

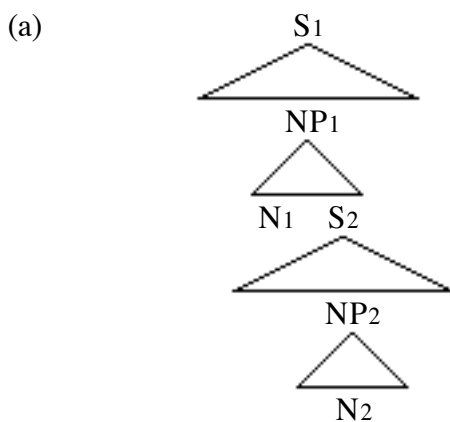
# RELATIVES IN JAPANESE AND QUECHUA

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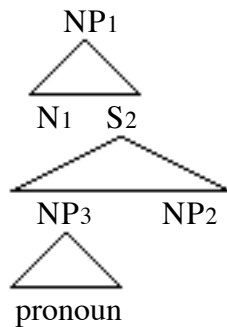
**Relative clauses.** In recent years, relative clauses have come to be thought of as a type of subordinate clause which is located within a noun phrase and semantically restricts the reference of that noun phrase. For more detail on the notion of 'relative clause' in a typological context, see Keenan (1985). Such a structure might be schematically represented as in (a).



In (a), S1 is the sentence or clause which contains the relative clause S2. NP1 is the noun phrase within S1 which contains S2. NP2 is a noun phrase within S2 which is understood to have the same reference as NP1. N1 is the head noun of NP1 and N2 is the head noun of NP2. The semantic role of relative clauses is represented in the referential identity of NP1 and NP2. By virtue of that identity, the semantic information carried by S2 is transferred to NP1. Also by virtue of that identity, N1 and N2 will not be simultaneously overt; one or both will typically be absent. If it is N1 which is overt, the relative clause is called 'head-external'; if it is N2, the clause is called 'head-internal'. Both may be absent, in which case the clause S2 supplies most of the semantic content of NP1; it is then often called an 'absolute' relative clause. In a schematic diagram like (a), the linear order (as opposed to the hierarchical order) of the constituents is not specified. Thus in (a) the head noun N1 of the relative clause S2 might follow as well as precede it. In Latin and the Romance languages, the head normally precedes the clause, while in Japanese and Quechua (as we shall see), it follows.

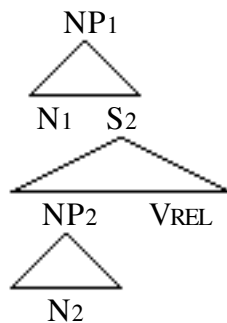
**Relative pronouns.** There are a number of morphosyntactic devices by which languages may mark relative clause structures. The one which will concern us most in this discussion is relative pronouns. These are pronouns within a relative clause which serve to link it with an antecedent (N1) outside the clause as shown in (b). In (b), there is a third noun phrase NP3, which is referentially identical to both NP1 and NP2. Its meaning is thus predictable, and it can serve to identify relative clause structures. Its position, though within S2, is superior to NP2, which is usually absent. The clause is then of the head-external type. Like other pronouns, relative pronouns typically agree in features like person, number or gender with NP1, and in case with NP2. Like (a), (b) does not specify the order of constituents. But relative pronouns, in languages which have them, normally come at the beginning of the relative clause.

(b)



Not every language has relative pronouns. Some languages, rather than marking relative clauses by relative pronouns, have a relative form of the verb in S2, as shown in (c).

(c)



In (c), VREL is the verb of the relative clause S2, which takes a distinct form marking its clause as relative. Other languages lack relative clause marking altogether.

**Latin relative clauses and pronouns.** The classical European languages, Greek and Latin, form relative clauses with relative pronouns. The earliest grammars dealt with these languages, primarily Latin in the West, and ideas about grammar were based on what they do. It is then not surprising to see that relative clauses are approached from the morphological perspective of relative pronouns. In Latin the same forms *quis, quae, quod* 'who, which' are used not only as relative pronouns but also as interrogative pronouns 'who?, what?' and indefinite pronouns 'anyone, anything'. The classical grammarians did not clearly distinguish these or discuss relative clauses as distinct from relative pronouns. The term 'relative' itself was not established in the early period; in Donatus' classification of pronouns:

- (i) *infinita sunt quae non recipiunt personas, ut quis quae quod;* (Keil, 1864, p. 379)  
*(sunt) alia relativa, quae rem absentem significant, ut is ea id;* (p. 380)

What we call relative pronouns he calls 'non-finite' because they do not vary according to person, and what he calls 'relative' pronouns, because they can refer to things not present, are usually regarded as demonstrative.

