

Variation in the syntax and semantics of predicative possession in Quechua*

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Abstract: This paper employs comparative evidence from two closely-related Quechua languages to argue that predicative possession constructions do not always share a single underlying source cross-linguistically (contra Freeze 1992; and in support of Boneh & Sichel 2010; Levinson 2011). This Quechua case study is especially striking in that the constructions involved are superficially almost identical—the crucial differences between them emerge only when theoretically-informed fieldwork is carried out.

Keywords: Quechua, possession, applicative, microvariation, copula, existential

1 Introduction

This paper is about predicative possession—the grammar of having things. This domain is characterized by huge cross-linguistic variation, with different languages using very different surface argument structures to express the same possessive meanings. This bewildering diversity poses a stiff test to any constrained theory of the relationship between structure and meaning—what Myler (2016) calls the *too-many-(surface)-structures* puzzle. One popular reaction to this puzzle is to reduce this surface variation to a single underlying structure. Within the past few decades, this approach has been espoused by Freeze (1992) and Den Dikken (1998), with antecedents going back to Langacker (1968) and Lyons (1968), amongst others (see also Kayne 1993 for a view compatible with this tradition, which does not go as far as endorsing it). This paper employs comparative data from the Quechua family to argue that this tradition is on the wrong track, and that possession sentences can in fact vary with respect to their underlying argument structures. It thus compounds similar arguments made by Boneh & Sichel (2010) on the basis of Palestinian Arabic, and by Levinson (2011) on the basis of Icelandic.

The data of interest in this paper come from Santiago del Estero Quechua (spoken in northern Argentina) and Cochabamba Quechua (spoken in central Bolivia).¹ These two varieties are extremely

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¹Earlier work on Santiago del Estero Quechua includes Albarracín (2011); Alderetes (2001); Bravo (1956); Nardi (2002); Prezioso and Torres (2006). For Cochabamba Quechua, see Albó (1970); Bills et al. (1969); Lastra (1968); van de Kerke (1996).

closely related, and belong to the same sub-branch of the family (Quechua IIC, in the system of Torero 1964). Accordingly, they display a large number of similarities at every level of linguistic analysis. Amongst these similarities, it initially seems possible to count the existence of a predicative possession construction involving a BE verb accompanied by the applicative suffix *-pu*. Examples of these structures, which I will refer to henceforth as BE-APPL constructions, are provided in (1) and (2):

(1) **BE-APPL in Santiago del Estero Quechua (Argentina)**

Juan-ta kallpa tiya-pu- \emptyset -n.
 Juan-ACC strength be-APPL-3OBJ-3SBJ
 ‘Juan has strength.’

(2) **BE-APPL in Cochabamba Quechua (Bolivia)**

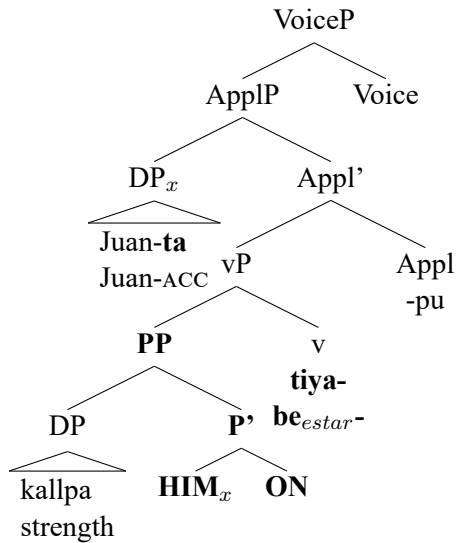
Juan-pata kallpa tiya-pu- \emptyset -n.
 Juan-GEN strength be-APPL-3OBJ-3SBJ
 ‘Juan has strength.’

