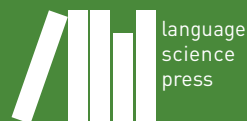


# A grammar of Yauyos Quechua

Aviva Shimelman

■ Studies in Diversity Linguistics 9



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Aviva Shimelman

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For my father



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Errors remain, of course, for which I am entirely responsible.





# Notational conventions

Table 1 lists the gloss abbreviations employed and the morphemes to which they correspond. Unless otherwise noted, all morphemes are common to all dialects. ACH indicates the Azángaro-Chocos-Huangáscar dialect; AMV, Apurí-Madeán-Viñac; CH, Caca-Hongos; LT, Lincha-Tana; SP, San Pedro de Huacarpana. *Á* indicates alternation between [á] and an accent shift to the final syllable. *H*, *I*, *N*, *R*, and *S* indicate alternations between [ø] and [h], [i], [n], [r], and [s], respectively. *U* indicates alternation between [u] and [a]. *Y* indicates alternation between [y], [i] and [ø]. *PI* indicates an alternation between [pi] and [ø] (unique to the additive enclitic *-pis*). The first five alternations are conditioned by environment in all dialects. *R* indicates alternative realizations of \*/r/ – realized as [r] in all dialects except that of CH, where it is predominantly realized as [l]. Where two morphemes share the same code (as occurs, for example in the case of *-pa* and *-pi*, which both indicate both genitive and locative case) the code is subscripted with a number (i.e., GEN<sub>1</sub>, GEN<sub>2</sub>; LOC<sub>1</sub>, LOC<sub>2</sub>). Where the same morpheme has two or more functions (as is the case, for example, with *-paq*, which indicates ablative, benefactive and purposive cases) the morpheme is subscripted (i.e., *-paq<sub>1</sub>*, *-paq<sub>2</sub>*, *-paq<sub>3</sub>*). In the body of the text, I do not make use of these subscripts. Unless otherwise noted, a morpheme occurs in all five dialects. Where a morpheme is exclusive to one or more dialects, that is indicated in small caps in parentheses. Tables 1 and 2 list morpheme codes and their corresponding morphemes. The former is sorted by morpheme code; the latter, by morpheme.

Table 1: Morpheme codes (sorted by code)

ø	[none]	zero morpheme	nominal or verbal
1 <sub>1</sub>	-y	first person (AMV, LT)	nominal inflection, possession
1 <sub>2</sub>	-ni	first person (AMV, LT)	verbal inflection
1 <sub>3</sub>	-i <sub>1</sub>	first person (ACH, CH, SP)	nominal inflection, possession
1 <sub>4</sub>	-i <sub>2</sub>	first person (ACH, CH, SP)	verbal inflection
1.FUT	-shaq	first person singular future	verbal inflection
1.OBJ	-wa	1P object (AMV, LT)	verbal inflection
1.OBJ	-ma	1P object (ACH, CH, SP)	verbal inflection

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## Notational conventions

Table 1: Continued from previous page.

1>2	-yki <sub>2</sub>	1P subject 2P object	verbal inflection
1>2.FUT	-sHQayki	1P subject 2P object future	verbal inflection
1PL <sub>1</sub>	-nchik	first person plural	nominal inflection, possession
1PL <sub>2</sub>	-nchik	first person plural	verbal inflection
1PL.COND	-chuwān	first person plural conditional	verbal inflection
1PL.FUT	-shun	first person plural future	verbal inflection
2 <sub>1</sub>	-yki <sub>1</sub>	second person	nominal inflection, possession
2 <sub>2</sub>	-nki	second person	verbal inflection
2.COND	-waq	second person conditional	verbal inflection
2.OBJ	-sHu	second person object	verbal inflection
2>1	-wa-nki	2P subject 1P object	verbal inflection
3 <sub>1</sub>	-n <sub>1</sub>	third person	nominal inflection, possession
3 <sub>2</sub>	-N <sub>2</sub>	third person	verbal inflection
3.FUT	-nqa	third person future	verbal inflection
3>1 <sub>1</sub>	-wan <sub>1</sub>	3P subject 1P object (AMV, LT)	verbal inflection
3>1 <sub>2</sub>	-man	3P subject 1P obj (ACH, CH, SP)	verbal inflection
3>1PL <sub>1</sub>	-wa-nchik	3P subject 1PL. obj (AMV, LT)	verbal inflection
3>1PL <sub>2</sub>	-ma-nchik	3P subject 1PL. obj (ACH, CH, SP)	verbal inflection
3>2	-shunki	3P subject 2P object	verbal inflection
ABL	-paq <sub>3</sub>	ablative	nominal inflection, case
ACC <sub>1</sub>	-ta	accusative (ACH, AMV, LT, SP)	nominal inflection, case
ACC <sub>2</sub>	-Kta	accusative (CH)	nominal inflection, case
ACMP	-sHi	accompaniment	verbal derivation, vv
ADD	-PIs	additive	enclitic
AG	-q	agentive	nominal derivation, vn
ALL	-man <sub>1</sub>	allative, dative	nominal inflection, case
BEN <sub>1</sub>	-paq <sub>2</sub>	benefactive	nominal inflection, case
BEN <sub>2</sub>	-pU	benefactive, translocative	verbal derivation, vv
CAUS <sub>2</sub>	-chi	causative	verbal derivation, vv
CERT	-puni	certainty, precision	enclitic
CISL	-mu	cislocative, translocative	verbal derivation, vv
COMP	-hina	comparative	nominal inflection, case
COND	-man <sub>2</sub>	conditional	verbal inflection
CONT	-Raq	continuative	enclitic
DEM.D <sub>1</sub>	chay	demonstrative, distal	demonstrative (pron. & det.)
DEM.D <sub>2</sub>	wak	demonstrative, distal removed	demonstrative (pron. & det.)
DEM.P	kay	demonstrative, proximal	demonstrative (pron. & det.)
DESR <sub>1</sub>	-naya	desirative	verbal derivation, vv
DESR <sub>2</sub>	-naya-	desirative	verbal derivation, nv
DIM <sub>1</sub>	-cha <sub>1</sub>	diminutive	restrictive nominal suffix
DIM <sub>2</sub>	-cha <sub>2</sub>	diminutive	verbal derivation, vv

Continued on next page...

Table 1: Continued from previous page.

DISC	- <i>ña</i>	discontinuative	enclitic
DISJ	- <i>chu</i> <sub>3</sub>	disjunctive	enclitic
DMY <sub>1</sub>	<i>na</i>	dummy noun	noun
DMY <sub>2</sub>	<i>na-</i>	dummy verb	verb
DUR	- <i>chka</i>	durative-simultaneative	verbal inflection
EMPH <sub>1</sub>	- <i>Yá</i>	emphatic	enclitic
EMPH <sub>2</sub>	- <i>ARi</i>	emphatic	enclitic
EVC	- <i>trI</i>	evidential - conjectural	enclitic
EVD	- <i>mI</i>	evidential - direct	enclitic
EVR	- <i>shI</i>	evidential - reportative	enclitic
EXCEP	- <i>YkU</i>	exceptional	verbal derivation, vv
EXCL	- <i>pura</i>	exclusive	nominal inflection, case
F	- <i>a</i>	feminine	nominal, adjectival inflection
FACT	- <i>cha</i> <sub>3</sub>	factive	verbal derivation, nv
FREQ	- <i>katra</i>	frequentive	verbal derivation, vv
GEN <sub>1</sub>	- <i>pa</i> <sub>1</sub>	genitive	nominal inflection, case
GEN <sub>2</sub>	- <i>pi</i> <sub>1</sub>	genitive	nominal inflection, case
IK	- <i>ik</i>	evidential modifier (strong)	enclitic
IKI	- <i>iki</i>	evidential modifier (strongest)	enclitic
INCEP	- <i>ri</i>	inceptive	verbal derivation, vv
INCH	- <i>ya</i> <sub>3</sub>	inchoative	verbal derivation, sv
INCL	- <i>ntin</i>	inclusive	nominal derivation, nn
INF	- <i>y</i> <sub>2</sub>	infinitive	nominal derivation, vs
INJUNC	- <i>chun</i>	injunctive	verbal inflection
IMP	- <i>y</i> <sub>3</sub>	imperative	verbal inflection
INSTR	- <i>wan</i> <sub>2</sub>	instrumental - comitative	nominal inflection, case
INTENS	- <i>ya</i> <sub>2</sub>	intensifier	verbal derivation, vv
IRREV	- <i>tamu</i>	irreversible change	verbal derivation, vv
JTACT	- <i>pa(:)ku</i>	joint action	verbal derivation, vv
LIM <sub>1</sub>	- <i>kama</i> <sub>1</sub>	limitative	nominal inflection, case
LIM <sub>2</sub>	- <i>kama</i> <sub>2</sub>	limitative	verbal derivation, vv
LOC <sub>1</sub>	- <i>pa</i> <sub>2</sub>	locative	nominal inflection, case
LOC <sub>2</sub>	- <i>pi</i> <sub>2</sub>	locative	nominal inflection, case
LOC <sub>3</sub>	- <i>traw</i>	locative (CH)	nominal inflection, case
M	- <i>u</i>	masculine	nominal, adjectival inflection
MULT.ALL	- <i>sapa</i>	multiple possessive	nominal derivation, nn
MUTBEN	- <i>puku</i>	mutual benefit	verbal derivation, vv
NEG	- <i>chu</i> <sub>1</sub>	negation	enclitic
NONEXHST	- <i>kuna</i> <sub>2</sub>	non-exhaustive	nominal derivation, nn
NMLZ	- <i>na</i> <sub>1</sub>	nominalizer	nominal derivation, vn
NPST	- <i>sHa</i> <sub>1</sub>	perfect	verbal inflection

Continued on next page...