**Japanese and Quechua.** By the sixteenth century, 'relative' had come to be used in more or less its modern sense, but there remained some confusion in the terminology. This can be seen in missionary grammars such as João Rodrigues' *Arte da Lingoa de Iapam* (1604-8) and Diego González Holguin's *Gramatica y Arte Nueva de la Lengua General de todo el Peru* (1607). These works are abbreviated as ALI and ALG, respectively. Page references are to the originals as they appear in the facsimile editions. Glosses in Portuguese and Spanish are those which appear in the

original. English glosses are the responsibility of the present author and do not necessarily interpret the examples in the same way. The key passages in each relevant to the notion of 'relative clause' are given as Appendices A and B. The Japanese and Quechua examples discussed are taken from these passages and cited in the original Roman orthography. That used for Japanese in ALI is reasonably reliable (though different from those now used); that used in ALG is defective in not representing some of the distinctive phonological features of Quechua. Both Japanese and Quechua have relative clauses, but neither has relative pronouns, in the sense specified above. Rodrigues states plainly that Japanese has no relative pronouns:

(ii) *A lingua Iapoa carece do relatiuo, Qui, Quae, Quod; pello que he muito necessario saber o modo como se fazem as orações relatiuas por todos os casos, & como se explicam em nossa lingua.* (ALI, p. 87)

The Japanese language has no relative *qui, quae, quod*; therefore it is necessary to know how to form relative sentences in all the cases, and how to explain them in our language.

Gonçalez states equally plainly that Quechua does have relative pronouns, though it may not appear to:

(iii) *No menos yerra el que dize que no ay nombres relativos formados en una boz propios, que el que dize que no ay comparativos, como lo prueuan este capitulo y el passado, porque ay mas que no en la lengua Latina, y que sean relativos veremos luego.* (ALG, p. 129)

Someone who says that there are no relative nouns in the form of separate words is no less mistaken than someone who says there are no comparatives, as is shown by this chapter and the previous one, because there are more than in the Latin language, and we will see later that they are relatives.

Thus the two Jesuit grammarians take opposing strategies when confronted by the same perplexing situation. Rodrigues will show how Japanese can do without relative pronouns, but Gonçalez will show that appearances are deceiving in Quechua.

**Japanese according to Rodrigues.** Rodrigues continues his statement in (ii) with that in (iv).

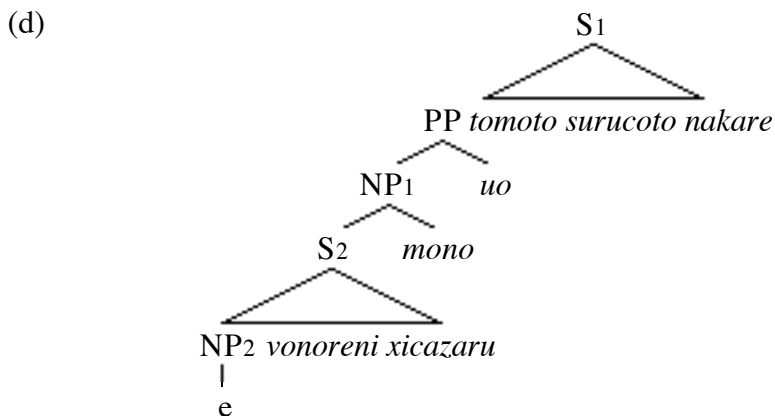
(iv) *O Relatiuo, qualquer caso que seja se entende no modo de falar, & se enclue na oraçam sem se exprimir: conuem a saber, para fazer oraçam relatiua, o Antecedente. i. a cousa relatada se pospoem immediatamente ao verbo, do qual se rege o Relativo que se entende.* (ALI, p. 87)

Whatever its case may be, a relative is understood in the wording, and is included in the sentence without being expressed; it suffices to know, in order to make a relative sentence, that the antecedent, that is the thing which is related, is put immediately after the verb which governs the understood relative.

His first example of a Japanese relative construction is (1):

- (1) *Vonoreni xicazaru monouo tomoto surucoto nacare.* (ALI, p. 87)  
Não tomes por companheiro a pessoa, que não for melhor que tu. (Rodrigues)  
'Do not befriend a person (who is) not equal to yourself.'

The structure of (1) will be as in (d).



Interestingly, example (1) is taken from Chinese literature. There existed in Japan a technique to read literary Chinese as Japanese. This involves reading some of the Chinese characters as native Japanese words, others as words borrowed from Chinese, rearranging their order to fit Japanese patterns and inserting appropriate Japanese grammatical particles and suffixes. The Chinese text of (1) is as in (1').

(1') 無友不如己者

The text as rearranged into Japanese and cited by Rodrigues is as in (1'').

(1'') 己に如かざる者を友とすること無かれ

The English gloss for this example given by Legge (1893, p. 141) is as in (1\*).

(1\*) Have no friends not equal to yourself.

*Vonore* is a reflexive, but not marked for person or number. These categories are to be inferred from the context. Rodrigues regards *monouo* as an accusative case form. In (d) it is treated as a postposition (P), following the usual modern analysis.

Rodrigues seems not to have explicitly in mind any structure comparable to (d). What he says is that *monouo* 'person' is the antecedent (or head noun), *xicazaru* 'is not equal' is the verb which immediately precedes the antecedent and governs the unexpressed relative (*que*), which in turn is nominative as subject of *xicazaru*. Those statements imply that the meaning of (1) contains the meaning of (2), though Rodrigues does not say so in so many words.

(2) *Sono monoua vonoreni xicazari.*  
'That person is not equal to yourself.'