Except for the case on the possessor (accusative in Santiago del Estero Quechua, genitive in Cochabamba Quechua), these constructions seem identical. I will show, however, that they have very different syntactic structures, which in turn affect the subtypes of “possessive meanings” they can convey. In particular, I will be arguing for the structure in (3) on the next page for the Santiago del Estero BE-APPL construction, and the structure in (4) for the Cochabamba version.

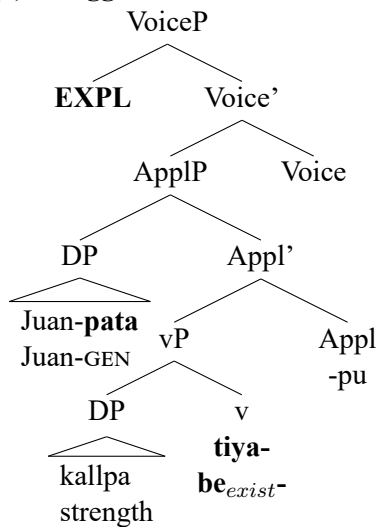
These structures have a great deal in common. In both, the possessor is introduced by the applicative morpheme. Also in both, the applicative morpheme selects a vP headed by a BE verb *tiya-*. Further, the possessee either constitutes the complement of that BE verb, or is contained in its complement. There are also a number of striking differences. First, there is the difference we have already noted in the case on the possessor, which is the applied argument in both languages. I will show that this reduces to an independently needed microparametric difference concerning the applicative morpheme in these two languages. Secondly, the BE verb is a stage-level/locative copula (cf. Spanish *estar*) in Santiago del Estero Quechua, but it is an existential copula in Cochabamba; this difference reduces to an independent difference in the copula systems of the two languages. The third difference concerns the status of the possessee. In Santiago del Estero Quechua, the possessee is the subject of a silent locative PP predicate meaning ‘embedded in/on/growing out of’. In Cochabamba Quechua, the possessee is the ‘pivot’ of the existential construction. This difference partly follows from the difference between the two BE verbs, and itself explains a number of the syntactic and semantic differences between the two constructions.²

²For expositional simplicity, in this paper I will treat the different copula verbs in these languages as if they were completely distinct lexical items. I suspect that this is the wrong way to treat complex copula systems, and that a better approach is to take such systems as a case of a single meaningless BE verb undergoing suppletive allomorphy conditioned by aspects of the surrounding syntactic structure. See Myler (2016:Ch. 3) and Myler (under revision) for examples of such an approach applied to Santiago del Estero Quechua and Cochabamba Quechua.

(3) **Suggested structure for BE-APPL in Santiago del Estero**



(4) **Suggested structure for BE-APPL in Cochabamba**



The rest of this paper is structured as follows. In Section 2, I will discuss semantic evidence for the structures in (3) and (4). In Section 3, I will show how these structures explain a number of the syntactic differences between the constructions. Section 4 is a brief conclusion which lays out some open puzzles.

2 Motivating the analyses Part I: semantic differences

The BE-APPL constructions in these two dialects turn out to be very different in terms of the subtypes of possession relations they can express. This is summarized in the following table, which uses a list of possession relations adapted from the typological work of Heine (1997:34-35).

(5) **Semantic range of BE-APPL in Santiago del Estero vs. Cochabamba**

	Santiago del Estero	Cochabamba
Kinship	*	OK
Body Parts	OK	restricted
Part-Whole	OK	restricted
Permanent Possession	*	OK
Abstract Property	OK	OK
Temporary Possession	%	*
Psychological State	OK	*
Physical Sensation	OK	*
Disease	OK	restricted

Notice that the only area of complete overlap is in the domain of abstract properties (illustrated by the examples in (1) and (2)). Space limitations preclude my illustrating all of the contrasts in (5), but a sampling of them is provided below:

(6) **Santiago del Estero: kinship impossible in BE-APPL**

*Juan-ta pana tiya-pu- \emptyset -n.
Juan-ACC sister be-APPL-3OBJ-3SBJ
'Juan has a sister.'

