

Missionary Linguistic Studies from Mesoamerica to Patagonia

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Chinchaysuyu Quechua and Amage confession manuals – Colonial language and culture contact in Central Peru

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1. *Introduction*¹

A volume which contains several anonymous and undated Quechua and two Amage texts, most of them of Christian religious character, includes a Quechua and an Amage confession manual, written by the same hand, most probably from the eighteenth century. The Quechua one shows very interesting features, i.e. Central Peruvian Quechua and the tendency towards a *media lingua* (mixed language); the Amage one seems to be the earliest known text in the Amuesha (or Yanesha') language which belongs to the Arawakan language family and is spoken to the east of the central Andes (see Figure 6.1).

Interestingly enough, it is the Amage confession manual which can help us localise them and formulate a hypothesis about the authorship. There is little information about missionary work in the highlands, because by the eighteenth century the indigenous peoples may have been seen and treated as Christians and did therefore not merit more attention. On the other hand, quite a few missionaries wrote about the lowland missions, and this

¹ We are very grateful to Katja Hannß for her careful reading of this paper and her suggestions.

information has been our point of departure to approach the authorship and dating of the documents which may have had their origin in a Franciscan convent.

The Amages were an ethnic group, today known as Amuesha or Yanesha',² who in the seventeenth century lived in the Central Peruvian lowlands, in and around Cerro de la Sal and Quimiri and are later also documented for Pozuzu (see Figure 6.4). From the colonial sources it becomes clear that they were first Christianised by the Franciscans.

As the Quechua confession manual has Central Peruvian Quechua traits, we can, then, suppose that it reflects the language as it was used in the adjacent highland areas of Central Peru, i.e. Huánuco - Cerro de Pasco - Junín - Tarma - Jauja, with Huánuco or Tarma being the most probable (Amich [1767] 1854: 136). The question is why such a long time after the conquest there would still be the need to write a confession manual in Quechua. The reasons could be that it was directed towards people who lived in isolated areas (maybe Cerro de Pasco), that the existing confession manuals were no longer available and/or too long. As both manuals are (mainly) directed towards women, it is also possible that it was thought that they needed to be confessed in their language because they might have been less hispanised than men.

Our objective is to present the two texts, embedding them in their historical context, and to discuss some of the most interesting features they show. Sabine Dedenbach-Salazar Sáenz (SDS) explains the context and manuscript history, makes an analysis of the most salient linguistic features of the Chinchaysuyu Quechua confession manual and presents its transcription (sections 2 and 3, Appendix 1). Astrid Alexander-Bakkerus (AAB) provides a commented transcription and translation of the first Amage confession manual included in the manuscript volume (section 4, Appendix 2). The materials, data and analyses we present here and which reflect the unequal state of knowledge about the two languages, are meant to form the basis of further discussions, be it of this genre of text, missionary linguistic history, or formal, anthropological and contact linguistics.

² When talking about the language or ethnic group in colonial times we use the term Amage; when we refer to the modern language or group, we will use Yanesha'.



Figure 6.1: Map of Central Peru (s.a.) (with kind permission of Walter Wust, © www.walterwust.com) (Highlighting by SDS: blue – colonial era highland entries to the lowlands; red – Amage/Yanesha’ area)

2. The texts

2.1 The genre of the confession manual

Confession manuals are a distinctive genre in Latin American Christian literature, but they were not exclusive to Amerindian language indoctrination. A European tradition of how to confess derived from the Council of Letrán in 1215 and was found afterwards in late medieval and early modern writings.³ It was also continued by Latin American missionaries, first in Mexico, most notably by Molina, responsible for two confession manuals in Nahuatl (Molina 1565a, b) and then in the Andes, beginning with the one of the Third Lima Council (*Confessionario* [1585] 1985), followed by others, such as the one by missionary-linguist Torres Rubio (1619).⁴ We can therefore see that a European tradition was taken up and translated in linguistic and cultural terms for a new target population, and whilst most Spanish

³ See Yañez (2004: 79). Cf. Spanish confession manuals, for example, by Pérez ([14th century] 2012); Victoria (1562); Azpilcueta and Bernat (1580). Also see González Polvillo (2010) for a detailed list and study.

⁴ See the contributions in Dedenbach-Salazar Sáenz ed. (2018).

confession manuals were detailed treatises, the Amerindian ones consisted of longer or shorter lists of questions.

Although all of them are different from each other, their questions followed the ten commandments (*The ten commandments* 2005). The texts normally open with a question about the tenets of Christian belief in general and the exhortation to confess one's sins, and they end with another exhortation to confess. However, the ones we present here include only eight commandments. As the ninth and tenth commandments are in a way part of the sixth and seventh commandment respectively, this format seems to have become usual early in the colonial era.

Neither of the confession manuals analysed here is a copy of the questions found in any of the published ones; rather they seem to use those as guidelines, and each is different in detail and also different from each other (as are all confession manuals). Compared to the published texts they also show that the priests had to be pragmatic and use a brief catalogue of questions. Some questions are simply a translation of those given in the published manuals; others refer to a certain cultural context, e.g. when they ask about coca (Amage, Appendix 2, no. 62) or whether the penitent has adored birds or believes in dreams (Chinchaysuyu, Appendix 1, no. 12; Amage, Appendix 2, no. 9). However, the Spanish manuals also have a number of questions about idolatry, dreams etc., which reminds us that this kind of 'superstition' was frequent in Europe as well and must have served as model.

2.2 *Provenience and date*

The two confession manuals (Figures 6.2 and 6.3) are bound in the manuscript volume Add 25,319 of the British Library,⁵ together with further Amerindian texts (*Arte de la lengua iquechua* [sic] ..., eighteenth century?). The Chinchaysuyu Quechua text counts seven numbered folios, from 16 to 22; the Amage consists of five folios, numbered from 23 to 27.

⁵ The watermarks indicate that all the documents in the book date from the eighteenth century, but, as will be seen, at least some of them are copies; it is therefore possible that the originals are earlier.

