

THE LANGUAGES OF THE ANDES

The Andean and Pacific regions of South America are home to a remarkable variety of languages and language families, with a range of typological differences. This linguistic diversity results from a complex historical background, comprising periods of greater communication between different peoples and languages, and periods of fragmentation and individual development. *The Languages of the Andes* is the first book in English to document in a single volume the indigenous languages spoken and formerly spoken in this linguistically rich region, as well as in adjacent areas. Grouping the languages into different cultural spheres, it describes their characteristics in terms of language typology, language contact, and the social perspectives of present-day languages. The authors provide both historical and contemporary information, and illustrate the languages with detailed grammatical sketches. Written in a clear and accessible style, this book will be a valuable source for students and scholars of linguistics and anthropology alike.

WILLEM F. H. ADELAAR is Professor of Amerindian Languages and Cultures at Leiden University. He has travelled widely in South America and has conducted fieldwork in Peru on different varieties of Quechua and minor languages of the area. He has also worked on the historical-comparative reconstruction of South American languages, and since 1991 has been involved in international activities addressing the issue of language endangerment. His previously published books include *Tarma Quechua* (1977) and *Het Boek van Huarochiri* (1988).

PIETER C. MUYSKEN is Professor of Linguistics at the University of Nijmegen. He has travelled widely in the Caribbean and the Andes, and was previously Professor of Sociolinguistics and Creole Studies at the University of Amsterdam and Professor of Linguistics and Latin American Studies at Leiden University. He is co-editor of the Cambridge journal *Bilingualism: Language and Cognition*, and his previously published books include *Bilingual Speech: a Typology of Code-mixing* (Cambridge, 2000), and *One Speaker, Two Languages* (co-edited with Lesley Milroy, Cambridge, 1995).

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THE LANGUAGES OF THE ANDES

WILLEM F. H. ADELAAR

with the collaboration of PIETER C. MUYSKEN



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PREFACE

This book took much longer to write than originally intended, particularly because very little was known about some of the regions to be covered, while much new material has become available these last few years. We hope this survey will in its turn inspire new research in the years to come.

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While the book was written under the primary authorship and responsibility of Willem Adelaar, the individual chapters were divided as follows: Pieter Muysken wrote sections 1.1–1.5 of chapter 1 and Adelaar the introductory pages of chapter 1 as well as sections 1.6–1.7. Adelaar also wrote chapter 2 except for section 2.15, chapter 3 except for section 3.2.8, and all of chapter 5. Muysken wrote chapters 4, 6 and 7, as well as the sections 2.15 and 3.2.8.

ORTHOGRAPHIC CONVENTIONS

This book on Andean languages relies on heterogeneous sources, including premodern grammatical studies and vocabularies, as well as contemporary descriptions obtained by direct observation of living languages. These circumstances made it difficult to adopt a uniform orthographic practice. The spelling of colonial and other traditional sources has been preserved, allowing for marginal adaptations where the sources are internally inconsistent. Languages such as Allentiac, Muisca and Puquina, which have long been extinct, are known from premodern sources only, and the interpretation of the symbols used to represent them remains tentative. In the case of relatively recent data from languages that became extinct during the twentieth century, such as Mochica and Timote–Cuica, the identification of sounds can be problematic when the recorded materials are not in agreement with modern linguistic standards. Such materials are exemplified in the original spelling as well. Finally, there are premodern sources relating to languages still spoken, for instance, Valdivia’s Araucanian grammar of 1606. The use of premodern sources includes exotic symbols, such as *cʉ*, *ch*, *ʒh*, *ʎ* and *æ*. Among the languages primarily known from premodern sources, the only one presented in a reconstructed, rather than an original spelling is Cholón (see section 4.11.3).