(7) **Cochabamba: kinship possible in BE-APPL**

Juan-pata pana tiya-pu- \emptyset -n.
Juan-GEN sister be-APPL-3OBJ-3SBJ
'Juan has a sister.'

(8) **Santiago del Estero: ownership impossible in BE-APPL**

*Juan-ta wasi tiya-pu- \emptyset -n.
Juan-ACC house be-APPL-3OBJ-3SBJ
'Juan has a house.'

(9) **Cochabamba: ownership possible in BE-APPL**

Juan-pata wasi tiya-pu- \emptyset -n.
Juan-GEN house be-APPL-3OBJ-3SBJ
'Juan has a house.'

(10) **Santiago del Estero: diseases possible in BE-APPL**

Juan-ta uju tiya-pu- \emptyset -n.
Juan-ACC cough be-APPL-3OBJ-3SBJ
'Juan has a cough.'

(11) **Cochabamba: some diseases impossible in BE-APPL**

*Juan-pata ch'uju tiya-pu- \emptyset -n.
Juan-GEN cough be-APPL-3OBJ-3SBJ
'Juan has a cough.'

It also turns out that the BE-APPL construction in Cochabamba Quechua patterns like an existential construction in being subject to the definiteness effect (Milsark 1977). That is, in Cochabamba Quechua the possessee cannot have a demonstrative or a strong quantifier as its determiner. The BE-APPL construction in Santiago del Estero Quechua is not subject to the same restriction.³

(12) **Santiago del Estero: possessee can contain a strong quantifier**

Qam-ta kutis tukuy mosca-s tiya- \emptyset -su-n-ku.
You-ACC again all fly-PL be-APPL-2OBJ-3SBJ-PL
'You have all the flies on you again.'

(13) **Santiago del Estero: possessee can contain a demonstrative**

Qam-ta kutis cha mosca tiya- \emptyset -su-n.
You-ACC again that fly be-APPL-2OBJ-3SBJ
'You have that fly on you again.'

(14) **Cochabamba: possessee cannot contain a strong quantifier**

*Juan-pata tukuy qeru-s tiya-pu- \emptyset -n.
Juan-GEN all glass-PL be-APPL-3OBJ-3SBJ
'Juan owns all the glasses.'

(15) **Cochabamba: possessee cannot contain a demonstrative**

*Juan-pata chay qeru tiya-pu- \emptyset -n.
Juan-GEN that glass be-APPL-3OBJ-3SBJ
'Juan owns that glass.'

This difference in the status of the BE-APPL construction is made possible by an independent difference in the structure of the copula systems of the two varieties. While both dialects employ the same two roots (*ka-* and *tiya-*) in their copula constructions, the way in which these morphemes carve up the domain of copula predication in the two varieties differs markedly.

Cochabamba Quechua uses *ka-* for all predicative constructions, and uses *tiya-* for existentials.⁴

³In example (12) and a number of others in the paper, the reader will notice that the applicative morpheme in Santiago del Estero Quechua is silent in some constructions when it is followed by a 1st or 2nd person object clitic. Constructions with this property include the BE-APPL construction, certain verbs of physical sensation, certain verbs of mental states, and the verb 'lack' (see also Nardi 2002:95-97). Due to space limitations, it is not possible to discuss this quirk in any depth.

⁴This distinction is neutralized in favor of *ka-* outside of the present tense, and in a few other environments.

(16) **Cochabamba: *ka-* as predicative copula (+durative for stage-level)**

- a. Noqa Inlaterra-manta ka-ni.
I England-from be-1SBJ
'I am from England.'
- b. Pay chay-pi noqa-rayku ka-sha-n.
S/he that-in I-for.the.sake.of be-DUR-3SBJ
'S/he is there for my sake.'

(17) **Cochabamba: existential *tiya-* in present tense (*ka-* elsewhere)**

- Bolivia-pi llama-s tiya-n.
Bolivia-in llama-PL be-3SBJ
'There are llamas in Bolivia.'

