

## Fourth Conference of the European Association for the Study of Andean Languages - Abstracts

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### Saturday 5 September

#### Lengua X, an Andean puzzle

Matthias Pache

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In the southern central Andes, different researchers have come across series of numerals which are difficult to attribute to one of the language groups known to be or have been spoken in this area: Quechuan, Aymaran, Uru-Chipayan, or Puquina (cf. Ibarra Grasso 1982: 97-107). In a specific chapter headed “La lengua X”, Ibarra Grasso (1982) discusses different series of numerals which he attributes to this language. Although subsumed under one heading, Lengua X, the numerals in question may vary across the sources, both with respect to form and meaning. An exemplary paradigm of Lengua X numerals recorded during own fieldwork is as follows:

- 1     *mayti*
- 2     *payti*
- 3     *kimsti*
- 4     *taksi*
- 5     *takiri*
- 6     *iriti*
- 7     *wanaku*
- 8     *atʃatʃi*
- 9     *tʃipana*
- 10    *tʃʰutx*

Whereas some of these numerals resemble their Aymara counterparts (*mayti* ‘one’, *payti* ‘two’, cf. Aymara *maya* ‘one’, *paya* ‘two’), others seem to have parallels in Uru or Puquina numerals (*taksi* ‘four’, cf. Irohito Uru *táx’s núko* ‘six’ (Vellard 1967: 37), Puquina *tacpa* ‘five’ (Torero 2002: 454)). Among numerals above five, there are some cases of homonymy with Quechua/Aymara terms referring to specific entities, as for instance Lengua X *tʃipana* ‘nine’ and Quechua/Aymara *tʃipana* ‘fetter, bracelet’.

In this talk, I will discuss two questions: (1) What is the origin of Lengua X numerals? (2) What do Lengua X numerals reveal about the linguistic past of the southern central Andes?

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## Tracing Quingnam, the royal language of Chimor

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About many languages of ancient Peru very little is known, but about few so little as about Quingnam, the royal language of the Late Intermediate Period Chimor polity of Peru's North Coast. Quingnam went extinct early, and with the possible exception of a recently discovered short list of numerals (Quilter et al. 2010) and some terms in local Spanish without with a non-Romance origin (Zevallos Quiñones 1975), the available documentation almost exclusively consists of toponyms and anthroponyms from the region where it was spoken.

I shall here be concerned with a summary of what little linguistic information can be distilled from the extremely little material from the language in terms of its possible sound inventory, phonotactics, and word structure, but will then move on to an attempt to distill from that information that allow us to put the language into areal perspective. For instance, I will show that in some aspects, such as the absence of evidence for a three-vowel system and the dominant CVC structure of lexical roots, Quingnam aligns with its northern neighbor on Peru's coast, Mochica, but that in others, such as the virtual absence of evidence for a labiodentals fricative, common among indigenous languages of the Pacific coast from Peru southward to Patagonia, it patterns more with highland languages like Quechua or Aymara. In this way, it is at least possible to put the Quingnam language into a comparative areal perspective regarding selected linguistic traits, even though the major part of its grammar and lexicon remains inaccessible.

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## Escribas semilingües o iniciadores del Castellano Andino: el caso del copista de Molina

Rodolfo Cerrón-Palomino  
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La historiografía andina de los últimos tiempos ha destacado la labor que desempeñaron los intérpretes y escribas de origen indio en el contexto jurídico y religioso de la sociedad estamental colonial (*cf.*, por ejemplo, Charles 2010). Muchos de ellos sirvieron de secretarios y ayudantes, cuando no de copistas, a reconocidos cronistas de Indias o extirpadores de idolatría, seglares y religiosos, como los casos, por mencionar algunos, de Guaman Poma, Cristóbal Choquecasa, Martín de Santa Cruz. Uno de ellos fue seguramente el copista anónimo de los originales desconocidos de los *Ritos y fábulas de los incas* de Cristóbal de Molina (1573). La lectura atenta de la única copia existente del manuscrito de esta obra no puede dejar pasar inadvertido el tipo de castellano, en este caso letrado, que manejaba el copista de Molina: lo muestran no solo sus interferencias fonéticas y gramaticales

constantes a lo largo del texto sino también los vacíos en blanco que interrumpen el copiado, dictados con seguridad por la incomprensión de términos y expresiones propios del original, y dejados para ser llenados más tarde. Sin embargo, los responsables de las dos últimas ediciones de la obra del eximio quechuista (*cf.* Molina 2008, 2010) han pasado por alto este hecho, no obstante que la primera de ellas estuvo a cargo de un investigador que se considera a boca llena experto en lenguas andinas. Nuestra ponencia estará destinada a demostrar lo señalado.