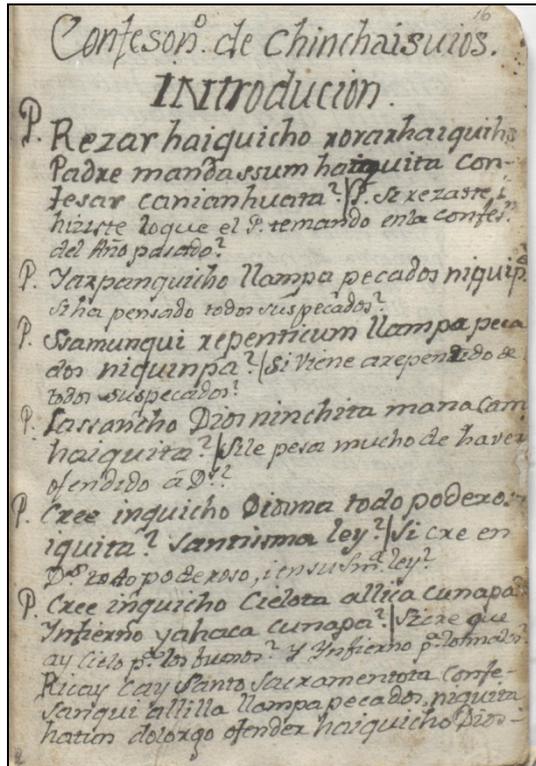


Figure 6.2: Confesionario de chinchaisuyos, eighteenth century? (© British Library Board, Add 25,319, f. 16r)

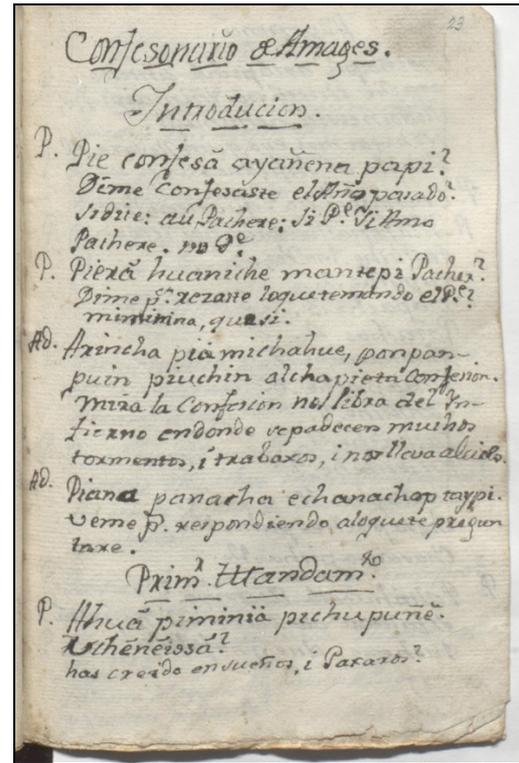


Figure 6.3: Confesionario de Amages, eighteenth century? (© British Library Board, Add 25,319, f. 23r)

Nothing is known about the original provenience of the manuscripts. The volume was acquired by the British Library from the London bookseller Quaritch who had bought it in 1863 at a sale of the Belgian linguist van Alstein's collection of books and manuscripts (ibid., inner title sheet of the volume).⁶ Van Alstein's catalogue mentions that they came from Chaumette des Fossés. A diplomat, Amédée Chaumette des Fossés (1782–1848) was consul in Lima in the second half of the 1820s (Rochelle 1842: 168) and he probably acquired the manuscripts when he was in Peru.

Chaumette was interested in the missionaries' work and sympathetic towards it. He knew Manuel Sobreviela,⁷ the superior of the Franciscan convent of Santa Rosa de Ocopa, and edited and 'corrected' the map Sobreviela had made of the Ucayali and Huallaga region in 1791, which includes the Amage territory, and the name "Amajes" can be found north of Cerro de la Sal (see Figure 6.4) (Rochelle 1842: 170). When Chaumette was no longer consul, he went to live with missionaries (from the 1830s until 1841 when he returned to France), but it is not indicated where this was (ibid. 172–173). However, it is possible that he received the documents (at least the Chinchaysuyu and Amage confession manuals) from the Franciscans of Ocopa, but it is not quite clear why they would have given them away. Possibly they were,

⁶ Van Alstein (1863: 228). Van Alstein (1791–1862) was a well-known book collector of published and manuscript works about and in many languages of the world (cf. Moermans 2008).

⁷ Sobreviela arrived in Peru in 1785, too late to have been the author of the confession manuals (Enciclonet s.a.).

indeed, copies, and they kept the originals. Thus it is highly probable that they were held in the Franciscan mission of Santa Rosa de Ocopa.

As mission in the lowlands was made impossible for a long time, due to indigenous uprisings from 1742 onwards (see section 2.3), it is probable that at least the original Amage text is from before that time. The hypothesis that both documents date from the first half of the eighteenth century is supported by evidence in the collection of documents written by Franciscan missionaries between 1724 and 1743 and edited by Heras (2001), which includes two sample manuscript pages (p. 59 and 205) that show great similarity to the handwriting found in the two texts.

Both manuscripts are written with the same hand, but at least the Quechua text is a copy, because there are numerous mistakes in Quechua, some of which show that the copyist did not know the language (e.g. no. 14: “ianta nau” has to be “llanta hina”).⁸

As the following overview shows, it is evident that the texts are originally from different authors:

Chinchaysuyu Quechua	Amage
Mixture of indirect and direct questions, with a strong tendency towards indirect questions, e.g. “Si ha creido en echizerias ...”, ‘if she has believed in witchcraft ...’ (no. 12, and passim), translated into Quechua as direct questions in the 2nd person singular: “creerhuanquicho”, ‘have you believed’ (ibid.). In Spanish sometimes mixed in one and the same sentence (ibid.).	Mostly direct questions using the 2nd person singular (except very few, and those are mostly translated as direct questions into Amage: nos. 3, 47–49, 67; there is a mixture of both styles in 13) – clearly conceived of as a direct catalogue of questions.
Uses mostly the present perfect: “has deseado”, ‘have you desired’ and only c. a third of the time the preterite (the same tendency can be observed in the 1585 confession manual [<i>Confessionario</i> 1985]). Often both tenses are used immediately one	Uses both the preterite and the present perfect with almost equal frequency.

⁸ Appendix 1, see all cases in parentheses {...}.