Santiago del Estero Quechua, on the other hand, uses *ka-* for individual level predication, and uses *tiya-* for other functions, including stage-level and locative predications, and existential sentences. This split between individual level and stage-level/locative predication is reminiscent of the distinction between *ser* and *estar* in Spanish, and it is extremely likely that contact with Spanish has given rise to it.

(18) **Santiago del Estero: copula *ka-* is individual level (cf. Spanish *ser*)**

- Kirchner presidenta ka-n.
Kirchner president be-3SBJ
'Kirchner is the president.'

(19) **Santiago del Estero: copula *tiya-* is stage level/locative (cf. Sp. *estar*)**

- a. #Kirchner presidenta tiya-n.
Kirchner president be-3SBJ
'Kirchner, the president, is here.' NOT: 'Kirchner is the president.'
- b. Mesa na chura-sqa tiya-n.
Table already put-PARTICIPLE be-3SBJ
'The table is already set.'
- c. Pay chay-pi noqa-rayku tiya-n.
S/he that-in I-for.the.sake.of be-3SBJ
'S/he is there for my sake.'

(20) **Santiago del Estero: existential *tiya-***

- Kay-pi yaku tiya-n.
this-in water be-3SBJ
'There is water here.'

Each overall system is summarized in (21).

(21) **Structure of the copula system: Cochabamba vs. Santiago del Estero**

	Santiago del Estero	Cochabamba
ka-	predicative (individual level)	predicative only (present tense) also existential (other tenses)
tiya-	existential and predicative (stage level and locative)	existential only

It is because of this difference that the BE-APPL construction is able to differ between the two dialects in the way we have seen: it is an existential construction in Cochabamba Quechua, but a predicate locative construction in Santiago del Estero Quechua. The locative predication involved in the Santiago del Estero construction appears to have a meaning along the lines of ‘embedded in’, ‘stuck on’, or ‘growing out of’. One kind of evidence for this comes from speaker comments on why the following is not a felicitous translation of ‘John has a house’.

(22) **Santiago del Estero BE-APPL means ‘Y has X on/in Y’**

#Juan-ta wasi tiya-pu-∅-n.

Juan-ACC house be-APPL-3OBJ-3SBJ

Speaker comment: “Would mean the house is on top of Juan, or growing out of his body.”

Quite generally, speakers accept the BE-APPL construction in Santiago del Estero so long as the possessee can be thought of as somehow embedded in, on, or growing out of the possessor—hence body-parts, parts of inanimate wholes, parasites, abstract properties, mental states, and diseases⁵ are all acceptable, as shown in (23)–(29).

(23) **Santiago del Estero: parasites**

Pay-ta chia tiya-pu-∅-n.

S/he-ACC nits be-APPL-3OBJ-3SBJ

‘S/he has nits.’

(24) **Santiago del Estero: physical sensation**

Pay-ta chaki tiya-pu-∅-n.

S/he-ACC thirst be-APPL-3OBJ-3SBJ

‘S/he is thirsty.’

(25) **Santiago del Estero: diseases**

Pay-ta uju tiya-pu-∅-n.

S/he-ACC cough be-APPL-3OBJ-3SBJ

‘S/he has a cough.’

⁵Compare these usages to archaic English *strength was in him, fear was upon him, a terrible cold was upon him*, etc; also Irish English *he’s got fear in him*. (Thanks to Jim Wood (pers. comm.) for the Irish English data.)

- (26) **Santiago del Estero: body-parts**
 Pay-ta ñawi-s paqo-s tiya-pu-∅-n-ku.
 S/he-ACC eye-PL brown-PL be-APPL-3OBJ-3SBJ-PL
 ‘S/he has brown eyes.’
- (27) **Santiago del Estero: part-whole**
 Ka wasi-ta punku tiya-pu-∅-n.
 this house-ACC door be-APPL-3OBJ-3SBJ
 ‘This house has a door.’
- (28) **Santiago del Estero: abstract properties**
 Pay-ta koraje tiya-pu-∅-n.
 S/he-ACC courage be-APPL-3OBJ-3SBJ
 ‘S/he has courage.’
- (29) **Santiago del Estero: mental states**
 Pay-ta manchay tiya-pu-∅-n.
 S/he-ACC fear be-APPL-3OBJ-3SBJ
 ‘S/he is afraid.’