Keynote:

**Las funciones de Chavín de Huántar, su impacto suprarregional y el problema del panorama lingüístico en los Andes Centrales entre 900 y 500 A.C.**

Peter Kaulicke

*Pontificia Universidad Católica del Perú*

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**Sunday 6 September**

**Thinking with the Hallqa: Ancash Quechua Speakers' use of Frames of Reference in Nonverbal Spatial Memory**

Joshua Shapero

*University of Michigan*

Linguistic and psychological studies have shown that language both contributes to humans' ability to orient using landmarks (e.g., Shusterman, Lee, & Spelke, 2005, 2011; Hermer-Vazquez, Spelke, and Katsnelson, 1999) and shapes the use of Frames of Reference (FoRs) in nonverbal spatial cognition (e.g., Boroditsky & Gaby, 2010; Danziger 2011; Levinson 2003; Majid, Bowerman, Kita, Haun, & Levinson, 2004). However, it remains to be seen whether and how sociocultural factors such as environmental experience may be involved in shaping the use of FoRs in cognition. The study I present asks if environmental experience plays a role, departing from two observations about Ancash Quechua speakers in the Rio Negro watershed in the northern Peruvian Andes: 1) an overwhelming preference for the use of allocentric FoRs for spatial description, and 2) variation in pastoral experience in *hallqa* region (3,700-4,700 masl). Participants in the study consisted of 97 individuals from Ancash Quechua speaking households in the community, both male and female, of ages ranging from 8 to 77. The results demonstrated that 1) language alone could not account for the pattern of use of FoRs, and 2) extent of environmental experience was the only factor significantly related to the variation in FoR use. This shows that at least in some cultural contexts, environmental experience can impact the use of FoRs in nonverbal cognition. In this sense it elucidates an important interface among phenomena in cognitive, linguistic, and cultural domains, and raises questions about how and in what contexts environmental experience shapes spatial cognition. In the context of the Andes, it identifies a concrete point of convergence among linguistics, psychology, and anthropological observations about the spiritual, social, and political importance of the Andean landscape (e.g., Bauer 1998; de la Cadena 2010; Gose 1994; Herrera 2003, 2005; Nuñez and Cornejo 2012; Sallnow 1987).

## **Allocentric person in Quechua**

Bruce Mannheim

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This is a programmatic paper at the intersection of two issues: (1) In research on spatial orientation (e.g. Levinson; Danziger, converging with research in cognitive neuropsychology) it is commonplace to distinguish egocentric forms of orientation—ones in which orientation is established with reference to participants in the speech situation from allocentric orientation—ones which orient to objects outside of the speech situation. Quechua spatial orientation is primarily—indeed almost exclusively—allocentric rather than egocentric (Shapero). Evidence from contemporary southern Quechua shows that person, too can be refigured allocentrically; to do so requires rethinking the category of “person” itself (Hanks, Nunberg, Roberts). (2) From a diachronic standpoint—and developing recent proposals by Adelaar--, the Quechua family has two distinct person systems (with fuzziness at the border between them), one for indicative mood and for direct polypersons (Person II, drawing on collaborative work with Emlen); and the other for everything else, non-indicative moods, substantive, and inverse polypersons (Person I). I sketch a proposal that draws on the insights of the spatial orientation program that the Person II system emerged diachronically from the Person I system, following well-understood principles of grammatical analogy (Kuryłowicz, Watkins).

## **An ethnomusical and linguistic description of the Añasita song of Muylaque (Peru)**

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<sup>1</sup>INCAS3, <sup>2</sup>University of Toulouse II, <sup>3</sup>Peruvian Ministry of Culture

We provide a descriptive analysis of the Añasita 'skunk' song, a traditional narrative song from the Aymara-speaking village of Muylaque (Moquegua, Peru). After an explanation of the cultural context, we remark on the song's linguistic structure; highlighting, on the one hand, its dialogical characteristics, and, on the other, its organization into octosyllabic semantic couplets. Thereafter, we propose a musical annotation and highlight the difficulty of "objective" musical transcription with an account of the interpretative aspects of the notes and the rhythm, remarking on interpretations with and without anacrusis. We conclude the talk with an overview of the implications of this collaborative approach for the ethnomusical study and comparison of other songs from the people of the Andes.

