'a.wa.} & \quad \text{'Her house is big.'} \\
\text{Uta.pa.x} & \quad \text{big} \\
\text{house}
\end{align*}

\text{Jupa.}: \quad \text{maq'a.na} \quad \text{chura.tayna} \quad \text{wawa.naka.pa.ru.} \\
\text{3p} \quad \text{food} \quad \text{give} \quad \text{3+3} \quad \text{children} \\
\text{RIK}

'He fed his children.' (Salinas)

\text{Jan puri.nt uka jiwa.ya.si..wa.} \\
\text{no} \quad \text{arrive} \quad \text{that die cause} \quad \text{1+3} \\
\text{F}

'If you don't come I'll kill myself.' (Salinas)

\text{Ch'a.sti juma aka.t ni.w mistu.n[a].ti.} \\
\text{now and} \quad \text{2p} \quad \text{here} \quad \text{no} \quad \text{get out} \quad \text{2+3} \\
\text{F}

'And now you won't get out of here.' (Salinas; story)

The following are all from Calacala:

\text{Kam sa.ta.s sut.ma.x ? 'What's your name?'} \\
\text{how} \quad \text{called} \quad \text{name} \quad \text{2p}
Naya sa.ta.t.wa Antuñu. 'I'm called Antonio.'

lp 1+3 S

Naya jaqi.xa Qalaqa.ta.wa. 'I'm a person (man) from Calacala.'

lp 1p man

Naya.xa <auxilio> sa.:w. 'I'll say (yell) Help!'

lp help say 1+3 F

Uka misk'i.ti.x uka naranja.: ? 'Is that orange sweet?'

sweet orange

(See also the first example given in 7-2.22.11.2.)

Kuna.s aka.xa ? 'What is this?'

Aka.: misa.wa. 'This is a table.'

The following are from Morocomarca:

Uka misa.: jani.w naya.n.k.i.ti.

table no lp 3+3 S

'that table isn't mine.'

Uta.: jach'a.wa. 'The house is big.'

house big
The allomorph /-lla/ occurs everywhere except in parts of La Paz (including Compi and Tiahuanaco) and Morocomarca, which have only /-ya/. Both /-lla/ and /-ya/ occur in Sitajara and Huancane. Calacoa has /-ya/ in songs, but /-lla/ elsewhere. In Juli, Socca, Jopoqueri, Salinas, and Calacala the usual allomorph is /-lla/.

This suffix occurs often as a softener of the imperative, occurring on the verb itself or on some other word in the sentence. Examples:

\[ \underline{Amus.t'a.g.i.lla.} \quad 'He made him shut up.' \quad (Calacala) \]
\[
\underline{3+3} \\
S
\]

\[ \underline{Uka.t \ tani.n.i.lla \ mama.pa.ru.} \quad 'Then he ran to his mother.' \quad (Salinas) \]
\[
\underline{run \ 3+3} \\
S
\]

\[ \underline{Sar.xa.ma.lla.} \quad 'Go away.' \quad (Salinas) \]
\[
\underline{2+3} \\
I
\]

\[ \underline{Awis.t'a.k.ita.lla.} \quad 'Tell me.' \quad (Jopoqueri) \]
\[
\underline{2+1} \\
I
\]

\[ \underline{Mayt.ita.lla.} \quad 'Lend it to me.' \quad (Juli) \]
\[
\underline{2+1} \\
I
\]
Sara.w.x.ma.lla. 'Go away.' (Socca)

I

Sar.xa.ma.lla. 'Go away.' (Sitajara)

I

uk"ama. 'thus' (Sitajara)

Uk"am.pacha::xa.rak.ki.spa.y. 'They can be like that.' (Huancané)

D-1

Irpa.n.ma.y. 'Take her.' (Huancané)

I

Uk"ama.x Juwanti.ru.y wayu.ya.m. carry I

'Then have Johnny carry it.' (Hardman et al. 1975:3.305; La Paz)

Chur.xa.tma.ya. 'Let him give it to you.' (Morocomarca)

I

Jisa.y. 'Yes.' (Morocomarca, Calacala)
/-lla/ and /-ya/ may follow the final suffixes _xa and _pi (7-2.22.4); only /-ya/ follows _wa.

7-2.22.3 _m ~ _ma ~ _mna ~ _mnam disclaimer

In La Paz (as reported in Hardman et al. 1975: 3.420) this suffix occurs in the form /-m/ preceded by the limited final suffix _chi- (which occurs only before /-m/ or _xa), as in

\[
\text{k"ari.k"ari.chi.m} \quad \text{fat-cutter} \\
\text{k"ar.su.s.k.ch.i.} \quad \text{cut} \\
\text{NI 3+3} \\
\text{S}
\]

'No doubt the k"arik"ari cut out (his fat).'

Another dialect found to have a similar construction was Huancané.

\[
\text{k"ari.s.iri.k.chi.ma} \quad \text{uka uka.na} \quad \text{k"ar.s.ch.i.} \\
\text{NI 3+3} \\
\text{S}
\]

'The k"arisiri must have cut out (his fat).'

The sentence as given for La Paz was also acceptable in Juli, but not volunteered. Elsewhere expressions of this type were rejected, but this may have been due to cultural, rather than grammatical, factors.

_mna is a productive final suffix in Jaqaru (Hardman 1966), and Bertonio cited a number of examples
(1603b:141-142, 250) of an apparently cognate suffix +-mna. Some contemporary examples offered by Vásquez (La Paz/Tiahuanaco) are the following:

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{Kama.cha.ki.ni.m.(s)} & \quad \text{uñ.ja.ni.m.} \\
\text{how} & \quad \text{3+3} & \quad \text{see} & \quad \text{2+3} \\
& \quad \text{F} & \quad \text{I} \\
\end{align*}
\]

'Go and see what he's doing (what he will do).'

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{K"iti.mna(m).} & \quad \text{'Let's find out who (is coming).'} \\
\text{who} & \quad \text{1+3} \\
\end{align*}
\]

'Let's see who's coming.'

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{K"iti.ki.m} & \quad \text{juta.ni.} \\
\text{who} & \quad \text{come} & \quad \text{3+3} \\
& \quad \text{F} \\
\end{align*}
\]

Another example is the following from La Paz/Compi:

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{Naya.m} & \quad \text{sara..xa.} \\
\text{lp} & \quad \text{go} & \quad \text{1+3} & \quad \text{oneself, e. g., 'Who could think I'd} \\
& \quad \text{F} & \quad \text{go (of course I won't).'} \\
\end{align*}
\]

The above examples occurred too late in the research to check their possible occurrence in other dialects.
The allomorph /-pu/ occurs only in Salinas, Jopoqueri, Corque (which also has /-pu:/) and Sitajara (which also has /-pi:/). Elsewhere /-pi/ occurred, except in Calacoa where this suffix did not occur. Jopoqueri and Salinas have both /-pi/ and /-pu/. /-pi/ usually occurs in combination with /-lla/ or /-ya/, but /-pu/ does not. /-pu:/ occurred once before /-xa/. Examples:

\[
\begin{align*}
S.tam.pu. & \quad 'He said to you.' \quad (Salinas) \\
& \quad \frac{3+2}{3} \\
& \quad S
\end{align*}
\]

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{kinsa.pu} & \quad 'three, then' \quad (Salinas)
\end{align*}
\]

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{Jiw.x.i.pu.} & \quad 'He died.' \quad (Salinas) \\
& \quad \frac{3+3}{3} \\
& \quad S
\end{align*}
\]

\[
\begin{align*}
S.\text{istu.pu.} & \quad 'He told us.' \quad (Jopoqueri) \\
& \quad \frac{3+4}{3} \\
& \quad S
\end{align*}
\]

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{sa.ta.pu:.xa.} & \quad 'it's called' \quad (repeating name of place) \\
& \quad \text{say} \\
& \quad \text{(Corque)}
\end{align*}
\]

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{Saw Jan p"ista.pu , sa.\text{n}a.w.} & \quad 'It's called the fiesta of San Juan.' \quad (Sitajara)
\end{align*}
\]
Jall  s.i.pi. 'So they say.' (Sitajara)

Intint.i.pi:.xa. 'She understands!?' (Sitajara)

Nina.n.pi.ch. 'Or in the fire.' (Tarata)

-cha alternative question suffix

7-2.22.5 Combinations of final suffixes

7-2.22.51 -pi.lla ~ -pi.ya

These occur more often than plain /-pi/. As /-pi.ya/ frequently reduces to /-pi.y/, indistinguishable from /-pi:/, it is not possible to tell which is occurring unless /-pi:/ is followed by -xa. The distribution of /-pi.lla/ and /-pi.ya/ does not exactly correspond to that of /-lla/ and /-ya/. Socca and Jopoqueri, which have only /-lla/ occurring without a previous final suffix, both have /-pi.ya/. Juli has both /-pi.ya/ and /-pi.lla/, although it too has only plain /-lla/. Both /-pi.ya/ and /-pi.lla/ occur in Huancané and Sitajara. Neither occurred in Calacoa, Morocomarca, or Calacala. La Paz has only /-pi.ya/. Examples:

sa.sa.pi.y 'saying' (Socca)
Sajama.xa uka Mururat qullu.n p'iqi.pa.pi.y.
mountain head 3p

'Sajama is the head (top) of that Mururata Mountain.' (Jopoqueri)

Naya.t.pi.y. 'It was me!' (Juli)

amiku.ja.pi.ll , jilata.ja.pi.ll
'my friend, my brother' (Juli)

Q'ana.pi.y. 'It is clear.' (Huancané)

pu:ri.pi.ll 'the poor' (Huancané)
< Spanish pobre

Inp"irmu.:s.ka.t.pi.y. 'I've been sick.' (Sitajara)
1>3
 S

<Jani kastillanu.t.s> s.ta.pi.ll.
no Spanish 2>3
 S

"Not in Spanish," you said.' (Sitajara)

Yati.cha.ta.m yati.cha.:pi.y.
teach 2p 1>3
 F

'What you taught me, I'll teach him.' (La Paz/Compi)
Jani.pi.y jala qa.yi ti.xa.
no fall 3+3 S

'He didn't make it fall down.' (Vitocota)

Kamisa raki.x uka.x sis t.pi.y.
how say 1+3 S

'Whatever will be will be, I said.' (Vitocota)

Vásquez (La Paz/Tiahuanaco) would replace /-pi.ya/ in the last two examples with /-puni.wa/ or -wa but would use /-pi.ya/ in the following:

Jan pani..k.irist.x sar. irist.pi.y.
no two go 1+3 D-1

'If I weren't married I'd go.' (La Paz/Tiahuanaco)

7-2.22.52 -sa.ya ~ -sa.: exclamatory, emphatic

/-sa.ya/ was found in Calacoa and in Tarata.
/-sa.:/ occurred only rarely. Forms elicited for Remote Indirect Knowledge tense in Morocomarca usually had /-sa.:/, as did certain Simple tense forms with saña 'to say'. It also occurred in La Paz, Huancané, and Sitajara. Examples:

Puri.n.x.iri j.chi.t.sa.y. 'Perhaps I would arrive.' (Tarata)
NI 1+3 D-1
Chur.xa.ta:tsma.sa.: 'I gave it to you.' (Morocomarca)

Sa.wiy.sma.sa.: 'I told you!' (Morocomarca)

Sa.rak.sma.sa.: 'I told you!' (La Paz)

Uka.sa.: 'There it is, that's it.' (Sitajara)

7-2.22.53 -xa.lla ~ -xa.ya

/-xa.lla/ has occurred only in Sitajara and Juli, both of which also have /-xa.ya/. /-xa.ya/ has also occurred in La Paz, Huancané, Jopoqueri, Corque, and Calacala. It occurs most often on a verb with -chi Non-Involver in the stem. Examples:

Uk.s yati.rak.chi.:ta.xa.lla.
that know NI 2+3 F

'You would know that.' (Juli)

Usu.t.w wal lupi.t.xa.y japu t"aya.t.xa.y.
sick 1+3 very sunlight cold S

'I'm very sick from the sun, from the cold.' (Juli)
'It must have been bad air! Bad air gave it to you.'  (Sitajara)

'He's far away.'  (La Paz)

'What strange devil was that . . .'  (Huancané)

'That's the way it always is.'  (Huancané)

'. . . and her children had their mouths open . . .'  (Jopoqueri)

'I'm in the store.'  (Corque)

'Then the priest thought it was true . . .'  (Calacala)
Basic sentence types in Aymara have been analyzed and described by Hardman et al. (1975:3.425-458). Defined by occurrences of the four basic sentence suffixes, they are as follows. (The order of the suffixes in each pair is not significant; the opposite order occurs also.)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Questions</th>
<th>Answer/Statement</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>(-xa)/-ti (yes/no)</td>
<td>(-xa)/-wa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-sa/(-xa) (information)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The present research has turned up sentences with the suffix -ka (possibly a reduced form of aka or uka) in place of -xa in the information question and in the answer/statement. A plain -ka statement also occurred. Schematically, the -ka sentence types may be written as

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Question</th>
<th>Answer/Statements</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>-sa/(-ka)</td>
<td>(-ka)/-wa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-ka/∅</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(No example of a *(-ka)/-ti yes/no question occurred in the data, but it may be presumed to exist.) Examples:
Instances of vowel length where /-xa/ is found in other dialects, as indicated above, may be considered allo-morphs of -xa, as in

Aka.: misa.wa. 'This is a table.'

7-4 Morphosyntactic Processes
7-4.1 Reduplication

This is a fairly productive process in Aymara. Certain noun roots are reduplicative, never occurring except in doubled form. These roots are to be distinguished from other noun, particle, and verb roots that may occur alone or reduplicated; when reduplicated, they form stems that act as new semantic units with meanings derived from their base roots. Noun and verb roots and certain suffixes may also reduplicate intermittently for emphasis (a process here referred to as 'nonce reduplication'). There are certain roots of the canonical shape C₁V₁C₂C₁V₁ in which the initial CV is reduplicated (L. Martin-Barber, in Hardman et al. 1975: 3.105-106).
7-4.11 Reduplicative noun roots

These are noun roots that never occur except in doubled form. They refer primarily to animals, plants, or other natural phenomena. Some of them may be onomatopoetic, referring to the sound made by an animal or bird. Below are those that have occurred in this research, in alphabetical order.

ch'umi ch'umi⁵ 'woods' (La Paz/Tiahuanaco)
kusi kusi 'spider' (Juli)
jillu jillu 'selfish person' (egoista) (Huancané)
lari lari 'evil little animal (an owl?) that turns into a cat' (La Paz/San Andrés de Machaca)
liqi liqi 'quail' (codorniz) (Juli)
puku puku 'lightning' (Pomata, Chucuito)
suku suku 'a dance' (Huancané)
suxu suxu 'sound of rattle; rattlesnake' (La Paz/Tiahuanaco)
t'uxu t'uxu yellow or orange flower, reportedly used in Puno for medicine (Calacoa)
upu upu aquatic plant with small round light green leaves that float on the water's surface, covering it like algae (Tiahuanaco)
wara wara 'star' (all dialects)

wira wira 'plant for making cough medicine' (Salinas)

Some reduplicative noun roots found in pre-Hardman published sources are the following:

+ch'iqi ch'iqi 'beetles' (Tschopik 1948:112)

+pulla pulla 'spines' (Tschopik 1948:109)

+tami tami 'at nightfall' (Bertonio 1603b:185)

7-4.12 Reduplicative stems occurring as nouns

These consist of roots that may also occur singly. They sometimes lose the last vowel of the base root. The meaning may be an emphatic or plural, but not always. Examples:

Particle:

mak.maki 'fast' maki 'fast, quickly' (Calacala)

Nouns:

may.maya 'different' maya 'another' (Jopoqueri)

qala.qala 'place of many stones' gala 'stone' (all dialects; also Bertonio 1603b:260)
guqa.guqa 'forest' guqa 'tree' (La Paz/Tiahuanaco; also Bertonio 1603b:260)

g"ip.q"ipa 'late/early' g"ipa 'behind'

g"ip.q"ip aruma 'late at night, early in the morning' (Juli)

q'awa.q'awa 'gully, dry riverbed' (Jopoqueri)

sama.sama 'lung' sama 'breath' (Jopoqueri)

sillu.sillu pinkish-purple flower with five little petals in form of a star

sip'u.sip'u 'wrinkle' sip'u 'wrinkle' (La Paz/Tiahuanaco)

sullk.sullka 'youngest child' sullka 'younger' (La Paz/Tiahuanaco)

Nouns from verb roots or stems:

k"ari.k"ari 'fat-taker' k"ari.ña 'to cut, butcher' (La Paz)

mun.i 'he wants' muna.ña 'to want' (La Paz/Tiahuanaco)

q'ip.q'ipi 'piggy-back' q'ipi.ña 'to carry on the back' (q'ipi also a noun root, 'bundle') (Calacoa)
7-4.13 Nonce reduplication

7-4.13.1 Nouns

Reduplication that repeats for emphasis is quite common.

\[ p'\text{irs}a, p'\text{irs}a, n\text{a.x} \text{ k'ata.mp} \text{ chich} \text{ ama:.t}"a. \]

strength \( 1 \) more \( \frac{1}{3} \) want

'Strength, strength, I want more chicha (for strength)!' (Sitajara)

Calacoa has a verse to introduce riddles that contains two reduplications of this type frozen into a jingle.

\[ \text{May may sa.mama.} \text{ 'One, one I'll say to you.' } \]

\( 1 \rightarrow 2 \)

\( F \)

\[ \text{Kun kun s.ita:ta ? 'What, what will you say to me?' } \]

\( 2 \rightarrow 1 \)

\( F \)

The following is an example of a reduplicative number phrase.

\[ \text{tunka tunka juspajara.mpi 'ten (times) ten thank you' } \]

(e.g., 'thank you very, very much') (Juli)
Another common kind of reduplication is that in which the reduplicated noun root is suffixed with a complement/relational suffix or -ki nonfinal suffix. This kind of reduplication is common in all dialects, and phrases formed thereby are a subclass of head-head noun phrases that are not necessarily reduplicative (see my treatment of this in Hardman et al. 1975:3.375-376). Examples:

Interrogative:

\texttt{gawq"a.t} \texttt{gawq"a.t.s} 'how many by how many?' (La Paz)

Number:

\texttt{may.ni.t} \texttt{may.ni.t} 'one by one' (La Paz, Calacoa)

\texttt{may.ni.r} \texttt{may.ni.r} \texttt{may.ni.r} 'one by one by one' (Sitajara)

Other nouns:

\texttt{jaya.t} \texttt{jaya.tak} 'after a long time, over a long distance' (Compi)

\texttt{k"uska.t} \texttt{k"uska.r} 'from everywhere' (de un canto) (Juli)

\texttt{k'ata.mpi} \texttt{k'ata.mpi} 'little by little' (Juli)

\texttt{pachpa.t} \texttt{pachpa.t} 'after a while' (Jopoqueri)

\texttt{ratu.t} \texttt{ratu.r} 'from time to time' (Compi)
A verb stem before inflection or nominalization may be reduplicated for emphasis.

- ar.ch'uk ar.ch'uk.iritan 'he yelled and yelled' (Calacoa)
  - yell 3→3 RIK

- jacha jacha.ña 'to have one's eyes brimming with tears, to be about to cry' (La Paz/Tiahuanaco)
  - tear >N

- Kat.j kat.ja.puni.ya:.wa. 'I'll catch you somehow!' (Socca)
  - catch 1→3 F

- katu katu.ja.x wallat.x 'I'll catch the lake bird' (Calacoa)
  - catch 1→3 F

- t"aqa.si t"aqa.s.iritan 'she searched and searched' (Calacoa)
  - search 3→3 RIK

- uma.nt.t' uma.nt.t'a.ma 'drink, drink' (Sitajara)
  - drink 2→3 I

- uña uña.ña 'to look many times' (La Paz/Tiahuanaco)
  - look >N

A whole inflected verb may be reduplicated, as follows:
amiku.ni.x.chi, amiku.ni.x.chi 'they became good friends'
friend NI (Huancané)

jala.nta.n, jala.nta.n 'they will fly, they will fly'
fly 3+3 F (Jopoqueri)

A whole sentence may be reduplicated.

Um laq.su.tay s.i, um laq.su.tay s.i.
water drink 3+3 say 3 3 RIK S

'She drank the water, they say, she drank the water, they say.'

7-4.13.3 Suffixes

Reduplication of suffixes differs from that of roots in not usually resulting in emphasis or plurality. Verbalization or nominalization may recur on a stem, as in the case of the verbalizer -ka- below. The suffix -na possessive/locational also reduplicates. In order to reduplicate, these suffixes must be separated by nominalization, in this case with -iri.

Juma.n.k.iri.n.k.i.wa. 'It's your spouse's (property).'</nsp
2p >N 3+3 S (La Paz/Compi)

The following occurred in Socca but was not acceptable in La Paz:
Uta.ja.n.ka.n.ka.s.ka.ya:t.wa. 'I was in my house.'

The La Paz equivalent has no reduplication.

Uta.xa.n.ka.s.ka.ya:t.wa. 'I was in my house.'

The Sacca example recalls the verb +kanka- 'to be' alleged by Bertonio and his imitators (see 8-2.23).

Verbal derivational suffixes which may reduplicate are -si- reciprocal/reflexive, -ya- causative, the incompletive -ja- -ka-, and the completive -xa-. (The incompletive and completive suffixes reduplicate only when separated by -p- plural). In all dialects the nonfinal independent suffix -ki may reduplicate for emphasis, as may -pi nonfinal independent in Calacoca. The noun/independent -jama reduplicates also. The only other noun suffix that has reduplicated in this research is -lla diminutive.

7-4.2 Subordination

Subordination is an important area of Aymara grammar. One kind of subordination occurs in the noun phrase (see my treatment of noun phrase formation in Hardman et al. 1975:3.363-379). Nouns may be subordinated
as modifiers in noun phrases, which allow recursive embeddings of up to five nouns or nominalized forms, the head of the phrase constituting a sixth. Nouns within a noun phrase must be ordered. Example:

```
k"a: jach'a wila punku.n tinta taypi.n
that big red door store middle

'in the middle of that store with the big red door'
```

Such extensive noun embedding occurs rather infrequently. The longest noun phrase to occur in a free text in this research is the following from La Paz/Compi:

```
uka latinu.t anu.mp parl.ir tata.x
that Latin dog talk man

'that man who talked in Latin with a dog'
```
The basic Aymara verb phrase consists of a verb with one or more complements or relationals. In the above example, \textit{latinu.t anu.mp parl.ir} is a nominalized verb phrase, consisting of the verb \textit{parla-} 'speak' with -\textit{ta} and -\textit{mpi} relationals, nominalized with -\textit{iri} 'actor' (see 7-4.21.1).

The following examples are of verb phrases nominalized with the suffix -\textit{nä} (also see 7-4.21.2):

\begin{itemize}
  \item \textit{ch'uqö apa.nä} 'to bring potatoes' (zero complement)
  \item \textit{jumö irpa.nä} 'to bring you' (zero complement)
  \item \textit{juma.r chura.nä} 'to give to you' (-\textit{ru} complement)
  \item \textit{Lapasa.r sara.nä} 'to go to La Paz' (-\textit{ru} relational)
  \item \textit{naya.t may.t'a.nä} 'to borrow from me' (-\textit{ta} complement)
  \item \textit{awtu.t apa.nä} 'to take by car' (-\textit{ta} relational)
  \item \textit{uma.mp wayu.ni.waya.nä} 'to bring water' (-\textit{mpi} relational)
  \item \textit{juma.taki chura.rapi.nä} 'to give on your behalf' (-\textit{taki} complement)
  \item \textit{Lapasa.n ut.ja.nä} 'to live in La Paz' (-\textit{na} relational)
\end{itemize}

Nominalization is one kind of subordination in Aymara. An inflected verb may not be nominalized, but a nominalized verb may be reverbalized and then inflected. Nominalized
verbs may take subjects, complements, or relationals. As we have seen, they may be embedded in noun phrases. Embedding in verb phrases involves nominalized forms serving as zero complements and is more limited than is embedding in noun phrases.

Two kinds of nominalization may be distinguished in Aymara: regular and restricted. Regular nominalization creates nominals which within certain syntactic and semantic limits may take any noun suffixes. Restricted nominalization creates nominals which have been found to take only the final noun suffixes -jama and -kama (the former a borderline independent), but they function syntactically like regular nominalized forms.

7-4.21 Regular nominalization

I previously analyzed this process in detail (Hardman et al. 3:270-279). Some changes in analysis are contained in the present treatment.

7-4.21.1 -iri

This suffix has two functions. In the first it changes a verb to a (habitual) doer of the action of the verb. In the second it is a purposive. 6

7-4.21.11 -iri actor, usual doer of action

In this function verbs nominalized with -iri take noun suffixes freely, enter freely into noun
phrases, and may be complements of verbs. They may fill the paradigm slot for 3+3 Simple tense without verbalization, as in

\[\text{Uma.nt.iri.w.} \quad 'They usually drink.'\quad \text{(Sitajara)}
\]
\[\text{They are drinkers.'}\]

Other examples:

\[\text{muru.s.iri} \quad 'hair-cutting godfather'\quad \text{(Socca)}\]
\[\text{muru.ña} \quad 'to cut hair'\]

\[\text{lik'ı.ch.iri} \quad 'fat-maker'\quad \text{(Salinas) (cf. k"ari.s.iri)}\]
\[\text{lik'ı.cha.ña} \quad 'to make fat'\]

\[\text{ach.ja.s.ir anu.x} \quad 'biting dog, dog that bites'\]
\[\text{bite dog} \quad \text{(La Paz/Tiahuanaco)}\]

7-4.21.12 \ -iri\ purposive

In this syntactic function a verb nominalized with \-iri\ does not usually take any noun suffixes except the borderline noun/independent suffix \-jama. As purposive \-iri\ occurs on a verb subordinated syntactically to another verb. It translates as 'in order to, for the purpose of' and answers questions like the following:

\[\begin{align*}
\text{Kuna.ru.s} & \quad \text{jut.ta}^7 \quad 'Why did you come'? \\
\text{Kuna.taki.s} & \quad 2 \times 3 \quad S
\end{align*}\]
Aymar yati.q.iri.w jut.ta. 'I came to learn Aymara.'
learn 1➔3 (La Paz/Compi, Morocomarca; S similar answers elsewhere)

Other examples:

Luriya mis is.t'.ir sara.w.sna.y.
heaven mass hear go 4➔3
d-1

'We should go to hear mass in Heaven.'
(luriya < Spanish gloria 'heaven') (Juli; story of fox and condor)

Ma: imilla.s uwij awat.ir sar.iritan.
a girl sheep herd go 3➔3
a girl sheep herd go 3➔3
RIK

'A girl went out to pasture her sheep.' (Calacoa)

Um way.t.iri.w sara.nh. 'I'm going to bring water.'
bring 1➔3 (Sitajara)
F

Sara.tayn jisk.t'.iri. 'He went to ask.' (Socca)
go 3➔3 ask
RIK

Iwij ala.s.ir.jama.w naya.x jala.ni.way.t.wa.
sheep buy like lp run over 1➔3
S

'I ran over to buy sheep, sort of.' (La Paz/Compi)
In Salinas the following were given with the final suffix /-ru/, an allomorph of -iri on verbs ending in stem vowel /u/.

ch'axch'u.ru 'in order to water, person who waters'

t"uqu.ru 'in order to dance, dancer'

In all Aymara dialects a final verb root vowel /u/ overrides a following /i/ by regular morphophonemic rule, but it does not usually affect any subsequent /i/ as in this case; the word for 'dancer' in La Paz is t"uqu.ri. The rule in Salinas may reflect an earlier stage of vowel harmony in the language.

7-4.21.2 -ða

All verb roots may take -ða to form an infinitive (abstract noun of the action) which may or may not imply obligation. Most verb stems may also take -ða. Examples of verb roots and stems nominalized with -ða were given in 7-4.2.

Some verb stems do not take -ða if the stem does not take a human subject. The following examples show some semantic constraints operating in La Paz:

apa.ða 'to take' (human subject)
*ap.s.ta.ña 'for a human being to cloud over'

Qinaya.x ap.s.t.i.w. 'It clouded over.' (La Paz/Tiahuanaco)

\[
\begin{array}{ll}
\text{cloud} & 3-3 \\
S & \\
\end{array}
\]

Although *ap.s.ta.ña is not grammatical, ap.s.t.i.w 'it clouded over' is, with an inanimate nonhuman subject. This recalls the behavior of verb themes created with the verbalizer -pta- (see 5-3.42.1). Some verb themes with -:- verbalizer are similarly restricted in La Paz, e.g. lupi.-: (from lupi 'sunlight'), because the nominalized form *lupi:.ña means 'for a person to become sunlight'. Whether these semantic constraints operate similarly in other dialects is not known at this time.

Certain verb infinitives with -ña may imply a nonhuman subject in one dialect but may permit a human subject in other dialects. An example is wawa.cha.ña, which in La Paz means 'for animals to have offspring' while elsewhere it is not restricted to animals but may be used also for people. (See 8-2.25 for a fuller discussion of verb subject semantics.)

Certain nominalizations with -ña have derived meanings as concrete objects. Examples:

iki.ña 'to sleep; bed, blanket, bedding' (general)

iya.ña 'stone for grinding flour, etc.' (Juli)
'to grind' (Jopoqueri, Calacoa; possibly also Juli)

iy.ta.ña 'to grind' (Compi)
jakaña 'to live; life' (general)

jiwaña 'to die; death' (general)

jist'aña 'to close' (La Paz); 'door' (Calacoa)
  jist'aira.ña 'to open a door' (La Paz)
  jist'a.anta.ña 'to close' (Calacoa)

sita.ña 'door' (Salinas) (for other variants, see 3-4.23.1)

panta.ña 'to err, make a mistake; error' (La Paz/Tiahuanaco)

picha.ña 'to sweep; broom' (La Paz)

sawu.ña 'to weave; weaving, loom'
  (sawu noun/verb root 'to weave, weaving') (general)

uma.ña 'to drink' (general)
  'drinking cup used at festivals' (La Paz/Tiahuanaco)

Nouns ending in -ña but having no corresponding verb are the following, which must therefore be analyzed as unitary roots:

juxt'aña 'ugly' (Sitajara; other variants, 3-5.24)

kankaña 'essence, nature, being, power' (La Paz)
  (See 8-2.23; not to be confused with homophonous nominalized verb kanka.ña 'to fry')

kirkiña 'plant for salad' (La Paz)
liwk'aña 'hoe' (Salinas)
simpaña 'spider web' (all dialects)

7-4.21.21 -ña abstraction of action

Verb infinitives in citation form do not necessarily imply an obligation. Many cases of -ña nominalizations are nonobligatory when serving as zero complements of other verbs, especially if the verb nominalized with -ña occurs without a personal possessive suffix and the final suffix -wa does not occur in the sentence.

Verbs that frequently take -ña zero complements are the following:

ama:.ña 'to want' (Sitajara)
muna.ña 'to want' (elsewhere)
gallta.ña 'to begin' (general)
tuku.ña 'to finish' (general)
yanapa.ña 'to help' (general)
yati.ña 'to know' (general)
yati.nta.ña 'to learn by oneself' (Calacoa)
yati.qa.ña 'to learn from someone else' (Calacoa)
'to learn' (elsewhere)
ati.ña 'to be able' (Jopoqueri, Corque, Salinas, Morocomarca, Calacala)

puyri.ña 'to be able' (elsewhere; < Spanish poder)

Examples of nonobligatory zero complements with -ña:

Kuns lura.ñØ mun.ta? 'What do you want to do?'
what do want 2+3 (all dialects except Sitajara) S

Aymar parla.ñØ ama:t'a. 'I want to speak Aymara.'
speak want 1+3 (Sitajara)

Uk"ama.ll q"ana.k sara.naga.si.ñØ yat.chi.
so clear go around know NI

'So it's clear she must know how to live.' (Sitajara)

Surki.ya.ñØ yanap.t'.ita. 'Help me make furrows.' (Calacoa)
furrow help 2+1 I surki < Spanish surco

7-4.21.22 -ña obligatory

Most sentences with a main verb nominalized with -ña are translated as obligatory, especially when suffixed with -wa absolute (final suffix). Such sentences, which contain no inflection, translate as 'it is necessary to', 'we/one must', or a passive construction.
Examples:

Yanap.xa.ña.w. 'It is necessary to help.' (Huancané)

Jira.ña.wa. 'It is necessary to fertilize.' (Corque)

With uma 'water' as zero complement:

Um way.ta.ña.wa. 'To bring up water is necessary.'
(Sitajara, La Paz/Compi)

With uma 'water' as topic (or goal) of the action:

Uma.x way.ta.ña.wa. 'Water has to be brought up.'
(La Paz/Compi) (e. g. 'Water is to bring up. ')

Uma.w way.ta.ña.x. 'What has to be brought up is water.'
(La Paz/Compi)

Sentences like the last three above are to be distinguished from sentences consisting of a noun phrase made up of a modifier with its final vowel retained (unless the three-vowel rule applies) and a nominalized verb as head, e. g.

Uma way.ta.ña.wa. 'It's a place to bring up water from.'
(i. e. a place to get water) (La Paz/Compi)
A human third person topic may occur in a sentence with a -ña nominalized verb.

Usu.ri.x uñ.ja.ña.wa. 'The sick person \(\text{is}^{\text{has}}\) to be cared for.' (La Paz/Compi)

Apart from the above types of occurrences, which are believed to be general, several paradigms of -ña obligatory may be cited. Some are more common in certain dialects than in others.

A -ña nominalized verb may be reverbalized and then inflected for all persons except 3+3. This paradigm has occurred in La Paz and Jopoqueri. The following are examples with 1+3 and 2+3 Simple tense inflections, from La Paz/Compi:

(Naya.x) chura.ña::.t.wa. 'I have to give to X.'

\[\text{lp} \quad \text{give} \quad \frac{1+3}{S}\]

(Juma.x) chura.ña::.t.a.wa. 'You have to give to X.'

\[\text{2p} \quad \frac{2+3}{S}\]

A -ña nominalized verb plus the possessor suffix -ni may also be verbalized and inflected, usually to express obligation, as in the following examples from La Paz (Compi and Tiahuanaco). The paradigm is restricted
to 1→3, 2→3, and 4→3, with an uninflected unmarked form occurring instead of 3→3; the 4→3 form is uncommon and the paradigm as a whole is less common than the preceding one. Examples of 1→3 S and the uninflected 3p form in this paradigm are

\[
\text{Apa.ña.ni..:t.wa. 'I have to carry.' carry \quad 1\rightarrow 3 \quad S}
\]

\[
\text{Apa.ña.ni.wa. 'He/she/they has/have to carry.'}
\]

A more common paradigm occurring in La Paz, Juli, Jopoqueri, and Calacoa has -ña followed by one of the four personal possessive suffixes without verbalization or inflection. These forms act like inflected verbs but with a paradigm of only four persons. The third person complement is unmarked. The complete paradigm for La Paz is

\[
\begin{align*}
1\rightarrow 3 & \quad (\text{Naya.x}) & \quad \text{chura.ña.xa.w. 'I have to give to X.' give \quad 1p} \\
2\rightarrow 3 & \quad (\text{Juma.x}) & \quad \text{chura.ña.ma.w. 'You have to give to X.'} \\
3\rightarrow 3 & \quad (\text{Jupa.x}) & \quad \text{chura.ña.pa.w. 'He/she/they has/have to give to X.'}
\end{align*}
\]
When used in the above paradigm, the pronouns redundantly express subjects already expressed by the possessive suffixes. However, a verb nominalized with -ña plus a personal possessive suffix may also function as the head of a noun phrase modified by a noun plus the complement/relational suffix -ña possessive, as in the following examples from La Paz and Salinas:

1→3 (Naya.n) chura.ña.xa.w. 'I have to give to X.' (La Paz) (My giving is obligatory.)

1→3 (Naya.n) sara.ña.ña.w. 'I had to go.' (Salinas) ('My going was obligatory.')

2→3 (Juma.n) sara.ña.ma.w. 'You had to go.' (Salinas)

3→3 (Jupa.n) sara.ña.pa.w. 'He (etc.) had to go.' (Salinas)

4→3 (Jiwasa.n) sara.ña.sa.w. 'We had to go.' (Salinas)

An example of a possessive phrase of this type without a personal possessive suffix on the -ña nominalized verb is the following, which has an unusual
reversed word order:

1 → 3 Sar.xa.="na.w na.n.xa. 'I have/had to go.' (Sitajara)
go 1p

In Jopoqueri and Morocomarca and to some extent in La Paz, a -ña nominalized verb plus personal possessive suffix may be reverbalized (with vowel length) and then inflected. Most often, 3→3 inflections occur, the subject then being the obligation that is possessed. In Morocomarca 1→3 and 2→3 inflections also occurred. Examples, all with the Remote Direct Knowledge tense, are as follows:

Sar.xa.="nha.::n.wa. 'I had to go.' (Jopoqueri)
go 1p > V 3→3
 RDK
('My going was necessary.')

<Jani.rara.w jut.xa.="ma.::n.ti> s.itu.wa.
not yet come 2p 3→3 say 3→1
 RDK  S

'"You shouldn't have come yet," he said to me.' (Jopoqueri)

Jani.ra.raki.s juta.="ma.::ka::n.ti.xa.
not yet come 2p 3→3
 RDK

'You shouldn't have come yet.' (La Paz/Compi)

Jani.ra.w juma.x sara.="ma.::ka::n.ti.
not yet 2p 3→3
 RDK

'You shouldn't have gone yet.' (La Paz/Compi)
Sara.ña:ja::s.ka::n.wa. 'I had to go.' (Calacola)  
\[1p\ 3+3\ RDK\] ('My going was necessary.')

Sara.ña::yat"a. 'I had to go.' (Morocomarca)  
\[1p\ 1+3\ RDK\]

Juma sara.ña::yat.a. 'You had to go.' (Morocomarca)  
\[2p\ 2p\ 2+3\ RDK\]

Note that in the second example given above for La Paz/Compi the subject 2p pronoun juma does not correspond to the 3p subject of the verbal inflection, 3+3 RDK -na. In the second example given for Morocomarca, on the other hand, the 2p pronoun juma does correspond to the 2p subject of the verb inflection, 2+3 RDK -yata.

Another paradigm built on a possessive phrase acting as subject occurred in Jopoqueri, Morocomarca, and Calacala. It was objected to by a speaker from La Paz/Compi as sounding translated from Spanish. It uses the verb ut.ja.ña 'to exist' with 3+3 inflection, here the Simple tense -i. In Jopoqueri the pronoun is suffixed with -na; in Morocomarca and Calacala it is not, as in the case of La Paz/Compi mentioned above. Examples:

Juma.n sar.xa.ña.ma.w ut.j.i. 'You have to go.' (Jopoqueri)  
\[2p\ go\ 2p\ 3+3\ S\]
(Naya) sara.ʔ.ʔa ut.j.i. 'I have to go.' (Morocomarca)  
1p go 1p

(Juma) sara.ʔ.ma ut.j.i. 'You have to go.' (Morocomarca)  
2p 2p

(Jupa) sara.ʔ.pa ut.j.i. 'He/she/they has/have to go.' (Morocomarca)  
3p 3p

(Jiwasa) *sara.ʔ.sa ut.j.i. 'We have to go.' (not elicited)  
4p

An example that occurred in a sentence was

Juma kumpli.ʔ.ma ut.j.i. 'You must comply.' (Calacala)  
2p comply 2p

7-4.21.23 -ʔa.taki subordination

The combination -ʔa plus -taki complement/relational 'for' may be used as a purposive subordinate with a less narrow focus than -iri. However, verbs nominalized with -ʔa often take -taki as any other noun might, without subordination to another verb.

Liwru.x kuna.taki.sa? 'What is the book for?'  
book what

Liwru.x liyi.ʔa.taki.w. 'The book is for reading.' (La Paz)  
read
Such sentences are parallel to the following:

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{Aka.x k"iti.taki.sa} & \quad \text{'Who is this for?'} \\
\text{this who} & \\
\text{Uka.x juma.taki.w} & \quad \text{'That is for you.' (La Paz)} \\
\text{that 2p} & \\
\end{align*}
\]

-\(\text{n}a.\text{taki}\) occurs in all dialects. -\(\text{n}a.\text{taki}\) occurred in Huancané by the three-vowel morphophonemic rule (4-3.22.16). In Jopoqueri -\(\text{n}a.\text{taki}\) occurred in free texts and in one sentence translated from Spanish. Data are insufficient at present to determine the significance of the vowel drop in Jopoqueri. A distinction of subordinating (purposive) and nonsubordinating functions may be involved. Examples:

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{K"iti ut.j.i.t sara.}\text{n}a.\text{taki} & \quad \text{'Is there someone to go?'} \\
\text{who 3➔3 go} & \quad \text{(Jopoqueri)} \\
\text{Yati.ga.}\text{n}a.\text{taki.w jut.ta} & \quad \text{'I've come in order to learn.'} \\
\text{learn 1➔3} & \quad \text{(Jopoqueri)} \\
\end{align*}
\]

The second example above is clearly a purposive subordinated to the verb \text{jut.ta} 'I've come'. Other examples from other dialects:
Aka yapu.t trawaji.ña.tay, yapu.nak trawaji.ña.tay, field work

uka.x . . . chicha.xa lura.ña.w, chicha.x piwuna.tay. make

'Chicha has to be made, chicha for the workers, to work this field, to work the fields.' (Sitajara)

Uka.pacha.ki.w p"alt.tma aymar yati.qa.ñ.ma.taki. that lack 3+2 learn

'S only a little is lacking to you, for learning Aymara.' (Morocomarca)

7-4.21.3 -̪ta realized action, resultant

This suffix requires a preceding vowel and keeps its own vowel except before consonant-requiring suffixes or when zero complement vowel drop occurs. Unlike -ta complement/relational suffix 'from, of', it does not have an aspirated allomorph in any dialect so far encountered. It is distinguished from all other homophonous suffixes by morphophonemetics as well as by distribution and function.

Like all nouns, -ta nominalized forms may occur in the 3+3 Simple tense slot.

Uwija.x wali sisa.ra.ta.w. 'The sheep were well sated (had eaten their fill).' (Sitajara)
Imanta.w. 'He/she/it/they is/are hidden.' (Juli)

The two examples above translate in English with past participles or passives. Not all -ta nominalizations necessarily do.

Qamaqi.w sar.k.xa.t s.i.w. 'The fox was gone for good, they say.' (Huancané)

Wawa.naka.ña.x maq’a.ta.wa. 'My children have been fed.'