It can also be shown that the meaning of the Santiago del Estero Quechua BE-APPL construction is not a neutral locative. Examples like (30) are ungrammatical, and the desired meaning must instead be conveyed using a predicate locative construction lacking the applicative morpheme, as in (31):

- (30) **Santiago del Estero: not a neutral locative construction**
 *Mesa-ta llave tiya-pu-∅-n.
 table-ACC key be-APPL-3OBJ-3SBJ
 ‘A key is on the table.’
- (31) **Santiago del Estero: predicate locative construction**
 Llave mesa-pi tiya-n.
 key table-on be-3SBJ
 ‘A key is on the table.’

To summarize to this point, although they have an overlapping meaning (both can convey possession of abstract attributes), and look superficially very similar, the BE-APPL construction found in Santiago del Estero Quechua is in fact a predicate locative structure with a very specific locative meaning. The Cochabamba Quechua BE-APPL construction, on the other hand, is an existential construction.

3 Motivating the analyses Part II: syntactic differences

This section addresses the two major syntactic differences represented in structures (3) and (4). Subsection 3.1 deals with the case on the possessor, subsection 3.2 turns to the predictions made by these structures concerning subjecthood.

3.1 The case on the possessor

Recall from the introduction that Santiago del Estero Quechua displays accusative case on the possessor in the BE-APPL construction, whereas Cochabamba Quechua has genitive.

(32) **Santiago del Estero: accusative on the possessor in BE-APPL**

Juan-ta kallpa tiya-pu-∅-n.
Juan-ACC strength be-APPL-3OBJ-3SBJ
'Juan has strength.'

(33) **Cochabamba: genitive on the possessor in BE-APPL**

Juan-pata kallpa tiya-pu-∅-n.
Juan-GEN strength be-APPL-3OBJ-3SBJ
'Juan has strength.'

This subsection shows that Appl in Santiago del Estero is quite generally able to assign accusative to its specifier, whereas Appl in Cochabamba Quechua lacks this ability. In addition, Appl in Cochabamba Quechua quite generally allows a wide range of types of oblique in spec-AppIP, whereas Appl in Santiago del Estero Quechua is restricted to benefactive-marked obliques. Thus, the difference in case assignment in (32) and (33) reflects independently-motivated microparameters concerning the applicative suffix *-pu*.

First, some general background on the suffix in question is needed. In both dialects, *-pu* is clearly a high applicative in the terms of Pyllkkänen (2002/2008). It can attach to verbs of any arity, and the applied argument can be associated with a range of interpretations, including benefactive. Another thing that both dialects have in common is that benefactive applicatives are associated with benefactive case on the applied argument, as shown in (34) and (35).

(34) **Santiago del Estero: benefactive Appl**

Juan noqa-**paq** wayrakacha-p-a-n.
Juan I-BEN run-APPL-1OBJ-3SBJ
'Juan runs for me.'

(35) **Cochabamba: benefactive Appl**

Juan noqa-**paq** phawa-pu-wa-n.
Juan I-BEN run-APPL-1OBJ-3SBJ
'Juan runs for me.'

Beyond this, however, the case-assignment properties of *-pu* are rather different in the two dialects, as are some of the semantic properties of applied arguments. An important set of differences revolve around malefactive applicatives. Santiago del Estero Quechua allows malefactive readings for applied arguments when they are marked with accusative case (if a direct object is present, a recipient reading for the applied argument is also available, but I leave this aside here).⁶

⁶Example (36a) is from Albarracín & Alderetes (2013:7); example (36b) was provided by Lelia Albarracín (pers. comm.).