## **Documentación de las lenguas Uru-Chipaya**

Achim Schumacher

Las variedades de las lenguas Uru-Chipaya se hablaban por los Urus, una etnia que vivía en las orillas de los lagos del Altiplano peruano-boliviano. En la actualidad quedan cuatro grupos, cuales se identifican como Urus: los Urus de las islas flotantes en la bahía de Puno, los Urus de Irohito al río Desaguadero, los Uru-Muratos del Lago Poopó y los Chipayas al norte del lago Coipasa.

Hoy día, solamente los Chipayas usan su lengua ancestral, los otros se adaptaron a sus vecinos usando el Aymara y el Quechua.

En la última década aparecieron varios estudios de las lenguas Uru-Chipaya, por ejemplo “El Chipaya o la lengua de los hombres del agua” del Dr. Rodolfo Cerrón-Palomino, y “Uchumataqu” de la Dra. Katja Hannß.

Lo que faltaba, era una documentación de la lengua Chipaya usada en un contexto conversacional. Por eso en el año 2008 formamos un equipo con una antropóloga chipaya hablante con el fin de documentar la lengua hablada y varios aspectos de la cultura Chipaya. Esta documentación es archivado por el Instituto Max Planck en Nimega como parte de la Iniciativa DoBeS (documentación de lenguas amenazadas).

En mi ponencia quiero presentar este proyecto de documentación, explicar nuestros métodos y mostrar ejemplos de los datos recolectados. Además explicaré algunos rasgos gramaticales como evidencialidad y construcciones de subordinación.

Para obtener más informaciones, véase:

<http://dobes.mpi.nl/projects/uru-chipaya/>

## Media Lengua Revisited

Jorge Gómez Rendón

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Pioneering studies in any field of science either deal with phenomena to which little or no attention has been paid before or approach them from new and novel perspectives. Such was the case of the first studies on a nowadays prototypical mixed language spoken in the Ecuadorian Andes, Media Lengua (Muysken 1979, 1981, 1985, 1996). While Media Lengua became a paradigm in contact linguistics over the years, several works have appeared in the last years which provide fresh empirical evidence compelling a reassessment of this mixing phenomenon (cf. Gómez Rendón 2008; Shappeck 2011; Müller 2011; Stewart 2011, 2012; Jarrín Paredes 2014). Such reassessment involves three fundamental ideas still taken for granted, namely: 1) Media Lengua expresses the mixed identity of its speakers; 2) Media Lengua is a code specific to the domestic space; and 3) Media Lengua is created by a unique process of relexification. Each of these presuppositions entails a particular conception of mixing and language in relation to culture and communication. The purpose of this contribution is to call into question these presuppositions and advance an alternative view to its linguistic status and potentially fruitful tools to explore it.

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### **Translating and interpreting in Andean and Amazonian languages: implementation of indigenous language rights in Peru**

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This paper will present early findings of an AHRC-funded research project into translator and interpreter training for speakers of indigenous languages in Peru, aimed at facilitating communication in formal encounters between Spanish speaking agents of the Peruvian state and speakers of the estimated forty-six Amerindian languages spoken on Peruvian territory. Formal translator and interpreter training for indigenous language speakers in Peru is a new departure for the state, having arisen out of recent legislation governing linguistic human rights and the right to prior consultation, and has been running over the last three years. Implementation of linguistic human rights and prior consultation legislation is crucial in Peru, as in other Andean-Amazonian countries, where concessions to transnational extractive industries have been granted with little or no consultation with the indigenous communities who live on, and hold title to, the territories where mining and oil drilling take place. In this paper we shall explore some of the linguistic, cultural and social dynamics of the intercultural relations revealed in a training process that, in many cases, has brought Andean and Amazonian peoples into interaction with each other for the first time. We shall also look at the challenges that, in practice, indigenous interpreters and translators face in the application of their professional skills.

### **Estudio longitudinal sobre cambio de actitudes hacia y uso del Quechua y Castellano en Ayacucho/Perú**

Utta von Gleich

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La ponencia se refiere al Perú en su calidad de país multilingüe y multicultural, resaltando la capital del Departamento de Ayacucho como cuna del bilingüismo quechua-huanca, herencia de la ancestral cultura Wari y su contacto con el castellano desde la llegada de los españoles. Sus múltiples relaciones con distritos provinciales y el intercambio prolongado con Lima, capital en la costa, por flujos migratorios de ida y vuelta y la importancia de su

universidad en el diálogo intelectual del país son características que fueron propicias para importantes estudios sociolingüísticos peruanos.

