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Syntactic structures in the languages of the Central Andes¹

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Since most Andean languages have very elaborate and versatile morphological components, grammatical descriptions sometimes neglect the syntactic component, or view it through a morphological lens. This is likely because, indeed, the morphological component in Andean languages incorporates many syntactic elements, or elements that interact with syntax, such as cross-referencing affixes on verbs and nouns, nominalizations to form subordinate clauses, switch-reference morphology to indicate interclausal reference tracking, and so on.

This chapter will take a comparative look at the syntactic structures of the languages of the Central Andes. The focus lies on syntax, which I define as the arrangement of grammatical words to form phrases, clauses, or sentences, and morphological expressions of relations between syntactic units.

A full overview of syntactic structures of the languages of the Central Andes is seriously hampered by the lack of description of now (nearly) extinct languages. This chapter systematically compares Quechuan (except for variants that are spoken outside the geographical scope of this volume), Aymaran, Uru-Chipaya, and Híbito-Cholón languages, as well as Puquina and Kallawayá. Another difficulty for achieving comprehensiveness is that syntax is such a vast field that it is impossible to address all issues of relevance. In this chapter I have addressed what I think are important issues in the syntax of Central Andean languages (see my definition of syntax above), but I immediately acknowledge that many topics are left undiscussed. Many of these topics are taken up in the chapters on the individual languages and language families, as well as in the chapters on the verb morphology (Pache, this volume), the noun morphology (Krasnoukhova, this volume), and pragmatic and discourse-organizing structures (Grzech, this volume).

The present chapter is set up as follows: in Section 1, I start with a discussion of the minimal building blocks for syntax, grammatical words (Section 1.1) and the lexical classes they fall into (Section 1.2). Section 2 discusses phrasal structures, mainly focusing on the noun phrase, but also discussing some of the evidence for other types of phrases. Section 3 discusses clausal structure, in particular constituent order (Section 3.1), clitic placement (Section 3.2), and morphosyntactic alignment (Section 3.3). Section 4 focuses on complex sentences: coordination (Section 4.1) and subordination (Section 4.2). Section 5 summarizes the findings, focusing on the question whether there is a Central Andean syntactic profile.

1. Basic building blocks

1.1 Grammatical and phonological words

The basic building block for syntax is the grammatical or syntactic word. Grammatical words can be described as units that are subject to syntactic operations. Although wordhood is rarely problematized in descriptions of Central Andean languages, there is ample implicit

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discussion through the classification of morphemes. Apart from roots and suffixes (and the occasional prefix), Central Andean languages also tend to have a group of non-canonical suffixes or enclitics. These markers often code clause-level categories, and may interact with constituency and information structure. For this reason, I will refer to them as clausal enclitics (I am not aware of the presence of any clausal proclitics in Andean languages). These markers are of interest to a syntax chapter in two respects: first, although they phonologically attach to a host, they do not form a grammatical word with it in the sense that their position is determined at the clausal level rather than at the word level. Second, to the extent that they attach to syntactic phrases, they provide a diagnostic for constituent boundaries. As such, clausal enclitics can be considered syntactic units rather than morphological units.

I discuss the principles that govern the placement of these clausal enclitics in Section 3.2. For the moment, it suffices to say that grammatical words can be free or bound, and that, in the majority of cases, clause-level markers phonologically attach to hosts after the derivational and inflectional suffixes, so that we can set up a basic schema for syntactic units in Central Andean languages, which looks as in Figure 1:

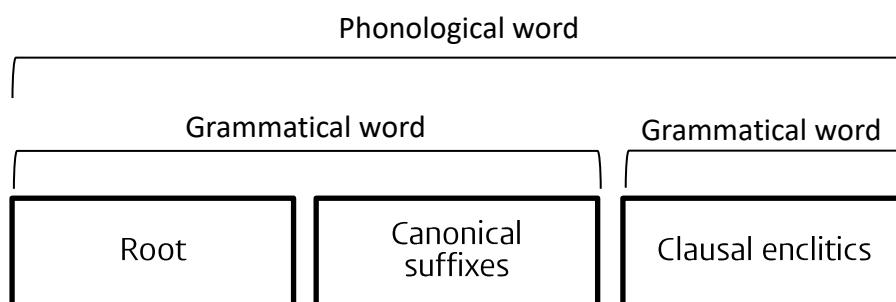


Figure 1 Generalized template of the grammatical and phonological words in Central Andean languages

Clausal enclitics have been described for Quechuan, Aymaran, Uru-Chipaya, and Híbito-Cholón languages, as well as for Puquina and Kallawaya.

1.2. Major lexical classes

The distinction between nouns and verbs is generally clear in Andean languages, and mainly based on the set of inflectional and transcategorical morphemes associated with roots of each type. Beyond those two major classes the situation is less clear. I will give a brief summary of the distinctions that different grammarians make and the basis for their claims.

Most descriptions of Quechuan languages (see also the contributions to this volume) distinguish a class of verbs, nominals (including property- and quantity-denoting words), ambivalents, and particles. These distinctions are predominantly based on the sets of inflectional morphemes each of these classes combines with. A set of nominal inflectional morphemes (e.g. possessor inflection, number, case) is contrasted with a set of verbal inflectional morphemes (e.g. subject and object inflection, TAM). Nominals combine with nominal inflection, verbs with verbal inflection, ambivalents with both, particles with neither. The class-free morphemes (see Section 1.1), can attach to any except some particles (see Figure 2).

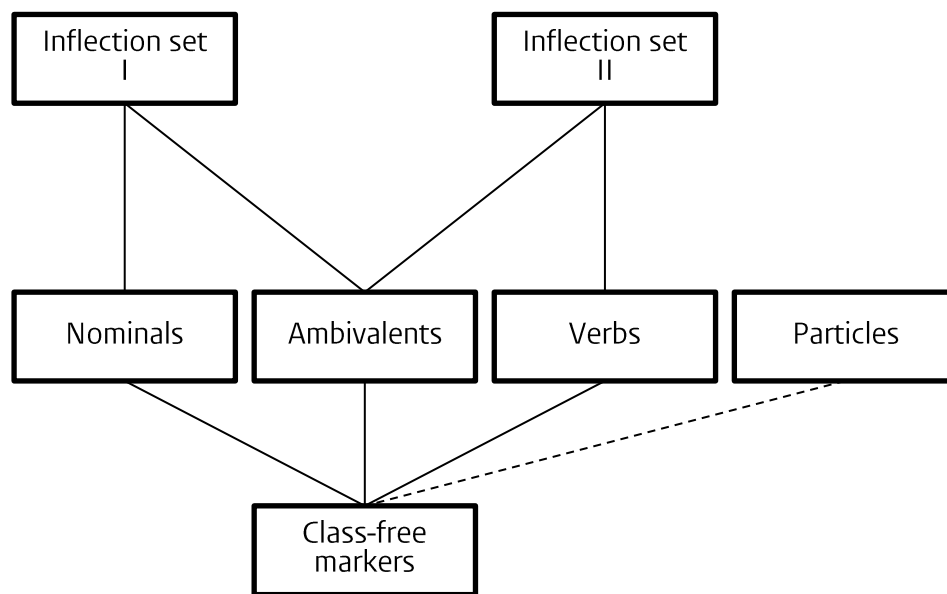


Figure 2 Lexical classes and inflectional morphology in Quechuan languages

Although this system offers a seemingly neat way to classify roots in Quechuan, there is some disagreement about the status of adjectives. Adjectives are generally considered a subclass of nominals, to which nouns also belong. This again is based on the fact that nominal lexemes can function as adjectives or head nouns. For instance, Wroughton (1988) describes the behavior of the words *runa* ('man,' 'male') and *ichik* ('small,' 'small one') in referential and attributive function as illustrated in Examples (1) and (2), respectively.

(1) Northern Conchucos Quechua

- a. *Runata willay.*
 {runa-ta willa-y}
 man-ACC tell-IMP
 'Tell the man!'
- b. *Ichikta willay.*
 {ichik-ta willa-y}
 small-ACC tell-IMP
 'Tell the little one!'

(adapted from Wroughton 1988: 33)

(2) Northern Conchucos Quechua

- a. *runa shimi*
 {runa shimi}
 man mouth
 'mouth of a man'
- b. *ichik shimi*
 {ichik shimi}
 small mouth
 'small mouth'

(adapted from Wroughton 1988: 33)

In fact, the class of nominals in most Quechuan descriptions is argued to include, besides quality-denoting roots, quantity-denoting roots (numerals and classifiers), pronouns (personal, demonstrative, and interrogative), and intensifiers.

Floyd (2011) argues against a large nominal class, and for the recognition of a class of adjectives in Quechuan languages. His arguments are based on a number of observations, which highlight relatively subtle differences between what Floyd calls nouns and adjectives. These differences include combinability with intensifiers, unexpected semantic interpretation of the attributive relation when a noun is used as a modifier, and positional differences in multi-modifier constructions, where nouns must appear adjacent to the head noun whereas adjectives are more flexible. For these reasons, Floyd proposes to consider examples like (2a) to be N-N compounds. Examples like (1b), in his view, are examples of elliptical constructions.

Whether the noun-adjective distinction is regarded as one between major lexical classes or not, it is clear that Quechuan languages make a distinction between referentially used and attributively used lexemes through their position in the noun phrase (see Section 2), and in practical terms, grammarians do tend to speak of subclasses of nominals in the more traditional terminology of adjectives, numerals, quantifiers, and the like.

The class of particles is also morphologically defined as containing uninflecting lexemes with considerable internal heterogeneity. Shimelman (2017) distinguishes seven subclasses of particles in Yauyos Quechua, which she considers typical for Quechuan languages. These include disparate elements such as adverbs, conjunctions, negators, and interjections. At least for adverbs, the case for a separate wordclass can be made in Yauyos Quechua (and other Quechuan varieties) on the basis of the facts that there are derivational operations that derive adverbs from nouns and that adverbs, unlike other particles, with the exception of negators, can also take class-free enclitics.

The analysis of Aymaran languages is very similar to that of Quechuan languages. Grammarians generally distinguish three lexical classes: nouns, verbs, and particles. In addition, there are a few ambivalent roots (Coler, this volume). The main criterion for distinguishing these classes is, like in Quechuan languages, the set of morphological markers they can be associated with, following the same schema as in Figure 2 above. Adjectives are generally not regarded as a separate lexical class for the same reasons as in Quechuan: they take nominal morphology and can take on referential functions. The nominal class contains a large number of subclasses: pronouns (personal, demonstrative, and interrogative), numerals, common and proper nouns, and property words.² The particle class seems to be smaller in Aymaran than in Quechuan languages. Hardman (2000: 114) mentions “negative particles, greetings, and a few special ones.” Hardman (2001: 48, 238) identifies only three pure (or primary) particle roots in Aymara, but she mentions many more elements that are particle-like in that they have very limited morphological possibilities, including negators, greetings and fixed expressions,³ interjections and exclamatives, and discourse markers. She stresses that the behavior of these particle-like elements is not uniform across regions, and

² Coler (this volume) mentions that there is also a set of two interrogative pronouns that are verbal in nature and should be considered a subclass of verbs.

³ Greetings and fixed expressions show differential degrees of internal morphological complexities, so this particle-like listing still contains considerable internal diversity (I thank an anonymous reviewer for pointing this out).

even across individuals. Some of these particles seem to fulfill adverbial functions as well, such as the particle-like element *wali* illustrated in Example (3).⁴

- (3) Aymara
Wal parli.
 {wal(i) parl(a)-i}
 Well speak-3.SBJ.SIM
 'She speaks well.'
(adapted from Hardman 2001: 20)

Ambivalent roots can be interpreted either as verbs or nouns. It is unclear how large this class is. Coler (this volume) gives a non-exhaustive list for Aymara.

Cerrón-Palomino's (2006: 101) description of Chipaya posits the same system of lexical classes as in Quechuan and Aymaran languages, with a class of verbs, particles, and a large class of nominals, subsuming nouns, pronouns (personal, demonstrative, interrogative, and indefinite), adjectives, numerals, and adverbs. Like in Quechuan and Aymaran languages, Chipaya allows nouns to be used attributively, as illustrated in Example (4). It also allows adjectives to be used referentially, although Cerrón-Palomino (2006: 191–2) treats the latter elliptic constructions.

- (4) Chipaya
maş qhuya
 stone house
 'house made of stone'
(adapted from Cerrón-Palomino 2006: 191)

In these constructions, the rightmost noun is interpreted as the head noun. If, however, the relation between modifier and head noun is not a part-whole relation, genitive morphology is required.

Interestingly, in Chipaya, adjectives take gender marking when they are used as a syntactic head of the noun phrase (or as a predicate), but not when they are used attributively. Examples (5a) and (5b) illustrate.

- (5) Chipaya
 a. *Tsha: chiw-i pek-u=cha*
 DET.INDF.F white-F want-1SG.PRS=DECL
 'I want a white one [i.e. a chicken].'
 b. *Tsha: chiw wallp-i pek-u=cha*
 DET.INDF.F white chicken-F want-1SG.PRS=DECL
 'I want a white chicken.'
(adapted from Cerrón-Palomino 2006: 192)

This makes gender marking on referentially used quality-denoting words uninformative with respect to whether this is an elliptical construction or not. It is, however, unclear to what extent words belonging to the (sub)class of adjectives can take the full range of nominal morphology (see Hannß, this volume). In sum, although the distinction between nouns and adjectives is made at the subclass-level in Chipaya, the groups seem a bit more clearly

⁴ Vowel deletion is a common process in Aymaran languages (see below). Deleted vowels in Aymaran examples in this chapter are given between parentheses in the underlying representation.

distinct than in Quechuan and Aymaran languages, in that unmarked attributively used nouns seem to be more restricted. As is discussed in some detail in Hannß (2008; see also Hannß this volume), Uru differs from Chipaya in that adjectives in Uru cannot take nominal morphology, and, unlike nouns (and verbs), they can combine with a “predicator,” which is illustrated in Examples (6b). This is a copula-like element that attaches to adjectives and adverbs when used predicatively. Consequently, Hannß posits a lexical class of adjectives.

(6) Uru

a. *chi cho:k para*
that big stick
‘that big stick’

b. *Chuni-kasi=chay?*
good-PRED=DECL
‘Are you well?’

(adapted from Hannß 2008: 200)

Emlen et al. (this volume) propose that Puquina distinguishes between nouns, verbs, adjective, and adverbs. The noun-verb distinction in Puquina is also connected to different sets of inflectional morphology. In addition, there are several deverbal nominalization strategies (evidence for denominal verbalizations is less clear). It is not entirely clear how well adjectives can be distinguished from nouns. As described by Emlen et al. (this volume), at least two deverbal nominalizations, participial and agentive, create nouns or adjectives from verbs, suggesting a weak boundary between nouns and adjectives. There seems to be no special morphology associated with adjectives, except for a negation strategy that is related to, but different from clausal negation. It is unclear whether nouns or noun phrases can be negated. The main reason to posit a class of adjectives in Puquina seems to be syntactic: they precede the nouns they modify, but there are also noun-noun compounds in Puquina – Emlen et al. mention the example *Dios isu*, which is ambiguous between a possessive construction that would be translatable as ‘God’s house’ and an attributive construction translatable as ‘God house.’ This seems to suggest at least some flexibility for nouns to function as modifiers. The morphosyntactic properties of adverbs remain unclear, but Emlen et al. do list a number of underived adverbs.

Kallaway (Muysken 2009, this volume) resembles Quechuan languages in its morphosyntax, including its inventory of lexical classes, where the noun-verb distinction is clear because each of the classes is associated with its own set of inflectional morphology. Adjectives resemble nouns to the extent that Muysken (2009: 155) considers them to be a subclass of nominals, based on the fact that, as in Quechuan languages, nouns and adjectives are functionally flexible between reference and modification.

In Mochica, although there is some basis for distinguishing between adjectives and nouns, the distinction also seems to be weak. Both occur as heads of noun phrases, with referential function. Adjectives, like nouns, can furthermore be inflected for number and case (Eloranta-Barrera Virhuez 2020: 176). Adjectives can be used attributively, in which case they often take a so-called relational marker or “adjectivalizer” (Hovdhaugen 2004). The same marker is also found on prepositional phrases that are used attributively. A table with an overview of modifiers in Eloranta-Barrera Virhuez (2020: 142) suggests that nouns can also be used attributively, although this is not discussed in more detail, and so it is unclear whether these modifying nouns receive the relational marker. There are a few constructions to do with gradation that seem to be restricted to adjectives (Eloranta-Barrera

Virhuez 2020: 178–9). Eloranta Barrera Virhuez (2020: 173–5) also mentions a large class of adverbials, which she subdivides into manner, time, and place adverbials.

The full range of lexical classes in Híbito and Cholon is not entirely certain. The limited amount of documentation allows for a clear distinction between nouns and verbs. Alexander-Bakkerus (2005: 185–7) reports a flexible use of what she calls “adjectival nouns” that are used either referentially or attributively in ways that are partly reminiscent of Quechuan and Aymaran. However, she also suggests that there was a purely nominal class, which cannot be used attributively. In addition, according to Alexander-Bakkerus (2005: 185), there seem to be derivational operations that derive adjectives from nouns.

In conclusion, then, the languages surveyed here make a clear distinction between nouns and verbs. Adjectives tend to be noun-like, in some cases to such an extent that they are considered to form a larger lexical class with nouns as in many languages attributive and referential functions can be fulfilled both by object-denoting and quality-denoting words. Uru seems to provide the clearest case for a distinct adjective class. Adverbs seem rather underexplored, but grammarians generally do recognize a class of adverbials in Central Andean languages. This leads to the following schematic representation of a “Central Andean” major word class inventory.

verbs	nouns	adjectives	adverbs
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Figure 3 Commonly attested major word class systems in Central Andean languages

2. Phrasal structures

In terms of subclausal constituent structure, Central Andean language descriptions most clearly describe noun phrase structures, and sometimes other phrasal structures as well. I will summarize these in turn.

2.1 Noun phrases

2.1.1 Word order within the NP

There is an overall preference in Central Andean languages for head-final noun phrases, where the head noun can be preceded by different kinds of modifiers. Relations between elements in the NP are not marked in most Central Andean languages, with the exception of possessor-possessed relations. Many Central Andean languages have a phrase-final position for case markers, and allow for phrasal structures to be embedded within the NP.

Based on syntagms encountered in her corpus, Howkins (1977) sets up a four-position model for the NP in San Martín Quechua, which is given in (7). This model is echoed in the structure of many other Quechuan varieties (as well as non-Quechuan Central Andean languages, as will be outlined below), although Adelaar (2012: 595) reports that Santiago del Estero Quichua prefers post-nominal adjectives, possibly the result of areal pressure.