⁹ Also, the translations of both past tense forms (see section 3.1) are not consistent with the usage of the different tenses in Spanish (e.g. no. 30–32, 42–46).

after the other (e.g. no. 74–75). ⁹	
There is no consistency in either or across both. This may indicate that the manuals were written at different times or that the original authors were of different geographical origin, or simply that they both reflect the fluctuations of Spanish. ¹⁰	
Uses a large number of Spanish loanwords and compositions of Quechua and Spanish (<i>media lengua</i> features, see section 3.2). This implies that the one who wrote the Quechua text was bilingual himself and supposed that the target person would also be bilingual or at least know much vocabulary in Spanish.	Uses a number of Spanish loanwords (mostly Christian terminology) and some Quechua loanwords (numbers and a few more, apparently integrated into the Amage sound system, therefore possibly older) (see section 4.3). This shows that the target person was not expected to know much Spanish or Quechua. ¹¹

Table 1

A possible scenario of how the copy of the Chinchaysuyu confession manual came to be made would be that a friar used a manual or treatise with questions or explanations about what to ask, formulated them in Spanish and for his own purpose, often in an indirect style: ‘Ask her if she has done ...’.¹² He wrote them down like this or even dictated them. Then a collaborator (or another friar, mestizo or native, or even he himself) would have translated these into Quechua (and Amage), using the direct style, ‘Have you done ...?’, for the actual sessions in the confessional. And finally, a further collaborator, without (much) knowledge of Quechua (and Amage?) would have copied the text (possibly several times) so that it could be used ‘in the field’.

Both manuals are directed mainly at women and not men,¹³ possibly because it was expected that men had sufficient knowledge of Spanish and/or the missionaries dedicated

¹⁰ Ever since its introduction into the Spanish tense system (c. 1550–1680), the present perfect has had greater proximity to the present (González Manzano 2006: 16–17). We have not been able to study the usage of the past tenses in Spanish in any depth, but should there be an increase in the usage of the preterite during the centuries, we could date our confession manuals rather later than earlier.

¹¹ Wise (1976: 358) argues that most Quechua loanwords go back to the Inca era when there was close cultural contact (cf. Adelaar 2006: 294, Santos 2004: 175–176). Despite this supposition the confession manual shows that more, new loanwords were used later in the colonial era, but we do not know, of course, in how far these became part of the language at all or are only present in this text (as it is unknown which impact this [kind of catechetical] text would have had).

¹² For example, Victoria used these indirect questions in his Spanish *Confessionario vtil y prouechoso* in 1562 (“El primero mandamiento es ...” *passim*).

¹³ For example, ‘If **she** lives illegitimately with a man, a bad life’ (“Si vive amancebada, en mala vida?”, Chinchaysuyu no. 55), ‘whether she has touched herself ...’ (“Si ha tenido tocamientos consigo misma ...”, *ibid.*, no. 64), or when asked about her husband (e.g. Chinchaysuyu no. 21; Amage no. 29). A woman uses the word *wawa* for her children (Chinchaysuyu no. 21), a man *churi* (or the phonological equivalents in Quechua I). Cf. section 4.2 for Amage.

extra efforts to catechise women. However, it is rather strange that especially the Chinchaysuyu text should use an extraordinarily large number of loanwords and hybrid constructions if these women did not know Spanish (see section 3.2).

Culturally it is interesting to observe that – if one interprets a Yanesha’ myth as Santos (2004: 181) does – in Inca times Yanesha’ women were submitted to severe controls of fidelity, and adultery was punished with death; it is possible that the women would have remembered this very similar treatment in the past, and the Catholic Church’s attitude may have been ‘recognised’ and compared to that of the Incas.

2.3 *Franciscan authorship*

As the Quechua confession manual shows linguistic Quechua I features (from the central Peruvian highlands) and the Amages lived in the central Peruvian lowlands, we will especially look at the central Peruvian missions. Whilst different orders worked in the highlands, the adjacent lowland areas were in the hands of the Franciscans, and as both manuscripts have the same handwriting, we can assume that the author/translator/copyist would have been a Franciscan or worked for this order.

Córdova Salinas gives a detailed idea of what the Franciscan missions in Peru looked like, and for the highland town of Jauja he mentions eight Franciscan houses and churches in an area of 30,000 inhabitants, an example being San Gerónimo de Tuna in 1643 with 13 priests in three convents (Córdova Salinas [1651] 1957: l. VI, cap. II, p. 989; cf. Huánuco cap. I, p. 982). We can therefore suppose that – not in absolute terms, but in the colonial circumstances – the central Peruvian highlands were well provided with missionaries.

Córdova Salinas mentions experts in the language, presumably Quechua,¹⁴ among them Sebastián Lezana who was “un grande lengua en la nativa de los indios”, ‘very knowledgeable in the native language of the Indians’, lived part of the time in Jauja and died in Lima in 1622 (Córdova Salinas [1651] 1957, l. II, cap. IX, p. 348). De la Puente (2014: 149–150) has information about a mestizo interpreter from Jauja, Juan Vélez: “in 1613 [he] had taught Christian doctrine and the catechism to many Indian children in Jauja, his native region in the central highlands. For this purpose, Vélez translated the [Franciscan] fathers’ sermons into the lengua general” and was said to have spoken “like the Incas did”. This shows two interesting things with respect to the work of conversion in the seventeenth century: first, it seems to have been a Southern variety (*lengua general*¹⁵) which was mainly used in the Christianisation (which explains why – as mentioned below – texts were only half-heartedly translated into a dialect which differed from the Southern Peruvian *lengua general*); second, it is possible that a mestizo or native interpreter was involved in the creation of the Spanish confessionary text, not (just) the priest himself.

¹⁴ There was, of course, Jerónimo de Oré who wrote his exceptional works around the turn of the sixteenth to the seventeenth century ([1598] 1992: 1607; cf. Córdova Salinas l. VI, cap. VII, p. 1015), but in Southern Peruvian Quechua.

¹⁵ For a list of probable features of the *lengua general*, which, however, cannot be seen as a truly unified and normalised version of Quechua, see Itier (2011).

In contrast to the rather sparse information about highland missions, especially in the eighteenth century, there is much more documentation about the lowlands, which may reflect a research bias, or by the eighteenth century the indigenous highland peoples were more thoroughly Christianised.