Presentamos una breve retrospectiva del Proyecto Bilingüismo Quechua-Castellano (BQC), iniciado en 1968 por la Universidad San Marcos en Lima, en cooperación con el Instituto de Estudios Peruanos (IEP), la Universidad San Cristóbal de Huamanga y la Universidad de Nueva York en Buffalo, que tenía como meta conocer las condiciones sociolingüísticas para la implementación pertinente de la educación bilingüe en diferentes contextos.

La sub-muestra del estudio sobre el bilingüismo en el barrio S.J. Bautista se desarrolló con base en encuestas en 1978 y 1996 en un estudio longitudinal que nos permite relacionar cambios socio-políticos con cambios en la valoración de las lenguas en contacto.

En la última etapa en 2014, analizamos por consiguiente el trasfondo actual de la legislación linguo-pedagógica a favor de las lenguas originarias y el reciente desarrollo económico contra la pobreza y la migración del campo a la ciudad. El grupo focal sigue siendo los bilingües en el barrio SJB, vale decir los participantes sobrevivientes de las etapas anteriores y representantes de instituciones locales. Para incluir en la muestra las generaciones jóvenes añadimos una breve encuesta con aprox. 100 estudiantes de ciencias sociales y maestros en servicio sobre la valoración del bilingüismo Quechua-Castellano en Ayacucho.

### **Rehabilitación del Quechua Ayacuchano**

Willem Adelaar

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En años pasados, el quechua ayacuchano (o quechua chanca) fue considerado como una de las principales variedades del quechua habladas en el Perú, con un valor histórico y cultural innegable y una literatura oral auténtica. Su arcaísmo, que sobrepasaba aquel del quechua cuzqueño dentro del grupo Quechua IIC en muchos aspectos, no se ponía en cuestión y el ayacuchano llegó a ser reconocido como una de las lenguas quechuas normalizadas durante el intervalo de la oficialización quechua en el Perú en 1975. Algunas propuestas recientes, que han puesto en cuestión la ‘historia oficial’ de las lenguas andinas, han contribuido a socavar la posición del ayacuchano en la apreciación de los lingüistas e historiadores. Se le ha atribuido el carácter de una variedad de formación colonial, altamente hispanizada (Itier 2011, 2014), su base geográfica fue puesta en cuestión (Ayacucho no hubiera sido principalmente aymara-hablante), y su expansión se ha atribuido al desarrollo de la minería (Pearce y Heggarty 2011) y de un proceso de urbanización ocurrido durante la época colonial (Itier 2014). En esta ponencia procuramos demostrar que el ayacuchano constituye una variedad bastante conservadora del quechua, profundamente arraigada en la época pre-hispánica. Las limitaciones geográficas, que fueron señaladas con respecto al ayacuchano, requieren de una explicación bien fundada en la que se reconstituye el espacio histórico que le corresponde.

### **Exploring the Phonetics of the Andean Languages: Presenting the New Sounds of the Andean Languages Web Database**

Paul Heggarty

*MPI for Evolutionary Anthropology, Leipzig & MPI for the Science of Human History, Jena*

Sounds of the Andean Languages is a comparative documentation project, ‘shallow but broad’, to collect and explore a consistent sample of the phonetic diversity across the main indigenous language families of the Andes — so far covering Quechua, Aymara and

Mapudungun. A particular imperative has been to record the many Andean language varieties facing imminent extinction, such as Chachapoyas Quechua, Kawki Aymara and Huilliche Mapudungun.

This talk presents and hopes for feedback on a radically improved and expanded version of our online database and website, now nearing completion. (See

[www.soundcomparisons.com/Andean](http://www.soundcomparisons.com/Andean) and [www.soundcomparisons.com/Mapudungun](http://www.soundcomparisons.com/Mapudungun).)

The database is made up of recordings and detailed phonetic transcriptions (still underway) of a sample of 100-200 pan-family cognate words, as pronounced right across the regional diversity in accents, dialects and languages within each family (currently about 100 varieties recorded).

The website interface to the database is based around customisable maps and tables of ‘instant playback’ recordings. It is designed firstly to be as user-friendly as possible for the general public, not least the speakers of these languages, to support various outreach and revitalisation objectives. The entire website can also be translated remotely into any other site language.