- (7) Four-position model for the NP in San Martín Quechua according to Howkins (1977)
- | | | | |
|-----|-----|-----|---|
| DEM | NUM | ADJ | N |
|-----|-----|-----|---|

Only the last position is obligatory, and the last three positions can be simplex (i.e. consisting of a single word) or complex (consisting of more than one word). Possessor NPs also precede the head noun, and tend to preclude the presence of other modifiers (although the possessor NP itself can be complex).⁵ This model is roughly applicable to most Central Andean languages. I will come back to the point of internal complexity below, and focus first on the general ordering patterns encountered in Central Andean languages.

As can be seen in the contributions to this handbook, a preference for head-finality is found in Quechuan, Aymaran, and Uru-Chipaya languages, as well as in Mochica, Puquina, and Kallawaya. In Híbito, the situation is unclear, but in related Cholón, there is also a preference for pre-nominal modifiers, at least where demonstratives and numerals are concerned (Alexander-Bakkerus, this volume). Most Central Andean languages also have the same major categories (the modifiers often regarded as subclasses of nominal – see discussion above) in much the same order, or at least not contradicting it – to the extent that this can be determined. There are, however, a few exceptions in this respect. For instance, Puquina (Emlen et al, this volume) allows for quantifiers to precede demonstratives (which, in turn can be followed by numerals). In Cholón, qualitative modifiers can appear both before (most frequently) or after the head noun, as illustrated in the examples in (8a) and (8b). However, they appear before it if the NP carries a case marker (Alexander-Bakkerus 2005: 187).

(8) Cholón

- a. *ges nun*
 {**ges** nun}
 3sg.oldness man
 ‘an old man’
- b. *hila ges*
 {hila **ges**}
 woman 3sg.oldness
 ‘(is) an old woman’

(Alexander-Bakkerus 2005: 527)

Similarly, Kallawaya, while generally following a head-final organization of the NP, seems to marginally allow for noun-adjective order:

(9) Kallawaya

<Atasi llalle sekan acha-ku-na jatta-nki llalle-lla>
 woman good if be-REFL-NMLZ want-2.SBJ good-RSTR
 ‘[Choose a] good woman if you want to be happy.’

(Muysken, this volume, based on Girault 1989: 152)

Quechuan languages also display some flexibility in that they allow for discontinuous NPs, including ones where the adjective is postposed, even beyond an intervening verb. Example

⁵ Relative clauses are not explicitly discussed within the more general frame of the NP. I will come back to the position of relative clauses below.

(10a) shows the default pattern in Cuzco Quechua, (10b) a pattern with a postposed adjective.⁶

(10) Cuzco Quechua

- a. *[Hatun wasi]ta rikurqani.*
 {[Hatun wasi]-ta riku-rqa-ni}
 big house-ACC see-PST-1.SBJ
 'I saw a/the big house.'
- b. *Wasita rikurqani hatunta.*
 {Wasi-ta riku-rqa-ni hatun-ta}
 house-ACC see-PST-1.SBJ big-ACC
 'I saw a big house.' (adapted from Hastings 2020[2003]: 1–2)

Discontinuous NPs require a case marker (if relevant) both on the head noun and the “extracted” modifier (see Hastings 2020[2003] for discussion).

Further elements that may appear within NPs differ from language to language, but they generally have a preference for the prenominal position, such as numeral classifiers in Mochica (Example 11), and non-numeral quantifiers in Aymara, which appear between the demonstrative and numeral, if present (Example 12), and possessors in Uru (Example 13).

(11) Mochica

- <noc pong mecherræc>
 four CLF:ten.ANIM woman
 'forty women' (adapted from Eloranta-Barrera Virhuez 2020: 201)

(12) Aymara

- uka taqi pusi xach'a qala uta*
 {uka taqi pusi xach'a qala uta}
 that all four large stonehouse
 'all those four big stone houses'
 (adapted from Cerrón-Palomino and Carvajal Carvajal 2009: 205)

(13) Uru

- am apa=ki*
 you father=TOP
 'your father' (adapted from Hannß 2008: 141)

Example (12) also shows the presence of an attributively used noun *qala*. Cerrón-Palomino and Carvajal Carvajal (2009) reserve a prenominal position for these types of noun, separate from adjectives, which appear further away, as in Example (12). This echoes the situation in Quechuan highlighted by Floyd (2011) as discussed above. In addition, this immediately prenominal position seems to allow for some internal recursive complexity, as discussed by Howkins (1977: 267) for San Martín Quechua and illustrated in Example (14), where subscripts _D and _H indicate dependents and heads, respectively.

⁶ Hastings(2020 [2003]) argues that discontinuous noun phrases have a functional load in Cuzco Quechua in that they force an indefinite interpretation of the noun phrase.

(14) San Martín Quechua

katawayuk kebrada yaku maña

{katawayuk kebrada yaku maña}

[[Katawayuk_D creek_H]_D water_H]_D side

‘the Katawayuk creek water side’

(adapted from Howkins 1977: 267)

In Quechuan languages, possessor NPs mostly precede the head noun, as illustrated in Example (15a) from San Martín Quechua. There are instances where possessor NPs follow the head noun in San Martín Quechua (Howkins 1977: 268–9), as in Example (15b), but this example should probably be interpreted as a discontinuous NP, since the head noun takes an NP-final topic marking.

(15) San Martín Quechua

a *Warmipa mamanka uizharkan uzhkupa tatantaka.*

{warmi-pa mama-n-ka uizha-rka-n uzhkupa

woman-GEN mother-3.POSS-TOP spoke-PST-3.SBJ man-GEN

tata-n-ta-ka}

father-3.POSS-ACC-TOP

‘The woman’s mother spoke with the man’s father.’

b. *Mamanka warmipa kawarkan.*

{Mama-n-ka warmi-pa kawa-rka-n}

mother-3.POSS-TOP woman-GEN look-PST-3.SBJ

‘The mother of the woman looked.’

(adapted from Howkins 1977: 268–9)

Howkins (1977: 270) concludes on the basis of the examples in her corpus that the presence of a possessor NP seems to preclude the presence of any other modifier, although the possessor NP itself may be phrasal in that it may take at least demonstratives as modifiers and is case marked.⁷

Prenominal possessors are also found in Aymaran languages, although there does seem to be some freedom, including discontinuous possessive phrases (see e.g. Hardman 2001: 196). Example (16) illustrates this phenomenon in Aymara.

(16) Aymara

Xumanχ kunas sutimaχa.

{xuma-n(a)-χ(a) kuna-s(a) suti-ma-χa}

you-GEN-TOP what-Q name-2.POSS-TOP

‘What is your name?’

(adapted from Hardman 2001: 196)

Prenominal possessors are furthermore found in Chipaya (Cerrón-Palomino 2006: 189–91), Uru (Hannß 2008: 174), Kallawaya (Muysken 2009: 160–1), Cholon (Alexander-Bakkerus 2005: 184), and Puquina (Adelaar and Van de Kerke 2009: 131–2, Emlen et al. this volume). Puquina furthermore displays the (from a Central Andean perspective) interesting trait of having procliticized possessive pronouns, which may be attributable to Arawakan influence,

⁷ For Imbabura Quechua (part of the northern Quechuan cluster that falls outside the scope of this volume), Cole (1982: 78) notes, however, that the possessor phrase is in competition with demonstrative elements on the left periphery, and can combine with adjectives and quantifiers.

also given their form (Adelaar and Van de Kerke 2009: 126). Prenominal possessors are common in languages of the eastern slopes and more generally in the Amazonian lowlands. Mochica also has prenominal possessors (Eloranta-Barrera Virhuez 2020: 186–7).

Relative clauses may also fulfill the function of modification. The internal structure of relative clauses will be discussed in Section 4.2, but anticipating that discussion, it can be mentioned here that all Central Andean languages employ nominalization to form (the equivalent of) relative clauses, sometimes in addition to other strategies, and the nominalized relative clauses are generally allowed to precede the head noun. For Aymara, Cerrón-Palomino and Carvajal Carvajal (2009) exclusively give examples of prenominal relative clauses, which seems to be the default position for relative clauses in Aymara. Such a relative clause (or functional equivalent) is illustrated in Example (17).

(17) Aymara

[Karta qillqiri] xaq thaqhaskta.

{[karta	qillqi-iri]	xaq(i)-cØ	thaqha-sk(a)-cta}
letter	write-AG	person-ACC	search-PROG-1.SBJ.3.OBJ.SIM

‘I am searching for the person who writes letters.’

(adapted from Cerrón-Palomino and Carvajal Carvajal 2009: 210)

For another variety of the same language, Muylaq’ Aymara, Coler (2014) presents some examples with postnominal relative clauses, such as the one in Example (18).

(18) Muylaq’ Aymara

Kha warmix kok uñxatirix, yatiriwa.

{[kha	warmi-χ(a)	kok(a)-cØ	uñxa-t(a)-iri]-χ(a)	yat(i)-iri-wa}
that	woman-TOP	coca-ACC	see-RES-AG-TOP	know-AG-DECL

‘[That woman who sees (divines the future through reading) coca], she is a sage.’

(adapted from Coler 2014: 491)

In Quechuan languages, nominalized relative clauses may precede or follow the head noun (or they may be internally headed or headless). Quesada (1976) gives many examples of postnominal relative clauses in Cajamarca Quechua, such as that in Example (19). This is in line with the observation by Adelaar (2012: 595) to the effect that Central Quechua varieties have a preference for postnominal relative clauses. Possibly this is different in Ecuadorian Quechuan varieties, as examples for those varieties discussed in Muysken (2011) are predominantly prenominal, as seen in Example (20).

(19) Cajamarca Quechua

Rikani runata trabajaq.

{rika-ni	runa-ta	trabaja-q}
see-1.SBJ	man-ACC	work-AG

‘I see the man who works.’

(adapted from Quesada 1976: 165)

(20) Salasaca Quechua

[Kayna shamuk] runaga ñuka tiyumi.

{[Kayna	shamu-k]	runa-ga	ñuka tiyu-mi}
yesterday	come-AG	man-TOP	I uncle-EVD

‘The man that came yesterday is my uncle.’ (adapted from Muysken 2011: 252)

In Puquina, both orders seem to occur. The examples in (21) illustrate two different relativization strategies, and it is unclear to what extent ordering preferences differ from one strategy to another.

(21) Puquina

- a. <pi aquino iqui>
 {pi aki-eno iki}
 2.OBJ beget-AG father
 ‘the father who begot you’
- b. <coma po hucha pofticahafo tituch oreguefcanh>
 {koma po hucha po histikga-so titu-ch
 all 2.POSS sins 2.POSS hide-PTCP beginning-ABL
 hor-ke-s-ki-nch}
 tell-FUT-INV-1.SBJ-DECL
 ‘All your sins, which you have been hiding, tell them to me from the beginning.’
 (adapted from Adelaar and Van de Kerke 2009: 136–7)

Chipaya (as well as Uru, Hannß 2008: 292) nominalized relative clauses seem to precede their head noun.⁸

(22) Chipaya

- [Učhunaka-ž qam-ta] qhuya-ki qwat-š-chi-čha.
 we-GEN live-RES house-TOP disappear-REFL-3SG.M.COMPL-DECL
 ‘The house in which we lived disappeared.’
 (adapted from Cerrón-Palomino 2009: 73)

The preferences in Mochica with respect to the placement of relative clauses are unclear, but Example (23) shows that prenominal relative clauses are at least a possibility.

(23) Mochica

- <ænta-.z.ta=f quix Lima-c tæ-d=ô ñofæn>
 NEG-EMPH=COP return Lima-LOC go-AG=ADJVLZ man
 ‘The man who went to Lima has not yet returned.’
 (adapted from Hovdhaugen 2004: 75)

In Cholón, relative clauses can be formed with one of two nominalizers, *-lam* and *-(ŋ)o*. The latter structure is prenominal, the former is flexible (see Alexander-Bakkerus, this volume for exemplification). There are also further ways to form relative clauses for which it is not clear what the ordering preference is.

Taking all evidence discussed together the pan-central Andean NP template in Fig. 4 emerges.

⁸ There is also a finite construction, which is best analyzed as an appositive structure, with a resumptive pronoun in one of the clauses. For these constructions, it is unclear whether we can speak of a head noun that is relativized.

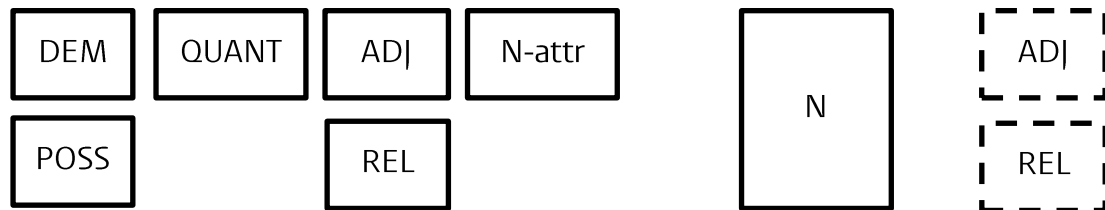


Figure 4 Commonly attested constituent order patterns within the NP in Central Andean languages

2.1.2 Marking of morphosyntactic relations within the NP

Morphosyntactic marking of relations within the NP is, among other things, found in attributive possessive constructions. A number of different patterns can be observed in Central Andean languages. Quechuan and Aymaran languages show a pattern of double marking, whereby the possessor NP is marked with a genitive, and the head noun with a person suffix. This is illustrated for Quechuan in Example (15) above. Example (24) shows an example from Muylaq' Aymara.

(24) Muylaq' Aymara

Xilataxan suti tatalapan anupa.

{xilata- <i>xa</i> -n(a)}	suti	tatala-pa-n(a)	anu-pa}
brother-1.POSS-GEN	name	father-3.POSS-GEN	dog-3.POSS
'my brother's godfather's dog'			

(adapted from Coler 2014: 611)

Despite some morphological differences with Quechuan languages, the syntactic (double marking) pattern is also found in Kallawaya (Muysken 2009: 160–1).

Adelaar and Van de Kerke (2009) illustrate three strategies in Puquina to form an attributive possessive construction: unmarked juxtaposition, illustrated in Example (25a), head-marking, illustrated in Example (25b), and dependent-marking, illustrated in Example (25c). Emlen et al. (this volume) mention that the first strategy is the most common.

(25) Puquina

- a. <Dios chuscu>
{Dios chu-sku}
God 3.POSS-son
'God's son'
- b. <Dios chumi>
{Dios chu-imí}
God 3.POSS-mother
'God's mother'
- c. <Diofn Yglefia>
{Dios-n iglesia}
God-GEN church
'God's church'

(adapted from Adelaar and Van de Kerke 2009: 132)

Example (25b) contains a procliticized⁹ possessive pronominal marker. Puquina has a set of possessor pronouns which are identical to the free personal pronouns but for the forms for 1st and 2nd person singular. These markers, in some cases, as in Example (25b), seem to phonologically interact with their host. However, their position seems to be syntactically determined, as they are positioned at the left edge of an NP, as in the example in (26). Accordingly, they are treated as proclitics by Adelaar and Van de Kerke (2009).

- (26) Puquina
 <no atot hucha-nch>
 {no-tot hucha-∅-∅-nch}
 1.POSS-big sin-COP-3.SBJ-DECL
 'It is my big sin.' (adapted from Adelaar and Van de Kerke 2009: 131)

The form of the markers as well as the fact that they procliticize is reminiscent of Arawakan patterns. The procliticized/prefixed person markers, however, are not entirely uncommon in the (greater) Central Andean area either. This is a feature that Puquina shares (apart from Arawakan Yanesha' - see Duff-Tripp 1997: 29) with the eastern slope languages Leko (Van de Kerke 2009: 298) and Cholón (Alexander-Bakkerus 2005: 130), and which may also be diachronically present in Uru-Chipaya.¹⁰

Mochica displays dependent marking, as illustrated in Example (27a), but for some classes, the head noun also requires a special marker indicating its possessed status, as for example <col> 'horse' in (27b).

- (27) Mochica
 a. <Heua-ng eiz-æn>
 Eva-OBL child.POSS-PL
 'Eva's children'
 b. <Pedro-ng col-æd>
 Pedro-OBL horse-POSS
 'Pedro's horse/llama' (adapted from Eloranta Barrera-Virhuez 2020: 186–7)

The construction in Example (27a) occurs with a subset of notionally inalienable nouns, whereas Example (27b) is an example of notional alienable possession. Mochica has several possessive classes markers (Urban, this volume).

In Uru, attributive possession is unmarked, as can be verified Example (13) above. Other possessive strategies are predicative. In Chipaya, possessive constructions are dependent-marked. The genitive is -t for pronominal and -ź for nominal possessors, as Example (28) shows.

- (28) Chipaya
 We-t ep-ź thu:=ki Arturu=cha.

⁹ Given the fact that there are divergent analyses in Central Andean language descriptions about what is and what is not clitic, I will follow my own definition, outlined in Section 1, but refrain from marking elements as having clitic status in the example sentences, also because this seems to be the descriptive tradition in the descriptions of many Central Andean languages.

¹⁰ I am grateful to an anonymous reviewer for pointing out this fact.

The classifier system of Cholón is more exclusively sortal in nature than Mochica. Nevertheless, there are a few attested numeral classifiers that relate to particular groups (bundles, heaps, herds) that come a bit closer to the Mochica system (Alexander-Bakkerus 2005: 180).

A typologically unusual phenomenon that can be regarded as dependent marking occurs in some Aymaran varieties, where dependents in the NP that are longer than two syllables delete the final vowel when used attributively. This process is illustrated in Example (32).

- (32) Muylaq' Aymara
 chiyar *t'ant'a*
 {*chiyar(a)* *t'ant'a*}
 black bread
 'black bread' (adapted from Coler et al. 2020: 157)

There seems to be quite some regional variation, and apart from this NP-internal syntactically driven vowel deletion, there are other types of vowel deletion triggered by phonotactics and morphological configurations (see Coler et al. 2020 for discussion).

In summary, there is quite some variation in terms of marking of NP-internal syntactic relations. For possessive constructions, all major locus of marking patterns are represented in the Central Andes. Beyond that, there are classifiers and gender in a number of languages, as well as an uncommon type of dependency marking in Aymaran varieties.

2.1.3 NP-internal phrasal structures

Howkins (1977) discusses what might be termed a numeral phrase for San Martín Quechua. The main argument to consider some complex numerals to be syntactic rather than morphological entities is the fact that a reversal of the order of elements is possible and triggers a different interpretation as a non-coordinative relation between the elements, as seen in the contrasting examples in (33).

- (33) San Martín Quechua
 a *chunka ishkay*
 {*chunka* *ishkay*}
 ten two
 'twelve'
 b. *ishkay chunka*
 {*ishkay* *chunka*}
 two ten
 'twenty' (adapted from Howkins 1977: 246)

Apart from instances as in the Examples in (33), numerals can also be coordinated within a noun phrase, and numerals can be modified by a determinant like *yaka* 'almost,' which precedes the numeral.

Other Central Andean languages for which there is information on higher numerals above 10 show both similar and different patterns. Aymara (Coler, this volume) uses a

compound construction for multiples of 10, like the one in the Quechuan example in (33b), or construction involving the attributive marker *-ni*, as in the Example in (34).