For most of the living languages we are on firmer ground, although for these too we have to rely on published sources with different methodological approaches, theoretical backgrounds and degrees of phonological abstraction. In view of the necessity to represent such heterogeneous materials, we have opted for a phonetically based orthography such as commonly found in North American linguistic journals dealing with Amerindian languages (e.g. *International Journal of American Linguistics*). Consequently, several of the original symbols have been replaced with others, and adjustments have been made at the level of individual languages so as to facilitate the presentation of the linguistic facts in a unified way.¹ In a number of cases (e.g. Guajiro *l* and *r*, Mapuche *r*, Quechua *n* and *q*) concessions have been made to established practice. Such deviations of the

¹ We wish to apologise beforehand for the inevitable errors and inconsistencies that are inherent to this procedure.

overall orthographic practice adhered to in this book are duly explained in the respective sections.

Vowels

When only vowel quality is taken into consideration, most languages of the Andean region select their vowels from a set of five, including two front vowels (*e*, *i*), two rounded back vowels (*o*, *u*) and one low vowel (*a*). These vowels usually exhibit a certain amount of non-distinctive variation, which is not shown in the orthography except when the phonetic realisation itself is a topic of discussion. In addition, many Andean languages also have an unrounded vowel which may be high central, mid central, or high back. We represent this sixth vowel by means of the symbol *ɨ*, regardless of its exact phonetic nature and possible existing spelling conventions. For the representation of languages exhibiting an additional contrast between a high central and a mid central vowel we use the symbols *ɨ* and *ə* to distinguish between the two. The main reason for following this procedure is to preserve unity in the presentation. It is, furthermore, justified by the consideration that the sixth vowel often shows a wide range of non-contrastive variation, depending on the phonetic environment in which it occurs, and the fact that the observations of different authors rarely coincide, even when they are dealing with the same language. In the absence of specialised phonetic studies, almost non-existent in the case of Andean languages, the exact phonetic nature of the sixth vowel generally remains uncertain.

Vowel systems of a different qualitative structure are found in Mochica, in languages of the Amazonian lowlands, and in languages of Tierra del Fuego. They will be discussed in the respective chapters (sections 3.4.1, 4.6 and 6.4). For these cases, as well as in explanative phonetic representations relating to more current Andean systems, additional symbols (*ɑ*, *α*, *æ*, *ɛ*, *ĩ*, *ɔ*, *ʉ*) are used.

Secondary articulations of the vowels

- Vowel length is indicated by a colon (*a:*, *e:*, *i:*, *o:*, *u:*), except when the long vowel consists of several tone-bearing units. In that case, the vowels are written separately (*aa*, etc.). Extra short vowels are marked as follows: *ǎ*, *ě*, *ǰ*, *ǫ*, *ǔ*.
- Nasal vowels: *ã*, *ẽ*, *ĩ*, *õ*, *ũ*, etc.
- Aspirated vowels: *a^h*, *e^h*, *i^h*, *o^h*, *u^h*, etc.
- Glottalised vowels: *a^ʔ*, *e^ʔ*, *i^ʔ*, *o^ʔ*, *u^ʔ*, etc.
- Voiceless vowels: *ɑ̥*, *ɛ̥*, *ĩ̥*, *o̥*, *u̥*, etc.
- Tonal contrast is indicated by means of an acute accent (for high or rising tone), a grave accent (for low or falling tone), a superscript level stroke (for mid level tone), or a circumflex (for a descending tonal glide): *á*, *à*, *ā*,

â. Contrastive stress is also indicated by means of an acute accent. Stress and tone are indicated only when contrastive.

Non-syllabic vowels

When non-syllabic, the high vowels *i* and *u* are analysed as glides, hence they are written as *y* and *w*, respectively. This is always the case in syllable-initial position (*yV*, *wV*), and it is the preferred option in postvocalic syllable-final position (*Vy*, *Vw*). Occasionally, however, postvocalic glides are represented as vowels (*Vi*, *Vu*), when the status of vowel sequences in the language under discussion appears to favour that choice.