(36) **Santiago del Estero: accusative marks malefactive readings**

- a. Noqa pay-**paq** challwa-s-ta wachi-pu- \emptyset -ni.
I s/he-BEN fish-PL-ACC scale-APPL-3OBJ-1SBJ
'I scale fishes so that s/he doesn't have to.'
- b. Noqa pay-**ta** challwa-s-ta wachi-pu- \emptyset -ni.
I s/he-ACC fish-PL-ACC scale-APPL-3OBJ-1SBJ
'I scale fishes {on him/for him to have}.'

As illustrated by (37), Cochabamba Quechua does not allow accusative case on applied arguments in any context.

(37) **Cochabamba: no accusative on applied arguments**

- Wawqe-y noqa {-paq/*-ta} wasi-ta picha-pu-wa-n.
Brother-1POSS I-BEN/*-ACC house-ACC sweep-APPL-1OBJ-3SBJ
'My brother sweeps the house for my benefit.'

However, it is not the case that Cochabamba Quechua forbids malefactive readings for applied arguments altogether. Rather, malefactive applied arguments are allowed, but *not as full DPs*. At most they can surface as object marking on the verb (note that no alternative case marking on the applied argument can save the malefactive reading of (38b)).

(38) **Cochabamba: malefactives possible, but not as full DPs**

- a. Juan wawa-y-ta ch'eqni-pu-wa-n.
Juan child-1POSS-ACC hate-APPL-1OBJ-3SBJ
'Juan hates my child on me'
- b. *Juan noqa-ta wawa-y-ta ch'eqni-pu-wa-n.
Juan I-ACC child-1POSS-ACC hate-APPL-1OBJ-3SBJ
'Juan hates my child on me.'

The foregoing facts about malefactives would follow if (i) the malefactive reading involves putting a caseless DP in spec-AppIP, and (ii) in Santiago del Estero Quechua *-pu* can assign accusative to its specifier, but in Cochabamba it cannot. This derives the result that malefactive applied arguments can't surface as overt full DPs at all in Cochabamba Quechua, although they can surface as an object clitic, as we see in (38a). This also means that accusative case will not be available in the Cochabamba Quechua version of the BE-APPL construction either.

Having explained why accusative case is allowed in the Santiago del Estero BE-APPL construction, but not in the Cochabamba version, we now turn back to the other side of the difference. This is the fact that genitive case is impossible in the Santiago del Estero BE-APPL construction, but required in Cochabamba.

(39) **Santiago: genitive not allowed on the possessor in BE-APPL**

- *Juan-pa kallpa tiya-pu- \emptyset -n.
Juan-GEN strength be-APPL-3OBJ-3SBJ
'Juan has strength.'

(40) **Cochabamba: genitive on the possessor in BE-APPL**

Juan-pata kallpa tiya-pu- \emptyset -n.
Juan-GEN strength be-APPL-3OBJ-3SBJ
'Juan has strength.'

This difference, too, can be related to broader differences in the syntax of *-pu* in the two dialects. It turns out that *-pu* has a range of interpretations in Cochabamba Quechua which are not available in Santiago del Estero Quechua. These additional interpretations involve various silent oblique particles in spec-AppIP, with meanings like 'away' and 'back', whose syntactic reality can be inferred from the fact they compete for the same specifier position as other types of applied argument. The fact that these interpretations are unavailable in Santiago del Estero would follow if that dialect bans obliques other than benefactive-marked ones from spec-AppIP.⁷ This same ban would also account for the ungrammaticality of genitive case in (39). An example of such an interpretation, by hypothesis involving a silent particle meaning 'away' in spec-AppIP, is shown by the contrast between (42) and (41). The fact that the ambiguity of (42b) disappears in (42c) is expected if the 'away' reading involves a silent particle in spec-AppIP—the overt benefactive applied argument in (42c) is competing for the same specifier position.