- (34) Aymara
tunka pisqani
 {tunka pisqa-ni}
 ten five-ATT
 'fifteen (lit. ten with five)' (Coler, this volume)

This is reminiscent of constructions found in Quechuan, which sometimes exist alongside the structure exemplified in (33a). Example (35), from Southern Yauyos Quechua, illustrates.

- (35) Southern Yauyos Quechua
kimsa chunka pusaqniyuq
 {kimsa chunka pusaq-ni-yuq}
 three ten eight-EP-POSS
 'thirty-eight' (adapted from Shimelman, this volume)

Uru-Chipayan languages use compounds similar to the Quechuan example (33b), as well as a predicative possessive construction, with a (potentially) reduplicated possessive copula-like element, as seen in Example (36).

- (36) Uru
kalu paxk'pik'i-chi-chi
 ten four-POSS-POSS
 'fourteen' (Hannß, this volume)

In Puquina, an instrumental marker is used on the smallest number in the compound, as seen in Example (37).

- (37) Puquina
 <[catanas [peram ñao]>
 {skata-nas sper-m-ñao}
 ten-? four-COM-EMPH
 'fourteen' (Emlen et al., this volume)

Mochica classifier constructions discussed above are not unlike construction such as those in Example (33b) in the sense that they have the structure [factor ten], but in addition they provide a sortal classification of the objects counted. Cholón, as mentioned, has a numeral classification system that is more sortal in nature. The system in Cholón, moreover, seems to be morphological in nature, as the classifier attaches to the numeral.

Apart from a numeral phrase, the case can be made for an adjectival phrase, in particular for those instances where an adjective is modified by an evaluative word, preceding the adjective. This is for instance described for Huallaga Quechua by Weber (1983), who speaks of "pre-adjectives."¹²

¹² Interestingly, the pre-adjective can also function on its own, and even take the superlative marker, given the right context (Weber 1983: 65–6).

(38) Huallaga Quechua

[Sumaq llusway]nin me:sata apamuyki.

{[sumaq llusway]-nin me:sa-ta apa-mu-yki}
very smooth-SUPER table-ACC take-CISL-2.SBJ

'Bring the very smoothest table.'

(adapted from Weber 1983: 66)

These pre-adjectival elements can be intensifiers, illustrated in Example (39a), but also, for instance, negators that have scope over the adjective only, as illustrated in Example (39b).

(39) San Martín Quechua

a. *sukuman azhi kusayni*

{sukuman azhi kusay-ni}

very good husband-1.POSS

'my very good husband'

b. *man atun rarka*

{man atun rarka}

NEG big gorge

'not big gorge'

(adapted from Howkins 1977: 251)

Pre-adjectival modifiers are also found in Aymaran (Example 40), Uru-Chipaya (Example 41), as well as in Cholón (Example 42). I am not aware of any Central Andean language with the reverse order of determinant and adjective.

(40) Jaqaru

uk mayn ants(a) ts'irar mishi

{uk(a) mayn(i) [ants(a) ts'irar(a)] mishi}

that other very black cat

'That other very black cat.'

(adapted from Hardman 2000: 107)

(41) Chipaya

a. *ancha chhuñi zoñi*

too generous man

'a too generous man'

b. *ana chhuñi zoñi*

NEG generous man

'a non-generous man'

(adapted from Cerrón-Palomino 2006: 194)

(42) Cholón

ma ocho

{ma ocho}

INT great/large

'very great/large'

(adapted from De la Mata 2007[1748]: 118, Alexander-Bakkerus 2005: 188)

2.2 The verb phrase

In their syntactic analysis of Cuzco Quechua, Lefebvre and Muysken (1988: 44–51) discuss several arguments that suggest the existence of a verb phrase, which includes the verb, verb-modifying adverbs, and non-subject core arguments. One of the empirically most clearly observable arguments is the behavior of negation. Quechua negation is marked by two morphemes that enclose what is negated. Lefebvre and Muysken argue that negated elements must be constituents, and the fact that Examples (43a) and (43b) are grammatical, but Example (43c) is not, points towards a VP constituent, in that one cannot negate two internal arguments of the verb without also negating the verb.

(43) Cuzco Quechua

- a. *Qan mana wasita rikunkichu.*

{qan	mana	wasita	riku-nki-chu}
you	NEG	house-ACC	see-2.SBJ-NEG

‘You don’t see the house.’
- b. *Mana qanman qulqita qusqaykichu.*

{Mana	qan-man	qulqi-ta	qu-sqa-yki-chu}
NEG	you-ALL	money-ACC	give-1.SBJ.FUT-2.OBJ-NEG

‘I won’t give you the money.’
- c. *{*Mana qan-man qulqi-ta-chu qu-sqa-yki}*

NEG	you-ALL	money-ACC-NEG	give-1.SBJ.FUT-2.OBJ
-----	---------	---------------	----------------------

(adapted from Lefebvre and Muysken 1988: 48)

Another argument, which suggests that adverbs are (or can be) part of the VP, is that temporal expressions are obligatorily marked with the accusative marker *-ta* when they appear inside the VP, while this is optional outside the V. The examples in (44) illustrate this.

(44) Cuzco Quechua

- a. *Paqarin xwancha limaman rinqa.*

{paqarin	xwancha	lima-man	ri-nqa}
tomorrow	Juan	Lima-ALL	go-3.SBJ.FUT

‘Tomorrow, Juan will go to Lima.’
- b. *Paqarinta xwancha limaman rinqa.*

{paqarin-ta	xwancha	lima-man	ri-nqa}
tomorrow-ACC	Juan	Lima-ALL	go-3.SBJ.FUT
- c. *Xwancha paqarinta limaman rinqa.*

{xwancha	paqarin-ta	lima-man	ri-nqa}
Juan	tomorrow-ACC	Lima-ALL	go-3.SBJ.FUT
- d. *??Xwancha paqarin limaman rinqa.*

{??xwancha	paqarin	lima-man	ri-nqa}
Juan	tomorrow	Lima-ALL	go-3.SBJ.FUT

(adapted from Lefebvre and Muysken 1988: 50)

Lefebvre and Muysken (1988) conclude, on the basis of the above arguments, as well as a few others (relating to asymmetries between subjects and non-subjects in patterns of case marking, agreement, and control structures), that a VP must be assumed for Cuzco Quechua, which contains internal (non-subject) arguments and adverbs.

Like in the case with the noun phrase, the verb phrase seems to allow for smaller internal phrasal structures. In order to zoom in on this, it is perhaps necessary to step outside the Central Andes, and zoom in on Ecuadorian Quichua varieties. In his study of diachronic changes in the verb phrase of Ecuadorian Quichua varieties, Muysken (1977) proposes the following generalized structure for the Ecuadorian Quichua verb phrase.

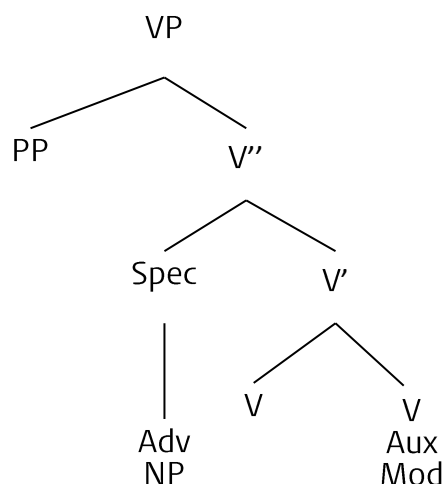


Figure 5 VP structure of Ecuadorian Quechuan variants (Muysken 1977)

As can be seen in Figure 5, Muysken (1977) distinguishes several phrasal levels within the VP. Starting at the bottom, the V' level is argued for because of the existence of structures like the ones in Examples (45).

(45) Salcedo Quechua

- a. *Awa(y) pudini.*

{awa-y	pudi-ni}
weave-NMLZ	can-1.SBJ

 'I can weave.'
- b. *Shamuk kani.*

{shamu-k	ka-ni}
come-AG	be-1.SBJ

 'I usually come.'

(adapted from Muysken 1977: 76)

Muysken (1977: 78–89) brings to bear several arguments that show that the constructions in (45) are (i) non-hierarchical in the sense that the lexical verb cannot be regarded as an argument of the inflected verb, and (ii) near-lexical (compound-like) units. I refer the reader to Muysken (1977) for the full range of arguments, but I reproduce one argument for each of the characteristics (i) and (ii).

As mentioned above, negation in Quechuan languages is marked by a preposed element *mana* and a postposed element *-chu*. If a subordinate clause is within the scope of the negation, only the element *mana* appears, while *-chu* is blocked. This means that we have to assume, in a sentence like the one in Example (46), that the entire stretch between *mana* and *-chu* is part of the main clause, and thus that V' constructions are not hierarchical in that sense.

(46) Salcedo Quechua

Mana yakuda maskangabuk rinichu ashtaun k'iwadami.

{mana	yaku-da	maska-nga-buk	ri-ni-chu	ashtaun
NEG	water-ACC	look.for-NMLZ-PURP	go-1.SBJ-NEG	but
k'iwa-da-mi}				
grass-ACC-EVD				

'I am not going to look for water, but for grass.' (adapted from Muysken 1977: 80)

An argument for the compound-like status for V' constructions comes from the sharing of object agreement, which ends up on the "wrong" verb, unless one assumes a complex predicate. This is illustrated in Example (47).

(47) Salcedo Quechua

Ayudak shamuwaychik.

{ayuda-k	shamu-wa-ychik}
help-AG	come-1.OBJ-IMP.PL

'Come and help me!' (adapted from Muysken 1977: 85)

The special status of the object NP and adverbs is, among other things, evident from the fact that they are both productively marked with the marker *-ta*, which –unlike the other case markers– can be left out if the object or adverb is adjacent to the verb. In addition, *-ta* is the only marker that can appear several times to mark different (non-coordinated) participants.

Due to a lack of systematic study, it is unclear to what extent the structure proposed by Muysken (1977) is generalizable to other Quechuan varieties, or for that matter to non-Quechuan Central Andean languages. Nevertheless, it seems that tight constructions, similar to the ones that prompted Muysken (1977) to propose a V' phrasal level for Ecuadorian Quechua, are found in other Quechuan languages as well. For instance, in his descriptive grammar of Cuzco Quechua, Cusihuamán (1976) distinguishes several types of VPs, including tight phrasal structures such as phrasal verb-like or serial verb-like constructions, illustrated here in Example (48).

(48) Cuzco Quechua

Chahay quwin wañu p'itishan.

{chahay	quwin	wañu	p'iti-sha-n}
DEM	rabbit	death/die	cease-PROG-3.SBJ

'That rabbit is about to die.' (adapted from Cusihuamán 1976: 188–9)

In Aymaran languages, constituency, as discussed in reference to the noun phrase, is marked by the fact that dependents drop their final vowel. Hardman (2000: 108–9) describes some different types of verb phrases. One type involves a non-inflected verb form (the declarative *-wa* that occurs here is a so-called sentence suffix and not inflectional) followed by an inflected one (Example 49a), the other type involves a sequence of a quantifier and a verb (Example 49b)¹³

¹³ A potential third type is one where an object seems to be incorporated. These seem to be lexicalized combinations (Hardman 2000: 109).

(49) Jaqaru

a. *Xatsaw munktha.*

{xats(a)-w(a) mun(a)-ck-cta}
cry-DECL want-NCOMPL-1.SBJ.SIM
'I want to cry.'

b. *Wanwanw xatskiqa.*

{wanwan(a)-w(a)xats(a)-ck-i-qa
a.lot-DECL cry-NCOMPL-3.SBJ.SIM-TOP
'He cried a lot.'

(adapted from Hardman 2000: 109)

The fact that there is vowel deletion on the first element provides an argument to regard both (49a) and (49b) as phrasal structures.

Other Central Andean languages also show instances of very tight syntactic units. I here give examples of Cholón (Example 50) and Chipaya (Example 51), which suggest that the kind of VP-internal phrases seen earlier are common in the area. More research is needed to understand how these phrasal structures relate to any putative VP phrasal structures, and how widespread these are in the Central Andes (e.g. in Uru, Mochica, and Puquina).

(50) Cholón

<amcolli mekti>

{a-m-koll-iy me-kt-iy}
1SG.A-2SG.M.OBJ-love-PST 2SG.M.SBJ-be-PST

'You were loved by me'. (lit. 'I loved you, you were').

(adapted from De la Mata 2007[1748]: 101, Alexander-Bakkerus 2005: 241)

The Chipaya example in (51) involves a bound verbalizing element *-ta*, which according to Cerrón-Palomino (2006: 225) must have evolved from an independent auxiliary into a bound verbalizer.

(51) Chipaya

{ti: aznu-ki Huwan-zh-ta}
DEM donkey-TOP Juan-GEN-VBLZ

'This donkey is Juan's.'

(adapted from Cerrón-Palomino 2009: 54)

2.3 Other phrasal structures

Many descriptions of Central Andean languages speak of postpositions and, concomitantly, postpositional phrases. Adpositional phrases in Central Andean languages are almost exclusively postpositional, and never mark the syntactic relation between postposition and complement, i.e. apart from some examples in Mochica,¹⁴ there are no postpositions that govern case, and no postpositions that take person markers. The main parameter of variation (also within languages) seems to be whether the postpositions are prosodically dependent enclitics or prosodically independent elements. The enclitics can be regarded as

¹⁴ I thank Matthias Urban for pointing out this fact.

syntactic objects to the extent that their placement, at the end of the NP, is a syntactically governed process.

Quechuan, Aymaran, Uru-Chipaya, and Kallawaya have NP-final bound case markers. Puquina has bound case markers, but due to the limited amount of data, it is unclear whether they attach to lexical or phrasal units (Adelaar and van de Kerke 2009: 133–4). This seems to be applicable to Cholón as well, where case markers seem to be bound, but the placement principles are unclear.

In Uru and Chipaya, next to bound markers, there is also a handful of non-bound postpositions that are mostly spatial in nature. Although they are not phonologically bound, Cerrón-Palomino (2006: 140) mentions for Chipaya that postpositions have limited lexical autonomy in that they require a noun phrase to be interpretable. This is reminiscent of the situation in nearby Leko, which also has bound markers as well as prosodically free spatial postpositions (Van de Kerke 2009: 296); these are partly semantically (but not formally) akin to the Uru-Chipayan postpositions.

Mochica has a number of deviant characteristics. Apart from the fact that it has a preposition, <pir> ‘without’, it has a number of seemingly prosodically dependent postpositions, and some of these seem to govern case, clearly making them syntactic entities.

(52) Mochica

<Espiritu Santo-ng ssap-e fænæc>
 Spirit Holy-OBL mouth-OBL according.to
 ‘according to the Holy Spirit’s word’

(adapted from Eloranta-Barrera Virhuez 2020: 115)

Adverbial phrases are not always discussed, but adverbial expressions in Quechuan varieties can certainly be phrasal. However, it seems that there is no specific structure for an adverbial phrase: they are either nominal (Example 53a), adjectival (Example 53b), postpositional (Example 53c), or clausal (Example 53d) structures.

(53) Huallaga Quechua

a. *Chaychaw kushisha quyashka: kimsa killa.*

{chay-chaw kushi-sha qoya-shka: kimsa killa}
 DEM-LOC be.happy-3.PERF pass.time-NARR.PST-1.SBJ three month
 ‘I remained there happily for three months.’

b. *mana alli timasha karpis*

{mana alli tima-sha ka-r-pis}
 not good speak-RES be-SUBIS-ADD
 ‘.. although I was spoken of badly.’

c. *pullan killachaw*

{pullan killa-chaw}
 half month-LOC
 ‘mid month’

d. *Karnabalpaq simana pishiykaptin*

{karnabal-paq simana pishi-yka-pti-n}
 carnival-PURP week lack-IPFV-SUBDS-3.SBJ
 ‘...one week before carnival...’

(adapted from Weber 1983: 63, 66, 60, 58)

This mixed character of adverbial phrases is a general property for the languages surveyed here. For most languages with a large enough database, multi-word adverbial expressions can be found, some of which are exemplified here in Examples (54) and (55). More research is needed to arrive at a better overview of adverbial phrases across Central Andean languages.

(54) Aymara

Xutiri mararu kutini:.

{xut(i)-iri mara-ru kuti-ni-:}
come-AG year-ALL return-CISL-1.SBJ.FUT
'I will return next year.'

(adapted from Cerrón-Palomino and Carvajal Carvajal 2009: 206)

(55) Chipaya

Haqa we:nş ti: ofisina khetta želcha.

{haqa	we:nz	ti:	ofisina	khet-ta	žel=cha}
tomorrow	early	DEM.M.PROX	office	open-INCEP	be=DECL
'Early tomorrow that office will be open.'					

(adapted from Cerrón-Palomino 2006: 209)

3. Clausal syntax

In this section I focus on syntactic patterns found in simple clausal structures, which are defined as constructions that are potentially multi-word and that are characterized by the presence of a verbal predicate. This definition excludes verbless clauses from the discussion. Verbless clauses include utterances that lack a predicate altogether, but also the much more common copular constructions. The latter are regarded as closely tied to the verb complex, which is why a description can be found in Pache (this volume).

In addition, the main focus in this section is on main declarative clauses. Central Andean languages certainly distinguish between declarative and other types of clauses, but this is mainly a matter of verbal morphology, so the reader is referred to Pache (this volume) for a treatment of these, too. I limit myself to discussing non-declarative clause types to the extent that they exhibit *syntactic* differences.¹⁵ Finally, this section treats simple clauses only. Complex sentences and dependent clauses are discussed in Section 4. Here, I first discuss linear structure of the clause in terms of constituent order in Section 3.1, before moving to clausal clitic placement in Section 3.2 and alignment systems in Section 3.3.

3.1. Constituent order

¹⁵ Central Andean languages predominantly use morphology, often in combination with intonation, to mark different clause types. In addition, most languages have special interrogative pronouns for content questions. Readers are referred to Pache (this volume) and Grzech (this volume) for more information on these issues.

All Central Andean languages distinguish between intransitive and transitive constructions, although this is not always a clearly lexically-based distinction, which would allow to say that intransitive and transitive verbs are lexical subclasses of verbs. Coler (this volume), for instance, mentions that the combinability of a verb with an object argument in Aymara is a matter of semantic compatibility and frequency, making the distinction between intransitive and transitive verbs a gradual, rather than a binary one. In Quechuan languages, a number of verbs seem to be labile in the sense that they may take an object argument, but they do not have to. This is for instance discussed for San Martín Quechua in Howkins (1977), who makes a distinction between intransitive, what she calls non-transitive (short for non-intransitive and non-transitive), and transitive verbs.¹⁶ The non-transitive verbs in her analysis include *miku-* ‘to eat’ and *upya-* ‘to drink’, but also verbs that facultatively take goal-like or adverbial-like complements marked with *-ta*, which is also found on direct objects. Because of considerations like these I will generally speak about intransitive or transitive constructions rather than verbs.