## Notational conventions

Table 1: Continued from previous page.

PART	-masi	partnership	nominal derivation, nn
PASS	-raya	passive	verbal derivation, vv
PASSACC	-ka	passive, accidental	verbal derivation, vv
PHT	[various]	phatism	multi
PL <sub>1</sub>	-kuna	plural	nominal inflection
POSS	-yuq	possessive	nominal derivation, nn
PERF	-sHa <sub>2</sub>	perfectivizer	nominal derivation, vs
PROG	-ya <sub>1</sub>	progressive	verbal inflection
PROH	ama	prohibitive	particle
PST	-RQa	past tense	verbal inflection
PURP	-paq <sub>3</sub>	purposive	nominal inflection, case
Q	-chu <sub>2</sub>	question marker	enclitic
REASN	-rayku	reason	nominal inflection, case
RECP	-nakU	reciprocal	verbal derivation, vv
REFL	-kU	reflexive-middle-med.passive	verbal derivation, vv
REPET	-pa <sub>3</sub>	repetitive	verbal derivation, vv
RPST	-sHQa	reportative past tense	verbal inflection
RSTR	-lla	restrictive	enclitic
SEQ	-taq	sequential	enclitic
SIMUL	-tuku	simulative	verbal derivation, vv
SUBADV	-shtin	subordinator - adverbial	nominal derivation, vn
SUBDS	-pti	subordinator different subjects	nominal derivation, vn
SUBIS	-shpa	subordinator identical subjects	nominal derivation, vn
TOP	-qa	topic	enclitic
UNINT	-Ra	uninterrupted action	verbal derivation, vv
URGT	-RU	urgent, personal interest	verbal derivation, vv
VRBZ	-na <sub>2</sub>	verbalizer	verbal derivation, nv

Table 2: Morphemes codes (sorted by morpheme)

-:	1 <sub>4</sub>	first person (ACH, CH, SP)	verbal inflection
-:	1 <sub>3</sub>	first person (ACH, CH, SP)	nominal inflection, possession
-a	F	feminine	nominal, adjectival inflection
-aRi	EMPH <sub>2</sub>	emphatic	enclitic
-cha <sub>1</sub>	DIM <sub>1</sub>	diminutive	restrictive nominal suffix
-cha <sub>2</sub>	DIM <sub>2</sub>	diminutive	verbal derivation, vv
-cha <sub>3</sub>	FACT	factive	verbal derivation, nv
-traw	LOC <sub>3</sub>	locative (CH)	nominal inflection, case
-chi	CAUS	causative	verbal derivation, vv
-chka	DUR	durative-simultaneative	verbal inflection

Continued on next page...

Table 2: Continued from previous page.

<i>-chu<sub>1</sub></i>	NEG	negation	enclitic
<i>-chu<sub>2</sub></i>	Q	question marker	enclitic
<i>-chu<sub>3</sub></i>	DISJ	disjunctive	enclitic
<i>-chun</i>	INJUNC	injunctive	verbal inflection
<i>-chuwan</i>	1PL.COND	first person plural conditional	verbal inflection
<i>-hina</i>	COMP	comparative	nominal inflection, case
<i>-ik</i>	IK	evidential modifier (strong)	enclitic
<i>-iki</i>	IKI	evidential modifier (strongest)	enclitic
<i>-ka</i>	PASSACC	passive, accidental	verbal derivation, vv
<i>-kama<sub>1</sub></i>	LIM <sub>1</sub>	limitative	nominal inflection, case
<i>-kama<sub>2</sub></i>	LIM <sub>2</sub>	limitative	verbal derivation, vv
<i>-katra</i>	ITER	frequentive	verbal derivation, vv
<i>-kta</i>	ACC <sub>2</sub>	accusative (CH)	nominal inflection, case
<i>-kU</i>	REFL	reflexive-middle-med.passive	verbal derivation, vv
<i>-kuna<sub>1</sub></i>	PL <sub>1</sub>	plural	nominal inflection
<i>-kuna<sub>2</sub></i>	NONEXHST	non-exhaustive	nominal derivation, nn
<i>-lla</i>	RSTR	restrictive	enclitic
<i>-ma</i>	1.OBJ	1P object (ACH, CH, SP)	verbal inflection
<i>-man<sub>1</sub></i>	ALL	allative, dative	nominal inflection, case
<i>-man<sub>2</sub></i>	COND	conditional	verbal inflection
<i>-ma-nchik</i>	3>1PL <sub>2</sub>	3P subject 1PL obj (ACH, CH, SP)	verbal inflection
<i>-masi</i>	PART	partnership	nominal derivation, nn
<i>-mI</i>	EVD	evidential - direct	enclitic
<i>-mu</i>	CISL	cislocative, translocative	verbal derivation, vv
<i>-n</i>	3 <sub>1</sub>	third person	nominal inflection, possession
<i>-N</i>	3 <sub>2</sub>	third person	verbal inflection
<i>-ña</i>	DISC	discontinuative	enclitic
<i>-na<sub>1</sub></i>	NMLZ	nominalizer	nominal derivation, vn
<i>-na<sub>2</sub></i>	VRBZ	verbalizer	verbal derivation, nv
<i>-nakU</i>	RECP	reciprocal	verbal derivation, vv
<i>-naya<sub>1</sub></i>	DESR <sub>1</sub>	desirative	verbal derivation, vv
<i>-naya<sub>2</sub></i>	DESR <sub>2</sub>	desirative	verbal derivation, nv
<i>-nchik<sub>1</sub></i>	1PL <sub>1</sub>	first person plural	nominal inflection, possession
<i>-nchik<sub>2</sub></i>	1PL <sub>2</sub>	first person plural	verbal inflection
<i>-ni<sub>1</sub></i>	1 <sub>2</sub>	first person (AMV, LT)	verbal inflection
<i>-ni<sub>2</sub></i>	EUPH	euphonic	nominal inflection
<i>-nki</i>	2 <sub>2</sub>	second person	verbal inflection
<i>-nqa</i>	3.FUT	third person future	verbal inflection
<i>-ntin</i>	INCL <sub>1</sub>	inclusive	nominal derivation, nn
<i>-pa(:)kU</i>	JTACT	joint action	verbal derivation/inflection, vv
<i>-pakU</i>	MUTBEN	mutual benefit	verbal derivation/inflection, vv

Continued on next page...

Table 2: Continued from previous page.