Q’ana t’ant’a.x manq’a.ta.w. 'Clearly, the bread has been eaten.' (La Paz/Compi)

As indicated in 6-3.35.2, synchronically unitary allomorphs of 3+3 RIK, all of which contain the partial /-ta-/, may be analyzed as derived from -ta nominalizer plus verbalization and either 3+3 S or 3+3 RDK inflection. Synchronically -ta nominalizations may be reverbalized with -:- as in the following examples from Huancané:

Kumpa.ña.ta:.p.x.i 'they went around together'

Yati.ta:.p.xa.tayna.w. 'They really came to know each other.'
Other examples of reverbalizations:

\[
\text{ampara.t kat.t"api.ta:}:\tilde{n}\text{a} \quad \text{hand/arm grab to be grabbed by the hand'} \\
\text{(La Paz/Tiahuanaco)}
\]

\[
\text{manq'a.qa.ta:}:\tilde{n}\text{a} \quad \text{eat to have one's food taken away'} \\
\text{(La Paz/Tiahuanaco)}
\]

\[
\text{Tuk'a.pta.ta.raki:}:\tilde{n}\text{a.wa.} \quad \text{He was thin'} \quad \text{(Salinas)} \\
\text{thin } \underline{3+3} \\
\text{RDK}
\]

\[
\text{Jayp'u.ta.x.t.wa.} \quad \text{I'm getting old'} \quad \text{(Sacca)} \\
\text{evening } \underline{1+3} \\
\text{S}
\]

As in the case of -\tilde{n}a nominalizations, personal possessive suffixes often occur after -ta.

\[
\text{Jupa.x} \\
\text{Jupa.n} \\
\{ \text{sar.xa.ta.pa.w.} \text{9} \quad \text{It looks like he left'} \quad \text{(La Paz/Compi)} \\
\text{3p}
\]

\[
\text{Qawg"a.ti gawq".ch'a.ti yati.ta.j} \\
\text{how much know ip}
\]

\[
\text{aka kwint.t'a.p.xa.mama.} \\
\text{this tell 1-2} \\
\text{F}
\]

'However much I know, this I will tell you.' \text{(Huancané)}
Muna.t.nha.x  ch'aq".i.w. 'What I loved got lost.'
Lose 1p  3+3  (Jopoqueri)

A paradigm on the verb jaqu.rpa:.ña 'to throw away' was elicited in Jopoqueri on the basis of a form that occurred in conversation in Sitajara: jaqu.rpa:.t.pa.t 'after his throwing away, after he threw it away', which has the personal possessive 3p -pa followed by -ta complement/relational, here meaning 'after'. This was the only instance for Sitajara of a personal possessive preceded by a consonant instead of a vowel and probably is a vestige of an earlier morphophonemic rule like that now operating regularly in Morocomarca and sporadically in Jopoqueri (see 5-3.24). The Jopoqueri paradigm based on the Sitajara form is the following:

jaqu.rpa:.t.nha  'what I threw out'  (e.g. a former girlfriend)

jaqu.rpa:.t.ma  'what you threw out'

jaqu.rpa:.t.pa  'what he/she/they threw out'

jaqu.rpa:.t.sa  'what we threw out'
The following examples are of -ta nominalizations without possessives. They translate as subordinate verb clauses.

<iyaw> sa.ta.w sara.tayn s.i.w.
yes say go 3→3 3→3
RIK S

"Yes," said, she went on her way, they say.' (Juli)
('Agreeing, she went on her way.')

Manq'a.t awt.ja.ta.w manq'a.si.tayn.
food hunger eat 3→3
RIK

'Of food hungered, he ate.' (La Paz/Compi)
('As he was hungry, he ate.')

Aka jallu gall.ta.ta , jich"a primir ti akustu.t
this rain begin now first of August

sata.si.p.x.t. aka yapu.nak.s . .
plant 1→3 fields S

'The rain (having) started, now on the first of August
we planted these fields.' (Corque)

It is difficult for a person who is not a native
speaker of Aymara to distinguish Calacala forms such as
ma.n[d]a.ta.w 'entered', with -ta nominalizer, from the
almost homophonous 3→3 RIK ma.n[d]a.taw(i) '(he) entered'
if the final /i/ of the latter is dropped or devoiced.
The following example as it stands is ambiguous, although a native speaker would probably hear a devoiced /a/ or /i/ and therefore would know which is occurring.

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{Llawi} &. \text{[d]} \text{a} &. \text{t} &. & \text{m} \text{a} &. \text{[d]} \text{a}. & \{ \text{ta} &. \text{w}(a) \} & \text{, s.i.w.} \\
& & \text{taw}(i) & \text{say} & 3 & 3 \\
& & & & \text{RIK} & S
\end{align*}
\]

'(The door) locked \{ \text{he was gone in,} \text{he went in,} \} \text{they say.}' (Calacala)

'(The sexton) having locked him in, (the priest) went in (to the bedroom).'

The following sentence from a folk tale told by a Jopoqueri source has subordinated verbs nominalized with -iri purposive, -\( \text{\textalpha} \text{.taki} \) purposive, and -\( \text{\textalpha} \) resultant:

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{Tatala} &. \text{p} & \text{irp} &. \text{t}' \text{.ir} & \text{sara} &. & \text{ta} &. : & \text{ni} &. \text{\textalpha} &. \text{pa} &. \text{taki} &. \text{x} \\
& & \text{father} & 3 & \text{get} & \text{go} & 3 & \text{p}
\end{align*}
\]

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{wawa} &. \text{n} &. \text{ak} &. & \text{yapi} &. & \text{[d]} \text{a} &. \text{ta} &. \text{w} \\
& & \text{children} & \text{tie up}
\end{align*}
\]

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{wawa} &. \text{l} &. \text{a} &. \text{naka} &. & <\text{Puqi} &. & \text{l} &. & \text{wax} &. & \text{t}' \text{.ita} > & \text{sa} &. \text{tayn}. \\
& & \text{children} & \text{treat} & \text{give} & 2 & 1 & \text{say} & 3 & \text{+3} & \text{RIK}
\end{align*}
\]

'While she went to get their father, (leaving) the children tied up, the children said (to the ostrich), "Give us a treat".'
(Through a slip of the tongue, the storyteller said 'leaving the children tied up', when actually it was the ostrich that had been left tied.)

7-4.21.4 -\text{\text{-wi}} -\text{\text{-wi}} -\text{\text{-awi}} 'place or occasion of action'

No examples of this suffix occurred in free texts in this research, showing it is not very productive today. A check with Vásquez (La Paz/Tiahuanaco) of forms with this suffix given by Bertonio (1603b) resulted in substitution of \text{-wi} by \text{-ta} nominalizer in most instances. In contemporary La Paz/Tiahuanaco Aymara some forms occur with \text{-wi}, others with \text{-\text{-wi}}. Only one instance of \text{-awi} was found. The following are all from La Paz/Tiahuanaco:

\begin{itemize}
\item \text{\text{yura.wi}} 'place of birth' \text{\text{yuri.na}} 'to be born'
\item \text{\text{yati.wi}} 'news' \text{\text{yati.na}} 'to know'
\item \text{\text{yati.gq.wi}} 'place where one learns' \text{\text{yati.gq.na}} 'to learn'
\item \text{\text{iki.:wi}} 'bedroom' \text{\text{iki.na}} 'to sleep, bed'
\item \text{\text{jay.cha.si.wi}} 'past quarrel' \text{\text{jay.cha.si.na}} 'to quarrel'
\item \text{\text{sata.wi}} 'time to plant' \text{\text{sata.na}} 'to plant'
\item \text{\text{tanta.cha.wi}} 'meeting, gathering' \text{\text{tanta.cha.na}} 'to gather'
\item \text{\text{jiwa.wi}} 'death' \text{\text{jiwa.na}} 'to die, death'
\end{itemize}
Llaki.s.ka.wi.w sar.naq.i. 'He's always going around worried.'

The following from La Paz/Compi show the closeness of meaning of -ta and -wi nominalizers.

Yati.cha.ta.m yati.cha..pi.y. 'What you taught me I will teach him.'

Yati.cha.wi.m yati.cha..pi.y. 'Your teaching I will teach to him.'

7-4.22 Restricted nominalization

The restricted nominalizing suffixes are -sa, -sina ~ -sina:n ~ -sana ~ -sna, and -ipana.

7-4.22.1 -vsa and -vsina (and variants)

Distribution of these suffixes will be discussed first, and afterwards their functions and semantics.

In Juli and Socca -sa is rarely used except with sa.ña 'to say' in embedding (see 7-4.4). In all dialects -sa is more used than -sina (and variants) in sa.ña embedding. The allomorph /-sina:n/ occurred only once, in a text from Achocalla, just outside the city of La Paz; it is recognized by Yapita (La Paz/Compi) as a variant used in some areas. The allomorph /-sina/ also occurs
in Achocalla and in all other dialects investigated except Jopoqueri, Morocomarca, and Calacala, which have /-sana/. Both /-sina/ and /-sna/ are used in Juli, Socca, and parts of La Paz, apparently interchangeably.

Of the older sources, Bertonio (1603b) reported both + -sa and + -sina. Labarre (1950) cited both also, but the former more often than the latter. Tschopik (1948) sources evidently used + -sa rarely, with greater use of + /-sna/ and + /-sina/, especially the former.

Two texts obtained in most dialects illustrate variation in occurrences of -sa and -sina (and variants of the latter). The first is a saying about reporting on the basis of personal knowledge (seeing with one's own eyes), which was obtained in all Aymara dialects except Calacoa and Sitajara. The version obtained in Socca, which has /-sna/, is given below. (Other versions may be found in Appendix D.)

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{Jan} & \quad \text{uñ.ja.sn.xa} & \quad \text{Jani.w} & \quad <\text{Uñ.j.t.w}> & \quad \text{sa.ña.ti.} \\
\text{no} & \quad \text{see} & \quad \text{no} & \quad \text{see} & \quad \text{say}
\end{align*}
\]

'Having seen, one must say "I have seen". Not having seen, one must not say "I have seen".'

The following is a breakdown of incidence of -sa and
-sina (and variants) in this saying by the dialect areas where it was obtained:

-sa  (La Paz, Salinas)

/-sina/  (Juli, Huancané)

/-sna/  (Sacca)

/-sana/  (Jopoqueri, Morocomarca)

In all versions the main verb is sa.ña, usually in the obligatory form sa.ña.wa, and the subordinate verb is un.ja.ña ~ iñ.ja.ña 'to see'.

The second text is a riddle about a spindle, which was obtained everywhere except in Sitajara, Socca, and Huancané. Most dialects have -sa in this riddle, as in the following version from Salinas. (Other versions may be found in Appendix D.)

Ma: tawagu.xa muy.ką.s muy.ką.s wal q'it.x.i.
     a  young woman turn  well  expand  3+3

Uka kuna.sa? Uka.pi.y gapu.w.
     that  what  that  spindle

'A young woman turning, turning gets pregnant.'
What is that? That is a spindle.'
Juli and La Paz use the same subordinate verb as that used here, muy.ka.ña; others are t"uqu.ña or t"uq.ta.ña 'to dance, leap' (La Paz) and tan.ja.ña 'to run' (Jopoqueri). The following is the breakdown of incidence of the suffixes in this riddle, by dialect:

- **-sa** (La Paz, Juli, Jopoqueri, Salinas, Morocomarca)

/ -sina/ (Juli, Calacoa)

Juli and Calacoa have the main verb usu.ri.:ña 'to be ill' (euphemism for 'to be pregnant') with different subordinate verbs. The versions with -sa have one of the following variants of 'to get pregnant, expand':

q'ita.ña (Salinas and Jopoqueri), q'inta.ña (Salinas), q'ipta.ña (Juli), and q"ipta.ña (La Paz).

It seems that where La Paz dialects would use -sa or /-sina/, Juli and Socca would use either /-sina/ or /-sna/, except that those dialects do use -sa with sa.ña, as noted above. Use of both /-sna/ and /-sina/ in one sentence in a folk tale is the following from Juli.

*May t"uqu.ka.ni.sn kasara.s.ir.n punku.pa.ru*

*once jump marry door 3p*

*may say.ta.sin kasara.s.ir.i.r, ara padrinu.r,*

*once stand up marry godfather*

(continued)
All at once giving a jump, standing up at the door of the married couple, urinating all over them, the godparents, and the advisors (other wedding guests), he escaped.

This heavily subordinated sentence closes the story of a skunk-turned-man who attends and ultimately disrupts a wedding.

As for function and semantics, -sina is sometimes used when the subjects of the main and subordinate verb are different, in parts of La Paz (for example Achocalla) where the use of -ipana (7-4.22.2) is rare. Dialects having -ipana use -ipana when the subjects are different, and use -sa and -sina (or variants of the latter) when the subjects are the same.

Some writers have claimed that -sa indicates an action simultaneous with the action of the main verb, while -sina indicates an action occurring before the action of the main verb. This claim is not supported by evidence obtained in this study. Numerous examples obtained in free texts undermine any argument for a simultaneous/nonsimultaneous distinction (or any other consistent distinction) between -sa and -sina, as will be seen below.
A speaker from Morocomarca accepted the first of the following pair, with /-sana/, but rejected the second, with /-sa/.

\[
\text{Jamach'i ap.ta.si.sana , sar.x.i.wa.} \\
\text{bird pick up go 1-3} \\
\text{S}
\]

'Picking up the birds, he left.' (Morocomarca)

\[
*\text{Jamach'i ap.ta.si.sa , sar.x.i.wa.}
\]

The reason for rejection of /-sa/ in this context is probably semantic, but is yet to be determined with certainty. The role of the final suffix /wa/ must be taken into account in determining the factors conditioning acceptability.

In Compi and Tiahuanaco it appears that /-sa/ implies more personal knowledge of the subordinated topic than does /-sina/ (Hardman et al. 1975:3.234-235). On the basis of present evidence this distinction cannot be confirmed for Aymara as a whole. Both /-sa/ and /-sina/ (and variants) may take /wa/ absolute sentence suffix, and like /-sina/, /-sa/ may occur with the Remote Indirect Knowledge tense in stories. Examples:

\[
\text{Uka.t tiwula.xa wayna.ru tuk.t'a.sa.w jik.xata.tayna.} \\
\text{then fox youth turn meet 3-3} \\
\text{RIK}
\]

'Then a fox who had turned into a young man met her.' (La Paz/Compi)
The fox, very content, feeling happy, dancing, turning, went away carrying the spirits (birds), taking a main road.' (Salinas)

The suffix -sina does occur in personal knowledge accounts. An example of /-sina/ in discussion of one's childhood (a context where personal knowledge forms would be expected) is the following, in which it is used with two subjects:

'There, where I had grown up, the owner began to take an interest in me.' (Achocalla)

An example of /-sina/ with the sentence suffix -wa is the following from Huancané:
'Now coming out of the church, "Where will the father arrive, your father will arrive," they said.'

('Coming out of the church, they asked him when his father would arrive.')

An example of /-sna/ with -wa sentence suffix occurred in the Socca version of the saying about seeing with one's own eyes. The same Socca source used /-sna/ in an account of his younger days.

On the basis of the inconclusive evidence here adduced, it appears that the distinction, if any, between -sa and -sina is now becoming blurred. Either suffix may serve to indicate simultaneous or previous action, subject to certain semantic restrictions inherent in verb roots and stems. Either may indicate personal or nonpersonal knowledge. Semantic restrictions governing the use of the suffixes may be shared by several dialects or may be dialect-specific. Further study is needed to establish the facts about the two suffixes.
7-4.22.2 -ipana and variants

As noted above, this suffix is used when the subjects of the main verb and of the subordinate verb are different. Time is not the significant factor, as the -ipana subordinated action may take place before, during, or after the action of the main verb.

This suffix is used only infrequently in certain dialects, especially those of La Paz. In Jaqaru there exists a cognate subordinating paradigm of 11 persons, with two separate suffixes for 3→3, one used when the subjects of the main and subordinate verb are the same and one when they are different. In the Jaqaru paradigm -ipana occupies the 3→3 slot for different subjects (Hardman 1966). Only one Aymara dialect, Morocomarca, has been found to have a productive use of more than -ipana, and that dialect has a paradigm of only four persons: 1→3, 2→3, 3→3, and 4→3. Although no attempt was made to elicit the paradigm in Calacala, it probably occurs there also; the -ipana form occurred more often in Calacala texts than in any others.

In Jopoqueri, Salinas, and Huancané only 3→3 -ipana occurred spontaneously in translations of Spanish elicitation sentences and in free texts, but forms for 1→3, 2→3, and 4→3 were acceptable there.
The paradigm was also reported by Bertonio, but he noted that only the first person +-ijana, second person +-imana, and third person +-ipana were in general use, the form +-isana (which we call fourth person) being very rare in the province of Chucuito and +-ipana being used more often for all persons (Bertonio 1603b:37).

Attempts to elicit the paradigm in dialects lacking it, using sentences translated from or similar to Jaqaru sentences cited by Hardman (1966) or based on examples given by Bertonio (1603b), resulted in Aymara sentences with a variety of tenses or nominalized forms. The following sentence was inspired by an example cited by Bertonio (1603b:234) which had +-ijana on the subordinate verb:

曼嘉那.kama.x Pedru.r awisa.ni.rap.it.a.

eat 1p notify 2+3 I

'While I'm eating, (you) notify Pedro for me.'

(La Paz/Tiahuanaco)

Examples of forms elicited for each of the four persons in the paradigm are given below. In dialects having the forms, variations follow those found in personal possessive suffixes. -ipana is treated last as more can be said about it in view of its greater generality and more frequent occurrence.
Example: 

If I don't come he may kill himself. (Morocomarca)

If I leave him he may die. (Morocomarca)

If I leave him he may die. (Salinas)

If I leave him he may die. (Jopoqueri)

Example: 

If you don't come I'll kill myself. (Morocomarca)
jiw.xa.spa.wa. (Salinas)  
die 3+3  
D-1  

Jum jayt.iman.xa  

jiw.x.iri ji.w. (Jopoqueri)  
die 3+3  
D-1  

'If you leave him he may die.'

4+3 /-isana/ (Morocomarca, Jopoqueri; accepted in Salinas and Huancané; also cited in Bertonio 1603b)

Examples:

Jiwasa jan jut'a.n.isana jup'a  jiwa.ya.si.spana.  
4p no come 3p kill 3+3  
D-1  

'If we don't come he may kill himself.' (Morocomarca)

jiw.xa.spa.wa. (Salinas)  
die 3+3  
D-1  

Jiwas jayt.isan.xa  

jiw.x.iri ji.w. (Jopoqueri)  
die 3+3  
D-1  

'If we leave him he may die.'

3+3 /-i:pana/ (Salinas; some speakers have /-ipana)  
/-ipuna/ (Calacala) [-ibuna]  
/-ipana/ (elsewhere, including Calacala; also cited in Bertonio 1603b and Ebbing 1965)  
/-ipna/ (La Paz/Tiahuanaco; occurred only frozen to sa.na 'to say' as s.ipna)
The following examples are all from free texts:

\[
\text{Sar.i:pan.kama.t} \ldots \text{chikutillu.x jagu.x.ta.n.i.x.} \\
\text{go} \quad \text{whip} \quad \text{whip} \quad 3+3 \quad S
\]

'When they had left . . . the whip flailed (the others)'  
(Salinas)

\[
\text{Q'urawa.ru ucha.nta.sana q'uraw.t'a.tayna uka} \\
\text{slingshot} \quad \text{set} \quad \text{sling} \quad 3+3 \quad RIK
\]

\[
\text{jach'a gullu.ru k"un.j.ipan.xa.} \\
\text{bit} \quad \text{mountain} \quad \text{snow}
\]

'Having set the slingshot, he hurled it at that big  
mountain where it had snowed heavily.'  (Jopoqueri)

\[
\text{Uka.t pur.i[=]bjun k"ita.n[d]a.:t.} \\
\text{then} \quad \text{arrive} \quad \text{send} \quad 2+3 \quad F
\]

'Then when (the day) arrives, you will send her.'  (Calacala)

\[
\text{Jan mam.it ut.j.ipan uñ.s.ta.n.s.ta.} \\
\text{no} \quad \text{mother} \quad \text{be appear} \quad \text{NI} \quad 2+3 \quad S
\]

'Since there was no mother (no one to treat us like a  
mother) you appeared.'  (Juli)

\[
\text{Jan sar.x.ipan jani.w sar.k.t.ti.} \\
\text{no} \quad \text{go} \quad \text{no} \quad \text{go} \quad 1+3 \quad S
\]

'Since he didn't go, I didn't go.'  (La Paz/Compi)
'When they burst three times, we'll take them out.' (Calacoa)

'The fox danced around each time one popped, each time one exploded.' (Sacca)

(Examples on the verb saña 'to say' are given in 7-4.4.)

/-ipana/ occurs relatively infrequently on verbalized nouns. In La Paz, verbalization with -layku 'on account of' is also on the stem, in which case verbalization plus /-ipana/ means 'due to', sometimes with a connotation of blame. The vowel length goes on the /i/ of /-ipana/. The following examples are from La Paz/Tiahuanaco, inspired by some similar ones by Ebbing (1965).

'Thanks to whom have we learned to write Aymara?'
Tuktura Hardman.ipan(w) jiwa.x aymar qillqa.n
doctor

yati.q.tan.

'Thanks to Dr. Hardman we have learned to write Aymara.'

The following is from La Paz/Compi:

K'iti.layku.ipan.s jut.ta. 'On whose account did you come?'
come 2\rightarrow 3
S

7-4.23 Subordination with final suffixes
7-4.23.1 -sa

This suffix may be used to link sentences as well as parts of sentences. It also occurs on interro­
gatives (see 5-2.1) and on jani negative (7-4.52).
In the following examples -sa usually translates as 'if':

karta.ni.:ta:t.sa 'if I had received a letter'
1→3
(Tarata, near Sitajara)
RIK

Jut.ka.sapan.s jani.pini.w qatuq.k.iriska:t.ti.
come 3→3 no receive 1→3
D-2
D-2

'If he had come I wouldn't have received him.'
(La Paz/Tiahuanaco)
7-4.23.2  -xa topic/attenuator

This suffix often acts like a subordinator of verbs in La Paz (Hardman et al. 1975:3.453). Other dialects, such as Sitajara, Salinas, Calacala, and Jopoqueri, more frequently use other types of subordination. The following examples all occurred with different subjects for the main and subordinate verbs. In most cases the tense of the main and the subordinate verb is the same. (No examples of /-/ allomorph of -xa topic/attenuator or of -ka final suffix occurred as subordinators.)

Puq.u.xa  al.ja.si.p.k.t"a  naya.x.  
produce  sell  1+3  1p

Sap  p"alla.ni.xa  juma.xa  wali  t"uqu.wa.t\a.x.  
each  burst  3+3  2p  well  dance  2+3

Juma.x  tij.itasma.x  q'awa.ru  jala.nta.s.k.irista.  
2p  leave  2+1  ravine  throw into  1+3

'If it produces, we sell.' (Calacala)

'Each time one bursts, you will dance a lot.' (Sacca)

'If you were to leave me, I'd throw myself into a ravine.' (San Andrés de Machaca)
'If I were single, I'd travel.' (La Paz/Tiahuanaco)

Q"antati.tayi.x q"ipa.n tul.tayi.x wal
dawn 3-3 after very
RIK

Una.nuqa.si.wa.x.t"a.
look 1-2
S

'At dawn, from then on, I tried hard to see.' (Sitajara)

7-4.23.3 -ti.xa and -ti.ya

These combinations occur on interrogatives (see 7-4.24), demonstratives, and verbs. -ti.xa is more frequent than -ti.ya; in fact, no examples of -ti.ya occurred in the data for this study, although it did occur in data from La Paz used by Hardman et al. (1975). -ti.xa has occasionally occurred as subordinator without a following uka summarizer in the sentence (see 7-4.24 and 7-4.3), but only in the speech of persons associated with missionary groups. Examples:

<Wali gam.iri.mpi.raki.w wawa.x kasara.ya.si.ia.x , very rich child marry 1-3 F

Jani.w aligax jani.y puri.mpi.x , na.x t"ant"a
no anyone no poor ip ragged

(continued)
"To a really rich man I'll marry my child, not to just anyone, not to a poor man, (not) to a poor person from my own town like (the one) I married" saying, he said.' (Huancané; said by a Seventh Day Adventist)

When I catch her I'll kill her, (she) crying I'll finish her.' (Socca)

7-4.24 Interrogative as indefinite (translating as relative)

Interrogatives serving as indefinites usually occur with -ti.xa, but may instead occur with -sa indefinite or -xa attenuator, and it is the final suffixes rather than the interrogatives that perform the subordination. Interrogatives translating as relatives are often followed by uka resumator. Examples:

'What I am telling you was told in olden times.' (Juli)
'Whatever photos come out, those please send to me.' (Corque)

'However far you will go, keep on going there.' (Juli) (advice to keep on working hard toward a goal)

'We will write to you in the United States, wherever you may be, there.' (Juli)

'Whoever gives you work, he should also pay you.' (La Paz/Tiahuanaco, inspired by sentence in Bertonio 1603b:158)
Persons educated or influenced by missionaries use more interrogatives as relatives than do other Aymara speakers. In missionary usage uka is often left out. Examples are given in 9-5.

7-4.3 uka linker and summarizer

The demonstratives uka 'that' and (to a lesser extent) aka 'this' are used as sentence linkers and summarizers throughout the Aymara-speaking world. uka is by far the most frequent linker and summarizer in all types of discourse. A folk tale about a lake bird (wallata) and a fox, told in Socca, contains a total of 36 instances of uka and derived forms built on it and two instances of ak"ama 'like this'. A folk tale told in Huancané about a fox-turned-man who marries a rich girl contains 56 instances of uka and derived forms. While a controlled statistical study has yet to be made, it appears that the most common forms are uka.ta 'then' as linker and uk"ama 'like that, so, thus' as both linker and summarizer. Examples of uka as sentence linker:

Uka.t ma: gamaqi.xa sara.tayn jisk.t'.iri.
then a fox go 3-3 ask
RIK

'Then a fox went to ask.' (Socca)
Uka.n wawa.pa.r nutifika.sitayn s.i.w.
then child order 3+3 say
RIK

'Then he gave his child an order, they say.' (Huancané)

Uka.r jani.y jiq"a.ta..n muna.tayna.t s.i.w.
no meet want 3+3 say
RIK

'At that he didn't want to meet him, they say.' (Huancané)

Examples of uka as linker and summarizer:

Uka.ru.sti kun ma: urnu.ru uka.x p"ich.kata.:t
then a oven that stoke fire 2+3
F

wawa.nak.a.m.x uka.ru suma ana.nta.:t.x uk"ama.k.x
children in that well put 2+3 like that
F

gallu.nak sa.s.
children say

"Then in an oven, (in) there, you will build up a fire, your children in that you will carefully put, just like that, your little ones," saying.' (Sacca)

Many of the other examples in this chapter contain instances of uka summarizer and its derived forms. Examples as subject, zero complement, and -ru relational are found in 7-4.24. Hardman et al. (1975:3.454-455) gave other examples showing greater depth of embedding.
7-4.4  \textit{sa.ña} embedding

The verb \textit{sa.ña} 'to say' (see 6-4) is used in all dialects as a reportive, to embed direct quotes.

7-4.41 \textit{sa.ña} with Simple tense

The simplest use of \textit{sa.ña} as embedder is the verb with 3+3 Simple tense, \textit{s.i}, often suffixed with \textit{-wa} absolute, as in the following:

\begin{verbatim}
Jaya timpu.xa inka.xa \textit{taqi.ru.wa} mant.iri.:n
far time Inca all order 3+3
\end{verbatim}

\textit{s.i.w.}
\textit{3+3}
\textit{S}

'Long ago, the Inca ruled over everything, they say.'

(Jopoqueri)

What occurs before \textit{s.i.w} in the above example is a complete sentence, with \textit{-wa} absolute on \textit{taqi.ru} and with the Remote Direct Knowledge tense on the verb. Without the addition of \textit{s.i.wa} the sentence would imply that the speaker had personal experience on which to base his statement. Adding \textit{s.i.wa} indicates that the speaker is reporting information received at second hand.
7-4.42 saña with Imperative tense

The 2+3 Imperative on saña, sa.m(a) 'tell him/her/them', is considered rude when said alone but it may occur to embed another Imperative verb. Examples:

<Chur.itm> sa.ma. 'Tell him "Give me".'
give 2+i (Tell him to give you . . .) (Huancané)

A more complex embedding of saña with the Imperative is the following:

Tiyu Juwana.x ak"am s.i.w  \langle\langle\text{Jut.pan}\rangle sa.m  s.i.w.\\nn uncle Juan thus 3+3 come 3+3 2+3 3+3\\nS I I S

'Uncle Juan thus said, "Let him/her come', say," he said.'
('Uncle Juan wants you to come.' (La Paz/Compi)

This last example is a reduced form of a longer sentence with four embeddings of saña.

Tiyu Juwana.x ak"am s.i.w\\nn 3+3 S

\langle\langle\text{Jut.pan}\rangle s.itu.wa\rangle sa.m \langle\langle\text{Jut.pan}\rangle s.i.wa.\\nn 3+3 3+1 2+3 3+3\\nI S I S
Such extensive embedding of quotes is quite impossible in English. The sentence may be intelligibly rendered as 'Uncle Juan told me to tell you that he would like you to come', or more briefly, as in the reduced version given first above, 'Uncle Juan wants you to come'.

7-4.43 sa.ña with subordinators -sa and -sina (or variants)

As we have just seen, when an actual quote is embedded in Aymara a translation that does not use a direct quote may best convey the meaning of the sentence. This is also true of the following, in which sa.ña occurs once inflected and once with -sa subordinator.

Na.x sa.rak.sma.sa.y <apa.ni.w,ja.m> sa.sa.y.
lp 1→2 bring 2→3 I
S

'I already said to you, "Bring it", saying.'
('I already told you to bring it.') (Calacoa)

In the following example the 3p subject of the embedded quote is identical with the addressee.

Naya.x <Juwana.w naya.r t'ant' chir.itani> sa.sa.w s.ist Ana Mariya.ru.
lp 3p lp bread give 3→1 F
S

'I "Juana will give me bread" saying said to Ana María.'
('I told Ana María that you (Juana) would give me bread.')
(La Paz/Tiahuanaco)
The above type of embedding is very common, but when the addressee is also the subject of the embedded quote a different structure may be used, according to Yapita (La Paz/Compi). In this structure the 2p pronoun replaces the 3p subject of the quote, but remains outside the quote.

\[
\begin{array}{cccc}
Naya.x & juma.w & \langle naya.r \ t'ant' \ chur.itani \rangle & sa.sa.w \\
lp & 2p & lp & \text{bread give 3+1} \\
\end{array}
\]

\[
\frac{s.ista}{1p} \quad \frac{Ana \ Mariya.ru.}{3p}
\]

'I (speaking of) you "She will give me bread" saying said to Ana María.' ('I told Ana María that you would give me bread. ')

The example above is evidence of what Hardman calls overmarking of the second person in Aymara, a phenomenon tied to the operation of the four-person system (see 8-2.1).

Examples of sa.ña embedding in longer sentences are the following, with -sa or -sina subordination and with the use of sa.ña as obligatory. The first example comes from a comment on why fiestas often degenerate into fights, from a source in Juli. The second is from a description of the end of the fiesta of San Juan in Sitajara.
'We argue over land (ownership), with land we get into (arguments), I "Do you own land?" "No." "But I do!" saying . . . ('We argue over land ownership, each belittling the other's holdings and bragging about his own.')

'So, "We're getting ready to leave, ready now, dismiss us," so saying then that "Drive (the animals) up, drive them down," has to be said also.'

('So, they announce their departure and ask permission to leave, and then the order must be given to drive the animals back up or down (wherever they came from).')

These translations are tentative, in view of my unfamiliarity with the events described and the somewhat telegraphic nature of the description, at least to someone.
unfamiliar with their cultural setting. (Translation of grammatical structures without a knowledge of the cultural meaning of the events described is hazardous at best.)

The following example has /-sina:n/ allomorph of -sina:

Asint uta.pa.n.s jani.raki.w jayta.ñ.s
hacienda house no leave

mun.ka.rak.itu.ti , <Juma.x uka.nka.si.s.ka.m ,
want 3+1 2p stay there 2+3
S

uñ.ja.rap.it> sa.sina:n . . .
2+3
I

'The hacienda house he did not want to leave to me, "You will stay there, caretake it for me", saying

('He did not want to give the hacienda house to me, but instead asked me to stay there and caretake it for him.') (Achocalla)

In certain contexts, especially when the subject of the main verb (sa.ñña) and the embedded verb are the same person, the sentence indicates that the subject is thinking of doing or wanting to do something. The Future or Desiderative tense is used on the embedded verb. Examples:
"We can be buying," I said.'  
('I think we can buy it.')  
(Sitajara)

'I will go to the movies," I was saying.'  
('I was thinking of going to the movies.')  
(La Paz/Compi)

'I will go to the movies," I said.'  
('I was thinking of going to the movies.')  
(Carangas; reported by Yapita)

Sometimes a verb other than saña may be the  
main verb of the sentence, with saña occurring in a  
subordinated form only, as in the following from a  
story told by Vásquez:

'I will put the thread through, I will put it through,"  
saying, she tried.'  
('She tried to thread the needle.')  
(La Paz/Tiahuanaco;  
Hardman et al. 1975:1.402)
"I will study," saying, I am living in these cities.'
(Socca)
('Wanting to study, I've continued to live in these cities.')

7-4.44 sa.ña with -ipana ~ -ipna

This occurs infrequently. It is sometimes used as a comparative (Hardman et al. 1975:3.235), especially by missionary-instructed persons; such use has occurred only once in this research, in a reworking by Vásquez of a Bertonio (1603b) example (which had neither sa.ña nor -ipana).

Cristobal Colona.x taqí.t s.ipan aka uraqi.ru
all this land

jut.i.
come 3+3
S

'Christopher Columbus was the first to arrive in this land.' (La Paz/Tiahuanaco)

A variant s.ipna also occurs in La Paz, but s.ipana is more common. Examples:

... yaq"a aru.x aru.wa - Chinu.t s.ipna,
other languages

(continued)
Kuriyanu.t s.ipna, Turkisa.t s.ipna...

'... other languages are (all) languages - (whether) speaking of Chinese, speaking of Korean, speaking of Turkish...' (La Paz/Tiahuanaco, in Hardman et al. 1975:3.xxi)

K"it s.ipan.s waw chur.tama.
who baby give 2+3 S

'Who could have given you the baby?' (a rude question asked of a young mother in Calacoa)

Srta. Lucy s.ipan.xa <Aymar aru yati.q.t'a.n
learn

mun.t"a> s.ipan.xa, na:xa allux kusi.s.t"a.
want 1+3 1p very happy 1+3 S

'When Miss Lucy said "I want to learn Aymara", I was very happy.' (Salinas)

... kawk"a.t.s t'ij.tata.n.tam u jan s.ipan.xa
where hurt 2+3 no S

kawk"a.t.s sint us.tam...
3+2 S

'... where did it hurt you, or else where does it hurt the most... (Compi)

7-4.45 The particle iyaw plus sa.ña

The particle iyaw 'yes' may be embedded with sa.ña to mean 'agree'. In the usage of persons active in
institutionalized religion it means 'to believe in, have faith', and the phrase iyaw sa.ña may be used to translate 'faith' or 'belief'.

\[ \text{Iyaw sa.ta.w sara.tayn s.i.w.} \]
\[ \text{go} \quad 3 \rightarrow 3 \]
\[ \text{RIK} \]

'Agreeing, she went on her way, they say.' (Juli)

\[ \text{Jesucristo tat.itu.ru iyaw sa.m.} \]
\[ \text{father} \quad 2 \rightarrow 3 \]
\[ 1 \]

'Believe in the Lord Jesus Christ.' (La Paz, Baptist church)

\[ \text{Jiwasa.x iyaw s.tan uka iyaw sa.ña.} \]
\[ 4 \rightarrow 3 \]
\[ S \]

'We accept that belief.' (La Paz, Baptist church)

7-4.46 sa.ña 'to make a noise'

Some sa.ña embedding may mean 'to make a noise.'

\[ \text{Pa:rinu.ki.w juta.s.k.i.x s.i.w <q"un q"un> sa.s.} \]
\[ \text{godfather} \quad \text{come} \quad 3 \rightarrow 3 \]
\[ \text{say} \quad \text{boom boom} \quad \text{say} \]
\[ S \]

'The godfather returned, they say, "Boom boom!" saying.'

('The godfather returned, they say, exploding firecrackers.') (Huancané)
On the other hand, saña embedding may be used to convey a visual rather than an auditory image, as in the following:

\[
\text{Wich'inka.s} \quad \text{<tistisi tistisi>} \quad \text{sa.sa.w} \quad \text{anu.x}
\]

tail rigid rigid say dog

\[
\text{q"ipa.p} \quad \text{nayra.p} \quad \text{jal.i.}
\]

back forth run 3+3 S

'His tail "stiffly stiffly" saying, the dog ran back and forth.'

('Jauntily wagging his tail, the dog ran back and forth.')

(La Paz/Tiahuanaco)

7-4.47 saña in storytelling

The first example given for saña embedding (7-4.41) was from a story, and the other types of embedding mentioned above occur in tales as well as in conversation. Complex embeddings especially characteristic of storytelling style involve frequent use of -sa subordinator (less often -sina and variants or -ipana), saña with 3+3 Remote tenses or 3+3 Non-Involver, and the plain s.i.w, all together.

\[
\text{Asiru.raki.:n} \quad \text{s.i.w} \quad \text{tawaqu.mp} \quad \text{parl.iritayna.x} ,
\]

snake 3+3 3+3 girl talk 3+3 RIK

\[
\text{uka.x} \quad \text{sara.w.x.iritayna.w} \quad \text{s.i.w} \quad \text{<Siñal.t'a.w.ita.11>}
\]

go 3+3 3+3 mark 2+1 RIK S 1 (continued)
"There was a snake, they say, who talked with a young woman; (before) he went out, they say, "Mark me" saying he said, they say.'
('There was a snake who talked with a young woman; before going out, he asked her to mark him.') (Juli)

"Now heat up the oven," saying she said, they say, to the fox.' (Calacoa)

"Well then, I'll tell you," saying said the partridge.' (Jopoqueri)

Then godfather come

(continued)
'Then the godfather having arrived, "Boom boom" saying, "Boom boom" saying, "Now what is that 'boom boom' said--I don't (like) that, not that--(nonsense syllables) saying he said, they say.' (Huancané)
('When the godfather arrived, he exploded firecrackers, and the groom became very much alarmed.') (Huancané)

Uk"ama.x wali.raki.sa.: , awir q"ana.pi.y sa.rak.(i)
thus well clear 3+3 3+3

<Kamisa.ki..chi.n> sa.sa.xa.y jis.ch.i.x.
how NI 3+3 NI 3+3

'So then "Fine, let's see, it's clear," they said, "How will they get along?" saying, they said.' (Huancané)

7-4.5 Negation

Negation may affect most of the syntactic processes already described. It usually requires the presence of the negative particle jani or the reduced form ni. The latter is more prevalent in Salinas and Calacoa but also occurs elsewhere, especially in ni.kuna 'nothing' and ni.k"iti 'no one', acting like a prefix (the only one in the language, if one discounts /si-/ and /ji-/ on sa.ña). ni may also occur on the interrogative verb kama.cha.ña, as in the following sentence from Jopoqueri:
partridge

how

know 3+3

'And then the partridge didn't know what to do.'

jani occurs in several derived forms: jan.ja-

jan.jama 'I don't think so' (literally 'like no'), with

the noun/independent suffix -jama; jani.ra - jani.ray

(the second from Sitajara) 'not yet'; jani.kucha 'better

not' and jani.kucha14 'or if not'; and jani.ch 'isn't

that so?' (with -cha alternate question suffix). One

form that occurred only in Calacala was jana: 'isn't

that so?'.

7-4.51 Negation of basic sentences

Basic sentences were discussed in 7-3. The

basic negative statement (Hardman et al. 1975:3.432)

consists of jani plus -wa absolute; -ti sentence suffix

where -wa would be in an affirmative sentence; and

-xa optionally on other words in the sentence. Example:

T'ant'a.x jani.w ut.j.k.i.ti. 'There is no bread.'

bread exist 3+3 (La Paz/Compi)

A basic negative statement may be changed to a negative

yes/no question by removing the -wa on jani and replacing

it by the -ti from the verb, as follows:
Isn't there any bread?' (La Paz/Compi)

A negative answer to a -sa/(-xa) information question without any verbal inflection retains the interrogative as an indefinite, verbalized and suffixed with -sa, and adds jani plus -wa, resulting in a -sa/-wa sentence:

Kuna.s uka.xa ? (Uka.x) jani.w kuna.::k.i.sa.  
what that 3-3+3+3  S

'What is that? (That) isn't anything.' (La Paz/Compi)

A negative answer to a -sa/(-xa) information question containing an inflected verb consists of jani plus -wa; the interrogative with -sa; and if the verb is repeated, it takes -ti.

Kuna.s ut.j.i ? Jani.w kuna.s (ut.j.k.i.ti).  
what 3-3+3+3+3  S

'What is there? There isn't anything.' (La Paz/Compi)

Kun.s mun.ta ? Jani.w kun.s mun.k.t.ti.  
what want 2-3 1-3+3  S

'What do you want? I don't want anything.' (La Paz/Compi)
All other negative sentences or phrases may be derived from these basic sentences. 15 (Negative forms of the inflected verb sa.ña 'to say' were given in 6-4).

7-4.52 Incompletive and completive verbal derivational suffixes with the negative

In the examples above, the verbs contain the incompletive verbal derivational -ka- in the stem. In La Paz, Juli, Huancané, Socca, Sitajara, and Calacoa the verb or verbalized noun in a negative statement usually has the incompletive -ka-. The completive -xa- sometimes occurs instead (or in addition), but less often. In Salinas, Jopoqueri, Calacala, and Morocomarca the incompletive or completive suffixes are more often absent with the negative.

The following all occurred in Salinas.

Ni.w mun.k.iri.j.t.ti. 'I wouldn't like to.'
\[ \text{D-1} \]

Ni.w mun.t.ti. 'I don't want to.'
\[ \text{1+3} \]
\[ \text{S} \]

Ni.w mun.j.t.ti. 'I wouldn't like to.'
\[ \text{1+3} \]
\[ \text{S} \]
The dialects where the incompletive occurs less often, have it on nouns verbalized with -ka- or -:- with the Simple tense, but not if verbalization is followed by a Remote tense. Examples:

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{Jani.w } & \quad \text{aka.n.k.j.i.ti. } \quad \text{'It's not here.' } \quad \text{(Jopoqueri)} \\
\text{Jani.w } & \quad \text{juma.taki.:.k.i.ti. } \quad \text{'It's not for you.' } \quad \text{(Salinas)} \\
\end{align*}
\]

But (with -ra instead of -wa on Jani),

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{Jani.r } & \quad \text{juta.ni.ü.ma.:.n.ti. } \quad \text{'You should not have come yet.' } \quad \text{(Morocomarca)} \\
\end{align*}
\]

The meaning differences between forms with and without
the incompletive are often lost in translation, but the following pair shows one contrast:

\[
\text{Jani.w yat.t.ti. } 'I don't know.' \quad \text{(Jopoqueri)}
\]

\[
\begin{array}{c}
\text{Jani.w yat.k.t.ti. } 'I don't know yet.' \quad \text{(Jopoqueri)}
\end{array}
\]

Dialects that usually have -ka- on the negative do not have it with the Future tense used as a polite command.

\[
\text{Jani.w parla.n.ta.ti. } 'You are not going to talk.' \quad \text{(Juli)}
\]

7-4.53 Permutations of basic negative sentences

The basic negative sentences may be changed by replacing -wa by another sentence suffix, replacing -ti by -xa.ya, or dropping the final vowel on jani.