For Huallaga Quechua, Weber (1983: 18–9) gives frequency counts of different configurations, which are reproduced in Table 1, adapted for the purposes of this chapter.¹⁷

Table 1 Constituent order frequencies in Huallaga Quechua.

INTRANSITIVE CONSTRUCTIONS (n = 525)		
SV	212	40.4%
VS	68	13.0%
V	245	46.7%
TRANSITIVE CONSTRUCTIONS (n = 491)		
SOV ^a	44	9.0%
SVO	21	4.3%
OVS	13	2.6%
VSO/VOS	6	1.2%
SV[o]	47	9.6%
VS[o]	19	3.9%
OV[s]	145	29.5%
VO[s]	59	12.0%
V[s][o]	137	27.9%

¹⁶ She furthermore distinguishes complementary transitives (which take two non-subject arguments) and complementary intransitives, which take a non-direct complement.

¹⁷ Weber considers more cases (all in all 1,309) than the 1,016 presented here. These include a set of sentences without a predicate (69), and a number of sentences (224) with the predicate *ni-* ‘to say,’ which have special types of complements, neither of which are reported here. I come back to the latter category below, and disregard the group of clauses with no predicate.

^a Weber does not distinguish between SOV and OSV, he simply mentions that both S and O precede the verb, but from the text explaining the table in the original publication, it appears that all of these instances are in fact SOV. For the reverse situation, where both S and O follow the verb, it is not clear from the text what the individual frequencies of VSO and VOS are.

Source: Based on Weber (1983).

A number of conclusions can be drawn from Table 1, which can be generalized to Quechuan languages more generally:

- (i) Constituent order shows considerable freedom.
- (ii) There is a clear tendency not to express arguments overtly, in particular transitive subjects (dropped in about 70% of the cases).¹⁸
- (iii) When overtly expressed, there is a clear preference for subjects, both in intransitive (75.7%) and transitive (74.7%) constructions, as well as objects (70.1%) to precede the verb.

These tendencies are partly corroborated in an in-depth study of word order in Southern Conchucos Quechua by Hintz (2003), who found an even greater percentage of pro-drop in that only 6.6% of the transitive clauses had overt expression of both S and O. Of those, SOV and SVO order occur about equally often and both clearly more often than alternative orders (Hintz 2003: 24). When the position of overt S and O with respect to the verb are viewed separately, a clearer preference of SV (82%) over VS (18%) and OV (70%) over VO (30%) becomes clear (Hintz 2003: 26). These preferences hold for both conversations and narratives.

There are further reasons apart from frequency-based arguments to posit SOV, or at least a V-final constituent order for Quechuan. First, there are a number of clause types that are more rigidly SV, OV, or SOV, in particular adverbial subordinate clauses (see e.g. Weber 1983: 14; Lefebvre and Muysken 1988: 20–1; Hintz 2003: 28–32). In addition, deviations from SOV word order are often associated with pragmatic markedness or processing ease. For instance, Weber (1983) treats clauses headed by the verb *ni-* ‘to say’ separately because they show a deviant pattern in that they occur with postverbal O more often than other clauses (although the absolute numbers are very small). Weber explains this by the fact that speech complements tend to be long, and in order to facilitate processing, heavy elements are moved backwards. This is partly in line with findings in Hintz (2003), who mentions that Southern Conchucos Quechua allows for quite heavy NPs to precede the verb, but exceedingly long NPs tend to occur in postverbal position, as illustrated in Example (56).

(56) Southern Conchucos Quechua

I payqa musyanmi ari [imanaw nuqantsik imarikuq shunqu kashantsiktapis mana alli o alli shunqu kashantsiktapis]

{i pay-qa musya-n-mi ari

¹⁸ This is consistent with discourse tendencies discussed in Du Bois (1987), who argues that transitive subjects refer to known participants more often than intransitive subjects or objects, and are therefore more likely to be left unexpressed.

and he-TOP know-3.SBJ-EVD surely
 [ima-naw nuqa-ntsik ima-rikuq shunqu
 what-SIMUL I-1PL what-kind.of heart
 ka-sha-ntsik-ta-pis
 be-NMLZ-1PL.SBJ-ACC-ADD
 mana alli o alli shonqu ka-sha-ntsik-ta-pis]]
 not good or good heart be-NMLZ-1PL.SBJ-ACC-ADD
 'And he surely knows what kind of hearts we have, whether we are bad or good
 hearted.'
 (adapted from Hintz 2003: 59)

For Southern Conchucos Quechua, Hintz (2003: 35) mentions a number of further pragmatic or communicative functions of non-SOV word order. Postverbal arguments tend to refer to highlighted participants (e.g. because they are new or not highly activated, unexpected, or contrasted). Another set of reasons has to do with production factors: postverbal arguments may present an afterthought or appear in situations where the speaker has difficulty finding a word. Finally, postverbal arguments are used to mark the closure of a stretch of talk and to create suspense. A number of these findings for Southern Conchucos Quechua are corroborated for other variants, such as North Junín Quechua (Fuqua 1992) and Margos Quechua (Marsch 1993), both cited in Hintz (2003).

Deviant word orders involving fronted O participants, as illustrated in Example (57), are associated with thematization.

- (57) Southern Conchucos Quechua
Aha tsayta nuqapis liyira:mi.
 {Aha tsay-ta nuqa-pis liyi-ra:-mi.}
 oh.yeah DEM-ACC I-ADD read-PST-1.SBJ-EVD
 'Oh yeah. (As for that) I read it too.'
 (adapted from Hintz 2003: 60)

Related to this, interrogative pronouns appear in clause-initial position, potentially leading to OSV order as in Example (58) from Cuzco Quechua.¹⁹

- (58) Cuzco Quechua
Imatan pidru apanuran.
 {ima-ta-n pidru apa-nu-ra-n}
 what-ACC-EVD Pedro take-CISL-PST-3.SBJ
 'What did Pedro bring?'
 (adapted from Lefebvre and Muysken 1988: 54)

Quechuan grammars tend to be less committal about base positions of more peripheral constituents. It is clear that there is considerable freedom for these peripheral elements. The positioning of peripheral elements is likely at least partly governed by their scope, whereby e.g. manner or degree adverbs tend to precede the predicate directly, and adverbial expressions that present a setting for the entire proposition at the beginning of the clause, as in Example (59).

¹⁹ The original source analyzes the suffix *-n* on the first word of Example (58) as a third person marker, but it seems more likely that this is an evidential marker. I thank Matthias Urban for drawing my attention to this.

(59) North Junín Quechua

Chay wertučhu chay kancha Dyusninchi qunqanču. Chay Idenču aliska kushisham kawapa:kura Adanwan Eba.

{chay wertu-ču chay kancha Dyus-ninchi qu-nqa-n-ču.
DEM garden-LOC DEM corral God-1INCL.POSS give-NMLZ-3.SBJ-LOC
chay Iden-ču aliska kushi-sha-m kawa-pa:ku-ra Adan-wan Eba}
DEM Eden-LOC very happy-RES-ALL live-PLV-3.SBJ.PST Adam-COM Eva
'In that garden, in that encampment our God had given them, in that Eden, Adam and
Eve lived very happily.'
(adapted from Fuqua 1992: 103)

Nevertheless, exceptions to the scope-regulated placement of peripheral elements, such as the sentence in Example (60), can readily be found, clearly suggesting that there are further factors at play. It is reasonable to assume that peripheral elements underlie the same information-structural considerations as core arguments discussed above, although adverb placement in Quechuan clearly presents a research gap.

(60) Yauyos Quechua

Pasaypaq uyqaytapis puchukarun.

{pasaypaq uyqa-y-ta-pis puchuka-ru-n}
completely sheep-1.POSS-ACC-ADD finish-URGT-3.SBJ
'My sheep are completely finished.'
(adapted from Shimelman 2017: 85)

Lefebvre and Muysken (1988: 47) posit a hierarchical structure for the VP in Cuzco Quechua. It may include obliques and datives that may precede the direct object, while the whole VP follows the subject, as in the Example in (61).

(61) Cuzco Quechua

Xwancha iskay sulispi Mariyaman t'antata bindin.

{xwancha iskay sulis-pi mariya-man t'anta-ta bindi-n
Juan two soles-LOC Maria-ALL bread-ACC sell-3.SBJ
'Juan sells the bread to Maria for two soles.'
(adapted from Lefebvre and Muysken 1988: 46)

Their arguments for the hierarchical structure mainly focus on the fact that direct, indirect, and oblique objects can all be part of the VP, and not so much on the order of elements. Nevertheless, the structure seems to imply at least a basic ordering. This basic ordering is partly (oblique before direct object) implied by Plaza Martínez (2009) for Bolivian Quechua, when he presents Example (62b) as an alternative to the more neutral Example (62a), though without mentioning the specific effects of the reordering.

(62) Bolivian Quechua

a. *Rogelio kaypampapi sarata tarpunqa.*

{Rogelio kay pampa-pi sara-ta tarpu-nqa}
Rogelio DEM.PROX terrain-LOC maize-ACC sow-3.SBJ-FUT
'Rogelio will sow maize on this terrain.'

b. *kay pampapi tarpunqa sarata*

{kay pampa-pi tarpu-nqa sara-ta}
DEM.PROX terrain-LOC sow-3.SBJ.FUT maize-ACC

‘S/he will sow maize on this terrain.’ (adapted from Plaza Martínez 2009: 268)

The order subject–indirect object–direct object–verb is found in other varieties as well, e.g. in the Ancash Quechua example in (63), but is certainly not fixed either, as Example (64) from Tarma Quechua shows.

(63) Ancash Quechua

Warmi Pablota kashkita qurqan.

{warmi Pablo-ta kashki-ta qu-rqa-n}
woman Pablo-ACC soup-ACC give-PST-3.SBJ

‘The woman gave Pablo soup.’

(adapted from Parker 1976: 69)

(64) Tarma Quechua

Manam qamtachu quraq chay ani:llutaqa.

{manam qam-ta-chu qu-raq chay ani:llu-ta-qa}
NEG YOU-ACC-NEG give-1.SBJ.PST DEM.PROX ring-ACC-TOP

‘I did not give that ring to you.’

(adapted from Adelaar 1977: 188)

In short, although the basic ordering of SOV is generally accepted for Quechua varieties, the position of more peripheral arguments is less clear. Possibly, basic ordering of VP-internal dative and oblique arguments is oblique–dative–accusative–verb.

The situation in Aymaran languages is less well studied, and consequently less clear. Hardman (2000: 91, 2001: 183) claims for both Jaqaru and Aymara that word order is only significant within phrases, not clauses. The main clausal organizing principle in her view are the so-called sentence suffixes (to be discussed in more detail in Section 3.2), which indicate, among other things, clause type information and phrasal boundaries. Word order variation, in Hardman’s view, have stylistic functions, and she does not commit to stating a basic or unmarked word order.

In his discussion of parallel structures in Quechuan and Aymaran, on the other hand, Cerrón-Palomino (2008) claims that Aymara, like Quechuan, has an unmarked SOV order, combined with considerable freedom to form alternative orders. He mentions that all permutations of Example (65) are possible, but those which have preverbal O are more acceptable out of context than those that do not. All of the alternative orders require specific contexts.

(65) Aymara

Anu kaway achthapi.

{anu kaway(u)-c∅ achu-cthap(i)-i}
dog horse-ACC bite-CC-3.SBJ.3.OBJ.SIM

‘The dog bites the HORSE.’

(Cerrón-Palomino 2008: 183–4)

Apart from general acceptability, an argument that Cerrón-Palomino advances for considering SOV to be the basic word order is that non-SOV orders become more acceptable if information structure markers are added to it. More specifically, the declarative marker -*wa* on the clause-initial element and a topic marker -*χa* on the subject (unless it is

preposed), give the clause specific pragmatic profiles (reflected in the free translations) and make the utterances more acceptable.²⁰

(66) Aymara

- a. *Kawayuw anuxa achthapi.*

{kawayu- $\emptyset$ -w(a) anu- χ a achu- c thap(i)-i}
horse-ACC-DECL dog-TOP bite-CC-3.SBJ.3.OBJ.SIM

'It is the horse (and not another animal) that the dog bites.'

- b. *Achthapiw anuxa kaway.*

{ach- c thap(i)-i-w(a) anu- χ a kaway(u)- c $\emptyset$ }
bite-CC-3.SBJ.3.OBJ.SIM-DECL dog-TOP horse-ACC

'It is biting that the dog does to the horse.'

(adapted from Cerrón-Palomino 2008: 185)

An additional argument for basic SOV order in Aymaran languages (apart from the circumstantial evidence that head-finality is found in other phrasal constructions) is that subordinate clauses, like In Quechuan, have a more rigid SOV order.

Cerrón-Palomino (2009: 206) suggests that adverbs in Aymara modify either the clause or the verb, and tend to precede the object within their scope. The position of non-direct objects directly licensed by verbs is less clear, but the Aymara examples in (67) suggest that a relative order similar to Quechuan is at least possible, and no comments are made by the author suggesting the order is marked.

(67) Aymara

- a. *Mariya pampana anataski.*

{Mariya pampa-na anata-sk(a)-i}
María field-LOC play-PROG-3.SBJ.SIM

'María is playing in the field.'

- b. *Warmixa tatamar k'us churi.*

{warmi- χ a tata-ma-r(u) k'us(a)- c $\emptyset$ chur(a)-i}
woman-TOP father-2.POSS-ALL chicha-ACC give-3.SBJ.3.OBJ.SIM

'The woman gave chicha to your father.'

(adapted from Cerrón-Palomino 2009: 206, 208)

Constituent order in Uru and Chipaya is similar to Quechuan and Aymaran in that the basic order seems to be SOV, but with considerable freedom. Since in Uru and Chipaya, unlike in Quechuan and Aymaran, there is no formal marking of core case roles, constituent order is one of the clues to grammatical relations in the clause. However, the presence of a topic marker on the subject, much like in Aymaran (and also Quechuan), can take on a disambiguating function, especially in cases where there are two potential agents (Cerrón-

²⁰ The pragmatically marked interpretations are in fact caused by the markers, and not the deviant orders, as SOV utterances with *-wa* and *- χ a* marking (which may appear on any of the constituents) receive the same interpretation as a focalized *-wa* constituent and topicalized *- χ a* constituent.

Palomino 2006: 220).²¹ For Uru, Hannß (2008: 277) furthermore mentions that, in spite of the word order freedom, it has a strong tendency to place the verb in final position.

Non-direct objects precede direct objects in Uru-Chipaya (Cerrón-Palomino 2006: 220, Hannß 2008: 276), as exemplified in (68) for Uru.

- (68) Uru
wir-i=l tu:s-wintani tek'kus na=chay
 I-EP=EMPH balsa.raft-into stick put=DECL
 'I put the stick [to push the raft] into the balsa raft.'

(adapted from Hannß 2008: 276)

Hannß (2008: 259) mentions that adverbs in Uru are found in one of four possible positions: clause-initial, clause final, directly preceding the element it modifies, or directly following it, whereby post-positioned adverbs (clause-final or post-head) are less common than their pre-positioned counterparts. Clause pairs like the ones in (69) possibly suggest that scope plays a role, but we cannot be certain.

- (69) Uru
 a. *Sik-charku k'uya tax=chay*
 north/up-DIR house cover=DECL
 'Above, the house is covered.'
 b. *Ni-s ho-charku uxk=chay*
 S/he=EMPH down-DIR go=DECL
 'She descends.'

(adapted from Hannß 2008: 254)

For Chipaya, Cerrón-Palomino (2006: 206) posits the unmarked order in (70).

- (70) Unmarked clausal order in Chipaya
 (adpositional phrase) – locative – indirect object – direct object

Accordingly, the order in Example (71a) is basic, and Examples (71 b-e) are variants that serve more specific communicative goals of the speaker (although which ones remains undiscussed)

- (71) Chipaya
 a. *Seskhu Huwan-žtan Orur-kin thon-chi-n=cha.*
 yesterday Juan-COM Oruro-LOC/ALL.DIST come-PST-1SG.PRS=DECL
 'Yesterday I arrived with Juan in Oruro.'
 b. *Seskhu Orur-kin Huwan-žtan thon-chi-n=cha.*
 c. *Orur-kin Huwan-žtan thon-chi-n=cha seskhu.*
 d. *Huwan-žtan Orur-kin thon-chi-n=cha seskhu.*
 e. *Thon-chi-n=cha Huwan-žtan Orur-kin seskhu.*

(adapted from Cerrón-Palomino 2006: 206)

²¹ Note that, like in Quechuan and Aymaran languages, the topic marker in Uru-Chipaya languages is not restricted to subjects. However, the subject NP does seem to be the default, or most common host.

Conclusions on the constituent order in the extinct languages for which we rely on limited written sources is very difficult, also because we cannot assess the influence of transcribers, and because the type of texts recorded may be rather formal. These languages are therefore only briefly summarized here, keeping in mind that the conclusions are uncertain.

Cholón²² is regarded as predominantly SOV (Alexander-Bakkerus 2005: 147), with the possibility for a postverbal, topic-marked subject (Alexander-Bakkerus, this volume). It seems that postpositional objects precede the verb, as shown in the Examples in (72), as do adverbs.

(72) Cholón

- a. <virgen santa Maria mannap masôu>
 {virgen Santa Maria-man-ap ø-maso-w}
 virgin Saint Mary-INESS-ABL 3SG.SBJ-be.born-PST
 ‘He was born from the virgin Saint Mary’.
- b. <apatup aanan>
 {a-pa-tu-p a-an-an}
 1SG.POSS-father-ADESS-ABL 1SG.SBJ-come-IPFV
 ‘I come from my father’s house.’

(adapted from De la Mata 2007[1748]: 54, 192, Alexander-Bakkerus 2005: 144, 149)

Emlen et al. (this volume) note that Puquina constituent order is characterized by a final position of the predicate, with its arguments to the left. The position of the subject, which is often dropped, is less certain, although there are reasons to assume that SOV was in fact the basic order, given that deviations from that order often had a marked subject participant. Question words are clause-initial, which can also cause constituent orders other than SOV.

Muysken (2009: 162) mentions that Kallawayaya constituent order is similar to Quechua in that it prefers head-finality, both in the NP and in the clause. This is illustrated in Example (73a) for the clause, although, like in Quechuan languages, there seems to be flexibility, as shown by Example (73b).²³

(73) Kallawayaya

- a. <chuinin usi-pichu wanaku-rka-n>
 he house-LOC decorate-PST-3.SBJ
 ‘He decorated the house.’
- b. <Iktara-rka-n nisi-pichu>
 deceive-PST-3.SBJ I-LOC
 ‘He deceived me.’

(adapted from Muysken 2009: 157)

Mochica is characterized by Eloranta-Barrera Virhuez (2020) as a language with a preferred SVO/VS order, although constituent order is free. She reports that Torero (2002) identifies three word order patterns in his data of Mochica –SVO, VSO, and OSV–, although the examples for the latter two orders involve encliticized (second position) subject markers, as in the example in (74).