Consonants

In the following overview the consonant symbols are grouped in categories:

- Bilabial: plain stops *p*, *b*; implosive stop: *ɓ*; fricatives *ɸ*, *β*; nasal *m*; glide *w*.
- Labiodental: fricatives *f*, *v*.
- Interdental: stops *t*, *d*; fricatives *θ*, *ð*; nasal *n*.
- Alveodental: plain stops *t*, *d*; implosive stop *ɗ*; affricates *c* (*tʰ* in phonetic explanations), *dʒ* (*dz* before secondary articulation markers, as in *dzʰ*); fricatives *s*, *z*; nasal *n*.
- Apico-alveolar: fricative *ʃ*; affricate *tʃ*.
- Alveopalatal: affricates *ç*, *dʒ*; fricatives *ʃ*, *ʒ*; glide *y*.
- Retroflex: stops *t*, *d*; affricates *ç*, *dʒ*; fricatives *ʃ*, *ʒ*; nasal *n*; glide *ɭ*.
- Palatalised velar (*ich-laut*): fricative: *ç*; affricate: *tʃ*.
- Velar: stops: *k*, *g*; fricatives *x*, *ɣ*; nasal *ŋ*.
- Uvular (or postvelar): stops *q*, *G*; fricatives *χ*, *ʁ*.
- Glottal: fricative *h*; stop *ʔ*. (Note: *h* can also refer to a velar fricative because many Andean languages tend to use glottal and velar fricatives in a non-distinctive way.)
- Laterals: plain (voiced alveodental) *l*; interdental *ɭ*; retroflex *ɭ*; voiceless fricative *ɬ*; voiceless affricate *ɬ*.
- Vibrants: voiced tap *r*; trill *rr*; tap with palatal affrication *ɾ*; retroflex flap *ɽ*.

Secondary articulations of the consonants

- Gemination is indicated by doubling the consonant symbol (*pp*, *kk*, *nn*, etc.). Double *rr* represents a trill, rather than only a geminate. (Quechua *nn* is a cluster [ɲn]; see section 3.2.5.)

Orthographic Conventions

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- Coarticulation is indicated by juxtaposition of the symbols: *kp, pk, pkʷ*.
- Glottalisation: *p', t', č', k', q'*, etc.
- Aspiration (of stops and affricates): *p^h, t^h, č^h, k^h, q^h*, etc.
- Preaspiration or voicelessness (of resonants): *^hm, ^hn, ^hr*, etc.
- Palatalisation: *ɸ', kʲ, nʲ, ɸ'*, etc.
- Labialisation: *p^w, m^w, k^w, x^w*, etc.
- Prenasalisation (or postoralisation): *^mb, ^dd, ^ŋg*.
- Postnasalisation (or preoralisation): *b^m, d^m, g^ŋ*.
- Click-like articulation: *p<, m<*.
- Syllabic resonants: *l̩, ŋ̩*

Other symbols and conventions

- V Vowel (only in phonological explanation).
- C Consonant.
- [. . .] Phonetic representation or tentative pronunciation.
Etymological provenance or borrowing source.
- < . . . > Symbols used in premodern sources.
- { . . . } Explanation of morphological structure.
 - Morpheme boundary.
Division of morphemic glosses.
 - = Division of constituents in reduplicated forms.
 - . Division of speech elements covered by a single morphemic gloss.
Division of morphemic glosses relating to a portmanteau speech element.

ABBREVIATIONS

In the example sentences of this book morphemic glosses may consist of numbers, letters, or letter combinations. For reasons of presentation, all letter combinations have been limited to a maximum of two elements. Grammatical person is indicated by means of the numbers 1, 2, 3 and 4, which refer to the four-person system characteristic of the structure of some of the languages treated in this work:

1	first person	(speaker)
2	second person	(addressee)
3	third person	(neither)
4	fourth person	(speaker + addressee)

These numbers can be followed by the symbols S (subject), O (object), or P (possessor) without an intervening hyphen or dot:

1S, 2S, 3S, 4S	first-person subject, etc.
1O, 2O, 3O, 4O	first-person object, etc.
1P, 2P, 3P, 4P	first-person possessor, etc.

The following list is an inventory of all the remaining morphemic glosses, which consist of letters or letter combinations.