7-4.53.1 Replacing -wa by another sentence suffix
7-4.53.11 -wa --> -lla~-ya

\[
\text{Ni.} \text{ll kun.s s.ka.} \text{hani.ti. } 'We won't tell them anything.'
\]

\[
\begin{array}{c}
\text{what say } \quad \text{(Salinas)}
\end{array}
\]
7-4.53.12  -wa --> -sa linker 'but, however'

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{Jani.s} & \quad jut.k.i.ti.xa \quad \ldots \quad 'But he hasn't come \ldots.' \\
& \quad 3+3 \quad S \\
\quad \text{Jani} & \quad jank'a.s \quad pur.k.i.t. \\
& \quad \text{fast} \quad 3+3 \quad S
\end{align*}
\]

'But he hasn't come . . .' (Huancané)

'But they weren't arriving fast.' (Sitajara)

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{Kuna.t.s} & \quad \text{Jani.s} \quad uwij.sti \quad \text{puri.ya.n.ta.xa} \quad ? \\
& \quad \text{why} \quad 2+3 \quad S
\end{align*}
\]

'But why didn't you bring the sheep?' (Juli)

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{Jani.ra.raki.s} & \quad juta.\text{n.ma}..n.ti.xa. \\
& \quad \text{come} \quad 2p \quad 3+3 \quad \text{RDK}
\end{align*}
\]

'But you shouldn't have come yet!' (Salinas)

7-4.53.2  Replacing -ti by -xa.ya

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{Jani} & \quad sar.chi..xa.ya \quad g'aru.ru.x.x. \\
& \quad \text{go} \quad \text{NI} \quad 1+3 \quad F \quad \text{tomorrow}
\end{align*}
\]

'Won't I leave tomorrow?' (rhetorical question) (La Paz/Compi)

(Because of -chi NI on the verb, there is no -wa in the sentence.)
7-4.53.3 Morphophonemics of \textit{jani}

The final vowel of \textit{jani} drops in noun phrases and when modifying nominalized verbs; in negative information questions and answers thereto; with the Imperative; and with verbs subordinated with a sentence suffix, \textit{uka}, or \textit{sa.\text{"n}a} embedding.

7-4.53.31 Negative noun phrases or nominalized verbs

These are derived from the basic negative statement. When modifying the head noun in a noun phrase, \textit{jani} loses its final vowel, except that when modifying an interrogative, \textit{jani} loses its initial /ja/. The following occur generally unless otherwise noted.

\textit{jan} jayu.ni 'without salt' ('no salt-haver') \textit{-ni} possessor

\textit{ni.kuna} 'nothing' \textit{kuna} 'what'

\textit{jan} uka.x 'not that'

\textit{jan} uñ.j.iri 'someone who hasn't taken good care of something (a place) left in their charge' ('nonwatcher')

\begin{align*}
\textit{uñ.ka.\text{"n}a} \\
\textit{jan} & 'not to look' (La Paz/Tiahuanaco) \\
\textit{uña.\text{"n}a} \\
\textit{jan} uñ.ja.\text{"n}a.taki & 'so as not to see, for not seeing'
\end{align*}
Jan un.ja.sa.x 'not having seen' (La Paz/Compi)

Jan un.ja.san.xa 'not having seen' (Jopoqueri)

Jan pur.iman 'your not having come' (Salinas)

Jan wal.t'a.w.xa.tayna 'he felt ill' ('not-good') (Juli)

None may also be used before a noun that is not an interrogative, in reduplicative phrases meaning 'neither ... nor', as in the following:

\[
\begin{array}{l}
\text{Ni } \text{juma.s} \quad \text{ni } \text{naya.s} \quad \text{sar.ka.ñani.ti.} \\
\end{array}
\]

'Neither you nor I will go.' (-sa lister on the pronouns)

This \text{ni} is homophonous and apparently identical in function with Spanish \text{ni} 'neither, nor'; it may be a Spanish borrowing or merely a point at which the two languages converge, or both.

7-4.53.32 Negative information questions and negative answers thereto

Examples (from La Paz/Compi):

\[
\begin{array}{l}
\text{Kuna.s } \text{jan } \text{ut.j.k.i} ? \quad \text{'What isn't there?'} \\
\end{array}
\]
Ni kuna.s (jan ut.j.k.i.ti). 'Nothing isn't there.'
(i.e., 'nothing is missing')

Kun.s jan mun.k.ta? 'What don't you want?'

Ni kun.s (jan mun.k.t.ti). 'There's nothing I don't want.'

Kuna.t.s jan jut.ta? 'Why didn't you come?'

Kuna.t.s jan jut.k.ta? 'Why didn't you come? (you had promised to)'

The Morocomarca source insisted that the vowel of jani must be retained in negative information questions, e.g.

Kuna.t.raj i jani awis.ista.sti? 'Why didn't you let notify me know?'

7-4.53.53 Negative with Imperative

Jan lura.m.ti. 'Don't do that.' (Jopoqueri, Salinas, Sitajara, Calacoa, La Paz)
'Don't do that.' (Juli)

'Don't you go, he's going to go.' (Juli)

7-4.53.34 Negative verb subordinated with sentence suffix, uka, or sa.ña embedding

'I don't want to (go), I'll go.' (Juli)

'If I weren't married, I'd go.' (La Paz/Tiahuanaco)

'But if you don't want to go, I'll go.' (Jopoqueri)

"Perhaps we'll never meet again," saying.' (La Paz/Tiahuanaco)
Summary and Conclusion

Syntactic and morphosyntactic variation in Aymara is slight. Morphemes showing some variation in phonological shape are the particles, the independent nonfinal and final suffixes, and some of the nominalizing (subordinating) suffixes: the little-used -wi ~ -:wi ~ -awi and the more common -sina (and variants) and -ipana (and variants).

The final suffix inventory varies a little from one dialect to another. The suffix -ka has been found only in Calacala and Morocomarca. The vowel length allomorph of -xa ~ -: topic/attenuator does not occur in La Paz, Socca, or Jopoqueri. The disclaimer -m (and variants) has occurred only in Huancané and parts of La Paz.

Morphosyntactic processes are essentially the same in all dialects. The southern group of dialects (Jopoqueri, Salinas, and Morocomarca) plus Huancané in the north have a four-member subordinating paradigm of which the 3➔3 -ipana (or variants) is the sole member in other dialects; in some parts of La Paz even -ipana is falling into disuse. The use of -xa topic/attenuator as a subordinator of verbs appears to be more common in La Paz dialects than in dialects that make greater use of -sina or -ipana subordination.
There is some variation in the semantics of the subordinators -sa, -sina (and variants) and -ipana (and variants), and in use of the final suffix combination -ti.xa as a subordinator, but regional patterning (if any) of this semantic variation is yet to be determined.
Notes

1 This may be a Spanish loan. According to Bello (1847:36), there was an archaic interjection guay ~ guá that persisted in certain countries of Latin America, as in the expressions

Guay la mujer! 'Wow! Look at that woman.'
Guay lo que dice! 'Wow! Did you hear what she said!'

Bertonio (1603b:51) also reported this interjection and a number of others identical or similar to contemporary Aymara ones.

2 A suffix phonemically /-qa/ did occur once in a text from Calacala, instead of the -ka which usually occurred.

Ma: suma (ma)cha.ta.t.qa . . . 'very drunk'

It may be that this was an instance of Quechua -qa, but if not, it needs further analysis.

3 way.xaru.:tawi and way.xaru.: have /:/ allo­morph of the verbal derivational suffix -ya- ~ -:- causative. In way.xaru.:, the causative on the final /u/ of -xaru- merges with /u/ realization of -i 3+3 S tense by a morphophonemic rule whereby a verb stem /u/ over­rides a following /i/ (see 4-3.22.11).

4 A k"ari.k"ari or k"ari.s.iri is an evil spirit in human form (usually that of a Catholic priest) who is believed to cut out the fat of his victims.

5 These are written as two words to show their structure. One of them, upu upu, occurs with juncture (phonetically a glottal stop) before the repetition of the root.

6 -iri sometimes occurs on nouns after vowel­length verbalization, which may reduce to plain vowel (see 4-3.22.13). An -iri also occurs frozen in certain verb tenses (see 6-3.34.22 and 6-3.37).
Questions with *kuna.taki.s* were originally thought to require an answer with *-ña.taki*, rather than *-iri*, but *-iri* is usually preferred in my data. See 7-4.21.23 for *-ña.taki* subordination.

The verb *ma(n)q'a.ña* may mean 'to eat' or 'to feed' depending on context and verbal derivational suffixes occurring in the stem.

The two paradigms with and without *-na* on the (optional) pronoun occur for all grammatical persons in La Paz/Compi.

Subjects of verbs subordinated with *-ipana*, etc., lose their final vowels except in Morocomarca.

*sa* linker and *-sa* interrogative/indefinite are treated as two suffixes by Hardman et al. (1975). They are here treated as one because it is not always possible to separate the functions.

Spanish syntactic linkers and emphatics enter Aymara freely, like other loanwords. The greatest number occurs in the speech of persons (especially men) who are bilingual in Aymara and Spanish, but some also occur in the speech of monolinguals.

For sounds made by inanimate objects the verb *ta-* is used instead of *sa.ña*, according to the following example from Yapita (La Paz/Compi):

```
Punk"u.x tux t.i.w. 
doors
S
```

'The door slammed.' ('The door went "thud".')

According to Yapita there is no general term for 'sound' in Aymara; a number of onomatopoeic words are used (see Appendix B).

In present-day Aymara *-kucha* occurs only on *jani*. Evidence from Bertonio (1603b:277) suggests it may have been an independent nonfinal suffix in his time, as he showed it in a verb stem between the root and the inflection, but it may instead have been a noun root, verbalized and then inflected.
15 Like -ti, -wa (or another sentence suffix replacing it) may occur on a form other than jani in a negative sentence; see the examples under 7-4.53.

16 For another example of the contrast of presence and absence of -ka- with the negative, see 7-4.53.32.
CHAPTER 8
VARIATION IN SEMANTICS

8-1 Introduction

A discussion of variation in Aymara semantics must be based on an examination of what Hardman (in press a) calls the linguistic postulates of the language: categorizations recurring at different levels of grammar and reflected in cultural norms. An understanding of their nature and pervasiveness is needed in order to describe certain differences in their manifestations in different dialects (for example, in selectional restrictions on verb subjects and complements) especially to show differences between Missionary, Patrón, and Radio Aymara on the one hand, and other Aymara dialects on the other (see Chapter 9).

Regional semantic variation in the noun and verb systems includes instances of one form with different meanings cross-dialectically, and conversely, cases of different Aymara forms occurring in different dialects with apparently the same meanings. At the present state of research, which relies heavily on translation, decisions as to what constitute
'same' and 'different' meanings within and across dialects are at best tentative and at worst may be wrong, lacking sufficient input from native speakers. The evidence in this chapter concerning such meanings is therefore to be viewed with some skepticism.

Aymara metaphor has not as yet been investigated cross-dialectally, but certain characteristics based on the evidence of a few dialects may be noted.

8-2 Linguistic Postulates

All regional dialects of Aymara share certain linguistic postulates common to the Jaqi languages. As identified by Hardman (1972a) the most important of these are (1) four grammatical persons (the fourth includes speaker and addressee), (2) distinction of human/nonhuman, and (3) specification of data source (distinction of directly and indirectly acquired knowledge). These three postulates are marked throughout Aymara language structure, in morphology, syntax, and semantics, and reflected in cultural norms.

During four hundred years of contact with Spanish, an Indo-European language, it might be expected that Spanish postulates would make inroads into Aymara. In Chapter 9 evidence of such inroads is given with respect to Missionary, Patrón, and Radio Aymara, translation dialects spoken by certain native speakers of Aymara who are bilingual in Spanish. The Aymara of other bilingual and monolingual speakers shows
relatively little influence of Spanish postulates, however. A few exceptions are noted below. A section on optional marking of plural in Aymara is included after a discussion of the postulates.

8-2.1 Four-person system

The four-person system is manifested in personal pronouns and possessive suffixes (5-2.3 and 5-3.24) and in verbal inflectional suffixes (6-3). It is intimately bound up with the distinction of human/nonhuman (8-2.2) and with the expression of courtesy in Aymara. The fourth person is often used in the context of eating or drinking. For example, polite ways to tell someone that dinner is ready would be

\[
\text{Mang'a.si.\text{nani.} 'Let's eat, you and I.' (La Paz)}
\]

\[
\begin{array}{c}
\text{eat} \\ 4\rightarrow3 \\
F/I
\end{array}
\]

\[
\text{Almus.t'a.wa.tana. 'Let's eat lunch.' (Calacoa)}
\]

\[
\begin{array}{c}
\text{lunch} \\ 4\rightarrow3 \\
F/I
\end{array}
\]

Similarly, if one wishes to ask for a drink of water one must use the fourth person, including the addressee even if he or she is being asked to provide the water.
'Please let's you and I invite (someone to have some of) your water, ma'am, I'm thirsty.' (La Paz)

('Please let me have some water.')</n
An example of the fourth person used in the context of drinking even when the addressee is not or was not involved in the action, is the following, describing the serving of chicha:

'May ni r may ni r may ni r siwr tan . . .

One by one by one we (you and I) serve them . . . ' (Sitajara)

Another example involving eating was given by Tschopik (1948: 110). A condor says to a fox who has challenged him to a duel

'And the one who is dead you and I will eat.'

What is meant is that the winner of the duel will eat the loser.
Bertonio (1603b:194, 195) said, concerning the 4p possessive suffix,

... the particle sa, although ... it means inclusion ... for politeness or friendship may be used even when the item belongs only to one of the two persons who are talking ...

Bertonio gave these examples.

\[\text{+Ut.sa.ru ma.tana.} \quad \text{Let's go to my/our/your house.'}\]

\[\text{house 4p go 4-3} \quad F/I\]

\[\text{+Aka yapu awki.sa.n.k.i.} \quad \text{'This field is our/my/your this field father father's.'}\]

Bertonio's translations of these two examples are rejected by La Paz speakers, even when the examples are rendered into contemporary Aymara. If Bertonio's translations were correct, they imply that the fourth person was used even more in the expression of courtesy in late 16th century Juli than in contemporary dialects so far encountered.

Hardman has pointed to a related phenomenon in Aymara, the overmarking of the second person (Hardman et al. 1975:3.32-33). (For an example of this overmarking in sa.na embedding see 7-4.4.)

In spite of the importance of the four-person system in Aymara, there is evidence of its incipient erosion in some dialects. In Sitajara, 1p and 4p possessive suffixes fall together, and the 4p suffix falls out, in the speech of certain persons (see 5-3.24). The first and fourth
persons also fall together in certain verbal inflectional suffixes in Sitajara.

lp and 4p falling together as subject:

1➔3 and 4➔3 F for saña: /sa.mi.wa.nh(a)/ (1➔3)

lp and 4p falling together as complement:

3➔1 and 3➔4 I: /-itpan/ (3➔1)

3➔1 and 3➔4 D-2: /-irijsta:na/ (3➔4)

3➔1 and 3➔4 S for saña: /s.itu/ (3➔1)

As may be seen above, in most cases the form with 4p falls out, leaving the form with lp to do duty for both.

In Huancané, lp and 4p have fallen together as complement in 3➔1 and 3➔4 I /-itp(a)/, the 3➔1 form now being used for both. The same seems to be happening in Morocomarca with 3➔1 and 3➔4 D-2, as at first the 3➔1 form, /-itasp"ana/, was given for both 3➔1 and 3➔4.

8-2.2 Human/Nonhuman

This distinction is manifested in interrogatives, demonstratives, and personal pronouns; in noun reference, in certain noun suffixes, and in the subjects and complements of verb roots, stems, and themes.

8-2.21 Interrogatives, demonstratives, personal pronouns

Of the five Aymara interrogative pronouns k"iti 'who' is human, and the rest, nonhuman. gawg"a 'how much/many' plus the suffix _ni possessor/enumerator refers to human
beings (8-2.24). Derived forms of *kawki* 'where' that are unmarked for human/nonhuman and gloss 'which' are *kawki.ch"api* and *kawk.i:ri*.

Demonstratives may be used to modify human nouns, e.g. *uka chacha.x* 'that man'. As a syntactic summarizer, a demonstrative may refer to a human noun, as in

\[
\text{Ma: } \text{si} \text{"urit } \text{irpa.ni.tayn } \text{uka.mpi } \text{jaqi.cha.si.way.x.i.}
\]

one young lady bring 3+3 that marry 3+3

'He married the young lady that he had brought.' (Compi)

Some speakers would prefer to use the third person pronoun *jupa* instead of *uka* in the above sentence. Otherwise, demonstratives are generally used as pronouns only to refer to nonhuman nouns.

\[
\text{Uka.x } \text{misa.wa. } \text{'}\text{That is a table.'}
\]

\[
\text{Uka.x } \text{waka.pa.wa. } \text{'}\text{That is his cow.'}
\]

When the reference is human, a personal pronoun is used.

\[
\text{Jupa.x } \text{wawa.xa.w. } \text{'}\text{He/she is my child.'}
\]

Using a demonstrative instead of a personal pronoun in the above context is perceived as rude. When derision or insult is intended, a demonstrative may be used.
Personal pronouns are used only for human beings or anthropomorphized animals, or very occasionally, for domesticated animals, as in the case of an old lady talking to her only companion, a cat.

Certain nouns in La Paz Aymara (and presumably elsewhere) are basically nonhuman; others, basically human. Examples of nouns or noun phrases that are always nonhuman in reference are muxsa 'sweet-tasting'; nayra.p gu'ipa.p 'back and forth' (e.g. a dog running back and forth); and jach'a 'big' and jisk'a 'small' except when they occur in the noun phrases jach'a tansa 'tall' and jisk'a tansa 'short'.

A noun which sometimes has human, and sometimes nonhuman reference, is suma, which has a range of meanings including 'good, nice, tasty, delicious, very, nicely'. In Calacoa and Jopoqueri it means 'beautiful, pretty'; in Socca it is used in these meanings as well as the others. The following examples are all from La Paz:
Nonhuman reference:

Wali suma.w.  'It's very good/delicious.'

Suma chayru.wa.  'It's delicious soup.'

Aka.x suma ch'iyar laq'a.sa.:
This black earth

'This is good black earth.' (Hardman et al. 1975:1.266)

suma aru  'good language, proper speech'

sum kankaña  'to fry well' (8-2.23)

Human reference:

Suma Awki  'God' ('good father', an archaic expression)

suma aru.ni  'well-spoken person'

suma jaqi  'good person, of good character, nice'

Suma jaq mama.wa.  'She's a nice lady.'

suma kankaña  'of good character, good-humored' (8-2.23)

The following examples occurred in the Peruvian dialects indicated.

suma uñ.naga.siri  'good-looking, having a good appearance' (Huancané)

suma k'aj.kiri  'very bright' (Socca)
In La Paz the verbalized noun *suma.cha.na* 'to pacify, to make amends, to decorate (e.g. a house)' takes a human subject. The noun *suma* verbalized with -pta- takes an animal subject, and probably also a human subject; see the example given for *jaqi*, below.

Use of *suma* alone (that is, not in one of the noun phrases given above) to modify a noun having human reference is usually perceived as obscene and/or derisive in Bolivia, as in the popular song *Suma Tawaqu* 'Nice (?) Girl' (i.e. 'tasty dish'). There is some evidence that such an expression is not necessarily obscene in other dialects, *suma kullaka* 'good sister' being acceptable to a speaker from Sacca; however, he may have been influenced by Missionary usages (see 9-6.12).

Certain nouns in Aymara always have human reference. One is *jayra* 'lazy person.' Another, of much greater importance in the language, is the noun chosen by Hardman to designate Aymara and its sister languages: *jaqi*. This means 'human being, person, people' in all the Jaqi languages. In Aymara the noun *jaqi* used alone usually refers to the Aymara people specifically. One speaker from La Paz rejected *Quechua* *jaqi*. However, some speakers extend the term *jaqi* to other races or ethnic groups in such noun phrases as

\[
\text{suma.ki.y is.ch'uk.t'a.p.x.ita:ta } \text{you will listen to listen to me nicely'} \text{ (Sacca)}
\]
jang’u jaqi 'white people', and the phrase suma jaqi 'of good character' may be applied to non-Aymara persons who are judged to merit the designation.

Another meaning of jaqi is 'adult, married person', as is shown in the derived verb jaqi.cha.ña 'to marry', 'to make or cause person(s)'. Personhood in Aymara society is fully attained only upon marriage.

Probably through a process of semantic identification with the Spanish noun hombre, which means both 'man(kind)' and 'human male', the noun jaqi is sometimes used by bilinguals to mean 'male human being, man'.

Naya jaqi.xa Qalaqala.t.wa. 'I'm a man from Calacala.'

(Yo soy hombre de Calacala.) (Calacala)

Ma: jaqi.w juta.tayna. 'A man (not known to me) came.'

(Había venido un hombre.) (La Paz/Compi)

These examples show how the Spanish gender distinction (one of the Spanish linguistic postulates) may affect the Aymara of bilinguals. Nevertheless, the native Aymara meaning of jaqi also persists in the speech of bilinguals and monolinguals alike. In this meaning the noun jaqi is the epitome of humanness. Its semantic opposite, the nadir of nonhuman-ness, is anu 'dog'. If one does not behave like jaqi, one
is behaving like a dog. The dichotomy is illustrated in the following, a La Paz retort to an insult.

\[ K\text{'iti.ta.sa} - anu.ta.t \text{jagj.ta.cha?} \]
\[ \text{who dog person} \]

\[ \text{Jaq.jam parla.m jan an.jam parla.m.ti.} \]
\[ \text{person like speak not dog like speak} \]
\[ \text{I} \]

'Who are you - a dog or a person? Talk like a person, not like a dog.' (La Paz/Compi)

The above is rude, using the unadorned Imperative. So is the following:

\[ \text{Anu.r jagu.ni.m.} \]
\[ \text{dog throw} \]
\[ \text{I} \]

'Throw it to a dog.' (La Paz/Tiahuanaco)

The above sentence is a retort to someone who is throwing stones or otherwise being deliberately annoying; it means 'Go do it to a dog instead of to me.'

The following is commonly said by wedding godparents to the couple for the stability of whose marriage they are responsible:

\[ \text{Jaq uñ.ta.sa.w sar.naga.:ta.} \]
\[ \text{people looking at go around people.} \]
\[ \text{F} \]

('Behave the way you see real people behaving.' )
When one partner in a marriage does not want to be reconciled with the other, someone may comment as follows:

Anus nuwa.sisin suma.pt.isa.  
\[
\text{dog fighting make up 3-3}  
\]

'SEven dogs make up after fighting. (Why not people?)'

The above is a strong rebuke. If the errant spouse still refuses to attempt a reconciliation, he or she will hear the ultimate condemnation.

Kunarr un'tat sar.naq.taxa,  
\[
\text{anything look at go around 2-3}  
\]

jaqi.tak p'inqa, anus.tak unra.  
\[
\text{people same honor}  
\]

'How stupid you are. You are a shame to the human race, an honor to dogs.'  

Bertonio (1603b:94) cited a sentence using a verbalized form of +anugara 'dog' meaning 'insult, make fun of'.

+Uma.ta.na anugara.ch.tama.  
\[
\text{drunk dog 3-2}  
\]

'As you were drunk he made fun of you (treated you like a dog).'
In spite of the _jaqi/anu_ distinction, the Aymara generally treat their dogs humanely, as they do all useful domestic animals; one might say they behave like _jaqi_ toward them. One calls one's dog by name to go herd sheep.

\[
\text{Tumaykaris, juta.m! Iwis anaki.ñani.}
\]

\[
\text{Come 2+3 sheep herd 4+3 I F/I}
\]

'Come, Tumaykarisa! Let's you and me herd the sheep.'

(Hardman et al. 1975:1.205)

The addressee is the dog, Tumaykarisa, and the fourth person inflection includes the dog as well as the human speaker. One may also say to a dog

\[
\text{Aka.x mang'a.ma.w.}
\]

\[
\text{this food 2p}
\]

'Here's your food.'

However, one does not use the same forms in speaking to a dog as to a human being. The first of the above two sentences would be rude if addressed to a person; the second would be insulting. In the first case the unadorned Imperative _juta.m_ 'Come!' would be avoided by using polite independent and final suffixes and/or by substituting the Future for the Imperative.

\[
\text{Juta.ki.:ta.pi.y.}
\]

\[
\text{come 2+3 F}
\]

'Please (you will) come.'
And as indicated in the discussion of uses of the fourth person (8-2.1), a polite way to tell someone that dinner is ready is to say

\[
\text{Mang'a.si.\text{\text{ñani.}} \quad \text{'Let's eat, you and I.'}}
\]

The \textit{jaqi/anu} distinction affects the semantics of other nouns. One of these is \textit{awki}, an archaic term for 'father'. As noted above, it occurs in the noun phrase \textit{suma awki} as a respectful term of address or reference for God. In other contexts, \textit{awki} has acquired canine connotations. For example, to use it in inquiring about the health of someone's father is rejected as implying the father is a dog. That is,

\[
\text{Awki.ma.sti? \quad 'And (how is) your father?'}
\]

implies the rude expression

\[
\text{Anu awki.ma.sti? \quad 'And (how is) your (SOB of a) father?'}
\]

(La Paz/Tiahuanaco)

Another context, in which \textit{awki} refers to a real dog's father, is a jingle said while holding up a puppy's front legs to make it dance on its back legs.
(The jingle refers to the fact that a dog has any number of possible fathers.)

8-2.23 The noun *kankaña*

The noun *kankaña* 'essence, nature, being, power' does not occur by itself, but only as the head of a noun phrase and only when modified by another noun referring to the Deity or a human being. It is to be distinguished from the homophonous *kankaña* 'to fry'. Examples of *kankaña* are

- Dios *kankaña* 'divine essence, Being of God' (La Paz/Tiahuanaco)
- *jaqi kankaña* 'human nature' (La Paz/Tiahuanaco; also Bertonio 1612:2:120)
- *jayra kankaña.pa* 'their being lazy' *jayra* 'human laziness' (La Paz/Tiahuanaco)
- *qullqi.n kankaña.pa.mpi.x* 'their being wealthy' (Puerto Acosta) *qullqi.ni* 'rich person'
- *uta.n kankaña* 'the power of being a landlord' *uta.ni* 'house-owner' (La Paz/Tiahuanaco)

When modified by *warmi* 'woman' the meaning is somewhat disparaging.
Warmi kankaña.x jani.w wali.k.i.ti.
woman being no good 3+3
S
'To be a woman alone is not good.' (La Paz/Compi)

Warmi kankaña.pa.mpi.x lura.p.x.i.w.
woman being do 3+3
S
'In spite of their being women they did it.'
(La Paz/Compi)

Noun phrases in which kankaña is modified by nonhuman nouns are usually rejected.

*janq'u kankaña 'to be white'

This meaning is instead expressed by verbalizing the noun janq'u 'white'.

janq'u::.ña 'to be white'

If janq'u modifies a human noun, such as jaqi, the noun phrase is acceptable to some speakers.

janq'u jaq kankaña 'to be white people, White Power'
(La Paz/Tiahuanaco)
As indicated previously, suma 'good' occurs with human reference when modifying kankaña.

\[\text{suma} \text{ kankaña.mpi} \text{ 'with good humor'} \quad \text{(La Paz/Compi)}\]

This is to be distinguished from the phrase

\[\text{sum} \text{ kankaña} \text{ 'to fry well'} \quad \text{(La Paz/Tiahuanaco)}\]

In this, suma is the zero complement of the nominalized verb kanka- 'fry'.

8-2.24 Noun suffixes

The noun suffix -ni possessor/enumerator is unmarked for human/nonhuman when it occurs as possessor.

\[\text{Uta.x} \text{ punku.ni.w.} \text{ 'The house has a door.'}\]

\[\text{Jupa.x} \text{ uta.ni.w.} \text{ 'She's a house-owner.'}\]

However, when it occurs as enumerator, -ni is always human.\(^5\)

On the interrogative qawq"a 'how much/many':

\[\text{Qawq"a.ni.sa?} \text{ 'How many people are there?'}\]
On numbers 1 to 10 and multiples of 10:

- Pusi.ni.wa. 'There are four people.'
- Tunka pusi.ni.wa. 'There are forty people.'

On the nonhuman quantity nouns taqi 'all', wal.ja 'much, many', and juk'a 'few':

- taqi.ni 'all (the) people'
- wal.ja.ni 'many people'
- juk'a.ni 'few people'

The personal possessive suffixes for 1p, 2p, and 4p all refer to human possessors. The third person is unmarked for human/nonhuman.

- uta.n punku.pa 'the door of the house'
- jupa.n uta.pa 'his house'

(The -n in the above examples is the possessive suffix -na.)
Subjects and complements of verb roots, stems, and themes

As indicated in 6-3, verbs in Aymara are inflected for tense, subject person, and complement person, in nine unitary suffixes for each tense. (Defective verbs created by verbalization with -ka- or -:- take only four inflectional suffixes, all with 3p complements.) In these tense/person suffixes (as in the case of personal possessive suffixes) 3p subjects and complements are unmarked for human/nonhuman, while 1p, 2p, and 4p subjects and complements are human or anthropomorphized. A complement expressed in a tense/person suffix may be further specified in a sentence by a noun marked by one of the Aymara complement/relational (case) suffixes (5-3.31). These nouns are referred to by these suffixes as -ru, -ta, -mpi, -na, or -taki complements. Some verbs also select other nouns which are marked with case suffixes but do not reflect complements expressed in the tense/person suffixes; these case-marked nouns are called relationals. In addition to selecting subjects, complements, and relationals, most verb roots and stems select zero complements (5-3.33).

Aymara verb roots and stems (roots plus derivational suffixes) belong to covert classes according to the semantic features of the subjects, complements, relationals, and zero complements they may take. The human/nonhuman distinction
is reflected in these semantic features, as is to be expected of such an important linguistic postulate in the language. Investigation of other semantic features of Aymara has only just begun. Among those tentatively identified so far, in addition to human/nonhuman, are distinctions of animate/inanimate (or moving/nonmoving), animal/nonanimal, plant/nonplant, and humanly processed/unprocessed.

There is apparently no set hierarchy of features; rather, they cut across each other. Nonhuman may subsume animate and inanimate, but animate may subsume human, animal, and moving natural phenomena such as fire, sunlight, hail, and clouds. Inanimate may subsume plant, humanly processed agricultural products or manufactures, or nonprocessed non-moving matter such as rock, earth, or places. Human may subsume a distinction of human persons vs. human body parts or secretions (e.g. blood, urine) and conditions affecting them (e.g. cold, sunlight). Illustrations of these distinctions are given below. They remain working categories pending further refinement as Aymara semantic studies proceed.

One instance in which the human/nonhuman distinction is overriding with respect to verb stems and themes concerns the behavior of the nominalizing suffix -ña (7-4.21.2). This suffix is unmarked for human/nonhuman on verb roots. All roots may take it, regardless of the semantics of their
subjects or complements. However, certain verb stems and verb themes that require a nonhuman subject reject nominalization with -ña because on them -ña implies a human subject. Examples of stems and themes that reject -ña are given below.

The selectional rules for the semantic features of verb subjects and complements are very complex, changing according to the verb root and the verbal derivational suffixes occurring in a verb stem. Although investigation of these rules was not formally undertaken for this study, examples are given to illustrate the interplay of semantic features and to suggest directions for future research.

Verbs which usually require a human subject include verbs of carrying or moving specific shapes and consistencies of objects (zero complements) by various means (Tate 1970) and the general carrying verb apa.ña 'to take, carry' (shape and consistency of object and manner of carrying not specified). In its basic form this verb takes a human subject but not a human complement. It may take a human complement when a nonhuman noun with the complement/relational suffix -ta occurs as a relational (instrumental) in the sentence.

\[
*(\text{Naya.x}) \ (\text{juma.r}) \ \text{apa.}:\text{ma.} \quad \text{(Not possible)}
\]

\[
(\text{Naya.x}) \ (\text{juma.r}) \ \text{awtu.t} \ \text{apa.}:\text{ma.}
\]

\[
\begin{align*}
&1p & 2p & 1+2 \\
& \text{F}
\end{align*}
\]
'I will take you by car.'

The verb *apa.ña* plus the Class 1 verbal derivational suffix *-rpaya-* implies a human subject and complement: *apa.rpaya.ña* 'to leave someone'. However, when the Class 1 suffixes *-su-* and *-ta-* are added to the root *apa-*, the new stem takes the moving natural phenomenon *qinaya* 'cloud' as subject; it will not take a human subject nor the suffix *-ña*.

\[ qinaya.x \text{ ap.s.t.i.w.} \quad '\text{Clouds gathered.}' \quad \text{(La Paz)} \]

Another carrying verb, *irpa.ña* 'to take a person', requires both a human subject and a human zero complement in La Paz.

\[ (Naya.x) \quad \text{(jum)} \quad \text{irpa.:ma.} \quad 'I will take you.' \]

In Salinas *irpa.ña* may also take a domesticated animal as zero complement. In La Paz the derived verb *irp.xata.ña*, with the Class 1 verbal derivational suffix *-xata-*, still requires a human subject but may take a human or nonhuman zero complement. Examples:
um irp.xata.ña 'to direct water through a canal (if it is going the wrong way)' (La Paz/Compi)

jum awtu.ru.w irp.xata.ña 'to put you in a car (if you're sick and can't move) and take you somewhere' (La Paz/Compi)

(An animal may be substituted for the person in the last example.)

In classifying noun features it is necessary to recognize metaphoric usages whereby an apparently nonhuman noun is used where a human noun would be expected. The derived verb irpa.ra.ña 'to take away, remove physically, as punishment', with the Class 1 verbal derivational suffix -ra-, may take a human subject and a human or animal zero complement. For example, a customs agent (human subject) may take away someone's dog (animal zero complement). Metaphorically human, the law may take children (human zero complement) from one parent and give them to the other parent. (These examples are all from La Paz/Tiahuanaco.)

The verbs achu.ña (La Paz) and puqu.ña (La Paz and elsewhere) take a plant subject and no zero complement.

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{Ch'uqi.w} & \quad \text{ach.u.} \\
\text{puqu.u.} & \quad \text{3-3} \\
& \quad S
\end{align*}
\]

\{'Potatoes grow/are produced.' \} (La Paz) (Calacala)
When the Class 2 verbal derivational suffix -ya- is added to achu- or pugu-, the verb takes a human subject, the original plant subject then turning into a zero complement.

Ch'uq achu.y.t.wa. 'I grow potatoes.' (La Paz)

There is a homophonous verb achu.ña 'to carry in the mouth' that requires an animal subject. The derived stem ach.ja.tata- 'to bite', with the Class 1 derivational suffixes -ja- and -tata-, also requires an animal subject and therefore does not take the nominalizer -ña. It can take a human -ru complement.

Anu.w (naya.r) ach.ja.tat.itu. 'The dog bit me.' (La Paz)

The base verb manq'a.ña 'to eat' permits a human or animal subject and an edible zero complement, but no human -ru complement. The derived verb stem manq'a.tata- with the Class 1 verbal derivational suffix -tata-, permits only an animal subject and does not take -ña, but like ach.ja.tata- it also can take a human -ru complement.
ch'ug  manq'a.ña  'to eat potatoes'  (La Paz)

Anu.w  (naya.r)  manq'a.tat.itu.  'The dog bit me.'  (La Paz)

Two other verbs glossing 'to bite', both also with -tata- in the stem, may be substituted for ach.ja.tata- or manq'a.tata-.

Anu.w  ñaxña.tat.itu.  'The dog bit me.'  (La Paz/Tiahuanaco)

Anu.w  t"at"a.tat.itu.  'The dog bit me.'  (La Paz/Tiahuanaco)

The verb t"at"a.tata.ña may take a human subject when used metaphorically, meaning 'to snap at someone, to bite someone's head off'.

Certain verb themes built on nouns verbalized with -pta- require a nonhuman subject and do not take the nominalizer -ña. Examples are ch'iyara.pta- 'turn black', muxsa.pta- 'turn sweet', and uma.pta- 'melt, turn to liquid'. When the Class 2 verbal derivational suffix -ya- is added, the new stems permit human and nonhuman subjects and zero complements, and will take the nominalizer -ña.
ch'iyara.pta.ya.na 'to cause to turn black, to blacken'
muxsa.pta.ya.na 'to sweeten'
Nina.x ch"ullunk"ay uma.pta.ya.tayna.
fire ice melt 3+3
RIK

'The fire melted the ice.' (La Paz/Tiahuanaco)

The natural phenomena nouns lupi 'sunlight' or inti 'sun' may be substituted for nina in the foregoing sentence.

The verb jiwa.na 'to die' may take an animal or human subject without the addition of any Class 1 suffixes to the root, but not a plant subject; and it has no complements. The following examples from La Paz/Compi have the Class 2 suffixes -si- and -ka- with the Non-Involver -chi and the final suffixes -chi- plus -m:

Iwisa.x jiwa.s.k.chi.chi.m. 'Maybe the sheep died.' sheep die NI
Jupa.x jiwa.s.k.chi.chi.m. 'Maybe he/she died.' 3p
*Ch'ugi.x jiwa.s.k.chi.chi.m. 'Maybe the potatoes died.' potato

Another noun accepted as subject in the above pattern is nina 'fire'. 
Nina.x jiwa.s.k.chi.chi.m. 'Maybe the fire died out.'

Nina.chi.m jiwa.s.k.chi. 'Maybe the fire died down.'

Nina.chi.m jiwa.ra.s.k.chi. 'Look out, the fire may die out.'

(The last example has the Class 1 suffix -ra- in the stem.)

The addition of the Class 2 suffix -ya- to the root jiwa- does not change the semantics of its subjects but allows it also to take (formerly) living zero complements.

Juyp"i.x iwis jiwa.ya.tayna.w. 'Hail killed the sheep.'
  hail sheep 3➔3 RIK

Qamaqi.x iwis jiwa.ya.tayna.w. 'The fox killed the sheep.'
  fox sheep 3➔3 RIK

Jupa.x iwis jiwa.ya.tayna.w. 'He/she killed the sheep.'
  3p sheep 3➔3 RIK

In La Paz/Compi, if the Class 1 suffix -su- is added to the root jiwa- the new stem may take a plant subject but not a human or animal subject.

Ch'uqi.x jiw.s.u.s.k.chi.chi.xa. 'Maybe the potatoes died.'
  potato NI died.

Ch'uqi.x jiw.s.u.x. 'The potatoes died.'
  3➔3 S
Addition of the Class 2 suffix -ya- to the stem jiw-su- permits an animate subject, and turns a former plant subject to a zero complement. In the following example, also from La Paz/Compi, the new subject is juyp'i 'hail':

Juyp'i.chi.x pangar jiw.su.ya.s.k.chi.
  hail         flower

'hail killed the flowers.'

When a verb already has a human subject and a non-human zero complement, the addition of -ya- to the root creates an agent (usually human) expressed in the verb inflection complement. If the agent is also expressed by a noun in the sentence, it will be marked by either -ru or -mpi complement/relational suffix (see 5-3.31).

um wayu.ña
  'to carry water (in container with handles)'

Juwanti.ru.y wayu.ya.m. 'Have Johnny carry the water.'
  2-3

Mama.ma.mpi.y wayu.ya.m. 'Have your mother carry the water.'
(In these contexts, as noted by Hardman, -mpi occurs when it is desired to show respect for the person who is to be the agent.)

The Class 2 suffix combination -si- plus -ka- (-s.ka-) implies a human or anthropomorphized subject when it occurs on interrogatives and demonstratives that have been verbalized with -ka-.

\[
\text{Kawki.n.ka.s.k.i.sa?} \quad '\text{Where is he/she?}' \\
\frac{3+3}{3} \quad S
\]

\[
\text{Aka.n.ka.s.ka.:n.wa.y.} \quad '\text{He was here.}' \quad (\text{referring to the dog Tumaykarisa; Hardman et al.} \quad \text{RDK} \quad 1975:1:205)
\]

Without -s.ka-, the interrogative or demonstrative plus -n.ka- implies an inanimate, nonmoving subject.

\[
\text{Kawki.n.k.i.sa?} \quad \text{'}\text{Where is it?'}
\]
\[
\text{Kawk"a.n.k.i.sa?}
\]
\[
\text{Aka.n.k.i.wa.} \quad \text{'}\text{It's here.'} \quad (\text{La Paz})
\frac{3+3}{3} \quad S
\]

In asking the location of a domestic animal, or even a person, it is common to use an inflected verb, instead of kawki plus verbalization, e. g.
Asnu.x kawk\"a.n.s m空前'a.s.k.i?

donkey where eat 3+3 S

'Where is the donkey feeding?'

K\"a: pampa.n m空前'a.s.k.i.

that

'He's feeding over on that pampa [flat place].'

(La Paz/Compi)

The suffix combination -s.ka- on a verb or verb theme nominalized with -:- instead of -ka-, does not imply a human subject.

Aka:.s.ska.tayna.w.  'Here it is.' (La Paz/Compi)

The Class 2 suffix -rapi- beneficiary occurs in stems which take human subjects and human -taki complements, and may also take a human -ru relational. There is also usually a zero complement.

(Juma.x)(jupa.r) (naya.taki.w) ch'uq chura.rap.ita:ta.

2p 3p 1p potato give 2+1 F

'You will give him potatoes on my behalf.' (La Paz/Tiahuanaco)

The Class 2 suffix -raga- victimary occurs in stems which take human subjects and human -na complements;
relationals may also occur, and the zero complement is a possession of the -na complement.

Juma.n wutilla.m jala.q.ta.ya.raq.tam.
2p bottle 2p knock over 3+2 S

'He knocked over your bottle.' (La Paz/Tiahuanaco)

Some derived verbs based on nouns verbalized with the Class 1 suffix -ja- have unrealized subjects but take human -ru complements and ingestible -ta relationals. The verbs may take the nominalizer -ña only when they are stated with their -ta relationals; -ru complement nouns are usually not expressed. Examples:

manq'a.t ~ maq'a.t awt.ja.ña (*awt.ja.ña) awti 'drought'

Manq'a.t (naya.r) awt.j.itu. 'I'm hungry.' (all dialects)

Uma.t awt.ja.ña

Uma.t awt.j.itu. 'I'm thirsty.' (Jopoqueri, Morocomarca)

uma.t p"ar.ja.ña (*p"ar.ja.ña) p"ara 'dry'

Uma.t p"ar.j.itu. 'I'm thirsty.' (La Paz)
uma.t wañ.ja.na (*wañ.ja.ña) wañu 'dry'

Uma.t wañ.j.itu. 'I'm thirsty.' (Calacoa, Sitajara, Bertonio 1603b)

Another verb that takes a human -ru complement and may have an unrealized subject is jat.ja.ña 'to weigh upon, to sadden'.