-pa <sub>1</sub>	GEN <sub>1</sub>	genitive	nominal inflection, case
-pa <sub>2</sub>	LOC <sub>1</sub>	locative	nominal inflection, case
-pa <sub>3</sub>	REPET	repetitive	verbal derivation, vv
-paq <sub>1</sub>	ABL	ablative	nominal inflection, case
-paq <sub>2</sub>	BEN	benefactive	nominal inflection, case
-paq <sub>3</sub>	PURP	purposive	nominal inflection, case
-pi <sub>1</sub>	GEN <sub>2</sub>	genitive	nominal inflection, case
-pi <sub>2</sub>	LOC <sub>2</sub>	locative	nominal inflection, case
-PIs	ADD	additive	enclitic
-pti	SUBDS	subordinator different subjects	nominal derivation, vn
-pU	BEN <sub>2</sub>	benefactive, translocative	verbal derivation, vv
-puni	CERT	certainty, precision	enclitic
-pura	EXCL	exclusive	nominal inflection, case
-q	AG	agentive	nominal derivation, vn
-qa	TOP	topic	enclitic
-Ra	UNINT	uninterrupted action	verbal derivation, vv
-Ra <sub>q</sub>	CONT	continuative	enclitic
-Raya	PASS	passive	verbal derivation, vv
-rayku	REASN <sub>1</sub>	causal	nominal inflection, case
-ri <sub>1</sub>	INCEP <sub>1</sub>	inceptive	verbal derivation, vv
-RQa	PST	past tense	verbal inflection
-RU	URGT	urgent, personal interest	verbal derivation, vv (inflective)
-sapa	MULT.ALL	multiple possessive	nominal derivation, nn
-sHa <sub>1</sub>	NPST <sub>1</sub>	narrative past	verbal inflection
-sHa <sub>2</sub>	PERF <sub>2</sub>	perfectivizer	nominal derivation, vn
-sha <sub>q</sub>	1.FUT	first person singular future	verbal inflection
-shI	EVR	evidential - reportative	enclitic
-sHi	ACMP	accompaniment	verbal derivation, vv
-shpa	SUBIS	subordinator - identical subjects	nominal derivation, vn
-sHQa	RPST	reportative past tense	verbal inflection
-sHQayki	1>2.FUT	1P subject 2P object future	verbal inflection
-shtin	SUBADV	subordinator - adverbial	nominal derivation, vn
-sHu	2.OBJ	second person object	verbal inflection
-shun	1PL.FUT	first person plural future	verbal inflection
-shunki	3>2	3P subject 2P object	verbal inflection
-ta	ACC <sub>1</sub>	accusative (ACH, AMV, LT, SP)	nominal inflection, case
-tamu	IRREV	irreversible change	verbal derivation, vv
-ta <sub>q</sub>	SEQ	sequential	enclitic
-trI	EVC	evidential - conjectural	enclitic
-tuku	SIMUL	simulative	verbal derivation, nv
-u	M	masculine	nominal, adjectival inflection

Continued on next page...

Table 2: Continued from previous page.

-wa	1.OBJ	1P object (AMV, LT)	verbal inflection
-wan <sub>1</sub>	3>1 <sub>1</sub>	3P subject 1P object (AMV, LT)	verbal inflection
-wan <sub>2</sub>	INSTR	instrumental - comitative	nominal inflection, case
-wa-nchik	3>1PL <sub>1</sub>	3P subject 1PL obj (AMV, LT)	verbal inflection
-wa-nki	2>1	2P subject 1P object	verbal inflection
-waq	2.COND	second person conditional	verbal inflection
-y <sub>1</sub>	1 <sub>1</sub>	first person (AMV, LT)	nominal inflection, possession
-y <sub>2</sub>	INF	infinitive	nominal derivation, vs
-y <sub>3</sub>	IMP	imperative	verbal inflection
-Yá	EMPH <sub>1</sub>	emphatic	enclitic
-ya <sub>1</sub>	PROG	progressive	verbal inflection
-ya <sub>2</sub>	INTENS	intensifier	verbal derivation, vv
-ya <sub>3</sub>	INCH	inchoative	verbal derivation, sv
-yki <sub>1</sub>	2 <sub>1</sub>	second person	nominal inflection, possession
-yki <sub>2</sub>	1>2	1P subject 2P object	verbal inflection
-YkU	EXCEP	exceptional	verbal derivation, vv
-yuq	POSS	possessive	nominal derivation, nn
[none]	∅	zero morpheme	nominal or verbal
[various]	PHT	phatism	multi
ama	PROH	prohibitive	particle
chay	DEM.D	demonstrative, distal	demonstrative (pron. & det.)
kay	DEM.P	demonstrative, proximal	demonstrative (pron. & det.)
na	DMY <sub>1</sub>	dummy noun	noun
na-	DMY <sub>2</sub>	dummy verb	verb
wak	DEM.D	demonstrative, distal removed	demonstrative (pron. & det.)

Further abbreviations:

C.	consonant
lit.	literally
Sp.	Spanish
Spkr	Speaker
SYQ	Southern Yauyos Quechua
V.	vowel

Notation:

{ }	set
[·]	phonetic form or, in case it appears inside single quotations marks, translator's insertion
/·/	phoneme or phonemic form
~	alternation
→	transformation
*	illicit form or, in case it appears before slashes, a proto-form





# Contents

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# 1 Introduction

Yauyos is a critically endangered<sup>1</sup> Quechuan language spoken in the Province of Yauyos, Department of Lima, Peru.<sup>2</sup> The language counts eight dialects. At the time I undertook my research in the area, three of these had already become extinct. The missing dialects are those formerly spoken in the north of the province.<sup>3</sup> This grammar, therefore, unfortunately, covers only the five southern dialects. For this reason, I will be referring to it from this point forward as

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<sup>1</sup> At the date of this writing, Yauyos is still classed as “critically endangered” by the United Nations Education, Science and Culture Organization (UNESCO). The 18th edition of *Ethnologue* (*ethnologue*), however, tags it as “moribund.” Although, as I see it, there is no real likelihood that any dialect of Yauyos will ever be revived, it is early yet to declare it moribund, and it is not critically endangered, as the UNESCO defines that standard. The oldest generation to speak it is not that of the grandparents, for example: I estimate that there are about twenty teens who understand the Viñac and San Pedro dialects, as well as many as 80 adults in their forties and fifties who can still speak it relatively fluently. Moreover, although its use is now generally restricted to the discussion of every-day and ritual activities, it is still used frequently among the oldest speakers.

<sup>2</sup> Caca, Hongos, Tana, and Lincha are all located in the valley created by the Caca River and its principal tributaries, the Lincha and Paluche Rivers; Apurí, Madeán, Viñac, Azángaro, Chocos, and Huangáscar are all located in the valley created by the Huangáscar River and its principal tributary, the Viñac River. The two valleys are separated by a chain of (rather high and rocky) hills. Running from east to west, these are the cerros Pishqullay, Tinco, Punta Tacana, Ranaorqo, Pishunco, Cochapata, Yanaorqo, and Shallalli. No district except San Pedro is located more than one day’s walk from any other; in the case of San Pedro, it is two. It is not irrelevant to the explanation of the dialect cleavages that this mountain range seems to block the movement of brides from one set of districts to another. Until very recently, newlywed women generally only moved from one town to another within the same valley. There exists a series of topographical maps prepared and published in 1996 by the U.S. Defense Mapping Agency. Southern Yauyos is covered on the section labeled Tupe and identified Series 1745, Sheet J632, Edition -1 DMA. The map centers the the four districts that lie within the province of Yauyos at about 12°62’S and 75°7’W; it places the principal towns of all the districts except Chocos, Huangáscar, and Tana at altitudes around 3300 meters. The relevant region can be contained within an area of 40 m<sup>2</sup>; its highest peak reaches 5055 m.

<sup>3</sup> A ten-day town-to-town search undertaken in the north of the province in January 2010 failed to turn up any speakers of Yauyos Quechua (although some speakers of the Quechua of neighboring Huancayo were indeed to be found).

“Southern Yauyos Quechua,” abbreviated “syQ.”<sup>4</sup>

The remainder of this introduction begins with a note to Quechuanists (§ 1.1). The note is followed in § 1.2 and 1.3 by a brief discussion of the internal divisions among the various dialects of Yauyos and then a slightly longer discussion of the language’s classification. § 1.4 suggests areas of potential interest for non-Quechuanists. The endangerment of the language is the topic of § 1.5. § 1.6 catalogues the previous research on the language. § 1.7 supplies details about the fieldwork on which this study is based. Finally, the conventions employed in this volume can be found in § 1.8.

## 1.1 A Note to Quechuanists and Typologists

Those already familiar with Quechuan languages will likely be interested in the sections and tables listed immediately below. These indicate differences between Southern Yauyos Quechua and other Quechuan languages as well as differences among the various dialects of syQ. The footnotes appearing in these sections may be of interest as well. Those familiar with the literature on Quechuan languages will immediately recognize the presentation and analysis here as very much derivative of much previous work on those languages.

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??	Case .....	??
??	Genitive, locative <i>-pa<sub>1</sub></i> , <i>-pa<sub>2</sub></i> .....	??
??	Ablative, benefactive, purposive <i>-paq</i> .....	??
??	Genitive, locative <i>-pi</i> .....	??
??	Infinitive <i>-y</i> .....	??

<sup>4</sup> The lacuna is highly relevant to any conclusions that might be drawn from this study and, in particular, to any conclusions that might be drawn with regard to its significance for the classification of the Quechuan languages, as two of the missing three – Alis/Tomas and Huanacaya/Vitis – were those that, according to previous work (Taylor94a; Taylor00), most resembled the QII languages of Central Peru.