The history of the Franciscan conversion efforts in lowland Peru¹⁶ was from the early seventeenth century onwards one of campaigns, setbacks, massacres, epidemics and varying constellations of alliances with and among different ethnic groups. The Amages are described as gentle, submissive and reserved.¹⁷ Their conversion went back to 1620, according to a report written by Francisco de San José in 1710 (1997: 35). In the entire region the Franciscans established *reducciones* (resettlements) and built chapels (e.g. Amich [1767] 1854, cap. II: 19), and Amich (*ibid.*, cap. XXVI: 180) admits that, whilst there was a number of converts with real inclination and fervour towards the Christian faith, many Indians were attracted to these places because there they could access European goods. It seems legitimate to see their missions as loosely distributed and not very stable settlements, an impression supported by the descriptions of Amich (*ibid.*, *passim*). Entry into these regions was gained by following the rivers, especially from Tarma and Huánuco (*ibid.*, cap. II: 18), and new connections with the highlands were continuously created under very hard conditions and with the help of Indians who often lost their lives (*ibid.* cap. VI). José de San Antonio, for example, mentions that five Amages were killed in a battle by other Andes Indians (San Antonio [1738] 2001: 209).

Due to the fact that the Franciscans were the most active and most of the time the only missionaries in this region it is plausible that they created materials in the Amage language. In the 1630s the Amages lived around Cerro de la Sal (a salt resource of great importance), in 1673 in Quimiri, and they are documented later, in 1712, in Pozuzo; and there were also eighteen Christianised Amage families registered in Quimiri in 1718 (cf. Figure 6.4). All these settlements were founded by the Franciscans,¹⁸ and because of the itinerant way of life

¹⁶ The data from Amich ([1767] 1854), Tibesar (1989) and Heras (1992; ed. 2001) are mainly based on Córdova Salinas ([1651] 1957) and Biedma ([seventeenth century] 1989) and serve as basis for this summary. In the first half of the twentieth century Izaguirre wrote his comprehensive works about the history of the Franciscan missions, using the older books for most of his information. Santos (2004: 176–177) confirms that the only sources we have for the colonial period in the lowland missions are those of the Franciscan missionaries. See Santos (*ibid.* 178–201) for a summary of Amage history.

¹⁷ Amich ([1767] 1854, cap. II: 19, IV: 31, XIX: 128–129 XXII: 145). Cf. Izaguirre (1922, t. I, cap. XIV, p. 163 [2001: 191]). However, the same author (1923, t. II, cap. VIII, p. 44 [2001: 402]) reminds the reader that in 1694 some Amages attacked and killed missionaries; and he also mentions a letter from 1742 in which the Amages were named as participating in the insurrection of Juan Santos Atahualpa (1923, t. II, cap. XIX, p. 116 [2001: 479]).

¹⁸ Cerro de la Sal “esta habitado de indios Amages”, ‘is inhabited by the Amage Indians’ (Amich [1767] 1854, cap. II: p. 19); in Quimiri “se iban cada dia agregando algunos de los indios Amages”, ‘every day there were some more Amage Indians’ (*ibid.* 31); Pozuzo: “con poco menos de treinta familias de indios Amages ... hallaron otras rancherías de indios Amages, esparcidos por aquellos montes”, ‘with somewhat fewer than thirty Amage Indian families ... they found more settlements of the Amage Indians, scattered in those forest areas’ (*ibid.* 129); there were Christianised Amage families in Quimiri (Padrón de Cerro de la Sal [1718]: 1997: 51).

of the indigenous groups we can suppose that the Amages had originally lived in the areas where these missions were then established, following the model of resettlements.



Figure 6.4: Sobreviela 1791: “Plan del curso de los ríos Huallaga y Ucayali y de la Pampa del Sacramento, levantado por el padre fray Manuel Sobreviela, Guardián del Colegio de Ocopa. Dado a luz por la Sociedad de Amantes del País de Lima. Año 1791”. Courtesy of the John Carter Brown Library.

It also becomes clear that frequently the Indians came and left (Amich [1767] 1854, cap. XXII: 150). This unstable character of the missions is evident in Franciscan documents when 59 Amages are said to have lived in Quimiri in 1724, and 134 in the same village in 1733.¹⁹

On the whole, it is evident from the Franciscan accounts that the Amages were not a numerous group; there may have been only a few thousand of them, even when not resettled and worn out or annihilated in the almost permanent confrontations between Indians and missionaries and different indigenous groups who took different sides.²⁰

It is therefore not surprising that no linguistic documentation can be found because their language was certainly spoken by fewer people than that of, for example, the Campas. In one of the few references to them, for 1734 Amich mentions Father Simón Jara as very knowledgeable in Quechua and Amage: “era versadísimo en la lengua general y en el Amage” (ibid., cap. XXII: 149) – may he have been the author of the confession manuals? The first half of the eighteenth century was that of the most intensive efforts of establishing missions in the indigenous peoples’ territories (Santos 2004: 191), and in any case enough Amages must have lived in accessible places to justify the creation of a manual for confession, probably between the beginning of the eighteenth century and 1742.

From this time onwards Juan Santos Atahualpa’s nativistic movement and insurgency made mission almost impossible.²¹ Like almost all groups of the region, the Amages were involved in this movement: Amich mentions that some ‘heathen’ Amages (“infieles”) killed two missionaries (cap. XXVI: 185, cap. final: 283). The heated situation did not seem to calm down, and even later, after 1750, only few persons were converted, against the often armed resistance of some “gentiles”, ‘pagans’ (ibid., cap. XXX–XXXI).

Thus, complementing text-internal evidence as to the date of the Chinchaysuyu Quechua and the Amage manuscripts, external evidence indicates that they may have been part of the Franciscan missionary efforts in the lowlands between the 1630s and 1740s (Amage), and in the central Peruvian highlands at any time from the beginning of the sixteenth century onwards (Quechua). The existent copies, however, probably date from the eighteenth century.