Jat.j.itu. \( \{ \begin{array}{l}
1+3 \\
S
\end{array} \}\) 'It saddens me/weighs me down/weighs on me.'

\( \{ \begin{array}{l}
S
\end{array} \}\) 'It's heavy.' (La Paz/Compi)

Certain verbs with subjects that are human body parts or conditions affecting them, answer the question

Kuna.s kama.ch.tam? "What ails you?"

The examples, all of which are believed to take -ña nominalizer, are from Hardman et al. (1975:1.181-184, 2.119) unless otherwise noted.

Mallq'a.w ch"aja.nt.itu. "My throat is hoarse.'
There are also verbs that may take both human persons and human body parts, or conditions affecting them, as subjects. With person subjects they may take inanimate zero or -ru complements but they usually do not take human complements; with body parts or conditions as subjects they may take human complements, in which case they answer the 'What ails you?' question. Examples:
puriña 'to arrive'

Person subject: Jupa.w \( \frac{3p}{(mark)} \) pur.i. \( \frac{3+3}{(marka.r)} \) \( \frac{\text{town}}{S} \)

'He/she arrived (in town).' (La Paz)

Condition subject: Iki.w pur.itu. \( \text{sleep} \) \( \frac{3+1}{3+1} \) \( \frac{S}{S} \)

'I'm sleepy.' (La Paz)

Iki.w puri.w.j.itu.

'I'm sleepy.' (Calacoa)

Iki.w pur.t.itu.

'I'm sleepy.' (Sitajara)

Ch'uxu.w pur.itu. \( \text{urine} \)

'I need to urinate.' (La Paz)

gariña 'to tire'

Person subject: Qari.ta.ki.t.wa. \( \frac{1+3}{1+3} \) \( \frac{S}{S} \)

'I'm very tired.' (La Paz/Tiahuanaco)
Qar.j.t.wa.
'I'm tired.' (La Paz/Tiahuanaco)

Body part subject: Kayu.naka.w sar.naga.t gar.j.itu.
feet walk 3+1
S

'My feet are tired (tire me) from walking.'
(Hardman et al. 1975:2.119)

Unrealized subject: Qar.ja.s.k.itu.w.
3+1
S
'I'm tired.' (Hardman et al. 1975:1.355)

sara.ña 'to go'

Person subject: Naya.x
{ (mark)
lp

sara.::.
{ (marka.ru.w)
town

1-3
F

'I'll go to town.' (La Paz)

Body part subject, body part -ta relational:

Wila.w nasa.t sar.itu.
blood nose 3+1
S

'I have a nosebleed.' ('Blood from nose goes to me.' (La Paz)
sar.ta.ña 'to get up'

Person subject: \( \text{Jupa.x \ sar.t.i.w.} \)
\[
\begin{array}{c|c|c|c}
\text{3p} & \text{3} & \text{S} \\
\end{array}
\]

'He got up.' (La Paz)

Body part condition subject, condition -ta relational:

\[
\begin{array}{c|c|c|c|c|c|c}
\text{Jinchu} & \text{ch"iq"acha.w} & \text{t"aya.t} & \text{sar.t.itu.} \\
\text{ear} & \text{ache} & \text{cold} & \text{S} \\
\end{array}
\]

'My ear aches from the cold.' ('Ear ache from cold gets up to me.') (Hardman et al. 1975:1.181-182)

A verb that may take a human -ru complement with either a human person or bodily condition as subject is katu.ña 'to grab'.

Person subject, human -ru complement:

\[
\begin{array}{c|c|c|c|c|c|c}
\text{Jupa.x (naya.r)} & \text{kat.utu.} \\
\text{3+1} & \text{S} \\
\end{array}
\]

'He/she grabbed me.' (La Paz)
Condition subject, human -ru complement:

\[
\begin{array}{c}
\text{Rumarisu.w} \quad \text{kat.utu.} \\
\text{rheumatism} \quad 3+1 \\
\quad S
\end{array}
\]

'I have rheumatism.' (Hardman et al. 1975:1.181-182)

A verb that may take a human or animal subject with or without a human complement is \text{ma.kata.ña} 'to go across or in front of'.

Human subject, human -ru complement:

\[
\begin{array}{c}
\text{Naya.x} \quad \text{mallku.r} \quad \text{ma.kat.t.wa.} \\
\quad \text{lp} \quad \text{chief} \quad 1+3 \\
\quad S
\end{array}
\]

'I went before the chief.' (La Paz/Tiahuanaco; inspired by Bertonio 1603b:272)

Human subject, place zero complement:

\[
\begin{array}{c}
\text{Jawir} \quad \text{ma.kata.m.} \\
\text{river} \quad 2+3 \\
\quad 1
\end{array}
\]

'Cross the river.' (La Paz/Tiahuanaco; inspired by Bertonio 1603b:272)
Animal subject, human -ru complement:

\[
\text{Kusi.kusi.x ma.kat.istu.} \quad \text{spider} \quad 3+4 \quad S
\]

'Spiders crawled over us.' (La Paz/Tiahuanaco)

Most of the above examples are from La Paz. Evidence of dialectal variation in the semantic features of verb subjects and complements is still scanty, but a few examples may be given. In La Paz, Juli, Calacoa, and Morocoma the verb wawa.cha.ña means 'for animals to bear offspring'. In Jopoqueri, Sitajara, and Salinas the verb is also used for human beings, with the general meaning 'to bear offspring'. Everywhere, however, derivatives of the verb usu.ña 'to be ill' (such as usu.ri..ta..ña, usu.r.ta.si.ña, and us.xa.ña) are commonly used for 'to be pregnant, to bear a child' (human subject).

In Juli ik.nuq.t.xa.si.ña means 'for a human being to be born'. The corresponding verb in Jopoqueri is jiki.nuqu.si.ña. Metaphorically they may mean 'to be founded' taking as subject an organization, for example. In La Paz the usual verb meaning 'for a human being to be born' is nasi.ña, from Spanish nacer. The corresponding native Aymara verb yuri.ña ~ yawri.ña still persists in Juli
and parts of La Paz department but yuriña is considered to be Missionary or Radio Aymara by some speakers (see 9-6.2).

8-2.3 Directly/Indirectly acquired knowledge
(data source)

This postulate is expressed by verbal inflectional suffixes (6-3), the reporting verb saña (6-4 and 7-4.4) and certain final suffixes (7-2.22). Its cultural importance is conveyed in a saying found in almost all Aymara communities (see 7-4.22.1 and Appendix D), which may be translated as

'Having seen, one must say "I have seen."
Not having seen, one must not say "I have seen."

Closely bound up with this postulate is the cultural importance of learning by watching the behavior of respected people, as reflected in the expressions noted in 8-2.2 with reference to the human/nonhuman distinction.

Jaq uñ.ta.sa.w sar.naga.ta. 'Live (by) watching people watching go around 2➔3 real people.'

Kuna.r uñ.ta.t sar.naq.ta.xa. 'You go around looking at anything.' (How stupid you are.) (La Paz/Compi)

In Aymara society, children are expected to learn by observation and in a very short time; they are expected to discriminate, both qualitatively and in terms of who did and
said what and to whom. This expectation is reflected in the language.

The Simple, Remote Direct Knowledge, and Remonstrator tenses are used when (usually visual) direct experience on which to base a statement (or question) is available to the speaker, hearer, or both. The Future, Imperative, and Desiderative tenses are used for projections vouched for or desired on the basis of directly acquired personal knowledge. The Remote Indirect Knowledge tense indicates non-presence of the speaker at the event(s) discussed and second-hand acquisition of the information, possibly accompanied by surprise or change of a former opinion. Compound tenses with the Inferential express conjecture based on evidence from personal experience, while compound tenses with the Non-Involver imply inability to vouch for information because of factors beyond one's control.

The reportive verb sa.ña places the speaker in the role of reproducing what someone else said. Varying degrees of directness or indirectness of acquisition of the information may be expressed by the verb sa.ña as well as within the quoted statements themselves.

The final suffixes -wa absolute and -pi reiterator of known information are the strongest of the direct knowledge markers. They often occur softened with the polite -ya, but this does not detract from their absoluteness.
The interrogatives -sa and -ti elicit answers with -wa or -pi even if no information is available.

\[
\begin{array}{ll}
\text{Jani.w yat.k.t.ti.} & \text{'I don't know.' (general)} \\
\text{no} & \text{know 1+3} \\
\text{S} & \\
\end{array}
\]

On the other hand, the final suffix -xa or its variant is nonabsolute, often tentative. The limited final suffix -chi- and the disclaimer -m are the strongest indirect knowledge markers, the former very similar in both phonological shape and semantics to the Non-involver suffix -chi. In fact, the final suffix combinations -chi.xa and -chi.m have occurred only with -chi Non-involver on the verb, although the latter often occurred without -chi.xa or -chi.m in the sentence.

Combining direct knowledge tenses with direct knowledge final suffixes reinforces the directness. The final suffixes -wa and -pi do not co-occur with the Non-involver, the most indirect of the tense markers.

At this stage of research no regional variation in this postulate has been noted, but there is variation with respect to Missionary Aymara (see 9-6.13).
8-2.4 A nonpostulate: Singular/Plural

In Aymara the distinction of singular/plural is not a postulate as it is for the Indo-European languages. Plural may be optionally indicated by the noun suffix \textit{-naka} and/or the verbal derivational suffix \textit{-p-}, as noted in 5-2.3, 5-3.25, and 6-2.26. The present section focuses on examples that show the optionality of number marking in Aymara.

8-2.41 Plural in translation, no plural marking in Aymara

\begin{verbatim}
Juma.raki na.raki, juma.raki na.raki, 2p and 1p and
uka.x kuna.s? Kayu.w. that what foot
'You and I, you and I,
what is that? Feet.' (Calacoa riddle)

Wawa.j pirti.si.y.itu.
child 1p lose \(3^1\) \(S\)
'She made me lose my children.' (Socca)

Yapu.sa.taki.wa.
field 4p
'It's for our fields.' (Salinas)
\end{verbatim}
Drink chicha, drink this chicha, for strength,
so saying they drink.' (Sitajara)

The following example has a subject consisting of
two nouns conjoined:

'Then the father and mother arrived.' (Juli)

The second in the following minimal pair (contrast­ing the phonemes /ch'/ and /ch/) implies more than one person as subject.

'(The rain) might get your clothes wet.' (La Paz)

'They may cross thighs.' (obscene) (La Paz)
8-2.42 Conjoined nouns as subject, plural marked on verb

Tata.j mama.ja.w jark'a.si.p.x.itu.  
father lp mother prevent 3+1  
S

'My father and mother don't let me.' (Juli)

+++ g"amaqi.mpi k'usillu.mpi jiq.xata.si.p.xa.tayna +++  
fox monkey meet 3+3  
RIK

'. . . a fox and a monkey met . . .' (Pacajes; LaBarre 1950:42)

8-2.43 Plural marked only on subject

Alp"irawu.naka.w ut.j.i.  'There are alferados.'  
alferado 3+3  (Sitajara)  
S

Uka.t uka piwuna.naka.x ya uka chicha.mpi.x  
then that worker

tunu.ri.w. 'Then those workers are strengthened  
strength with that chicha.' (Sitajara)

Juma.naka ün.ch'uk.ista.wa. 'You (pl.) are looking at me.'  
2+1  (Salinas; translated from  
S Spanish)

K"iti.naka.s pur.ta.ni.w.x.i? 'Who (pl.) arrived?'  
who arrive 3+3  (Calacoa)  
S
thus story 1p maybe no
That's the way my stories (are) ... perhaps not very good.' (Huancané)

Whatever photo come out
Whatever photos may come out ...' (Corque)

8-2.44 Plural marked only on verb

A subject, complement, or relational noun without -naka but translating as plural may occur with -p- on the verb.

Subject:

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{Alp}'a & \quad \text{sa.p.x.t} \quad \text{na.x.} \\
\text{alfalfa} & \quad \text{say} \quad 1+3 \quad 1p \\
\end{align*}
\]

'We say Alp"a.' (Sitajara)

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{al.ja.si.p.k.t}'a & \quad \text{naya.x.} \\
\text{buy} & \quad 1+3 \quad 1p \\
\end{align*}
\]

'We buy ...' (Calacala)

Complement:

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{na.ru.xa} & \quad \text{rispach.xa.p.x.it.} \\
\text{1p} & \quad \text{dismiss} \quad 2+1 \\
\end{align*}
\]

'Dismiss us ...' (Sitajara)

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{Jani.w} & \quad \text{k"iti.ru.s} \quad \text{aru.s.ta.si.p.xa.nta.ti.} \\
\text{no} & \quad \text{anyone} \quad \text{tell} \quad 2+3 \\
\end{align*}
\]

'Don't [you sg.] tell anyone else.' (Salinas)
Wak liw.t'a.ya.ni.p.xa.t.a.
cow feed $^{2+3} F$

'You [sg.] will feed the cows.' (Calacoa)

Relational:

Yapu.pa.t juta.p.xi.i.x.
field 3p come $^{3-3} S$

'She's coming from her fields.' (Juli)

It is common for $^p_-$ to occur on the verb when a subject and/or complement is unexpressed by a noun in the sentence, but appears in plural form in translation. The suffix $^p_-$ may refer to the persons involved in the action, the extent or intensity of the action itself, or both.

puqu.ya.si.p.k.ta'a
'we produce' (Calacala)

sara.si.p.k.ta
'you [pl.] are going' (Jopoqueri)

May.ni.t may.ni.t parl.t'a.p.xa.m.
other talk $^{2+3} I$

'You talk one by one.' (Calacoa)
'we will remember you' (Juli)

'am.tu.ni.p.xa.mama'

F

2+1

'you will remember us' (Juli)

'amtu.ni.p.x.ita:ta'

F

2+1

'You are looking at us.'

(Calacoa; translated from S)

Juma un.ch'uki.s.ka.p.ista.x.

Tu nos estás mirando. 'You [sg.] are looking at us.')

Kuwint'ta.p.xa.mama.

'I'll tell you a story.' (Huancané)

F

1+2

'Srta. Lusi.xa ak.ja.ta.:ma.ta aka.ru.x'

Miss Lucy unexpectedly here

'visit'

visita.p.x.itu.

'Miss Lucy unexpectedly visited us here.' (Salinas)

S

3+1

Sometimes one verb may have -p- while another with the same subject does not.

'Uka.t uka.x chich.x lur.i.xa - k'usa.si.p.k.i'

then that chicha make make chicha

S

3+3

S

wali sum.

'Then they make chicha, they make chicha very well.' (Sitajara)

very well
Uka.t.x uma.nta.p.x.i uka.t wulpi chur.i.x
give 3➔3 then hit 3➔3 then drink S

wal trawaj.i.x.
well work 3➔3 hit hard, they work hard.

Then they drink, then they
hit hard, they work hard.'
(Sitajara)

Wal sara.naq.a.s.k.i - wali sara.naq.a.si.p.k.i.x.
well get along 3➔3 well get along 3➔3

'They get along fine - they get along fine.' (Sitajara)

Jani.ray.s wali..wa.x.t.ti.x. Wal (l1a)k"ichu.si.-
no and improve 1➔3 very be sad S

I haven't gotten any better ...
I've had a lot of trouble.'
(Sitajara)

In the immediately preceding example -p- acts more
as an emphatic or intensifier than a plural. This is also
true in the following sentences:

Puri.t.m.a.taki p"uya.p.t.wa. 'For your coming I cooked
arrive 2p cook 1➔3 (a lot).' (Morocomarca)

Tuk.t'a.si.p.x.ch.i uk charang. 'He was playing the
play 3➔3 charango (a lot).' (Juli)

It is possible of course that in the first example above
more than one person was involved in the cooking and that in
the second the speaker refers to the audience for which the charango was played.

8-2.45 Plural marked on complement and verb

In the following examples plural is marked on the complement and the verb; there are no subject nouns or pronouns in the sentences.

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{Na.naka.ru.x} & \quad \text{Sirwi.p.x.it.} \quad \text{You serve us.} \quad \text{(Sitajara)} \\
\text{lp} & \quad \text{serve} \quad 2+1 \\
\text{I} & \\
\text{Uka.ta.raki} & \quad \text{Na.naka.r} & \quad \text{Arma.si.si.p.k.itsma.} \quad \text{'Now then, don't you forget us.'} \quad \text{(Juli)} \\
\text{then} & \quad \text{lp} & \quad \text{forget} \quad 2+1 \\
\text{D-1} & \\
\text{Kuna} & \quad \text{P'utu.naka.s} & \quad \text{Mistu.s.k.a.s} & \quad \text{Uka.nak} \quad \text{'Please send me/us any photos that come out.'} \quad \text{(Corque)} \\
\text{any} & \quad \text{photo} & \quad \text{come out} & \quad \text{those} \\
\text{apa..ni.p.x.ita:ta.pi:y.} & \quad \text{send} \quad 2+1 \\
\text{F} & \\
\end{align*}
\]

8-2.46 Plural marked on subject and verb

When translating from Spanish, bilinguals usually mark a plural subject with -naka and the verb with -p-, as in the following examples, all translations from Spanish:
Juma.naka uñ.ch'uki.s.ka.p.ista.x.
2p look at 2-1 S

'You [pl.] are looking at me.' (Calacoa)

Na.naka.x chik.t'a.si.p.k.t.wa.
1p ask 1+3 S

'We are asking.' (Salinas)

Jupa.nak sara.p.xa.ta.pa.ta mama.pa.x k'atu.r
3p go 3p 3p market

sara.:n.wa. 'After they had left, their mother went
go 3+3 to market.' (La Paz/Tiahuanaco; inspired
RDK by Ebbing 1965:185)

Kullaka.nak.ña sar.xa.p.x.i.wa.
sister lp go 3+3 S

'My sisters left.' (Morocomarca)

Juma.naka.x na.r uñ.kata.p.itta.
2p lp uñ. 2+1 S

'You (pl.) are looking at me.' (Sitajara)

This pattern may occur in the speech of monolinguals, as in
the case of the following from Tschopik (1948:113), but it
is not very common.

3p sun nothing do 3+3 RIK

'And they had done nothing to the sun.' (Chucuito)
8-3  Semantic Variation in Roots and Suffixes

Apart from variation in the manifestations of linguistic postulates (although not in the postulates themselves), there is some variation in the meanings of roots, suffixes, and stems across dialects. The same root, stem, or suffix may have one meaning in translation in one dialect, another in another; or the same meaning in translation may be expressed by different lexical items or suffixes from one dialect to another. As already noted, relying on translations to establish 'same' or 'different' meanings is unsafe; identity or difference of meanings must ultimately be decided by native speakers working within the language.

8-3.1  Noun system

8-3.11  Closed classes of noun roots

The verbalized interrogative Kawki.n.k.iri.ta.sa? has slightly different meanings in different dialects (see 5-2.12). The syntactic linkers kuna.layku.ti.xa (built on the interrogative kuna) and uka.mpisa (built on the demonstrative uka) are discussed in 9-5.

The positionals chika and ch'ina have slightly varying meanings, as do some of the temporals (see 5-2.5, 5-2.6, and 5-4).
The word jup"a, which is the 3p pronoun in Morocomarca, means quinoa (a grain) in La Paz where the 3p pronoun is jupa as it is in most dialects.

Some kinship terms vary in meaning across dialects. Only a few will be mentioned here. The term sullka means 'younger daughter' or 'younger' in most dialects. However, in Vitocota these meanings are rendered by p'uru. The noun achachi means 'grandfather' or 'old man' in Calacala and Calacoa, but in La Paz it signifies 'dirty (unwashed) old man, stupid old man'. The terms tatala (M) and mamala (F) are used in Vitocota by a mother addressing a son or daughter. In Sitajara they are used to refer to people from the altiplano (the department of Puno), otherwise known as the suni people. In Tiahuanaco tatala is an insulting term for 'father'.

8-3.12 Open class of noun roots

8-3.12.1 One form in Aymara, different meanings in translation

These are listed in alphabetical order. There may be some phonological variation in the root.

jiwa 'ugly' (Chucuito, Socca, Puno)
'beautiful, pretty, nice' (La Paz)
'dead' (Morocomarca)

jiwa ụta.naka.ki.sa.: 'What nice houses!' (La Paz)
'Houses of the dead!'
(Morocomarca)
jirwa ~ jiwra 'quinoa' (Socca, Puno)

jirwa 'quinoa, dried corn, cornstalk' (Sitajara)

'quinoa' (Calacoa)

'dried corn or dried wheat' (Morocomarca)

jupa 'quinoa' (Morocomarca)

3p pronoun (elsewhere)

jupa'a 'quinoa' (La Paz)

3p pronoun (Morocomarca)

kusa 'tasty' (Calacoa, Huancané)

'pretty, nice' (La Paz)

k'usa 'beautiful' (Chucuito, Puno)

k'usi 'pretty' (Calacoa)

k'acha 'pretty' (Sitajara)

k'acha.ta.ki 'slowly' (Huancané; similar forms have this meaning in La Paz, Morocomarca, and Sitajara. See 8-3.12.2.)

liju 'all, completely' (La Paz, Salinas, Calacala, Calacoa)

'cloudless sky' (Morocomarca; probably metaphorical)

pachpa 'same' (La Paz)

'afterwards' (Salinas, Corque)

'right there' (Sitajara)

guli 'dear', as in guli mama 'dear lady' (Juli, Huancané; not used in La Paz, Jopoqueri, Salinas, Morocomarca)
guta 'lake' (Jopoqueri, Salinas, La Paz, Juli)
       'well full of water' (Calacoa)

suma 'beautiful, pretty' (Calacoa, Socca, Jopoqueri)
       'tasty, delicious' (nonhuman), 'kind, good' (human) (La Paz)

suma.ta.ji 'slow(ly)' (Salinas)

suma.t"a.ki 'slow(ly)' (Jopoqueri)

"aya 'cold' (not 'wind!') (Calacoa, Morocomarca, San Andrés de Machaca)
       'cold wind' (La Paz; wind is by definition cold)

wayra 'wind' (Jopoqueri, Salinas; not used in Calacoa or Compi)

warya ~ wayra 'wind' (in parts of La Paz)

8-3.12.2 One meaning in translation, different forms in Aymara

'all, completely' лиju (La Paz, Calacala, Calacoa)
       лиju ~ lliju (Salinas)
       limp"u (Morocomarca)

таqi (La Paz, Jopoqueri, Salinas, Calacala, Sitajara; does not occur in Calacoa)

таqpa ~ taqip (Morocomarca)

'asthma' k'ap"allja (La Paz/Tiahuanaco)
       Naya.x k'ap"allja.ni.t.wa. 'I have asthma.'

xarsa (Vitocota)
       Jupa.x xarsa.ni.w. 'He has asthma.'
'belt' (faja)  
p"aja (San Andrés de Machaca)

t'isnu (Morocomarca; worn only by women in San Andrés de Machaca; term not used in Sitajara)

wak'a (La Paz, Sitajara, Calacoa, San Andrés de Machaca)

yapisa (Jopoquerí, Salinas; term not used in Sitajara)

'chicha' (fermented corn drink)  
k'usa (La Paz, Jopoquerí, Sitajara)

k'usa (Calacala)

wiñapu (Sitajara)

'cloud'  
ch'iwi (Jopoquerí)

qinaya (Compi)

qinayu (Huancané)

'comb'  
chaxraña (La Paz/Compi; 'like a broom')

sanu (La Paz, Calacoa)

saxraña, tika (Huancané)

'dog'  
anu (La Paz, Morocomarca, Juli, Sitajara, Calacoa)

anugara (Jopoquerí, Salinas, Sitajara, Huancané, Vitocota)

'family'  
p"amilla (La Paz; < Spanish familia)

yump"i (Vitocota)

'fast, in a hurry'  
anchicha (Sitajara)

anchita (La Paz)

apura (Sitajara, Jopoquerí; < Spanish apurar)
jank'a (Sitajara)
jank'a.ki (La Paz)
laqa (La Paz/Tiahuanaco, Socca)
lijiru.lla (Ilave, according to Huancané source; < Spanish ligeró)
luku (Calacoa)
ma:ji (Salinas, Morocomarca)
ma:ki (La Paz/Tiahuanaco)
mak.maki (Calacala)
mak"i (Calacoa)

'fat'
lik'ji (La Paz, Juli)
lank'u (Salinas; in La Paz, means 'thick', e. g. wool)
lunku (Calacoa)

'fat-taker'
k"ari.kari (La Paz)
k"ari.s.iri (Juli, Huancané, Calacala, Morocomarca)
lik'i.ch.iri (Salinas) ('fat-maker')

'flower'
kalawina (Calacoa; < Spanish clavel)
pangara (La Paz; this and similar forms unknown in Calacoa)
p"aq"ara (Morocomarca)
p"anqalli (Jopoqueri)
t'ika (Salinas; considered Quechua by Jopoqueri speaker)

'fox'
atux antuñu (Salinas)
lari (Jopoqueri, Salinas, Morocomarca)
gamaqi (La Paz, Huancané, Socca, Sitajara, Calacoa, Salinas)

tiwla (Morocomarca)

tiwula (La Paz, Jopoqueri, Socca, Salinas)

'girl' (little)
lulu (Socca, Jesús de Machaca, San Andrés de Machaca)
mimilla (Sitajara; also Bertonio 1603b)
imilla (elsewhere)

'grinding stone for grain'
iyaña (Juli)
iyaña ~ iyawjaña (Jopoqueri; term not used in Sitajara or Salinas)
kutaña (Morocomarca)

panhara (Sitajara)

q"una (La Paz/Tiahuanaco, Morocomarca)

'hail'
chijni (Huancané)

ch"ijch"i (La Paz/Tiahuanaco)

ch"ixni (Vitocota)

ch"ULLuqa (La Paz/Compi)

'hat'
ch'utq"u (Juli)

k'ulu (Jopoqueri)

sumiru (Sitajara; surmiru (La Paz; < Spanish sombrero)

'hen'
atallpa (Sitajara)

wallpa (La Paz, Jopoqueri, Salinas, Morocomarca)

+ atawalpa (Bertonio 1603b:23)
'lung'  chuyma (Salinas, Juli)
        samasama (Jopoqueri)
        pulmuna (La Paz, Sitajara; < Spanish pulmón)

'much, too much'  alluxa (Salinas, Jopoqueri; not used by some La Paz speakers because of homophony with allu 'penis' plus -xa final suffix)
        ancha (La Paz/Compi, Jopoqueri, Salinas)
        ayncha (Corque)
        muspa: (Salinas)
        wakita (Jopoqueri)
        wal.ja (La Paz, Morocomarca)

'pretty, beautiful'  jiwa (La Paz, Huancané)
        kusa (La Paz)
        k"usa (Socca)
        k"usi (Calacoa)
        k'acha (Sitajara)
        k'ach"a (Salinas)
        suma (Calacoa, Socca, Jopoqueri)

'quinoa'  jiwra (Sitajara, Calacoa)
        jiwra ~ jirwa (Socca)
        jupa (Morocomarca)
        jup"a (La Paz/Compi, Huancané)
        juyra (Jopoqueri, Salinas)
        pisqi (Sitajara)

'rooster'  chanka (Calacoa)
        ch'uru (Sitajara)
gallu (Salinas; Spanish gallo)
k'allu (Morocomarca; Spanish gallo)
k'ank'a (La Paz, Jopoqueri)
ququrichi (Huancané)
wallpa (Huancané)

'slow(ly)'
aski.ta.ki (Calacoa)
jarita (Achocalla)
k'acha:.ta.ji (Morocomarca)
k'acha:.ta.ki (Sitajara)
k'acha.ta.ki (Huancané)
k'acha.t"a.ki (Morocomarca)
k'ach"ita (La Paz/Tiahuanaco)
sum.a.t"a.ji (Salinas)
sum.a.t"a.ki (Jopoqueri)

'ugly, disgusting' axtaña (Juli)
jaxtaña (Sitajara)
jiru (Salinas; Spanish feo)
jiwa (Socca)
ñasxtaña (Salinas)
ñaaxu (Jopoqueri)
p"iru (Morocomarca, Sitajara, Calacoa, San Andrés de Machaca; Spanish feo)

'wind'
ch'isi (Huancané)
suqi (Calacoa)
t"aya (La Paz; also means 'cold')
wayra (Jopoqueri, Socca, Salinas; term not used in Compi)

warya ~ wayra (parts of La Paz)

'young woman'

palachu (Calacala, possibly other parts of Potosí)

tawagu (elsewhere)

'worm'

sik'a (Morocomarca)

laq'u (Calacoa)

laq'u (La Paz, Jopoqueri, Salinas, Sitajara)

8-3.13 Noun suffixes

8-3.13.1 One form in Aymara, different uses (and/or meanings in translation)

-n.jama

'like in/on' (La Paz/Tiahuanaco)

uru.n.jama 'like in daytime'

p'axsi.n.jama 'like on the moon'

'through' (Calacoa, La Paz/Compi)

uta.n.jama 'through the house'

'every' (Bertonio 1603b:231)

+uru.n.jama 'every day'

-pacha

'self', on lp naya ~ na (Juli, La Paz, Calacoa; not used elsewhere)

nay.pacha 'myself'

'all, same' (everywhere)
8-3.13-2 One meaning in translation, different forms in Aymara

Diminutives: -cha (Calacoa, Huancané)
-lla (Huancané, Sitajara, Corque, Jopoqueri, Salinas)
-ita, -itu, -situ (everywhere but Calacoa)

'through' -:k"a (Morocomarca)

-:k"a: 'through the house'

-:na.ma (La Paz/Tiahuanaco)

-:na.ma: 'through the house'

-:ma (San Andres de Machaca)

-:ma: 'through the house'

-:n.jama (Calacoa, Compi)

-:n.jama: 'through the house'

-:ra (Jopoqueri)

-:ra:n: 'through the house'

'(the one) which' -ch"api on aka, uka (Huancané)

-ch"api: on kawki, may.ni (Jopoqueri, Sitajara)

-ch"ap.iri (Sitajara)

-i:ri: on demonstratives (La Paz, Huancané)

-i:ri: on kawki (La Paz, Huancané, Socca, Jopoqueri)

-i:ri: on kawki (La Paz)

-n.i:ri ~ -n.i:ri: on kawki (La Paz, Juli)

-c.p.iri on kawki (Socca, Morocomarca)

-v.p.iri on kawki (Morocomarca)
8-3.2 Verb system

8-3.21 Verb roots and stems

Some variation in the semantics of verb subjects and complements due to different occurrences of verbal derivational suffixes on a root has been discussed under 8-2.25.

The following examples from Morocomarca illustrate the meaning changes that may occur within one dialect when different verbal derivational suffixes (in this case the Class 2 suffixes -wiya- and -xa-) are substituted on a verb root (in this case chura- 'give').

\[
\begin{array}{l}
\text{Chura.:.wa.} \\
\text{1+3} \\
\text{F} \\
\end{array}
\]

'I am going to set a quota.'

\[
\begin{array}{l}
\text{(Voy a poner una cuota.)} \\
\end{array}
\]

\[
\begin{array}{l}
\text{Chura.wiya.:.wa.} \\
\text{1+3} \\
\text{F} \\
\end{array}
\]

'I will give to/reach out to him/her.'

\[
\begin{array}{l}
\text{(Le voy a alcanzar.)} \\
\end{array}
\]

\[
\begin{array}{l}
\text{Chur.xa.:.wa.} \\
\text{1+3} \\
\text{F} \\
\end{array}
\]

'I will give it to him/her.'

Across dialects there exist sets or families of verbs built on the same or related roots. One such set is built on the noun/verb root aru 'word, language, speech, speak' or the derived frozen verb stem arusi-. In many dialects today aru.ña exists only as a noun, 'cock's crow'.
(In Huancané, however, wallpa ar.ta is 'cock's crow'.) The Spanish loan verb parla.ña 'to speak' has been adopted almost everywhere. Verbs built on aru or arusi- have a variety of derived meanings.

- ar.s.t'a.ña 'to speak' (San Andrés de Machaca)
- ar.su.ña 'to say' (Salinas)
- ar.su.na 'to speak' (San Andrés de Machaca)
- ar.s.xa.ña 'to decide; to babble, be barely able to speak' (La Paz/Tiahuanaco)
- + 'to reveal' (Bertonio 1603b:301)
- ar.s.xa.ña 'to babble' (La Paz/Tiahuanaco)
- ar.t'a.ña 'to yell' (San Andrés de Machaca)
- ar.t'a.wiya.ña 'to call' (Salinas)
- arusi.ña 'to scold, protest, speak against someone' (San Andrés de Machaca, Tiahuanaco, Compi)
- + 'to speak' (Bertonio 1603b:87)
- arus.naqa.ña 'to speak ill of someone' (La Paz/Tiahuanaco, also Bertonio 1603b:327; La Paz uses parla.si.ña more often to convey this meaning)
- arus.ta.ña ~ arus.t'a.wiya.ña 'tongue-twister' (Salinas)
- arus.tata.ña 'to say to someone' (Salinas)
- arus.t'a.si.ña 'to agree' (Huancané)
- ar.xata.ña 'to declare oneself in favor of' (San Andrés de Machaca)
- ar.xaya.ña 'to speak to' (San Andrés de Machaca)
The following roots and stems, which are phonologically and semantically similar to each other, may constitute another related set.

\[ \text{ama:} \text{ña} \]
'\text{to esteem, appreciate, love, want}' (Sitajara)

\[ \text{am} . \text{ta:} \text{ña} \]
'\text{to remember}' (Huancané, Calacoa, Jopoqueri)

\[ \text{am} . \text{ta:si:} \text{ña} \]
'\text{to long to restore, to wish to bring back}' (La Paz/Compi)

\[ \text{am} . \text{t'a:} \text{si:} \text{ña} \]
'\text{to agree}' (Huancané)

\[ \text{amtu:si:} \text{ña} \]
'\text{to remember}' (Juli)

\[ \text{am} . \text{t'a:} \text{ña} \]
'\text{to remember}' (Calacoa)

\[ \text{am} . \text{t'a:si:} \text{ña} \]
'\text{to remember}' (Sitajara)

\[ \text{amu:ki:} \text{ña} \]
'\text{to be quiet}' (La Paz)

\[ \text{amus:} \text{t'a:} \text{ña} \]
'\text{to be quiet}' (Calacoa)

\[ \text{amutu:} \text{ña} \]
'\text{remember, think}' (Bertonio 1603b:77)

\[ \text{amutu:si:} \text{ña} \]
'\text{to be mute}' (La Paz/Tiahuanaco)

\[ \text{amuya:} \text{ña} \]
'\text{to think, be careful}' (La Paz, Sitajara)

\[ \text{mun:} \text{ña} \]
'\text{to esteem, appreciate, love, want}' (everywhere except Sitajara)

\[ \text{mun:} \text{ña} \]
'\text{love, want}' (Bertonio 1612:2.227)

As indicated in 6-2 (and in examples in other chapters) a stem consisting of the same root alone or of the same root plus derivational suffix(es) may gloss differently.
from one dialect to another, although meanings are usually fairly close (see 8-3.21.1). On the other hand, across dialects the same Spanish example was translated sometimes by a stem with different derivational suffixes, and sometimes by a different root altogether (see 8-3.21.2). In the case of verbs for agricultural practices or activities related to the preparation and preservation of agricultural products, similarity or identity of Spanish gloss may obscure real differences in meaning which may be uncovered in future research. Apart from this, Aymara is rich in verbs for processing agricultural products which are very cumbersome to translate because the processes do not exist outside Aymara culture. The following are examples of two such verbs from La Paz/Tiahuanaco:

\[ \text{jamu.rpaya.na} \sim \text{mamu.rpaya.na} \]

'To select from a pile of ground-up freeze-dried potatoes large pieces that have failed to be ground into small enough pieces (to be ground again); to select by rinsing \( \text{(enjuagar)} \).'

\[ \text{qawi.na} \]

'To put oca \( \text{(apilla)} \) in the sun for three days, taking it in at night (if not, it will freeze), then to cook it in the morning, then to put it on the roof to freeze; the result is "Aymara ice cream."'
8-3.21.1 One form in Aymara, different meanings in translation

**atiña**

'to send water through a canal' (Sitajara)

'to be able' (Salinas, Jopoqueri, Morocomarca, Calacala)

'to block a door (e.g. of a corral) with small stones to keep animals from getting out' (La Paz/Tiahuanaco; also Bertonio 1603b:217)

**chuk.t'asiña**

'to sit down (e.g. in a chair)' (Jopoqueri, Salinas)

'to squat' (La Paz)

**jalaña**

'to fly' (Jopoqueri, Salinas, Morocomarca)

'to run' (La Paz; also Bertonio 1603b:271)

**jaraña**

'to untie' (La Paz/Tiahuanaco)

'to throw out' (La Paz/Tarata)

**jik.xataña**

'to get' (San Andrés de Machaca)

'to meet, find' (La Paz/Compi, Calacala)

**jutaña**

'to arrive' (Salinas)

'to come' (La Paz, Jopoqueri, Calacoa, Juli, Huancané)

**kirkiña**

'to sing' (Salinas, Jopoqueri)

'plant for making plato paceño' (La Paz)

**k'asaña**

'for adults to cry' (Jopoqueri, Morocomarca)

'to sing very loudly' (Calacoa)

'to yell' (Sitajara)
k'iyaña

'to grind red peppers or salt with a small round stone' (La Paz/Tiahuanaco)

'to grind corn with a rocking stone (batán)' (Salinas)

parlaña

'to chat' (Salinas)

'to speak' (elsewhere)

puquña

'to grow, produce' (plant subject) (Jopoqueri, Salinas, Morocomarca, Calacala, Sitajara, Calacoa)

'to ripen' (La Paz/Tiahuanaco, La Paz/Compi)

puriña

'to come' (Salinas, Sitajara, Calacoa)

'to arrive' (La Paz, Salinas, Jopoqueri, Calacala, Huancané, Socca)

p"ichu rpayaña

'to card wool, removing dirty particles' (La Paz/Tiahuanaco)

p"icha rpapaña

'to untie' (Salinas)

q"ulliña

'to dig a field before planting' (escarbar) (Jopoqueri)

'to plow (with team of oxen)' (La Paz/Tiahuanaco)

tukiña

'to inflate, to faint' (Socca)

'to stretch out the legs' (La Paz/Compi)

tunu raña

'to turn numb, hard' (La Paz/Compi)

'to feel strengthened' (Sitajara)

tulu raña

'to feel strengthened' (Socca)

A set of phonologically similar verb roots with shifting meanings across dialects is the following:
ch"ik"a.ña 'to lead an animal with a rope' (Jopocoderi)

jik"a.ña 'to drive one little animal alone' (Jopocoderi)

's to take (a horse) on a rope, behind or in front of one' (La Paz/Tiahuanaco)

sik"a.wa.ña 'to take (a cow)' (Calacoa)

8-3.21.2 One meaning in translation, different forms in Aymara

8-3.21.21 One Aymara root, different suffixes

Only a few examples will be cited, as use of different suffixes may depend more on stylistic than on semantic criteria in many cases. In most dialects Spanish aprender 'to learn' was translated as yati.qa.ña, built on yati.ña 'to know'. In Calacoa yati.qa.ña means 'to learn from another', while yati.nta.ña means 'to learn by oneself'. Whether this distinction is also made elsewhere but was simply not mentioned is not known at this time. In Salinas and Morocomarca aprender was rendered in Aymara as yati.ña. Another example occurred with Aymara translations of the Spanish escuchar 'to listen'. In most places this is rendered as is.t'a.ña, the base verb isa.ña occurring infrequently if at all. In Morocomarca 'to listen' is isapa.ña, which corresponds to modern Jajaru and to the Aymara of Bertonio (1603b:77); the /pa/ is apparently a frozen suffix in Aymara.
Two other examples in context may be given:

'Go throw it to a dog.'

Anuqa-ra.r jaqu.ni.m. (Vitocota; non-ironic)

Anu.r jaq.xaru.ya.ni.m. (La Paz/Tiahuanaco; non-ironic)

Anu.r jaqu.ni.m. (La Paz/Tiahuanaco; ironic, e.g.

dog 2➔3 'Do it to a dog! (not to me)'

I

The expression which in Vitocota is a simple request to throw a dog a bone, to a Tiahuanaco speaker sounds like an ironic retort (see 8-2.22). To convey a straightforward request to throw food to a dog, a Tiahuanaco speaker adds the derivational suffixes shown, among them the causative -ya- which sets the 2p subject at a greater distance from the dog complement.

Another example occurred in a folksong in which a dove is warned to hide from a hawk. As rendered by a speaker from Jopoqueri, it contained the inflected verb im.t'a.s.xa.m 'hide yourself'. A speaker from La Paz/Compi preferred ima.na.t'a.s.xa.m in the same context. To the Jopoqueri speaker the first version was more like an order and more forceful and hence to be preferred.
8-3.21.22 More than one Aymara root

'to be able' ati.ña (Salinas, Jopoqueri, Morocomarca, Calacala)
puyri.ña (La Paz, Sitajara, Calacoa < Spanish poder)

'to arrive' ira.nta.ña (Calacala, Salinas)
mak"ata.ña (Huancané)
juta.ña (Salinas)
puri.ña (elsewhere)

'to come' juta.ña (La Paz, Jopoqueri, Calacoa, Juli; also Bertonio 1603b:81; not used in Sitajara)
jawti.ña (Calacoa)
jawuti.ña (Jesús de Machaca)
puri.ña (Calacoa, Sitajara, Salinas)

'to cry' jacha.ña (adults or children) (La Paz, Salinas, Morocomarca, Sitajara, Calacoa)
k'asa.ña (adults) (Jopoqueri, Morocomarca, parts of La Paz)

'to dig or hoe before planting' (escarbar)
junu.ña (Jopoqueri, Salinas)
llamayu.ña (La Paz, Juli, Huancané)
q"ulli.ña (Jopoqueri)

'to be thirsty' uma.t p"ar.ja.ña (La Paz)
uma.t wañ.ja.ña (Sitajara, Calacoa; also Bertonio 1603b:279)
uma.t waña.ña (Socca, Calacoa)
'to fall'  
  jala.na.ta.ña (Morocomarca)  
  jala.q.ta.ña (La Paz, Sitajara)  
  jaqux.t'a.ña (Jopoqueri, Sitajara)  
  tinki.ña (Sitajara)  
  tinku.ña (La Paz, Salinas)  
  tink"a.ña (Calacoa)  

'to fly'  
  tayu.ña (San Andrés de Machaca)  
  tuyu.na (La Paz/Compi; also 'to swim')  
  jala.ña (Jopoqueri, Salinas, Morocomarca)  
  wala.ña (Calacoa)  

'go'  
  jasta.ña (La Paz/Compi)  
  maqa.ña (Achocalla)  
  sara.ña (La Paz, Jopoqueri, Salinas, Sitajara, Calacoa)  
  t'iju.ña (Jesús de Machaca)  

  T'iju.ma.y yuqalla. 'Go away, boy.'  
  (Véte muchacho.)  