For linguists, meanwhile, the website offers powerful functionality to focus on any particular research question in the phonetic/phonological diversity and history of a family. The database can be queried, searched and filtered instantaneously by any orthographic letter or IPA character, by ‘regular expressions’, and by standard phonological wildcards (v, c, N, etc.), so as to focus on any example search, such as all instances of word-final Proto-Quechua /q/ and its reflexes in all modern varieties. Any user search, and any selection of preferred language varieties and/or cognates, can be saved, linked to, and the corresponding sound files and transcriptions downloaded.

I also present the project’s own specific research objectives.

### Keynote:

#### **En busca de elementos diagnósticos Puquinas**

Rodolfo Cerrón-Palomino

*Pontificia Universidad Católica del Perú*

No obstante haber sido declarada en 1575 “lengua general” por el virrey Toledo ([1575] 1989: Vol. II, 97-100), el puquina no tuvo la suerte de ser documentado como sus congéneres quechua y aimara. Los preceptos gramaticales y léxicos preparados por el padre Alonso de Barzana (o Bárcena) en 1590 nunca han podido localizarse (*cf.* de la Viñaza [1892] 1977). Para su estudio apenas contamos con un conjunto de textos pastorales editados en Nápoles por Jerónimo de Oré (1607). A partir de ellos se han hecho esfuerzos por extraer algunos fragmentos gramaticales de la lengua, así como un reducido léxico de la misma (*cf.* de la Grasserie 1894, Torero 1987, Adelaar y van de Kerke 2009). Modernamente, sin embargo, se han venido abriendo nuevas avenidas de estudio que permiten enriquecer el conocimiento del idioma, siendo los estudios onomásticos los más prometedores (*cf.* Cerrón-Palomino 2013: Parte I). Tales estudios ayudan, además, a comprender mejor el rol que desempeñó la lengua tiahuanacuense en la génesis y formación del imperio incaico, contrariamente a lo que algunos arqueólogos sostienen aún (*cf.*, por ejemplo, Stanish 2003: cap. 3, 59; Bauer y Douglas 2015).



## Monday 7 September

# Linguistic Relations across the Andean-Amazonian Divide

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### Highland-lowland language interactions

Rik van Gijn<sup>1</sup> and Pieter Muysken<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup>Universität Zürich, <sup>2</sup>Radboud University Nijmegen

The relations between the languages of the western South American highlands and the lowlands form a complex and multi-layered network, the reconstruction of which ultimately will require the concerted effort of specialists from several subdisciplines. The goal of the present paper is to come to a more refined picture of how these areas flow into each other, taking a linguistic perspective. We review the distribution of structural linguistic features that have been proposed as areally diffused features in the languages of the upper Amazon and adjacent areas in the Amazon and Andes. In particular we will be concerned with the role of elevation differences in shaping the distributional patterns.

### Relations between Lake Titicaca and the lowlands: Pukina and (Proto-)Takanan

Katja Hannß

University of Cologne

In this paper, we will be concerned with lexical similarities between Pukina and (Proto-)Takanan languages, discussing whether these similarities suggest a (distant) genetic relationship or whether they are induced by contact.

Pukina is an extinct language of Lake Titicaca (Bolivia). Its genetic affiliation is uncertain, although relations to Arawakan languages have been suggested (see Adelaar and van de Kerke 2009: 126). Pukina is associated with the Tiahuanaco culture that flourished between 650 and 1050 A.D. (see Isbell 2012: 220).

The Takanan languages form a closely-knit language family of the eastern Andean slopes. In Bolivia, this language family is represented by Araona, Cavineña, Ese Ejja, Reyesano, and Takana. Holman et al. (2011: 35) suggest a time depth of 1.590 years BP for the split of Proto-Takanan, which would coincide with the time just before the rise of the Tiahuanaco Empire.

The following is an example of phonologically and semantically similar items in Pukina and (Proto-)Takanan.<sup>1</sup>

(1)	a.	ata-qo	‘woman, wife’	(Pukina)
	b.	*ata		(Proto-Takanan)
	c.	ata	‘village’	(Takana proper)
	d.	ata-pea	‘tribe, clan’	(Araona)
	e.	ata	‘relatives, kinsmen, friend, companion, neighbour, citizen, subject’	(Cavineña)
	f.	ata-piisi	‘related by blood’	(Cavineña)

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<sup>1</sup> Hyphenation of the examples ours.