## 1.1 A Note to Quechuanists and Typologists

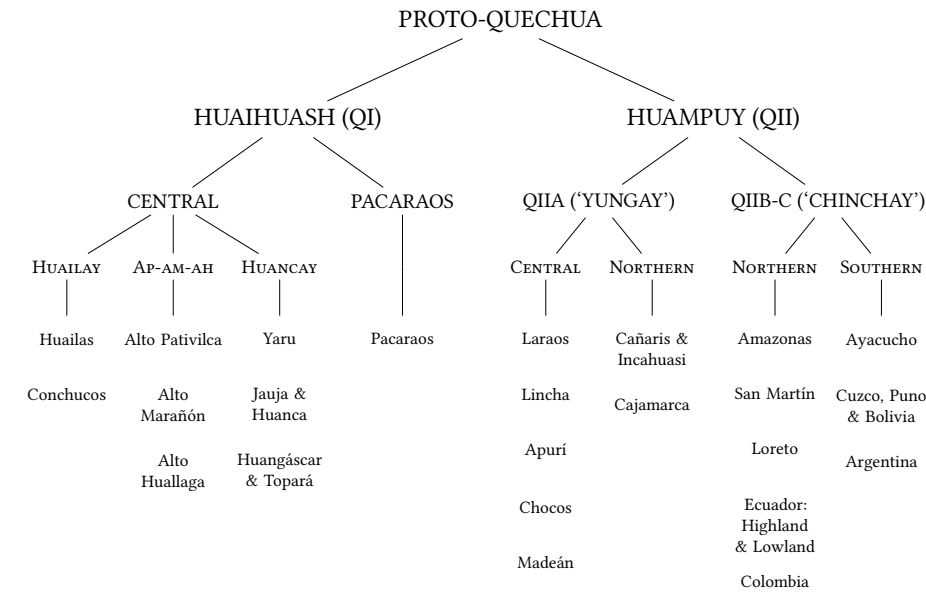
??	Accompaniment <i>-nti(n)</i> , <i>-kuna</i> .....	??
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??	Subject and allocation suffixes .....	??
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??	Regular conditional <i>-man</i> .....	??
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??	“Modal” (verb-verb derivational) suffixes, with examples .....	??
??	Enclitics, with examples .....	??
??	Evidential schema: “evidence from” by “evidence for” .....	??

## 1.2 The Dialects of Yauyos

Yauyos groups together various dialects that, although mutually intelligible, differ in ways that are relevant both to the classification of Yauyos as well as to the current paradigm for the classification of the Quechuan languages generally. That classification is highly contested, and, indeed, has been since early versions of it were suggested in the 1960s (Landerman91).



Adapted from source:

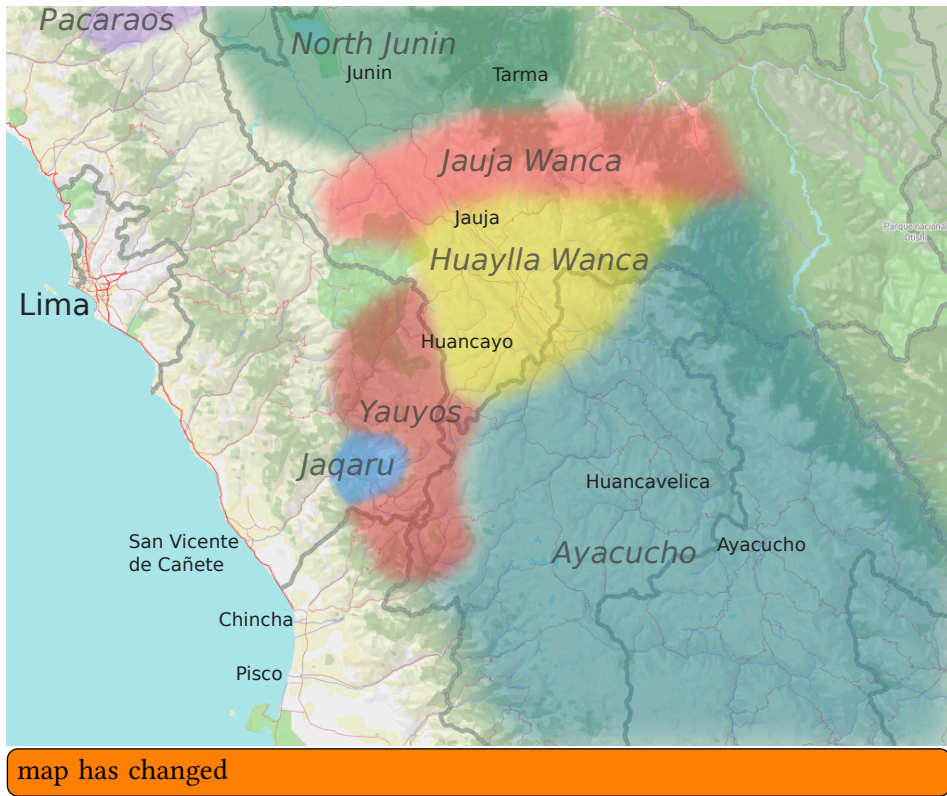
<http://lingweb.eva.mpg.de/quechua/Eng/Cpv/Locations.htm#TheTraditionalQuechuaFamilyTree>

Figure 1.1: Quechuan languages family tree

The Province is located on the border between the two large, contiguous zones where languages belonging to the two great branches of the Quechua language family are spoken: the “Quechua I” (Torero) or “Quechua B” (Parker) languages are spoken to its north; the “Quechua II” or “Quechua A” languages, to its south.

For reasons detailed in § 1.3, the model that divides the Quechuan family tree into two principal branches doesn’t apply very well to Yauyos, as its different dialects manifest different characteristics of both of branches.<sup>5</sup> There exist three proposals in the literature – Taylor00; Torero74; ethnologue – with

<sup>5</sup> Yauyos is, of course, not alone in this, not in the least because the division of the languages into two branches was, arguably, based on rather arbitrary criteria in the first place (Landerman91).



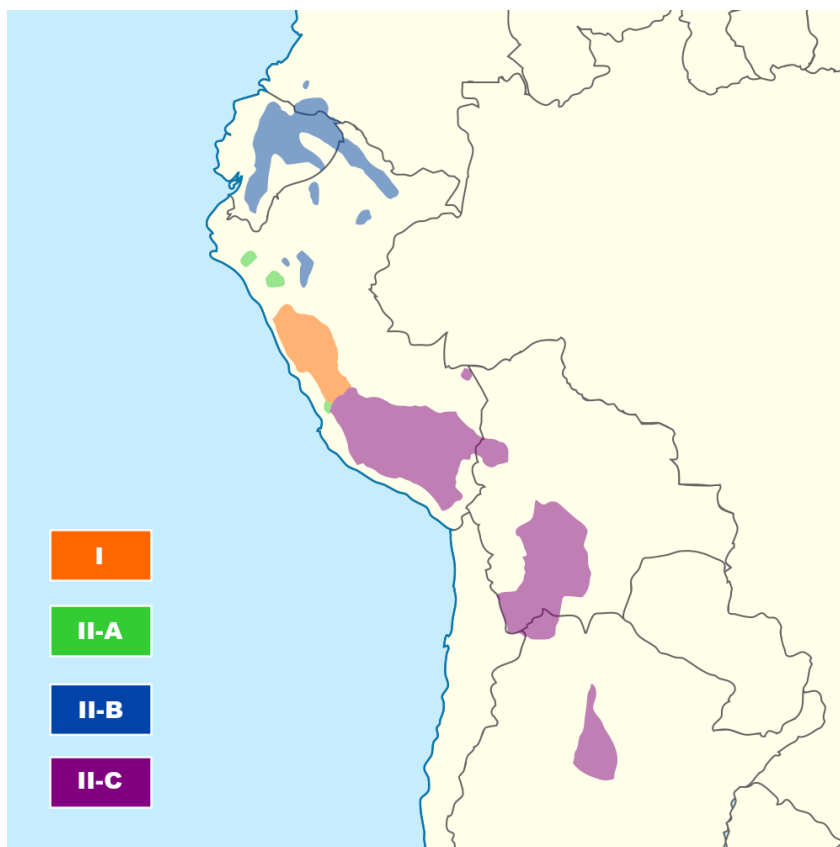
Source: [http://archive.ethnologue.com/16/show\\_map.asp?name=PE](http://archive.ethnologue.com/16/show_map.asp?name=PE)

