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The Chachapuya Language and Proto-Kawapanan: Lexical Affinities and Hypothetical Contact Scenarios

La lengua chachapuya y el proto-cahuapana: afinidades léxicas y escenarios hipotéticos de contacto

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Abstract: The study of onomastics in the south of the modern region of Amazonas in the northeast of Peru has shed light on the existence of a pre-Inca language conventionally named Chacha. Unfortunately, the almost absolute lack of documentary evidence for the existence of this language obscures research on it. This linguistic region, characterised by toponyms carrying *-lap*, *-mal*, *-gat*, *-lun*, and *-wala* endings, coincides with the core of expansion of the pre-Inca culture of Chachapoyas.

In this article I reanalyse the place names in the region. This study is based on comparative evidence involving Proto-Kawapanan, and Shawi and Shiwilu, its modern descendants from a traditional comparative perspective. I claim that most of the Chachapuya endings, as well as place names like Kuelap-**Kuyalape* can be analysed as Kawapanan names. This suggests that either Chachapuya was related to modern Kawapanan languages, or that this was a so far understudied area of intense language contact.

Keywords: Chachapuya; Proto-Kawapanan; language contact; Peru; pre-Inca period.

Resumen: El estudio de la onomástica en el sur de la región actual amazónica en el noreste de Perú ha arrojado luz sobre la existencia de una lengua preincaica convencionalmente llamada chacha. Desafortunadamente, la casi absoluta falta de evidencia documental de la existencia de esta lengua oscurece la investigación sobre ella. Esta región lingüística, caracterizada por topónimos que llevan las terminaciones *-lap*, *-mal*, *-gat*, *-lun*, y *-wala*, coincide con el núcleo de la expansión de la cultura preincaica de los chachapoyas.

En este artículo vuelvo a analizar los topónimos de la región. Este estudio se basa en muestras comparativas que involucran al proto-cahuapana, y al shawi y shiwilu, sus descendientes modernos desde una perspectiva comparativa tradicional. Afirmando que la mayoría de las terminaciones chachapuyas, así como los nombres de lugares como Kuelap-**Kuyalape* pueden ser analizados como nombres cahuapanas. Esto sugiere que o bien chachapuya estaba relacionado con las lenguas modernas cahuapanas, o que esta era un área hasta ahora poco estudiada de intenso contacto lingüístico.

Palabras clave: chachapuya; proto-cahuapana; contacto lingüístico; Perú; periodo pre-inca.

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1. Introduction

The second half of the twentieth century witnessed the efforts on the part of linguists to determine the original loci that Amerindian languages occupied in the Andes prior to the arrival of the Spaniards, based on philological analyses of colonial documents and the study of onomastics (cf. Torero 2002; Cerrón-Palomino 2008a). However, many people-language associations were built upon Western and colonial pre-conceptions, ignoring in many cases the complex and fluid demographic and linguistic realities of these places; hence the study of a topography of power (Vidal 2000, 638) or a glosso-graphy of power (Rojas-Berscia 2019). Therefore, speaking of a language or an area today must be subject to careful consideration prior to any serious analysis.

The north of Peru is one of these complex areas, due to the large number of languages documented. We now know that this was a crucible of languages. The northern coast, for example, was home to the languages known as Sechura or Sec, Tallán, Olmos, Mochica, and Quingnam (cf. Urban 2019 for a thorough survey on the languages of Northern Peru). For Sec and Tallán there are very short lists of words, written by the bishop of Trujillo, Baltasar Jaime Martínez Compañón, in his well-known *Plan* (Martínez Compañón 2015 [1783]). We know basically nothing about the language of the oasis of Olmos, except for sporadic references to its existence or superficial characteristics of its pronunciation (cf. Calancha 1638). For Quingnam, a list of numerals was quite recently made available in Quilter *et al.* (2010). Mochica is by and large the best documented in the region. Both grammars and vocabularies are available (Carrera Daza 1644; Middendorf 1892; Hovdhaugen 2004), and toponymic as well as areal studies contain promises for a better understanding of their area of influence as well as possible origins and contact scenarios. The languages of the Northern Andes have a similar limited documentary history. Nowadays, we know of the existence of languages such as Culli, Xoroca, Chirino, Tabancal, Patagón, Sacata, Bagua, and Copallén, while the languages from the eastern flanks of the Northern Peruvian Andes, such as Aguaruna, Shawi, Shiwilu, Muniche, Cholón, with the exception of Hibito, are better documented. For example, it is possible to get to know something about the lexicon, the phonology, and the morphology of Culli, thanks to the study of toponymy, as well as detailed surveys on the Spanish of the Northern Andes of Peru (cf. Adelaar 1988; Andrade Ciudad 1995; Andrade Ciudad 2010; Andrade Ciudad 2016; Torero 1989; Cerrón-Palomino 2004). Our knowledge of the languages of the Jaén Sink (see Table 1) is also very restricted, since the only document available is a lexeme list from a compilation from ca. 1570, the *Relación de la tierra de Jaén*:

	Patagon	Bagua	Chirino	Xoroca	Tabancal	Copallén	Sacata
water	<i>tuná</i>	<i>tuna</i>	<i>yungo</i>	<i>yumé</i>	<i>yema</i>	<i>quiet</i>	<i>unga</i>
wheat	<i>anás</i>	<i>lancho</i>	<i>yugato</i>	<i>xemé</i>	<i>moa</i>	<i>chumac</i>	<i>umague</i>
firewood	<i>viue</i>	-	<i>xumás</i>	<i>let</i>	<i>oyme</i>	<i>olaman</i>	-
fire	-	-	-	<i>capal</i>	<i>lalaque</i>	-	<i>chichache</i>
house	-	-	-	-	<i>tie</i>	<i>ismare</i>	-
sheep	<i>coará</i>	-	-	-	-	-	-
weed	-	-	<i>paxquiro</i>	-	-	-	-
come here	-	<i>nacxé</i>	-	-	-	-	-

Table 1. Lexemes list following the *Relación de la tierra de Jaén* (Torero 2002, 273).

These lexemes were exhaustively studied by Torero (2002, 273). For him, Patagón could be considered a Carib language, based on the four forms I present under the column for Patagon in Table 1. This assessment can never be fully confirmed, since the language is already extinct, but the small set of correspondences is very clear (Torero 2002, 277). Bagua, Tabancal, and Copallén could not be classified within any existing South American group. Chirino and Xoroca, nevertheless, clearly seem to be Candoshi-Shapra/Candoan (2002, 280-283) and Jivaroan/Chicham (2002, 284-287), respectively. With regard to Sacata, it is probable that it was an Arawak language (2002, 280-293). Cholón survived until the end of the twentieth century and an extensive lexical and grammatical description of it was made available recently (Alexander-Bakkerus 2005). We know little about Hibito, but enough to be able to classify it together with Cholón (Adelaar with Muysken 2004, 461; based on Tessmann 1930).¹ Aguaruna, a Jivaroan/Chicham language, is still spoken by ca. 40 000 people and there is an extensive and detailed description of it (Overall 2017). As for the current state of documentation of the Kawapanan languages, it has witnessed an incremental interest in the last decade with promising results (Madalengoitia Barúa 2013; Valenzuela 2010; Valenzuela 2011; Valenzuela 2015; Valenzuela *et al.* 2013 for Shiwilu; Rojas-Berscia 2015; Rojas-Berscia and Ghavami Dicker 2015 for Shawi; Valenzuela 2011; Rojas-Berscia and Nikulin 2016 for Proto-Kawapanan).

However, this degree of linguistic diversity is only apparent. All these languages were somehow in contact with missionaries and travellers of European origin. Thanks to these, paradoxically, we possess some information on those languages. There were, however, other Pre-Hispanic varieties for which we possess no record. Chachapuya is

1 However, a genealogical affiliation between the two languages is still controversial.

one of those. It probably was an assemblage of lects (c.f. Bailey 1973, for a definition of lect), once spoken by the ancient ethnic groups known as Luya, Chillaos and Chachapoya,² in the modern regions of Amazonas and San Martín, in Peru. The main axis of investigation on this language involved the analysis of anthroponyms and toponyms to discover the meaning of certain place names.

Langlois (1939) wrote one of the first studies on Chachapuya toponymy. He argued that the most common toponymic endings were *-ate*, *-on*, and *-mal*. These first observations have since been revised. Linguists now prefer to isolate the first two as *-gate* and *-lon*. For Langlois, *-mal* resembles the endings of some toponyms in a language of Yucatan. Therefore, names like Panamal, Osmal, and Cuémal would resemble those of Uxmal, Itzamal, Chetumal, or Cuzumal (Langlois 1939, 99; Valqui and Ziemendorf 2016, 7). These assumptions have not been accepted in subsequent scholarly work.