While such instances suggest a relationship between Pukina and (Proto-)Takanan, it is unclear whether similarities are due to a genetic relationship or rather to contact. Although the corpus of lexically similar Pukina and (Proto-)Takanan items is very small (14 items at the most), it contains kinship terms and body part denominations. Usually, such items are considered stable and not prone to easy borrowing, unless heavy contact occurs. Such a massive contact scenario, however, is not supported by the small corpus. In this paper, we will therefore discuss how to analyse the Pukina-(Proto-)Takanan relationships.

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## Ethnographic perspectives on a contemporary Matsigenka-Quechua-Spanish language contact situation in Southern Peru

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On the Eastern slopes of the Southern Peruvian Andes, Quechua-speaking agricultural migrants from the highlands have married together with indigenous Matsigenka people and formed trilingual Matsigenka-Quechua-Spanish communities. In one such community, the three languages have begun to converge in a number of respects; this presentation will discuss a few discourse features in particular that have come to be shared across the languages (e.g. poetic features, genres, evidentiality). While linguistic studies of South American languages often describe the outcomes of contact and identify large geographic areas of convergence, the specific social and cultural mechanisms that lead to such changes are not usually addressed. The ethnographic perspective presented here provides an opportunity to ground linguistic convergence within the interplay between the metapragmatics of multilingual interaction and broader features of the local social world. Such a focus suggests that language contact in the Andes and in Amazonia, while usually regarded (at least implicitly) as radically distinct, are not necessarily qualitatively different, and that the tendency to treat them separately--and indeed, the notion of "Andean" and "Amazonian" languages in the first place--has more to do with ideological and scholarly divisions than with the facts on the ground.

## Two Andean colonial confessionaries in Quechua and Yánesha

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The British Library owns a number of indigenous language documents of unknown provenience, dating from the 17th to the 19<sup>th</sup> centuries. Among these there are two confessionaries by anonymous authors, in Quechua and in what was then called Amage (Amuesha or Yánesha). On the basis of the linguistic characteristics of these manuscripts I will formulate a hypothesis as to their authorship showing that they were written by Franciscan missionaries in Central Peru in the 18th century. The Quechua text is a unique example of an early *media lengua* usage and a rare instance of central Peruvian Quechua of the colonial period. The other text seems to be the most ancient source for the Yánesha language which Astrid Alexander-Bakkerus will comment on. I will also study the form and content of their discourse, which contributes to our information about the colonial efforts at Christianisation in indigenous languages.

## When Cholón (and Amage) meets Quechua

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Cholón was spoken in North Peru on the eastern slopes of the Andes and in the Huallaga Valley. It belongs to the Cholonan language family together with Híbito. Cholón is a lowland language and, as such, it is considered to be an Amazonian language. Quechua is an Andean highland language, belonging to the Quechuan language family. Notwithstanding the fact that the languages belong to different language families, Cholón has a great number of lexical items and grammatical features in common with Quechua.

The Cholón language, having one foot in the Andes and the other in Amazonia, and having items in common with Quechua, thus bridges the Andean highland and the Amazonian lowland, not only from a geographical viewpoint, but also linguistically speaking.

In this talk I explain why Cholón has many similarities with Quechua and how it came about. I also show the lexical and grammatical points of similarity between both languages.

However, Quechua had also a great influence on other neighbouring Peruvian languages, such as Amage (a.k.a. Amuesha/ Yanesha) of which the first source is in a manuscript found by our colleague Sabine Dedenbach-Salazar Sáenz, cf. her presentation “Two Andean colonial confessionaries in Quechua and Yánesha”. At the end of my talk I show a map dating from the 18th century on which the Cholón and the Amage habitats are indicated, and I spend a few words on the Amage language as used in the manuscript.

## The Eastern foothills as a contact zone: evidence from non-canonical switch-reference

Simon Overall<sup>1</sup> and Marine Vuillermet<sup>2</sup>  
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This paper describes “non-canonical” switch-reference (SR) in the Eastern slopes of the Andes, and examines typological and areal factors in their development. Canonical SR (Haiman & Munro (1983:iv)) functions on a subject pivot: ‘same subject’ (SS) markers encode the identity of subjects (i.e. A/S) in two linked clauses, while ‘different subject’ (DS) requires that the subjects not be coreferent.

Aguaruna (Jivaroan, Peru) has a set of canonical SR markers, but also two non-canonical markers (Overall 2007). These are like canonical SS in requiring a common argument in the linked clauses, but do not function on a subject pivot, as shown in Table 1.