Figure 1.2: Peruvian languages map

regard to the grouping of the province's fifteen districts into dialect bundles. **Taylor00** counts seven varieties of Yauyos Quechua, dividing these into two groups along a north-south axis. In the north are the dialects of Alis/Tomas, Huancaya/Vitis, and Laraos; in the south, those of Apurí/Chocos/Madeán/Viñac, Azángaro/Huangáscar, Cakra/Hongos, and Lincha/Tana. Taylor classes four of these dialects – the northern dialects of Alis/Tomas and Huancaya/Vitis and the southern dialects of Azángaro/Huangáscar and Cakra/Hongos – as belonging to the *qi* branch; he classes the remaining three – Laraos in the north as well as Apurí/Chocos/Madeán/Viñac and Lincha/Tana in the south – as belonging to *qii*. **Torero74** counted only six dialects, excluding Azángaro/Huangáscar from

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The significance of Yauyos lies in the fact that it may represent the “missing link” between the two (**Heggarty07**)



Source: [http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Quechuan\\_languages](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Quechuan_languages)

Figure 1.3: Peruvian languages map

the catalogue, classing it independently among the Q1 dialects along with with Chinch'a's Topará. Ethnologue, like Taylor, includes Azángaro/Huangascar and adds, even, an eighth dialect, that of San Pedro de Huacarpana, spoken on the Chinch'a side of the Yauyos-Chinch'a border. Ethnologue further differs from Taylor in putting Apurí in a group by itself; and it differs from both Taylor and Torero in grouping Chocos with Azángaro/Huangáscar. My research supports Taylor's grouping of Apurí with Madeán and Viñac; it also supports Ethnologue's inclusion of San Pedro de Huacarpana<sup>6</sup> among the dialects of Yauyos. Apurí, like its

<sup>6</sup> San Pedro is located immediately to the north-east of Madeán and Azángaro, at less than a days' walk's distance. Although formerly counted a part of the Department of Lima and the Province of Yauyos, a redrawing of political boundaries placed San Pedro on the Ica side of the



neighbors Viñac and Madeán, uses *-ni* and *-y* to indicate the first-person singular in the verbal and substantive paradigms; they also use *-rqa* and *-sa* to indicate the past tense and perfect. The first pair of characteristics set the Madeán/Viñac and Lincha/Tana dialects apart from the other three; the second pair of characteristics sets Madeán/Viñac apart from Lincha/Tana. Chocos, like its neighbors Huangáscar and Azángaro, uses vowel length to indicate the first-person singular in the verbal and substantive paradigms.

### 1.3 Classification

Yauyos Quechua was dubbed by Alfredo Torero (Torero74) a “supralect” and its most careful student, Gerald Taylor, referred to it as a “mixed” language (Taylor90 Taylor00). Indeed, the designation of Yauyos as a language may seem, at first, to be no more than a relic of the first classifications of the Quechuan languages not by strictly linguistic criteria but, rather, by geographic criteria. Yauyos is located on the border between the two large, contiguous zones where the languages of the two different branches of the Quechuan language family are spoken. QI is spoken immediately to the north, in the Department of Junín and the north of the Department of Lima; QII, immediately to the south, in the Departments of Huancavelica and Ayacucho. Yauyos manifests characteristics of both branches. Take first-person marking. Three dialects, Azángaro-Chocos<sup>7</sup>-Huangáscar (ACH), Caca-Hongos (CH), and San Pedro (SP), use the same marking (vowel length) for the first person in both nominal and verbal paradigms<sup>8</sup> and mark the first-person object with *-ma*. These are the two characteristics that define a Quechuan language as belonging to the QI (also called Quechua B or *Huaihuash*) branch. The other two dialects, Apurí-Madeán-Viñac (AMV) and Lincha-Tana (LT), mark the first person differently in the nominal and verbal paradigms (with *-y* and *-ni*, respectively) and mark first-person object with *-wa*. These two dialects, then, sort with the QII (A/*Huampuy*) languages. Indeed, the first three are classed as QI (specifically, Central-*Huancay*) and the other two,

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contemporary Ica-Lima border. During the colonial period, the Province of Yauyos was larger and included parts of what are now the Provinces of Chinchá and Castrovirreyna (Huancavelica) Landerman91.

<sup>7</sup> I am very grateful to Peter Landerman for correcting me with regard to the classification of Chocos, which I had originally misclassified with Madeán and Viñac.

<sup>8</sup> Crucially, vowel length is not distinctive anywhere else in the grammar or lexicon of these dialects. For example, these dialects use the QII *-naya*, *-raya*, and *-paya*, not the QI *-na*-, *-ra*-, and *-pa*- to mark the desiderative, passive, and continuative, respectively. And all districts but Caca use *tiya*-, not *ta*:- ‘sit’, again sorting with the QII languages.

## 1 Introduction

QII (specifically *Yunagay-Central*) (CerroP87). Nevertheless, the “QI” dialects, ACH, CH, and SP, manifest few of the other traits that set the QI languages apart from the QII languages. They do use *ñuqakuna* in place of *ñuqayku* to form the first person plural exclusive as well as *-pa(:)ku* to indicate the plural. Crucially, however, so do both the “QII” SYQ dialects.<sup>9</sup> And none of the five manifest any other of the principal traits that generally set the QI languages apart from the rest. None use *-naw* in place of *-Sina* to form the comparative, *-piqta* in place of *-manta* to form the ablative, or *-naq* in place of *-shqa* to form the narrative past; and none except for Cakra uses *-r* (realized [l]) in place of *-shpa* to form same-subject subordinate clauses. Now, the two “QII” SYQ dialects manifest several of the traits that set the QIIC (*Chinchay Meridional*) languages apart from the rest. Like the QIIC languages, the AMV and LT dialects use the diminutive *-cha*, the emphatic *-ari*, the assertive *-puni*, and the alternative conditional *-chuwan*; the AMV dialect additionally uses the alternative conditional *-waq*. Crucially, however, the three “QI” SYQ dialects, too, use three of these: *-cha*, *-ari* and *-chuwan*. Further, all five share with Ayacucho Q the unique use of the evidential modifier *-ki*. None of the five manifest any of the other defining traits of the QIIC languages: none uses *-ku* to indicate the first-person plural exclusive or the third-person plural; nor does any use *-chka*<sup>10</sup> to form the progressive or *-nka* to form the distributive. Further, none suffered the fusion of \*/tr/ with \*/ch/ or \*/sh/ with \*/s/. (See CerroP87 on the defining characteristics of the various Quechuan languages) Rather, the dialects of Southern Yauyos are mutually intelligible, and they together share characteristics that set them apart from all the other Quechuan languages. With the single exception that CH uses the accusative form *-Kta* in place of *-ta*, all five dialects employ the same case system, which includes the unique ablative form *-paq* and unique locative *-pi*. All dialects use the progressive form *-ya*,<sup>11</sup> all employ the plural *-kuna* with non-exhaustive meaning; and all employ the same unique system of evidential modification (see § ??). Further, with a single exception,<sup>12</sup> the five dialects are uniform phonologically, all employing a highly

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<sup>9</sup> The CH dialect is unique in using *-traw* in alternation with both *-pi* and *-pa* for the locative.

<sup>10</sup> Although all use *-chka*, unproductively except in SP, to indicate simultaneous action that persists in time.

<sup>11</sup> One of many attested reductions from *\*-yka*: (*-yka*-, *-yka*-, *-yga*-, *-ycha*-, *-yya*-, *-yya*-, *-ya*-, and *-ya*) (Hintz). I am grateful to an anonymous reviewer for pointing this out to me.

<sup>12</sup> In the CH dialect, as in neighboring Junín, the protomorphemes \*/r/, \*/s/, and \*/h/ are sometimes realized as [l], [h], and [sh], respectively. I have no explanation for why these alternations occur in some cases but not in others. Indeed, it may be the case that where CH differs from the rest of the dialects in that it employs \*/sh/ where they employ \*/h/, it is the former that preserves the original form.

conservative system<sup>13</sup> that retains all those phonemes hypothesized by Parker and Cerrón-Palomino to have been included in the Proto-Quechua (see § ??). Table 1.1, below, summarizes this information. Please note that the table presents a somewhat idealized portrait and that the characteristics it posits as belonging exclusively to QII may sometimes be found in QI languages as well. Exceptions of which I am aware are signaled in notes to the table.