The pioneer of the linguistically informed analyses was Torero (1989; 2002), who hypothesises the existence of a language area he named ‘Chacha’, on the basis of the frequency of occurrence of endings such as *-lon*, *-mal*, and *-lap*. This zone would comprise the provinces of Chachapoyas, Rodríguez de Mendoza, Luya and the south of Bagua and Bongará, in the modern political region of Amazonas. Torero provided a preliminary analysis of the meanings of place names and was the first to put forward a hypothesis on the possible geographical boundaries of this area with other toponymic areas identified by him, such as DEN and CAT (Torero 2002). Torero argued that this language was already obsolescent at the arrival of the Spaniards, given the lack of linguistic documentation beyond place names.

Taylor (2000) was the first to call this language *lengua de los antiguos chachapuya* ‘the language of the ancient Chachapuya’. This author, unlike Torero (1989; 2002), does not include the morpheme *-lon*, but does add an extra one, *-huala*. Beyond previous work focusing on the delimitation of toponymic areas, Taylor provides a tentative meaning for each one of these morphemes/endings in the toponyms. He proposes the following lexicon: *-mal* ‘plain’, found in toponyms such as Yulmal (Olleros); *-gat* ‘water or river’, found in toponyms as Shíngache (La Jalca), Gache (Conila), Jamingate (Olto), Tóngate (Colcamar) and Gollongate (Santo Tomás); *-lap* ‘fortress or fortified town’, for ancient ruins such as Conílape, Yálape and Cuélap; and *-huala* ‘mountain’, as in Shukahuala.

2 Many groups could have shared this form of speaking, a hypothesis that seems to be of general agreement lately in ethnohistorical research. For more information, see Ruiz Estrada (2017). These diverse groups, after the conquest by the Incas, were subsumed under the label of ‘Chachapoyas’, as a convenient eponym (Church and Guengerich 2017). Recent investigations in genetics have shed light on a broader demographic spectrum, which was apparently a centre of encounter for several groups, settled today in very distant zones such as the Araucania, i.e. Mapuche, and the Argentinean Patagonia, i.e. Tehuelche (; Guevara *et al.* 2016; Guevara *et al.* 2017). Surprisingly, and contrary to previous speculation, there is no significant genetic connection between the modern inhabitants of the former Chachapoya cultural complex and Jivaroans (Guevara *et al.* 2016, 865-866).

Valqui (2004) adds more detail. He compiled a large number of toponyms and anthroponyms of the zone, backed-up by fieldwork in Jalca Grande. As regards *-lap*, Valqui agrees with Taylor (2000) in that there are names such as Ollape, which indeed refer to a ruin; however, others, such as Tólape or Cúlape refer to a ‘hillside or a horse-shoe pathway’ or ‘stream’ respectively. Valqui attempts to solve the problem through a re-segmentation of Tólape into *tola+-(la)p*, where the morpheme *(la)-p*, before the elision of [l], would mean ‘place where a given resource abounds’ (Valqui 2004), given that ‘tola’ is a type of tree. He therefore prefers not to assume any meanings a priori, due to the lack of written evidence. As for *-mal*, Valqui and Ziemendorf (2016) prefer the meaning of ‘place where a given resource abounds’. The examples provided by the authors are Gachmal (Colcamar, Luya), a compound of *kate-*, before the palatalisation of [t] before its final vowel [e], and *-mal*, which more than ‘water plain’ would mean ‘place where a given resource abounds[water in this case]’ (Valqui and Ziemendorf 2016, 21), and Mashumal ~ Mashmal (Huancas, Chachapoyas), from *mashu* ‘bat’ and *-mal*, the meaning of which would be ‘cavity where bats abound’. As for *-gat*, Valqui agrees with his predecessors and retains the meaning of ‘water resource’. Finally, he also adds the ending *-oc*, which would refer to ‘crag, sandy red hill’.

One of the most recent surveys was that of Rivarola (2007) on Chachapuya anthroponyms. Although the author is not concerned with etymologies, he presents cases worth looking at in future studies on the impact of foreign post-*mitimae*³ demographic penetration of the zone. Zevallos Quiñones (1966, 4), however, does make a morphological analysis of some anthroponyms. The author hypothesises the existence of a prefix in Chachapuya, *hoc-* FEM, which can be found in female names such as **Hocmuca**, **Hoczap**, and **Hocbun**.

Only some grammatical features have been reconstructed, apart from tentative reconstructions of morphology and phonology. Morphologically, Chachapuya was a Modifier-Modified language in its Noun Phrases (NPs). This is evident in place names with a Modifier-Modified structure, as in many other adjacent languages.⁴ Phonologically, Taylor (2000) added that the canonical forms of syllabic composition are: VC, CV, CVC, CVV, CVV, CVVC, CVVC (2000, 16). He reconstructs the sound system of the language, which includes five vowels /a/, /i/, /u/, /e/ and /o/, and the following consonant chart:

3 Throughout this study, *mitimae* refers to groups of people forcefully relocated in recently conquered territories of the Inca Empire.

4 For example, Machu Picchu, lit. ‘old mountain’, or Moyobamba < *muyu pampa* ‘circle plain’.

		Bilabial	Alveolar	Palatal	Velar	Glottal
Stop	Voiceless	/p/	/t/		/k/	
	Voiced	/b/	/d/		/g/	
	Nasal	/m/	/n/	/ɲ/		
Lateral		/l/	/ʎ/			
Vibrant			/r/?			
Fricative	Voiced	/f/	/s/	/sh/		/h/?
	Voiceless	/β/ (v,b?)				
Affricate			/c/ (tz?)	/ch/		
Semivowel		w (v,u?)		/y/		

Table 2. Adaptation of the consonant system of Chachapuya (Taylor 2000, 18).

All these observations concerned intra-systemic analyses.⁵ Torero (1989; 2002) who proposed the language area, Taylor (2000), Valqui (2004), and Valqui and Ziemendorf (2016) never carried out any sort of comparative analysis. Their work, however, remains of great relevance. For this study, we take a second look at the proper names of the region, using the techniques of Cerrón-Palomino (2015), keeping in mind that the Chachapoyas area was multi-ethnic and, quite possibly, multilingual. Modern studies in Andean onomastics (Cerrón-Palomino 2008b) have proved unsuccessful when assuming the existence of a single language in the region studied. For example, languages like Puquina, Aymara and Quechua have all been prominent in the creation of place names in the south of Peru. Considering only Quechua, or any of the other languages by itself, was the cause of serious errors in the past. Likewise, for the cultural area of Chachapoyas, it would be counterproductive to see Chachapuya as an autonomous, isolated and closed entity. Fortunately, the lexicons and grammars of adjacent languages allow us to carry out comparative analyses based on what was previously investigated.⁶

In the following sections, I present both the linguistic and the social history of the decline of the Chachapuya language. In order to avoid current political discussions regarding which language was spoken by which ethnic group, we use the term Chachapuya, which alludes to this complex historical, genetic and cultural area, once

5 The exception is Langlois (1939), but given its different research ambitions, it will not be considered for this study.

6 Given the comparative nature of the present article, I do not include a compendium of toponyms, as can be found in Valqui (2004). Although I include some new toponyms, a more detailed survey taking into account the data available in the recently reedited geographical dictionary of Stiglich (2013 [1911-1922]) remains pending.

home to the pre-Incaic ethnic groups of Luya, Chillaos, and Chachapoya. In Section 2, I present the social factors that led to the rapid disappearance of the language in the south of the region of Amazonas and its possible extension towards the lowlands. In section 3, I explore the linguistic area where this conglomerate of lects developed. I claim that Modern Kawapanan languages display considerable similarity with Chachapuya at the lexical, phonological and morphological levels. This becomes clearer in the comparative analysis. Thanks to the knowledge of Kawapanan languages, we can reanalyse a great number of names in the Chachapuya linguistic area and provide new tentative etymologies for names such as Chachapoya or Kuélap. In addition, I provide a tentative socio-historical explanation for the Chachapuya-Kawapanan relationship.

2. The collapse of Chachapoyas and the decline of a language

When the Spaniards arrived in Chachapoyas, it was more than probable that Chachapuya lects were already marginal, if not already extinct, and had been replaced by a Quechua IIB variety. It is also probable that diglossia existed between these two languages, both before and during the Inca occupation of the zone. This would have restricted the use of Chachapuya lects to household and informal settings. This notion is supported by the fact that, unlike other languages from northern Peru, there was no documentary source for the presence of a language different from Quechua in Chachapoyas. Schjellerup (2005) mentions that “the first Augustinians do not mention any specific language of the Chachapoya. Quechua, however, was the common language at the arrival of the Spaniards” (Schjellerup 2005, 51).⁷

There were even places with Quechua names, as mentioned in the first book of Cabildos de San Juan de la Frontera de los Chachapoyas, where the modern district of La Jalca is dubbed Xalca in *lengua de indios*, i.e. ‘language of Indians’ (Rivera Serna 1958, 7 en Valqui 2004, §1.2.2):

El dicho capitán Alonso Dalvarado dixo que por virtud de la dicha provision segun que en ella se qontiene el dicho señor gobernador le manda que haga y funde la dicha cibdad de la frontera en las provincias de las chachapoyas [en] la parte y lugar a donde...al servicio de su majestad e bien de los naturales y que tenga el dicho asiento las calidades que se requyere en un pueblo y ques porque el sientto donde al presente esta que se llama en lengua de indios xalca de la qual hera señor el cacique cuta...⁸

7 Spanish original: “los primeros agustinos no mencionan ningún idioma específico de los chachapoyas, pero el quechua fue la lengua común en el momento de la llegada de los españoles” (Schjellerup 2005, 51).