'grind'  
  iya.ña (Jopoqueri, Calacoa; not used in Sitajara or Salinas; means batán 'rocking stone' in Juli)  
  wayk'iya.t.ta.si.ña 'to grind red peppers' (Corque)  
  iy.ta.ña (La Paz/Compi)  
  k'iya.ña 'to grind red peppers or salt, with a round stone' (La Paz/Tiahuanaco); 'to grind corn with a batán' (Salinas)  
  siwar piqa.ña 'to grind barley with a rocking stone' (Huancané)
q"una.na 'to grind corn into flour on a long stone' (La Paz/Tiahuanaco)

t'iki.na (Sitajara)

'to grow, produce'
achu.na (La Paz)
puquu.na (Jopoqui, Salinas, Morocomarca, CalacaLa, Sitajara, Calacoa)

'to irrigate'
atì.na (Sitajara)
ch'axch'u.na (Jopoqui, Salinas)
k'ayu.na (Sitajara)
k'ayi.na (Calacoa)
qarpa.na (La Paz/Tiahuanaco)
q"ich'a.na (La Paz/Compi)
siqi.na (Sitijara)

'to set out (e. g. poles)'
ch'ak.kata.ta.na (La Paz/Tiahuanaco)
lip'.kata.ta.na (La Paz/Tiahuanaco)
p"at.kata.ta.na (Calacoa)

'to plant'
laxi.na (Corque)
lax.xa.na (Achocalla)
sata.na (elsewhere)

'to be quiet'
ampa.cha.na (Juli, Calacoa)
amuki.na (Juli, elsewhere; not used in Calacoa)

'to run'
jala.na (La Paz/Compi, La Paz, Tiahuanaco)
jal.t'a.na (Calacoa, Juli)
al.ta.na (Sitajara)
tani.na (Jopoqui, Salinas, Calacala)
t'ijuña 'to run over the ground' (San Andrés de Machaca)
t'ijtaña (Juli)

'to sing'
kantaña (La Paz; kant'ta.si.waña (Sitajara; < Spanish cantar)
kirkinya (Jopoqueri, Salinas)
k'asanya 'to sing very loud' (Sitajara)
q'uchunya 'to sing hymns' (La Paz)
wirsuña (Calacoa < Spanish verso 'verse')

'to sit'
chuk'taña (Jopoqueri)
chuk'ta.si.na (Morocomarca, Salinas, Jopoqueri, Calacala, Sitajara)
qunu.síña (Juli)
quntasiña (La Paz, Juli)
ut'taña 'to stay' (La Paz, Huancané, Vitocota)
ut'ta.si.na (Calacoa)

'to sprout'
alinuqaña (Jopoqueri, Salinas)
aliraniña (Salinas, Calacoa)
al.su.síña (Sitajara)
yapuch'ilkiniña (Salinas)
jlisu.míña (Salinas, Morocomarca)
mist.su.na 'to come out' (La Paz/Compi)

'to thank'
juspajaraña (La Paz; < Spanish Dios pagará 'God will repay')
yuspara.síña (Huancané; )
'to think'  
amuya.ña (La Paz)  
lup'i.ña (La Paz, Jopoqueri)  

'to wait for someone'  
iñas.t.a.ña (Morocomarca, Calacalaj  
uñas.t'a.ña (Calacoa)  
uñas.t'a.wa.ña (Sitajara)  
ansiya.ña (Corque)  
suya.ña (La Paz, Juli, Huancané, Calacoa)  
wanqiq.ña (Jopoqueri, Salinas)  
wanq.t'a.ña (Salinas)  

'to weed'  
qura.ña (La Paz/Tiahuanaco, San Andrés de Machaca)  
qura.ta.ña (La Paz/Compi)  
qur.su.ña (Achocalla, La Paz/Tiahuanaco)  
qur.ta.ña (Achocalla)  
t"arua.ña, t"aru.ra.ña (La Paz/Compi)  

8-3.22 Verbal inflectional suffixes

Falling together of certain verbal inflectional suffixes involving the fourth person was noted in 8-2.1.

Structural homophony in verbal inflections (one form with several meanings) is rather limited in Aymara. The following examples may be noted:
On the other hand, in certain tenses there is considerable variety in phonological shapes that express the same tense/person meaning. Numerous examples were given in 6-3.

8-4 Metaphor

Investigation of metaphor in Aymara was not really attempted for this study. The following comments and examples involve nouns mainly, since metaphorical use of verbs requires manipulation of verbal derivational suffixes in ways usually beyond the nonnative's grasp (either receptively or productively).
Hardman et al. (1975:3.34) pointed out that positionals are often used as metaphors for time. I have chosen to consider q"ipa 'after, behind' as both a positional and a temporal. Other examples of this overlap are layra - nayra 'eye, before, in front of', pacha 'space, time', and chika 'halfway, middle' (see 5-2.5 and 5-2.6).

Metaphor in Aymara involves moving lexical items from one semantic category into another, e.g. from human to nonhuman. The following humanizes an inanimate object, a chair, here the unspoken subject of the verb jaws.a.ña 'to call'.

Ak.sa.r mama, wali jaw.s tam, ut.t'a.si.ña.
'This way, ma'am, (the chair) calls you, let's sit down.' i.e. 'Make yourself comfortable, let's sit down.' (Vitocota)

(This same expression may be used in La Paz/Tiahuanaco, substituting gun.ta.si.ña for ut.t'a.si.ña.)

Metaphors involving the use of human or animal terms for inanimate objects or plants are common, e.g. the use of ch'ina 'ass, human posterior' to mean 'base, bottom' (of a cup or pot) in Compi. The following are names of varieties of potatoes identified by Vásquez (La Paz/Tiahuanaco):
Two more potatoes have names of 1) another vegetable, and 2) an inanimate object:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Wata</th>
<th>Quiltu</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>q'illu sapallu</td>
<td>'yellow squash'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>wislla p'aki</td>
<td>'bent serving spoon' (cucharón doblado)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

In fact, the only potato name cited that is not metaphoric, apart from the generic term ch'uqi, is quyu.

One of the commonest metaphors in Aymara is chuyma. It is usually translated 'heart' (corazón), but most speakers will explain that the anatomical organ it represents is actually the lung (bofe) or diaphragm. The anatomical term for heart is lluqu. As a metaphor, chuyma always occurs with human reference. A common phrase is taqi chuyma.t 'wholeheartedly, sincerely' (de todo corazón). The noun chuyma
also occurs in the following expression from La Paz/Tiahuanaco:

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{Juma.x} & \quad \left\{ \text{wal chuym} \right\} \quad \text{jar.j.ista.} \\
\text{2p} & \quad \left\{ \text{chuyma.x wal} \right\} \quad \text{2+1} \\
& \quad \text{S}
\end{align*}
\]

'You untied my heartstrings.' (Me desataste el corazón.)

This means 'You made me forget my troubles.' Another expression, from La Paz/Compi, is chuym ut.t'a.si.ña, 'to seat the heart', which means 'to resign oneself, to accept circumstances one can't change', as in the following sentence:

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{Kama.cha.raki.ta.x} & \quad - \text{niya uka..chi - chuym} \\
\text{what do} & \quad \text{2+3} \\
\text{NI} & \quad \text{already that NI} \\
\text{F} & \quad \text{seat} \\
\text{ut.t'a.ya.s.xa.k.chi.ta.x.} & \quad \text{NI} \\
\text{seat} & \quad \text{2+3} \\
\text{F}
\end{align*}
\]

'What (else) can you do - it's already happened (and it was beyond your control) - resign yourself to it.' (La Paz/Compi)

The derived noun chuyma.ni, with the possessor suffix -ni, means 'wise, mature person' in La Paz, and as such is usually reserved for older people. In Socca chuyma.ni may refer to younger persons as well, conveying the ideas of emotional maturity and good character expressed in La Paz by suma jaqi.
The following is from Tschopik (1948:113):

+aka ipi chuyma.ni jaqi.naka.xa
this people
'these ignorant people'

Tschopik's translation is 'these demented people', but since ipi glosses as 'stupid' (sonso) in Sitajara today, the above gloss seems preferable.

A few other noun metaphors involving the use of a nonhuman or nonliving noun used to refer to a human or animal are given below in alphabetical order.

ch'uxña 'green' Metaphorical: 'rebel' (human) (La Paz/Tiahuanaco)

panq'alli 'flower' Metaphorical: the llama, 'flower of the altiplano'. According to legend the gods threw flowers on the pampa and they turned into llamas. (Jopoqueri)

t'ant'a 'rags' Metaphorical: 'poor, good-for-nothing person'
t'ant'a masi.ia 'poor fellow like me' (Huancané)

A metaphorical use of the noun/verb root t'ullku is 'in a hurry'. The verb t'ullku.ña means 'to twist' (La Paz/Tiahuanaco).
The following phrases and sentences illustrate other metaphors involving nouns and verbs.

Achaku.maw jal.tani. 'Your mouse will run.' (La Paz/Tiahuanaco)
   mouse 2p run 3+3
   (You'll be hungry.)

Chamga.mp chayru.mp jir.t"api.ta..wa
   salad soup mix 3+3
   RDK

'It mixed salad and soup.' ('The meeting was very disorganized and confused.') (La Paz/Tiahuanaco)

Iki.n t"al.t"api.
   bed shake 3+3
   (youngest child) (La Paz)

Iskuyla.x ampara.mana.mak.i.w.
   school hand 3+3
   S

'The school is in your hands.' ('The school is your responsibility.') (La Paz/Compi)

Jayp'u..tax.iswa.
   evening 1+3
   for, finished.) (Socca)

k"unu.t t"aya.t isi.ni. 'dressed in snow and cold'
   snow cold dress ('poverty-stricken') (La Paz/Tiahuanaco)

8-5 Summary and Conclusion

Regional semantic variation in Aymara is relatively slight. As might be expected, nearby dialects tend to share
lexical items and meanings, some of which do not occur elsewhere, but there are instances of widely separated dialects having lexical items with similar or identical meanings and usages. No one dialect shows a significant number of lexical items different from those of other dialects.

Some variation in meaning relates to connotation. Forms which are innocuous in one dialect may be negatively loaded in another. Impressionistically it seems that La Paz dialects may have a greater propensity for irony than dialects of some other places, but this impression may be the result of greater familiarity with and easier access to data from the La Paz area than to that from other areas.

The study of Aymara semantics beckons for the future. Among the many possibilities for investigation is research into terms used in agriculture and related practices in different parts of the Aymara world to determine exactly what is meant by them. It is also to be hoped that with the growing attention being given by Aymara linguists to semantic studies (for example the work of Juan de Dios Yapita), the semantic distinctions governing selectional rules for verb subjects and complements will be clarified and appropriate labels assigned them in Aymara.
Notes

1 In Huancané q"awq"a occurred with human reference when suffixed with a personal possessive, e. g.

Q"awq"a.m.a.sa? 'How many of your people?'
2p

Elsewhere this would mean 'How many of yours [nonhuman]?'

2 The phrase suma jagi is not much used in Socca, which instead uses jagi alone or the derived noun chuyma.ni (see 8-4).

3 An alternate analysis of this form would be as a sequence containing a noun suffix -ka (possibly related to the -ka that occurs finally on nouns in Morocomarca and Calacala), followed by -na possessive/locational plus -ka-verbalizer. Or /kanka/ could be analyzed as a unitary verbalizing suffix -kanka- which occurs only on human nouns and is always followed by the nominalizer -ña. Further investigation will, it is hoped, resolve the matter.

4 A small amount of data was collected in Puerto Acosta (province of Camacho, department of La Paz), near Lake Titicaca just below the Peruvian border.

5 -ni is ambiguous out of context on the numbers 11 to 19, 21 to 29, etc., glossing as human enumerator, non-human possessor, or unmarked possessor, e. g.

   tunka.maya.ni '11 people'
   tunka.maya.ni 10 1 '11 [ten having one] things or animals'
   'having 11 things or animals'
CHAPTER 9
MISSIONARY, PATRON, AND RADIO AYMARA

9-1 Introduction

Missionary, Patrón, and Radio Aymara are translation dialects not specific to any one region. That is, they are the result of translation from Spanish (or English) into Aymara, sharing a tendency to impose Spanish (or English) categories and patterns, both grammatical and cultural, upon Aymara. Missionary and Patrón Aymara have their roots in the 16th century; Radio Aymara is a later development. As indicated in 2-4.12, until very recently all materials published in Aymara were of the Missionary or Patrón varieties.

Missionary Aymara, identifiable by its idiosyncratic use of certain syntactic linkers and lexical items, by weakening of the human/nonhuman and data source postulates, and by a rigorous marking of plural, occurs in sermons, translations of religious texts, and several published grammars of the language, as well as in the everyday speech and storytelling of persons active in institutionalized religion.¹

Patrón and Radio Aymara overlap Missionary to some extent. Patrón Aymara, which occurs both in writing and
in speech, is heavily Spanish-influenced in syntax and has an impoverished lexicon of suffixes. Radio Aymara is used by radio announcers translating orally directly from Spanish scripts. It is characterized by Spanish syntactic patterning and by a superabundance of Spanish loans, with the Aymara sometimes reduced to final suffixes. A number of announcers are now consciously trying to make their translations less literal, however, seeking to interpret the sense rather than gloss word for word.

As noted in 3-3.3, the entry of Spanish loanwords into Aymara, which occurs in all Aymara dialects, is nothing new. Some early Spanish loans (certain roots and stems, diminutive suffixes, and expressions of thanks) have been completely adapted to Aymara phonology (Aymarized) and are perceived by monolinguals and bilinguals alike as natively Aymara; others are more or less adapted to Aymara phonology according to the degree of the speaker's control of Spanish and attitude toward Aymara. A rather large number of loans may occur even in the speech of monolinguals if they wish to show familiarity with the prestige language, Spanish; in that case loans may alternate with native Aymara doublets, as occurred in the speech of an elderly monolingual woman in Tarata, Peru. (A definition of Aymara monolingual may here be attempted: a person who produces grammatical sentences only in Aymara, although possibly using a rather extensive Spanish
lexical component.) It was also observed in the course of this research that bilingual Aymara men talking to each other in Aymara in La Paz used Spanish syntactic linkers (like entonces 'then') with great frequency but did so only rarely when talking with monolinguals in rural communities. The whole matter of Spanish loans in Aymara deserves more study, taking into account situational factors like the presence or absence of listeners who have a greater command of Spanish (or English) than of Aymara. The point I wish to make here is that a large number of Spanish loans in a dialect does not in and of itself necessarily imply a corresponding weakening of Aymara grammatical processes or linguistic postulates or an impoverishment of the native Aymara lexicon.

Nevertheless, it is true that Missionary, Patrón, and Radio Aymara are generally characterized by a high proportion of Spanish loanwords in Spanish phonology, tending toward inclusion of whole Spanish phrases or even sentences, or full-fledged code-switching. The tendency to keep or try to approximate the Spanish phonology of loanwords (when these are recognized as such) evidently reflects, in some persons, the view that Spanish is inherently superior to Aymara—a view fostered consciously or unconsciously by most writers of Missionary and Patrón grammars (see 2-3 and 2-4.11) and accepted by adherents of certain religious sects (see 10-2.7). In contrast,
bilinguals literate in Aymara and Spanish, who consciously promote the development of Aymara literature, deliberately Aymarize Spanish loans, both in speech and in writing, as for example Istarusunirusa (from Estados Unidos 'United States') and winus tiyas (from buenos días 'good morning').

In the following sections the three dialects will be discussed with respect to phonology, morphophonemics, morphology, morphosyntax and syntax, and semantics. It should be kept in mind in reading this chapter that it is primarily an analysis of Missionary, Patrón, and Radio Aymara as spoken in the city of La Paz and (for Missionary Aymara only) in Compi, department of La Paz; and of published sources of Missionary and Patrón Aymara (see 2-4.11), most of which probably also reflect La Paz usages. For Radio Aymara, only recorded (spoken) texts were used; for Missionary, both recorded and published written texts; and for Patrón, published written texts only. The analysis is based on interpretations and revisions of the texts and on additional examples provided by Vásquez (La Paz/Tiahuanaco) and Yapita (La Paz/Compi). Vásquez furnished most of the initial interpretations and revisions of published texts (for example, Ebbing 1965, Paredes Candía 1963, Wexler 1967, and the Aymara catalogues). Yapita reviewed some of these as well as the recorded texts. The chapter is thus a contrastive study of the three translation dialects and the two La Paz dialects, from the
point of view of the latter. A more definitive study would require further analysis of the three translation dialects by Aymara speakers from other dialect areas, with additional data from different areas.

9-2 Phonology

From the point of view of speakers of other Aymara dialects (especially, those who are monolingual in Aymara), Missionary, Patrón, and Radio Aymara tend to be spoken with a Spanish accent (albeit the Spanish is itself Andean, reflecting to an as-yet-undetermined extent a substratum of languages native to the area). The components of this accent include a tendency to produce the five cardinal Spanish vowels and intonation patterns associated with that language. Pronunciation is often perceived as overly precise and slow, except in the case of radio delivery which may be considered overly clipped and staccato. (To what extent these perceptions are due to phonological factors, and how much they are influenced by morphology and syntax, are questions needing further investigation.)

As noted in 2-4.11, all published Missionary and Patrón texts use the five Spanish vowels. Most confuse the velar and postvelar occlusives and fricatives and the plain, aspirated, and glottalized occlusives. Even if these phonemes are distinguished, the writing systems
often fail to keep them apart or use cumbersome means to do so, as in the case of the velar fricative written j and the postvelar fricative written jj. When these cluster, as frequently happens, unwieldy and ambiguous sequences like jij or jjjj can result whose disambiguation requires the use of hyphens, as in the following example from Herrero et al. (1971: 1969): paj-jjeta 'pay me'. In the Yapita phonemic alphabet this word would be unambiguously rendered as pajxita.

9-3 Morphophonemics

Missionary, Patrón, and Radio Aymara observe regular vowel-dropping and -retaining rules as do other dialects, except that stylistically-conditioned final vowel dropping occurs less often in Missionary and Patrón Aymara than in other dialects. Stem-final vowel restoration with stress thereby occurring on the antepenultimate vowel (see 4-3.33) occurs frequently on verbs, usually with the Imperative 2➔3 suffix, in radio advertisements or announcements urging listeners to buy something or be present at an event, as in the following examples:

\[
\begin{align*}
al.t'a.si.píni.ma & \quad \text{'be sure to buy'} \\
& \quad \text{\underline{buy}} \quad 2\rightarrow 3 \\
i & \\
\text{yati.ya.si.p.aka.rák.tama} & \quad \text{'they are notifying you'} \\
& \quad \text{\underline{notify}} \quad 3\rightarrow 2 \\
& \quad S
\end{align*}
\]
An example of the pattern with 4+3 Simple tense occurred in a Baptist sermon in La Paz.

\[ \text{... kun.jam.s sár.s.tana ... '... how we are getting along'} \]
\[ \text{ how go 4+3 S} \]

The antepenultimate stress pattern also occurs on examples given in the Patrón Aymara catalogues, such as the following verbs with 2+3 Imperative:

\[ ^+sára.ma \quad 'go' \]
\[ ^+q'i.pi.ma \quad 'carry on (your) back' \]
\[ ^+apá.ni.ma \quad 'carry' \]
\[ ^+irpá.ní.ma \quad 'take a person' \]

These Patrón Aymara forms are interpreted by most native speakers as rude orders, according to Vásquez and Yapita (see 9-4).

9-4 Morphology

As we have already seen, in Aymara some suffixes are used as softeners and politives: certain noun and verb derivationals (e.g. diminutives on nouns and the suffix -t'a- on verbs), independents, and the final suffix -ya, alone or in combination. From the point of view of other speakers Missionary and Patrón Aymara usually fail
to use enough politives with the Imperative and Future tenses. That is, they tend to use forms like those at the end of 9-3, which would be appropriate for a parent speaking to a child, among brothers and sisters, between spouses in certain circumstances, or between a buyer and seller who do not know each other. Between adult friends, compadres, a seller and buyer who know each other, and among family members, forms with politives are the norm, e.g. sara.ma.y 'please go' with -ya final suffix.

According to Yapita and Vásquez, the drills provided by Herrero et al. (1971-2) sound like orders, some less brusque than others, but orders nevertheless, because they lack politive suffixes. Yapita and Vásquez indicate that use of such forms by persons in authority, such as a Catholic priest or a Protestant minister, is perceived by many Aymara speakers as evidence of a more or less arrogant assumption of superiority. Compared to Missionary and Patrón Aymara, Radio Aymara uses more of the verbal derivational and independent suffixes, although not of -ya politive, and is therefore perceived as more courteous.

The passive in Spanish is often translated in Missionary Aymara by the verbal derivational suffix combination -ya.si-, consisting of -ya- causative followed by -si- reciprocal/reflexive, as in the following example from a Baptist sermon:

\[
\begin{array}{c}
\text{Jesucristo} & \text{Tat.itu.ru} & \text{iyaw sa.m uka.t.wa} \\
\text{Lord} & \text{yes say 2-3 then} & \text{I}
\end{array}
\]
Missionary meaning: 'Put your faith in the Lord Jesus, and you will be saved, you and your household' (Acts 16:31, New English Bible)

Non-Missionary meaning: 'Agree with the Lord Jesus Christ, and you and your family will cause yourselves to escape.' (La Paz/Compi)

A non-Missionary revision of the latter part of the sentence is the following:

... juma.s familia.ma.s uka.t salva.ta:.ni.  
2p family 2p then save 3+3 F

... 'then you and your family will be saved.'  
(La Paz/Compi)

The verb salva-, from the Spanish salvar 'to save', here has the resultant nominalizing suffix -ta followed by verbalization and the Future tense. This appears to be closer to the sense of the English.

9-5 Morphosyntax and Syntax

Some final suffixes are used differently in Missionary and Patrón Aymara than in other dialects. For example, the absolute suffix -wa tends to occur most often on verbs. In a Patrón Aymara version of Little Red Ridinghood (Sebeok 1951a) -wa occurs once on the negative
particle *jani* but otherwise always on verbs. This is not the case in other dialects. As indicated in Chapter 8, frequent use of *-wa*, especially with verb tenses already implying direct personal knowledge, increases the personal knowledge connotation (see 9-6.13).

Some nominalizing subordination occurs in all dialects; however, the Sebeok story has very little. Spoken Missionary texts and the stories recorded by Wexler (1967) use normal levels of subordination by nominalization although they tend not to use *uka* as resumator.

Certain syntactic linkers used in Missionary Aymara are composed of native Aymara roots and suffixes but have different meanings in Missionary Aymara than elsewhere. The following are the most common:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Missionary</th>
<th>Non-Missionary</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><em>kuna.layku,ti.xa</em></td>
<td>'because'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>uka.mpi.sa</em></td>
<td>'but'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>'with that'</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Perhaps more than any other one feature, use of *kuna.layku,ti.xa* stamps a speaker as having some association with missionaries, usually Protestants, although the term has been adopted by some Catholics. It occurs in the conversation of members of religious sects, but it did not occur in the Baptist sermon analyzed for this study, the Spanish
loan *porque* being used instead. The expression *kuna-layku.ti.xa* is built on the interrogative *kuna* 'what' plus the suffix *-layku* 'on account of'. The query *kuna-layku.sa* is an incredulous, complaining question, like 'Why?!?' To persons who do not use the Missionary term, *kuna.layku.ti.xa* retains some of the heavy semantic freight of *kuna.layku.sa*, injecting a jarring note into sentences like the following:

\[
\begin{array}{ccc}
\text{Jupa.naka.x} & \text{jik.xata.si.way.a.p.x.i} & \text{kuna.layku.ti.xa} \\
3p & \text{meet} & 3+3 \\
& & S \\
\text{wali} & \text{suma} & \text{t"ug.ta.wi.naka.w} \\
\text{very} & \text{good} & \text{dance} \\
\end{array}
\]

Missionary meaning: 'They met together because of the very good dancing.'

Non-Missionary meaning: 'They met together--Why?!?--There were very good dances.'

\[
\begin{array}{ccc}
\text{Jupa.naka.t} & \text{ma: juk'.ita disculpa} & \text{may.xa.p.x.ta} \\
3p & \text{a little} & 1-3 \\
& \text{pardon} & S \\
\text{kuna.layku.ti.x} & \text{na.naka.x} & \text{uras.pacha.x} \\
1p & \text{sometimes} & \\
\text{pant.xa.s.iri:.p.x.t.w.} & \text{make mistakes} & 1-3 \\
& & S \\
\end{array}
\]

Missionary meaning: 'We ask them to pardon us because we sometimes make mistakes.'
Non-Missionary meaning: 'We ask them to pardon us - Why?!? - We sometimes make mistakes.'

The above examples were both said by a 20-year-old Baptist male speaker. A non-Missionary dialect speaker would omit the *kuna.layku.ti.xa*, subordinating one part of the sentence to the other by juxtaposition as in the following:

```
Uniwirsira.r sara.: liyi.ña.xa.w. (La Paz/Compi)
university go 1→3 read 1p
```

'I'll go to the university because I have some reading to do/to do some reading I have to do.' (La Paz/Compi)

An example of Missionary Aymara use of *uka mpi sa* is the following from Wexler (1967:144):

```
+María, uta.sa.x wali suma.wa, uka mpi.s cocina.sa.x
house 4p very nice kitchen 4p
```

```
k’añu.wa.
dirty
```

Missionary meaning: 'María, our house is very nice, but the kitchen is dirty.'

Non-Missionary meaning: María, our house is very delicious, besides that, the kitchen is dirty.' (La Paz/Tiahuanaco)

As the above shows, the non-Missionary meaning of *uka mpi sa* is conjunctive rather than disjunctive. In any case it is not much used. Vásquez perceived it as a mistaken rendition of *uka mpi n sa* 'in spite of that'. Other
Aymara translations of 'but' in addition to uka mpi.sa are uka s.ipan.sti 'so saying', which is cited by Ebbing (1965:198) and consists of uka 'that' followed by the verb sa.ña 'to say' with the subordinator -ipana and the final suffix -sti; and the Spanish loan pero 'but', often Aymarized as piru, which occurs in many Aymara dialects even among monolinguals.

In addition to occurring on kuna.layku, the final suffix combination -ti.xa also occurs frequently in Missionary Aymara on other interrogatives serving as indefinites (and glossing as relatives in English or Spanish): kawk.n.iri.ti.xa 'the one where/in which', kun.jama.ti.xa 'whatever', k"iti.ti.xa 'whoever', and qawq"a.ni.ti.xa 'however many'. Examples (from Compi):

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{Intrik.xa} & \text{wa anchit urasa.na sina} & \text{kawk.n.iri.ti.xa} \\
\text{turn over} & \text{now hour lady who} \\
\text{F} & \\
\text{jupa.x} & \text{permít.itu ma: ratu parl.t'a.ña.taki} \\
\text{3p} & \text{permit 3\rightarrow1 a while talk} \\
\text{S} & \\
\text{ak.sa} & \text{tuqi grawasyuna.t.} \\
\text{here around recording.} & \\
\text{'}I will now turn over (the microphone) at this time (to) the lady who permitted me to talk a while on this recording.' & \\
\text{Juma.x} & \text{kun.jama.ti.xa s.ista.xa} & \ldots \\
\text{2p} & \text{whatever} 2\rightarrow1 & \text{S} \\
\text{'}You, as you said to me . . .' & 
\end{align*}
\]
In these sentences the interrogatives with -ti.xa are not followed by uka resumator. In non-Missionary Aymara -ti.xa occurs infrequently, as a subordinator of verbs and demonstratives. It may also occur on interrogatives, but when it does it is usually ordered first in a sentence and followed later by uka resumator, as in the examples given in 7-4.24.

An example of code-switching in which Spanish all but submerges the Aymara is the following sentence, again from the Baptist sermon referred to earlier:

\[\text{Yo creo que jani.w hermana.naka.s.} \]
\[\text{I think that \underline{no} sister} \]

'I think not, sisters.'

The only Aymara in the above sentence is the negative particle jani with the absolute final suffix -wa (reduced to w) and the Aymara plural suffix -naka, which is followed by the Spanish plural -s. The meaning conveyed is somewhat stronger than the above translation would imply, due to the presence of -wa; a closer approximation would be 'No, sisters, I know it’s not so.'

Although successive embedding in noun phrases is possible in Aymara (see 7-4.2), it is not very common. It occurs with more than usual frequency in a story told by a Protestant minister from La Paz (Wexler 1967:454-456).
Two noun phrases have three nouns each, two have four, and one has five, as follows:

+tiwula.n pisi chuyma.:ta.p
  fox    lack    wisdom    3p

'the fox's stupidity'

+tiwula.n wawa.naka.pa.n jiwa.ra.ya.ta.pa
  fox  child     3p  die     3p

'the murder (one by one) of the fox's children'

+wal.ja suma paru wawa.naka.ni
  many beautiful wheat- child     haver
colored

'haver of many beautiful wheat-colored children'

+wallata.n suma paru wawa.naka.p
  beautiful wheat- child     3p
colored

'the lake bird's beautiful wheat-colored children'

+uka pisi chuyma puyri tiwula.x
  that lack wisdom poor  fox

'that poor stupid fox'

The high incidence of embedded noun phrases may be attributable to the influence of English-speaking
missionaries, since English makes greater use of noun phrase embedding than Spanish does. In other respects, however, the story does not appear to follow Spanish or English word order. In fact, it shows a rather high incidence of all kinds of subordination, with a more intricate manipulation of Aymara grammatical processes than occurs in most folk tales recorded for this study. For this reason, before high incidence of noun phrase embedding can be ascribed to English influence, further analysis of texts is needed.

On the other hand, Patrón and Radio Aymara yield many obvious examples of Spanish word order transferred to Aymara. The following is the introductory sentence of the Patrón Aymara version of Little Red Ridinghood (Sebeok 1951a: 54):

\[+\text{Ma: uru ma: warmi sa.tayn imilla.pu.ru} \]
\[\text{one day a woman say 3+3 girl 3p} \]
\[\text{RIK} \]
\[< \text{Apa.m aka manq'a awicha.ma.ru, jich'a usu.ta..s.ki.w.} \]
\[\text{take 2+3 this food grand-2p now sick 3+3} \]
\[\text{mother} \]
\[S \]

'One day a woman said to her daughter, "Take this food to your grandmother, she's sick now."'

In Aymara zero complements (such as aka manq'a 'this food') usually precede the verb. The above sentence and the whole
story from which it is taken are also unusual in the absence of -xa final suffix (the teller of the story is identified as being from La Paz, where use of -xa is the norm), in the occurrence of the final suffix -wa only on verbs (and once on the negative), and in the use of very few verbal derivational suffixes.

The following example is from a radio announcement of a dance rehearsal for an impending festival. It contains an Aymara phrase translated word for word (or suffix for word) from Spanish and two untranslated Spanish phrases.

Uka.t.rak jan sara.ña.mpi, ut.ja.ni.wa reunion y
   careful no go be 3-3 meeting and
F

práctica sábado diecinueve de agosto taqi.ni.s
practice Saturday 19 de August all

sara.nta.si.p.ka.:ta.wa.
go 2-3 F

'Be careful of not going (be sure to go), there will be a meeting and rehearsal Saturday August 19, all of you go.'

The Aymara uka.t.rak jan sara.ña.mpi translates the Spanish cuidado con no ir. The suffix -mpi translates con 'with' and uka.t.rak translates cuidado 'careful'. The following is a suggested revision by Yapita, to eliminate direct translation from Spanish:
Uka.t.rak jan sara.si.p.ka.sma.ti. (La Paz/Compi)
careful no go 2➔3
D-1

'Be careful of not going (be careful not to miss it).'</n

This uses the Desiderative tense which, with -raki independent suffix, conveys the cautionary 'be careful'.

Radio Aymara has developed distinctive phrases for indicating the time, such as the following, which also shows influence of direct translation from Spanish:

\[
\text{Llatunka} \quad \text{minutu.naka.ki.w.} \quad \text{p"alt.xa.rak.i} \quad \text{llatunka}
\]

nine minute lack 3➔3 S

\[
\text{arum} \quad \text{uras.taki.}
\]

night hours for

'And it's only nine minutes before nine p.m.'

This sentence reflects the Spanish Nueve minutos faltan para las nueve horas de la noche, 'Nine minutes are lacking for nine o'clock in the evening,' except that, instead of the more commonly used Spanish loan for nine o'clock, las nuywi (las nueve), it uses the native Aymara number llatunka 'nine' plus aruma 'time after dark and before dawn' followed by the Spanish loan urasa (horas). Removing the plural suffix -naka on minutu (superfluous on a noun preceded by a number) and the direct Spanish translation urasa.taki (-taki
translating para 'for'), the sentence is reworked by Yapita as follows:

\[
\text{Llatunk minutu mpi.x las nuywi..ni.w. (La Paz/Compi)}
\]

nine minute with nine 3+3 F

'In (with) nine minutes it will be nine o'clock.'

9-6 Semantics
9-6.1 Linguistic postulates
9-6.11 Four-person system

Since the 16th century the first and fourth grammatical persons have often been confused by nonnative speakers of Aymara. Anomalies such as Na.naka.n Awki.sa still occur today as the first words of the Lord's Prayer, 'Our Father'. Na.naka.n is the exclusive lp possessive, 'our but not your', while Awki.sa has the inclusive 4p possessive on the noun awki 'father', meaning 'father of you and me'. The whole phrase Na.naka.n Awki.sa is therefore a semantic impossibility, 'our-but-not-your father-of-you-and-me'. However, merely correcting the phrase to Na.naka.n Awki.xa, with the lp possessive suffix -xa on awki, does not improve matters, inasmuch as the hearer would then feel excluded: 'our father but not yours.' Using the 4p for both, Jiwasa.n Awki.sa avoids exclusivity but might be objected to on the ground that 'Our Father' in the context of the Lord's Prayer is addressed to God and that
therefore the exclusive 1p plural is appropriate, rather than the inclusive 4p; God cannot be our father and simultaneously His own (unless, perhaps, He is being addressed as the Trinity). The real problem, however, according to Yapita, is that in Aymara, God cannot be humanly possessed. Therefore, a term preferred by some Aymara speakers as a term of address or reference for God is Suma Aw'ki 'Good Father', as in

\[
\text{Suma Aw'ki yanap.ta.ni.p.xa.k.ita.y.} \\
\text{help} \\
\text{2-1} \\
\text{I}
\]

'Good Father, help us.' (La Paz/Compi)\(^4\)

An example of another typical confusion of the first and fourth persons is the following from Tarifa (1969:127):

\[
+\text{Na.naka lura.p.xa.ñanij.} \\
\text{lp do} \\
\text{4-3} \\
\text{F}
\]

Here, the pronoun subject is 1p but the subject conveyed in the verb inflectional suffix is 4p, resulting in the contradictory message 'We (not including you) and you will do it'.

The following sentence from one of the Patrón Aymara phrase catalogues fails to use the 4p to include
the 2p hearer in what one proposes to do, as a form of courtesy.

\[ +Uka \商业化 par.jitu.wa. \]
that water give 2 \-\, thirst 3 \-\, I S

The above sentence is supposed to mean Un poco de agua dámeme, tengo sed ('Give me a little water, I'm thirsty'). It is not particularly polite in any case, but the effect in non-Patron Aymara is closer to 'Gimme that water, can't you see I'm thirsty?' As we saw in 8-2.2, a polite request for water would use the 4p, including the addressee in the invitation even if he or she is being asked to provide the water.

In the following example from Wexler (1967:144) rudeness results from using the 2p instead of the 4p as subject of the verb inflection, thereby implying that the addressee is a dog (a nonperson):

\[ +Aka.x \text{ mang'}a.x \text{ José, mang'}a.n muntati? \]
here food Jose, eat want 2 \-\, 3 \, S

The intended meaning is a matter-of-fact announcement that dinner is ready, but the impression conveyed is bad-tempered, something like 'Here's food, José, will you shut up and eat it?'
9-6.12 Human/nonhuman

Certain Missionary and Patrón usages result from failure to take into account the human/nonhuman postulate. The following type of sentence occurs frequently:

\[\text{Uka.x wawa.xa.wa. 'That is my child.' (Ross n.d.:9)}\]

As indicated in 8-2.21, use of a demonstrative as a pronoun referring directly to a human being is avoided unless rudeness is intended. This does not appear to be true of Missionary Aymara, but such sentences as the above are nevertheless perceived as rude by non-Missionary speakers.

Certain nouns are used without reference to the human/nonhuman distinction in Missionary and Patrón Aymara. For example, in these two dialects the common nouns jach'a 'big' and jisk'a 'small' are used to refer to anything, human or nonhuman; the requirement that the noun phrases jach'a tansa 'tall' and jisk'a tansa 'short' be used for human reference is not observed. Similarly, the usual restrictions on the noun suma 'good, tasty, very' do not apply. Use of suma to modify a human noun directly is not perceived as obscene, suma tawaju being used to mean 'nice girl' and the verbalized form Suma::ta.wa, 'You're nice.' To Yapita, another anomaly results from attempted metaphoric use of suma laxra 'delicious tongue' (i.e. a meat
Another noun used generally for human and nonhuman in Missionary and Patrón Aymara, but only for nonhuman reference in other dialects, is muxsa 'sweet'. In Missionary and Patrón Aymara it may mean either 'sweet-tasting' or 'sweet(ly), pleasant(ly),' with reference to food, activities, or people. A typical sentence is that cited by Ebbing (1965:79).

\[
\text{Musxa Virgen Marfa.taki muxsa q'uchu.nani.}
\]

The intended meaning is 'Let's sing sweetly for the sweet Virgin Mary,' but the non-Missionary meaning is 'Let's sing sweet-tastingly for the sweet-tasting Virgin Mary.'

Certain other nouns used only for humans in other dialects are used for nonhumans in Missionary and Patrón Aymara. These include jut'u, which Paredes Candía (1963:35) indicated could be used to refer to small objects, but according to Vásquez it is a term used to address a human adversary who is smaller than oneself. The noun q'uru 'bad, vicious' is used by Wexler (1967:21) to refer to a dog; in other dialects it is used to refer only to people. The derived noun jamasa.ta 'in hiding from' is used by Ebbing (1965:91) to refer to sheep used as a metaphor for people, as follows:
According to Yapita, in Aymara culture sheep are encouraged to eat, and would in no case be considered capable of guile; their use as a metaphor for people is therefore not appropriate.

In Missionary, Patrón, and Radio Aymara, translation often results in what in other dialects would be violations of Aymara selectional restrictions on verb subjects and complements (refer to 8-2.25). For example, in the Baptist sermon already referred to, the following sentence occurred:

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{Ma: ejemplo hermana.naka.s usku.:na, no?} \\
\text{an example sister put 3+3 RDK}
\end{align*}
\]

This is intended to mean 'He was an example, wasn't he, sisters?' The Spanish noun ejemplo, associated in Spanish with the verb poner 'to put, place' as in poner un ejemplo 'to give or be an example,' may take either concrete or abstract complements. But the verb the speaker chose to translate poner is usku.ña 'to put a small object in something' (e.g., a key in a keyhole), which in non-Missionary Aymara takes a nonliving, concrete zero complement. The meaning of the sentence outside of the Missionary context is therefore something like 'He put an example (a small something) in something.'
In non-Missionary La Paz Aymara the verb atipaña takes a human subject and human complement, and means 'to defeat or overcome an adversary'. In Missionary Aymara it is extended to take nonliving complements such as sin and death. The derived form atipjaña is also similarly used in Missionary Aymara, although in other dialects it means 'to defeat and then to escape'. The following example is from the Baptist sermon already referred to:

Pas.ir lecciona.n.xa yati.ya:tan.wa Cristo.xa

\[
\text{last} \quad \text{lesson} \quad \text{learn} \quad \text{4-3} \quad \text{RDK}
\]

\[
\text{jucha.ru.s} \quad \text{jiwa.ña.ru.s} \quad \text{atip.ja.ta.pa.ta.} \\
\text{sin} \quad \text{death} \quad \text{defeat} \quad 3p
\]

The intended meaning is 'In the last lesson we learned about Christ's overcoming sin and death.' In non-Missionary Aymara the sentence implies Christ defeated someone and then escaped.

The following occurred in a radio announcement. It illustrates failure to abide by selectional restrictions with respect to verb subjects:

\[
\ldots \text{niya.ki.xa.y fiesta.w jak'a.cha.si.n.ka.rak.i.} \\
\text{already} \quad \text{fiesta} \quad \text{3-3} \quad \text{S}
\]

The intended meaning of this is '... and the fiesta is already almost here', i.e., is nearing in time. The
implication, however, is that the fiesta is moving physically closer, since the verbalized noun jak'a.cha.si.n.ka-takes a physically moving subject. A preferable verb in this instance, according to Yapita, would be puri.na 'to arrive', which can take a human or nonhuman nonliving subject (see 8-2.25).

The following is also from a radio announcement. The Spanish reciban sus saludos 'receive your greetings' is translated word for word (although the word order is changed), giving the following:

\[
\text{arum.t'a.naka.ma katu.q.t'a.sf.p.xa.ma.} \\
\text{greeting 2p receive 2➔3} \\
\]

Normally the verb katu.q.t'a.si.na means 'to receive an object' rather than something nonliving and immaterial like greetings. (The above expression is also odd in that the zero complement, arum.t'a.naka.ma, retains the final vowel even though it occurs before the verb.) Yapita suggested as a preferable substitute for the above:

\[
\text{Arum.t'a.ni.p.x.tam.} \ '\text{They greet you.}' \\
\text{3➔2} \\
\]

In the following example there is no problem with the reference of subject or complement but the meaning is distorted by too literal translation:
The Polonesa National Knitwear Factory is now having even more up-to-date models brought out.

The verb _ap.s.t'a.ya.si.p.ka.rak.i_ translates the Spanish _están haciendo sacar_ 'are having brought out'. In Aymara this implies physically taking or bringing something out, rather than producing, the derived meaning in both Spanish and English. A better translation in Aymara would be _lur.ta.ya.si.p.ka.rak.i_ 'they are having made' (La Paz/Compi). As a matter of fact, in the sentence just cited the announcer, apparently dissatisfied with _ap.s.t'a.ya.si.p.ka.rak.i_, added immediately after it _p'it.t'a.ya.si.p.ka.rak.i_ 'they are having knitted'.

Yapita has pointed out (personal communication) that radio announcers frequently use _jiki.na_ 'to meet, to find' with an inanimate subject, to translate the Spanish _se encuentra_ 'is found, is located' as in

_ Kuriru.x kalli Ayakuchu.n jik.xata.s.i._
post office street Ayacucho find 3+3 S

'The Post Office is found (located) on Ayacucho Street.'
To Yapita this is incorrect, the verb jik.xata.si.ña requiring a living, moving subject. A correct way to express the meaning, he suggests, would be

Kuriyu.x kalli Ayakuchu.n.k.i.wa.