It is not entirely clear what Rodrigues means by *oraçam relatiua* 'relative sentence'. This appears to refer not to any part of (1), but rather to the whole. If so, then he has no notion of subordinate clause in general or relative clause in particular. In any case he does not make use of such a notion in this discussion. Nor does he mention that the verb forms used in subordinate clauses may be different from those in main clauses: *xicazari* in (2) versus *xicazaru* in (1). (3) parallels (2) but it is a noun phrase rather than a clause or sentence.

- (3) *sono monoga vonoreni xicazaru(coto)*  
'that that person is not equal to yourself'

*Xicazaru* will be used in place of *xicazari* not only when the antecedent of a relative clause follows, but also when the head noun of a noun complement clause (not an antecedent) follows such as *coto* 'thing, matter' as in (3). Rodrigues is not unaware of this distinction; he describes it in his account of verb conjugation. He is also aware that it appears in literary Japanese but not colloquial. Thus he is correct in not relating this difference to the relative clause structure. Rodrigues does mention that the antecedent may be missing in a sentence like (4) parallel to (1).

- (4) *vonoreni xicazaruuo tomoto surucoto nacare.*  
'Do not befriend anyone (who is) not equal to yourself'

(4) in turn is parallel to (3) if no head noun appears. Thus the absence of a head noun is also not unique to relative structures.

Rodrigues presents a series of examples illustrating the various cases that understood relative pronouns can have: that is, the various relations that the head noun may be understood to have within the relative clause. He also discusses some phenomena which may show the peripheral existence of relative pronouns in Japanese. (5) illustrates *tocorono*, which is found between the verb of a relative clause and its antecedent.

- (5) *Luciferto dôxin xitaru tocorono Anjoua mina tenguto naru nari.* (ALI, p. 87)  
'The angels who follow Lucifer are all devils.'

This element, which consists of a noun in the genitive, does not add anything to the meaning, and can easily be dispensed with as in (6).

- (6) *Luciferto dôxin xitaru Anjoua mina tenguto naru nari.*

Unlike (1), (5) is not a quotation from Chinese literature. Still, this usage is due to the same technique for reading Chinese as Japanese mentioned above. The Chinese word 所 means 'place', is read *tocoro*, and is used in Chinese as a relative marker. Though *tocorono* might be considered a kind of relative pronoun, Rodrigues calls it a *particula* 'particle' and gives other examples in which (without the genitive *-no*) it is a meaningful noun.

A second case is illustrated by *sore* 'that' in (7).

- (7) *Fūxino motomeua sore fitono motomeni cotonari.* (ALI, p. 88)  
The Master's inquiry, it differs from people's.

Rodrigues calls it a relative and it is a kind of pronoun, but it cannot be a relative pronoun like Latin *qui, quae, quod* or Portuguese *que*. The sentence contains no relative (or other subordinate) clause. Possibly he calls it relative in the earlier sense in which Donatus calls Latin *is, ea, id* relative. Like (1), (7) is taken from Chinese literature. The Chinese original is as in (7').

- (7') 夫子之求之也、其諸異乎人之求之與

The text as rearranged into Japanese and cited by Rodrigues is as in (7'').

- (7'') 夫子の求めは、其人之求めに異なり

The English gloss for this example given by Legge (1893, p. 142) is as in (7\*).

(7\*) The master's mode of asking information! -- is it not different from that of other men?

In this case the Japanese version used by Rodrigues ignores some of the Chinese text, e. g. the exclamatory 也 and the interrogative 乎.

A final case is *fodo* as illustrated in (8) and (9).

(8) *Cono iyeya ano yama fodo tacai.* (ALI, p. 88)  
This house is as high as that mountain.

(9) *Cono iyeno tacasaua ano yamafodo aru.* (ALI, p. 88)  
The height of this house is as much as that mountain.

Rodrigues says of these examples: *Fodo ... se pospoem ao nome substantiuo relatado, ou a oraçam sobre que cay 'Fodo follows the related noun, or the sentence it covers'. In both (8) and (9), fodo follows yama 'mountain'. It is not clear exactly what Rodrigues has in mind, but the treatment of it as a suffix in (9) but an independent word in (8) is deliberate. As in example (7), he may be confusing the older sense of 'relative'. Unlike the previous examples, (8) and (9) are not literary quotations, but reflect the colloquial language.*

**Quechua according to Gonçalez.** Gonçalez follows up his statement in (iii) with (v).

(v) *Todos los participios de su naturaleza y propia significacion son relatiuos, porque todos significan lo que el nombre relatiuo, que es el que, la que y assi a ellos se les debe este lenguaje de relatiuos, y assi por ellos primeramente se hazen, mas con todo eso hay otro segundo modo mas galano, que es por los verbos, o de indicatiuo, o de otros tiempos. Otra tercera manera dira alguno que ay de hazer relaciones, que es con los nombres relatiuos (pi, yma, maycan), que acabamos de componer mas yo no hago a esta tercera manera sino comun a las dos primeras, y assi no hay mas de dos maneras de relaciones, o por participios o por verbos, porque los nombres relatiuos no hazen oraciones por si ni por otro modo sino allegandose a uno destos dos, o a participios, o a verbos hazen la misma relacion que ellos.* (ALG, p. 131)