(41) **Santiago del Estero: no 'away' readings for applicatives**

Noqa ri-po-ra-ni.
I go-APPL-PAST-1SBJ
NOT: '*I went away/I left.' ONLY: 'I went for him/her'

(42) **Cochabamba: 'away' readings of applicatives**

- a. Noqa ri-rqa-ni.
I go-PAST-1SBJ
'I went.'
- b. Noqa ri-pu-rqa-ni.
I go-APPL-PAST-1SBJ
'I went away/I left. ALSO: 'I went for him/her.'
- c. Noqa pay-paq ri-pu- \emptyset -rqa-ni.
I s/he-BEN go-APPL-3OBJ-PAST-1SBJ
'I went for him/her.' NOT: '*I went away/I left.'

Van de Kerke (1996:32-33; 169–171) mentions a range of other uses of *-pu* in Cochabamba Quechua which will submit to a similar analysis, including a restitutive meaning analogous to 'back', and an 'enduring end-state' meaning somewhat like 'for good' or 'for a while'. While I have not myself been able to investigate whether these interpretations are completely absent in Santiago del Estero, they are not mentioned by Albarracín & Alderetes (2013) in their very thorough description

⁷There seems to be some sort of implicational hierarchy cross-linguistically as to what interpretations are available to high applied arguments. See Polinsky (2013), who points out that benefactive is the most commonly available interpretation cross-linguistically (if so, then Santiago del Estero Quechua is not alone in exhibiting the ban I suggest in the main text).

of the syntax and lexical semantics of *-pu* in Santiago del Estero Quechua. This empirical picture is compatible with my hypothesis that Santiago del Estero Quechua does not allow oblique cases other than benefactive *-paq* in spec-AppIP. We can then state the following microparameters:

(43) **Conclusion: two microparameters affecting applicative *-pu***

- a. Applicative *-pu* {may/may not} assign accusative case to its specifier.
- b. Applicative *-pu* {may/may not} accommodate oblique PPs in its specifier beyond ones headed by benefactive *-paq*.

Since Cochabamba Quechua cannot assign accusative to spec-AppIP (43a), but can accommodate a wide range of obliques in that position (43b), it resorts to genitive (the oblique case associated with possessors) in the BE-APPL construction.

3.2 Subjecthood in Existentials vs. Predicate Locatives

The main conclusion of Section 2 of this paper was that the Cochabamba BE-APPL construction is an existential construction, but the Santiago del Estero BE-APPL construction is a predicate locative. This leads to the expectation that they should behave differently with respect to subjecthood diagnostics. Hastings (2004) shows that Quechua existential constructions involve a silent expletive in the subject position. Therefore, in Cochabamba, neither the possessor nor the possessee should have subject properties, since the silent expletive in the existential construction is the subject. In Santiago del Estero, on the other hand, the possessee should have subject properties, because it is the subject of the locative predication.

There are a couple of cross-linguistically valid diagnostics for subjecthood which can be used here (see also Hastings 2004; Hermon 1985, 2001). First, subject positions of infinitives can be controlled into by the subject of a matrix verb like *want*; if the subject of such a verb is not the same as the embedded subject, then the subjunctive must be used in the embedded clause instead. Second, subjects can control into adjunct gerunds; non-subjects cannot, instead requiring a different type of adjunct clause which carries agreement (in other words, adverbial clauses in Quechua languages display a switch-reference system). Employing these diagnostics confirms the predictions of the structures in (3) and (4).

(44) **Santiago del Estero: the possessor is not the subject of predication**

- a. Qam [cha chuspi tiya- \emptyset -su-na-n-ta] muna-nki.
 You that fly be-APPL-2OBJ-SBJV-3POSS-ACC want-2SBJ
 ‘You want to have that fly on you.’
- b. *Qam [PRO cha chuspi tiya- \emptyset -su-y-ta] muna-nki.
 You PRO that fly be-APPL-2OBJ-INF-ACC want-2SBJ
 ‘You want to have that fly on you.’