'The Post Office is on Ayachucho Street.' (La Paz/Compi)

Examples of correct sentences with jiki.ña or derived forms would be

P"isi.x achak jik.xata.tayna.w. 'The cat found a mouse.'
   cat     mouse       find 3+3
   (La Paz/Compi)

Jiki.si.ña.kama. 'Until we meet again.' (La Paz/Compi)

9-6.13 Directly/Indirectly-acquired knowledge

A third linguistic postulate which is weakened in Missionary Aymara (though not in Patrón or Radio Aymara) is the distinction of direct and indirect knowledge source. Usually Missionary Aymara uses tenses and final suffixes that imply direct personal knowledge, apparently as a reflection of the Christian emphasis on acceptance by faith. According to Yapita and Vásquez, use of such forms is appropriate for eye-witness accounts, but their use in stories or sermons telling of events the speaker could not possibly have experienced personally is perceived as inappropriate and ludicrous.
The only indirect knowledge marker used to any extent in Missionary Aymara (apart from 3➔3 RIK used as a surprisal) is the reportive sa.ña, employed primarily in quoting Biblical texts. The following is an excerpt from the Baptist sermon aforesaid, the subject of which was the story of the doubting apostle Thomas:

... si.wa <Benaventurados> s.i.wa <Kusi.si.ña.w^6
said blessed said blessed

Diosa.taki.x> s.i.wa jan uñ.j.ka.sina cree uka.ru.
Fod for said no seeing believe that

'. . . it says (in the Bible) "Blessed" it says "Blessed for God" it says "(are they who) not seeing, believe that."

But in many other instances preachers and storytellers associated with religious sects use the unadorned Remote Direct Knowledge or Simple tenses, as in the following from the same sermon:

Kawki..:ri discípulo.pa.s hermanas jani cree.ka.:n.ti?
which disciple 3p sisters no believe 3➔3
RDK

The Missionary meaning of the above is 'Which of His disciples, sisters, did not believe?' To Vásquez and Yapita the sentence implies that the speaker and/or the addressees were present on the occasion of Thomas' expression of disbelief; it is as if the sentence contained the
additional reminder, 'You remember, we were there and heard him say so.' In non-Missionary Aymara the verb would have the 3+3 RIK tense conveying indirect acquisition of the information and saña embedding would probably also be used to increase the speaker's distance in time and knowledge from the matter referred to. To Missionary Aymara speakers, use of indirect knowledge markers apparently implies disbelief, which is at all costs to be avoided.

The influence of this attitude extends to the telling of folktales. Whereas 3+3 RIK suffixes (-tayna or -iritayna or their variants) are very common in stories told by non-Missionary speakers, the tense is almost entirely absent in stories told by Missionary-trained persons. A few -tayna's usually creep into Missionary-told folktales, however, attesting to the strength of the direct/indirect knowledge postulate in Aymara; although it may be suppressed, it cannot be entirely eradicated.

As perceived by Vásquez, use of the Future tense with implied personal knowledge in the following sentence from Ebbing (1965:83) is ludicrous:

\[ +Jucha.cha.s.iri.naka.x \quad jani.w \quad alax.pacha.r \]
\[ \text{sinner} \quad \text{no} \quad \text{heaven} \]

\[ manta.ka.ni.ti. \]
\[ \text{enter} \quad 3+3 \quad F \]

The intended meaning is 'Sinners will not go to Heaven',
but the implication is that the speaker will personally see to it that they don't. To avoid giving this impression, the following may be added.

... s.i.w Yusa.n aru.pa.n.xa. 'so it says in God's word.'

(La Paz/Tiahuanaco)

To Vásquez, another example using the Future also implies a threat (Wexler 1967:368).

\textbf{\textsuperscript{3p}} Jupa.ti.x aymar jan yati.q.ka.ni.xa,\noindent \textsuperscript{3➔3} F \textit{\textsuperscript{3p}} jani.w Wuliwyə.r sar.ka.ni.ti.\noindent \textsuperscript{3➔3} F

'If he doesn't learn Aymara, he won't go to Bolivia. (I'll see to it.)' (La Paz/Tiahuanaco)

9-6.14 Imposition of singular/plural

In contrast to failure to abide by Aymara linguistic postulates is the imposition of the singular/plural distinction. The most obvious overmarking of plural is that exemplified in the Baptist sermon referred to, in which the preacher used the Spanish loan \underline{hermana} 'sister' plus the Aymara plural suffix -naka plus the Spanish plural suffix -s: \underline{hermana.naka.s} 'sisters'. Elsewhere, Missionary and Patrón Aymara mark the plural both on nouns and verbs with much more regularity than occurs in other Aymara dialects.
As indicated in 8-2.22, the noun awki has acquired association with dogs in such expressions as Awki.ma.sti 'And (how is) your father?' To Vásquez, when the plural suffix -naka is added to awki (or even to the noun tata 'father') the insult is compounded, as in the following (Wexler 1967:21):

\[ +\text{Awki.naka.ni.:.ta.ti?} \]

This is intended to translate the Spanish inquiry to a child, 'Do you have parents?', i.e., 'Are your parents living?' According to Vásquez such a question is culturally incorrect, as it is not something one would usually ask a person, even a child, directly. Secondly, awki 'father' is here misused to translate Spanish padre in the sense of 'parent'. Finally, adding -naka to awki gives the meaning 'Do you have fathers?' which is like saying 'Does your mother know who your father is?'

9-6.2 Other semantic peculiarities

There are other semantic peculiarities in Missionary and Patrón Aymara that may not be attributable to failure to recognize linguistic postulates but are nevertheless offensive to speakers of other dialects. An example is use of the noun yuqalla, which has derogatory connotations in most dialects unless it occurs followed by wawa 'child'
as in **yugall wawa** 'boy child, little boy.' Use of **yugalla** as a term of address is especially resented, as in the following (Ebbing, 1965:11):

\[ +Juta.m \mbox{ yugalla.y!} 'Come here, boy!' \]

If said to an adult, this has much the same impact as the sentence would have in English, even though the positive suffix -ya occurs in the sentence. Said to a child, it means something like 'Come here, you little bastard!' And even when it is not used as a term of address, **yugalla** is offensive. The sentence

\[ +K"iti.s \mbox{ uka yugalla.xa?} \ (Wexler \ 1967:263) \]

intended to mean 'Who is that boy?' to non-Missionary speakers means instead something like 'Who's that poor little SOB?'

The catalogues of Aymara phrases are full of examples of this type. In one case a spelling error changes what would be an impertinent question into a silly one.

\[ +Junt'a.ta.ma \mbox{ ut.j.k.i.ti?} \ (Catálogo \ 1971:36) \]

The intended meaning of this is 'Do you have a lover?' But because of spelling errors, what is actually said is,
according to Vásquez, 'Do you have your pincushion?' The intended meaning would be conveyed, rudely, by the following:

\[
\text{Un.t'a.ta.ni.:ta.ti?} \\
\text{Look} \\
\text{S} \\
\text{2+3} \\
\]

literally, 'Do you have someone you look at?'

The verb \text{muna.ña} 'to want, like, esteem' occurs in a number of examples, such as the following (Wexler 1967:57):

\[
+\text{Kun.s munta.ti?} \\
\text{S} \\
\text{2+3} \\
\]

As indicated by Wexler (1967), this means 'Do you want something?' but to Vásquez it has overtones of a suggestive challenge. Another example is (Wexler 1967:345)

\[
+\text{Mun.ista.ti?} \\
\text{S} \\
\text{2+1} \\
\]

Intended to mean 'Do you need my help?', it actually means, according to Vásquez, 'Do you want/love/appreciate me?' Vásquez indicates that the correct Aymara for asking if someone needs help is

\[
\text{Yanap.t'a.ma.cha?} \quad '\text{May I help you?}' \quad (\text{La Paz/Tiahuanaco}) \\
\text{F} \\
\text{1+2} \\
\]

This has the Future tense and the alternative question suffix -cha.
Outside of Missionary or Patrón Aymara the verb munaña is not used with certain complements in certain contexts. The following sentences (Ebbing 1965:28,29) were rejected out of hand by Vásquez and Yapita:

\[
* \text{Naya.x tata.xa.r mun.t.wa.} \\
\text{lp father lp } S
\]

The intended meaning is 'I love my father', but the meaning conveyed is incestuous. The following implies sodomy:

\[
* \text{Naya.x an mun.t.wa.} \\
\text{lp dog lp } S
\]

A more appropriate sentence for indicating that one would like to get a dog would be

\[
\text{Naya.x an uywa.si.n mun.t.wa.} \\
\text{lp dog raise lp } S
\]

'I would like to raise a dog.'

Other usages perceived as errors by Vásquez are probably the result of mistaken translations or fanciful etymologies, like the following from Paredes Candía (1963):
In Missionary Aymara certain lexical items have meanings different from those they have in other dialects, usually resulting from generalized applications of terms that have more specialized, or negative, meanings in other contexts. Some of these have already been mentioned in earlier sections; more examples are given below.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Nouns:</th>
<th>Missionary Aymara</th>
<th>Non-Missionary Aymara</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>aski</td>
<td>'benefit, good, beneficial'</td>
<td>same meaning, but used only in certain set expressions (La Paz/Compi)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>machaka</td>
<td>'new', as in Machak Testamentu 'New Testament'</td>
<td>'new, unused' (e. g. clothes) (La Paz/Compi)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>muntu jaqi</td>
<td>'non members of one's own sect'</td>
<td>taken as insult meaning 'people of the Devil' (La Paz/Tiahuanaco)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<p>| | |</p>
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>muntu</td>
<td>'world' &lt; Spanish mundo</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>jaqi</td>
<td>'person, people'</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Nouns (cont.)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Missionary Aymara</th>
<th>Non-Missionary Aymara</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>muntu warmi</td>
<td>'woman not a member of one's own sect'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>'Devil's woman, prostitute' (La Paz/Tiahuanaco)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>muntu chacha</td>
<td>'man not a member of one's own sect'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>'Devil's man' (La Paz/Tiahuanaco)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Verbs

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Missionary Aymara</th>
<th>Non-Missionary Aymara</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>am.ta.siña</td>
<td>'to remember, recall a fact'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>'to long to restore' (La Paz/Compi)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ir.naga.ña</td>
<td>'to work' (general)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>'to work in the fields in the morning' (La Paz/Compi)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(The above is not to be confused with ira.naga.ña 'to handle', which occurs in all dialects.)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Missionary Aymara</th>
<th>Non-Missionary Aymara</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>iyaw sa.ña</td>
<td>'to believe, trust, have faith in; belief, trust, faith'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>'to say yes, agree; agreement' (La Paz/Compi)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>uñ.ja.si.ñ.kama</td>
<td>'until we see each other (again)'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>'until we see each other's bodies' (La Paz/Compi) (Wexler 1967:21)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>yuri.ña</td>
<td>'to be born' (also used in Radio Aymara for historical accounts)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>usually replaced by nasi.ña &lt; Spanish nacer (see 8-2.25)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

A final example of an expression used with a different meaning in Missionary Aymara than elsewhere is Yatí.m, literally 'Know you (this)'. The expression occurs at the beginning of a story (Wexler 1967:455)
when one character is about to tell another how to go about doing something. To Vásquez, the meaning of the expression is closer to 'It serves you right!', 'I told you so!', 'Tough!', or 'Grin and bear it!'; it would be said to someone who has done something against one's advice and is now complaining about the outcome.

Radio Aymara has a few specialized terms not used in everyday speech, such as the verb atamaña 'to announce a message'. The following is an example of the way it would be used on the radio:

\[ \text{Jupa.x ma: papil gillq.ta.ta jay.t'a.si.way.i} \]
\[ 3p \quad a \quad \text{paper write leave} \quad 3\rightarrow3 \quad S \]

\[ \text{<Atama.rapi.t> sa.sina.} \]
\[ \text{announce 2\rightarrow1 say} \quad I \]

'He left a written message to be announced.'
('He left a written message, "Announce it for me," saying.') (La Paz/Tiahuanaco)

9-7 Summary and Conclusion

Missionary and Patrón Aymara differ from other dialects primarily in their disregard of linguistic postulates. Missionary Aymara, additionally, has certain distinctive usages. Radio Aymara closely reflects Spanish syntax and lexicon. As perceived by Vásquez
and Yapita, Missionary and Patrón Aymara are often offensive as well as grammatically incorrect, while Radio Aymara is more often perceived as merely incorrect. Whether the translation dialects are perceived as substandard by a majority of Aymara speakers (that is, to what extent the perceptions noted in this chapter represent those of the Aymara community at large) remains to be investigated. In any event, now that literary production in Aymara and linguistic studies of the language are being undertaken by native speakers, a more lively and open discussion of what constitute standard and nonstandard usages within and across dialects may be anticipated.
Notes

1 There is some evidence that Aymara speakers who are not active in institutionalized religion may occasionally employ certain Missionary usages when talking to or telling stories in the hearing of non-Aymara persons associated in the speaker's mind with missionaries or other outsiders who are persons in authority. For example, a source from Irpa Chico (Ingavi, department of La Paz) not known to have any formal affiliation with missionaries, in telling a folktale to H. Martín (1969:72-74), used direct knowledge verb forms, although he switched to indirect knowledge forms in midstream (see 9-6.13). Yapita himself used kuna.layku.ti.xa (see 9-5) in a tape-recorded greeting to Hardman in the late 1960's, but indicates that he would not use it today.

2 This is done, for example, by Hardman et al. (1975), who produced the only published grammar of Aymara to date that does not reflect Missionary or Patrón usages.

3 There are times when the use of -ya on an Imperative would be inappropriate, as in amu.ki.ma.y. If used to a baby it means 'please be quiet', but if used to an adult it is very insulting, being what a rapist would say to quiet a victim (Briggs & England 1973:22).

4 Two fairly recent Protestant editions of the New Testament in Aymara, published by the British and Foreign Bible Society in 1941 and the American Bible Society in 1954, use Alax.pacha.n.k.iri Awki.sa 'Our Father in Heaven' (with 4p -sa). I heard Na.naka.n Awki.sa used in a Catholic wedding ceremony in Bolivia as recently as 1972, however. It is also still used in Puno, according to J. Llanque Chana (personal communication).

5 An example of Missionary Aymara use with a bodily condition as subject and with human complement is

\[
\text{Atip.xa.s.ka.k.i.w. \ (the headache) over-comes her.' (Compi)}
\]

\[
\text{3-3)}
\]

S
Although kusi.sí.na is usually translated as 'to be happy', in La Paz/Compi Aymara it sometimes connotes happiness at someone else's expense or over someone else's misfortune (Yapita, personal communication). Whether this is true in most dialects is not yet known.

In this example -sa functions as an indefinite, not as an interrogative.
10-1 Dialectal Variation in Aymara

The foregoing chapters have examined regional and social variation in Aymara grammatical structure. At this point a return to the questions posed in 1-3.2 is indicated to see what answers may now be given.

As has always been supposed, Aymara is clearly one language. Regional and social variation exists but it does not significantly affect intelligibility except when certain utterances are taken out of context, primarily because the phonemic inventory is uniform (except for the velar nasal occurring in only two areas and in very few morphemes) and secondarily because all dialects share a basic set of morphophonemic rules and a basic inventory of morphemes with the same or very similar meanings and similar phonological shapes. Because of the nature of Aymara morphophonemic rules, certain morphemes vary in phonological shape within as well as across dialects.

As shown in cross-dialectal and intra-dialectal phonological correspondences and in vowel-dropping or -retaining morphophonemic rules, certain Aymara phonemes are unstable. The most unstable are the sonorants (vowels...
and voiced consonants), then the fricatives, then the
affricates and the velar and (to a lesser extent) the
postvelar stops. The most stable are the bilabial and
alveolar stops, but even the bilabial stop shows some
instability in one dialect, Calacala.

The morpheme class with the greatest variety of
phonological shapes of allomorphs both intra- and inter­
dialectally is the class of verbal inflectional suffixes
(person/tense suffixes). They vary not only because of
phonemic instability but also because of (1) preservation
or loss of different submorphemic recurrent partials,
(2) processes of analogy that may operate within a given
dialect, and (3) different patterns of merging what were
apparently four paradigms into two, the present Desiderative
and Remonstrator tenses. In all tenses and dialects the
same person/tense suffixes are the most variable: those
involving the 2p as complement (1→2, 3→2) and that involving
2p as subject, 1p as complement (2→1).

The closed class of roots having the most cross­
dialectal variation in inventory (that is, in number of
different phonologically dissimilar roots and stems) is
the temporal noun class. There is also considerable
variety in the inventory of open class nouns and verbs
referring to agricultural practices. As for morphosyntactic
processes, there is evidence of (1) an incipient merging
of the subordinating suffixes -sa and -sina (and variants),
and (2) variation in the incidence and usage of the sub-
ordinator -ipana, which in some dialects is a member of a
functioning four-person paradigm that has fallen or is
falling into disuse elsewhere.

While there is some cross-dialectal variation in
meaning or connotation of certain common roots and stems,
Aymara linguistic postulates are strong in all dialects
except the heavily Spanish-influenced Missionary, Patrón,
and Radio Aymara. The primary linguistic postulates (a
four-person system, a distinction of human and nonhuman,
and a distinction of direct and indirect knowledge) reinforce
the phonological and lexical unity already noted and make
for cross-dialectal comprehension even in the presence
of considerable lexical variation.

It is primarily on the basis of the phonological
shapes of a relatively few suffixes that Aymara dialects
may be grouped regionally. Incidence of certain morphemes
in a given dialect but not another and of differences in
meaning play a much less significant role in defining
regional groups, although they contribute to dialect
diversity and give the speech of each community its indi-
vidual stamp.

10-2 Regional Dialect Groups and Features

On the basis of regional patterning of certain
morphemes by shape of allomorphs, incidence, and meaning,
Aymara dialects fall into two major groups: (1) a northern group of dialects located on or near Lake Titicaca and including La Paz (the city and the department), and (2) a southern group at a greater distance from the lake in the departments of Oruro and Potosí. The intermediate dialects of Calacoa and Sitajara in southern Peru southwest of Lake Titicaca share some features with the northern and some with the southern group; Calacoa has more northern features, and Sitajara, more southern ones. (Figure 10-1 is a preliminary attempt to distinguish the three dialect areas.)

Apart from the division into northern, southern, and intermediate dialects, there is a distinction between a central group of La Paz dialects and those on the periphery of La Paz influence, whether to the north, south, or west. (It may be that certain dialects located in La Paz department north and east of the capital may also have to be designated as peripheral when more is known about them.) Huancané, a northern dialect sharing a number of features with La Paz, is also peripheral in sharing certain non-La Paz attributes with the southern and intermediate dialects. (Figure 10-2 distinguishes central from peripheral dialects.) In some cases features cut across regional lines. For example, Morocomarca, in spite of its remoteness from La Paz, shares with it certain features lacking in other northern and southern dialects.
Figure 10-1. Northern, Intermediate, and Southern Aymara Dialects
Figure 10-2. Central vs. Peripheral Aymara Dialects
In the following sections, features characteristic of the northern, southern, and intermediate dialects and of the peripheral as distinguished from the central dialects are listed according to whether they occur in all dialects in the group or only in some of them and whether they involve phonological shapes and morphophonemics, incidence of morphemes, or semantics. When a given feature also occurs in a dialect outside the group, the name of that dialect is indicated. Peripheral features of limited occurrence are then listed, followed by features occurring in both central and peripheral dialects and those cutting across regional lines. Finally, cross-dialectal perceptions and attitudes toward Aymara language and culture encountered in this study are described.

10-2.1 Northern group: La Paz, Juli, Socca, Huancané

10-2.1.1 Features shared by all members of northern group

10-2.1.1.1 Phonological shapes and morphophonemics

10-2.1.1.1 Initial velar or postvelar fricatives in 1p possessive and 1→3 Future suffixes

10-2.1.1.2 /-mpi/ sole allomorph of noun suffix -mpi ~ -nti 'with'

10-2.1.1.3 /-ka-/ sole allomorph of incompletive verbal derivational suffix
10-2.11.14 Preponderance of /sa/ forms in D-1 and D-2 tenses, and /iri/ forms of those tenses with /k(s)/ or /s(k)/ (also Calacoa, Morocomarca)

10-2.11.15 Optional initial /si/ or /ji/ on the verb saña when inflected

10-2.11.16 /-sina/ or /-sna/ allomorphs of -sina subordinator

10.2.11.2 Incidence of morphemes

10-2.11.21 Temporals aruma 'night, early morning' and arumanti 'tomorrow' (also Calacoa)

10-2.11.22 Negative sentences usually accompanied by /-ka-/ incompletive or /-xa-/ completive verbal derivational suffixes on the verb (also Calacoa, Sitajara)

10-2.12 Features shared by certain northern dialects (not including La Paz)

10-2.12.1 Phonological shapes and morphophonemics

10-2.12.11 Variable morphophonemics of -na possessive/locational noun suffix (Juli, Socca; also Calacoa)

10-2.12.12 /-wa-/ allomorph of distancer verbal derivational suffix (Juli, Socca, Huancané; also Calacoa)
10-2.12.13 /-mama/ 1+2 Future (Juli, Socca, Huancané, all of which also have /-ma/)

10-2.12.14 Tolerance of final consonant clusters in certain Imperative inflections (Juli, Socca, Huancané)

10-2.12.2 Incidence of morphemes

10-2.12.21 quli 'dear, kind' (Juli, Huancané, Socca)

10-2.12.22 -chi NI plus 3+3 Simple used as narrative device in stories (Juli, Huancané, Socca)

10-2.12.23 -iri plus 3+3 RIK used as narrative device in stories (Juli, Sacca)

10-2.12.24 -sa subordinator used only on sa.ña (Juli, Socca)

10-2.2 Southern group: Jopoqueri (and/or Corque), Salinas, Morocomarca (and/or Calacala)

10-2.21 Features shared by all members of southern group

10-2.21.1 Phonological shapes and morphophonemics

10-2.21.11 Initial palatal or velar nasals in lp possessive suffix (Salinas, Morocomarca, and Calacala have /ñ/; Jopoqueri has /nh/ as does Sitajara also.)

10-2.21.12 /-nti/ allomorph of noun suffix -mpi ~ -nti (Jopoqueri, Morocomarca, and Calacala also have /-mpi/.)
10-2.21.13 /-ja-/ allomorph of incompletive verbal derivational suffix, either as the sole allomorph or alternating with /-ka-/ by free variation or morphophonemic rule

10-2.21.14 /-2i-/ or /-wiya-/ allomorph of distancer verbal derivational suffix

10-2.21.15 No initial /si/ or /ji/ on the verb sa.ña when inflected

10-2.21.2 Incidence of morphemes

10-2.21.21 Negative sentences usually not accompanied by presence of incompletive or completive verbal derivational suffix on verb

10-2.21.3 Semantics

10-2.21.31 Use of certain verbs with meanings different from those they have in northern dialects, for example:

- ati.ña 'to be able'
- jala.ña 'to fly'
- pugu.ña 'to grow, produce' (also Calacoa, Sitajara)

(For northern meanings see 8-3.21.1.)

10-2.22 Features shared by certain southern dialects
10-2.22.1  Phonological shapes and morphophonemics

10-2.22.11 Initial velar or palatal nasal in 1→3 Future
(Jopoqueri, Salinas; see also 10-2.41.15)

10-2.22.12 Shared or very similar allomorphs of D-1 and
D-2 suffixes, with a preponderance of /iri/
over /sa/ forms; /iri/ forms with /j/, not
/k/ (Jopoqueri, Salinas; also Sitajara)

10-2.22.13 /-pu/ allomorph of final suffix _pi (Jopoqueri,
Salinas; also Sitajara)

10-2.22.14 /-sana/ allomorph of _sina subordinator
(Jopoqueri, Morocomarca, Calacala)

10-2.22.15 /kinsa/ 'three' (Salinas, Morocomarca, Calacala)

10-2.22.16 /maq'a.ña/ 'to eat' (Salinas, Morocomarca)

10-2.22.17 /-tan(a)/ ~ /-tan/ ~ /-tña/ allomorphs of
4→3 Future (Salinas, Morocomarca, Calacala;
also Calacoa, which lacks /-ñani/ 4→3 F)

10-2.22.18 /ma:ji/ 'fast' (Salinas, Morocomarca)

10-2.22.19 /-ji/ and /-ki/ allomorphs of _ki 'just'
nonfinal independent suffix (Salinas,
Morocomarca)

Phonological shapes of a few morphemes found in
southern Aymara dialects are identical to the shapes of
those morphemes in the Quechua spoken in the area, for example /kimsa/ 'three', /~ura.ña/ 'to make' (Morocomarca), and /-nti/ 'with, by', but such shared items are of minor significance, given the fact that similar shapes of those morphemes and several others are pan-Andean (Hardman, personal communication). Only one instance of a possible occurrence in Aymara of a Quechua suffix was noted, in Calacala (see 7-2.22.11 and footnote 2). The present evidence is that the Aymara spoken by Aymara-Quechua bilinguals in areas where Quechua has the greater prestige, remains remarkably free of Quechua admixture, perhaps because of the diglossia mentioned in 1-1.1.

10-2.3 Intermediate dialects: Calacoa, Sitajara

As indicated above, Calacoa shares the following features with the northern group: 10-2.11.14, 10-2.11.21, 10-2.11.22, 10-2.12.11, and 10-2.12.12. It shares the following with the southern group: 10-2.21.31 (the verb puqu.ña, not the others) and 10-2.22.17.

Sitajara shares the following with Calacoa and the northern group: 10-2.11.22. With the southern group it shares the features 10-2.21.11, 10-2.21.31 (puqu.ña), 10-2.22.12, and 10-2.22.13.

Calacoa and Sitajara share the following feature concerning the incidence of a morpheme:

10-2.31 Nonoccurrence of temporal root q'ara (in free
or frozen form) that occurs in all other dialects (but see 10-2.41.21)

Other features shared by Calacoa and/or Sitajara are the peripheral features 10-2.21.14, 10-2.41.18, 10-2.41.19, and 10-2.41.21, and the cross-regional features 10-2.51.31 and 10-2.52.

10-2.4 Peripheral (as distinguished from central) dialects

The following features, most of which involve phonological shapes, do not occur in the two La Paz dialects most thoroughly investigated until now: Compi and Tiahuanaco. They do occur in certain other dialects already identified as northern, southern, or intermediate.

10-2.41 Features shared by several dialects

10-2.41.1 Phonological shapes and morphophonemics

10-2.41.11 Voicing of prevocalic stops after homorganic nasals

Northern: Huancané (optional)
Intermediate: Sitajara (optional)
Southern: Salinas (obligatory within morphemes, optional otherwise; also occurs after palatal lateral); Corque (optional)

10-2.41.12 Demonstrative /k"u/ ~ /k"u:/ ~ /k"uyu/

Northern: Huancané (also has /k"uri/)
Southern: Salinas, Morocomarca
10-2.41.13 Variable morphophonemics of personal possessive suffixes

Northern: Huancané (preceding consonant by three-vowel rule, preceding vowel otherwise)
Intermediate: Sitajara (consonant preceding 4p sa and all possessives after nominalizer ta; vowel otherwise)
Southern: Jopoqueri, Salinas, Calacala, Morocomarca (preceding consonant permitted unless a stem-final consonant cluster would result)

10-2.41.14 /-t'a/ allomorph of -t'a ~ ta 'of, from'

Northern: Juli, Huancané
Intermediate: Calacoa, Sitajara
Southern: Jopoqueri, Salinas, Morocomarca
(Juli, Huancané, Calacoa, and Jopoqueri also have the unaspirated allomorph.)

10-2.41.15 Initial or medial alveolar, palatal, or velar nasals in three Future suffixes: 2→3, 3→2, and 2→1

Northern: Huancané
Southern: Jopoqueri, Salinas (which also have initial velar or palatal nasals in 1→3 F)

10-2.41.16 Four-member subordinating paradigm of which -ipana is 3p
Northern: Huancané
Southern: Jopoqueri, Salinas, Morocomarca

10-2.41.17 /-raji/ allomorph of -raki nonfinal independent suffix
Northern: Huancané
Intermediate: Sitajara
Southern: Salinas, Morocomarca, Calacala
(All also have /-raki/ in some environments.)

10-2.41.18 /-lla/ allomorph of -lla ~ -ya politive final suffix
Northern: Juli, Socca
Intermediate: Calacoa, Sitajara
Southern: Jopoqueri, Salinas, Calacala

10-2.41.19 /-:/ allomorph of -xa final sentence suffix
Northern: Juli
Intermediate: Sitajara, Calacoa
Southern: Salinas, Morocomarca

10-2.41.2 Incidence of morphemes

10-2.41.21 Temporal q'alta ~ q"alt'i 'morning, tomorrow'
Northern: Socca (/q'alta/)
Intermediate: Calacoa, Sitajara (/q'alta/)
Southern: Jopoqueri, Salinas, Morocomarca
(/q"alt'i/)
10-2.41.22 Noun suffix -chapi ~ -ch"api 'the one which'
   Northern: Huancané
   Intermediate: Sitajara
   Southern: Jopoqueri

10-2.41.23 Diminutive noun suffix -lla
   Northern: Huancané
   Intermediate: Sitajara
   Southern: Corque, Jopoqueri, Salinas

10-2.41.3 Semantics

10-2.41.31 Falling-together of 1p and 4p in certain verbal
   inflections
   Northern: Huancané
   Intermediate: Sitajara (also in personal
   possessives)
   Southern: Morocomarca

10-2.41.4 Morphosyntax

   Peripheral dialects tend to use more different
   kinds of verb subordination (see 7-4.2) than does La Paz,
   where the most common verb subordinator is the sentence
   suffix -xa.

10-2.42 Peripheral features of limited occurrence

   Apart from the peripheral features that occur
   fairly generally, there are certain features found in only
one or two peripheral dialects and having identical or similar reflexes in present-day Jaqaru. Such features are (1) the velar nasal phoneme, which in Aymara occurs in only two limited areas, Tarata (Peru) and Carangas (Bolivia); (2) the Aymara diminutive noun suffix -cha, which corresponds to the Jaqaru limitative and occurs in only two Aymara dialects so far investigated, Huancané and Calacoa; and (3) the 4→3 Future allomorph /-tana/ (and its reduced forms /-tan/ and /-tna/), which is identical to the form of the suffix in Jaqaru but persists as an Aymara allomorph of the 4→3 F suffix in only three dialects so far encountered, Calacoa (where it is the sole allomorph) and Salinas and Morocomarca (where it varies, apparently freely, with /-ńani/, the allomorph of 4→3 F found in other Aymara dialects).

In this research certain Aymara variants cited by Bertonio (1603b) were found only in Sitajara, for example /mimilla/ 'girl', /marmi/ 'woman', /-itta/ 2+1 Simple tense, and ama:.ńa 'to want'. (Elsewhere the equivalents are /imilla/, /warmi/, /-ista/, and muna.ńa.) Bertonio listed full paradigms of /sa/ and /iri/ forms for what are here called the D-1 and D-2 tenses. The present-day dialect having the greatest number of /sa/ and /iri/ forms for the two tenses (some of them different from those cited by Bertonio) is Salinas, which also has other features that mark it as one of the most distinctive Aymara dialects.
Whether it is the most conservative will require a more careful comparison of Jaqaru, Kawki, and Aymara dialects than is possible here. Some of the distinctive features of Salinas are the following: (1) Use of only the aspirated form of the noun suffix -t"a ~ -ta 'from, of', and of only the allomorph /-nti/ of the noun suffix -mpi ~ -nti; (2) a vowel harmony rule affecting both vowels of the suffix -iri when it occurs on verb stems ending in /u/; (3) rules obligatorily voicing stops after nasals and the palatal lateral within morphemes and optionally otherwise; and (4) a rule for the obligatory frication of the velar stop before consonants, changing /k/ to /j/. The voicing rule occurs sporadically in certain other dialects, and correspondences of /j/ and /k/ occur elsewhere, but the rules are obligatory only in Salinas.

10-2.5 Cross-regional features

The following features cut across the north/south, center/periphery distinctions.

10-2.51 Phonological shapes and morphophonemics

10-2.51.1 /-ñani/ sole allomorph of 4+3 F

Northern: Huancané, Juli, Socca, La Paz

Intermediate: Sitajara

Southern: Jopoqueri

10-2.51.2 /-ma/, but not /-mama/ allomorph of 1+2 F
Northern: La Paz
Southern: Jopoqueri, Salinas, Morocomarca, Calacala

10-2.51.3 Morphophonemics of 2→3 I suffix /-m(a)/

10-2.51.31 Always requiring a preceding vowel
Northern: La Paz
Intermediate: Calacoa, Salinas
Southern: Jopoqueri, Salinas

10-2.51.32 Requiring a preceding consonant after /-ka-/ incompletive; otherwise a preceding vowel
Northern: Juli, Socca, Huancané
Southern: Morocomarca

10-2.51.4 Nonoccurrence of /-:/ allomorph of -xa final suffix
Northern: La Paz, Socca
Southern: Jopoqueri

(Notice also feature 10-2.11.14, which occurs in the northern dialects, Calacoa, and Morocomarca.)

10-2.52 Incidence of morpheme: Optional occurrence of verbal derivational -p- plural without a following incompletive or completive suffix
Northern: La Paz (Hardman, personal communication)
Intermediate: Calacoa, Sitajara
Southern: Morocomarca
10-2.6 Cross-dialectal perceptions

There is a general belief among Aymara speakers that the 'best' Aymara is spoken in La Paz. Apart from that, Aymara speakers share the common human tendency to prefer their own particular dialect over others. A woman from Oruro indicated that the Aymara spoken in Oruro and La Paz was legítimo, while that of Salinas was tosco (coarse or crude). Speakers from Socca thought Tarata and Sitajara Aymara sounded like baby talk, apparently because of its velar nasals, and found Tarata Aymara 'less developed' than that of the province of Chucuito. They also termed 'archaic' a Sitajara usage dropping initial /lla/ and found the occurrence of initial /ji/ or /si/ on saña in other dialects 'old-fashioned'. Similar attitudes could probably be elicited elsewhere.

In addition to generally preferring their own dialect, speakers tended to hear the features of that dialect in other dialects, overlooking certain differences until they were pointed out. For example, speakers from La Paz who use only the longer forms of the distancer suffix -waya- tended to hear a vowel /a/ in its occurrences in other dialects, such as Socca, in which the allomorph /-wa-/ reduces to /w/ before consonant-requiring suffixes. Speakers who usually used /-pini/ independent suffix tended to hear /-puni/ as /-pini/ and vice versa. The native speaker's virtual deafness to nonsignificant differences
in detail points up the need for collaborative research by native and non-native speakers in studies of regional and social linguistic variation.

10-2.7 Attitudes toward Aymara language and culture

From the evidence of this study it appears that many Aymara speakers are ambivalent about their language and culture. As pointed out by J. Llanque Chana (1974) for Peru, negative attitudes are fostered by an educational system unprepared to deal with language and cultural backgrounds of students whose first language is not Spanish and by the undeniable fact that acquisition of Spanish makes the difference between living an economically and socially marginal existence and entering the mainstream of modern Peruvian life. The same factors prevail in Bolivia.

The most negative attitudes were found in Tarata and Sitajara, Peru. In the former, few persons would even admit to knowing Aymara, although eventually one was found from a nearby town who seemed to enjoy speaking (and singing in) the language. In Sitajara a very articulate elderly monolingual woman, obviously a gifted talker, expressed considerable bitterness against Aymara, as if its presence in her brain were to blame for her failure to know Spanish. A bilingual man in Huancané, a Seventh Day Adventist, expressed the belief that Aymara language and culture were inferior to Spanish and that no useful purpose would be served by teaching people to read and write Aymara.
Similarly, persons trained by missionaries in Bolivia revealed a certain self-deprecation, as expressed in the example in 9-5: 'We ask you to pardon us because we sometimes make mistakes'. Yapita (1967) noted a tendency to reject Aymara language and culture in Rosario (province of Pacajes, department of La Paz), a community that had been under Seventh Day Adventist influence since 1919.

Whatever their origin, such negative attitudes do have an effect. In some communities where bilingualism in Spanish and Aymara has existed for decades if not longer, there is now a trend toward eventual disappearance of Aymara, since young people under 20 no longer speak the language although some still understand it. In Juli children 12 and under in a family whose older members were all bilingual neither spoke nor understood the language. In farms on the outskirts of Salinas children still use the language when helping grandparents with farm work, but in town they use only Spanish.

Nevertheless, there is also ample evidence of deep attachment to the Aymara language and pride in Aymara culture. A wish to believe that Aymara is indeed the equal of, if not superior to, Spanish probably contributed to the positive reception given my statement of research purposes during the course of field work. In explaining those purposes, I alluded to certain basic anthropological
and linguistic notions, such as that Aymara is a language, not a 'dialect'; that it possesses a complex grammar, like any other language; that it can be written, read, and used as a medium of communication and instruction; that knowledge of Spanish and Aymara structure facilitates teaching either language to speakers of the other; and similar concepts.

With only one or two exceptions, these ideas found a ready acceptance, as if they confirmed already-held assumptions. Certain educated bilinguals are now articulating their cultural heritage and seeking out its guardians in order to reformulate it and bring it to public attention. The work of Yapita and his associates in Bolivia, and of D. and J. Llanque Chana in Peru, is in this vein.

The most positive attitudes toward Aymara are found in and near the city of La Paz. Although La Paz Aymara is taking in Spanish loanwords at an accelerating rate, speakers revert to less Hispanicized usages when talking to monolinguals or when visiting rural communities. This happens even in the case of children who attend school in La Paz, use Spanish among themselves and with other children in the city, but speak Aymara on visits to the Lake Titicaca communities where their parents and grandparents still own and cultivate the land and where Aymara is spoken by all ages. Aymara communities where everyone is virtually monolingual reportedly still exist in remote parts of the department of La Paz. Although
some communities may be losing Aymara, natural increase
due to population growth (as noted in the Peruvian census
of 1972) will offset this at least during the next few
generations, and its extinction is not in sight. The
Peruvian government's action in 1975 designating Quechua
an official language on a par with Spanish, to be used
interchangeably with Spanish in education, the courts,
and the like, has had repercussions among speakers of
other indigenous languages in Peru and in Bolivia, where
Peruvian developments have considerable influence. Among
Aymara speakers the Peruvian action vis-à-vis Quechua
has had the effect of fostering rising expectations of a
similar designation for Aymara, reinforcing the underlying
positive attitudes that exist.

10-3 Interpretation of Research Results and Their
Implications

In the absence of archaeological or historical
evidence concerning population movements and trade routes
or of a more complete knowledge of existing Aymara
dialects, interpretations of the data analyzed in this
study are somewhat speculative and raise more questions
than they answer.

The basic division between dialects near Lake
Titicaca in the Peruvian department of Puno and the
Bolivian department of La Paz and those farther to the
south in the Bolivian departments of Oruro and Potosí implies a social/political split at some time in the past. Such a split would account for the apparent lack of any gradual shading of features from northern to southern dialects, although a definite determination in this respect must await further research in borderline areas of southern La Paz and northern Oruro departments. Within an area, existing similar usages may be reinforced by trade. The intensive marketing and related travel that occur around Lake Titicaca (Appleby 1976) are obvious to any visitor. Similar movements associated with trade also occur in the southern dialect area.

The evidence of a split between northern and southern dialects does not disprove Torero's theory (1-2.1) of a probable (gradual?) north to south expansion of Aymara on the altiplano, since such an expansion might have taken place before the split, but a simple southward expansion does not account for the dialectal complexities revealed by the present study, such as the existence of (1) certain similar features in noncontiguous areas like Tarata, Peru and Carangas, Bolivia, (2) features linking peripheral as distinguished from central dialects or crossing north-south, center-periphery lines, or (3) features shared by certain Aymara dialects with contemporary Jaqarú and Kawki far to the north. These complexities may be the linguistic reflection of equally
complex population movements associated with what Murra (1968 and 1972) has identified as the pan-Andean preoccupation with controlling different ecological floors. Populations speaking different dialects might have been linked in one vertical archipelago, such as that controlled by the Lupaca in the 16th century (1-2.2). Present-day differences among the dialects of Moquegua, Tarata, and Juli may reflect differences already existing in ancient times, since Murra has pointed out that Pacaje colonies were interspersed among those of the Lupaca (Murra 1968:123), and that in any case colonies were of different types, some consisting of subordinated local populations and others of groups brought in from the political center or elsewhere. Similarities in noncontiguous dialects such as Tarata and Carangas may reflect descent from one community some of whose members moved to a different ecological level either voluntarily or as the result of subordination or conquest (Murra 1968:121). The fact that contemporary Aymara speakers in Tarata and Carangas are apparently unaware of each others' existence as speakers of dialects sharing certain features lacking elsewhere, and the nature of the similarities themselves, suggest that the separation occurred at an early date, before the Spanish conquest. But all remains in the realm of speculation at this point. Certain puzzling similarities between the widely separated dialects of La Paz and
Morocomarca may result from more recent contacts, but since the examples for Morocomarca came from only one source, that dialect needs further checking.

A different explanation than that of population movements may account for similarities among dialects distant from La Paz, whether to the north, south, east, or west, and their differences from dialects in or close to the Bolivian capital. Most of the features that distinguish peripheral dialects from those of La Paz are conservative in terms of the latter. That is, peripheral features represent a survival of forms or of complex morphophonemic processes that La Paz probably once had but has since lost, such as stop voicing after nasals and other voiced nonstop consonants, complex morphophonemics of possessive suffixes and certain verbal inflectional suffixes, the four-member -ipana subordinating paradigm, and the native Aymara diminutive suffix -cha. The hypothesis that La Paz dialects once had such forms or processes is supported by the existence today of certain relics like Tayk.s Mariya (5-3.24.4), Na.nak.n awki (5-3.31.2), and s.ipna (7-4.44), but requires a convincing explanation for their loss. In many cases it may be attributable to Spanish influence, always stronger in the capital city and areas accessible to it than in remote areas. La Paz dialects conform more closely to Spanish phonotactics in avoiding stop-nasal or stop-fricative
clusters that result in other dialects from operation of the morphophonemic vowel-dropping rules La Paz has lost. La Paz has no alternations of voiced and voiceless allophones of stops; such alternations do not occur in Spanish, where voiced and voiceless stops are separate phonemes. (La Paz Aymara, like other Aymara dialects, does have rules for voicing and frication of intervocalic velar stops, but not rules for voicing without frication.) In La Paz Aymara the diminutive suffix has been replaced by Spanish loans.

Not all innovations fostered by La Paz can be attributed to Spanish influence, of course. An example of a usage that is on the way out because of internal pressures within Aymara is the 4→3 Future allomorph /-tana/ (and its reduced variants). Only one contemporary dialect, Calacoa, was found to use it to the exclusion of the allomorph /-ñani/ found elsewhere, and only two other dialects, Salinas and Morocomarca, were found to use the /-tana/ allomorph at all, in apparently free variation with /-ñani/. Elsewhere only /-ñani/ was heard. The shift from /-tana/ to /-ñani/ may have arisen from an avoidance of homophony of /-tana/ with (1) the 4→3 Simple tense suffix (although it requires a preceding consonant), (2) 4→3 Remote Direct Knowledge tense allomorphs that occur in certain dialects including La Paz, or (3) certain allomorphs of the 3→3 Remote Indirect Knowledge
tense. The allomorph /-ñani/ may have derived from the nominalizing suffix -ña plus -ni possessor/enumerator which are also used in all dialects (but without person reference) to connote (future) obligation, e.g., sara.ña.ni 'going is necessary, one must go'. (Why this homophony should be acceptable while the other is not is evidence for the arbitrariness of language change.)