¹⁹ Padrón de indios amages de Quimiri [1724] 2001: 21; Visita que hizo el P. Lorenzo Núñez de Mendoza a las conversiones de Tarma [1733] 2001: 77. Amich ([1767] 1854, cap. XX: 136) writes about the “conversion de Guanuco”, ‘the conversion parish of Huánuco’, that in 1730 Fray Honorio Matos was in charge of 64 persons who were resettled in Asunción de Pozuzu. However, with reference to Cerro de la Sal, Biedma ([1682] 1989: 102) talks about 800 persons, including another group, the Pacarías.

²⁰ According to “Perú ecológico”, today c. 7,000 Yanesha’ (Amuesha) live in the Departments of Huánuco, Junín and Pasco, in the provinces of Puerto Inca, Chanchamayo and Oxapampa (Amuesha 2012). The *Ethnologue* states that there are approximately 10,000 Yanesha’ in the central and east Pasco Region, the Junín Region, in the western jungle, at the headwaters of the Pachitea and Perené rivers. Although there are bilingual schooling programmes, many children do not learn the language anymore. (Yanesha’ 2014; cf. Adelaar 2006: 291–292; Santos 2004: 166–175 for details, and Santos 2004 as a thorough ethnographic study.) Considering the rather higher number of Yanesha’ in our time, it is also possible that the Franciscans only ever came into contact with very few of them or would not have known which ethnic group some individuals belonged to.

²¹ Amich ([1767] 1854, cap. XXVI–XXIX). Cf. Varese (2002, ch. 3).

3. *A Chinchaysuyu Quechua confession manual*

3.1 *The language variety*

Although the name Chinchaysuyu was used by the Incas to refer to the northern region of their four-part empire, the term probably had its origin in the central Peruvian area around Lake Chinchaycocha, and this bordered directly on the Anti region where the Amages lived.²² “Chinchaisuios” in the title of the Quechua manual can therefore refer to the people of the geographical area and/or to those who spoke this linguistic Quechua variety.

The colonial texts we have from Central Peru are limited in number and do not show consistent phonetic-phonological or morphological features so as to map them on specific modern Quechua I varieties (clearly distinct from Quechua II).²³ The colonial missionary authors probably recognised the difference, but did not (want to) take the step to write their material in a variety entirely distinct from Southern Peruvian missionary Quechua, maybe because they were not familiar enough with these dialects and had earlier learned the Southern Peruvian *lengua general*, and/or they preferred not to use a little respected, ‘corrupt’ variety of Quechua.²⁴

In this sense, the *Confesionario de chinchaisuios* is part of this half-hearted recognition of a different Quechua, but we do not know whether it reflects the regional dialect itself due to an older contact situation or whether the author or translator was responsible for this blending of Quechua I and II elements.

²² Renard Casevitz et al. (1988: 84–85). However, the usage of the term varied greatly; for example, in an early “relación geográfica” (Descripción de ... Abancay [1586] 1965: 16), the province of Abancay, to the southeast of Ayacucho, is called Chinchaysuyo, established by the Incas. Cf. Dedenbach-Salazar Sáenz (1999: 506–514). In linguistic terms, in the colonial era ‘Chinchaysuyu’ was applied to any kind of Quechua spoken north of Huamanga (Durston 2002: 232–236). Already in 1616 Alonso de Huerta had recognised that there was a difference between Southern Peruvian Quechua and Chinchaysuyo (Durston 2002: 232, 234).

²³ Among the very few Quechua I documents we have is a sacramental manual written by Juan de Castromonte c. 1650, analysed and transcribed by Durston (2002). Diego de Molina’s sermon collection from 1649 is, despite of the author’s origin from Huánuco, written in Quechua II (Taylor 2001: 183–222) although the author acknowledges dialectal differences (cf. Durston 2002: 235). Juan de Figueredo’s 1700 edition of Diego de Torres Rubio’s Quechua grammar and vocabulary has a few northern Quechua words in its vocabulary section. Durston mentions some Quechua I elements in Jurado Palomino’s 1649 *Declaracion copiosa* (Durston 2002: 235). See Durston (2008: 47–50) for a list of Quechua I documents.

The first known texts written entirely in Quechua I date from the beginning of the twentieth century. Gamarra wrote Quechua fables in Tarma Quechua in 1906. Izaguirre’s volume XIII (1927) on indigenous language materials includes an anonymous “Catecismo en quechua huanca” from Ocopa (pp. 531–537). This is, as opposed to the earlier texts, written entirely in Quechua I.

²⁴ *Doctrina Christiana* ([1584] 1985: Anotaciones, f. 74 [numbered as 83], p. 167). In the case of the Central Peruvian Cajatambo indigenous ritual texts edited by Duviols (2003), Itier (1992a: 1001–1012, 1015–1017) suggests that there had been Southern Peruvian Quechua influence for a long time and that some of the interpreters and possibly the copyist were more familiar with Quechua I than the local dialect. The texts use both lexical and morphological features of Quechua I and II.

The text makes use of a morphology and lexicon which in part is clearly Quechua I. Due to its character of a basic dialogue, many morphological features do not appear in it, and as far as the orthography is concerned, it only partially reflects Quechua I phonetic usage and phonological rules. For example, no vowel lengthening is present (or recognisable), but the pronunciation of the postvelars, which is quite different from southern Quechua II, is reflected in certain forms of spelling. Here we would only like to mention that there is a clear lenition of apparently velar and postvelar fricatives and plosives, such as “-rha” and “-rhu” and “oll[o]go”.²⁵ These are features which are documented above all for Quechua I, in Tarma and in Ancash. The initial sibilant for ‘to come’ (*hamu-* in Quechua II), is written as “ss”: “ssamu-” (Appendix 1, no. 4), characteristic of Quechua I. The author/writer also has a few individual representations of sounds in loanwords, such as “mandamendo”, “amihu” and “enemihu”. This may reflect his conception of the Quechua adaptation of Spanish sounds to the Quechua dialect he used and would coincide with the voicing of fricatives (and plosives in other dialects) described above. It can also indicate that the author/translator was a mestizo or even of indigenous extraction.