8 Approximate translation: “The ‘so-called’ Captain Alfonso de Alvarado said that the governor orders him to create and found the city of the borders in the provinces of Chachapoyas, in service of your majesty and for the good of the natives, and that it have the qualities required for a town, because the settlement where it is located now is called Xalca in the language of the Indians, where the cacique was originally Cuta”.

The language of mediation was that of the Inca. This becomes evident in the document of the Repartimiento de Leymebamba y Cochabamba (Schjellerup 2005, 583):

Y el señor corregidor tomo e rrecibio Juramento por Dios nuestro señor por la señal de la cruz en forma de derecho de todas las dichas lenguas ynterpretes, que son ladinos en lengua castellana y *en la del Ynga*⁹ desuso nonbrados socargo del qual todos e cada uno dellos dixeron y prometieron de dezir ynterpretar verdad de lo que todos los testigos dixeron e declararen (Schjellerup 2005, 583).¹⁰

Thus, what is the reason behind the rapid disappearance of the lects that remain present in the toponyms and anthroponyms? We know that the neighbouring vernaculars survived well after the arrival of the Spaniards in the 16th century. Thanks to the first encounters between Spaniards and the speakers of these languages, we are able nowadays to study bits of the lexicon of some extinct languages, as shown in Table 1. Chachapuya must have been an important language, given that it was the tool for communication of a series of influential kingdoms/city states in the area. I assume three factors that could have triggered its rapid vanishing:

1. A forced movement from the Chachapuya speaking people
2. A rapid quechuisation of the zone
3. An extermination of a large number of its speakers

The arrival of the Incas in the territory of Chachapuya influence is estimated around 1470, when Tupac Inca Yupanqui invaded the zone and imposed the rule of a main cacique, Apu Chuillaxa. This invasion and seizure of power was not peacefully accepted. Soon after, during the reign of Tupac Inca Yupanqui's successor, Huayna Capac, we know there was "great resistance, so much that he had to flee twice, ruining the forts that were made for his defence, and he revolved against the people of Chachapoyas and smashed them so hard that they begged for peace"¹¹ (Cieza de León 1996 [1553] cap. LXIV cited in Kauffmann Doig and Ligabue 2003, 58). The same information is also provided by Garcilaso de la Vega, in his *Comentarios Reales*, who refers to this rebellion in the form of a story, that of Mamanchic 'our mother', who saves her fellow

9 Italics are mine.

10 This is a transcription from the BNL, A 585 Expediente Repartimiento de Leymebamba y Cochabamba, encomienda de Francisco de Guevara. Chachapoyas, May 6th 1577 (September 27th 1582), by Inge Schjellerup. Approximate translation: "And the chief magistrate took and received the Oath to God our Lord by the sign of the cross in the form of a right of all the said language interpreters, who are Spanish and Ynga-speaking Ladinos, named after the responsibility of which each and every one said and promised to interpret what all the witnesses said and declared truly".

11 Translated from the original: "[...] gran resistencia, tanto que por dos vezes bolvió huyendo desbaratando a los fuertes que para su defensa se hazían, [y] rebolvió sobre los chachapoyanos y los quebrantó de tal manera que pidieron la paz [...]".

countrymen from the repression of Huayna Capac and his troops (Kauffmann Doig and Ligabue 2003, 59). After this whole process of annexation to the Inca Empire, which probably had important demographic consequences for Chachapoya societies,

[...] the cultural and sacred panorama was changed by the insertion of a different religion and new settlements. The Incas introduced other architectonic styles, and concentrated farming in a distinct ecological zone. So is the case that, during this brief period of time, ca. 60 years, there were serious consequences for the population and its subsistence (Schjellerup 2005, 29).¹²

Moreover, Huayna Capac would have introduced *mitimae* into the zone, the shift of several peoples throughout the Empire. Thus, new *mitimae* would have arrived from other zones to inhabit the recently conquered Incaic Chachapoya.

It is also probable that during this brief period many families abandoned the region in search for a better place to live. The incessant conflicts with the main powers would have been a first motivation for leaving, followed by a possible progressive denativisation of the site.¹³ In addition, Quechua, the vehicular language of the Empire, would have been reinforced not only as a government language, but also as a language of communication with the newly arrived neighbours. It is likely that the Chachapuya speakers knew some variety of Quechua long before the definite settlement of the Incas in their region, given the political and economic importance of the language in the Andes. The final and definite occupation of their territory by the Inca Empire was just the last strike against their regional vernaculars, restricting them to the household sphere, and making them lose ground in political and sacred contexts. Otherwise, it would be almost impossible for such an important language to vanish in less than six decades.

Almost immediately after the settlement of the Incas, the first Spaniards arrived in the region. Alonso de Alvarado was one of the first. He was gently received by the cacique Guaman, a subordinate of Atahualpa. After several attempts, the Spaniards finally succeeded in settling in this territory, and in 1538, founded the city of San Juan de la Frontera de los Chachapoyas (Kauffmann Doig and Ligabue 2003, 63).

The arrival of the Spaniards must have been a final blow for the Chachapoya culture. There is evidence of a great fire in Kuélape “as a consequence of a moment of crisis where several problems, originating in the times of the Incas, accumulate, together with

12 Translated from the original: “[...] el panorama cultural y sagrado fue alterado con la introducción de una religión distinta y de nuevos asentamientos. Fueron introducidos otros estilos arquitectónicos y la labranza se concentró en una zona ecológica distinta, [tanto es así que durante] [e]ste intermedio breve de aproximadamente sesenta años de duración, [hubo] consecuencias graves para la población y su subsistencia”.

13 Although Barbieri *et al.* (2017) proved that, genetically speaking, the Chachapoya population did not suffer a dramatic denativisation after the conquest of the Incas.

several episodes of violence that kept growing after the Spanish conquest”.^{14,15} This event must be understood as a moment of great frustration, in the midst of a big crisis.¹⁶ The conflict between the autochthonous wealthy families during both the Inca and the Spanish occupation must have brought great political and economic instability, hence the abandonment of Kuélope.

This can be summarised into two big moments: the displacement of a large mass of the Chachapoya population through the Inca Empire as *mitimaes*, and the progressive vanishing or acculturation of the remaining autochthonous population through contact with the Spaniards. Valqui (2004, § 1.1.3) considers that out of 207 000 inhabitants, 90 % would have disappeared due to contact with the Spaniards.

The Spaniards not only brought their own language to the recently conquered lands, but also once more reinforced the use of Quechua throughout. The *lengua general* was used and maintained in the region for a long time. Missionaries used it for the sake of Christianisation and, shortly after, the household language Chachapuya began to be forgotten.

As mentioned previously, it is probable that there was a progressive abandonment of the nuclear territories of Chachapoyas, and a subsequent resettlement in the eastern territories, which did not suffer the socio-economic consequences of the internal conflicts, the Inca realm and the Spanish occupation.

Here, I consider the possibility of the existence of a linguistic and cultural entity I dub Paleo-Kawapanan. It may have occupied the regions of the modern Chachapuya linguistic area (Taylor 2000), as well as the eastern territories close to Moyobamba (see Map 1).

Speaking of a Chachapoya influence beyond the Escalera mountain range, in the territories to the east of Moyobamba, could be considered very speculative. However, recent archaeological investigations reinforce this idea. Rivas Panduro (2003), in his various excavations in the area close to the margins of the Cachiyacu, found pottery showing Chachapoya influence, which he named the Balsapuerto-Inciso Aserrado with the Kuélap Balsapuerto Aplicado style. In Figure 1, I reproduce some images of the findings with the authorisation of the author.

This pottery was found close to modern Shawi communities. It was the natives themselves who took part in the excavation, either as witnesses or as informants, since it is generally known among the Shawi that it is easy to find this type of relics close to the Cachiyacu. This cannot be taken as a confirmation of a Chachapoya presence in the

14 From the Spanish original: “[...] como consecuencia de un momento de crisis en el que se suman varios elementos que tienen su origen durante la administración inca, junto con diversos episodios de violencia que continuaron acentuándose luego de la conquista española” (Narváez Vargas 2013, 152).

15 For a detailed analysis of the possible scenarios that triggered population diminution due to crisis, see Toyne and Narváez Vargas (2013, 354).

16 This seems to have a correlate in modern Luya-Chillaos cultural practices, where setting fire to mountains is done to induce rains (p.c. Patricio Pizarro, October-December 2016).