*Table 1: Aguaruna non-canonical SR linkages*

MARKER	ROLE IN:	MARKED CLAUSE		CONTROLLING CLAUSE
-tatamana		subject	=	<b>object</b>
-ma		<b>non-subject</b>	=	subject

Ese'eja (Takanan, Peru-Bolivia) has two tripartite co-reference systems (Vuillermet 2014). In each system, two markers require a common argument in the linked clauses, but distinguish either (1) intransitive and transitive subjects of the controlling clause; or (2) co-reference with core arguments of the marked clause (Table 2).

*Table 2: Ese'eja co-reference systems*

MARKER	ROLE IN:	MC		CC
-ajemo			=	<b>A</b>
-jemo			=	<b>S</b> (also O?)
-hojemo		A/S/O	≠	A/S/O
-maje		<b>A/S</b>	=	
-aje		<b>O</b>	=	A/S
-aho		A/S/O	≠	

Panoan languages (Loos 1999, Valenzuela 2003) display similar but more elaborate systems which distinguish between co-reference with intransitive and transitive subjects, and, less frequently, objects (Fleck 2003:1024).

Given that areal diffusion of (canonical) SR is widely attested (Jacobsen 1983, van Gijn 2012) and that non-canonical SR as described here is apparently unattested outside of these three families, the data support the idea of a contact zone along the Eastern foothills of the Andes, in the overlap between the Andean and Amazonian areas but distinct from both.

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## **Chicham (Jivaroan) Languages in Contact: Between the Andes and the Amazon**

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The Chicham (Jivaroan) family is a group of five closely related languages spoken by around 150,000 people in the lowlands of eastern Ecuador and northern Peru, a region straddling the Andean (Adelaar & Muysken 2004) and Amazonian (Dixon & Aikhenvald 1999) areas. Proposals that Chicham languages are related to various neighbours, such as Cahuapanan (Greenberg 1987; Kaufman 1990), Candoshi (Payne 1981; Stark 1985) and Palta (Loukotka 1968), have all been either based on limited evidence or since retracted. The family is generally thought of as an isolated grouping with no known genetic relatives. Nevertheless, there is ample evidence that Chicham languages have been in contact with a number of other languages in the region. In this talk we will assess possible cases of lexical and structural borrowings and will conclude that Chicham languages have been influenced by both Andean and Amazonian languages over time.

First, evidence for borrowed words will be drawn from a controlled lexical data set covering over 300 basic, flora-fauna, and cultural vocabulary terms in 89 languages of northern Amazonia and the Andes. Data for Chicham languages was taken from dictionaries, fieldnotes, and other sources. Most of the loans detected in Chicham languages are from Candoshi and Quechuan languages, but some words with more distant sources are found as well, including Amazonian Wanderwörter.

Second, we consider evidence for structural similarities between Chicham and neighboring languages, such as strategies for forming complex predicates. Our analysis is informed by field data from Shuar and Shiwiar, as well as a set of grammatical features drawn from a large sample of northern South American languages. Interestingly, these structural similarities link Chicham both with Andean languages such as Ecuadorean Quichua, and Amazonian languages such as Siona.

## **Lingueme diffusion in the Upper Amazon, the Kawapanan transit area**

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The Kawapanan languages, Shawi and Shiwilu, are spoken in the northern foothills of Peruvian Amazonia. The ecology of both languages before the arrival of the Spaniards was characterised by intense and constant language contact with other foothill languages such as Kukama (Tupian), Munichich (isolate), Candoshi (isolate), Aguaruna (Jivaroan), as well as with Andean languages, such as Quechua and, maybe, Aymara (cf. Valenzuela 2015).

It is nowadays admitted that "there is no sharp boundary between the Andean and Amazonian linguistic areas — they tend to flow into each other" (Aikhenvald & Dixon 1999:10). This flow is being studied from a macro perspective in genetic and areal linguistics (cf. Michael, Chang & Stark 2014); however, only micro studies regarding one single direction of this flow have been carried out (cf. Adelaar & Muysken 2004, Adelaar 2006 —for Quechua to Amazonian languages).

Kawapanan languages are very good candidates for a double direction study, taking into account the intra-systemic spread of linguistic features original from both the core Andean zone and Amazonia. This is only possible thanks to the substantial descriptive and comparative work being performed in the last three decades (cf. Hart 1988; Barraza 2005;

Valenzuela 2011a,b, 2012; Valenzuela & Gussenhoven 2013; Farfán-Reto 2011; Madalengoitia-Barúa 2013; Rojas-Berscia 2013,2015a,b).