The case of Azángaro-Chocos-Huangáscar requires particular attention in this context. Torero (Torero68 293, Torero74 28–29) classified Azángaro and Huangáscar as forming an independent group with Topará (Chavín), placing it among the QI *Huancay* languages. CerroP87 following Torero, cites five criteria for grouping Huangáscar with Topará. Both dialects, he writes, use *-pa:ku* and *-ri* to indicate the plural; both use *-shpa* in place of *-r* to form same-subject subordinate clauses; and both use *-tamu* to indicate completed action; the two dialects, further, are alike in using unusual locative and ablative case-marking. Only three of these claims are accurate. First, Huangáscar, as Taylor84 already indicated, does not use *-ri*. Second, Huangáscar and Topará may indeed both use unusual locative and ablative case marking, but, crucially, they do not use the same unusual case marking: Huangáscar uses *-pa* to indicate the locative while Topará uses *-man*; Huangáscar uses *-paq* to indicate the ablative while Topará uses *-pa* (C.-P. himself points out these last two facts). Huangáscar does indeed use *-shpa* to form subordinate clauses and *-tamu* to indicate irreversible change. Crucially, however, so do all the dialects of southern Yauyos. In sum, there is no basis for grouping Huangáscar with Topará and not with the other dialects of sYQ. Torero's data were never corroborated; indeed, the findings of Taylor and Landerman, the scholars who have most thoroughly studied Yauyos before now,<sup>14</sup> contradict those of Torero.

sYQ is not a jumble of dialects that, were it not for geographical accident, would not be classed together; it is, rather, a unique, largely uniform language. Although I myself do not believe that the current paradigm can be maintained, I have tried to present the data in a way that remains as neutral as possible with

<sup>13</sup> An anonymous reviewer points out that other Quechuan languages, Corongo among them, for example, are more conservative than Yauyos with respect to some features, including the preservation of the protoform \*ñ in \*ñi- 'say' and ña:-ña 'right now'. Sihuas, too, preserves elements of proto Quechua not found in Yauyos. In contrast, while Yauyos preserves a few proto-Quechua features not found in either Corongo or Sihuas, it also manifests others that reflect innovations likely adopted from neighboring QII languages.

<sup>14</sup> An anonymous reviewer points out that Martha Hardman, Steve Echerd, Rick Floyd, Conrad Phelps – in addition to several students from Universidad San Marcos – have given Yauyos extensive attention, although they may not have added to the storehouse of data on the language.

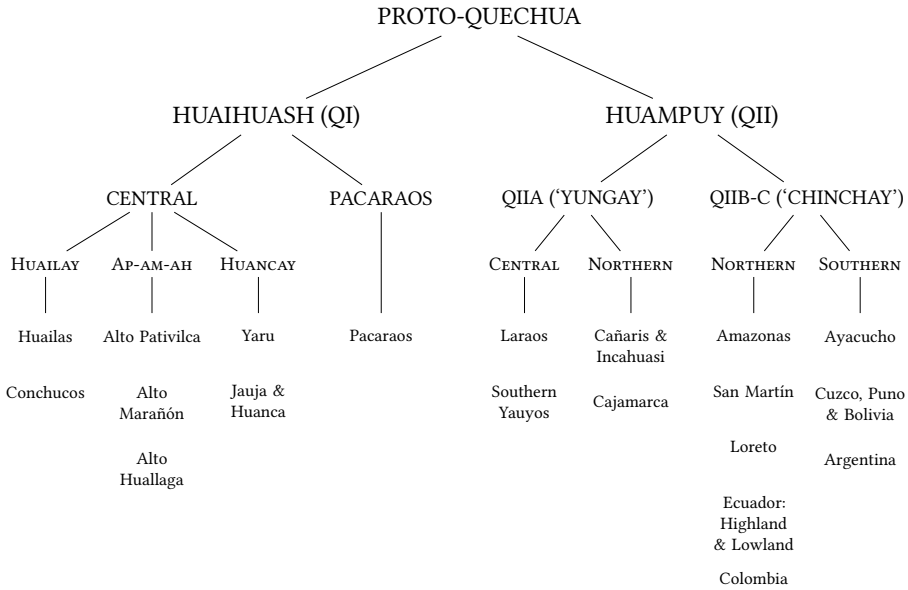
regard to the question of how the internal diversity within the Quechuan language family is best characterized, and, in particular, with regard to the question of whether or not the various Quechuan languages are helpfully construed as belonging to one or the other of two branches of a family tree (Adelaar08). I leave it to other scholars to interpret the data as they see fit. That said, as long as it is maintained, the current paradigm should be revised to more accurately reflect the relationships of syQ with/to the languages currently named on the Quechuan family tree as it is currently drawn. That tree groups nine of the eleven districts of southern Yauyos into five sets, assigning each of these sets the status of an independent language. Moreover, two of these sets are actually singletons, as Chocos is listed independent of (Azángaro-)Hu'angáscar, to which it is identical, and Apurí is listed independent of Madeán(-Viñac), to which it is identical. (Cacra-Hongos, the set that would deserve independent placement, if any did, appears nowhere at all). The fact that all these “languages” are completely mutually intelligible does not justify this. It further seems unjustified to place the Quechua of single villages on the level of that of whole nations – Bolivia and Ecuador. I suggest, therefore, that Chocos be joined with (Azángaro-)Huangáscar, and Apurí with Madeán(-Viñac). The first of these new triplets, Azángaro-Chocos-Hunagáscar, should be mutated to join the other “languages” of southern Yauyos, under the category *Central Yungay*. The four sets should, further, be collapsed and the resulting set called *Southern Yauyos*. The revised (pruned) tree would then be as in Figure 1.4. In the event that it be necessary to honor the internal diversity that would be obscured by this move, note may simply be made to the fact that this “new” language counts multiple dialects. In this case, Cacra-Hongos and San Pedro de Huacarpana would have to be listed among these.<sup>15</sup>

### 1.4 Broader interest

Yauyos should be of particular interest to semanticists as well as to students of language contact. Semanticists may find the language's unusual evidential system of interest, while students of language contact may want to look for evidence of contact between the districts where Yauyos is spoken – that of Cacra-Hongos in particular – with the three Aymaran-speaking districts in the same region of the province.

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<sup>15</sup> I regret having to list Laraos independently here, as I believe it is possible to make a convincing argument for its inclusion as a dialect of Southern Yauyos. Nothing in this volume, however, directly speaks to that question. I plan to address it explicitly in a future paper.



Adapted from source:

<http://lingweb.eva.mpg.de/quechua/Eng/Cpv/Locations.htm#TheTraditionalQuechuaFamilyTree>

Figure 1.4: Quechuan languages family tree revised

### 1.4.1 Semantics – Evidentials

For typologists and semanticists, Yauyos' evidential system should be of interest. Evidentials, broadly speaking, are generally said to indicate the type of the speaker's source of information. *syQ*, like most other Quechuan languages, employs a three-term system,<sup>16</sup> indicating direct, reportative, and inferred evidence (*i.e.* the speaker has personal-experience evidence for *P*, the speaker has non-personal-experience evidence for *P*, or the speaker infers *P* based on either personal- or non-personal-experience evidence). In *syQ*, the three evidentials are realized *-mI*, *-shI*, and *-trI* (See **Floyd99** on Wanka Quechua; **Faller03** on Cuzco Quechua). The evidential system of *syQ* is of particular interest because it employs a second three-term system of evidential modifiers. The evidential system of *syQ* thus counts nine members: *-mI*, *-mik*, and *-miki*; *-shI*, *-shik*, and *-shiki*; and *-trI*, *-trik*, and *-triki*. The *-I* *-ik*, and *-iki* forms are not allomorphs: they receive different interpretations. § ?? describes this system in detail. (For further

<sup>16</sup> An anonymous reviewer points out that South Conchucos has a 5-choice evidential system, and Sihuas a 6-choice system (**Hintz14**), while Huallaga has a 4-choice system (**Weber89**).

formal analysis, see Shimelman12 and Shimelman14).

### 1.4.2 Language contact – Aymara

For students of language contact, it is the contact of Yauyos with Aymara that should be of particular interest.<sup>17</sup> The northern branch of the Aymara family is situated entirely in the province of Yauyos (Adelaar04): the Aymaran languages Kawki and Jaqaru are spoken in the central Yauyos municipalities of Cachuy, Aysa and Tupe. There are, further, reports dating from the beginning of the 20th century of other Aymaran-speaking communities in the province (174).<sup>18</sup> I was unable to find evidence of any unusual lexical borrowing in Yauyos, *i.e.*, of words – like (*pampa*- ‘bury’) – not also attested in other Quechuan languages. That said, the lexicon I assembled includes only 2000 words, in large part because the vocabulary of the language has been much-reduced, as is to be expected, given that such reduction is one of the symptoms of extreme language endangerment. Those more familiar with the Aymaran languages may, however, still be able to find evidence of calquing or structural influence.