Cachiyacu, but as a clear sign of influence. In addition, the inhabitants of the zones close to the mountains are trilingual: they speak a variety of Quechua IIB, Shawi and Spanish. It may be the case that the arrival of Quechua IIB in the zone was motivated by the adjacency of Chachapoyas, and, subsequently, just like the more central areas, it underwent a second quechuisation process at the hands of the colonisers and missionaries.



Figure 1. Balsapuerto Inciso Aserrado pottery (left) and Balsapuerto-Inciso Aserado, Aplicado, Pintado pottery (above) (modified from Rivas Panduro 2003, 54, 61).

Moreover, the dominant language in the region prior to Quechua would have been the ancient Chachapuya, as well as the ancestor of the modern Kawapanan languages.

In the following section I argue that many Chachapuya place names and proper names, can be analysed on the basis of the Proto-Kawapanan lexicon (cf. Valenzuela 2011 for a reconstruction of Proto-Kawapanan). Shawi and Shiwilu, the modern descendants of Proto-Kawapanan, did not arrive in this zone until recently. It is more likely that this was an Arawak and Tupian-speaking territory. The Arawak and Tupian speakers would eventually have met the itinerant Paleo-Kawapanan, who, in search for new territories, were moving eastward.¹⁷ I hypothesise that the modern Kawapanan languages stem from this ancient macro-language, Paleo-Kawapanan, once spoken in modern Chachapoyas and traces of which are found in the regional toponymy.

17 As noted by Schjellerup (2005, 29), this was already common practice among the Ancient Chachapoya, who always looked towards the east as a solution to political instability and dearth. The speakers of Paleo-Kawapanan, therefore, would have arrived to an area close to the modern locus of Kawapanan languages. I argue that the movement of the Kawapanan languages to their modern location in the Alto Amazonas, to the east of Moyobamba, was recent. This migration to the east finds a historical correlate in the times of Viceroy Toledo, when many escaped from the slaving raids (Church 1996, 507; Reeve 1994, 115). Reeve (1994, 115) reports that the Kawapanan, as well as the Motilonos from Lamas, escaped from the cordillera to settle near the tributaries of the Huallaga river. The Muniche, the Shawi, and the Shiwilu, unified and escaped to the zones close to the margins of the Paranapura.

Therefore, I carry out a comparative analysis of the toponyms in the nuclear Paleo-Kawapanan area, followed by a socio-historical explanation that would shed light on the way the Kawapanan languages developed. This also suggests the movement of their speakers from their original Andean focus, the Chachapoya area, to their actual location in the triangle formed by the Escalera mountain range, and the Marañón and Huallaga rivers in Loreto.

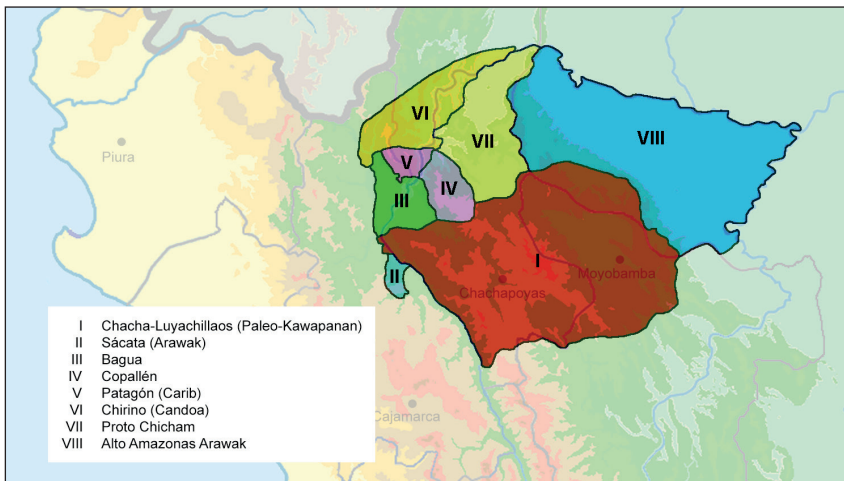


Figure 2. The languages of the Andean-Amazonian North East, 14th century (mapa: Luis Miguel Rojas-Berscia y https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Regiones_naturales_del_Perú.png).

3. Linguistic analysis¹⁸

In this section, I present a tentative analysis of the Chachapuya-Kawapanan possible correspondences, as well of some other forms which should be preferably analysed as Quechuan or as *Wanderwörter*. For this, I resort to the methodology deployed in modern studies in onomastics (Cerrón-Palomino 2015). Each one of the elements to be compared is presented with an individual heading. Following this, I carry out an analysis of complex place names, suggesting tentative meanings for them.

3.1. Toponymic elements

1. *coya*-[kuja] > *kue*- <<>>¹⁹ PK²⁰ **kuja-kija*. ‘we’ (Valenzuela 2011, 284), cbt. *kiya* ‘1AUG.EXCL’, jeb. *kuda* ‘1AUG.EXCL’:

This element can be found in toponyms such as Kuélope or Cuémal. Cristóbal de Albornoz, in his compendium of information on indigenous religions from 1572, mentioned the Coyallap *ayllu*,²¹ possibly referring to the *ayllu* of Kuelap, as noted by Ruiz Estrada and Ruiz Rubio (2010, 46). Taking into account common patterns of sound change in the languages of the world, it is possible that the archaic form of the element was *coya*-. Thus, this form would eventually be reduced to *kue*-, [uwa]>[waj]>[we]. I tentatively propose the meaning ‘we, our’, with a straightforward correspondence in Proto-Kawapanan and modern Kawapanan languages.²²

18 I do not include the ending *-gat*, given the absence of a clear parallelism in Kawapanan. Something worth mentioning, however, is that this zone corresponds to the CAT linguistic zone, as claimed by Torero (2002, 259-264). It is quite possible that *-cat* was the canonical form for ‘water’ in the zone, before sonorising into *-gat*. In Proto-Kawapanan, the lexeme corresponding to ‘water’ is **yik*, closer to the Quechua *yaku* ‘water’. Jolkesky (2016, 241) goes further and proposes a connection between Chacha and Cholón-Hibito. Cholón and Hibito display *lun* and *nuum* for ‘man’, respectively. Thus, the toponym Longate, would originate in the Cholón-Hibito compound *lun-kot* ‘river of men’. Multilingualism in the zone seems to have been the rule. This etymology, therefore, should not be too lightly dismissed.

19 For correspondences I resort to the symbol “<<>>”, since I ignore the direction of development: whether Chachapuya took it from PK, whether both are descendants from Paleo-Kawapanan, or whether PK took it from Chachapuya. Although I am inclined to the second option, the final decision is in need of further research and discussion.

20 PK is the abbreviation I use to refer to Proto-Kawapanan. cbt. and jeb. refer to Shawi and Shiwilu, respectively, throughout this article. In most cases, I resort to my own PK reconstruction, based on the rules presented in Rojas-Berscia and Nikulin (2016) and Rojas-Berscia (2019). Some forms, however, are taken from Valenzuela (2011).

21 An *ayllu* is a traditional form of community/group commonly found in the Andes.

22 The semantic plausibility of this etymology is discussed to greater depth in the subsection on toponyms, §3.2.

2. *lapela* [lape] ‘fortress or fortified town’ (Taylor 2000, 24); ‘stone pavement, stone’ <<>> PK **la’pi* ‘stone’, cbt. *na’pi*, jeb. *la’pi*:²³

This word has been registered also among people in Olto (Taylor 2006, 126), as “a fleeting movement (**lapan lapan**, attested in a text from Yambajalca to describe the movement of a big rock)”.²⁴ The importance of ‘stone’ in Chachapuya names must not be underestimated. Many architectonic complexes were built in stone (Jairo Valqui p.c., May 2018), which explains why we find the element *lape* referring to them. As for the toponyms documented by Valqui (2004) that are not related to ruins,²⁵ such as Cúlape and Tólape, I speculate they have something to do with ‘stone’ or ‘rocky pavement’. It is possible that both had stones in their surroundings, being a gorge and a mule path respectively. This could be analysed as a case of metonymy.²⁶

3. *malV* [mal] ‘valley; something which contains something’ <<>> PK **malV*, cbt. *-maru* ‘land’:

This element can be found in Shawi words such as *yara-maru* ‘black soil’, *tampe-na-maru* ‘clayish soil’ (Fuentes 1988, 68). As mentioned in section 1, Taylor (2000, 24) attributes the meaning of ‘plain’ or ‘pampa’ to it. Kauffmann Doig and Ligabue (2003, 93) hypothesised that *mal* could only be an abbreviation of the Quechua word *marka* or *malka*, which can be translated as human settlement. I disagree with this interpretation. As we have seen and will see in the following sections, entire syllables did not disappear in Chachapuya, but vowels were commonly dropped. There is no reason in Chachapuya for having lost the syllable [ka] of *malka*. For Valqui and Ziemendorf (2016, 20) *-mal* would mean ‘something which contains something, container’. This interpretation is not incompatible with what can be found in modern Shawi. Thus, the modern Shawi words presented above could mean ‘what contains black soil’ and ‘what contains clayish soil’, respectively. However, as will be shown in the following sections, it is more probable for the meaning to have been ‘plain’ or ‘soil’.²⁷

23 Jolkesky (2016, 241) hypothesises the possibility of analysing this word using Cholón, meaning ‘place’, but this requires a very irregular segmentation: *-lap*, *-ape*, *-lap*, *-ap*, *-p*. It could still be that Cholón is relevant, or at least needs consideration.