Whether or not they may now be changing under La Paz influence, Aymara dialects have changed in the past and are still changing in accordance with their own internal processes. Analogous patterning within a dialect accounts for certain idiosyncratic allomorphs such as /-ray/, /-tay/, and /-y/ in Sitajara for morphemes which in other dialects end in /ki/ or /ji/ rather than /y/, and the allomorphs of 3➔1 and 3➔4 person/tense suffixes in Juli. The future of these and other idiosyncratic features that characterize individual dialects will depend on the extent to which they resist, or yield to, innovations from within and without.

That the dialects of La Paz should be influencing others to change, rather than vice versa, is the logical result of the economic and social power concentrated in and near the Bolivian capital. The prestige of La Paz is reflected in the general belief that the best Aymara is spoken there, and this belief predisposes speakers from other areas to adopt La Paz usages. Also, since
speakers of La Paz dialects hold the most positive attitudes toward the Aymara language, La Paz usages are likely to survive longer than those of places like Salinas, where Aymara may disappear in the next generation. It therefore seems likely that the influence of La Paz Aymara will continue and that it may eventually supplant other more conservative dialects. On the other hand, it is also possible that positive attitudes toward Aymara emanating from La Paz may encourage a revival of Aymara localisms, thereby engendering a conservative counter trend. If remote communities where Aymara is the primary language still exist, they may serve educated bilinguals as a source of renewed 'Aymarization' of their Spanish-influenced Aymara. Furthermore, if Peruvian government policies for the development of bilingual education reach implementation, a second center of Aymara prestige might develop in Peru, perhaps in Puno.

Should the positive forces prevail, certain factors augur well for the future of the Aymara language as a vehicle of literature and education. Its phonemic uniformity means that it can be written everywhere with the Yapita phonemic alphabet. The velar nasal can easily be symbolized by \( \text{nh} \), the digraph used for it in the practical Jaqaru alphabet developed by Hardman and Bautista. No other special letters are necessary, since voicing of stops within morphemes is predictable in Salinas and
voicing is otherwise optional.

Persons interested in developing Aymara literature might do well to recall the lessons of ancient Greece. According to Palmer (1949) each Greek city-state used its own dialect in its public inscriptions. But apart from this, each literary genre required the use of a particular dialect, not necessarily that of the writer. The epic dialect was a fusion of Aeolic and Ionic elements; choric odes were always written in Doric; iambic and trochaic poetry were written in Ionic. Still, certain localisms persisted; Melic poetry was written in the dialect of Lesbos, and the writings of Corinna of Tanagra were in Boeotian (Palmer 1949:271-2). There seems to be no reason why Aymara literature should not develop genres based on local dialects, should its speakers desire to do so. Persons literate in Aymara will decide.

10-4 Directions for Future Research

Future research into Aymara dialects should aim toward the compilation of a linguistic atlas of the language, and soon, lest certain dialects be lost before they are recorded. For the reasons cited in 10-2.6, such an admittedly utopian task will require the cooperative efforts of Aymara native speakers trained in linguistic field methods as well as of linguists who are native speakers of other languages such as Spanish and Quechua. The
research should be coordinated with similar areal studies of Quechua dialects and of other local languages, including Spanish.

Specific areas already suggested for future research in Bolivia include western Cochabamba department, northern and western Potosí, all parts of the departments of La Paz and Oruro (including areas thought to be Quechua speaking, since Aymara and Quechua communities are often interspersed). The following communities in Cantón Timusí, Muñecas province, department of La Paz, were identified as Aymara speaking in 1973 by a rural schoolteacher from La Paz:

Sococoni
Huancoiro
Timusí (hacienda of Jesús Machaca)
Ocomblaya

There is a sectional school (escuela seccional) in Huancoiro.

In Peru linguistic surveys should be undertaken in the areas identified as Aymara speaking in the Peruvian census of 1972, and these should be coordinated with the search for surviving relics of other Jaqi languages along the ancient trails of the southern Peruvian Andes, from Arequipa north through the departments of Ayacucho, Huancavelica, Lima, and Junín.

Investigation should also be extended into Aymara-speaking areas of Chile.
In future field work a special effort should be made to obtain more data from monolingual speakers and to determine whether or not monolingual communities or communities bilingual in Quechua and Aymara but without knowledge of Spanish exist.

In addition to the collection of field data, written sources in libraries and private collections should be consulted, such as materials on Aymara reportedly in the Universidad Nacional de San Agustín in La Paz and colonial documents cited by Rivet, especially the works of Bertonio and Torres Rubio. These, together with sources of Missionary and Patrón Aymara mentioned in 2-4.11, should be analyzed with the participation of native Aymara-speaking linguists, annotated, and made available to the Aymara community.

As for Aymara grammar itself, the following are suggestions of areas needing further study.

Phonology:

Incidence of the velar nasal in other dialects
Incidence of aspiration and glottalization (are they decreasing in some dialects?)

Intonation

Morphophonemics:

Morphophonemics of certain Future suffixes and 2→3 I
Conditioning of final vowel dropping on verb subjects and complements, and on verbs
Conditioning of morphophonemics of -taki after -ña, Jopoqueri

The range of allomorphic variation and conditioning affecting internal vowel loss/retention in peripheral dialects

Nouns:
Incidence of positionals and temporals

Verbs:
Incidence of verbal derivational suffixes
Influence of Spanish se on Aymara verbal derivational -si-
Completion of verbal inflectional paradigms

Morphosyntax and Syntax:
Incidence of final suffixes
Conditioning of occurrences of different final suffixes

Semantics:
Determination of basis of distinction, if any, between -sa and -sina (and variants)
Semantics of verb stems with different derivational suffixes
Restraints on verb subjects and complements
Ethnosemantic studies of agricultural practices, of the time system, and how they interrelate

Additional investigation may be undertaken into matters of style in the narrative, oratory, prayer, and
poetry and the uses of politeness, irony, and metaphor. Studies of the speech of different social groups (e.g. women, men, young people, the elderly), of bilingualism and monolingualism, of language acquisition, and all the other proliferating subfields of contemporary linguistics may also be conducted.

Whether or not such studies as these will be undertaken for Aymara in the foreseeable future depends on many interrelated factors, such as the priorities set by governments and scholarly institutions, the extent to which linguists participate in the setting of such priorities, and most important, the interest of Aymara speakers themselves in fostering the use of Aymara as a vehicle of written literature and education. Only if such interest continues to grow will Aymara linguistics attract the support it needs to develop its potential.
## APPENDIX A

**ELICITATION LIST OF WORDS, PHRASES, AND SENTENCES**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Spanish</th>
<th>La Paz Aymara</th>
<th>English</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Le haré una pregunta, Sr. (Sra.)</td>
<td>Tata (Mama), mayay jisk'ta:si:ma.</td>
<td>Sir (Ma'am), may I ask you a question?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cómo se llama Ud., Sr. (Sra.)?</td>
<td>Kunas sutimaxa, tata (mama)?</td>
<td>What is your name, sir (ma'am)?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Yo me llamo ______.</td>
<td>Nayan sutixaxa ______ wa.</td>
<td>My name is ______.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>De dónde es Ud.?</td>
<td>Kawkinkiritasa?</td>
<td>Where are you from?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Yo soy de ______.</td>
<td>Nayax ______ nkiritwa.</td>
<td>I'm from ______.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>No soy de aquí.</td>
<td>Janiw akankiriktii.</td>
<td>I'm not from here.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A dónde vas?</td>
<td>Kawks sara:ta?</td>
<td>Where are you going?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>De dónde llegas (estás llegando)?</td>
<td>Kawksats puriskta?</td>
<td>Where are you arriving from?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Estoy llegando de la chacra.</td>
<td>Yaput puriskta.</td>
<td>I'm coming from the field.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cómo está, Sr. (Sra.)?</td>
<td>Kamisaki, tata (mama)?</td>
<td>How are you, sir (ma'am)?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Spanish</td>
<td>La Paz Aymara</td>
<td>English</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>---------</td>
<td>---------------</td>
<td>---------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>cómo</td>
<td>kamisa</td>
<td>how</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>como</td>
<td>kunjamasa</td>
<td>like what</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>cuál</td>
<td>kawk1:ri, kawkni:ri</td>
<td>which</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>cuándo</td>
<td>kunawrasasa, kunapachasa</td>
<td>when</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>cuánto</td>
<td>qawq&quot;asa</td>
<td>how much</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>quién</td>
<td>k&quot;itisa</td>
<td>who</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dónde está?</td>
<td>Kawk'ankisa?</td>
<td>Where is it?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dónde estará?</td>
<td>Kawkinkpachasa?</td>
<td>Where can it be?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Qué es eso (esto)?</td>
<td>Kunas ukaxa (akaxa)?</td>
<td>What's that (this)?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Por qué?</td>
<td>Kunatraki?</td>
<td>Why?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>No hay nadie aquí.</td>
<td>Janiw k&quot;itis ukankiti.</td>
<td>There is no one here.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>No hay nada.</td>
<td>Janiw kunas utjkiti.</td>
<td>There is nothing.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
### APPENDIX A (continued)

**Spanish**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>La Paz Aymara</th>
<th>English</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>AA-2.2 Positionals</strong></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>afuera</td>
<td>anqa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>detrás de la tienda</td>
<td>tinta q'ipan</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dentro de mi casa</td>
<td>utax manq'an</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>directo por la casa</td>
<td>uta chiqa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Será verdad o será mentira?</td>
<td>Chiqach k'arichi?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>hacia nuestra casa</td>
<td>utas tuqiru</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>encima de tu casa</td>
<td>utam pataru</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>en medio de la gente</td>
<td>jqi taypin</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>abajo, bajada, declive</td>
<td>aynacha</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>arriba</td>
<td>amsta</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>junto a la casa</td>
<td>utawjitaru</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>El vive por aquí (este lado).</td>
<td>Askatuqinkiriwa.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>El río pasa por mi chacra.</td>
<td>Jawirax yapux chiq pasi.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>alrededor de las casa</td>
<td>utax muyt'a</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*outside*
*behind the store*
*inside my house*
*straight through the house*
*Can it be true or is it a lie?*
*toward our house*
*on top of your house*
*in the midst of people*
*below, slope*
*above*
*next to the house*
*He lives around here.*
*The river goes through my field. around the house*
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Spanish</th>
<th>La Paz Aymara</th>
<th>English</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>uno</td>
<td>maya</td>
<td>one</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dos</td>
<td>paya</td>
<td>two</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tres</td>
<td>kimsa</td>
<td>three</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>cuatro</td>
<td>pusí</td>
<td>four</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>cinco</td>
<td>pisq&quot;a</td>
<td>five</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>seis</td>
<td>suxta</td>
<td>six</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>siete</td>
<td>paqallqu</td>
<td>seven</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ocho</td>
<td>kimsaqallqu</td>
<td>eight</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nueve</td>
<td>llatunka</td>
<td>nine</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>diez</td>
<td>tunka</td>
<td>ten</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>once</td>
<td>tunka mayani</td>
<td>eleven</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>doce</td>
<td>tunka payani</td>
<td>twelve</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>trece</td>
<td>tunka kimsani</td>
<td>thirteen</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Spanish</td>
<td>La Paz Aymara</td>
<td>English</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>--------------</td>
<td>----------------------</td>
<td>-------------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>veinte</td>
<td>pa: tunka</td>
<td>twenty</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>cien</td>
<td>pataka</td>
<td>one hundred</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mil</td>
<td>waranqa</td>
<td>one thousand</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>diez mil</td>
<td>tunka waranqa</td>
<td>ten thousand</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
### APPENDIX A (continued)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Spanish</th>
<th>La Paz Aymara</th>
<th>English</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>AA-2.4 Pronominals</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>AA-2.41 Demonstratives</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>aquí, este</td>
<td>aka</td>
<td>here, this</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>allí, ese</td>
<td>uka</td>
<td>there, that</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>allá, aquel</td>
<td>k&quot;aya</td>
<td>over there, that over there</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>más allá, aquel más allá</td>
<td>k&quot;uri</td>
<td>further over there, that further over there</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>AA-2.42 Personal pronouns</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>yo</td>
<td>naya</td>
<td>I</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tú</td>
<td>juma</td>
<td>you</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>él, ella</td>
<td>jupa</td>
<td>he, she</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nosotros, tú y yo</td>
<td>jiwasa</td>
<td>we, you and I</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
### APPENDIX A (continued)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Spanish</th>
<th>La Paz Aymara</th>
<th>English</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ayer</td>
<td>masu:ru, wasu:ru</td>
<td>yesterday</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>anteayer</td>
<td>walu:ru</td>
<td>day before yesterday</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>hoy</td>
<td>jich&quot;u:ru</td>
<td>today</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>anoche</td>
<td>masayp'u, wasayp'u</td>
<td>last night</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tarde (antes de oscurecer)</td>
<td>jayp'u</td>
<td>tonight</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>noche</td>
<td>aruma</td>
<td>night</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>esta noche</td>
<td>jich&quot;arma, jich&quot;aruma</td>
<td>tonight</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>por la noche</td>
<td>arumch'iqaru</td>
<td>at night</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>hace rato</td>
<td>nink'ara</td>
<td>a while ago</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mañana (no noche)</td>
<td>arumirja, alwa</td>
<td>morning</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>esta mañana</td>
<td>ch&quot;armanti, ch&quot;armirja</td>
<td>this morning</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>por la mañana</td>
<td></td>
<td>in the morning</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mañana (no hoy)</td>
<td>q&quot;ary:ru, arumanti</td>
<td>tomorrow</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Spanish</td>
<td>La Paz Aymara</td>
<td>English</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>----------------------------</td>
<td>---------------------------</td>
<td>--------------------------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>hasta mañana</td>
<td>q&quot;aru:rkama</td>
<td>until tomorrow</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>hasta otro día</td>
<td>q&quot;ipu:rkama, mayu:rkama</td>
<td>until another day</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hazlo otra vez.</td>
<td>Mayamp luram.</td>
<td>Do it again.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pasado manana</td>
<td>jurpu:ru</td>
<td>day after tomorrow</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>hasta luego</td>
<td>ma: ratkama</td>
<td>so long</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ahora</td>
<td>jich&quot;a</td>
<td>now</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>de ahora en adelante</td>
<td>akat q&quot;iparu</td>
<td>from now on</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>antes, adelante</td>
<td>nayra, nayraqata</td>
<td>before, in front of</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>después</td>
<td>q&quot;ipata (Positional)</td>
<td>afterwards</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>antigüamente</td>
<td>nayra, nayra timpuxa</td>
<td>formerly, long ago</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>año pasado</td>
<td>maymara, miymara</td>
<td>last year</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>al año</td>
<td>marana, jutir mara</td>
<td>next year</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
## APPENDIX A (continued)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Spanish</th>
<th>La Paz Aymara</th>
<th>English</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>AA-3 Noun suffixes (closed class)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>AA-3.1 Basic sentence types illustrating possessives, plural -naka', and complement suffixes</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>AA-3.11 Inanimate subject</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Su casa de él está allf.</td>
<td>Utapax uk&quot;ankiwa.</td>
<td>His house is there.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Su casa de él es grande.</td>
<td>Utapax jach'awa.</td>
<td>His house is big.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nuestras casas están allf.</td>
<td>Utanakasax k&quot;ayankiwa.</td>
<td>Our houses are there.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nuestras casa son grandes.</td>
<td>Utanakasax jach'anakawa.</td>
<td>Our houses are big.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Las chacras de mis hijos están lejos de aquí.</td>
<td>Wawanakaxan yapunakapax jayankiwa.</td>
<td>My children's fields are far from here.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Su llegada fué postergada.</td>
<td>---</td>
<td>Her arrival was postponed.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tu cama es grande.</td>
<td>Ikiñamax jach'awa.</td>
<td>Your bed is big.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tus tejidos son bonitos.</td>
<td>Sawutanakama jiwitanaakakiw.</td>
<td>Your weavings are beautiful.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
APPENDIX A (continued)

Spanish

AA-3.12 Inanimate complement

Vamos a nuestro pueblo.
Voy a mi casa mañana.
Trabajo mis chacras.
en su tejido
para tu llegada
Haremos la chacra.
Es para nuestras chacras.
de sus chacras
Con qué se escarba papa?
Con qué se come chuño?
Estoy en mi casa.
No voy a salir de mi casa.

La Paz Aymara

Markasar sarañani.
Arunantix utax sara:.
Yapunakax lurta.
sawutapanxa
puriñamataki
Yap lurañani.
Yapusatakiwa.
yapunakapata
Kunampis ch'uqix llamayuña?
Kunampis ch'uñux manq'aña?
Utaxankastwa.
Janiw utaxat mistakati.

English

Let's go to our town.
I'm going home tomorrow.
I work my fields.
in her weaving
for your arrival
We'll prepare the field.
It's for our fields.
from his fields
What do you dig potatoes with?
What is chuño eaten with?
I'm in my house.
I'm not going to leave my house.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Spanish</th>
<th>La Paz Aymara</th>
<th>English</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>AA-3.13 Human subject</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td><strong>I have a small house.</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tengo una casa pequeña.</td>
<td>Jisk'a utanítwa.</td>
<td><strong>Who arrived?</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Quién llegó?</td>
<td>K&quot;títs purí?</td>
<td><strong>Who (pl.) arrived?</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Quienes llegaron?</td>
<td>K&quot;títsinakas purí?</td>
<td><strong>My children have already eaten.</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mis hijos ya comieron.</td>
<td>Wawanakaxax maŋ'xíw.</td>
<td><strong>Your son already left.</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tu hijo ya se fue.</td>
<td>Yuqamax sarxíw.</td>
<td><strong>My sister already left.</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mi hermana ya se fue.</td>
<td>Kullakaxax sarxíw.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mis hermanas ya se fueron.</td>
<td>Kullakanakax sarxapxíw.</td>
<td><strong>My sisters already left.</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
## APPENDIX A (continued)

### Spanish

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Spanish</th>
<th>La Paz Aymara</th>
<th>English</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>AA-3.14 Animate complement (usually human)</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>a mif</td>
<td>nayaruwa</td>
<td>to me</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Estoy esperando a mi esposo.</td>
<td>Chachaxaruw suyaskta. Warmixaruw Kullakanakaruw</td>
<td>I'm waiting for my husband. wife. sisters.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mi mujer.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mis hermanas.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hablaremos de tf.</td>
<td>Jumxat parlañani.</td>
<td>Let's talk about you.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hablaremos de tus hijos.</td>
<td>Wawanakamat parlañani.</td>
<td>We'll talk about your children.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>para mif</td>
<td>nayatakí</td>
<td>for me</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>para mi hijo</td>
<td>wawaxatakí</td>
<td>for my child</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>para tu hermana</td>
<td>kullamatakí</td>
<td>for your sister</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>para tus hermanas</td>
<td>kullakanamatakí</td>
<td>for your sisters</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>para tus hijos</td>
<td>wawanakamatakí</td>
<td>for your children</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Con quién estabas hablando?</td>
<td>K&quot;itimpis parlaskayata?</td>
<td>With whom were you talking?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hazlo comprar con tu mamá.</td>
<td>Mamamamp alayam. Kullakanamp Kullakanamamp</td>
<td>Have your mother buy it. sister sisters</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tu hermana. tus hermanas.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>De mi padre su chacra es.</td>
<td>Tataxan yapupax.</td>
<td>It's my father’s field.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>De mis hijos su casa es.</td>
<td>Wawanakaxan utapax.</td>
<td>It's my children's house.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
## AA-3.2 Other noun suffixes and compound forms

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Spanish</th>
<th>La Paz Aymara</th>
<th>English</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>naricita</td>
<td>jisk'a nasa</td>
<td>little nose</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sin nariz</td>
<td>jan nasani</td>
<td>without a nose</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ciego</td>
<td>juyk'u</td>
<td>blind</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sordo</td>
<td>uqara</td>
<td>deaf</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sin sal</td>
<td>ch'ap'aqa, ch'ap'aqa, jayuwisa</td>
<td>without salt</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>entre mujeres</td>
<td>warmikama, warmipura</td>
<td>among women</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>hasta la casa</td>
<td>utakama</td>
<td>as far as the house</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>como casa, perro</td>
<td>utjama, anjama</td>
<td>like a house, a dog</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pasó por la casa.</td>
<td>Utanjam } sari. Utanam</td>
<td>It passed through the house.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Yo vine en vez de ella.</td>
<td>Jupa lantiw jutta.</td>
<td>I came instead of her.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Por él he venido.</td>
<td>Jupalaykuw jutta.</td>
<td>I came on account of him.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Esa mesa no es mía.</td>
<td>Uka misax janiw nayankkiti.</td>
<td>That table isn't mine.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Por qué no me hiciste avisar?</td>
<td>Kunatrak jan awisayanista?</td>
<td>Why didn't you let me know?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>yo mismo/a</td>
<td>na:pacha</td>
<td>I myself</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
### APPENDIX A (continued)

**Spanish**

**AA-4 Verb suffixes and verb subordination**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Spanish</th>
<th>La Paz Aymara</th>
<th>English</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Tú nos estás mirando.</td>
<td>Jumax uñch'uñkiyasipkistaw.</td>
<td>You're looking at us.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Uds. me están mirando.</td>
<td>Jumanakax nayar uñch'uñki-yasipkistaw.</td>
<td>You (pl.) are looking at me.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Yo traté de aprender.</td>
<td><a href="">Yati:</a> sistwa.</td>
<td>I tried to learn.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'No debías haber venido todavía,' me dijo.</td>
<td>&lt;Janirarakis jutãñama:-ka:ntixa&gt; situwa.</td>
<td>'You shouldn't have come yet,' he said to me.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Por qué has venido?</td>
<td>Kunarus jutta?</td>
<td>Why have you come?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>He venido para hablarte.</td>
<td>Jumar parliriw jutta.</td>
<td>I've come to talk to you.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Qué quieres hacer?</td>
<td>Kuns lurañ munta?</td>
<td>What do you want to do?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Quisiera aprender aymara.</td>
<td>Aymar yatiqañ munirista.</td>
<td>I would like to learn Aymara.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Para qué has venido?</td>
<td>Kunatakis jutta?</td>
<td>What have you come for?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>He venido para aprender más aymara.</td>
<td>Aymar juk'amp yatiqañatakìw.</td>
<td>I've come to learn more Aymara.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cuando vienes te veré.</td>
<td>Juta:t uk&quot;aw jikisiñani.</td>
<td>I'll see you when you come.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
APPENDIX A (continued)

Spanish

AA-4 (continued)

Por qué se lo has bajado?

Si me dejas, me voy a morir.¹

No habiendo se fue.¹

El zorro estaba muy contento, bailando, dando vueltas

Adivinanza de la rueca

Refrán: Viendo hay que decir 'He visto ...'

No hay.

No hagas.

No sé.

No quiero.

Lo que veo es feo.²

Lo que quise se perdió.²

La Paz Aymara

Kunats aparaqta
Kunataki

Jayti:taxa, jiwaw apitani.

Jan utjipan sarxi.

Tiwulax wali k'uchikiw, muyuska:n, t"uquiska:n.


Uñjasaw <Uñjt> sañax, jan uñjasax janiw <Uñjtw> sañakiti.

Janiw utjkiti.

Jan luramti.

Janiw yatktti.

Janiw munktti.

Wali p"ir uñjanta.

Munaya:t ukaw ch'aqata.

English

Why did you take it away from him?

If you leave me, I'll die.

As there was none, he left.

The fox was very happy, dancing, whirling around.

Riddle of the distaff

Saying: If you have seen, say 'I have seen' ...

There is none.

Don't do that.

I don't know.

I don't want to.

What I see is ugly.

What I loved got lost.
APPENDIX A (continued)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Spanish</th>
<th>La Paz Aymara</th>
<th>English</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>AA-4 (continued)</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Me falta poco para aprender aymara.</td>
<td>Juk'akiw aymar yatiqañatak p'altitu.</td>
<td>I lack only a little to learn Aymara.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Quizás porque soy huérfano, no he podido terminar mis estudios.</td>
<td>Inas waxch'a:t ukat janí ñistoryuyuy tukuytiti.</td>
<td>Maybe because I'm an orphan, I haven't been able to finish my studies.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hay alguien para ir?</td>
<td>---</td>
<td>Is there anyone to go?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Volví para ver mi chacra.</td>
<td>Yapi uñjiriw jutanta.</td>
<td>I came back to see my field.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Si tú no quieres ir, yo iré.</td>
<td>Jan sarañ munka:tax, nayaw sara:.</td>
<td>If you don't want to go, I'll go.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Si tú quieres papa, trae un costal.</td>
<td>Ch'uy munstaxa, kustal apanim.</td>
<td>If you want potatoes, bring a sack.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tengo que ir.</td>
<td>Sarañaxaw.</td>
<td>I have to go.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Yo tenía que ir.</td>
<td>Sarañaxa:nwa.</td>
<td>I had to go.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tú tienes que ir.</td>
<td>Sarañamaw.</td>
<td>You have to go.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tú tenías que ir.</td>
<td>Sarañamaw:nwa.</td>
<td>You had to go.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tiempos verbales</td>
<td></td>
<td>Verb tense paradigms (see 6-3)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
APPENDIX A (continued)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Spanish</th>
<th>La Paz Aymara</th>
<th>English</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>AA-5 Particle</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sí</td>
<td>jisa</td>
<td>yes</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

AA-6 Nouns (Open Class)

AA-6.1 Frequently occurring as modifiers

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Spanish</th>
<th>La Paz Aymara</th>
<th>English</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>dulce</td>
<td>muxsa</td>
<td>sweet</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bonito, lindo, hermoso</td>
<td></td>
<td>pretty, beautiful</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>negro</td>
<td>ch'iyara</td>
<td>black</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mucho</td>
<td>walja</td>
<td>much</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>muchas casas</td>
<td>walja utanaka</td>
<td>many houses</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>harto</td>
<td>walja</td>
<td>a lot, too much</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>poco</td>
<td>juk'a</td>
<td>little (small quantity)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>igual, mismo</td>
<td>pachpa</td>
<td>same, equal</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>diferente, otro</td>
<td>mayja</td>
<td>different, other</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pequeño</td>
<td>jisk'a</td>
<td>small</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bien</td>
<td>wal</td>
<td>well</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Spanish</td>
<td>La Paz Aymara</td>
<td>English</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-------------------------------------</td>
<td>---------------------------------</td>
<td>----------------------------------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tenemos que escribir todo en aymara.</td>
<td>Taq'i kun aymarat qillqañaqasaw.</td>
<td>We have to write everything in Aymara.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Todo ha entrado.</td>
<td>---</td>
<td>Everything has gone in.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Llévalo todo.</td>
<td>Taqpach apam.</td>
<td>Take it all.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Todos entraremos.</td>
<td>Taqiniw mantapxañañi.</td>
<td>We'll all go in.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>rápido</td>
<td>jank'aki</td>
<td>fast</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>despacio</td>
<td>k'achata</td>
<td>slow</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
### APPENDIX A (continued)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Spanish</th>
<th>La Paz Aymara</th>
<th>English</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>niño/a</td>
<td>wawa</td>
<td>child</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>niña</td>
<td>jisk'a imilla</td>
<td>girl</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>muchacho, hijo</td>
<td>yuqalla</td>
<td>boy, son</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>joven (M)</td>
<td>wayna</td>
<td>youth, young man</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>joven (F)</td>
<td>tawaqu</td>
<td>young woman</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>adulto</td>
<td>jach'a:q'i</td>
<td>adult</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mujer, esposa</td>
<td>warmi</td>
<td>woman, wife</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>hombre, marido</td>
<td>chacha</td>
<td>man, husband</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>viejo</td>
<td>achachi, awki</td>
<td>old man</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>vieja</td>
<td>awkicha, tayka</td>
<td>old lady</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>anciana, ancianita</td>
<td>chuyman tayka</td>
<td>little old lady</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ancianito</td>
<td>chuyman awki</td>
<td>little old man</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>soltera/o</td>
<td>sapaki</td>
<td>spinster, bachelor</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>alcalde</td>
<td>alkalti</td>
<td>mayor</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>paisano</td>
<td>markamasi</td>
<td>native of same town</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
### APPENDIX A (continued)

#### Spanish

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>English</th>
<th>Aymara</th>
<th>English</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>cabello</td>
<td>ŋik'uta</td>
<td>hair</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>trenza</td>
<td>pichika</td>
<td>braid</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mejilla, cara</td>
<td>ajanu</td>
<td>cheek, face</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>barba</td>
<td>sunk'a</td>
<td>beard</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ojo, vista</td>
<td>nayra</td>
<td>eye, sight</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>corazón</td>
<td>chuyma (metaphorical)</td>
<td>heart</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pulmón</td>
<td>lluqu (physical)</td>
<td>lung</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>espalda</td>
<td>jik'anł</td>
<td>back</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
APPENDIX A (continued)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Spanish</th>
<th>La Paz Aymara</th>
<th>English</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>AA-6.4 Animals and animate nature</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>alpaca</td>
<td>alpaqa</td>
<td>alpaca</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>llama</td>
<td>qarwa</td>
<td>llama</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>burro</td>
<td>asnu</td>
<td>donkey</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>gallina</td>
<td>wallpa</td>
<td>hen</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>huevo</td>
<td>k'awna</td>
<td>egg</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>gallo</td>
<td>k'ank'a</td>
<td>rooster</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>gusano</td>
<td>laq'u</td>
<td>worm</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>hormiga</td>
<td>k'isimiri, k'isimirta</td>
<td>ant</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>perro</td>
<td>anu</td>
<td>dog</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>cachorro</td>
<td>jisk'a anu</td>
<td>puppy</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>perdiz</td>
<td>pisaqa</td>
<td>partridge</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>zorro</td>
<td>qamaqi, tiwula</td>
<td>fox</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>paja</td>
<td>ch'illiwa, wich'u</td>
<td>straw</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>quinoa</td>
<td>jup'a</td>
<td>quinoa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>flor</td>
<td>panqara</td>
<td>flower</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>oca congelada y secada</td>
<td>k&quot;aya</td>
<td>freeze-dried oca</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>conejo</td>
<td>wank'u</td>
<td>guinea pig</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
### APPENDIX A (continued)

#### Spanish

**AA-6.5 Inanimate nature**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Spanish</th>
<th>La Paz Aymara</th>
<th>English</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>cielo</td>
<td>silu</td>
<td>sky</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>espina</td>
<td>ch'ap1</td>
<td>thorn</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>leña</td>
<td>lawa</td>
<td>firewood</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>lluvia</td>
<td>jayu</td>
<td>rain</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nube</td>
<td>qinaya</td>
<td>cloud</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>quebrada</td>
<td>waña jawira</td>
<td>gully, dry riverbed</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>viento</td>
<td>t&quot;aya</td>
<td>wind</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>frío</td>
<td>t&quot;aya</td>
<td>cold</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**AA-6.6 Inanimate manmade**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Spanish (aguja)</th>
<th>La Paz Aymara</th>
<th>English</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>azadón</td>
<td>lijwana</td>
<td>hoe</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>faja</td>
<td>wak'a</td>
<td>belt, waist cinch</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>gancho (aguja)</td>
<td>yanchu</td>
<td>pin (needle)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>puerta (apertura)</td>
<td>punku</td>
<td>door (opening)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>puerta (lo que se abre y cierra)</td>
<td>(jist'añ) punku</td>
<td>door (barrier)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sombrero</td>
<td>surmiru</td>
<td>hat</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>topo (gancho)</td>
<td>---</td>
<td>pin for urk&quot;u</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
### APPENDIX A (continued)

#### Spanish

**AA-7 Verb roots and derivational suffixes**

#### AA-7.1 Carry/take verbs (human subjects)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Spanish</th>
<th>La Paz Aymara</th>
<th>English</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>cargar</td>
<td>apaña</td>
<td>to carry, take</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>cargar en burro</td>
<td>k&quot;umuña</td>
<td>to carry on donkey back</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>levantar cosa</td>
<td>aptaña</td>
<td>to lift something</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>llevar, jalar animales</td>
<td>jisk&quot;aña</td>
<td>to lead, pull animal</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>llevar gente</td>
<td>jaq apaña</td>
<td>to take people</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>llevar en brazos una wawa, un animalito</td>
<td>ichuña</td>
<td>to carry a baby or small animal</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>llevar awayu, costal etc.</td>
<td>iqaña</td>
<td>to carry awayu, saddle bag (cloth)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>llevar en espaldas</td>
<td>q'ipiña</td>
<td>to carry on back</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>llevar granos en la mano</td>
<td>jach'inya</td>
<td>to carry grainy substance in hand</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>llevar clarinete, quena, lampa, escoba</td>
<td>ayaña</td>
<td>to carry clarinet, flute, hoe, broom (long, rigid object)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>llevar en balde, canasta o maleta</td>
<td>wayuña</td>
<td>to carry in pail, basket, or suitcase (by handle)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
## Spanish

### AA-7.1 (continued)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Spanish</th>
<th>La Paz Aymara</th>
<th>English</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>llevar barril</td>
<td>apaña</td>
<td>to carry barrel</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>llevar piedra en los dedos</td>
<td>iraña</td>
<td>to carry small stone or other round object in the fingers</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>llevar en plato, bandeja</td>
<td>asaña</td>
<td>to carry on plate, tray</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>poner, colocar, meter</td>
<td>uskuña, uchaña</td>
<td>to place, put, put in</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

### AA-7.2 Verbs with nonhuman subjects

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Spanish</th>
<th>La Paz Aymara</th>
<th>English</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>arder un fuego</td>
<td>nak&quot;aña, aqañña</td>
<td>for a fire to burn</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>brotar/salir la siembra</td>
<td>mistsuña</td>
<td>for a seed to sprout</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>producir la chacra</td>
<td>achuña</td>
<td>for a field to produce</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nacer animales</td>
<td>wawachaña</td>
<td>for animal(s) to be born</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Spanish</td>
<td>La Paz Aymara</td>
<td>English</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-------------------------</td>
<td>------------------</td>
<td>-----------------------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>abrazarse</td>
<td>qumantasíña</td>
<td>to embrace, hug</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>andar</td>
<td>sarnaqaña</td>
<td>to walk</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bailar</td>
<td>t&quot;uquña</td>
<td>to dance</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>botar</td>
<td>liwtaña</td>
<td>to throw away</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>caer</td>
<td>jalaqtaña</td>
<td>to fall</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>cantar</td>
<td>kantaña</td>
<td>to sing</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>cocinar</td>
<td>p&quot;ayaña</td>
<td>to cook</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>comer</td>
<td>manq'aña</td>
<td>to eat</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>conocer gente</td>
<td>uñt'aña</td>
<td>to know a person</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>contar</td>
<td>saña, jak&quot;uña</td>
<td>to count</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>contentarse, estar contento</td>
<td>kusisitaña</td>
<td>to be happy</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>correr</td>
<td>jalaña, t'ijtaña</td>
<td>to run</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>decir</td>
<td>saña</td>
<td>to say</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
## APPENDIX A (continued)

### Spanish

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Spanish</th>
<th>La Paz Aymara</th>
<th>English</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>encontrarse con alguien</td>
<td>jikisiña</td>
<td>to meet someone</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>entrar</td>
<td>mantaña</td>
<td>to enter</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>escarbar</td>
<td>llamayuña</td>
<td>to dig (e.g., potatoes)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>escribir</td>
<td>qillqaña</td>
<td>to write</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>escuchar</td>
<td>ist'aña</td>
<td>to listen</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>esperar</td>
<td>suyt'aña</td>
<td>to wait</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>estimar, querer, desear</td>
<td>munaña</td>
<td>to appreciate, like, love, want</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>gritar</td>
<td>art'aña</td>
<td>to shout, scream</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>hablar</td>
<td>parlaña</td>
<td>to talk</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>hacer</td>
<td>lur'aña</td>
<td>to make, do</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>lavar ropa</td>
<td>is t'axsuña</td>
<td>to wash clothes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>levantarse, pararse</td>
<td>sayt'aña</td>
<td>to get up, stand up</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>llamar</td>
<td>jawsaña</td>
<td>to call</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>llegar</td>
<td>puriña</td>
<td>to arrive</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Spanish</td>
<td>La Paz Aymara</td>
<td>English</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>------------------</td>
<td>---------------</td>
<td>----------------------------------------------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>llorar</td>
<td>jach'aña</td>
<td>to cry</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mandar</td>
<td>k'itaña</td>
<td>to order</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mirar</td>
<td>uñaña</td>
<td>to look</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>moler</td>
<td>q'un'aña, piq'aña</td>
<td>to grind</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>morir</td>
<td>jwaña</td>
<td>to die</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>enfermarse, dar a luz</td>
<td>usuña</td>
<td>to be ill or pregnant; to bear a child</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nadar</td>
<td>tuyuña</td>
<td>to swim</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>odiar</td>
<td>uñisiña</td>
<td>to hate</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pasar</td>
<td>pasaña</td>
<td>to pass</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pelear</td>
<td>nuwasíña</td>
<td>to right (physically)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pensar</td>
<td>lup'iña, amuyaña</td>
<td>to think</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>perder algo</td>
<td>ch'aqayaña</td>
<td>to lose something</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>poder</td>
<td>puyriña</td>
<td>to be able</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>preguntar</td>
<td>jisk't'aña</td>
<td>to ask</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Spanish</td>
<td>La Paz Aymara</td>
<td>English</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-------------------------</td>
<td>--------------------------------</td>
<td>------------------------------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>quemar (leña), hacer arder</td>
<td>nak'antayaña</td>
<td>to burn (wood), light a fire</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>recordar</td>
<td>amtaña</td>
<td>to remember</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>regar</td>
<td>q'ich'aña</td>
<td>to water, irrigate</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>regresar, volver</td>
<td>kutt'aña</td>
<td>to return</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sentarse</td>
<td>quntasiña</td>
<td>to sit down</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tapar un agujero</td>
<td>llupt'aña</td>
<td>to cover a hole</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tapar una olla</td>
<td>q'upiña</td>
<td>to cover a pot</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tengo sed.</td>
<td>Umat p'arjitu.</td>
<td>I'm thirsty.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tengo sueno</td>
<td>Ikiw puritu.</td>
<td>I'm sleepy.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tomar, beber</td>
<td>umt'aña</td>
<td>to drink</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tostar en tostadera (maiz)</td>
<td>jamp'iña</td>
<td>to toast in toaster (e. g. corn)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>venir</td>
<td>jutaña</td>
<td>to come</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ver</td>
<td>uujaña</td>
<td>to see</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>volar</td>
<td>muyuña, tuyuña</td>
<td>to fly</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
### Jaqaru

#### AA-8 Jaqaru /nh/ word list^5

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Jaqaru</th>
<th>Spanish</th>
<th>English</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>anhshishpta</td>
<td>disputar, discutir</td>
<td>quarrel</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>inhatza</td>
<td>peón, trabajar como peón</td>
<td>peon, work like a peon</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>jinhara</td>
<td>moco</td>
<td>nasal mucus, snot</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kanhara</td>
<td>cuerda de magüey seco</td>
<td>dried maguey cord</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>lanhtina</td>
<td>planta que cura heridas</td>
<td>plant that heals wounds</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>panhara</td>
<td>moledor</td>
<td>grinder, corn mill</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>qunhtza</td>
<td>hermano de un hombre</td>
<td>man's brother</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tinhya</td>
<td>tambor pequeño que tocan mujeres en fiestas ganaderas</td>
<td>small drum played by women during cattle festivals</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>wamanhripa</td>
<td>flor para jarabe para la tos</td>
<td>flower used to make cough syrup</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>wamanhtanqa</td>
<td>papa amarilla</td>
<td>yellow potato</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>yanha</td>
<td>compañero, ayudar</td>
<td>comrade, help</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Notes

1 Hardman 1966:73.
2 Hardman 1966:75.
3 Hardman 1966:76.
4 Hardman 1966:77.
5 Hardman (personal communication).
APPENDIX B

ONOMATOPOEIC PARTICLES

The following onomatopoeic utterances, classifiable as particles (7-2.1), occurred in this research. Some are reduplicative; most are monosyllabic. Most were obtained from La Paz/Tiahuanaco. No formal attempt was made to elicit them elsewhere. It is hoped that additional examples will be found in future research.

ch"ullx  sound of two glasses or bottles hitting (La Paz/Tiahuanaco)
ch'uti  sound of two small balls hitting (glass marbles, ball bearings, etc.) (La Paz/Tiahuanaco)
jam jam jam jam  sound of dog panting (Sitajara)
krum  sound of horse or donkey eating hay (La Paz/Tiahuanaco)
k"urm  'crunch' (La Paz/Tiahuanaco)
k"ut"u  sound of cow chewing cud (Calacoa)
lasj lasj lasj  sound of fox's tail brushing the ground as it runs (Huancané)
p"ut"um  sound of explosion (Jopoqueri)
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Word</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>p'ux p'ux</td>
<td>'pop! pop!' (Socca)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>q'aw</td>
<td>sound of crunching, e.g. a carrot (La Paz/Tiahuanaco)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>q'un q'un</td>
<td>sound of explosion (Huancané, La Paz)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>q'uupx</td>
<td>'crunch' (La Paz/Tiahuanaco)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>talalax</td>
<td>sound of a tin can falling and hitting another (La Paz/Tiahuanaco)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tulx</td>
<td>sound of door slamming (La Paz/Compi)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tun tun</td>
<td>sound of explosion (Huancané)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>t'alx</td>
<td>'plop!'; sound of fish falling on the floor (La Paz/Tiahuanaco)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>t'uqx</td>
<td>sound of raw egg in the shell, hitting the floor (La Paz/Tiahuanaco); sound of knock on the door, or of loud footsteps (La Paz/Compi)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
APPENDIX C
REGIONAL VERSIONS OF GREETINGS AND COMMON EXPRESSIONS

AC-1 Greetings

The most common greetings between adults in contemporary Aymara may be a simple mama 'ma'am' or tata 'sir', sometimes suffixed with -ya politeive, as in mama.y and tata.y (Morocomarca and Calacala). The first syllable appears to have vowel length in Huancané: ta:ta, ma:ma. The usual greeting by a child to an adult is tiyu (uncle) or tiya (aunt) in La Paz, and tata.la.y or mama.la.y in Morocomarca. According to Vásquez, the term tatala is derogatory in La Paz and would not be used there as a term of address, while in Vitocota it is used by a mother speaking to her son, as is mamala in speaking to a daughter. In Sitajara tatala and mamala are said to be used to refer to people from the highlands (department of Puno).