## 1.5 Endangerment

At the date of this writing, the UNESCO classifies Yauyos as critically endangered, and LinguistList identifies it as near extinct (<http://multitree.linguistlist.org/trees/10504@124926>). The 1993 Peru census counted 1,600 speakers,<sup>19</sup> 25% of them over 65 (Chirinos01). Less than ten years before that survey – still, to my knowledge, the most recent – electricity had yet to come to the Andean towns of

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<sup>17</sup> Contact of Quechuan languages with Spanish, of course, is of interest here, as it is in all Quechuan languages.

<sup>18</sup> On Aymara and the relationship of Quechua and Aymara see, among others, Adelaar with Muysken (Adelaar04 259–317) and CerroP94; CerroP00 On Jaqaru, see, among others, Hardman66; Hardman83; Hardman00

<sup>19</sup> That census did not distinguish between speakers of Yauyos and speakers of other Quechuan languages who resided in the province (Chirinos-Rivera, p.c.). This is crucial in assessing the data on the Quechua-speaking population of the north of the province. Although there are many Quechua-speaking migrants there – principally from Huancayo, the town with which the north has the most commercial contact – I was unable to locate any speakers of the dialects indigenous to the area. Further, population data in the province tend to be exaggerated for several reasons. First, people who emigrated from the region years or even decades ago remain, nevertheless, officially resident there for reasons of convenience. Second, death certificates are often not issued for the deceased, as the personnel at the local health clinics simply refuse to issue them.

southern Yauyos and the only physical connections between those towns to the rest of the world were three 40-kilometer dirt paths that wound their perilous way 2,000 meters down the canyon. Since that time, the Peruvian government has installed electricity in the region and widened the perilous dirt paths into perilous dirt roads.<sup>20</sup> TelMex and Claro now offer cable television, and buses come and go on alternate days. In short, the isolation that had previously preserved the Quechua spoken in the region has been broken and the language now counts, according to my estimates, fewer than 450 speakers, most over 65, and all but the most elderly fully bilingual in Spanish.

The drastic reduction in the number of speakers can also be attributed to the Shining Path. During the 1980's and early 1990's, the period during which the Maoist army terrorized the region, there was a large-scale exodus, particularly of young people, who ran to escape forced conscription. Many never returned, remaining principally in the coastal cities of Cañete and Lima. Theirs was the last generation to learn Quechua to any degree. Currently, there are a few children – those who live with their grandmothers or great-grandmothers in the most isolated hamlets – with a passive knowledge of the language. The youngest speakers, however, are in their late thirties.

Quechuan as a language family is not currently endangered, and other Quechuan languages are well-documented. Estimates of the numbers of Quechuan speakers range between 8.5 and 10 million, and, although Quechua is being pushed back by Spanish in many areas, the majority dialects of its major varieties – Ancash, Ayacucho, Bolivian, Cuzco, Ecuadorian<sup>21</sup> – are quite viable (Adelaar04). Paradoxically, however, the viability of the major varieties is coming at the expense of the viability of the minor varieties. Adelaar08 writes: “If Quechua will survive, its speakers will probably be users of four of five of the most successful dialects, most of which belong to Quechua IIB and IIC.” The dialects of southern Yauyos, classified as either QI or QIIA, and other minor Quechuan languages are rapidly disappearing.

## 1.6 Existing documentation

Echerd74 and Brougere92 supply some socio-linguistic data on Yauyos. There is also a book of folktales, in Spanish, collected in the region in the 1930's and 1940's:

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<sup>20</sup> In the space of just one year, spanning 2012 and 2013, fourteen people died in six separate accidents in the region when their vehicles fell from the road down the canyon.

<sup>21</sup> It is worth noting that much of the diversity internal to these languages is being lost, as one anonymous reviewer points out.



## 1 Introduction

*Apuntes para el folklor de Yauyos* (Varilla). Yauyos is mentioned in the context of two dialectological studies of Quechua by Torero68; Torero74.

With these exceptions, all that is known about Yauyos we owe to the French researcher Gerald Taylor. Taylor's PhD dissertation describes the morphology of Laraos, a northern dialect of Yauyos. This work was republished or excerpted, sometimes with revisions, in Taylor84; Taylor90; Taylor94a; Taylor94b Taylor87a supplements the data on Laraos with data on Huancaya, and Taylor90; Taylor00 provides a comparison of all seven dialects on the basis of eight grammatical elements and fifty lexical items. Finally, Taylor87b; Taylor87c; Taylor91 transcribes and translates several folktales into Spanish and French.

### 1.7 Fieldwork

The fieldwork upon which this document is based was conducted in June and July of 2010; January through April 2011; August through December 2011; April through September 2012; and for a total of 10 months between October 2012 and July 2014. The second of these trips was funded by a faculty development grant from San José State University; the third through sixth, by two National Endowment for the Humanities-National Science Foundation Documenting Endangered Languages fellowships (FN-50099-11 and FN-50109-12).

The corpus counts 206 distinct audio and audio-video recordings. The recordings, totaling over 71 hours, were made in the seven districts of Southern Yauyos – Apurí, Azángaro, Caca, Chocos, Hongos, Huangáscar, Lincha, Madeán, and Viñac – as well as in the district of San Pedro de Huacarpana in Chincha. Recordings include stories, songs, riddles, spontaneous dialogue, personal narrative, and descriptions of traditional activities, crafts and healing practices. Over 28 hours of recordings were transcribed, translated and glossed. The recordings as well as the ELAN time-aligned transcriptions and accompanying videos are archived both at The DoBeS project, housed at the Max Planck Institute in Nijmegen, The Netherlands, and at the Archive of the Indigenous Languages of Latin America at the University of Texas, Austin, USA. All materials can be accessed via those institutions' websites, <http://www.mpi.nl/DOBES/> and <http://www.ailla.utexas.org/>. The more popular video recordings – many transcribed – can also be easily accessed via [endangeredlanguages.com](http://endangeredlanguages.com). All examples that follow except those noted † were taken from this corpus. It is my hope that these examples will give the reader a sense of the life that supported and was supported by the language.

Unicode was used for character encoding; audio and video recordings were



saved in the standard formats – PCM wav 44.1/32 bits, .mpg, and .mpeg; unstructured texts were saved as plain text; structured texts have XML-based underlying schemas. Recording equipment includes a Marantz PMD 660 solid state digital audio recorder (pre-January 2013 recordings); a Roland R-26 solid state audio recorder; an AudioTechnica 831b cardioid condenser microphone (pre-May 2012 recordings); a Sennheiser MKH 8060 cardioid condenser microphone; and a Canon Vixia HF S100 HD flash memory camcorder. Transcriptions, translations and glosses were prepared with ELAN; Audacity was used for editing audio recordings; iMovie for video recordings. All work was done on a MacBook Pro (pre-July 2011 recordings) or MacBook Air (post-July 2011 recordings).

Exactly one hundred participants contributed recordings. Their names are listed below. Dialects are bolded; municipalities, underlined; towns, italicized; annexes, indented. Alphabetical order is preserved throughout. Three participants requested to remain anonymous. In these cases, I have assigned “pseudo-initials.” I lost my metadata on three participants. In these cases, they are identified by their initials (included in the original recording titles) alone.

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Apurí-Madeán-Viñac		Apurí	AA, DO, Pedro Carrún
Madean	Madeán	Victoria Díaz, Gabino Huari, Ernestina Huari, Efrén Yauri	
	Tayamarca	Isabel Chávez	
	Viñac	Dona Alvarado, Eudisia Alvarado, Pripodina Auris, Jesus Centeno, Meli Chávez, Delfina Chullukuy, Martina Guerra, Victoria Guerra, Carmen Huari, Aleka Madueño, Acención Madueño, Melania Madueño, Hilda Quispe, Angélica Romero, Saturnina Utcañe	
Viñac	Casa Blanca	Margarita Madueño	Esmeralda
	Florida	Juana Huari, Leonarda Huari, Neri Huari, Corsinia Javier, Cecilia Quispe	Ortigal
	Llanka	Octavia Arco, Bautista Cárdenas	Qanta
	Qunyari	Cecilia Guerra, Emiliano Rojas	Shutco
	Tambopata	Alejandrina Centeno, Macedonia Centeno, Soylita Chullunkuy, Hida Evangelista, Soylita Huari	Yuracsayhu
Azángaro-Chocos-Huangáscar		Azángaro	Anselma Caja, Filipa Pos
	Colca	Genoveva Rodríguez, Lucía Rodríguez	Marcalla
	Puka Rumi	Alcibiada Rodríguez	Villaflor
Chocos	Chocos	Honorato B., Bonifacia de la Cruz, Julia Mayta	
	Huangáscar	Benedicta Lázaro, CW, Luisa Gutiérrez, PP, Victoria Quispe, Teódolo Rodríguez, Natividad Saldaña	
	Tapalla	Grutilda Saldaño; Eudisia Vicente	
Cacra-Hongos		Cacra	Iris Barrosa, Maximina Barrosa, Regi Huamán
	Hongos	Archi V., Eduardo Centeno, Dina Huamán, Leona Huamán, SA, Sabina Huamán, Senaida Oré, Hipólita Santos, Maximina Tupac, Erlinda Vicente	