24 Translated from the Spanish original: “‘movimiento de va y viene’ (**lapan lapan**, atest. en un texto de Yj para describir el movimiento de una piedra muy grande)”.

25 However, absence of evidence is not evidence of absence.

26 Here, a reviewer pointed to a similar situation in the Quechua Ingapirca, where the Quechua *pirka* does not refer explicitly to a random wall but, “stands metonymically for an entire building”.

27 Another possible explanation is that of Jolkesky (2016, 241), who compares *-mal* with the Cholón *mol* ‘soil’.

Also, I suspect that *-wala/buala* is related to this element as well. The change from [m] > [w] is very common in the languages of the world. It would not be far-fetched to consider *-mal* and *-wala* as the same element. In addition, the meaning of both elements ‘valley’ and ‘mountain’, respectively, is semantically close. Due to the lack of evidence, this remains an open question.

4. *okV*²⁸ ‘cavity’ <<>> cbt. *ukuanin* ‘dig a hole with the hands’, *ukuirin* ‘take out’ (Hart 1988, 149), jeb. *uka’palli* ‘harvest manioc’ (Valenzuela *et al.* 2013, 295): Valqui (2004) is the first to add *ok-* to the list of common elements in the Chachapuya area. Valqui adds the meaning of ‘crag, sandy or red hill’; however, I assume ‘cavity’ as a more neutral term, given its occurrence with the meaning of ‘well’ in Gachoc, and ‘crag’, in Catoc. It is possible to find a parallelism of this form in the Kawapanan languages, as shown in the correspondence above. In Shawi, there is a deity named Ukua, the God of the earth and the earthquakes. The name of the deity could be interpreted as ‘the one who creates cavities’. Still, the possibility of a Quechua origin of the element must not be discarded. Modern San Martín Quechua has the word *uku* ‘deep, inside, below’ (Doherty Vonah *et al.* 2007, 225). Given the importance of Quechua in the region, a possible early penetration of this language into the regional toponymy cannot be excluded.

3.2. Toponyms

5. *luya* [luja] <<>> PK **luya* ‘be good, good, positive’, cbt. *nuya*²⁹ ‘good’ (Hart 1988, 148), jeb. *luyapalli* ‘fancy something, like something’ (Valenzuela *et al.* 2013, 177):

Luya is the modern name of one of the seven provinces that constitute the Department of Amazonas in Peru. Luya is precisely the place where Kuélap was built, hence the importance of this area for the ancestral inhabitants of the region. I speculate that this name was derived from a form such as *Luya-l*, good-soil, because of the richness and fertility of its fields. This would correspond to Modern Shawi *nuya-ru*’ or *nuya-ru’pa* or PK *luya-lu*’. This meaning is just tentative at this point.

28 The <o> in the toponyms would only be the result of the Spanish interpretation of the Paleo-Kawapanan *[o].

29 The direct equivalence of the Shiwilu /l/ is the Shawi /r/. The latter, at the beginning of a word, becomes its allophone [n].

6. *lámu-d* [lamud^h] <<>> PK **yamula*, cbt. *yamura* ‘salt’ (Hart 1988, 244), jeb. *damula* ‘salt’ (Valenzuela *et al.* 2013, 466):

It is possible that the place name Lámu^d, the contemporary capital of the province of Luya in the region of Amazonas, originated in the Kawapanan word **yamu-* ‘salt’, plus an unknown *-d* morpheme. Something yet to be explained is the lack of sound correspondence between the Kawapanan **y* and **l*, and the Chachapuya <l> and >d>. This is a difficult riddle for the reconstruction of Proto-Kawapanan, since the reconstruction of a proto-phoneme for the modern phonemes [j] and [ð] of Shawi and Shiwilu, respectively, is not straightforward. I reconstruct it as **j*, which is represented by <y>. It could be the case that there was a different alveolar segment which would eventually turn into a [ð] in Shiwilu and a [j] in Shawi. Shiwilu, in this case, would have remained more conservative.³⁰

The name could be related to the abundance of salt mines in the surroundings (Patricio Pizarro p.c., October-December 2016), or simply because of being an important site for commerce and exchange prior to the arrival of the Spaniards (cf. Rojas-Berscia and Eloranta 2019).

7. *olto* [ultu] <<>> cbt. *utun* PK **ultu?* / Quechua *olto*:

Taylor writes:

[...] the place name Olto is associated with the abundance of tadpoles that could be found in a pond, in a plain where the town was going to be founded. As in several other dialects of the Northern-Centre, *olto* means ‘tadpole’ in the Quechua spoken in Chachapoyas. According to the *Monografía de la Provincia de Luya*, the region was inhabited before by the tribe of the Olcthug, which was perhaps the original form of the placename Olto. It is possible that the association with the toponym in the tadpole story was a late reinterpretation due to the similarity between the possibly pre-Quechuan name with a term in the Quechua language lately introduced in the region (Taylor 2000, 21).³¹

30 A similar type of chance was reported for the Sec and Tallán languages, which display *lactuc* and *dllacati* for the word ‘die’, respectively. Tallán also displays *dladlapinam* and *lalapechen* meaning ‘bone’ (Martínez Compañón 1783).

31 Translated from the Spanish original: “[...] el topónimo Olto está asociado con la abundancia de renacuajos que se encontraban en una lagunita que se situaba en la pampa donde se iba a fundar el pueblo. Como en varios otros dialectos del centro norte, *olto* significa ‘renacuajo’ en el quechua de Chachapoyas. Según la *Monografía de la Provincia de Luya*, la región fue poblada antiguamente por la tribu de los Olcthug, tal vez forma original del topónimo Olto. Es posible que la asociación del topónimo con el cuento de los renacuajos sea una reinterpretación tardía debida a la semejanza entre el nombre posiblemente prequechua con un término de la lengua quechua introducido posteriormente en la región”.

Taylor correctly notes that this word exists in Central-Northern Quechuas and suggests that the association between the word *olto* and ‘tadpole’ may be just folkloric. Ferreñafe Quechua, for example, displays *ultu* for ‘tadpole’ as well (Torres Menchola c.p., October 2016), unlike Lamas Quechua, which displays *utunya* (Doherty Vonah *et al.* 2007, 305). Southern Quechuas, nevertheless, do not possess this word. Shawi shows the same word as *utun*. It could be the case that this word became part of the lexicon through borrowing from Quechua to Chachapuya and Paleo-Kawapanan. This scenario would give temporal plausibility as well to the change through metathesis from *ultu*>*utun* in Shawi.³² However, another possibility, as suggested by an anonymous reviewer, is that here we are dealing with a Northern Peruvian *Wanderwort*. All scenarios should be further considered in the future.

8. *Lilic* <<>> cbt. *ninii* ‘gorge that comes out of a big lake’ (Hart 1988, 132): *Lilic* is listed in the *Diccionario Geográfico* as “highest mountain of the district of Chuquibamba, province of Chachapoyas. It dominates the capital of the district. It has natural springs and lagoons” (Stiglich 2013 [1911-1922], 57).³³ Modern Shawi, also displays a formally similar word, *nini-i* ‘gorge coming out of a big lake’. The l>n correspondence which also occurs between PK and Modern Shawi is also present. I could not find a correspondence in modern Shiwilu.
9. *Kué-lap/e* ‘our stone; our stone building’ < PK **kuya* ‘our’+ **lapi* ‘stone’: Kauffmann Doig and Ligabue (2003) seem to be right in representing this toponym with a final <-e> in their transcriptions (*pace* Taylor 2000), given the fact that Chachapuya was probably not a monosyllabic language. I surmise that the apparent monosyllabicity of the language is the consequence of internal phonological processes, the most common of which was vowel reduction. This same phenomenon can be observed in the modern variety of Quechua spoken in Chachapoyas.³⁴ In addition, Valqui (2004) reports other toponyms with the same ending, such as Conílape, Yálope, and Kúlape. On the basis of my previous analysis, the name Kué-lap(e) would have been **kuja-lápi/a* ‘our stone/stone building/fortress’ originally. As for vowels, it is possible that [i], as well as [o], were confused as [e] and [o] by Spanish ears, hence the existence of modern orthographic representations such as <kuélap> or <coyallap>. This type of perception of Andean

32 Lamas Quechua retains a form, *utunya* meaning ‘tadpole’, phonologically closer to that of Shawi.

33 From the Spanish original: “Cerro culminante del dist. de Chuquibamba, prov. de Chachapoyas. Domina la capital del distrito. Tiene manantiales y lagunas”.