Apart from tata and mama, the most common greetings are probably Aymarized forms of the Spanish Buenos días ('good morning') and Buenas tardes ('good afternoon'), like the following:
Winus tiyus. (La Paz/Compi)

Winas tartis. (La Paz/Compi)

Waynus tiyas. (Sitajara)

Waynas tartis. (Sitajara)

An unusual greeting and reply apparently borrowed from 16th century Spanish persist in Calacoa. The original Spanish was identified for me by a native speaker of Spanish from Moquegua, who said the full reply would be Sin pecado concebida ('conceived without sin').

Maraptis. < Spanish Ave María Purísima

Simpikaw. < Spanish sin pecado 'without sin'

In several places Aymara greetings said to be archaic and no longer in use were elicited. In one case a verb with 2→3 F appears to be reduced from 3→2 and to represent a kind of frozen contraction or ellipsis, as the meaning is what it would be if the inflection were 3→2 F.

Dios aski.y chura.:ta. 'God's blessing you will give.'
God give 2→3 F (Juli)

Aski.y chura.:ta. 'Blessing you will give.' (Torata, Moquegua)
Yusak (Dios awki) ma: chura.ntama.

God father some give

F

Yusak ma: chura.nt tata.

2➔3

F

'God will give you (blessings). ' (Jopoqueri; one speaker)

Sum uru.ki..:pan. 'Let it be a good day.' (Jopoqueri)

good day

I

Suma diosa.r chura.:ta, tata.y.

good god give sir

F

'You will give to (bless?) the good God, sir.' (Morocomarca)

AC-2 Common Expressions

A list of common expressions for La Paz (Compi and Tiahuanaco) was given at the beginning of the elicitation list in Appendix A. The expressions will be repeated here with analysis for comparison with similar expressions from other dialects.

A number of the expressions contain vowel length verbalization (see 5-3.41.2) which does not appear in the transcription because the verbalization is followed by a suffix that requires a preceding consonant, causing the lengthened vowel to reduce to plain vowel. That is,
a form that has vowel length verbalization at the morphemic level may not have it at the phonemic level. For example, \textit{kawki.n.k.iri.\_ta.za} with vowel length verbalization before the inflectional suffix 2$\rightarrow$3 S /-\textit{ta}/, is phonemically /kawkinkiritasa/ and therefore so written. If there were no vowel length verbalization, the form would be */kawkinkirtasa/*, which does not occur.

It should also be noted that several homophonous suffixes occur in the expressions: -\textit{ta} ~ -\textit{t}"a 'from, of' (5-3.31.4), -\textit{ta} ~ -\textit{t}"a 1$\rightarrow$3 S (6-3.31), -\textit{ta} 2$\rightarrow$3 S (6-3.31), and -\textit{ta} nominalizer (7-4.21.3). In the following examples the verbal inflections are identified; the others are identifiable by context and gloss.

\textbf{AC-2.1 Northern dialects}

\textbf{AC-2.11 Huancané}

\begin{align*}
\text{Sik.t'a.si.mam} & \quad \text{may, mama.} \\
\text{ask} & \quad \text{1$\rightarrow$2 one} \\
\text{F} & \\
\left\{ \text{\{} \right. & \\
\text{Sik.t'a.si.mam.ch} & \quad \text{mama.} \\
\left\{ \text{\}} \right. & \\
\left\{ \text{\{} \right. & \\
\text{Sik.t'a.si.n} & \quad \text{mun.sma.y, tata.} \\
\text{want} & \quad \text{1$\rightarrow$2} \\
\text{D-1} & \\
\left\{ \text{\}} \right. & \\
\text{Suti.ma.x} & \quad \text{kuna suti.ni.sa?} \\
\text{name} & \quad \text{2p what name} \\
\left\{ \text{\}} \right. & \\
\left\{ \text{\}} \right. & \\
\end{align*}

'May I ask you a question, ma'am?'

'I would like to ask you a question, sir.'

'What is your name?'
Tata, suti.mast kuna.sa? 'And what is your name, sir?'

Na.n suti.ja.xa _____.
My name is _____.

Kawki.t.s jut.ta?
'Where do you come from?'

Kawki.ta.s juma.x?
'Where are you from?'

Na.x jut.t.w Punu marka.t"a.
'I come from the city of Puno.'

Kawki.n.k.iri.ta.sa?
'Where are you usually?'

Aka.n.k.iri.t.wa.
'I'm usually here.'

Kawki.n.k.a.rak.ta.sti?
'And where are you now?'

Naya.x Lima.n.k.t.wa.
'I'm in Lima.'

Yusulupay. < Dios se lo pague 'May God repay you.'
Yuspara.natpa. \( \frac{3+2}{3+2} \) F

'Thank you.'

Yuspar.ka.natpa.y. \( \frac{1+2}{1+2} \) 'See you later.'

Yuspar.sna.w. \( \frac{1}{1} S \)

Ma: rat.kam. one while

AC-2.12 Socca

Kuna.s sutim.\( \text{ma.xa?} \) 2p 'What is your name?'

Kawk.i.tuqi.ta.sa juma.xa? 2p 'Whereabouts are you from?'

Kawk.i.pur.ta.ni.w.ta.xa? 2+3 S 'Where are you arriving from?'

Kawk.s sara.:ta? 2+3 F 'Where are you going?'

Jani.w kawk.s sar.ka.:ti. 1+3 F 'I'm not going anywhere.'

Yuspagara. 'Thank you.'
Ma: rat.kama.
one while

'See you later.'

Sar.x.ma.lla.
go 2→3
I

'So long, go ahead, on your way.'

Sara.waya.w.ma.lla.
2→3
I

Sara.w.ma.lla.
2→3
I

'Until we meet again.'

AC-2.13 Juli

Kuna.s sut.i.m.a.xa?
what name 2p

'What is your name?'

Na.n sut.i.ja.xa ____.
1p 1p

'My name is ____.'

Naya.n sut.i.ja.xa ____ sa.ta.wa. 'My name is called ____.'
say

Kawki.ta.s
where

juma.xa? 'Where are you from?'

Kawki.ta.ta.s
2→3
S
'I'm from Juli.'

'Where are you coming from?'

'Where you are going?'

'Where are you arriving from?'

'I'm arriving from the field.'

'How are you, sir?'

'Fine, thank you.'

'Thank you.'

'See you later.'
Jaki.si.ĩ.kama. 'Until we meet again.'

AC-2.14 La Paz (Compi and Tiahuanaco, unless otherwise noted)

Tata (mama), maya.y jisk.t'a.si.:ma. 'Sir (ma'am), may I ask you
sir ma'am one ask 1➔2 F a question?'

May jisk.t'a.si.:ma? 'May I ask you a question?' (San Andrés
de Machaca)

Kuna.s suti.ma.xa, tata (mama)? 'What is your name, sir (ma'am)?'
what name 2p

Naya.n suti.xa.xa wa. 'My name is ___.' 1p 1p

Kawk.i.n.k.iri.ta.sa? 'Where are you from?' where 2➔3 S

Naya.x .n.k.iri.t.wa. 'I'm from ____.' 1➔3 S

Jani.w aka.n.k.iri.k.t.ti. 'I'm not from here.' no here 1➔3 S

Kawk.s sara.:ta? 'Where are you going (to go)?p'
where go 2➔3 F
Kawk.s sara.s.k.ta? 2+3 'Where are you going (now)?'
\[ S \]

Kawk.sa.t.s puri.s.k.ta? where arrive 2+3 'Where are you arriving from?' 
\[ S \]

Yapu.t puri.s.k.ta. field arrive 1+3 'I'm arriving from the field.' 
\[ S \]

Kamisa.ki, tata (mama)? how 'How are you, sir (ma'am)?v'

Wali.ki.:s.k.t.wa. well 1+3 'I'm fine.' 
\[ S \]

Wali.ki. 'Fine.' (San Andrés de Machaca)

Juspajara.:tam. 'Thanks will be to you.' 
\[ F \]

Jiki.si.ñ.kama. meet 'Until we meet again.'

AC-2.2 Intermediate dialects

AC-2.21 Calacoa

May jisk.t'a.si.mama. one ask 1+2 'May I ask you a question?'
\[ F \]
Kuna.s suti.ma.xa?  'What is your name?'
what name 2p

Na.n suti.ja.x _____wa.  'My name is ____.'
lp lp

Kawki.t.s pur.ta?  'Where are you arriving from?'
where arrive 2→3erial S

Kawki marka.t pur.ta?  'What town are you arriving from?'
town

Kawki marka.sti?  'And where is the town?'

Kamisa.raki?  'How are you?'
how

Wali.ki.wa.  'Fine.'
good

Usulupaya.  'Thank you.'

AC-2.22 Sitajara

Jisk.t'a.si.wa.mam.  'May I ask you a question?'
ask 1→2 F

Kam.sa.ta.ta.sa?  'How are you called?' (to child)
how 2→3 S
Kuna suti.ma.s?  'What is your name?' (to adult)
what name 2p

Kawki.n.k.iri.ta.sa?  'Where are you usually?'
where 2+3 S

Kawki.y marka.ta.sa?  'What town (are you) from?'
where town

Kawki.ta.sa?  'Where (are you) from?'
where

Kawki.t.s pur.ta.x?  'Where are you {coming arriving} from?'
2➔3 S

AC-2.3 Southern dialects
AC-2.31 Jopoqueri

Maya.y chis.t'a.si.:ma.  'May I ask you a question?'
one ask 1+2 F

May ch"ik.t'a.si.:ma.

Kam.sa.ta.ta.sa?  'What is your name?'
how 2+3 S

Kuna.s suti.ma.xa?  'What is your name?'
what name 2p
Naya.xa ___ sa.ta.t.wa.  'I'm called ____.'
\[1p \text{  } 1+3 \text{  } S\]

Suti.nha.xa ___ sa.ta.wa.  'My name is ____.'
\[\text{name 1p } \text{  } S\]

Kawki.ta.ta.s juma.x?  'Where are you from?'
\[\text{where 2+3 2p S}\]

Naya.x aka Urur marka.ni.t.wa.  'I'm from this town of Oruro.'
\[1p \text{ this Oruro town 1+3 S}\]

Jani.w naya.x aka.ta.j.t.ti.  'I'm not from here.'
\[\text{no 1p here 1+3 S}\]

\[\text{pur.j.ta? 2+3 S}\]

Kawki.t.s \[
\begin{align*}
\text{pur.j.ta?} & \text{ Where are you } \{\text{coming}\} \text{ from?} \\
\text{juta.ta?} & \\
\end{align*}
\]

Yapu.t pur.j.t"a.  'I'm arriving from the field.'
\[\text{field 1+3 S}\]

Kawki.ru.s sar.j.ta?  'Where are you going?'
\[\text{where go 2+3 S}\]
'I'm not going anywhere.'

'How are you, sir?'

'I'm fine.'

'I'm not very well.'

'Thank you.'

'See you later. '

'Until we meet again.'

'May I ask you a question?'

'What is your name?'
Na_ya.n sut.ña.ka wa.

'My name is ___.'

Na_ya.n sut.ña sa.ta.wa.

Kawki.ta.sa?

'Where (are you) from?'

Naya aka.t.pini.t.wa.

'I'm really from here.'

jut"a.n.ta?

'Where are you {coming} from?'

Kawki.t.raj

'Where are you {arriving} from?'

pur.ta?

Yapu.t jut"a.n.t"a.

'I'm coming from the field.'

Kawki.ru.raki.sti sar.k.ta?

'And where are you going?'

where
go

Jani.w kawki.ru.s sar.k.t.ti.

'I'm not going anywhere.'

Wali.ki.s.k.ta.ti?

'Are you well?'

good
Wali.ki.s.k.t.wa.  
\[ \text{I'm fine.} \]

Juspagar.pa.  
\[ \text{Thank you.} \]

Ratu.kama.  
\[ \text{See you later.} \]

Sar.xa.:w, jiki.si.\u0161.kama.  
\[ \text{I'm off, see you later.} \]

AC-2.34 Calacala

Kam.sa.ta.x sut.ma.x?  
\[ \text{What is your name?} \]

Naya sa.ta.t.wa  
\[ \text{I'm called .} \]

Kawki.ta.raki.ta juma.xa?  
\[ \text{And where are you from?} \]

Naya jaqi.xa Qalagala.t.wa.  
\[ \text{I am a person (man) from Calacala.} \]

Yuspaka.rap.sma.w.  
\[ \text{Thank you.} \]
May chik't'a:ma.  'May I ask you a question?'

Kam.sa.ta.raki.ta?  'What is your name?'

Kam.sa.ta.ta.sa?

Kuna.s sutima.xa?

Naya.x    sa.ta.t.wa.  'I'm called _____.'

Kawki.ta.ta.sa (juma.xa)?  'Where are you from?'

Kawki.ta.raki.ta?

Naya.x aka.ta.t.wa.  'I'm from here.'

Jani aka.ta.t.ti.  'I'm not from here.'
Naya.x Salina.ta.t.wa. ‘I'm from Salinas.’

Na.n markaña.xa Salinas de Garci Mendoza sa.ta.wa. ‘My town is called Salinas de Garci Mendoza.’

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{Kawki.t.ra(j)} & \quad \text{pur.ta?} \\
\text{where} & \quad \text{‘Where are you \{arriving\} from?’}
\end{align*}
\]

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{Yapu.t} & \quad \text{pur.j.ta} \quad \text{a.} \\
\text{field} & \quad \text{1+3} \\
& \quad \text{S}
\end{align*}
\]

‘I'm arriving from the field.’

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{Kawki.ru.rak} & \quad \text{sara.nta?} \\
\text{where} & \quad \text{go} \quad \text{2+3} \\
& \quad \text{F}
\end{align*}
\]

‘Where are you going?’

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{Jani} & \quad \text{kawki.ru.s.} \\
\text{no} & \quad \text{where}
\end{align*}
\]

‘Nowhere.’

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{Kuna:ma.s.ka.raj.ta?} & \quad \text{how} \\
\text{2+3} & \quad \text{S}
\end{align*}
\]

‘How are you?’

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{Wali.ki.wa.} & \quad \text{good}
\end{align*}
\]

‘Fine.’

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{Juspagar.pan.} & \quad \text{3+3} \\
& \quad \text{1}
\end{align*}
\]

‘Thank you.’
Bay uk"ama.lla.x.sa. so 'Well, just that (thank you).'

Ratu.ka:ma. while 'See you later.'
APPENDIX D
REGIONAL VERSIONS OF A SAYING AND A RIDDLE

AD-1  Uñjaña Saying: 'See before you say.'

This saying, which illustrates the direct/indirect knowledge postulate (8-2.3) and variation in usage of the subordinating suffixes -sa and -sina (and variants) (7-4.22.1), was elicited in all dialects investigated except Calacoa and Sitajara. (It is interesting to note that the saying does not occur in Jaqaru either, according to Hardman [personal communication].) The different versions obtained are grouped regionally below. There is some variation within as well as across dialects, but the meaning is always almost identical. The verb sa.ña that occurs in the saying is an obligatory. It may be translated variously as 'one must say', 'must be said', 'it is necessary to say', or 'is to be said'. I have arbitrarily opted for 'one must say'.

AD-1.1  Northern dialects

AD-1.11  Huancané

Uñ.ja.w.sin <Uñ.j.t> sa.ña.xa, jan uñ.j.ka.w.sin.xa
see see 1-3 say no see
S

(continued)
'Having seen, one must say "I have seen"; not having seen, one must say "I have not seen".

AD-1.12 Socca

'Having seen, one must say "I have seen". Not having seen, one must not say "I have seen".

AD-1.13 Juli

'The first part of this version appears to be garbled.'
AD-1.14 San Andrés de Machaca

\[\text{Uñ.ka.sa.w <Uñ.j.t> sa.ña.x.} \]
\[\text{Jan see 1\rightarrow 3 say} \]
\[\text{uñ.ja.sa.sti} \]
\[\text{Jan} \left\{ \begin{array}{l}
\text{Jan.}\text{w <Uñ.j.t> sa.ña.k.i.ti.}
\text{Jan.}\text{w see 1\rightarrow 4 say}
\text{uñ.j.ka.sa.sti}
\text{Jan see}
\end{array} \right. \]

'Having seen, one must say "I have seen". Not having seen, one must not say "I have seen".'

AD-1.15 La Paz/Compi

\[\text{Jan uñ.ja.sa.x <Jani.w uñ.j.t> sa.ña.w.} \]
\[\text{Jan see 1\rightarrow 3 say} \]

'Not having seen, one must say "I have not seen".'

AD-1.2 Southern dialects

AD-1.21 Jopoqueri (version 1)

\[\text{Jan iñ.ja.san.xa <Jani.w iñ.j.t> sa.ña.wa.} \]
\[\text{Jan see 1\rightarrow 3 say} \]
\[\text{Iñ.ja.sana <Iñ.j.t> sa.ña.wa.} \]
\[\text{Iñ.ja.sana see 1\rightarrow 3 say} \]

'Not having seen, one must say "I have not seen". Having seen, one must say "I have seen".'
AD-1.22 Jopoqueri (version 2)

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{Uñja.san.xa} & \text{ see} \quad \text{<Un.j.t> see 1+3 say 1+3} \quad \text{say 1+3} \\
\text{S} & \text{ D-1} \\
\text{Jan} & \text{ un.ja.san.xa} \quad \text{<Jani.w un.j.t>} \quad \text{sa.sja.pani.w.} \\
\text{no} & \text{ see} \quad \text{no see 1+3} \quad \text{say} \quad \text{S}
\end{align*}
\]

'Having seen, I can say "I have seen". Not having seen, "I have not seen" really saying.'

AD-1.23 Morocomarca

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{Jani} & \quad \text{in.ja.sana} \quad \text{<Jani.w in.j.t.ti> sa.na.wa.} \\
\text{no} & \quad \text{see} \quad \text{no see 1+3} \quad \text{say} \\
\text{S} & \quad \text{S}
\end{align*}
\]

'Not having seen, one must say "I have not seen". Having seen, one must not say "I have seen".'

AD-1.24 Salinas

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{Uñja.s.a.xa} & \quad \text{<Un.j.t> see 1+3 say 1+3} \quad \text{say} \\
\text{S} & \quad \text{S} \\
\text{Jan} & \quad \text{un.ja.sin.xa} \quad \text{no see} \\
\text{S} & \quad \text{S}
\end{align*}
\]

'Having seen, one must say "I have seen". Not having seen, one must say "I have not seen".'
AD-2  Spindle Riddle

No attempt was made to elicit this riddle everywhere, but it occurred spontaneously with great frequency. It is probably general to all dialects. Like the unjaña saying, it illustrates different usages of -sa and -sina (and variants). The riddle shows more stylistic variation than does the saying.

AD-2.1  Northern dialects
AD-2.11  Juli (version 1)

Kuna.s kuna.s muy.ka.sa wal.j q'ip.t.iri.x?
what turn very swell

Qapu.w.
spindle

'What, what turning swells up? A spindle.'

AD-2.12  Juli (version 2)

Ma: tawaqu.x t"uga.sa t"uga.sa wal q'ip.t.i.xa.
A girl dance dance very swell 3-3

Uka.x kuna.sa? Qapu.w.
that what spindle

'A young girl dancing, dancing becomes pregnant. What is that? A spindle.'
AD-2.13 Juli (version 3)

T"uq"u.sin  t"uq"u.sin  usu.ri.pt.i.x.  usu.ri.pt.i.x.  usu.ri.pt.i.x.  usu.ri.pt.i.x.  usu.ri.pt.i.x.  usu.ri.pt.i.x.  usu.ri.pt.i.x.  usu.ri.pt.i.x.  usu.ri.pt.i.x.
dance  dance  dance  dance  dance  dance  dance  dance  dance  dance

Kuna.s  uka.xa?  Qapu.wa.
what  that  spindle

'Dancing, dancing [she] becomes pregnant. What is that? A spindle.'

AD-2.14 La Paz/Tiahuanaco

T"uq.ta.s  t"uq.ta.s

{kuna.s  wal  q"ip.t.iri.x?}

Muy.ka.s  muy.ka.s
turn  turn

Qapu.w  kuna.raki..ni.x.
spindle  what else  what else

'Dancing, dancing (turning, turning) what swells up?
A spindle, what else is it to be.'

AD-2.2 Southern dialects
AD-2.21 Jopoqueri

Tan.ja.s  tan.ja.s  wal  q'it.iri.  Uka  kuna.s?
run  run  very pregnant  that  what

Uka.x  gapu.x.
that  spindle

'Running, running [she] gets pregnant. What is that? A spindle.'
AD-2.22 Morocomarca

Ma tawaqđ muy.ka.sa muy.ka.sa muy.ka.sa wal q'ip.t.x.i.
a girl turn very pregnant 3+3 S

Uka kuna.raki:.spa. Qapu.w.
that what 3+3 spindle D-1

'A young girl turning, turning gets pregnant. And what can that be? A spindle.'

AD-2.23 Salinas (version 1)

Muy.t.ka.sa muy.t.ka.sa muy.t.ka.sa muy.t.ka.sa --
turn

wal q'int.x.i. Q"apu.xa t"uq".ka.sa, t"uq.ka.sa, very pregnant 3+3 spindle dance S

't"uq".ka.sa -- uyru.nt.x.i.
fill 3+3 S

'Turning, turning, turning, turning--[she] gets pregnant. A spindle dancing, dancing, dancing--fills up.'

AD-2.24 Salinas (version 2)

Ma: tawaqu.xa muy.ka.s muy.ka.sa muy.ka.sa wal q'it.x.i.
a girl turn very pregnant 3+3 S

Uka kuna.sa? Uka.pi.y gapu.
that what that spindle

'A young girl turning, turning becomes pregnant. What is that? That's a spindle, of course.'
AD-2.3 Intermediate Dialect: Calacoa

Ma: warmi.k.s wilt.k.a.sin wilt.k.a.sin usu.r.ta.si.w.x.i.
A woman turn ill 3+3 S

Uka.x kuna.s? Q"apu.w.
that what spindle

'A woman turning, turning becomes pregnant. What is that? A spindle.'
APPENDIX E
INDEX OF SUFFIXES

The Aymara suffixes that have occurred in this study are here listed in alphabetical order. (Suffixes beginning with vowel length /:/ followed by a consonant are listed under that consonant, e.g. /-ː投标/; suffixes consisting of vowel length alone are listed between suffixes beginning with /u/ and /w/; and zero complement is listed last.) The morphophonemics of each suffix are given in the notation indicated in 1-3.6. In cases of general rules (such as that all suffixes beginning with /i/ take a preceding consonant) the morphophonemics are not shown. For further information on the morphophonemics of each suffix see 4-2 and the section cited for each suffix. Abbreviations used are

v. der. - verbal derivational
v. infl. - verbal inflectional
v. nom. - verb nominalizer
v. subord. - verb subordinator
indep. - independent (nonfinal)
/ch/

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<th>-v-cha</th>
<th>noun; diminutive (5-3.22.1)</th>
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</thead>
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<td>v. der., verbalizer/causative (6-2.11)</td>
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<tr>
<td>-cha</td>
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<td>noun, 'the one which' (5-3.12.1)</td>
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<tr>
<td>/-v-chi/</td>
<td>noun, kinship (frozen) (5-3.11.11)</td>
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<td></td>
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<td>v. infl., Non-Involver (6-3.36.1)</td>
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<tr>
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<tr>
<td>/-c-chistasapa:na/</td>
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<td>/-c-chja-/</td>
<td>v. der., 'likely' (6-2.3)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/-c-chjama-/</td>
<td>v. der., 'likely' (6-2.3)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
/ch"/

/-ch"api/
noun, 'the one which' (5-3.12.1)

/-ch"i/
noun, kinship (frozen) (5-3.11.11)

/ch'/

/-ch'a
noun, 'size, extent' (5-3.12.2)

/-ch'ak'a-
v. der., sustained action (6-2.18.1)

/-ch'i/
noun, kinship (frozen) (5-3.11.11)

/-ch'uki-/v. der., sustained action (6-2.18.1)

/i/

/-i
v. infl., 3→3 S (6-3.31)

/-ichja-/v. der., 'likely' (6-2.3)

/-ijana/
v. subord., 1→3 (7-4.22.2)

/-illa/
noun, diminutive (5-3.22.2)

/-imana
v. subord., 2→3 (7-4.22.2)

/-inhana/
v. subord., 1→3 (7-4.22.2)

/-iñana/
v. subord., 1→3 (7-4.22.2)

/-ipana/
v. subord., 3→3 (7-4.22.2)

/-ipana/v. subord., 3→3 (7-4.22.2)

/-ipna/
v. subord., 3→3 (7-4.22.2)

/-ipuna/
v. subord., 3→3 (7-4.22.2)

/-iri/v. nom., subord., actor/purposive (7-4.21.1)
/-irija:na/ v. infl., 3➔3 D-2 (6-3.34.22)
/-irijasma:na/ v. infl., 1➔2 D-2 (6-3.34.22)
/-irija:ta_c/ v. infl., 1➔3 D-2 (6-3.34.22)
/-irijatama:na/ v. infl., 3➔2 D-2 (6-3.34.22)
/-irijat"a_c/ v. infl., 1➔3 D-2 (6-3.34.22)
/-irija:t"a_c/ v. infl., 1➔3 D-2 (6-3.34.22)
/-iriji_v/ v. infl., 3➔3 D-1 (6-3.34.12)
/-irijista:na/ v. infl., 3➔4 D-2 (6-3.34.22)
/-irijistu/ v. infl., 3➔4 D-1 (6-3.34.12)
/-i:rijistu/ v. infl., 3➔4 D-1 (6-3.34.12)
/-irijita:na/ v. infl., 3➔1 D-2 (6-3.34.22)
/-irijitu/ v. infl., 3➔1 D-1 (6-3.34.12)
/-irijma/ v. infl., 1➔2 D-1 (6-3.34.12)
/-irijma:na/ v. infl., 1➔2 D-2 (6-3.34.22)
/-irijsma/ v. infl., 1➔2 D-1 (6-3.34.12)
/-irijsma:na/ v. infl., 1➔2 D-2 (6-3.34.22)
/-irijstam/ v. infl., 3➔2 D-1 (6-3.34.12)
/-irijstama:na/ v. infl., 3➔2 D-2 (6-3.34.22)
/-irijsma:na/ v. infl., 3➔4 D-2 (6-3.34.22)
/-irijta/ v. infl., 2➔3 D-1 (6-3.34.12)
/-irijtam/ v. infl., 3➔2 D-1 (6-3.34.12)
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/-irijsma:na/ v. infl., 3➔2 D-2 (6-3.34.22)
/-irijt"a_c/ v. infl., 1➔3 D-1 (6-3.34.12)
/-iri:ka:sma/ v. infl., 1➔2 D-2 (6-3.34.22)
/-irika:ta:/ v. infl., 1➔3 D-2 (6-3.34.22)  
/-irika:ta:m/ v. infl., 3➔2 D-2 (6-3.34.22)  
/-irika:ta:"a:/ v. infl., 1➔3 D-2 (6-3.34.22)  
/-irikiya:sma/ v. infl., 1➔2 D-2 (6-3.34.22)  
/-irikiyata:ma/ v. infl., 3➔2 D-2 (6-3.34.22)  
/-iriksm/a/ v. infl., 1➔2 D-1 (6-3.34.12)  
/-iriksna/ v. infl., 1➔2 D-1 (6-3.34.12)  
/-iriksta:/ v. infl., 1➔3 D-1 (6-3.34.12)  
/-irikstam/ v. infl., 3➔2 D-1 (6-3.34.12)  
/-irikstan/ v. infl., 1➔3 D-2 (6-3.34.22)  
/-irikst"a:/ v. infl., 1➔3 D-1 (6-3.34.12)  
/-irikta:/ v. infl., 1➔3 D-1 (6-3.34.12)  
/-irikta:na/ v. infl., 3➔3 D-2 (6-3.34.22)  
/-iriktma/ v. infl., 3➔2 D-1 (6-3.34.12)  
/-irikt"a:/ v. infl., 1➔3 D-1 (6-3.34.12)  
/-irik"a/ v. infl., 3➔4 D-1 (6-3.34.12)  
/-irik"asma:na/ v. infl., 1➔2 D-2 (6-3.34.22)  
/-irik"at"a:/ v. infl., 1➔3 D-2 (6-3.34.22)  
/-irik"atma:na/ v. infl., 3➔2 D-2 (6-3.34.22)  
/-iriskasama:na/ v. infl., 1➔2 D-2 (6-3.34.22)  
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/-irista_c/  v. infl., 1→3 D-1 (6-3.34.12)
/-iristam/  v. infl., 3→2 D-1 (6-3.34.12)
/-iristma/  v. infl., 3→2 D-1 (6-3.34.12)
/-irist"a_c/  v. infl., 1→3 D-1 (6-3.34.12)
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/-irja:ta/  v. infl., 2→3 D-2 (6-3.34.22)
/-irja:t"a_c/  v. infl., 1→3 D-2 (6-3.34.22)
/-irji/  v. infl., 3→3 D-1 (6-3.34.12)
/-irjistu/  v. infl., 3→4 D-1 (6-3.34.12)
/-irjitu/  v. infl., 3→1 D-1 (6-3.34.12)
/-irkasma:na/  v. infl., 1→2 D-2 (6-3.34.22)
/-irkatama:na/  v. infl., 3→2 D-2 (6-3.34.22)
/-irka:t"a_c/  v. infl., 1→3 D-2 (6-3.34.22)
-isana  v. subord., 4→3 (7-4.22.2)
/-ista/  v. infl., 2→1 S (6-3.31)
/-istan/  v. infl., 2→1 RDK and 3→4 RDK (6-3.35.1)
/-ista:na/  v. infl., 3→4 RDK (6-3.35.1)
/-istani/  v. infl., 3→4 F (6-3.32)
/-istasapa:na/  v. infl., 3→4 D-2 (6-3.34.21)
/-istaspa/  v. infl., 3→4 D-1 (6-3.34.11)
/-istaspa:na/  v. infl., 3→4 D-2 (6-3.34.21)
/-istasp'a/ v. infl., 3→4 D-1 (6-3.34.21)
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/-istata/ v. infl., 2→1 RIK (6-3.35.2)
/-ista:sta/ v. infl., 2→1 RIK (6-3.35.2)
/-ista:ta/ v. infl., 2→1 RIK (6-3.35.2)
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/-istpa(n)/ v. infl., 3→4 I (6-3.33)
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/-istusapa:na/ v. infl., 3→4 D-2 (6-3.34.21)
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/-ita/ v. infl., 2→1 I (6-3.33)
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/-itani v. infl., 3→1 F, I (6-3.32, 6-3.33)
/-itanta/ v. infl., 2→1 F (6-3.32)
/-itanhata/ v. infl., 2→1 F (6-3.32)
/-itasama:na/ v. infl., 2→1 D-2 (6-3.34.21)
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/i/  

/-cja/ noun, 'like' (5-3.32.3)

/-cja noun, 'amount, quantity' (5-3.12.3)
\[-c\text{ja-}\] v. der., divider (6-2.12)

\[-c\text{ja-}]/\ v. der., 'preceding'/continuative/incompletive (6-2.25)

\[-v\text{ja}/\] noun, lp possessive (5-3.24)

\[-v\text{ja-}]/\ noun, verbalizer (5-3.41.1)

\[-v\text{ja}/\] v. infl., 1➔3 F (6-3.32)

\[-v\text{ja:}/\] v. infl., 1➔3 F (6-3.32), 1➔3 I (6-3.33)

\[-:ja/\] v. infl., 1➔3 F (6-3.32)

\[-c\text{jama}/\] noun, 'like' (5-3.32.3)

\[-c\text{ja:ma}/\] noun, 'like' (5-3.32.3)

\[-c\text{jata-}/\] v. der., 'across' (6-2.17.1)

\[-v\text{jata}/\] v. infl., 2➔3 F (6-3.32)

\[-v\text{ja:ta}/\] v. infl., 2➔3 F (6-3.32)

\[-v\text{ji}/\] indep., 'just, only' (7-2.21.1)

\[-v\text{jita}\] noun, 'exactly in a place' (5-3.21)

\[/k/\]

\[-c\text{ka-}/\] noun, verbalizer (5-3.41.1)

\[-c\text{ka-}]/\ v. der., 'preceding'/continuative/incompletive (6-2.25)

\[\text{-ka}\] final, topic/resumator (7-2.22.1, 7-2.22.11)

\[-:ka\] noun, 'general location' (5-3.12.5)

\[-v\text{kama}/\] noun, aggregate/attainer (5-3.32.1)
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<td>/-c kati/</td>
<td>noun, 'across' (5-3.21)</td>
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<td>/- ki/</td>
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<td>noun, 'every other' (5-3.12.4)</td>
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<td>v. der., 'past a point' (6-2.15.1)</td>
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<td>/-ku</td>
<td>noun, kinship (frozen) (5-3.11.12)</td>
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<td>/-c k&quot;ata-/</td>
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/-vma/ v. infl., 2→3 I (6-3.33)

/-v\ / noun, 'like' (5-3.32.3)

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/-v\ / noun, conjoiner/accompanier/agentive/instrumental (5-3.31.1)

/-\ / noun, 'like' (5-3.32.3)

/-v\ / v. der., 'away, off' (6-2.17.4)
/n/

- _nã_ c
  c v

noun, possessive/locational (5-3.31.2)

/-:na/
v. infl., 3→3 RDK (6-3.35.1)

- _naka_
noun, plural (5-3.25)

- _nama_
  v

noun, 'through' (5-3.32.3)

- _naga-
  c

v. der., 'around, aimlessly' (6-2.17.2)

/-v natma/
v. infl., 3→2 F (6-3.32)

/-v natpa/
v. infl., 3→2 F (6-3.32)

- _ni_
noun, possessor/enumerator (5-3.23)

- _ni_
v. infl., 3→3 F (6-3.32)

- _ni-

v. der., approacher (6-2.23.1)

/-v nma/
v. infl., 3→2 F (6-3.32), 3→2 I (6-3.33)

- _nta-

v. der., 'into'/slow inceptive (6-2.17.3)

/-v nta/
v. infl., 2→3 F (6-3.32)

/-v ntam/
v. infl., 3→2 F (6-3.32)

/-v nti/
noun, conjointer/accompanier/agentive/instrumental (5-3.31.1)

/-v nuku-/
v. der., 'away, off' (6-2.17.4)

/-v nuqa-/
  c

v. der., placer/cessation of action (6-2.15.2)

/-v nuqu-/
v. der., placer/cessation of action (6-2.15.2)
/ñ/-

/-vñ/ 
noun, 1p possessive (5-3.24)

/ñ/ 
v. nom., v. subord. (7-4.21.2)

/-vñ/ 
v. infl., 1→3 F (6-3.32), 1→3 I (6-3.33)

/-vñ:/ 
v. infl., 1→3 F (6-3.32)

/-vñani/ 
v. infl., 4→3 F (6-3.32), 4→3 I (6-3.33)

/nh/-

/-vñha/ 
noun, 1p possessive (5-3.24)

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v. infl., 1→3 F (6-3.32), 1→3 I (6-3.33)

/-vñha/ 
v. infl., 2→3 F (6-3.32)

/-vñha:ta/ 
v. infl., 3→2 F (6-3.32), 3→2 I (6-3.33)

/-vñhata:ma/ 
v. infl., 3→2 F (6-3.32), 3→2 I (6-3.33)

/p/-

/-vpa- 
v. der., plural (6-2.26)

/-vpa/ 
noun, 3p possessive (5-3.24)

/-cpa/ 
v. infl., 3→3 I (6-3.33)

/-c pacha/ 
noun, 'all, same' (5-3.32.2)

/-c pacha/ 
v. infl., Inferential (6-3.36.2)

/-c pa(na)/ 
v. infl., 3→3 I, 3→2 I (6-3.33)

/-v pava- 
v. der., compassionate/fun-poker (6-2.19.1)

/-v pani/ 
indep., emphatic (7-2.21.2)
/-vpi/ \hspace{1cm} \text{indep., emphatic (7-2.21.2)}

/-pi(:)/ \hspace{1cm} \text{final, reiterator of known information (7-2.22.4)}

/-vpini/ \hspace{1cm} \text{indep., emphatic (7-2.21.2)}

-\_vpta- \hspace{1cm} \text{noun, verbalizer (5-3.42.1)}

/-pu(:)/ \hspace{1cm} \text{final, reiterator of known information (7-2.22.4)}

/-vpuni/ \hspace{1cm} \text{indep., emphatic (7-2.21.2)}

-\_vpura \hspace{1cm} \text{noun, 'between, among' (reciprocal) (5-3.12.8)}

/p"/

/-c"ana/ \hspace{1cm} \text{v. infl., 3+3 I (6-3.33)}

/q/

/-cqa-/ \hspace{1cm} \text{v. der., completive (6-2.25.2)}

/-vqa-/ \hspace{1cm} \text{v. der., 'down'/remover (6-2.15.3)}

/-qa/ \hspace{1cm} \text{final, topic/attenuator (7, fn. 2)}

-\_qata \hspace{1cm} \text{noun, 'below' (5-3.12.9)}

/r/

-\_ra \hspace{1cm} \text{noun, 'through' (5-3.12.10)}

-\_ra- \hspace{1cm} \text{v. der., serial/reverser (6-2.14.1)}

/-\_ra/ \hspace{1cm} \text{indep., 'still, yet' (7-2.21.3)}

/-\_ra(:)/ \hspace{1cm} \text{indep., aggregate/cautionary etc. (7-2.21.4)}
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<td>/-.rajic</td>
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<td>/-.rakic</td>
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<td>- rapi-</td>
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-sa

final, information interrogative/indefinite/linker (7-2.22, 7-4.23.1)

/-v sama:na/
infl., 2→3 D-2 (6-3.34.21)

/-v sana/
subord. (7-4.22.1)

/-v sana/
infl., 1→3 D-2 (6-3.34.21)

/-c sapa:na/
infl., 3→3 I (6-3.33)

/-v sapa:na/
infl., 3→3 D-2 (6-3.34.21)

/-v sa:sna/
infl., 4→3 D-2 (6-3.34.21)

/-c schista:na/
infl., 3→4 RDK (6-3.35.1)

/-c schistani/
infl., 3→4 F (6-3.32)

/-c schistaspa/
infl., 3→4 D-1 (6-3.34.11)

/-c schistasapa:na/
infl., 3→4 D-2 (6-3.34.21)

/-c schistpana/
infl., 3→4 I (6-3.33)

/-c schistu/
infl., 3→4 S (6-3.31)

/-c schitani/
infl., 3→4 F (6-3.32)

/-c schitasapa:na/
infl., 3→4 D-2 (6-3.34.21)

/-c schitaspa/
infl., 3→4 D-1 (6-3.34.11)

/-c schitaystu/
infl., 3→4 RIK (6-3.35.2)

/-c schitaytu/
infl., 3→4 RIK (6-3.35.2)

/-c schitu/
infl., 3→4 S (6-3.31)

-v si-

der., reciprocal/reflexive (6-2.21)

/-v sina/
subord. (7-4.22.1)

/-v sina:n/
subord. (7-4.22.1)

/-v siñana/
infl., 4→3 D-2 (6-3.34.21)
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<td>-v-situ</td>
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<td>v. der., 'likely' (6-2.3)</td>
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<td>/-v-sjamach-/</td>
<td>v. der., 'likely' (6-2.3)</td>
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<td>v. der., 'likely' (6-2.3)</td>
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<tr>
<td>/-v-sma:n/</td>
<td>v. infl., 1→2 RDK (6-3.35.1)</td>
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<tr>
<td>/-v-sma:na/</td>
<td>v. infl., 2→3 D-2 (6-3.34.21); 1→2 RDK (6-3.35.1)</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>/-c-sna/</td>
<td>v. infl., 4→3 S (6-3.31)</td>
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<tr>
<td>/-c-sna/</td>
<td>v. infl., 1→2 S (6-3.31); 4→3 D-1 (6-3.34.11)</td>
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/-vsna_\_\_\_\_/   v. subord. (7-4.22.1)
/-:sna/  v. infl., 1→2 RDK (6-3.35.1)
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\(-\text{v} \text{taki}/\) noun, beneficiary/purposive (5-3.31.5)

\(-\text{tak}^\text{"i}/\) noun, beneficiary/purposive (5-3.31.5)

\(-\text{c} \text{tam}/\) v. infl., 3→2 S (6-3.31)

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\(-\text{c} \text{tama}/\) v. infl., 3→2 S (6-3.31)

\(-\text{c} \text{ta:ma}/\) v. infl., 3→2 S (6-3.31)

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/-v\_tani/
  v. infl., 3\(\rightarrow\)3 RIK (6-3.35.2)

/-v\_taña/
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/-v\_ta:sma/
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/-v\_tata/
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<td>/-v taytam/</td>
<td>v. infl., 3-2 RIK (6-3.35.2)</td>
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<tr>
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<td>v. infl., 3-2 S (6-3.31)</td>
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<td>/-v tm/</td>
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<td>/-v tma/</td>
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<td>/-tma/</td>
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/\t"/  

/\t"a_c/  v. infl., 1→3 S (6-3.31)
/\t"a_v/  v. infl., 1→3 S (6-3.31)
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/-yitu/:  
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Undertaking graduate studies while working full time at the State Department, Miss Briggs completed the Master of Science degree in linguistics at Georgetown University in 1969. In the following year she left the Foreign Service to pursue doctoral studies in linguistics at the University of Florida in Gainesville, working with the Aymara Language Materials Project under the auspices of a grant from the Office of Education of the Department of Health, Education, and Welfare.
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Miss Briggs is a member of the American Anthropological Association, the Asociación de Lingüística y Filología de América Latina (ALFAL), the Instituto de Lengua y Cultura Aymara (La Paz, Bolivia), the International Linguistic Association, the Latin American Studies Association, the Linguistic Society of America, the Modern Language Association, and the Cosmopolitan Business and Professional Women's Club (Washington, D. C.), and is a member of the Board of Directors of the Aymara Foundation, Inc.
I certify that I have read this study and that in my opinion it conforms to acceptable standards of scholarly presentation and is fully adequate, in scope and quality, as a dissertation for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy.

M. J. Hardman-de-Bautista,
Chairman
Professor of Anthropology and Linguistics

I certify that I have read this study and that in my opinion it conforms to acceptable standards of scholarly presentation and is fully adequate, in scope and quality, as a dissertation for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy.

William E. Carter
Professor of Anthropology

I certify that I have read this study and that in my opinion it conforms to acceptable standards of scholarly presentation and is fully adequate, in scope and quality, as a dissertation for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy.

Paul Doughty
Professor of Anthropology
I certify that I have read this study and that in my opinion it conforms to acceptable standards of scholarly presentation and is fully adequate, in scope and quality, as a dissertation for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy.

Jayne C. Harder
Professor of Linguistics

I certify that I have read this study and that in my opinion it conforms to acceptable standards of scholarly presentation and is fully adequate, in scope and quality, as a dissertation for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy.

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Professor of Speech

This dissertation was presented to the Graduate Faculty of the Interdisciplinary Graduate Program in Linguistics in the College of Arts and Sciences, and to the Graduate Council, and was accepted as partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy.

August, 1976

Dean, Graduate School