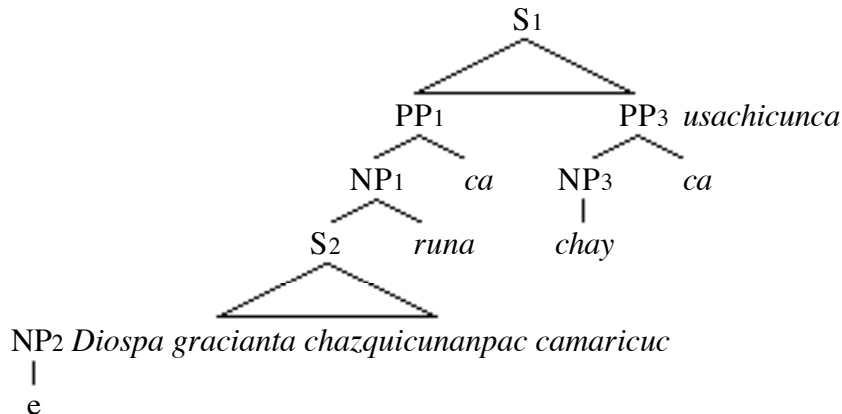
All the participles are relatives by their nature and meaning, because they all have the meaning of a relative noun 'he who' or 'she who' and this language uses them as relatives, and they are primarily formed in that way, though there is a second more elegant way, which is to use verbs, either indicative or other tenses. Someone will say that there is a third method to form relations, which is with relative nouns *pi* 'who', *yma* 'what', *maycan* 'how', but I do not consider it a third method but rather common to the other two, and thus there are only two methods, either with participles or with verbs, because relative nouns do not form sentences by themselves nor in any other way than combining with one of the first two, either with participles or with verbs they form the same relation.

His first example of a Quechua relative construction is (10).

(10) *Diospa gracianta chazquicunanpac camaricuc runaca, chayca usachicunca.*  
(ALG, p. 131)  
El que se dispusiere para recibir la gracia de Dios la alcançara. (Gonçalez)  
A person (who is) prepared to receive God's grace will obtain it.

Gonçalez' gloss in (10) ignores the presence of *runa* 'person'. It should say: *el hombre que ...*, rather than *el que ...*. The structure of (10) will be as in (e).

(e)



Gonçalez, like Rodrigues, seems not to have any syntactic structure in mind for (10), whether like (e) or otherwise. He does not single out (as 'antecedent') the head noun *runaca* 'person', and thus is even less conscious than Rodrigues of relative clause structure. Just as in Japanese, the relative clause in (10) carries the meaning of the independent sentence in (11).

- (11) *Chay runaca Diospa gracianta chazquicunanpac camaricun.*  
That person is prepared to receive God's grace.

The verb forms in the relative clause in (10) and the independent clause in (11) are different: *camaricun* 'he/she is prepared' versus *camaricuc* 'one who is prepared'. (12) is a nominalized form of (11).

- (12) *chay runa Diospa gracianta chazquicunanpac camaricunan*  
that that person is prepared to receive God's grace

Unlike Japanese, the verb forms in (11) and (12) are different. But like Japanese it is possible for the head noun of a relative clause to be absent as in (13).

- (13) *Diospa gracianta chazquicunanpac camaricucca, chayca usachicunca.*  
Anyone (who is) prepared to receive God's grace will obtain it.

(11), (12) and (13) are related to (10) as (2), (3) and (4) are to (1).

What Gonçalez is interested in is finding relative pronouns in Quechua. One example is (14), parallel to (10). In (14) and many of his later examples, Gonçalez abbreviates *Diospa gracianta chazquicunanpac* 'in order to receive God's grace' to *Diospa graciapac* 'for God's grace'. This has no bearing on his argument.

- (14) *Diospa graciapac picamaricuc runaca, (chayca usachicunca).* (ALG, p. 131)  
A person (who is) prepared for God's grace (will obtain it).

(14) differs from (10) in the presence of *pi*, apparently prefixed to the verb *camaricuc* 'one who is prepared'. *Pi* is an interrogative pronoun in Quechua corresponding to Spanish 'quien?' or English 'who?'. Though he offers no examples, Gonçalez argues that other interrogatives, in particular *yma*

'que?', 'what?' and *maycan* 'cual?', 'which?' can also be used as relative pronouns. He says that *pi* in (14) is a relative because (i) it does not function as an interrogative (that is, (14) is not a question) and (ii) *ca*, *chayca* always appears in a relative. These arguments are not strong, but there is a more serious problem with (14). No structure resembling (14) is to be found in the discussion of relative clauses in any of the six grammars of Quechua varieties issued in 1976 by the Peruvian Ministry of Education. Thus we must be skeptical not only of the arguments based on example (14), but of the example itself. Given that it cannot be a relative construction, it remains unclear exactly what it means and how it should be analyzed.

Gonçalez also says that Quechua relatives can be formed with finite verbs rather than with participles. As examples he offers (15) and (16), with the supposed relative pronouns.

(15) *Diospa gracionpac pich camaricun chayca usachicuncatacmi.* (ALG, p. 131)

If someone is prepared for God's grace, he will obtain it.

(16) *Diospa gracionpac pipas camaricun chayca usachicuncatacmi.* (ALG, p. 131)

If anyone is prepared for God's grace, he will obtain it.