34 E.g. *kaypi* ‘here’, in Chachapoyas Quechua *kéb* (*kaypi*>*kèpi*>*kèbi*>*kéb*) (Taylor 2000, 54).

languages by Spanish speakers was very common. A good example is what was said about Shiwilu speakers, as people who “confuse the vowels” (Alexander-Bakkerus 2016, 25). Anyhow, it is quite probable that Chachapuya was a five-vowel language, as argued by Taylor (2000, 18), unlike the main Andean languages or the current four-vowel Kawapangan languages. Proto-Kawapangan, however, has also a five-vowel phonological system, *a, *i, *î, *i and *u (Rojas-Berscia and Nikulin 2016). As for the meaning of the toponym, this one goes hand in hand with forms of cultural relevance for modern Kawapangan groups. Today, for example, in modern Shawi we find *kanpupiyapi* ‘our people’ as ethnonym, *kanpunan* ‘our language’ as glottonym, and the name of the main deity of the Shawi pantheon, which possibly also had this structure, **kanpuwa’ nama’* ‘our lord’ (Rojas-Berscia and Ghavami Dicker 2015).³⁵ The use of **lapi* ‘stone’ with the meaning stone building/fortress finds many parallels in areas inhabited by the ancient settlers of Peru. For example, Calancha (1638, 553) mentions about Mochica that,

The Pacasmayo and Yunga Indians adored the sea, the coasts of which they inhabit. They dub it *Ni* [...] The Pacasmayo and yunga worship some stones as well, to which they refer to by the name of Alecpong, which means deity in stone.³⁶

The Modern Shawi, to date, still consider stones as spiritual beings. This corresponds with the arguments of Narváez Vargas (2013), *pace* Kauffmann Doig and Ligabue (2003), for whom Kuélap was a center of political and religious power among the Chachapoya.³⁷ The religious feature would be present due to the use of ‘stone’ as the base material for the building.

10. *Chacha-puya*³⁸ ‘the men’ <<>> *PK [*puja*] ‘people, man’, cbt. *piya-pi* ‘people’ (Hart 1988, 192), jeb. *muda* ‘people’ (Valenzuela *et al.* 2013, 188):

There have been several proposals, starting with Middendorf (1895, 233), in regard of the etymology of this name. Middendorf considered *chachapuya* as an Aymara name, meaning ‘cloud of men’, from the words *chacha* ‘man’ and *puyu* ‘cloud’. His analysis was not far-fetched in the sense that there were several Aymara communities in the zone after the ‘mitmaisation’ carried out by Huayna Cápac.

35 Possessives are not common in toponyms in the world languages. The occurrence of possessives in Kawapangan names, however, is pervasive. Given the cultural and religious relevance of Kuélap, I prefer to take into consideration the possibility of the existence of a possessive in the toponym.

36 From the Spanish original: “Adoravan los Indios Pacasmayos i sus Yungas al mar, cuyas costas abitan y lo llaman Ni [...] Adoraron tambien los Pacasmayos i Yungas a unas piedras, a quien asta oy llaman Alecpong, que quiere decir, deidad en piedra”.

37 The characterisation of the place as ‘centre’ is subject to debate and must therefore be taken with care.

38 I agree with previous accounts in the literature regarding the *-s* in Chachapoyas as the Spanish plural marker.

Long before the proposal of the previous etymology, Garcilaso de la Vega (2009 [1609], 398), citing Blas Valera, provides an interpretation of Chachapoyas as ‘place for strong men’. Once more, ‘man’ is used as part of the meaning, leaving the *puya* ending, the meaning of which was foreign to all the languages he knew, with the meaning of ‘place’ (Cerrón-Palomino 2013, 262). It is worth mentioning that Blas Valera was native to the zone.

One of the most recent etymologies suggests that the name may have originated in the Quechua *sacha-p qulla* (Kauffmann Doig and Ligabue 2003, 78), ‘Colla people from the jungle’. According to Kauffmann Doig and Ligabue, the [q] of *qulla* would have disappeared, therefore leaving a free onset place for the [p], which he dubs ‘dative’. This shows a clear lack of knowledge of Quechua grammar, *-p* being a genitive marker in an unusual context. This analysis, as previously criticised by Cerrón-Palomino (2013, 64), cannot be taken into serious account.

Currently, as mentioned in Taylor (2000, 21), the Quechua form of this word is *saçapuyu*, rephonologised into Spanish as Sachapuyu or Chachapuyu. The meaning of /saçapuyu/ is ‘vegetation mist’, from the Quechua *sacha* ‘jungle’ and *puyu* ‘cloud’. I agree with Taylor in considering this only a folk etymology.

I propose an etymology based on cross-linguistic evidence. Proto-Kawapanan displays the word for ‘people/man’ **(p/m)uya*, today existent in modern Shawi as *piya-* and in Shiwilu as *muda*. As for *Chacha*, there seems not to be any correspondences in Kawapanan, but there are some in Aymara, as had been noted by both Garcilaso de la Vega and Middendorf. This could be a case of an Aymaran-Kawapanan hybrid,³⁹ *çaçã-puya* ‘people-people’, the meaning of which rescues the etymology provided by Blas Valera, reveals the post-*mitimae* aymarisation-of the zone, and shows the importance of a Paleo-Kawapanan substrate in the formation of place names. This would then be a case of semantic tautology (Cerrón-Palomino p.c., December 2016).

11. *Acha-mal* ‘big land’, from Aymara *jach’a* ‘big’, PK **-malu*, cbt. *-maru*:

Achamal is located in the district of La Totorá in the province of Chachapoyas (Stiglich 2013 [1911-1922], 49). It is probable that Achamal, as presented in Stiglich, is an Aymara-Kawapanan hybrid, just like *chachapuya*. I speculate that the initial *acha-* corresponds to *jach’a* ‘large’ in Aymara (Layme Pairumani 2014, 27) (and so does Stiglich as providing a meaning for the toponym sp. *daño grande* ‘great evil’). *-Mal* would correspond to ‘soil’, as I explained in the previous section.

39 In a previous work, I proposed another Aymara-Kawapanan hybrid, *Kanpu’-nama*, modern Cumpunamá and the main hero of the Shawi pantheon (cf. Rojas-Berscia and Ghavami Dicker 2015).

12. *Cué-mal* ‘our land’:

Cuémal is a village in the district of Lamúd, in the province of Luya (Stiglich 2013 [1911-1922], 52). I hypothesise that Cuémal originates in the Kawap-
 anan names **kuya* ‘us, ours’ and **malV* ‘soil, land’. Just like for Kuélape, regular
 sound changes may have occurred, e.g. [kuya]>[kuay]>[kue]. Thus, it is possible
 to reconstruct the meaning of the toponym as ‘our land’.

13. *Pué-mal* ‘land of the people’:

Puémal is an archaeological site located in the district of Colcamar, province of
 Luya, department of Amazonas. In the same way as Achamal, the Kawap-
 anan word for ‘people’, *puya*, must have suffered the same changes as *kuya*. Thus,
**puyamalV* would become Puémal, the meaning of which would be ‘the land of
 people/the peopled land’.

14. *Panga-mal* ‘the great land’ <<>> cbt. *panka* ‘big’ (Hart 1988, 167):

Pangamal is a farm in the district of Molinobamba, in the province of
 Chachapoyas (Stiglich 2013 [1911-1922], 60). The word *panka*, often heard as
panga because of the voicing of [k] due to assimilation after nasal, as in Shawi
 varieties such as Cahuapanas and Sillay, means ‘big’. It is possible that this place
 names alludes to ‘big land’, which would make it a non-hybrid counterpart of
 Achamal.

15. *Cachi-mal* ‘land of salt’:

Cachimal is a ravine in the district of Quinjalca, province of Chachapoyas
 (Valqui 2004). This is another hybrid toponym, from the Quechua *cachi* ‘salt’
 (Cerrón-Palomino 1994, 25) and the Chachapuya or Kawap-
 anan *-malV* ‘land or ‘valley’. It would therefore mean ‘land of salt’ or ‘salty land’.

16. *Quilla-mal* ‘land of the moon’:

Quillamal is a hamlet in the district of Soloco, in the province of Chachapoyas
 (Stiglich 2013 [1911-1922], 61; Valqui 2004). This is another case of a
 hybrid-toponym, a possible Quechua-Kawap-
 anan hybrid, from Quechua *killa*
 ‘moon’ (Cerrón-Palomino 1994, 26), and Kawap-
 anan *-mal* ‘land’. It would thus
 mean ‘land of the moon’ or ‘land where the moon shines’.