²² There is not enough data for Híbito to say anything about constituent order with confidence, but Alexander-Bakkerus (this volume) assumes that Híbito was verb-final.

²³ Kallawayaya allows for some direct objects to be marked as locatives, see Section 3.3 below.

(74) Mochica

<Pup=eiñ met mæiñ an ai-næm>
 wood=1SG bring 1SG.OBL house do-PURP

‘Wood I bring to build my house.’ (adapted from Eloranta-Barrera Virhuez 2020: 164)

In summary, SOV, or at least head-finality, dominates in the Central Andes, although languages also have considerable freedom to deviate from that basic order. The main exception is Mochica, which seems to be predominantly SVO.

3.2. Clitic placement

Most languages of the Central Andes have a set of bound markers with hardly any host selection restrictions. These markers generally have functions that apply at the clause-level, to do with information structure, certainty, evidentiality, etc. I will not go into the morphosemantic aspects of these markers here –for that, the reader is referred to Pache’s contribution in this volume– but I will describe their placement principles, which are arguably syntactic rather than morphological.

As mentioned in Section 1, Quechuan languages have a number of bound morphemes that can attach to either nouns or verbs (as well as other lexical classes). These are generally referred to as “independent suffixes” in the Quechuanist descriptive tradition (see Landerman, this volume). I will here refer to them as clitics, because that is more in line with typological traditions. They fall into several subclasses on the basis of their function (e.g. evidential, validation, topic/focus, etc.; see Pache, this volume for a discussion of the morphosemantics), but also –the focus here– on the basis of their distribution. A major distinction is between those clitics whose default position is towards the beginning of the clause, and those whose position seems to be purely scope-determined. As will be seen, the first group, which I will term “second-position clitics” for convenience, also has characteristics of the second, which we might call “floating clitics.” Strictly speaking, there is a third category, which we might call “phrasal clitics,” which attach to a phrase boundary, but which are not free to attach to just any phrase.

In the remainder of this section, however, I focus on second-position and floating clitics, which show the most interesting behaviour. Starting with the latter, in his description of Cuzco Quechua, Cusihuamán (1976: 254–60) describes a group of clitics he calls “specificational clitics.” These clitics can attach to one or more elements in the clause, and their distribution seems to be scope-determined. These clitics interact with their hosts more than other clitics in that they have slightly different effects depending on the host they attach to. This becomes clear if we contrast Example (75a) with Example (75b), where the enclitic *-lla* ‘limitative’ attaches to an argument in Example (75a) and to the main verb in Example (75b).²⁴

(75) Cuzco Quechua

a. *Nuqallan wasipiq qhipakurqani.*

²⁴ The original source analyzes the sequence *-ykun* in *rillaykun* in Example (75b) as a single morpheme, but comparative evidence from Cuzco Quechua suggests that this is best analyzed as *-yku-n*, since *-yku* refers to the 1st person inclusive elsewhere. The most likely interpretation of *-n* is the evidential marker. I thank Nick Emlen for help with the analysis of this example.

- {nuqa-lla-n wasi-pi-qa qhipa-ku-rqa-ni}
 I-LIM-EVD house-LOC-TOP stay-REFL-PST-1.SBJ
 'I alone stayed in the house.'
- b. *Qusquta rillaykun sapa sawarunpas.*
 {qusqu-ta ri-lla-yku-n sapa sawarun-pas}
 Cuzco-ACC go-LIM-1.EXCL-EVD each Saturday-ADD
 'Each Saturday we (excl.) go to Cuzco.' (adapted from Cusihamán 1976: 255)

Note that *-lla* precedes person inflection in Example (75b), which casts some doubt on its clitic status. The specificational clitics in Cuzco Quechua precede all other enclitics, and seem generally closest to affixes. In fact, given the differential (but certainly related) effects of *-lla* depending on the host, an alternative analysis is possible where different suffixes *-lla* are posited, each connected to a particular host. It is beyond the scope of this contribution to answer which analysis is preferable, suffice to say that markers like *-lla* (perhaps together with the case markers) are the closest to canonical affixes.

Most attention has been given in the literature to topic and focus clitics in Quechua. These have the peculiar characteristic that they show distributional behavior associated with second-position clitics as well as with floating clitics. This can be seen in Examples (76a) and (76b), where the evidential/focus clitic appears *in situ* in (76a), and on the first constituent in (76b). The focus effect is unambiguously triggered in the former case, while (76b) remains ambiguous with respect to its information-structural profile.

(76) Cuzco Quechua

- a. *Pidru wasitan ruwan.*
 {Pidru wasi-ta-n ruwa-n}
 Pedro house-ACC-EVD make-3.SBJ
 'It is a house that Pedro builds.'
- b. *Pidrun wasita ruwan.*
 {Pidru-n wasi-ta ruwa-n}
 Pedro-EVD house-ACC make-3.SBJ
 'It is Pedro that builds a house.' / 'Pedro builds a house.'
- (adapted from Muysken 1995: 380)

Similarly, the topic marker *-qa* can be found on the first constituent (Example 77a), or *in situ* (Example 77b).

(77) Cuzco Quechua

- a. *[Wasitaqa] Pirdum ruwarqan.*
 {[Wasi-ta-qa] Pidru-m ruwa-rqa-n}
 House-ACC-TOP Pedro-FOC/EVD build-PST-3.SBJ
 'The house, Pedro built.'
- b. *Pidru-m [wasi-ta-qa] ruwa-rqa-n*
 Pedro-FOC/EVD house-ACC-TOP build-PST-3
 'It was Pedro who built the house'
- (adapted from Sánchez 2010: 31)

Nevertheless, there are a few differences between topic markers and focus/evidential markers. First, whereas focus/evidential markers are restricted to appearing only once per clause, clauses can have more than one topic marker. This is shown in Example (78).

- (78) Cuzco Quechua
[Runaqa] [wasitaqa] ruwarqan.
 {[Runa-qa] [wasi-ta-qa] ruwa-rqa-n}
 Man-TOP house-ACC-TOP build-PST-3.SBJ
 'As for the man, he built the house.' (adapted from Sánchez 2010: 32)

A second difference is that, whereas the evidential markers can appear *in situ* independently of other morphosyntactic marking of information structure, *in situ* (or non-second-position) topic marking seems to be allowed when the first constituent is "occupied" by a discourse marker, either a focus clitic (as in Example 77b) or another topic marker (as in Example 78). The utterance in Example (79) is ungrammatical because it fails to meet this condition, having a first constituent that is unmarked for information structure.

- (79) Cuzco Quechua
 {*Mariya wasi-ta-qa riku-rqa-n}
 Maria house-ACC-TOP see-PST-3SG
 Intended: 'Maria saw the house.' (adapted from Sánchez 2010: 32)

Third, while focus markers cannot appear to the right of the verb, topic markers can do this, as Example (80) shows.

- (80) Cuzco Quechua
 a. {*Mariya Xwana-man qu-n libru-ta-n}
 Maria Juana-ALL give-3.SBJ book-ACC-FOC/EVD
 'It is the book that Maria gives to Juana'
 b. *Pirdum ruwarqan wasitaqa.*
 {Pidru-m ruwa-rqa-n wasi-ta-qa}
 Pedro-FOC/EVD build-PST-3 house-ACC-TOP
 'It is Pedro who built the house'
 (adapted from Muysken 1995: 383; Sánchez 2010: 37)

Furthermore, while the focus markers only appear on main clause constituents, the topic marker may also appear on subordinate clause constituents (although these may not be extracted from the subordinate clause). Example (81) illustrates this.

- (81) Cuzco Quechua
[Huwanpa papataqa mikusqan chayta] yachani.
 {[Huwan-pa papa-ta-qa miku-sqa-n chay-ta] yacha-ni}
 [Juan-GEN potato-ACC-TOP eat-NMLZ-3.SBJ that-ACC] know-1.SBJ
 'I know that, potatoes, Juan eats.' (adapted from Sánchez 2010: 44)

Finally, while focus markers are not found in imperatives, topic markers are.

In summary, clausal clitic placement in Quechuan is, to some degree, scope-driven, but some clausal clitics, relating to information structure, seem to have a default position after the first constituent of the clause. Topic markers have more positional freedom in that, unlike focus markers, they may appear more than once in a clause, they may appear in imperatives, and they may appear on constituents of subordinate clauses. On the other hand, topic markers are less free in that they can only appear *in situ* if the first constituent is “occupied” by an information structure marker, while focus markers have no such condition.

In Aymaran languages, a distinction can be made between so-called “independent suffixes” and “sentence suffixes.” Independent suffixes attach to stems (or in some cases after inflectional morphology), but they are not bound to a particular lexical class.²⁵ In these respects, these independent suffixes are reminiscent of the specificational markers in Quechuan. This likeness includes some of the functions and even the forms of the markers (the emphatic *-puni* is found in languages from both families). One of the independent suffixes in Aymaran languages is delimitative *-ki*:

(82) Muylaq’ Aymara

Akakamakiw.

{aka-kama-ki-w(a)}

here-LIM-DL-DECL

‘Just as far as here.’

(adapted from Coler 2014: 522)

In addition to these independent suffixes, Aymaran languages have markers whose positioning follows syntactic principles in that they appear at the end of the phrase. Coler (2014) provides the most detailed description of these markers in Muylaq’ Aymara, so I will focus on that variety.

Muylaq’ Aymara has 11 phrasal suffixes, which attach to the final element of phrases. Two of these, additive *-sa* and confirmatory *-pi*, are restricted to noun phrases, whereas the others are freer with respect to the type of phrase they attach to. Functionally, these markers code topicality, illocution, polarity, and speaker stance. The topic marker *-χa*, formally similar to Quechuan *-qa*, can occur multiple times in a sentence, just like its Quechuan counterpart. Example (83) illustrates this behavior.

(83) Muylaq’ Aymara

Xaniw t’una ch’uqix xupatakix manq’akchitiχ.

{xani-w(a) t’una ch’uqi-χ(a) xupa-taki-χ(a) manq’a-∅-c(k(a))-cch(i)-i-ti-χ(a)}
no-DECL small potato-TOP he-BEN-TOP food-COP.VBLZ-NCOMPL-EVC-3.SBJ.SIM-
NEG/Q-TOP

‘For him, a small potato is not food.’

(adapted from Coler 2014: 535)

In contrast to its Quechuan counterpart, there seems to be no special connection of the phrasal suffixes to the second position of the clause, nor to a condition that non-initial topic marking requires that the first constituent is marked for information structure.

²⁵ The position of these suffixes within a word allows for some variation, with consequences for the interpretation (see e.g. Coler 2014: 516).

Aymaran languages do not seem to have a direct counterpart for the Quechuan focus/evidential clitics at first sight, but the declarative marker *-wa* is in complementary distribution with the conjectural evidential *-chi* which by implication would give *-wa* an additional overtone of certainty or affirmation, not unlike the Cuzco Quechuan opposition between the opposition between the direct evidential *-mi* and the dubitative *-cha*, although not completely equivalent either.²⁶ In addition, the declarative marker has additional functionality as a focus marker in Aymara, as seen in Example (84).

- (84) Muylaq' Aymara
Qamaqiw lawrunsitaspha.
 {qamaqi-w(a) lawrun(a)-sitaspha}
 fox-DECL rob-3.SBJ.1.INCL.OBJ.CF
 'It was FOX who must have robbed us.' (adapted from Coler 2014: 538)

There are some further interesting (near-)parallels with the Quechuan information structure markers. First, as mentioned above, topic markers can appear several times in a clause, whereas there can only be one focused constituent in the clause (Coler 2014: 540). Second, the declarative *-wa* cannot appear in imperatives, whereas the topic marker *-χa* apparently can combine with imperatives:

- (85) Muylaq' Aymara
"iXumaχa manq't'asirakim!" chachapaχ churarakch.
 {xuma-χ(a) manq'(a)-ct'a-si-raki-m(a) chacha-pa-χ(a) chura-rak(i)-ch(i)-(i)}
 you-TOP eat-MOM-REFL-ADD-2.SBJ.IMP husband-3.POSS-TOP give-ADD-EVC-3.SBJ.SIM
 "You eat too!" her husband must've given it to her, too'
 (adapted from Coler 2014: 694)

Moreover, there seems to be a syntagmatic interaction between the declarative/focus marker and the topic marker, which is not quite the same as in Quechuan. In (Muylaq') Aymara, the presence of a declarative marker on a noun phrase often triggers the appearance of the topic marker on the verb, as in Example (86a), while the presence of the declarative marker on a notional adjective triggers the topic marker on the head noun, as in Example (86b).

- (86) Muylaq' Aymara
 a. *Xumaruw thaqasmaχa.*
 {xuma-ru-w(a) thaqa-sma-χa}
 you-ALL-DECL search-1.SBJ.2.OBJ.SIM-DECL
 'It's you that I am looking for.'
 b. *Sinti xach'aw lakamaχa.*
 {Sinti xach'a-w(a) laka-ma-χa}
 very big-DECL mouth-2.POSS-TOP
 'Your mouth is very big.' (adapted from Coler 2014: 536–7)

²⁶ In Aymara, the reportative, which is part of the evidential clitic paradigm in Quechuan, is marked with a different, periphrastic construction involving the verb *sa* 'to say,' which combines with the declarative marker (Coler 2014: 541). This is clearly different from the situation in Quechuan (although Quechuan languages have periphrastic means to express reported speech as well).

In short, the Quechuan and Aymaran system of marking information structure has some interesting (near) parallels. The main difference from a syntactic point of view seems to be that the second position plays no role in the placement of the information structure-encoding clitics in Aymaran, whereas it does in Quechuan.

Uru and Chipaya show clear similarities with the Quechuan and Aymaran situation. Uru has a declarative marker *=chay* and a topic marker *=ki*, which are mutually exclusive. This is reminiscent of the situation in Aymaran. Hannß (2008: 134) remarks that these markers “functionally resemble Aymara *-wa* and *-xa* and Quechua *-mi* and *-qa*”, as they, as Hannß (2008: 269) goes on to state, “fulfil the function of focus and topic marking.” A third clause-level enclitic is the affirmative *=pini*, which closely resembles the emphatic marker *-puni/pini* in Quechuan and Aymaran, and is in fact identified as a loan from Aymara by (Hannß 2008: 273). With respect to their syntactic distribution, *=chay* and *=pini* occur in declarative clauses only. The default position for *=chay* is on the verb, but when it appears on other elements, it puts them into focus. The position of the topic marker *=ki* seems to be entirely scope-related, but new topics (and by extension the topic marker) appear at the end of the clause (Hannß 2008: 272). In addition, unlike the other two clause-level clitics, *=ki* can appear in imperatives. The affirmative *=pini* seems to have the closest connections to the host, since its interpretation depends on the host it appears on: it functions as an emphatic marker on nominal elements, but as a degree marker or intensifier on modifiers. All three markers seem to be classifiable as floating clitics whose position is scope-determined.

Apart from these clause-level clitics, Uru has a set of personal clitics, which have no counterpart in Quechuan and Aymaran languages. Their placement principles are not entirely clear, but their preferred position is on the element they refer to (Example 87a), though this is not necessarily the case (Example 87b). As can be seen in Example (87b), they may be the only element in the clause to refer to a particular participant, but they mainly seem to have an emphatic function. The person clitics can appear in main and subordinate clauses as well as in declaratives, interrogatives, and imperatives (Hannß 2008: 274–5), though largely restricted to present and future contexts.

(87) Uru

- | | | | | |
|----|-------------------------------|-----------------------|---------------------|--------------------------------|
| a. | <i>Wir-i=</i> | <i>wat'ta-kistani</i> | <i>pich-a=chay.</i> | |
| | 1SG-EP-EMPH | village-ABL | come-FUT=DECL | |
| | ‘I come from the village.’ | | | |
| b. | <i>Wali=pini=</i> | <i>tarut=chay.</i> | | |
| | much-ASS-EMPH | scold=DECL | | |
| | ‘(S)he scolded much with me.’ | | | (adapted from Hannß 2008: 274) |

Cerrón-Palomino (2006: 166–80) describes a much richer clitic system for Chipaya that contains more than 20 markers. These include the declarative *=cha*, the certainty and precision marker *=pani*, and the topic marker *=ki* which are also found in Uru, but many more in addition. These markers express e.g. illocutionary force, epistemic (un)certainty, evidentiality, emotional stance, information structure, and emphasis. Their syntactic positioning is not clear, but judging from the examples, many occur clause-finally, but most may also appear in other positions, presumably based on scope. As is the case for Quechuan varieties and Aymara, these enclitics differ from each other in their position in the

morphological template, with *=pani* appearing closest to the root, often before inflection. Among the Chipaya enclitics Cerrón-Palomino (2006: 166–8) also mentions a set of 4 so-called “enunciative” enclitics, which, in addition to expressing illocutionary force, epistemic access, and emotional stance, also focalize elements of the clause, forming a contrastive pair with the topic marker *=ki*. Interestingly, the declarative marker, whose default position seems to be clause final, swaps place with the topic marker in certain constructions such as impersonal prohibitives, comparatives, and existentials, again showing the positional interplay between focus and topic markers. The examples in (88) illustrate this.

(88) Chipaya [URU-CHIPAYAN],

a. *Ana=cha lul-s=ki*

NEG-DECL eat-REFL=TOP

‘No eating!’

b. *Wer=cha thaax-n-iñ-t=ki.*

I-DECL teach-EP-HAB-VBLZ=TOP

‘I am the one who teaches.’

(adapted from Cerrón-Palomino 2006: 176)

Like Uru, Chipaya also has personal clitics. The paradigm is more elaborate than in Uru, consisting of five person-number combinations, and an equivalent set for interrogatives. Besides marking potential agreement with several controllers (subject, object, oblique, adjunct), the markers seem to have a focalizing or saliency effect on the host they attach to (Hannß, this volume, refers to them as salience-marking clitics).

The situation for the other Central Andean languages is less clear, which is obviously related to the limited amount of material available for them. Like Uru-Chipaya languages, Mochica has a set of person enclitics as well, which seem to have a default location in the second position of the clause, and can attach to a variety of hosts. The enclitics are mutually exclusive with independent pronouns (Eloranta-Barrera Virhuez 2020: 208). They are interpreted as person-marked copula particles by Hovdhaugen (2004: 35).

For Puquina, Emlen et al. (this volume) discuss a number of clause-level morphemes that can be considered clitics on the basis of the fact that they are bound elements that can attach to different types of hosts, although their placement principles are not very clear. Judging from the examples, at least some of these markers can be considered floating clitics, others may have a preference for the second position, but it is impossible to tell definitively based on the existing data. Functionally, many of the semantic fields covered by these clitics in Puquina correspond to those marked by clitics in Quechuan and Aymaran languages (e.g. topic, declarative, additive). Interestingly, Emlen et al. explicitly mention the mobile character of the declarative marker, which suggests to them that this marker was involved in marking information structure. Although this remains uncertain, it would provide another parallel with Quechuan, Aymaran, and Uru-Chipaya. Puquina may also have possessive person clitics, but it is unclear whether these should be analyzed as separate words or not (Adelaar and Van de Kerke 2009: 126). If they are analyzed as clitics, they would be proclitics, which is reminiscent, also given the forms, of Arawakan languages (see also Section 2.1.1.).