Morphologically, there are also some clear Quechua I features (mostly Ancash):

Ex.	Morphology (Appendix 1 ms. transcription no.)	Description	Source of description
1	-rhu-nqui [*?ryu/rgu] (e.g. no. 15, 16, passim)	<-rqu> ²⁶ verbal suffix: inflectional past perfective aspect-tense, temporally bounded in the past; upwards/no resistance, also used as past (here 2nd sg.)	Hintz 2011: 39–41; cf. Parker 1976: 126
	-rha-aiqui [*?rya/rga] (e.g. no. 25, 26, passim)	<-rqa> verbal suffix: inflectional past perfective aspect-tense; simple past (here 2nd sg.)	Hintz 2011: 42–43, Parker 1976: 107–108
		Both are used with no apparent difference in meaning in the Quechua text.	

²⁵ “-rha” and “-rhu” (passim; frequently written with varying spelling [because it is a copy?]) and “oll[o]go” (Appendix 1, no. 59ff.). This coincides with Parker’s (1976: 39–40), Adelaar’s (1977: 58–60) and Hintz’ (2011: 19) descriptions for Central Peruvian Quechua. Domínguez (2006) illustrates and describes the phonetic variations across different dialects of this area.

²⁶ <...> represents the modern orthography.

2	Ricamai, “veme”, transl. from Quechua: ‘look at me’ (no. 9)	<-ma> verbal suffix: transition 2nd-1st person imperative	Parker 1976: 106, 114 ²⁷
3	-chau (in variation with -pi) (e.g. no. 12)	<-chaw> nominal suffix: locative case (relational suffix), ‘in’	Parker 1976: 83–84 ²⁸
	-pa, -pahc (e.g. no. 77, 52)	<-paa, -paq> nominal suffix: benefactive case, ‘for’	Parker 1976: 84: -paa in Antonio Raimondi and Huari provinces
	-pita (e.g. no. 8, 91)	<-pita> nominal suffix: separative case (also causative), ‘from’	Parker 1976: 84–85
	-nau (no. 15)	<-naw> nominal suffix: comparative	Cerrón-Palomino 1976b: 138–139

Table 2

With respect to the lexicon many words – although often in phonetic (and sometimes in semantic) variants – are shared between Quechua I and II.²⁹ However, there are also a few distinctly Central Peruvian items³⁰ present in the text:

²⁷ Also documented in the seventeenth century Cajatambo texts, for example “comay” (Itier 2003: 790).

²⁸ Also documented in the seventeenth century Cajatambo texts, for example “cayayninchao” (Itier 2003: 789).

²⁹ However, some of them are different phonologically rather than constituting a different lexical form, for example, “hilla”, ‘lazy’, in the manuscript (Appendix 1, no. 83) and in Junín (*Vocabulario políglota* 1905: 240/20 Junín), *qilla* in Ayacucho (Soto Ruiz 1976: 92 s.v. qella); “ollogo” in the manuscript (e.g. no. 17), *ullqu* in Ancash (Parker and Chávez 1976: 113 s.v. ollqu), *urqu* in Quechua II (Soto Ruiz 1976: 81 s.v. orqo; in Quechua II only used for animals).

³⁰ These words are not found in Ecuador or Northern Peru (which are Quechua II dialects) (Cordero 1968; Stark and Muysken 1977; Park et al. 1976).

Ex.	Vocabulary (Appendix 1 ms. transcription no.)	Translation	Source of translation
4	aru- (no. 26) <aru->	to work	<i>Vocabulario políglota</i> 1905: 448/28 Ancash; Parker and Chávez 1976: 37 Ancash; Hintz 2011: 62(89) Conchucos
	yarpa- (no. 94) <yarpa->	to think	<i>Vocabulario políglota</i> 1905: 388/6 Ancash; Parker and Chávez 1976: 199 Ancash; Adelaar 1977: 503 Tarma; Hintz 2011: 34(25) Conchucos
	iata- (no. 64) <yata->	to touch with the hand	<i>Vocabulario políglota</i> 1905: 445/3 Ancash and Junín; Parker and Chávez 1976: 200 Ancash; Cerrón- Palomino 1976a: 155 Huanca; Adelaar 1977: 504 Tarma

Table 3

The numbers (Appendix 1, no. 13) are Central (and Northern) Peruvian Quechua, most similar to Ancash-Huaylas (Parker 1976: 78–79).

On the whole, there are enough elements to indicate that the manual was written to be used in central Peru.³¹ Like the other few colonial documents we know from this Quechua variety, this one also only uses a limited number of these elements – possibly because it was difficult to distance oneself from the prestigious Southern Quechua language destined for Christianisation.³² But in addition to a certain intra-Quechua hybridity, this confession manual differs substantially from most missionary texts in that it relexifies many Quechua words using Spanish loanwords, embedding them in Quechua syntax, and thereby giving the impression of a mixed language, a *media lengua*.³³

³¹ On the basis of the data SDS presented at the REELA conference, Adelaar (personal communication 10.09.15) supposes that it could be Yaru-type Quechua (Ancash) (except for *aru-*, see Black et al. 1990: 393, 403 who give “urya-”). This is especially interesting because he (Adelaar 2006: 294–295) supposes that Yaru Quechua accounts for most of the Quechua loanwords in Yanasha’ so that the geographical link can also be seen in the linguistic contact situation.

³² Considering that all the colonial sources we know from that area show this mixture of varieties, we may want to ask if a kind of mixed dialect became established or whether they reflect an artificial, imposed composition of codes.

³³ The only text which uses a high percentage of Spanish loanwords is the 1600 Bula de la Santa Cruzada sermon published by Itier (1992b); these mainly refer to European objects and concepts and do not extend to verbs.

3.2 *The reflection of contact: towards a media lengua?*

Examples show that the text uses a substantial amount of Spanish loanwords (in italics), almost half of the text, which is rather uncommon:

Ex.	Contact phenomena (Appendix 1 ms. transcription no.) ³⁴	Translation by SDS
5	Si ha creido en echizerias, sueños paxaros, i bruxas etc.	If she has believed in witchcraft, dreams, birds, and witches, etc.?
	<i>Creerhuanquicho</i> <i>echizeriácunachau?</i> <i>Sueñupi?</i> <i>o pizgocunachau?</i> <i>Bruxascunachau?</i> <i>Suprestitionescunachau?</i> (no. 12)	Have you believed in witchcraft? In dreams? Or in birds? In witches? In superstitions?
6	Si ha adorado como á Dios las huacas, o zerros, ó otras creaturas.	If she has worshipped like God the indigenous deities, or mountains, or other creatures?
	<i>Adorarhonquicho Diostanau</i> <i>huacata; hercata?</i> <i>Ymayhan creaturatapis?</i> (no. 15)	Have you worshipped like God the indigenous deities, mountains, also any other creatures?
7	Si en la yglesia tubo malos pensamientos con hombres?	If in church she had evil thoughts [about what she would do] with men?
	<i>Yglesiachau pensarhanquicho,</i> <i>ollogocunahuan?</i> (no. 17)	Have you thought in church of men?
8	Si ha hecho cosas torpes delante de sus hixos, i otros?	If she has done rude things in the presence of her children and others?