17. *Lapa-l* ‘stony place’:

Lapal is a hamlet in the district of Chuquibamba, province of Chachapoyas
 (Stiglich 2013 [1911-1922], 56). As shown in the previous section, the
 Chachapuya term for ‘stone’ *lapa(n)* (Taylor 2006, 126), finds a correlate in

Proto-Kawapanan **la'pi*, in Shawi *na'pi* and Shiwilu *la'pi*. The final *-l* can be also found in Kawapanan as PK **-lu* 'soil', Shawi *-ru'* and Shiwilu *-lu'* (Valenzuela *et al.* 2013, 171). The meaning of this toponym would be 'stony path' or 'stony place'.

18. *Shuka-huala* 'mountain of vultures':

For this name I agree with Taylor (2000, 24) for the etymology 'hill or mountain of vultures'. In previous paragraphs, I provided meanings for each one of the parts of the place name, as well as their respective correlates in Kawapanan.

19. *Shubet* 'snake (Lerche 1995), 'snail' <<>> cbt. *shu'pi* 'snail' (Hart 1988, 15):

Shubet is the name of a mount in the province of Luya. It is well known for the Shubet petroglyph. Lerche (1995, 45-46) speculates that it represents a snake. Petroglyphs like the Cumpanamá stone in the Cachiyacu, in the modern Shawi area, display similar carvings. However, for the natives, these refer to snails, not to snakes. Rivas Panduro (2000) confirms this. It could be the case that *shubet* actually means 'snail'. In modern Shawi, the word for snail is *shu'pi*, which could be easily related to the Chachapuya *shubet*.

3.3. Chachapuya personal names

20. *Guayamil* <<>> cbt. *wa'yan* 'spirit', jeb. *wa'dan* 'tunchi, spirit, soul' (Valenzuela *et al.* 2013, 307):

Guayamil is known as the forger of the identity of the people of Luya. According to Ruiz Estrada and Ruiz Rubio (2010, 41), he was one of the main characters that led the resistance against the Spanish troops. It is possible that this form is related to Kawapanan *wa'yan* 'spirit'. Shawi and Shiwilu also display the word *wa'an* 'leader, *apu*', which could also be related. The suffix *-il* could have been related to the status of the person. It is not possible to provide a solid etymology for this term.

21. *Pozan* 'deity of Coyallap incarnated in a tree' (Ruiz Estrada and Ruiz Rubio 2010, 46) <<>> cbt. *pe'sa* 'palisade':

The meaning of this theonym may be related to that of *pe'sa* 'palisade' in modern Shawi. The <o> in the Chachapuya term could be the result of the misrepresentation of the central [ə] of Kawapanan. Although 'the 'tree' property is present in both words, a clear parallelism is not, and must therefore be considered tentative.

22. *Puap* <<>> cbt. *Púa*:

Puap is a Chachapuya last name documented by Valqui (2004, § 5.2.3.1). A similar form is found in the Kawapanan area as Púa. The modern variety of

the last name does not display final coda. This can be explained by the fact that obstruent codas never occur in modern Kawapangan languages.

3.4. Chachapoyas Quechua lexical items

23. **shuka* [ʃuka] ‘turkey vulture’ (Taylor 2006, 119) <<>> PK **supu*, cbt. *subpu* ‘turkey vulture’, *su’ka* ‘dirty’, jeb. *supu* ‘turkey vulture’:

Although this form shows almost no similarity with its Kawapangan counterpart, it does resemble the Shawi expression to refer to a ‘dirty man’ *su’ka*. According to one of my consultants from Pueblo Chayahuita, this expression is used by women to insult men. There is a possible correspondence between the Shawi *su’ka* and the Chachapuya *shuka*, phonetically and semantically. According to common belief, turkey vultures are famous for their stench. In addition, *shuka* is still in use in the modern vernacular of Spanish of Chachapoyas.⁴⁰

24. *paltay* ‘tick’ (Taylor 2000, 20) <<>> jeb. *pandi-la* ‘tick’ (Valenzuela *et al.* 2013, 397):

In this case, the equivalence is clearer:

p a l t a y
p a n d i l a

I ignore the Shiwilu classifier *-la* for this analysis, since it may be there due to a later development in the language. Something to be highlighted is the correspondence of every consonant and vowel. The only problematic case is that of the final segment which seems to have been reduced to [i].⁴¹ This equivalence is very plausible.

25. *kushal* ‘breakfast’ (Culqui Velásquez 2004, 10), ‘food’ (Patricio Pizarro p.c., August 2018) <<>> cbt. *kusharu* ‘food’ (Hart 1988, 15):

Kushal is a common word in Llacuash/Chachapoyas Quechua, meaning ‘food’. Modern Shawi, also displays a formally almost identical word, *kusharu* with the same meaning. Interestingly, the Chachapuya *kushal* displays the PK *l, which became /r/ in Shawi.

⁴⁰ A correspondence with Cholón *suku(sily)* should be further considered (cf. Urban to appear).

⁴¹ Another possibility is the existence of an [a] <<>> [i] equivalence in Chachapuya and Proto-Kawapangan, respectively. This would be backed-up by forms such as *lapa* ‘stone’ and *paltia* ‘tick’ in Chachapuya, and **la’pi*, **panti*?, respectively, in PK.

4. Hypothetical socio-historical scenarios

One of the main hypotheses behind this article is that there was a relationship between the modern Kawapanan languages and the undocumented Chachapuya language, regardless of its directionality. I have tentatively provided some arguments, based on analyses of proper names and Chachapoyas Quechua lexical material. Paleo-Kawapanan could be the historical predecessor of both Chachapuya and Proto-Kawapanan through a direct genealogical link. Another possibility is that Kawapanan and Chachapuya groups were in contact before the conquest by the Incas and the Spaniards. This would show up in the shared vocabulary presented in the previous sections on the regional toponymy of Chachapoyas. The number of correlates, however, does not help to provide a definite answer. One would have to find more words that would allow us to prefer one hypothesis over the other.

In the following sections, I introduce some socio-historical scenarios that could explain the presence of certain characteristics still found in contemporary Kawapanan languages that could shed more light on their close relationship with Chachapuya and their possible Andean origin (cf. Valenzuela 2015 for a survey on the Andean features of Kawapanan languages). These scenarios, however, are only hypothetical, and a more careful analysis of correspondences remains pending for future studies.

4.1. Carib and Kawapanan

A recent survey suggested the existence of Carib words in the contemporary Kawapanan lexicon (Jolkesky 2016, 495), supported by the hypothesis for the existence of Carib languages in the Andes in the north of Peru, close to the Chachapuya speaking area. As mentioned in §1, Torero (2002, 277) identified Carib lexicon in Patagon, one of the several languages once spoken in the Jaén Sink. This hypothesis was supported by other scholars such as Lerche, who mentioned the following:

[...] coming from Bagua, the Spaniards observed that their auxiliary Chachapoya troops communicated verbally and without problems with members of ethnic groups who inhabited the lands to the west of this sector of the Marañón River [citing Cieza (1553)]. The language of these ethnic groups was probably Patagon, which possibly had an affiliation to Carib [...], an observation which allows us to think of a linguistic affiliation between Carib and the linguistic complex spoken among the Pre-Inca Chachapoya (Lerche 1995, 10).⁴²

42 From the Spanish original: “[I]legando a Bagua, los españoles observaban, que sus tropas auxiliares chachapoya se comunicaban verbalmente sin problemas con miembros de grupos étnicos que controlaban las tierras ubicadas al oeste de este sector del río Marañón [citando a Cieza (1553)]. El idioma de estos grupos étnicos, se trataba probablemente del patagonés, tenía una posible filiación con el carib [...], una observación que nos permite pensar en una filiación lingüística entre el carib y el complejo idiomático hablado entre los chachapoya preinca”.

If an entity such as Paleo-Kawapanan existed, it could have been in contact with the Carib language described by Torero and Lerche. However, more work is needed in order to be more definite. The relative position of the two languages can be observed in the map in Figure 2. From this direct or contact-driven relationship there would be fossils in the lexicon,⁴³ as can be shown in modern Kawapanan languages, spoken today to the west of the area of possible contact between Paleo-Kawapanan and Patagón. To date, there are no Carib languages in this area.⁴⁴ Appendix 1 shows a list of words that Carib and Proto-Kawapanan seem to have in common according to Jolkesky (2016, 495-496). This lexicon seems not to reflect merely cultural borrowing. Some of the words in Appendix 1 are pronouns or body parts. These are part of the core lexicon of a language.⁴⁵ The lack of data for Patagón does not allow us to carry out a better analysis that would help us to determine the type of relationship that could have existed.⁴⁶

4.2. Arawak and Kawapanan

Another interesting and less controversial contact scenario is that of a possible contact between Arawak and Kawapanan speakers, given the current geographical proximity of vital Arawak languages. In § 2, I presented some reasons why the inhabitants of the Paleo-Kawapanan area moved eastward, due to a political and economic crisis. The influence of Paleo-Kawapanan is presented, for example, in the lowlands of Moyobamba, as shown by the archaeological findings in Balsapuerto (Rivas Panduro 2003). These gradual westward movements would finally result in the Kawapanan living in the lowlands. This west-east migration would eventually leave an open spot for Quechua, and then for Spanish, to take over the original Kawapanan area. The lowlands of the modern department of Alto-Amazonas in Loreto may have hosted Arawak groups.⁴⁷ This may be supported by comparison between modern Kawapanan lexicon and modern Arawakan lexicon. Close to Alto Amazonas there is still one Arawak islet, inhabited by the few remaining speakers of Chamicuro. Jolkesky (2016) also carried out a comparative analysis between modern Arawak and modern Kawapanan languages.