A	absolute (as opposed to relational) absolutive (as opposed to ergative)
AB	ablative case
AC	accusative case
AD	additive ('also', 'even')
AF	affirmative (evidential)
AG	agentive nominaliser
AJ	adjective adjectiviser
AL	allative case

List of abbreviations

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AN	anticompletive ('still', 'yet')
AO	aorist
AP	applicative
AR	attributive
AS	assistance
AT	attenuator
AU	augmentative
AV	adverbialiser
AX	auxiliary
B	benefactive case
BN	beneficiary
C	comitative case
CA	causative
CD	conditional mood
CE	centripetal (converging motion)
CF	centrifugal (diverging motion)
CL	classifier or shape morpheme (with semantic specification, e.g. CL: round object)
CM	completive ('already')
CN	continuative
CO	co-ordination
CP	comparative ('like')
CR	circular motion ('go around')
CS	courteous
CT	change of topic
CU	customary
CV	copula verbaliser
D	dual
DA	dative case
DB	distributive
DC	deictic
DD	different directions
DE	desiderative
DF	definite
DG	degree
DI	diminutive
DL	delimitative ('just', 'only')
DM	detrimental

DP	deductive past
DR	directional
DS	different subjects (in switch-reference systems)
DT	distal
DU	dubitative
DV	declarative
DW	downward motion
E	ergative case
EC	exclamation
EM	emphatic
ES	external subject
EU	euphonic element
EV	event/action
EX	exclusive (addressee excluded)
F	future
FA	factitive ('make')
FE	feminine
FM	factual mood
FN	future-oriented nominaliser
FO	focus
FR	far remote
G	genitive case
GA	genitive agent
GO	goal
GP	generic pair
GR	gerund
H	hither (motion towards speaker)
HB	habitual past
HN	honorific
HO	hortative
HS	hearsay (evidential)
HY	hypothetical
I	inverse
IA	imperfective aspect
IC	inchoative
ID	indicative mood
IE	irrealis mood
IF	infinitive

List of abbreviations

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II	indefinite
IK	indirect knowledge
IL	inferential
IM	imperative mood
IN	inclusion ('provided with')
IP	inferential past
IR	interrogative
IS	instrumental case
IT	intensive
IU	immediate future
IV	inclusive (addressee included)
IW	inward motion
L	locative case
LA	lack ('not having')
LB	left-behind object
LI	limitative case ('until')
LK	linking element
LN	locality nominaliser
LP	lexicalised prefix
LS	lexicalised suffix
LV	locative verbaliser
M	momentaneous
MA	motion across ('traverse')
MD	medial
MS	masculine
MT	motion
N	noun
	nominaliser
NA	narrative past
NC	non-control
ND	non-determinate
NE	negation
NF	near future
NM	nominative case
NP	nominal past
NR	near remote
NS	non-speaker
NT	non-transitive

NU	neutral
O	object
OB	obligation
OC	oblique case
OE	ongoing event
OS	ownership ('having')
OV	obviative
P	possessor
PA	past tense
PC	paucal
PD	predicate marker
PE	perfect tense
PF	perfective aspect
PI	privative
PL	plural
PM	permissive
PN	present tense
PO	potential mood
PR	progressive
PS	passive
PT	perlative case (path)
PU	pronoun
PV	previous event
PX	proximate
Q	question marker
QU	quotative
R	relativiser
RC	reciprocal
RD	realis mood
RE	recent past
RF	reflexive
RL	relational (possessed)
RM	remote past
RO	reportative
RP	repetitive
RR	referential
RS	restitutive
RU	remote future

List of abbreviations

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S	subject
SA	simple aspect
SD	sudden discovery tense
SG	singular
SI	simulation
SJ	subjunctive mood
SM	simultaneous
SO	source
SN	stative nominaliser
SP	supine
SQ	sequential
SR	speaker
SS	same subject (in switch-reference systems)
ST	state
SU	subordination
T	transitive transitiviser
TF	transformative ('become')
TH	thither (motion not towards speaker)
TO	topic
TS	thematic suffix
TV	thematic vowel
U	urgency
UF	unfulfilled
UG	undergoer
UN	unspecified subject
UW	upward motion
V	verb verbaliser
VE	verbal extension
VO	vocative
Z	zero complement
ZP	zero person