³⁴ In these examples we have modified the original forms if necessary in order to make them more easily comprehensible. See the transcription for the actual writing in the manuscript (Appendix 1).

	Rurarhonquícho <i>cosas desonestata</i> runa ñaupanpi <i>authoriquipa</i> ñaupanpi? (no. 61)	Have you done dishonest things in front of men, in front of persons of authority?
9	Si ha tenido tocamientos consigo misma con sus manos pensando en hombre?	If she has touched herself with her hands thinking of a man?
	Kam ayca cutin quiquiqui iatapacuspaiqui, <i>pensarhaiqui malos pensamentusta</i> olgouam? (no. 64)	How many times touching yourself with your hands have you thought bad thoughts about a man?
10	Si ha tenido pecados por la parte de atras con hombre?	If she had sinned from behind with a man?
	Olgouam <i>pecanta rurarhaiqui ayca cutim casspaiquipita</i> {quepa-/huasa-??} (no. 65)	Have you carried out his/her [sic] sin with a man [and] how many times from behind?
11	No hazes casso de tu marido?	Do you not obey your husband?
	Manacho <i>casuta</i> rurarhunqui cozayquita? (no. 38)	Have you not obeyed your husband?
12	Pues es preciso restituirsela [honra, in the preceding sentence] desdecindote, si te quieres salbar.	Thus it is necessary to return it [honour, to him/her] taking back [what you said], if you want to save yourself.
	Cotichinqui <i>onrranta desdicecuspaiqui almaiquipa salbacionnimpa</i> (no. 85)	[If you have dishonoured your neighbour] you return his honour by taking back [what you said], for your soul's salvation.
13	Si ha dexado de aiunar quando lo manda la yglesia pudiendo?	If she omitted to fast when the Church orders it, [despite] being able to?

<i>Deixarhonquicho aiunata yglesia mandasuptiqui, puede caspaiqui?</i> (no. 27; cf. no. 76)	Have you omitted to fast although the Church has ordered you to, although you were able to?
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Table 4

An established Christian religious vocabulary has been in use and documented since the late sixteenth century (without too many changes). It includes a number of loanwords, but these are normally limited to specific terms, such as ‘misa’ (‘mass’), ‘Padre’ (‘Father’), ‘fiesta’ (‘festival’), ‘cuaresma’ (‘Lent’) etc. On the other hand, re-semanticised Quechua words were introduced to express Christian concepts, such as *hucha* for ‘sin’, *supay* for ‘Devil’, with an Andean meaning different from the Christian. In the Chinchaysuyu text the established loanword *supay* is always used for ‘Devil/demon’, and *hucha* is also often present, but we find the Spanish loanword ‘pecar/pecado’ more frequently.

In the *Confesionario de chinchaisuyos* most words, including verbs and well-established Christian vocabulary items, are replaced by Spanish loanwords, and these are embedded in Quechua morphology and syntax. As mentioned, the process as such was common for Christian Quechua, but the high frequency of loans was not.³⁵ It is therefore interesting to see which translation methods were used and how these relate to the linguistic contact features present in the text.

Most frequently monolexematic loanwords are used, and they are normally a word or several taken from the Spanish sentence. On the sentence level, the translation is sometimes more exact than the original question, although using loanwords, e.g. in ex. 5 (Table 4), where Spanish ‘etc.’ is replaced by ‘superstitions’; in ex. 8 the loanword ‘autoridad’, ‘authority’ replaces ‘and others’ of the Spanish text. In other cases, however, a Spanish word is omitted, as in ex. 7 where ‘evil thoughts’ is not translated, but ex. 9 does the contrary: the rather neutral Spanish ‘thinking of a man’ receives an additional object: ‘evil thoughts’. The same is the case when Spanish ‘saving herself’ is complemented by ‘saving your soul’ (ex. 12). One would think that an additional explanation is useful in helping the penitent understand better, but all the additional words are loanwords which would have made the text quite opaque for a Quechua native speaker unfamiliar with so many Spanish words. Only few of these words have become part of the Quechua language, such as ‘hacer caso’, ‘to obey’, which is still used today as Quechua verb: *kasu-* (e.g. Hurtado de Mendoza 2002: 190).

As is common and found in other similar texts, the loanwords are adapted to Quechua morphology in a straightforward way, that is by adding the Quechua suffix of the accusative or locative to a Spanish noun, or, in case of a verb, the past tense and personal suffix (e.g. ex. 5 and passim). But moreover, and this is a rarer phenomenon, the loanwords are embedded in Quechua complex sentences where they form part of the nominalisers, as is the case with the subordinate nominalisation with *-spa*, which indicates the same subject in the main and the subordinate clause (ex. 12; no. 85):³⁶

³⁵ There are extremely few purely Quechua sentences (15 out of 97).

³⁶ It is also worth noting that missionary texts often ‘over’-used the basic nominalisations (esp. *-na* and *-sqa*) and introduced conjunctions modelled on Spanish grammar, instead of the more common

kuti	-chi	-nki	<i>honra</i>	-n	-ta
return	-causative	-2 sing.	honour	-3 sing. poss.	-accusative

you return his honour [to him]

<i>desdice</i>	-ku	-spa	-yki
take back (3 pers.)	-pseudo-refl.	-subord. nominaliser same subject	-2 sing. possessive

you taking it [your word] back

Or the sentence even carries a subordinate nominalisation with *-spa*, same subject, *and* a switch reference with *-pti*, different subjects (Table 4, ex. 13; no. 27; **bolded** – the same person; **bolded italics** – switch reference):

<i>Deja</i>	-rqu	-nki	-chu
leave/omit	-past perfective	-2 sing.	-yes/no-question

Have **you** left it

<i>ayuna</i>	-ta	<i>Iglesia</i>	<i>manda</i>	<i>-su</i>	<i>-pti</i>	<i>-yki</i>
fast	-acc.	Church	order	-3rd pers. subject	-subord. nominaliser diff. subject	-2 sing. poss.

although the Church clearly orders **you** the fasting³⁷

<i>puede</i>	ka	-spa	-yki?
can	to be	-subord. nominaliser same subject	-2 sing. possessive

[although] **you** could be [doing it]?