These examples differ from (14) not only in the form of the relative clause verb: *camaricun* rather than *camaricuc*, but also in the absence of *-ca* attached to it and in *-ch* or *-pas* attached to *pi*. The suffixes attached to *pi* suggest that it is to be understood not as a relative, but as an indefinite pronoun, as in the English glosses. As examples without relative pronouns he offers (17) and (18).

(17) *Diospa gracionpac camaricun chayrunaca, usachicuntacmi.* (ALG, p. 132)

*para la gracia de Dios se prepara esse tal la alcança* (Gonçalez)

(18) *Diospa gracionpac camaricun chayca, (usachicuntacmi).* (ALG, p. 132)

*para la gracia de Dios se prepara esse tal la alcança* (Gonçalez)

If he is prepared for God's grace, he obtains it.

(18) seems to be interpretable parallel to (15) and (16), but the presence of *runa* in (17) is strange. Gonçalez notes that these sentences lack any overt relative marking, and says: *por esso estas oraciones se hazen asperas y oscuras a los que no son muy versados en la lengua* 'therefore these sentences become harsh and obscure to those who are not well versed in the language.' Additional examples are (19) and (20).

(19) *Diospa gracionpac camaricucca, chayca usachicun.* (ALG, p. 132)

He who is prepared for God's grace obtains it.

(20) *Diospa gracionpac camaricunquica chayca usachicunquim.* (ALG, p. 132)

*si te aparejas para la gracia la alcançaras.* (Gonçalez)

If you are prepared for God's grace, you will obtain it.

(19) like (13) illustrates an absent head noun, while (20) illustrates a finite clause with a non-third person subject. It cannot be a relative clause and Gonçalez' gloss reflects this clearly. A morphological argument that Gonçalez devotes much space to is that his relative pronouns enter into compound forms parallel to Latin *quis, quae, quod*. However this involves their indefinite rather than relative uses.

Though he notes that relatives with participles are the primary form, Gonçalez does not mention here that there are three types of Quechua participles. The one which appears in (10), with the



suffix *-c*, is limited to clause subjects. A different type of (passive) participle is needed to form a relative on the clause object. An example appears as (21); the clause as an independent sentence would be as in (22).

(21) *Sermon uyariscayquitaca, uillauay.* (ALG, p. 132)  
Cuentame el sermon que has oydo. (Gonçalez)  
Tell me the sermon (which) you heard.

(22) *Sermonta uyarirqanki.*  
You heard the sermon.

Comparing (21) with (20), we observe that while the finite clause in the latter shows agreement of its finite verb with a second person subject, the second person subject of the clause in the former appears as possessor agreement: *-nqui* versus *-yqui*.

A final point of interest is *chayca*. Gonçalez says:

(vi) *Se sigue vna ley inuiolable en oraciones relatiuas que siempre se ponen dos particulas por forma necessaria para hazer relatiuos vna es (ca) pegada al fin de la primera oracion relatiua, y luego tras ella (chayca) antes de començar la segunda oracion relativa,* (ALG, p. 132)

There follows an inviolable law in relative sentences that two particles are used as a necessary form for making relatives; one is *ca* affixed to the first relative sentence and following it *chayca* before beginning the second relative sentence,

This 'law' applies to examples like (10); (21) is in fact cited as an exception to it. *Chayca* in examples like (10) feels like pronoun of the *is, ea, id* type. Compare (10) with Japanese (7). But in examples like (15), (16) or (18) *chayca* appears rather to be a conditional conjunction 'if' at the end of the first clause. Both kinds of *chayca* are attested in modern Cuzco Quechua. Gonçalez' reference here to first versus second relative sentences shows some awareness of subordinate clauses.

**Conclusion.** Rodrigues in his analysis of Japanese relative constructions and Gonçalez in his of Quechua relatives start with a search for relative pronouns, the equivalent of Latin *quis, quae, quod* (in one of their senses). This is their legacy from Classical European grammar. Japanese not only lacks relative pronouns, but any clear morphosyntactic mark of relative constructions. Aside from some confusion apparently originating in the characterization of Latin *is, ea, id* as relative (in a different sense), Rodrigues' discussion is straightforward and to the point. Gonçalez' discussion, by contrast is complicated and not ultimately very convincing. His choice of participles as the primary relative mechanism is reasonable, but the extension to finite verb forms and relative pronouns is hard to understand and judged in the light of modern Quechua grammars, mistaken. Even in the participial cases, it might be argued that there are no relative clauses here, not because these constructions are not relative, but because without finite verb forms they are not clauses. They would then be analogous to the English glosses given for examples like Japanese (1) and (4) or Quechua (10) and (13) with the words 'who is' omitted.

The difference between the analyses of Rodrigues and Gonçalez then is in part attributable to a difference between Japanese and Quechua as languages: both may lack words identifiable as relative pronouns, but otherwise their relative constructions are not the same. The background offered by Classical European grammar did not provide the tools to analyze Quechua insightfully. There were of course many social and political differences between the contexts in which the grammars

we have considered were written. The Portuguese established no colonial entity in Japan, and the Jesuit mission there barely lasted out the Seventeenth Century. The unification of the country under the Tokugawa led to the current position of Japan both economically and culturally and of standard Japanese linguistically. The Spanish by contrast established a colonial regime in the Andes which lasted over three hundred years, during which Quechua speakers saw their society and culture subordinated to the European. In no Andean country at present are Quechua speakers socially equal to Spanish speakers, or is Quechua accorded an equal position to Spanish. But at the beginning of the Seventeenth Century, these disparities were yet to become manifest.