The situation in Híbito and Cholon is unclear. Alexander-Bakkerus (this volume) suggests that a number of case markers, as well as some clause-level markers can be considered clitics, but it is not clear on what grounds.

Summarizing, there are clear signs of convergence between the clitic systems of Quechuan, Aymaran, Uru-Chipaya, and Puquina in terms of function and sometimes form, but there are a few differences with respect to the placement principles. Although most languages seem to have floating clitics whose placement is determined by their scope, the second position seems to play an important role for some of the Quechuan clitics, and possibly the clause-final position plays a more important role in Chipaya. Uru-Chipaya languages, Mochica, and possibly Puquina have personal clitics, but the differences between them seem to be too significant to connect them historically.

3.3. Main clause morphosyntactic alignment

In this section, I focus on alignment as evidenced by case marking and verbal indexing in main clauses in the active voice. I will make reference to voice alternations where they may have a bearing on morphosyntactic alignment marking only. For a more complete overview of voice distinctions in Central Andean languages, the reader is referred to Pache (this volume).

Quechuan languages can be, and have been, characterized as having nominative-accusative morphosyntactic alignment. In terms of case marking, subjects (A/S) are unmarked, and objects (P) are marked with *-ta*, as shown in the examples in (89) from Ancash Quechua.

(89) Ancash Quechua

- a. *Pablo punuykarqan.*
 {Pablo punu-yka-rqa-n}
 Pablo sleep-PROG-PST-3.SBJ
 ‘Pablo was sleeping.’
- b. *Pablo yakuta upyaykan.*
 {Pablo yaku-ta upya-yka-n}
 Pablo water-ACC drink-PROG-3.SBJ
 ‘Pablo is drinking water.’

(adapted from Parker 1976: 68)

It must be noted, however, that *-ta* has a much broader use. For North Junín Quechua, Adelaar (1977: 188–90) mentions that it marks recipients/addressees, goals/locations, temporal expressions, expressions of quantity, as well as some interesting special interactional uses in Tarma Quechua. Nevertheless, the fact that S/A participants are unmarked and P participants marked is still consistent with an accusative alignment analysis.²⁷

Verbal agreement, moreover, also largely follows a nominative-accusative pattern, although this is less straightforward than case marking. For Ancash Quechua, Parker (1976) describes a paradigm that is partly morphologically transparent (see Pache, this volume for a more detailed discussion of verb agreement patterns). The paradigm is rendered in tabular form in Table 2, where the grey cells refer to reflexive scenarios.

²⁷ The marking patterns are different for nominalized subordinate clauses. I come back to this in Section 4. Note also that Quechuan languages have experiencer constructions that look like inverse impersonal verbs, where the experiencer is marked with the accusative marker.

Table 2 present tense verbal person marking in Ancash Quechua

A↓	P→	1	2	3	1.INCL	S
1			<i>-q</i>	<i>-:</i>		<i>-:</i>
2		<i>-ma:-nki</i>		<i>-nki</i>		<i>-nki</i>
3		<i>-ma:-n</i>	<i>-shu-nki</i>	<i>-n</i>	<i>-ma:-ntsik</i>	<i>-n</i>
1.INCL				<i>-ntsik</i>		<i>-ntsik</i>

Source: Adapted from Parker (1976: 106).

Although not straightforward with respect to the interpretation in terms of morphosyntactic alignment, these patterns are most in line with accusative alignment. First, scenarios involving 3rd person objects always yield subject marking that is identical to the verbal agreement triggered by intransitive subjects. Second, there seems to be a 1st person object marker *-ma:* that combines with the regular subject agreement, as well as a 2nd person object marker *-shu*, which is overruled by a portmanteau marker in the scenario in which a 1st person acts on a 2nd person. The interpretation of the 1st person inclusive acting on a 3rd person with *-ma:-ntsik* is not transparent, although comparative evidence suggests that the element *tsik* can be regarded as adding a 2nd person participant (see e.g. Ebina 2012 for the Cuzco Quechua cognate form *-chis*). All in all, therefore, the verbal paradigm also points to a nominative-accusative system.²⁸

Ditransitive constructions in Quechuan languages follow a slightly more intricate pattern when it comes to alignment, as Quechuan languages show signs of all three major ditransitive alignment types (Haspelmath 2015). This is shown in the set of examples in (90) and (91).

(90) Cuzco Quechua

- a. *Carlos nuqaman mikhunata quwan.*
{Carlos nuqa-man mikhuna-ta qu-wa-n}
Carlos I-ALL food-ALL give-1.OBJ-3.SBJ
‘Carlos gives/gave me food.’
- b. *Taytaykiwan mamaykiwan nuqaman qanta quwanqa.*
{tayta-yki-wan mama-yki-wan nuqa-man qan-ta qu-wa-nqa}
father-2.POSS-COM mother-2.POSS-COM I-ALL you-ACC give-1.OBJ-3.SBJ.FUT
‘Your father and mother will give you to me.’
- c. *{tayta-yki-wan mama-yki-wan nuqa-man qan-ta
father-2.POSS-COM mother-2.POSS-COM I-ALL 2SG-ACC
qu-sunki}
give-3.SBJ.2.OBJ

(adapted from Ebina 2012: 210, 214)

²⁸ Adelaar (2009) suggests that the Quechua verbal object markers can alternatively be interpreted as involving inverse marking in some variants. I thank an anonymous reviewer for drawing my attention to this.

In Example (90a), the case marking distinguishes the recipient (*-man*) from the theme (*-ta*), and equates the theme with direct objects, which is also marked with *-ta*, following an indirective alignment pattern. However, the verb agrees with the recipient through object marking, following a secundative pattern. That this is not an animacy effect is shown in Examples (90b) and (90c), where both the theme and recipient are animate.

In addition, Quechuan varieties have, next to indirective constructions, double object constructions (neutral ditransitive alignment), where both the theme and recipient are marked with the accusative marker. This is exemplified for North Junín Quechua in Example (91), repeated from Example (64) above.

(91) Tarma Quechua

Manam qamtachu quraq chay ani:llutaqa.

{manam qam-ta-chu qu-raq chay ani:llu-ta-qa}

NEG you-ACC-NEG give-1.SBJ.PST DEM.PROX ring-ACC-TOP

'I did not give that ring to you.'

(adapted from Adelaar 1977: 188)

Kallawaya largely follows the case-marking and verbal person marking patterns of Quechuan languages (Muysken 2009, this volume), but it has a locative marker *-pichu* (a Kallawaya-specific variant of the locative *-pi*) which can apparently be used in some circumstances to mark direct objects, as in Example (92).

(92) Kallawaya

<Iktara-rka-n nisi-pichu.>

deceive-PST-3.SBJ I-LOC

'He deceived/fooled me.'

(adapted from Muysken 2009: 157)

Aymaran languages can also be classified as having nominative-accusative alignment. This hinges mainly on the fact that objects are marked by the typologically very unusual process of subtractive morphology, as stem-final vowels are suppressed (except when marked with the declarative marker) to indicate their function of direct object. Vowel suppression is found in several parts of Aymaran grammar. One type of vowel suppression is triggered by suffixes that are lexically specified to suppress the preceding vowel. The accusative, in this vein, is interpreted as subtractive disfixation (Coler et al. 2020). I follow the notational convention to gloss the accusative as *-c∅*.²⁹

(93) Muylaq' Aymara

Wank'uch manq'anttxa.

{wank'uch(u)-c∅ manq'a-nt(a)-c-t-χa}

guinea.pig-ACC eat-IW-1.SBJ.SIM.3.SBJ.OBJ-TOP

'I eat guinea pig.'

(adapted from Coler 2014: 206)

As in Quechuan languages, the function of the accusative marker is broader than in many other languages, including marking the goal of a movement verb, as seen in Example (94).

²⁹ Coler et al. (2020) note that marking accusative by vowel suppression is not found in the available material on historical Aymara. It may, therefore, be a relatively recent phenomenon. Jaqaru marks the accusative with *-xa*, which alternates with the zero marker (Coler, this volume)

(94) Muylaq' Aymara

Qull sartχ.

{qull(u)-c∅ sar(a)-t-χ(a)}
 mountain-ACC go-1.SBJ.SIM-TOP
 'I went to the mountains.'

(adapted from Coler 2014: 211)

Ditransitive verbs follow an indirective alignment when it comes to case marking, as in Example (95a), but, like in Quechuan, verb agreement is determined by the subject and the recipient, as becomes clear in Example (95b).

(95) Muylaq' Aymara

a. *Xupaχ t'ant' xupar churix.*

{xupa-χ(a) t'ant'(a)-c∅ xupa-r(u) chur(a)-i-χ(a)}
 she-TOP bread-ACC she-ALL give-3.SBJ.3.OBJ.SIM-TOP
 'She gives bread to her.'

b. *iTump churita!*

{tump(u)-c∅ chur(a)-ita}
 tumbo.fruit-ACC give-2SBJ.1.OBJ.SIM
 'Give me a tumbo fruit!'

(adapted from Coler 2014: 220, 206)

Continuing on the topic of person marking and alignment, Table 3 renders the verbal person markers of Jaqaru as outlined in Hardman (2000: 56) in the present tense (for more information on the full person marking system, see Pache's contribution on verbal morphology and Coler's contributions on Aymara and Jaqaru in this volume).

Table 3 Jaqaru present tense verbal marking

A↓ P→	1	2	3	1.INCL	S
1		<i>-ima</i>	<i>-tha</i>		<i>-tha</i>
2	<i>-uta</i>		<i>-ta</i>		<i>-ta</i>
3	<i>-utu</i>	<i>-tama</i>	<i>-i</i>	<i>-ushtu</i>	<i>-i</i>
1.INCL			<i>-tana</i>		<i>-tana</i>

Source: Adapted from Hardman (2000: 56).

The chart in Table 3, despite some tantalizing recurrences of forms –especially when further paradigms are taken into consideration– is more opaque than the Quechuan chart in Table 2. It is therefore somewhat less straightforward to connect this to a particular alignment type. Nevertheless, the parallel with Quechua is that the intransitive subject markers reappear in scenarios involving a 3rd person object. In these scenarios, we can say that it is the subject that is marked, aligning with the intransitive subject following a nominative-accusative pattern. The rest of the paradigm seems to be best analyzed as portmanteau morphemes.

The system in Uru-Chipaya, although it can also be termed nominative-accusative, is quite different from the Quechuan and Aymaran systems, especially that of Uru. Subjects and direct objects in Uru and Chipaya are unmarked for case, but there is verbal person

marking, albeit restricted to 1st and 2nd persons. 1st person subjects in Uru and Chipaya are most consistently indexed, although there is some allomorphy depending on the construction these markers appear in. The 2nd person is also marked in some, but not all, tense-aspect contexts. In addition, there is facultative number marking on the verb of the subject participant. The system in Uru is even more reduced. Hannß (2008: 226–30) describes a three-member thematic group of what she calls grammatical function markers: *s-* for a 1st person object, *-s* for a 1st person subject, and *-n* for non-1st person objects. In addition, two of the tense paradigms, present and future, have a special marker for the 1st person singular. These facts are illustrated in Example (96).³⁰

(96) Uru

<i>Kuas(i)</i>	<i>lik-s-n-u=chay</i>	<i>wir=ki.</i>
water	drink-SBJ-OBJ-1SG.PRS=DECL	I=TOP
'I drink water.'		

(adapted from Hannß 2008: 226)

In sum, the person marking in Uru-Chipaya that does exist, as restricted as it may be, follows a nominative-accusative alignment pattern.

The pattern of ditransitives in Chipaya seems to follow an indirective pattern, with recipient participants marked with the proximal locative-allative case *-kiś*, distinguishing it from direct objects and themes.

(97) Chipaya [URU-CHIPAYAN],

<i>Am=ki</i>	<i>Huwana-kiś</i>	<i>t'anta=m</i>	<i>tha:=cha.</i>
you=TOP	Juana-LOC/ALL.PROX	bread=ADD	give=DECL
'You give bread to Juana.'			

(adapted from Cerrón-Palomino 2006: 126)

Since Chipaya does not mark objects, alignment is neutral for person marking. Nevertheless, it is perhaps appropriate to mention that Chipaya has an intriguing set of two unproductive prefixes whose function seemed to be to index for certain non-subject participants whether they are +/- person or perhaps human. Example (98) shows an example where both markers are present in a ditransitive construction. This example does not allow for any conclusions with respect to ditransitive alignment, but it does show that Chipaya probably had a more intricate verbal participant marking systems, that included prefixes.

(98) Chipaya

X-ś-tha:-ś-la=lla.
 PERS-NPERS-give-REFL-HORT=ATT
 'Give us that, please!'

(adapted from Cerrón-Palomino 2009: 51)

Uru does not seem to case-mark R participants, as can be verified in Example (99), but it does allow for indexing the recipient participant on the verb with an object marker. Several patterns can be observed in this respect: no object marking (Example 100a), marking of the recipient (Example 100b), and marking of both the theme and the recipient (Example 100c).

³⁰ Like in Aymaran, vowel deletion is a common process, but in Uru it does not carry any morphological meaning, so the vowel suppression of the direct object in the example does not signal accusative case.

³¹ The 2nd person plural is marked with a circumfix.

Source: Alexander-Bakkerus (2005: 196–214).

Most of the allomorphs are determined by the immediate phonological contexts, and need not concern us here (see Alexander-Bakkerus, this volume for more information). However, two of the allomorphs seem to showcase co-argument sensitivity effects (although they may be strictly morphological or even phonological effects as well). Specifically, the 3rd person singular A marker *η*- appears when there is a 1st person object, as illustrated in Example (102a), and the 3rd person singular plural marker *chi*- appears when there is a 3rd person plural object, as illustrated in Example (102b).

(102) Cholon

- a. <ngakollan>
 {η-a-koll-an}
 3SG.A-3SG.OBJ-love-IPFV
 ‘He loves me.’
- b. <chipojian>
 {chi-po-hia-η}
 3PL.A-3PL.OBJ-wait.for-IPFV
 ‘They wait for them.’

(adapted from De la Mata 2007[1748]: 59, 148; Alexander-Bakkerus this volume; 2005: 205)

Cholon, in summary, displays signs of several different alignment patterns: accusative, ergative, and marked-neutral.

In terms of ditransitive patterns, the recipient participant seems to pattern with the patient: it seems to be unmarked for case, and it is indexed on the verb, judging from the example in (103).

(103) Cholon

- <yññanmacco anzel palant mipoecqui>
 {i-ññanmak-o an-t^sel palantu mi-po-e-ki}
 3PL.POSS-each-DISTR one-CLF:truncal banana 2SG.M.A-3PL.OBJ-give-IMP
 ‘Give one banana to each one of them!’

(adapted from De la Mata 2007[1748]: 130; Alexander-Bakkerus 2005: 176)

The situation in Híbito is unclear, and there is in fact not much that can be said about it. Alexander-Bakkerus (this volume) identifies a minimal person marking system on the basis of the scanty data that are available, which appear to index subject participants.

The interpretation of the case system of Puquina is severely hampered by the scarcity of data. The facts are that (i) core arguments can remain unmarked, (ii) there are occurrences of Quechuan-derived accusative case markers, and (iii) speech-act participants, if expressed, may be marked with the marker-*ch(a)*. Emlen et al. (this volume) argue for an analysis of -*ch(a)* as a hierarchical case marker on a 1st or 2nd person transitive subject that indicates that the object is one step lower on a 1 > 2 > 3 hierarchy, so that -*ch(a)* on a 1st person subject would imply a 2nd person object, and on a 2nd person subject it would imply a 3rd person object. The hierarchical nature of Puquina alignment, based on the aforementioned 1>2>3 hierarchy, is installed more clearly in its verbal person marking system. If two participants are involved in a transitive scenario, the one that scores highest

on the hierarchy controls agreement on the verb. In addition, an inverse marker *-s* appears in scenarios where it is the object that controls agreement (for more details, see Emlen et al., this volume).³²

Recipient participants in ditransitive constructions can be marked by the benefactive case marker *-wa*.

(104) Puquina

<... chu pip chu cam hamp hinantihua, hixquis canch, apanc quillchitahua>
 {chu pip chu kam-hamp hinanti-wa hiki-ska-Ø-nch
 3.POSS flesh 3.POSS blood-ADD totality-BEN give-REFL-3.SBJ-DECL
 apa-nk killchi-tawa}
 not-RSTR divide-SUBIS'
 '... he gives his body and his blood to everyone without dividing [himself].'
 (Emlen et al., this volume)

However, Emlen et al. mention that recipient arguments, when 1st or 2nd person, are obligatorily indexed on the verb, suggesting that recipient participants are treated in the same way as patient participants. This seems to be indirectly corroborated by Example (105), which takes the special imperative form *-suma* for a second person acting on a first person.

(105) Puquina

<Kaa gamenque ehehefuma. Señ guta camen feñ tanta,>
 {ka kamen-xe ehe hi-suma señ-guta kamen señ tant'a}
 now day-TOP and give-2.SBJ.1.OBJ.IMP 1PL-ALL day 1PL.POSS bread
 'And today, give us our daily bread.'
 (Emlen et al., this volume)

Eloranta-Barrera Virhuez (2020) analyzes Mochica as displaying signs of being in transition from an accusative to an ergative system. This is based on examples like (106). The ergative interpretation seems to hinge on the fact that the suffix <-ær> is regarded as "a trace of passive marking" rather than productive passive marking. The case marker <-(e)n> is the same as the one used for marking obliques, so that Example (106) seems to be equally interpretable as a passive with an oblique agent.

(106) Mochica

<eng-e=n eiñ tzhac-ær>
 mother-OBL=AGT 1SG take-PASS
 'I am carried by my mother/my mother carries me.'
 (adapted from Hovdhaugen 2004: 23)

In addition, Mochica has a number of what Eloranta-Barrera Virhuez (2020) calls verbal person clitics (although they can attach to various hosts). However, these are claimed to be in complementary distribution with free pronouns (Eloranta-Barrera Virhuez 2020: 208), and they can refer to subjects (S/A) and objects. The Examples in (107) illustrate these.

³² The marker *-s* also appears on NPs. In this context it was interpreted as an ergative marker by Torero (2002), but see Emlen et al. (this volume) for counterarguments. The function of nominal *-s* is unclear, but may be related to disambiguation.

(107) Mochica

- a. <[Dios len]=az loc>
[God with]=2SG be
'You are with God.'
- b. <[Mo pup]=az mit-æc moiñ>
[DEM.NOM stick]=2SG bring-BEN 1SG
'You bring me this wood.'
- c. <[Pedro-ng]=az xllip-quem>
Pedro-OBL-2SG call-CAUS.PASS
'Pedro is calling you.'