For this presentation, a double-sided analysis of the spread of linguistic features in Kawapanan languages will be held, assessing for the degree of "andeanness" or "amazonianness" of Shawi and Shiwilu. For the analysis, theoretical concepts such as *lingueme* —"a unit of linguistic structure, as embodied in particular utterances, that can be inherited in replication" (Croft 2000: 239), *linguistic memplex*, or complex of memes, (cf. Rojas-Berscia 2015c) and *gene pool* (cf. Mufwene 2008) will be used, arguing for the Kawapanan area to be one of the best examples of transit area in the foothills, where the collapse of both Andean and Amazonian linguistic features can be socio-historically explained.

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## **Creating Ñucanchic shimi: The Standardization and Differentiation of Ecuadorian Quichua(s) into Kichwa Unificado**

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In this talk I explore ideologies of language standardization and linguistic differentiation (Haugen 1966; Irvine and Gal 2000) in Ecuador as evidenced by dictionaries and grammars of standardized Kichwa and regional Ecuadorian Quichua. Ecuador is a compelling location to consider contemporary processes of language standardization within the context of highland/lowland language contact. Relatively recent efforts to mitigate language shift from Quichua towards Spanish through institutional language revitalization projects, such as intercultural bilingual education, have relied upon explicit language planning, focused on the regularization of linguistic structures and orthographic representations of regionally variable Ecuadorian Quichua (King 2001). As this standardized Kichwa Unificado is largely based upon highland varieties of Quichua, lowland speakers often perceive its use in institutional settings as a significant cultural and political imposition. Indeed, many rural speakers of Amazonian Quichua criticize the use of Kichwa Unificado in bilingual education (Wroblewski 2012), arguing that their children are not learning the locally spoken Quichua in school, but rather a foreign variety from the highlands, devoid of the forms that animate speech in the Amazon.

As significant points of dissemination for standard language ideologies (Milroy 2000; Haugen 1966), this paper focuses on dictionaries and grammars in order to ask: How is the process of standardization addressed? What regimes of value are established between standardized forms and the regional practices that they attempt to codify? Through case studies of descriptive grammars and dictionaries, I will examine the ways that linguistic practices are differentiated—or not—into discrete varieties, and how the legitimacy and authority of Kichwa Unificado is created and contested.

## Evidence for Traces of Contact in Expressive Forms from Pastaza Quichua, Ecuador

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Evidence for Traces of Contact in Expressive Forms from Pastaza Quichua, Ecuador  
It is not difficult, during conversations with speakers of Pastaza Quichua, a dialect of Quechua IIB (ISO code: 639-3), to elicit stories detailing their active history of travels both to the highlands as well as deep into the lowlands for trading purposes and for salt mining. Such narratives reveal careful observations of differences between themselves and other peoples, often including detailed fragments of quoted speech from languages about which speakers profess ignorance. In fact, the Pastaza valley is associated with at least 4 Quechua dialects, three Jivaroan languages (Shuar, Achuar, Shiwiar), and Sapara.

The goal of this paper is to outline the range of expressive forms attesting to diverse contacts between the various Quechua dialects associated with the Pastaza valley as well as with other linguistic groups, mainly Achuar and Sapara. We consider evidence from: short song fragments, traditional mythic narratives, ethnohistorical accounts, and from a class of expressive forms called ideophones, which, though attested as a feature of many Amazonian languages (Derbyshire and Pullum 1986), are a robust class in this lowland variety of a highland language family.

Ideophones are a class of expressions found throughout the world's languages. They are of interest to linguists because of their fascinating structural features, their complex semantics, and their discourse properties, which draw interlocutors into a shared experience of simulated perceptions. Nuckolls, Stanley, Nielsen and Hopper (in press) have argued that ideophones bear distinct traces of contact with other languages by the addition of many new palatalized obstruents to their inventory, which points to influences on Quichua's phonological system from Achuar, Shuar, and Zaparoan, all of which have palatalization occurring on obstruents as a phonological process (Adelaar and Muysken 2004:43; Fast Mowitz, Warkentin de Fast, and Fast Warkentin 1996:15; and Payne 1984:138). Although much important and revealing work has been done with basic vocabulary inventories, we argue that expressive linguistic resources may also have potential for revealing important evidence for traces of contact between different linguistic populations.

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