#### Appendix A: ALI pp. 87-88.

Do modo de explicar o relatiuo nesta lingoa.

¶ A lingoa Iapoa carece do relatiuo, Qui, Quae, Quod; pello que he muito necessario saber o modo como se fazem as orações relatiuas por todos os casos, & como se explicam em nossa lingoa.

¶ O Relatiuo, qualquer caso que seja se entende no modo de falar, & se enclue na oraçam sem se exprimir: conuem a saber, para fazer oraçam relatiua, o Antecedente. i. a cousa relatada se pospoem immediatamente ao verbo, do qual se rege o Relativo que se entende. Vt, Vonoreni xicazaru monouo tomoto surucoto nacare. i. Não tomes por companheiro a pessoa, que não for melhor que tu. [Rongo. 1.] Monouo, he o Antecedente; Xicazaru he o verbo de que se rege o relatiuo Que o qual se entende, & he Nominativo do verbo for melhor.

¶ De mesmo modo, Yomu fito. O homem que le; Faxiru fune. O navio que vay à vela; & propriamente os participios, Fitoua, Vo, Monouo &c. sem orações relatiuas, & como se vee nos exemplos postos, não ha mais que verbo, & Antecedente, & o Relatiuo se entende no modo de falar.

¶ Algumas vezes por causa de elegancia se interpoem ao verbo, & Antecedente a particula, Tocorono. Vt, Luciferto dôxin xitaru tocorono Anjoua mina tenguto naru nari.

¶ Quando, Tocoro, significa as cousas, &c, não he particula, mas Antecedente. Vt, Mõsu tocoro quenjentari. Sadame vocu tocoro cudanno gotoxi. Vdai Xõqueno von toqui sadame vocaruru tocoroua, võban, saifocu, mufon, xetgainin, tçuquetari youchi, sanzocu, caizocutõno coto nari. [Xiquimocu.]

#### ¶ Appendix. 1.

¶ As particulas, Va, Vo, Voba, pospostas aos verbos muitas vezes se poem em lugar das cousas, & tambem do Antecedente, ou sam Antecedente quando se poem em lugar dos pronomes, Este, Isto, Aquillo, &c. Vt, Cayõni mõxitaruua, Aquelle que, &c.

Ya? corenaru cotjiquino coxi caquetaruua masaxũ sotoba nite soro, i. Aquillo em que esta assentado.

Sono tocoro ni amatano quiõ attauo torareta.

#### ¶ Appendix. 2.

¶ Quando o Relatiuo que se entende, não he Nominatiuo, mas he outro qualquer caso dos obliquos, o Nominatiuo do verbo de quem se rege o Relatiuo, admite as particulas, No, ga, yori, conforme for o verbo. Vt, Quixeno võxeraruru coto. Soregaxiga caita fumi. Deusyori cudasaruru govon. Irono yoi fito. Xeino ficui mono. Mino naranu jumocu. Axino nayeta mono, &c.

#### ¶ Appendix. 3.

¶ Quando ha duas orações, & o mesmo Relatiuo que se entende, se rege dos verbos de ambas, o verbo da primeira oraçam ha de estar no participio acabado em Te. i. De & o Antecedente posposto ao verbo da segunda oraçam. Vt, Miga jũfachino toxi bundori cõmiõuo xite Tonoyori coreua cudasarete imamade miuo fanasanu catanade gozaru. [Morte monog.]

¶ Care, Core, Cono, Cano, Sore, Sono, muitas vezes seruem de Relatiuo. Vt, Fũxino motomeua sore fitono motomeni cotonari. [Rongo.]

Exemplos do relatiuo por todos os casos.

¶ Assi como o Relatiuo se entende no modo de falar: da mesma maneira se entendem os casos, & particulas articulares, & se exprimem em nossa lingua, quando declaramos a Iapoa: conuem a saber, O qual, o que, cujo, do qual, pello qual, ao qual, no qual, com o qual: como se verá nestes exemplos.

De nominatiuo.

¶ He a regra ordinaria pospondo o Antecedente ao verbo, cujo Nominatiuo he o Relativo que se entende, Vt, Gacumon suru fito. O homem que aprende letras, &c.

De genitiuo, Cuio.

¶ O Relativo de Genitiuo, Cujos, Cujas, &c. se faz comunmente, pondo antes do verbo a cousa que se rege do tal Relatiuo, em Nominativo com, No. Vt, Teni sumino tçuita fito. Homem em cujas mãos esta a tinta pegada.

Cuchino vomoi fito. Pessoa cuja boca, ou lingua he pesada para falar.

Iroirono nari detachino medzuraxij xõ. Cujos trajo & figura, &c.

Teno quireta mono. Cujas mãos eram cortadas.