Lincha-Tana Lincha *Lincha*

Ninfa Flores, Anselma Vicente, Sofía Vicente

Tana *Tana*Amador Flores, Gabina Flores, Lucio Flores,  
Dina Lázaro, Elisa Mancha, Isabel Mancha*Liscay*Santa Ayllu, E  
Elvira Huamán, S  
RF, Rosa O., Max

San Pedro de Huacarpana San Pedro de Huacarpana

*San Pedro*Bernarda S. *et al.*

For help with transcription and the lexicon, unending thanks to Benedicta Lázaro and Martina Reynoso (ACH); Mila Chávez, Delfina Chullunkuy, Esther Madueño, Hilda Quispe, and Celia Rojas (AMV); Iris Barrosa, Gloria Cuevas, Senaida Oré, Hipólita Santos, and Erlinda Vicente, (CH); Ninfa Flores and Sofía Vicente (LT); and Santa Ayllu, Elvira Huamán, Sofía Huamán, and Maximina Paloma (SP).

## 1.8 Presentation

To facilitate comparison with other Quechuan languages, the presentation here follows the structure of the six Quechua grammars published by the Peruvian government in 1976. Readers familiar with those grammars will note the obvious debt this one owes to those: it follows not just their format, but also, in large part, their analysis. The six 1976 grammars cover the Quechuas of Ancash, Ayacucho, Cajamarca, Cuzco, Huanca and San Martín (Parker76gram; Soto76a; Quesada76; Cusihuaman76; CerroP76a; Coombs76). Other published grammars of Quechuan languages include Herrero78 on Bolivian; Catta94 on Ecuadorian; Taylor94a on Ferreñafe; Weber89 on Huallaga (Huanuco);<sup>22</sup> Cole82 on Imbabura; Adelaar77 description of Tarma Quechua and his (Adelaar86) morphology of Pacaraos; as well as the surveys and compilations of CerroP87; CerroP90, and Cole94.

Words and phrases appearing in italics – *like this* – are in Quechua. English and Spanish interpretations appear in single quotation marks – ‘like this’. Interpretations are sometimes given in Spanish – the language I used with my consultants<sup>23</sup> – as well as English. Transformations (illustrations of changes indicated

<sup>22</sup> Thanks to an anonymous reviewer for pointing this out. Hintz supplies a grammar of aspect and related categories in Quechua, especially South Conchucos Quechua (Ancash).

<sup>23</sup> Indeed, all English glosses are my translations from the Spanish glosses my consultants orig-

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as a result of morphological processes referenced) are indicated with arrows – like  $\rightarrow$  *like\_this*. Quechua words are broken into component morphemes, like this: *warmi-kuna*. It is the morpheme relevant to the topic in focus that is underlined.

Each section and major subsection begins with an account of the topic under consideration. Terminal subsections supply more extended discussion and further examples, generally about 10, often as many as 30 or even 40. All examples except those indicated with a dagger are taken from the corpus of recordings collected during the course of the documentation of the language. Those with a dagger were elicited. The glosses are presented in the following format.

(1) <i>Ishkayninchik ripukushun</i> . AMV	<i>Southern Yauyos example</i>
ishkay-ni-nchik ripu-ku-shun	morpheme breaks
two-EUPH-1PL leave-REFL-1PL.FUT	gloss
‘Let’s go <u>both of us</u> .’	English free translation

All examples are taken from the transcribed corpus. Transcriptions can be checked against the original recordings by downloading the compilation of recordings archived with the corpus, typing a couple of words from either the example or its gloss into the search bar and following the recording title and time signature back to the original recording. I am also happy to supply this information. Source titles refer to .eaf files archived with DoBeS and AILLA. File names include three elements: the place in which the recording was made, the initials of the principal participant, and a word or two recalling the principal topic(s). For example, the file *Vinac\_JC\_Cure* was made in Viñac, has for its principal participant Jesús Centeno and for its principal topic a curing ceremony. Because of restrictions on file names, no accents are used. So, *Azángaro* is rendered “Azangaro” and so on.

Glosses were prepared in accord with the Leipzig glossing rules. For reasons of space, two deviations from the standard abbreviations were made: “proximal demonstrative” is not rendered “DEM.PROX” but “DEM.P”; and “distal demonstrative” is not rendered “DEM.DIST” but “DEM.D”. Gloss codes are listed with the notational conventions at page [vii](#), in the section with that name.

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inally supplied. In most cases, the Spanish translations reflected the syntax and semantics of the original Quechua. I sacrificed this in preparing the the English glosses that appear here. I made this choice because the more literal glosses are standard in Andean Spanish – in structures like the possessive ‘su n de a’ (‘his N of a’) – they would not be standard in any English dialect of which I am aware.

Table 1.1: Use of QI, QII and local structures in the five SYQ dialects

	CH	ACH	SP	AMV	LT
1Singular nominal inflection	-:	-:	-:	-y	-y
1Singular verbal inflection	-:	-:	-:	-ni	-ni
1Singular object inflection	-ma	-ma	-ma	-wa	-wa
1Plural exclusive pronoun <i>ñuqakuna</i>	yes	yes	yes	yes	yes
Fusion of */ch/ and */tr/ <sup>(a)</sup>	no	no	no	no	no
Fusion of */s/ and */sh/	no	no	no	no	no
s>o inflection order NUM-O-TNS-S	yes	yes	yes	yes	yes
Vowel length distinctive elsewhere <sup>(b)</sup>	no	no	no	no	no
Same-subject subordinator - <i>shpa</i> <sup>(c)</sup>	yes	yes <sup>(d)</sup>	yes	yes	yes
Narrative past inflection - <i>shQa</i>	yes	yes	yes	yes	yes
Comparative - <i>hina</i>	yes	yes	yes	yes	yes
Diminutive - <i>cha</i> <sup>(e)</sup>	yes	yes	yes	yes	yes
Emphatic - <i>ari</i>	yes	yes	yes	yes	yes
1Plural Altern. Conditional - <i>chuwan</i>	yes	yes	yes	yes	yes
2Singular Altern. Conditional - <i>waq</i>	no	no	no	yes	no
Assertive - <i>puni</i>	no	no	no	yes	no
Evidential modifier - <i>ki</i> <sup>(f)</sup>	yes	yes	yes	yes	yes
Locative - <i>pa</i>	yes <sup>(g)</sup>	yes	yes	yes	yes
Ablative - <i>paq</i> <sup>(h)</sup>	yes	yes	yes	yes	yes
Non-exhaustive - <i>kuna</i>	yes	yes	yes	yes	yes
Lateralization of */r/	yes <sup>(i)</sup>	no	no	no	no

Note:

- <sup>(a)</sup> An anonymous reviewer points out that this is not exclusively a feature of QII languages in that the fusion of \*/ch/ and \*/tr/ is attested in Huallaga, a QI variety.
- <sup>(b)</sup> With the exception of -*pa(:)ku*, where the long vowel distinguishes JTACC from BEN-REFL.
- <sup>(c)</sup> An anonymous reviewer points out that, although this may originally have been posited to be a defining characteristic of QII languages, it is, in fact, far from such: -*shpa* is common in several QI dialects: in Ancash, it attested in Huaylas; it is attested, also in Pachitea in Huanuco.
- <sup>(d)</sup> Caca but not Hongos also uses -*r* (realized [ɭ]).
- <sup>(e)</sup> An anonymous reviewer points out that while diminutive -*cha* is less productive in QI than in QII, it is still is common throughout QI, e. g. Victoria-Vitucha, Cabrito-Kapcha.
- <sup>(f)</sup> Also used in Ayacucho (QII).
- <sup>(g)</sup> Also uses -*traw* (QI).
- <sup>(h)</sup> An anonymous reviewer points out that ablative -*paq* is almost certainly derived from \*/-piq/ / \*/-pik/ via vowel harmony. The former is attested in Huaylas and the latter in Corongo. The other -*pi*-initial forms in QI (-*pita*, -*pi:ta*, -*pikta*, -*piqta*, among others) would have developed later via suffix amalgamation, similar to the formation of bipartite -*manta* in QII (hintz2000characteristicas).
- <sup>(i)</sup> Also occurs in Junin (QI).

Key: \*: QI trait; †: QII/QIIC trait; ‡: trait shared by all SYQ dilects not characteristic of either QI or QII/QIIC.





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