43 It must be mentioned that our analysis of Chachapuya place names also respects the common word order (Modifier-Modified) of Carib languages (See, for example, Hixkariana in Derbyshire 1985, 25). This word order, however, is common to the geographically closer Andean languages as well.

44 Carib languages are to be found in the north of South America (Colombia, Venezuela, the Guyanas, and the north of Brazil). The closest Carib languages to the area of concern of this article are those from Colombia: Karihona, Umaua, Guaque, and Hianacoto (from the map on the distribution of Cariban languages from Dryer and Haspelmath 2013).

45 Although the limit between what is nuclear and what is cultural is controversial. Nuclear here is intended as system-proper, i.e. not borrowed through contact.

46 More comparative work that takes into account both Kawapanan and Carib seems to be promising.

47 This goes hand in hand with the hypothesis by Eriksen and Danielsen (2014), who suggest the existence of an Arawak Matrix in the Amazon.

Much of the lexicon that is suggested to be shared by modern Kawapanan languages and Arawak languages according to Jolkesky (2016) consists of kinship terms, terms for local tools and autochthonous animals. These words could provide evidence for an adaptation of Kawapanan languages to the lowlands through borrowing, as well as mixture of groups. The Kawapanan newcomers would have then regrouped with the lowland Arawak, with whom they possibly deployed an existing Arawak pidgin. Their children, possibly Arawak pidgin-Kawapanan bilinguals, would insert elements of their parents' lect into their lect of daily interaction. This recursive hybridisation could also explain the intrusion of typical Arawak elements into modern Kawapanan languages, such as the direct causative *a-*, the locative case-marker *-ke*, the valency modifier *-te*,⁴⁸ etc. This would also mean that Arawak vanished from the region,⁴⁹ maybe due to the higher prestige of the Kawapanan newcomers.⁵⁰

More evidence for the existence of an early Arawak neighbour for Kawapanan in Alto Amazonas is the pronominal system of Munciche, the only language isolate of the region (Gibson 1996). Munciche displays a pronominal system much like Arawak:

	Proto-Arawak	Munciche
1 singular	<i>nu-</i>	<i>nu</i>
2 singular	<i>pi-</i>	<i>pu</i>
3 singular masculine	<i>ri-</i>	<i>ra, ta, ça</i> (apparently in free variation)
3 singular feminine	<i>tu-</i>	
1 plural	<i>wa-</i>	<i>wuu</i>
2 plural	<i>xi-</i>	<i>di</i>
3 plural	<i>ra-</i>	<i>ra</i>

Table 3. Munciche pronominal system compared with that of Arawak (Gibson 1996).

48 Arawak seems to have had an important presence in the zone. All languages in the Alto Amazonas display Arawak features (Rojas-Berscia and Piepers in prep.). This phenomenon was already observed in the continent (Eriksen and Danielsen 2014) in terms of an 'Arawak Matrix', and in the work of Tello and Lathrap who identified a general Arawak substrate (Tello 1942; Lathrap 1970; 1971, mentioned in Church 1996, 503).

49 As well did the pre-Arawak influence Paleo-Kawapanan vernaculars.

50 Chachapuya itself was also in contact with an Arawak language. This is shown in Figure 2, where the Sácata and the Paleo-Kawapanan areas are adjacent. I speculate that much of this lexicon has two different origins: a remote one, through contact with Sácata, and a more recent one, through contact with the Arawak of the Alto Amazonas.

The Arawak of the Alto Amazonas would have then been acculturated to the Kawapanan, leaving some lexicon and grammatical elements in the linguistic competence of Kawapanan and Muniche speakers. The only remnant of an Alto Amazonas Arawak would be modern Chamicuro.

Only after this process had ended did Kawapanan speakers settle in their current location. The Shawi still tell stories about their highland origins. Shawi folktales may provide more evidence for the hypothesis I put forward: the Andean origin of Kawapanan languages, their relationship with the so-called Chachapuya isolate and a possible early contact with Carib groups, and, finally, its transformation into its current shape through possible contacts with Arawak groups after an eastward migration.

5. Final observations

In the previous sections, I have attempted to give an idea of the complexity of the linguistic history of part of Northern Peru. Fortunately, some languages still survive, with documents available with lexical data that allow us to reconstruct their history.

Over the past few decades, Chachapuya has always been treated as a barely known extinct language. Its lexicon was analysed as far as possible through the analysis of place names and ancient anthroponyms. This effort should not be underestimated but it must go hand in hand with the knowledge of adjacent languages still spoken today. The lack of comparative work leaves many of these languages out of consideration, unfortunately.

I argue that the Chachapuya lexicon documented in the works of Taylor (2000) and Valqui (2004) can be linked to that of modern Kawapanan languages. The majority of the meanings provided by them can be compatible with a Proto-Kawapanan counterpart. The undeniable parallelism between the two could be explained by a common genealogical origin, sustained in lexical correlates, the ethnohistory of this people and its movement from west to east, as well as the ethnographic knowledge of Kawapanan groups and their myths. Another possibility is that Kawapanan vernaculars did indeed originate in the Andes, in intense contact with Chachapuya. This would explain the lexical similarities. It is unlikely, however, that most of the place names of the cultural complex of Chachapoyas consist of foreign elements imported from minority languages. The question remains open, and there is still much to be found out about these languages. More specialised parts of the lexicon could be analysed (e.g. the lexicon used by the Chachapuya Quechua and Shawi weavers). Cholón and Hibito, for instance, could also have played a significant role in this region, as suggested by Jolkesky (2016, 241).

In Table 4 I present a summary of the sociolinguistic scenarios discussed above:

Period	Political regime	Languages in the region	Linguistic changes
1200-1400 CE	Apogee of the Chachapoya cultural complex	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Languages of the Jaén Sink 2. Carib Patagón? 3. Alto Amazonas Arawak pidgin? 4. Paleo-Kawapanan 5. Proto-Quechua 	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Contact between Paleo-Kawapanan and Carib Patagón/ Paleo-Kawapanan as a Carib language? 2. Possible first contact between Proto-Quechua and Paleo-Kawapanan
1400-1500 CE	Fall of Chachapoyas, prestige of the Quechua language and the conquest of Chachapoyas by the Inca Empire	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Languages of the Jaén Sink 2. Chachapuya vernacular 3. Carib Patagón? 4. Alto Amazonas Arawak pidgin? 5. General Quechua 	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Progressive movement of Paleo-Kawapanan speakers from the northern Andes to the lowlands and first contact with Alto Amazonas Arawak (first branching of Kawapanan)⁵¹ 2. Rapid Quechuisation of Chachapoyas through bilingualism in the zone and introduction of mitimaeas
1530-1600 CE	Conquest of Chachapoyas by the Spanish Crown	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Second wave of General Quechua in the zone 2. New Kawapanan varieties in the lowlands 	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Total disappearance of Chachapuya in its original zone. 2. Retention of a Chachapuya substrate in the new regional Quechua 3. Progressive disappearance of all the languages of the Jaén Sink 4. Settlement of Kawapanan in the Alto Amazonas 5. Disappearance of Alto Amazonas Arawak?

Table 4. A sketch of possible sociohistorical linguistic scenarios of language movement in the Amazonas-Alto Amazonas area from 1200-1600.⁵²

51 A major extension or previous movements of Paleo-Kawapanan must not be discarded. Such a situation would give more evidence to the borrowing of several Arawak grammatical elements into Kawapanan. It is less probable that only one single wave caused the observable changes in the lexicon and the grammatical system of Kawapanan languages. Unfortunately, given the lack of historical evidence, this must be maintained in the domain of speculation.

52 '?' indicates that this is still speculative.

Finally, it is important to appeal to disciplines such as archaeology, anthropology, genetics,⁵³ and history, given the current lack of understanding of the South American prehistory. As in linguistics, the Andes-Amazon divide seems to have played an important sociological role in the decisions of what to study in detail. This unfortunate division becomes an obstacle for fruitful future comparative studies. Only when serious archaeological work of the Upper-Amazonian Loreto is carried out, will we be able to fully understand the dynamics behind human migrations in the area to evaluate our linguistic hypotheses.

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53 This area in particular seems to be partially answered. Barbieri *et al.* (2017) found that “the Chachapoyas city shares [similar haplotypes] with the nearest other Quechua-speakers from Cajamarca and Wayku, **with the Shawi** and with Quechua-speakers from Cusco” (in supplementary materials, p. 11, bolds are mine).

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