Axino nayeta fito. Cujos pes eram tolheitos,

Mino naranu jumocu. Cujos frutos não se produz.

¶ As vezes he bom diuidir a oração com Sono. Vt, Mutçuno camino goxeibai nasareta, sono xisocuuu touoqui ximaye nagasareta. i. Cujos filhos foj desterrado, &c.

De datiuo.

¶ Deusyori vadzuraino cudasaruru fitouo taixetni voboximesu. Este modo he duro, & muito aspero, pello que nas orações de Datiuo melhor he explicadas por outros modos mais faceis. Vt, Deus yori fitouo taixetni voboximeseba sono mononi vadzurai, sainanuo ategauaxeraruru.

Deus fitoni goxeccan nasaretomo, sono monouo taixetni voboximesu.

Deus taixetni voboximesu mononi nangui, sainanuo ataye tamõ.

De accusatiuo.

¶ Relatiuo de accusatiuo he muito corrente conforme à regra da. 2. appendix. Vt, Vôxeraruru coto; sono fõno vocaqui aru fumi, &c.

¶ Os de mais casos o uso ensinara, por que não ha regra certa pera elles.

Iriyeuo coguiyuqu caino xidzucuto, votçuru namidamo arasõte, tamoto sarani foxiayezu. i. As gotas dos remos com que remauam. [Feique. 3.]

Vazato goxuuu mõsanu xisaiga gozaru. i. Causa polla qual.

Icani corenaru cotgainin, votocono coxicaquetaruua sotobaniteua naquica? i. Aquillo em que estais assentado. [Vtai.]

Relatiuo de accidente.

i. Tanto, quanto, tal, qual, &c.

¶ Fodo, serue pera quantidade continua, ou discreta, & significa, Tanto quanto, tanto como, & se pospoem ao nome substantiuo relatado, ou a oração sobre que cay, tanto quanto. Vt, Cono iyewa ano yama fodo tacai. i. Cono iyeno tacasaua ano yamafodo aru. Cono funeua xengocubune fodo vôquina. i. Cono funeno vôquisaua xengocubunefodo aru. Quixono toxicazuua ano fito fodo aru. Tenno foxiua famano masago fodo aru.

Quiüxenni tadzusauaru fodono mono ichininmo moruru monomo nacariqueri. i. Tantos quantos. [Feique. 2.]

Gotocu, Yõna, seruem pera qualidade. i. Tal qual. Vt, Cono fitoua quixono yõna gacuxõde gozaru. i. Quixono gotocu gacuxõde gozaru.

Appendix.

¶ Fodo, algumas vezes he somente nota de quantidade, ou significa espaço. Vt, Sannen fodo gacumon itaita. Ichiri fodo, &c.

Xiguemoriga quafõno fodocoso tçutanõ sõraye. [Feique. 2.]

Xiguemoriga cõbeuo fanerarenzuru cotoua ito yasui fodono von cotonite soro. [Ibidem.]

## Appendix B: ALG pp. 131-132

Cap XI. De la formacion y composicion de las oraciones relatiuas las cuales se hazen, o por los relatiuos, o por verbo, ya con los nombres relativos ya sin ellos.

¶ Todos los participios de su naturaleza y propia significacion son relatiuos, porque todos significan lo que el nombre relatiuo, que es el que, la que y assi a ellos se les debe este lenguaje de relatiuos, y assi por ellos primeramente se hazen, mas con todo eso hay otro segundo modo mas galano, que es por los verbos, o de indicatiuo, o de otros tiempos. Otra tercera manera dira alguno que ay de hazer relaciones, que es con los nombres relatiuos (pi, yma, maycan), que acabamos de componer mas yo no hago a esta tercera manera sino comun a las dos primeras, y assi no hay mas de dos maneras de relaciones, o por participios o por verbos, porque los nombres relatiuos no hazen oraciones por si ni por otro modo sino allegandose a uno destos dos, o a participios, o a verbos hazen la misma relacion que ellos.

¶ Exemplo de los relatiuos que se hazen por participios, el que se dispusiere para recibir la gracia de Dios la alcançara. Diospa gracianta chazquicunapac camaricuc runaca, chayca, o chaymi usachicunca. Nota esta oracion sin nombre relatiuo, Pi ni yma ni maycan, y esta muy clara, porque, camaricuc runa, dice el hombre, que se dispone, y no uvo menester a pi, quien, o el que. Mas pongamosselo y dira lo mismo y mas galanamente. Diospa graciapac picamaricuc runaca, dice el que se dispone. Mas direysme que añade el (pi) si el sentido estaba cumplido, o como si pi es interrogatiuo ha de tener romance de relatiuo: que es, (el que). Digo que una misma voz puede significar dos cosas en diferente composicion, y hazerse de interrogatiua relatiua porque aqui no pregunta sino hace officio de relatiuo, ya la composicion y señal de que (pi) no es interrogatiuo, sino que se muda en relatiuo es la, (ca, y chayca), que ha de hauer en cada oracion relatiua, y cuando la hay ya pi, o yma se haze relatiuo. Ytem los interrogatiuos no se hallan sin, m, o mi, que es su señal, y aqui quãdo (pi) es relatiuo no puede tener, m, ni mi. Y esto afirmo contra los que dicen que no ay relatiuos, y que (pi) no es mas que interrogatiuo, lo qual no es assi quando se llega a oraciones relatiuas que tienen ca, o chayca, que ya se muda y tiene esta significacion el que, la que, lo que agora respondo a lo primero pues que añade (pi) con las oraciones de participios digo que sirue por lo que es, is, ea, id, en latin y aca esse, y como en latin dezimos de dos maneras, qui se praeparat, o is qui se praeparat, assi aca, dizen camaricuc, el que se prepara, o picamaricuc pas, esse que se prepara, y quan galano es en latin tanto es aca.