(adapted from Eloranta-Barrera Virhuez 2020: 147, 160)

Ditransitive alignment is unclear in Mochica. Recipient participants seemingly may be encoded as obliques, as Example (108a) suggests, although this may be strictly speaking not a ditransitive. They may also be encoded as unmarked person clitic, as in Example (108b).

(108) Mochica

- a. <xllon-quic=eiñ tat-er tzhæng-ò pæn>
food-NPOSS=1SG bring-PASS 2SG.OBL-ADJVLZ DAT
'I bring food for you.'
- b. <mo ssonæng can=az pii-c-æm Dios çiec-e=n>
DEM.NOM wife REL=2SG give-BEN-PASS God lord-OBL=AGT
'this wife that the Lord God gives to you'

(adapted from Eloranta-Barrera Virhuez 2020: 164, 129)

Summarizing, there seem to be many different morphosyntactic alignment patterns represented in the languages of the Central Andes. Quechuan, Aymaran, and Uru-Chipaya languages as well as Kallawaya seem to be most clearly nominative-accusative, but Cholón and Puquina have complex and typologically unusual alignment systems, in particular with respect to verbal person marking. Mochica shows ergative traits, albeit disputable. Ditransitive alignment shows an even more disparate picture, in which all major types are represented, sometimes even within one and the same language or language family, as is the case in Quechuan.

4. Complex sentences

In this final section, I zoom in on complex sentential constructions, involving two or more clause-like structures. I cover clausal coordination, adverbial clauses, complement clauses and relative clauses. Since the formal distinctions between complex clause types generally cross-cut these divisions in Central Andean languages, the section is divided into two parts only: clausal coordination (Section 4.1) and subordinate constructions and subordination strategies (Section 4.2).

4.1 Clausal coordination

The most basic coordinate construction in Quechuan languages is simple juxtaposition of two finite clauses. These juxtapositions may involve two or more verbs, as shown in Example (109).

(109) Huallaga Quechua

Chawraqa llapan kastankunawan alli parlan upyan.

{chawra-qallapan	kasta-n-kuna-wan	alli	parla-n	upya-n
so-TOP all	clan-3.POSS-PL-COM	good	speak-3.SBJ	drink-3.SBJ
chaqcha-n}				
chew.coca-3.SBJ				

'Then with all of her relatives they converse nicely, drink, and chew coca.'

(adapted from Weber 1983: 326)

Explicit coordination types can be marked by the use of a group of enclitics that connect parts of discourse. In Yauyos Quechua, for instance, clauses (as well as noun phrases) can be connected by means of the enclitics *-pis* 'additive,' *-raq* 'contrast,' and *-taq* 'sequential.' The latter two indicate some kind of contrast, as illustrated in Example (110).

(110) Yauyos Quechua

Wawanchikta idukanchik. Qillakunaqa manataqmi.

{wawa-nchik-ta	iduka-nchik	qilla-kuna-qa	mana-taq-mi}
baby-1PL.POSS-ACC	educate-1PL.SBJ	lazy-PL-TOP	no-SEQ-EVD

'We educate our children, whereas the lazy ones don't.'

(adapted from Shimelman 2017: 285)

Likewise, disjunctive coordination can be formed by adding interrogative marker *-chu* to both subclauses, as shown here for Cajamarca Quechua.

(111) Cajamarca Quechua

Mikunkichu pukllankichu.

{miku-nki-chu	puklla-nki-chu}
eat-2.SBJ-Q	play-2.SBJ-Q

'Do you eat or play?'

(adapted from Quesada 1976: 172)

The main structure that is used in Aymaran languages to coordinate clauses involves the free conjunction marker *uka-ta* (a demonstrative form, case marked with ablative), which conveys temporal sequence. Similarly to Quechuan languages, asyndetic coordination can be formed by marking both coordinants. There are several choices of markers with similar semantic effects. Example (112) shows a combination of the negative/interrogative marker *-ti* and the binary choice marker *-cha*, which yields an either/or clause.

(112) Muylaq' Aymara

Xumt qatuqatpanχ, naych qatuqitanix.

{xum(a)-cØ-t(i)	qatu-qa-tpan-χ(a)	nay(a)-cØ-ch(a)
you-ACC-NEG/Q	receive-DW-3.SBJ.2.OBJ-TOP	I-ACC-BC
qatu-q(a)-itani-χ(a)}		

receive-DW-3.SBJ.1.OBJ.FUT-TOP

'Either let them receive you or let them receive me.' (adapted from Coler 2014: 685)

Coler (2014) furthermore mentions the existence of corrective-adversative coordination in Muya' Aymara, which is either conveyed by concessive clauses, with subordinate verb forms, or by the aforementioned marker *uka-ta* which is also used for syndetic coordination. Additionally, the loan conjunction *piru* (< Sp. *pero* 'but') is used.

Cerrón-Palomino (2006: 251–3) distinguishes four types of coordination in Chipaya to indicate the semantic relation between the clauses. These essentially consist of juxtaposition in combination with clitics, particles, or adverbs. The simplest structure uses *=mi* 'additive' on one of the coordinants, which forms a syndetic coordinate construction, whereas the particle *us'* forms disjunctive coordinate structures, and Spanish loans *piru* and *sinu* are used to form asyndetic coordinations. There is much less information available for Uru, but it is clear that Uru forms coordinate constructions by juxtaposing two inflected clauses.³³ Hannß (2008: 285–6) distinguishes a subtype which she terms "exclusive clauses," where one of the coordinated clauses is negated. These constitute a subtype because the negated clauses seem to be less elaborate in their possibilities, consisting at most of an argument (S or P) and a predicate, and only the latter is obligatory.

(113) Uru

Kuni wata=chay ni=ki ana paxk=chay kesa=ki.
 dry year=DECL that=TOP NEG grow=DECL potato=TOP
 'The year is dry; thus, the potatoes do not grow.' (adapted from Hannß 2008: 285)

As is the case for Uru, information for Kallawaya, Híbito, Cholón, Puquina, and Mochica is limited, but these languages do show a number of patterns that are reminiscent of strategies found in the other Central Andean languages. Cholón (Alexander-Bakkerus 2005: 329–32) uses either simple juxtaposition, or juxtaposition in combination with the marker *-pit* 'additive,' which may appear in the initial or the non-initial clause(s). The addition of *-pit* on both coordinants yields a disjunctive reading (Alexander-Bakkerus 2005: 331). Puquina used a number of conjunctions to indicate different types of coordinate relations between two inflected clauses (see Emlen et al., this volume). The same can also be said for Mochica (Eloranta-Barrera Virhuez 2020: 164–6). Coordinating conjunctions in Mochica are clause-final.

(114) Mochica

<cuçia-ng=nic fe loc moix tana ærqu-eng tana çæn>
 heaven-OBL=LOC/ALL COP be soul with flesh-POSS with and
 '(She) is in the heaven, both with soul and flesh.'

(adapted from Hovdhaugen 2004: 34)

Coordination in the Central Andean languages, then, is characterized by juxtaposition, in most languages in combination with the use of particles and/or clitics to specify the exact nature of the relation between the coordinated clauses. A recurring element in different languages is a particle or clitic with additive meaning.

4.2. Subordination

³³ The two clauses may share one declarative marker, but they can also both be marked for illocution. Hannß (2008: 258) hypothesizes that this may be dependent on the degree of grammatical integration of both clauses.

The main strategy to form subordinated clauses in Quechuan languages is nominalization. Different types of nominalizations allow for the formation of clause-like complements, relative clauses, and adverbial clauses. That these nominalizations are clause-like has been extensively argued for in Lefebvre and Muysken (1988) on the basis of data from Cuzco Quechua. Quechuan nominalizations come with full argument structure and retain a good deal of the inflectional potential of independent verbs. They can be negated, adverbially modified, and even display phenomena like Wh-movement (Lefebvre and Muysken 1988: 15–7). At the same time, nominalizations are clearly different from main clauses. As mentioned above, some of the clausal enclitics cannot appear in nominalized clauses, such as the focus clitics and negative *-chu*. Moreover, the arguments of some nominalized clauses are marked differently from main clauses. Whereas subjects are zero-marked and objects marked with *-ta* in main clauses, the latter remain mostly unmarked in nominalized clauses, and subjects are either marked with a genitive or they remain unmarked. With respect to verbal person marking, whereas object marking is the same as in main clauses, subject marking follows the nominal (possessor) paradigm rather than the main clause paradigm. Verbal tense/mood marking is also unavailable, and replaced by a set of mutually exclusive nominalizers, which at the same time indicate modal/temporal relations (Lefebvre and Muysken: 17–21).

Complement clauses are marked with one of four nominalizers *-y* ‘infinitive,’ *-na* ‘nominalizer,’ *-sqa* ‘resultative,’ or *-q* ‘agentive’ (the forms here are from Cuzco Quechua, but they differ slightly between variants). Complement-taking verbs require different nominalizations, depending at least partly on their temporal/modal properties. Clausal subjects are generally marked with the infinitive *-y*, as are the complements of phasal, ability, assistive, and same-subject desiderative verbs.³⁴ Cognition verbs and different-subject volitional verbs take *-sqa* or *-na* complements, whereas perception verbs take complements marked with the agentive nominalizer *-q*. Examples of these constructions are given in (115) for Huallaga Quechua.

(115) Huallaga Quechua

- a. *Muchayta muna:.*
{Mucha-y-ta muna:-}
kiss-INF-ACC want-1.SBJ
‘I want to kiss her.’
- b. *Muchama:nanta munan.*
{muchama:-na-n-ta muna-n}
kiss-1.OBJ-NMLZ-3.POSS-ACC want-3.SBJ
‘He wants him to kiss me.’
- c. *Qanyan awayshaykita musya:.*
{qanyan away-sha-yki-ta musya:-}
yesterday go-RES-2.POSS-ACC know-1.SBJ
‘I know that you went yesterday.’
- d. *Rikashka: hwan Maryata muchaykaqta.*
{rika-shka:- hwan Marya-ta mucha-yka-q-ta

³⁴ Lefebvre and Muysken (1988) mention for Cuzco Quechua that clausal subjects may also be marked with the nominalizer or the resultative. They exemplify the latter in their overview; see e.g. Weber (1983: 269) for an example of an unrealized clausal subject.

see-NARR.PST-1.SBJ Juan Maria-ACC kiss-PROG-AG-ACC
'I saw John kissing Mary.' (adapted from Weber 1983: 270)

Case marking in these constructions requires a few extra remarks. First, note that the nominalized clauses themselves are case-marked in the same way a lexical argument would be. Second, Quechuan languages allow for raising of the subordinate subject to the object position of the main clause, with consequences for the case marking, as shown in Example (116).

(116) Huallaga Quechua

Maria nuqata rikamaran Pablupa michinta qaraykaqta.
{Maria nuqa-ta rika-ma-ra-n pablu-pa michi-n-ta qara-yka-q-ta}
Maria I-ACC see-1.OBJ-PST-3.SBJ Pablo-GEN cat-3.POSS-ACC feed-PROG-AG-ACC
'Maria saw me feeding Paul's cat.' (adapted from Weber 1983: 271)

Finally, as shown in Example (115d), in some cases, objects of the nominalized verb are marked as in main clauses with the accusative marker *-ta*. More specifically, Lefebvre and Muysken (1988) find the case-marking patterns in Table 5 for Cuzco Quechua.

Table 5. Case marking in nominalized clauses in Cuzco Quechua

Subject	Object	Attestation
<i>-q</i> 'GEN'	∅	common
∅	<i>-ta</i> 'ACC'	marginal
∅	∅	common
<i>-q</i> 'GEN'	<i>-ta</i> 'ACC'	unattested

Source: Lefebvre and Muysken (1988: 118).

Lefebvre and Muysken (1988: 123–6) argue that the different case marking patterns relate to how much of the VP is nominalized. In essence, they claim that zero-marking of subjects and accusative-marking of objects are assigned by a [+V] element, whereas marking of subjects with *-q* and zero-marking of objects are assigned by a [+N] element. That marking of subjects with *-q* and of objects with *-ta* as a combination does not exist is because case of the object is assigned VP-internally and thus dominated by the node that assigns the case of the subject. Therefore, if the subject case is nominal, so must be the object case.

Nominalized clauses can also be used to form relative clauses and adverbial clauses in Quechuan languages. Three of the aforementioned nominalizers together form a system where *-q* marks subject relativizations, and *-sqa* and *-na* form non-subject relativizations that are realized and non-realized, respectively. Examples in (117) illustrate.

(117) Cuzco Quechua

- a. *Hamushaq runa ñañaypa wasinta rin.*
{hamu-sha-q runa ñaña-y-pa wasi-n-ta ri-n}
come-PROG-AG man sister-1.POSS-GEN house-3.POSS-ACC go-3.SBJ
'The man who is coming goes to my sister's house.'
- b. *Rikusqay warmaqqa hamunqa.*
{riku-sqa-y warm-a-qa hamu-nqa}

see-RES-1.POSS girl-TOP come-3.SBJ.FUT

'The girl I saw will come.'

- c. *Paqarin rimañayki runata rikushani.*

{paqarin rima-na-yki runa-ta riku-sha-ni}

tomorrow speak-NMLZ-2.POSS man-ACC see-PROG-1.SBJ

'I see to the man that you will be speaking to.'

(adapted from Lefebvre and Muysken 1988: 166–7)

By adding specific case markers to the nominalized forms, adverbial clauses can also be formed.³⁵ Example (118) illustrates an instance where the resultative nominalizer is combined with the limitative *-yaq* to form a simultaneity clause in Huallaga Quechua.

(118) Huallaga Quechua

Pukllashun tamyashanyaq.

{puklla-shun tamiya-sha-n-yaq}

play-1PL.SBJ.FUT rain-RES-3.POSS-LIM

'Let's play while it is raining.'

(adapted from Weber 1983: 271)

Another widespread way to form adverbial clauses is through the use of the switch-reference system. Quechuan languages have two or three³⁶ markers that indicate that the subject of the following clause is the same as or different from the verb that carries the switch-reference marker. Example (119) contrasts the same-subject marker *-shpa* with the different-subject marker *-pti* in Yauyos Quechua.³⁷

(119) Yauyos Quechua

- a. *Chitchityakushpa rikullan kabrakunaqa.*

{chitchitya-ku-shpa riku-lla-n kabra-kuna-qa}

say.chit.chit-REFL-SUBIS.SIM go-LIM-3.SBJ goat-PL-TOP

'"Chit-chitting," the goats just left.'

- b. *Qawaykuptinqa sakristan wañurusa.*

{qawa-yku-pti-n-qa sakristan wañu-ru-sa}

see-EXCEP-SUBDS.ANT-3.SBJ-TOP sacristan die-URGT-PRF

'When he looked, the care-taker had died.'

(adapted from Shimelman 2017: 305)

Shimelman mentions that *-pti* clauses tend to refer to events that started before the main event, while *-shpa* clauses tend to be simultaneous with the main event. Switch-reference clauses do not take any case markers, but to the extent that they inflect for person, they take possessive person markers.³⁸

³⁵ Same-subject purpose of motion clauses do not require any case marker, and are simply formed by a complement nominalized by the agent nominalizer.

³⁶ Ecuadorian Quichua has further switch-reference markers for purpose clauses.

³⁷ Yauyos has a third marker, *-shtin*, which forces a simultaneity reading.

³⁸ In Yauyos Quechua, only different subject clauses inflect for person, but other varieties, e.g. Huallaga Quechua, also inflect *-shpa* clauses for person.

Switch-reference clauses in Quechuan languages by and large function on a subject pivot, although Cole (1983) discusses the following example pair in Imbabura Quechua (spoken north of the Central Andean area).

(120) Imbabura Quechua

- a. *Allimi Juziwan parlangapax.*
 {alli-mi Juzi-wan parla-ngapax}
 good-EVD José-COM speak-SUBIS.PURP
 'It is good to speak with José.'
- b. *Allimi Juziwan parlachun.*
 {alli-mi Juzi-wan parla-chun}
 good-EVD José-COM speak-SUBDS.PURP
 'It is good that he speak with José.'
- (adapted from Cole 1983: 6–7)

The 'speaker' in Example (120a) may be a generic person, but also a speech act participant (free pronouns may be added to the construction to make it explicit). The speaker in Example (120b) may only be a specific 3rd person. Examples like (120) seem rather marginal, and otherwise the subject seems to be the category that determines the appearance of the different switch reference markers. Even in Imbabura Quechua dummy subjects in adverbial clauses consistently yield different-subject marking (Cole 1983: 7).

Example (120) does make another point clear, however: switch reference clauses are not exclusively adverbial in nature. Stewart (1988) discusses several examples where switch-reference clauses are used to code complements, including subject clauses.³⁹

(121) Conchucos Quechua

- a. *Resarqallaykun.*
 {resa-r qalla-yku-n}
 pray-SUBIS begin-INCR-3.SBJ
 'He begins to pray.'
- b. *Luqluqyarninqa pa:ranlla.*
 {luqluq-ya-rnin-qa paara-n-lla}
 bubble-INCH-SUBIS-TOP stop-3.SBJ-RSTR
 'The bubbling stops.'
- (adapted from Stewart 1988: 772)

Apart from the above constructions, Quechuan languages display a number of further constructions to form subordinate constructions. First, more balanced constructions exist, where the demonstrative *chay* is used as a complementizer. These constructions can also be case-marked, as Example (122) shows.

(122) Cuzco Quechua

- Mariyacha munan xosecha platanuta rantinqa chayta.*
 {Mariyacha muna-n xosecha platanu-ta ranti-nqa chay-ta}
 Maria want-3.SBJ Jose banana-ACC exchange-3.SBJ.FUT DEM-ACC
 'Maria desires that José buys bananas.'

³⁹ The markers *-r* and *-rnin* are allomorphs; in addition, Conchucos has another same-subject marker *-shpa* and a different-subject marker *-pti*.

(adapted from Lefebvre and Muysken 1998: 150)

In addition, participial constructions exist that can mark secondary predicates, as in Example (123), and take on adverbial functions, as in Example (124). These constructions are marked with a nominalizer (e.g. the realis nominalizer) but do not involve any person marking.

(123) Huallaga Quechua

Uyshayta tarishka: wañushata.

{uyshay-ta tari-shka-: wañu-sha-ta}
sheep-ACC find-NARR.PST-1.SBJ die-RES-ACC
'I found the sheep dead.'

(adapted from Weber 1983: 264)

(124) Tarma Quechua

Mana nuqanchik kugata chaqchasham kirunchi ismun.

{mana nuqa-nchik kuga-ta chaqcha-sha-m kiru-nchi ismu-n}
not I-1.PL coca-ACC chew-RES-EVD tooth-1PL.POSS rot-3.SBJ
'Our teeth rot if we do not chew coca.'