(45) **Santiago del Estero: the possessee is the subject of predication**

- Cha chuspi [qam-ta PRO tiya- \emptyset -su-y-ta] muna-n.
 That fly you-ACC PRO be-APPL-2OBJ-INF-ACC want-3SBJ
 ‘That fly wants to be on you.’ Lit: ‘That fly wants you to have it on you.’

(46) **Cochabamba: the possessor is not the subject of predication**

- a. *Wasi-y tiya-pu-wa-spa, kuisqa ka-rqa-ni.
house-1POSS be-APPL-1OBJ-GER happy be-PAST-1SBJ
'When I had a house, I was happy.'
- b. Wasi-y tiya-pu-wa-qti-n, kuisqa ka-rqa-ni.
house-1POSS be-APPL-1OBJ-ADV-3SBJ happy be-PAST-1SBJ
'When I had a house, I was happy.'

(47) **Cochabamba: the possessee is not the subject of predication**

- a. *Wasi-y tiya-pu-wa-spa, huch'uy ka-rqa-∅.
house-1POSS be-APPL-1OBJ-GER small be-PAST-3SBJ
'When I had a house, it was small.'
- b. Wasi-y tiya-pu-wa-qti-n, huch'uy ka-rqa-∅.
house-1POSS be-APPL-1OBJ-ADV-3SBJ small be-PAST-3SBJ
'When I had a house, it was small.'

4 Conclusions and Open Questions

This paper has shown that superficially near-identical predicative possession constructions have rather different structures: the BE-APPL construction of Santiago del Estero Quechua is a predicate locative structure, but that of Cochabamba Quechua is an existential structure. Given this, and given that predicate locatives and existentials do not have the same syntax or semantics (Francez 2009:30–46; Hartmann & Milićević 2008), we must side with Boneh & Sichel (2010); Levinson (2011); Myler (2016) and against the tradition associated with Freeze (1992): possession sentences *do* vary in their underlying argument structures cross-linguistically.

While this conclusion seems secure, there are number of puzzles concerning these constructions that remain unsolved. I will note them here as issues for future research. Firstly, although I have offered an account of the semantic restrictions on the BE-APPL construction in Santiago del Estero Quechua (in terms of the semantic contribution of the silent locative predicate in the structure in (3)), I have not done the same for the Cochabamba Quechua version. Hence, it is not clear why the BE-APPL construction in Cochabamba Quechua is restricted with body-parts and part-whole possession, and bad with psychological states, physical sensations, and some diseases. A second puzzle is as follows: given that Santiago del Estero has *tiya-* in existentials, why can't it make use of the existential parse of the BE-APPL construction? If it could, we would expect to find BE-APPL constructions in Santiago del Estero with an existential rather than locative syntax, and which lack the restriction to possesseees that are embedded in/on the possessor. Since this is not what we find, it must be that existential *tiya-* is barred from this construction in Santiago del Estero Quechua. At present, however, I do not know what could derive such a ban. Finally, I note an issue pointed out to me by Heidi Harley. Like in many languages, genitives can occur as predicates in Cochabamba Quechua, as in this example:

(48) **Cochabamba Quechua: predicate genitive**

Kay libru-s Juan-pata ka-n-ku.
This book-PL Juan-GEN be-3SBJ-PL
'These books are Juan's.

Given this, and given that Cochabamba Quechua allows genitive-marked DPs in spec-AppIP, the question arises of why a genitive predicate could not raise into spec-AppIP, producing a predicative version of the BE-APPL construction with the same meaning as (48). Such examples are not possible:

(49) **Cochabamba Quechua: predicate genitive cannot move to spec-AppIP**

*Juan-pata kay libru-s ka-pu- \emptyset -n-ku.
Juan-GEN this book-PL be-APPL-3OBJ-3SBJ-PL
'These books are Juan's.

Presumably, such raising of a predicate into spec-AppIP is barred, but I will once again have to leave a deeper understanding of this ban to future research.

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