De aqui sacamos tambien que, pi, yma, y maycan quando son relatiuos son is, ea, id, en esta lengua, y que se deuen tener entre los pronombres relatiuos estos (pi, yma y maycan) pues hazen officio de relatiuos ya vimos vn relatiuo por participios por si, y tambien con nombres relatiuos, agora de oraciones con verbos.

De las oraciones que se hazen por verbos Exemplo.

Diospa graciapac pich camaricun, o pipas camaricun chayca usachicunca tacmi, esta oracion es conforme a las de latin y romance, el que se dispone, qui se praeparat, pi, el que, o pipas quien quiera que (camaricun) se prepara, graciapac, para la gracia. Esta es oracion muy clara y elegante, y aqui no es necessario que (pi) signifique lo que, is, ea, id, porque el verbo (camaricun) no dize el que, sino (se dispone) no mas y toma el que de (pi) que quando es relatiuo dize el que y no pregunta, y tambien diriamos que lo tiene todo, pi, is qui, el que, o esse que, y con pas qualquier que. Ya hemos visto relaciones con verbo y con (pi) relatiuo, mas vsasse tambien mucho estos relatiuos por verbo, y sin (pi) como.

Exemplo de oracion relatiua por verbos.

Diospa gracionpac camaricun chayrunaca, usachicuntacmi, o Diospa gracionpac camaricun-chayca, y significa para la gracia de Dios se prepara esse tal la alcança, que diremos aqui que ni ay participio que diga el que, ni, pi, nombre relatiuo que lo dice y falta, y el verbo no lo dize mas que preparase, digo que por esso estas oraciones se hazen asperas y oscuras a los que no son muy versados en la lengua, porque no entienden la fuerça y significacion de los particulas que ay en (chayca) vna es (chay) que es pronombre y significa el, o esse, y (ca) que significa entre otras muchas significaciones, que le ponemos en el Quarto libro cap 2. de las particulas de la elegancia lo que en latin (quod, que) como se vee aqui, yachaychic cunanpunchaoca, ayunaypunchaomi, sabed que oy es dia de ayuno, este que lo dize la (ca) pues agora juntemos (chay) el con ca, que y dize el que con que esta oracion tiene forma relativa el que y no importa que chayca se ponga no al principio, sino al fin de pa primera oracion, que con esta regla y auiso se haze clara la oracion y corriente como esso tras, y porque (chayca) dize el que, la que, es parte necessaria que entra siempre en los relatiuos y mas los de indicatiuo.

¶ De aqui se sigue vna ley inuiolable en oraciones relatiuas que siempre se ponen dos particulas por forma necessaria para hazer relatiuos vna es (ca) pegada al fin de la primera oracion relatiua, y luego tras ella (chayca) antes de començar la segunda oracion relativa como, con participios Diospa gracionpac camaricucca chayca, usachicun, o Diospa gracionpac camaricunquica chayca, usachicunquim si te aparejas para la gracia la alcançaras, esto es lo comun y ordinario y mas proprio con ambas particulas quando no ay impedimento porque ambas son de la forma de los relatiuos mas a vezes se suele dexar la primera (ca) como en el exemplo del principio deste §. Picamaricun chayca, sin el (ca) porque con el concurría con la voz de futuro de indicativo (camaricunca) mas ya que suframos que se dexa la (ca) mas no se sufre dexar la (chayca) porque como se ha visto es el mismo relatiuo el que. Si no es alguna vez que le haga la oracion por participio, o con (Pi) que dizen el que, que es el relatiuo, como sermon uyariscayquitaca, uillauay, quentame el sermon que has oydo, esto se puede dezir sin (chayca) mas no sin (ca, o chayca).

¶ Mas nota que aunque (chayca) no ha de faltar de la oracion relatiua mas suelesse mudar la (ca) y hazer (chaymi), o con accusatiuo del verbo que se sigue haze, chayta, o chaysi, dizque, o puede tomar otra particula conforme al sentido guardando siempre a (chay), y con esto hemos dicho todas las formas de relatiuos, o por participios, o por verbo, o con los relatiuos (pi, yma) o sin ellos, y de la fuerça del (pi) y su officio y de la señal de relaciones (ca, y chayca) y su significacion y vso, y desta (chayca) añado que como es forma de quantos relatiuos ay asi su significacion es infinita y no determinada, y a vezes significa como nombre relatiuo y otras como adverbio con oraciones de tiempo dize entonces con oraciones de lugar dize alli, o en esse lugar y a vezes dice en tal caso, o siendo assi o desmanera, y assi se ha de explicar estirandola a todo lo que pide la primera oracion relatiua.

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