(adapted from Adelaar 2011: 275)

There is surprisingly little information on Aymaran subordination and subordination strategies. What is clear is that, like Quechuan languages, Aymaran uses nominalizations with the agentive *-iri*, the action nominalizer *-ña*, and the resultative *-ta* to form complement clauses, as in Example (125) and relative clauses, as in Example (126), repeated from (17) above. As can be seen in the examples, nominalized verbs do not seem to assign accusative case, and subjects may appear in genitive form.

(125) Aymara

a. *Uta lurañ qallti.*

{uta lura-ñ(a)-cØ qall(a)-c(a)-i}
house make-NMLZ-ACC begin-UW-3.SBJ.3.OBJ.SIM
'(S)he begins making a house (lit. house-making).'

b. *Mistuskir uñxa:ta.*

{mistu-sk(a)-ir(i)-cØ uñxa:-c(a)-ta}
go.out-PROG-AG-ACC see-PST-1.SBJ.3.OBJ.SIM
'I saw he went out.'

(adapted from Cerrón-Palomino and Carvajal Carvajal 2009: 211)

(126) Aymara

a. *Karta qillqiri xaq thaqhaskta.*

{[karta qillqi-iri] xaq(i)-cØ thaqha-sk(a)-ta}
letter write-AG person-ACC look.for-PROG-1.SBJ.SIM
'I am looking for the person who writes letters.'

b. *Nayana uñt'ataxa waynaxa xilamawa.*

Naya-na uñt'a-ta-xa wayna-xa xila-ma-wa}
I-GEN know-RES-1.POSS youngster-TOP brother-2.POSS-DECL
'The young man I know is your brother.'

(adapted from Cerrón-Palomino and Carvajal Carvajal 2009: 210)

The same nominalizations can also be used to form adverbial clauses.

(127) Aymara

- a. *Irnaqatapanwa qhiparani:na.*
 {irnaqa-ta-pa-n(a)-wa qhipara-ni:-na}
 work-RES-3.POSS-LOC-DECL stay-CISL-3.SBJ.PROX
 ‘He stayed where he worked.’
- b. *Qullqi mayiriwa xuta:na.*
 {qullqi mayi-(i)ri-wa xuta:-na}
 money ask.for-AG-DECL come-3.SBJ.PROX
 ‘He came to ask for money.’

(adapted from Cerrón-Palomino and Carvajal-Carvajal 2009: 211)

All of these constructions are reminiscent of the Quechuan nominalizations.

In addition to the nominalizations, Hardman (2001) describes three constructions to form different types of subordinate clauses. The first type can be termed a switch reference system, consisting of a three-member paradigm that contains the markers *-sa* and *-sina*, which tend to code same-subject relations, and *-ipana* for different-subject contexts.

(128) Aymara

- a. *Xutxasin illiman qhipa:xan ikxatayna.*
 {xut(a)-xa-sin(a) illiman(i) qhipa:-xa-n(a) ik(i)-xa-tayna}
 come-COMPL-SUB Illimani behind-ATOP-LOC sleep-COMPL-3.SBJ.DIST.PST
 ‘Upon returning he fell asleep behind Illimani.’
- b. *Mayni xaq paqaqisxipanχ xanipiniw sutipat amtayasiñaxiti ukatχ qhiparu xiwaxaspaw siwa.*
 {may-ni xaqi paqaqisx-ipan(a)-χa
 one-ATT person sleepwalk-SUB-TOP
 xani-pini-w(a) suti-pa-t(a) amta-ya-si-ña-ø-x(a)-i-ti
 no-ASS-DECL name-3.POSS-ABL awake-CAUS-REFL-NMLZ-COP.VBLZ-COMPL-
 3.SBJ.SIM-NEG/Q
 uka-t(a)-χ(a) qhipa-r(u) xiwa-cha-spa-w(a) s-i-wa}
 that-ABL-TOP back-ALL die-COMPL-3.SUBJ.3OBJ.PRES.CF-DECL say-3.SBJ.3.OBJ.SIM-DECL
 ‘When someone sleepwalks one must not awaken the person by calling by name; or later the person could die.’ (adapted from Hardman 2001: 67–8)

Like in Quechuan, Aymara allows for forming subordinate clauses with the help of a demonstrative, although in Aymara it seems to function more on a paragraph level, where preceding clauses are referred to with the demonstrative (see Hardman 2001: 215–7 for discussion).

Cerrón-Palomino (2006) describes a range of techniques used in Chipaya to encode subordinate clauses. They fall into two broad classes: non-finite and finite strategies. The former are characterized by a lack of tense and person marking, and the addition of one of several bound dependency markers, as shown in Table 6.

Table 6 Nominalizing/nonfinite subordinate markers in Chipaya

marker	attributive	complement	adverbial
-ž(a) ‘infinitive (INF)’	rare, subject only	ability, desire (SUBIS)	

-ñi 'agentive (AG)'	present habitual	perception, cognition, desire (SUBDS)	causal (with -kiſtan(a) or -layku)
-chi 'participle (PTCL)'	recent past	perception, cognition	
-ta 'resultative (RES)'	past perfective	perception, cognition	causal (with -kiſtan(a) or -layku)
-i 'nominalizer (NMLZ)'	-	phasal, ability	purpose of motion
-a 'subordinator (SUB)'	-	-	purpose of motion (temporally unspecific)
-χapa 'benefactive (BEN)'	-	-	purpose (SUBIS)
-χo 'indirect imperative (IND.IMP)'	-	-	purpose (SUBDS)
-ña 'gerund (GER)'	-	--	temporal (plus -kama)

Source: Cerrón-Palomino (2006: 253–63).

Parts of this system are reminiscent of Quechuan and Aymaran structures: nominalizations, or nonfinite verb forms shared across the domains of relativization, complementation and adverbialization, the latter generally with a case marker (often a loan case, like *-layku* and *-kama*).

In addition, Chipaya has multi-clause constructions involving finite verbs as well. For (notional) relative clauses, these constructions involve a relative pronoun that agrees with its antecedent in gender and number.

(129) Chipaya

Ti: miſi thax=cha ni:=ki we-t-ta=cha .
 DEM.M.PROX cat sleep=DECL DEM.M.DIST=TOP I-GEN-VBLZ=DECL

'The cat that is sleeping, that was mine.' (adapted from Cerrón-Palomino 2006: 263)

Interestingly from a comparative Central Andean perspective, Cerrón-Palomino (2009: 62) and Hannß (this volume) discusses a set of adverbial subordinators that together form a system of switch-reference and relative temporality (Table 7).

Table 7. Chipaya subordination markers

Subordination marker	Subject and temporal relation
-kan(a)	+ cor/+ sim
-an(a)	- cor/+ sim
-žku	+ cor/- sim
-tan(a)	- cor/- sim

-a	+ cor/- sim
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Source: Cerrón-Palomino (2009: 62).

The opposition between *-kana* and *-ana* is exemplified in (130).

(130) Chipaya

- a. *Qa:-kan oqh-chi=cha.*
cry-SUBIS.SIM go-3SG.M.COMPL=DECL
‘He went crying.’
- b. *Wer cher-an uri sat-chin=cha.*
I see-SUBDS.SIM quickly run-1SG.COMPL=DECL
‘When he saw me, I quickly ran.’ (adapted from Cerrón-Palomino 2009: 62)

Some of the aspects of Chipaya are echoed in Uru, although less information is available due to limited data. Complement clauses either carry the action nominalizer *-s(i)* or they are marked by a multi-verb construction which consist of two juxtaposed verb stems of which only the rightmost one is inflected. Example (131) illustrates.

(131) Uru

- Ana liks pek-u=chay.*
NEG drink want-1SG.PRS=DECL
‘I don’t want to drink.’ (adapted from Hannß 2008: 247)

Adverbial clauses in Uru seem to be verbs with limited inflectional potential (no TAM, no illocution marking). They are additionally marked with one of five markers (Table 8, taken from Hannß 2008: 289), some of which additionally mark switch reference.

Table 8 Adverbial subordinators in Uru.

-na	temporal (SUBDS)
-ku	simultaneous (SUBIS)
-(t)xani	conditional
-ni	manner
-xapa	purpose

Source: Hannß (2008: 289).

The agentive nominalizer *-ni* is additionally used to mark relative clauses, which may or may not be headless.

Our knowledge of the subordination system of Puquina also seems to be limited. I base my information mainly on Emlen et al. (this volume) unless otherwise stated. There is not much information available on complementation strategies, but verbs of perception and cognition take participial complements. The same participial form can also be used to form conditional clauses, past concessive clauses, and relative clauses. This participial derivation encodes a participant affected by the event expressed by the verb. The infinitive marker *-no* followed by benefactive *-wa* forms purpose clauses, in an equivalent way to Quechuan *-na-paq*. Purpose of motion constructions, again copying Quechuan structures, were formed with the agent nominalizer *-eno*. The future nominalizer *-nosu* can be used to code temporal

anteriority. All of these markers seem to have nominalizing or at least deverbializing effects in that the verbs they attach to do not seem to carry any verbal inflection.

Apart from these nominalizations, Puquina also displays a switch-reference system. Adelaar and Van de Kerke (2009) contrast same-subject clauses marked with *-rahua* (or one of its allomorphs) with different-subject clauses marked by the participial form of the verb ‘to say,’ *a-su*.

(132) Puquina

- a. <pi efcamarahua reegac fcanenoui>
 {pi skama-rawa reega-k scana-eno-ø-pi-i}
 you become.ill-SUBIS witch-ACC pay-AG-COP-2.SBJ-Q
 ‘Did you pay the sorcerer when you fell ill?’
- b. <feñ pip hifquim apa coxanqui afu hamp cona afchafo fífcanquinch>
 {señ pip hiski-m apa koha-n-ki a-su-hamp
 our flesh eye-COM NEG see-PLV-1.SBJ say-PTCP-ADD
 ko-na ascha-so siska-n-ki-nch
 that-LOC be-PTCP know-PLV-1.SBJ-DECL
 ‘Although we don’t see him with our own eyes (‘of meat’) ... we know he is there.’
 (adapted from Adelaar and Van de Kerke 2009: 137–8)

Kallawaya, although partly following the Quechuan system, has a number of conjunctions of its own, such as the conditional marker <sekan>, the use of which is illustrated in Example (133), repeated from (9) above. Other than that, not much is known about the system of subordination in Kallawaya.

(133) Kallawaya

- <Atasi llalle sekan acha-ku-na jatta-nki llalle-lla>
 woman good if be-REFL-NMLZ want-2.SBJ good-RSTR
 ‘[Choose a] good woman if you want to be happy.’
 (Muysken, this volume, based on Girault 1989: 152)

Cholón also forms subordinate clauses by means of highly versatile nominalizations, whose form and functions are summarized in Table 9. Stems they attach to are still marked for person and, e.g. voice, but they do not seem to carry any TAM information. This latter point is not true for another set of nominalizers, *-ko* and *-in̩ko*, which are deictic elements that attach to stems marked for imperfective and preterite, respectively, and which can form relative clauses. The marker *-ko* also combines with case markers to form several types of adverbial clauses.

Table 9 Nominalizing suffixes and their uses as subordinators in Cholón.

Marker	Remarks on usage
-(e)ch ‘factive (FACT)’	Factive nominalizer: subject clauses, perception, cognition complements, reason (SS), before clauses
-(k)te ‘infinitive (INF)’	Infinitive nominalizer: irrealis complements (want, wish, prefer, think/believe, prevent), purpose, unrealized temporal

- <i>lam</i> 'future nominalizer (FUT.NMLZ1)'	Future nominalizer, marks what has to be done in relative clauses and, in combination with case markers, purpose and avoidance clauses.
-(<i>ŋ</i>) <i>o</i> 'future nominalizer (FUT.NMLZ2)'	Future nominalizer, marks complements of ability (know how to), headless relative clauses, counterfactuals and plain conditionals; with case marker: concessive, complement of prefer, irrealis temporal clauses.
-(<i>w</i>) <i>uch</i> 'agentive (AG)'	Agentive nominalizer, marks headless relative clauses

Source: Alexander-Bakkerus 2005

These nominalizers have a number of uses beyond serving as subordinators (see Alexander-Bakkerus 2005: 267 for an overview), which allows for these forms to appear without any main clause in some contexts.

The latter point sets the nominalizers apart from another set of markers, which require another predicate, and which indicate coreferentiality and temporal and causal relations (Table 10). As can be seen, the markers are not entirely equivalent, but sufficiently overlapping in contexts to consider them to form a switch-reference system.

Table 10 Switch reference markers in Cholón.

Marker	Coreferentiality	Interclausal semantics
- <i>hu</i>	SUBDS	temporal, causal
-(<i>k</i>) <i>he</i> 'simultaneity (SIM)'	SUBIS	simultaneous, causal
-(<i>n</i>) <i>ap</i> 'sequential (SEQ)'	SUBIS	sequential, causal
- <i>ech</i> 'factive (FACT)'	SUBDS	purpose

Source: Alexander-Bakkerus 2005

For Mochica, Eloranta-Barrera Virhuez (2020) also discusses a number of nominalizations that are used as subordination strategies. Of the five lexical nominalizers she detects in the language, three are used as subordinators: the nominalizer <-(i)çæ-> is used to form complement clauses and reason clauses, whereas the agentive nominalizer <-(V)pæc> and resultative nominalizer <-(æ)d-> are used to form relative clauses. Thus, unlike in most other Central Andean languages, there is no overlap in the use of nominalizers to form relative clauses and complements, but like in the other Central Andean languages, the use of nominalizations as subordination strategies is common. In addition to these nominalizations, Eloranta-Barrera Virhuez (2020: 237–8) also discusses a purpose construction that consists of a reduced stem with a dedicated marker, which can mark (at least) same-subject purpose clauses and same-subject want complements. Finally, temporal relations can be marked with <-top>. The example discussed in Eloranta-Barrera Virhuez (2020: 167–8) is a clause chain. Although more data are necessary to know more about

whether or not this marker implies coreferentiality, it is intriguing that in that fragment, notional changes of subject are marked by subordinate nominalizations or valency decreasing morphology. The beginning of the fragment is given in (134).

(134) Mochica

<Ponçio Pilato-ng	ssap mæn	rrom-çæ-c	ñop-top
Pontius Pilate-OBL	word according.to	suffer-NMLZ-NPOSS	receive-SEQ
Cruz-ær capæc	que-ssæ-c-top,	çiung capæc	læm-top,
Cross-OBL on.top.of	nail-NMLZ-NPOSS-SEQ	3SG.OBL on.top.of	die-SEQ
xllang-æm-top	al-top	ol- o	infierno-ng=nic>
bury-PASS-SEQ	descend-SEQ	fire-ADJVLZ	hell-OBL=LOC/ALL

‘(He) received suffering after Pontius Pilate’s orders and they nailed him on top of a cross on which he died, they buried him, he descended to the fire of hell (...)’

(adapted from Eloranta-Barrera Virhuez 2020: 167)

Given the nominalized form <que-ssæ-c> (nailing to the cross) and the passive form <xllang-æm> ‘was buried,’ an alternative translation may be: ‘After Pontius Pilate’s orders, he received suffering, and [he received] nailing to the cross; then he died and was buried, then he descended into hell ...’. This would preserve subject continuity, and may therefore point, if not to a switch-reference system, to a marker that requires coreferentiality. It is obvious that this is highly speculative, and requires more research.

In sum, although each language presents its own system of subordination, there seems to be a great deal of overlap in the use of (lexical) nominalizations to form complement clauses, relative clauses, and, in combination with case markers, adverbial clauses. Another recurring feature of Central Andean languages is a switch-reference system to mark adverbial relations, attested in all languages except Mochica (although there is some circumstantial evidence that at least subject coreferentiality may play a role). Finally, a number of languages, Quechuan, Aymaran, Chipaya, and Chólón, have more finite structures that involves the use of deictic elements

5. Conclusions: Syntax in the languages of the central Andes

At the end of this overview, we can conclude that, in spite of some differences, there is a remarkable over-all resemblance between the syntactic organization of the languages of the Central Andes. This is particularly true for Quechuan, Aymaran, Uru-Chipaya, and Kallawaya, but there are certainly also recurring characteristics to be found in Mochica, Puquina, and Híbito-Chólón. These resemblances raise the question whether we can speak of a Central Andean syntactic profile. Here I list some of the majority patterns found in the languages surveyed for this chapter:

- (i) Inflectional systems that divide into three groups: nominal, verbal, and independent
- (ii) A weak noun-adjective distinction
- (iii) Head-finality across phrasal structures (though with relative freedom of clausal constituent order)
- (iv) A system that combines additive and multiplicative decimal-based numeral systems, whereby the greater number precedes the smaller one in the former case, while the order is reversed in the latter

- (v) Scope-determined clausal clitic placement (floating clitics)
- (vi) Topic-focus structures marked by clitics, whereby the focus clitics have additional functions (illocution, evidentiality)
- (vii) Nominative-accusative alignment
- (viii) Juxtaposition of clauses in combination with the use of clitics and particles to form clausal coordination
- (ix) The use of (lexical) nominalizers to form several types of clause-like subordinate structures, with markers cross-cutting divisions between complementation, relativization, and adverbialization
- (x) The existence of a switch-reference system

Note that I am not necessarily saying that these resemblances all came about as the result of historical contact; some of them may have emerged independently in the different languages. Nevertheless, together these characteristics do suggest shared history and convergence effects.

To be sure, however, there are certainly also differences between the languages surveyed here. In particular, morphosyntactic marking of relations between syntactic elements (including locus of marking patterns) show considerable diversity, as does ditransitive alignment, where all major patterns are represented. These latter facts underline the complexity of (historical) contact situations in the Central Andes.

Additional abbreviations

ADD 'additive,' ADESS 'adessive,' ADJVLZ 'adjectivalizer,' AG 'agentive,' AGT 'agentive case,' ASS 'assertive,' ATT 'attributive,' BC 'binary choice,' CC 'concentrative,' CF 'counterfactual,' CISL 'cislocative, translocative,' DET 'determiner,' DIR 'adverbial directional,' DISTR 'distributive,' DL 'delimitative,' DW 'downward,' EMPH 'emphatic,' EP 'epenthetic,' EXCEP 'exceptional,' EVC 'evidential – conjectural,' EVD 'evidential – direct,' HAB 'habitual,' HORT 'hortative,' INCEP 'inceptive,' INCH 'inchoative,' INCR 'increased impact,' INESS 'inessive,' INV 'inverse,' IW 'inward,' LIM 'limitative,' MOM 'momentaneous,' NARR 'narrative,' NCOMPL 'noncompletive,' NPERS 'non-personal,' NPOSS 'nonpossessive,' OBLIG 'obligative,' PLV 'verbal plural,' PRED 'predicate,' RSTR 'restrictive,' SEQ 'sequential,' SIM 'simultaneous,' SIM 'simple tense,' SUB 'subordinator,' SUBDS 'subordinator different subjects,' SUBIS 'subordinator identical subjects,' SUPER 'superlative,' UW 'upward,' URG 'urgent,' VBLZ 'verbalizer.'

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