It is difficult to imagine that these constructions follow an established pattern often typical of a *media lengua*; rather they may be spontaneous or point to an evolving *media lengua*. A certain variation and freedom is evident when the subordinators in some cases form a regular Quechua construction with a verb root and modifiers: *yata-pa-ku-spa-yki* (Appendix 1, no. 64); in others the third person of a Spanish verb is used: *desdice-ku-spa-yki* (Table 4, ex. 12). In another case the verb *poder*, ‘to be able to’, is also used in the 3rd person singular; however, it is not directly followed by the subordinator, but by the verb *ka-*, ‘to be’, which carries the subordinating and 2nd person suffixes: *puede ka-spa-yki* (ex. 13). Thus, when the words are taken over as loanwords, their grammatical category may change: Spanish “pudiendo”, ‘being able to’, becomes *puede ka-*. The Spanish ‘ayunar’, ‘to fast’, becomes a noun: *ayuna-ta* (ex. 13) without changing the verb root to a nominal one, which is ‘ayuno’,

subordinating suffixes (*-spa* and *-pti*) (Dedenbach-Salazar Sáenz 1997: 309–315). A study using a larger corpus needs to be conducted in order to find out whether this is a general tendency or author-specific.

³⁷ The original text indicates that the writer did not copy exactly when penning “ma[n]daicahuti”³⁷. SDS has read this as **mandasuptiyki*, with *-su...-yki* as transition from 3rd person subject to 2nd person object (possibly preceded by *-yku*, intensifier, which can become *-yka* before suffixes which include the vowel *-u* [cf. Hintz 2011: 32 (14), although the vowel change is not documented before *-su*]). The subject transitional 3rd person form *-su* appears in other sentences of the same text (in the transcription no. 39 it is used in the same structure reconstructed here; see also in 52 and 89).

‘the fasting’ (cf. “peca-”, ‘to sin’, which becomes *peca*, ‘(the) sin’ in Quechua, App. 1, no. 68). It is not uncommon in Quechua to use the same root as noun and as verb (e.g. *tamya(-)*, ‘(to) rain’ (Parker and Chávez 1976: 169).

In some cases (App. 1, no. 31) the whole Spanish phrase is taken over as a loan, but all the grammatical forms, including the Spanish genitive ‘de’ (‘tratar **de** malas palabras’), are translated literally into Quechua, as *-pa* (genitive, possession) (*malas palabraspa trata-*) although one would expect the instrumental *-wan*. This shows to what extent the Quechua is relexified, but at the same time the grammar does not become part of the loan – rather it is translated ‘literally’ into Quechua. Sentence no. 50 (in App. 1) shows that in this case a hybrid Quechua-grammar Spanish-words expression had been created (and stabilised?) as it uses the same construction, *malas palabraspa*, but here with the Quechua verb *rima-*, ‘to speak’, translating ‘decir’, ‘to say’, although neither Spanish nor Quechua has the genitive in this construction.

There are some ‘frozen’ forms, where Spanish expressions are made into a unit embedded in Quechua morphology (*kasu-*, example 11; cf. Muysken 1996: 384). The word order follows Spanish at least as often as Quechua (examples passim). Although Ecuadorian speakers consider *media lengua* to be a separate system (ibid. 408), Muysken’s comparative analysis of data from different varieties shows that there is a certain fluidity³⁸ in them, which, however, still makes them different from interlanguages and pidgins (ibid. 409), and they can even become a native language (ibid. 274).

Nowadays there are songs in Ancash in Central Peru (province Bolognesi), some of which show a very close and similar combination of Spanish loanwords and Quechua grammar (Pigott 2012a: 29–39; 2012b: 57). And although these songs have relatively few complete sentences, similarly they have many Spanish vocabulary items and only Quechua grammar. And, not unlike that of confession manuals, the discourse of the songs is of ‘formulaic’ character. Thus there may be a tendency towards a *media lengua*-type code, possibly for certain genres, in Central Peru, going back several centuries.

Obviously we know very little about the sociocultural context in central highland Peru in the seventeenth/eighteenth century, but on the basis of the linguistic data it is apparent that the language used in the manual has tendencies towards a mixed language, seen as a continuum, not a rigid system, and presents much relexified Spanish vocabulary and a general conservation of Quechua morphosyntactic structures, and could therefore only have been spoken and understood by bilingual individuals (unless it had become established as native language, not dissimilar to a creole).³⁹ It may have been not unlike how Gómez Rendón (s.a.: 20) characterises Paraguayan Guaraní: “a clearly differentiated though non-stable set of registers with different compositions of borrowing and code switching according to the speaker’s level of bilingualism, his/her identity affiliation, and other relevant factors including

³⁸ Muysken (1996). See also Coombs’ presentation of Cajamarca speech, from ‘fine Spanish’ to ‘good Quechua’, passing through five varieties more or less close to either of the two languages (2011: 55).

³⁹ Cf. Muysken (1996: 274); Gómez Rendón (2008: 20–32). It should be taken into account that different methods have been used to try and understand what the Ecuadorian *media lengua* really is (apart from numerous groundbreaking studies by Muysken and the mentioned one by Gómez Rendón, there is Lipski’s [2017] most recent empirical study in which he measured speakers’ responses).

gender, age and education”. Sociocultural factors lead to different kinds of conservation and development of these mixed languages – from becoming a vernacular to disappearing. In our case, on the basis of the available data it is difficult to know which stage and kind of speaker the confessional text reflects.

The variety described here is also similar to some manifestations of the so-called Spanglish, and as Lipski (2008: 69–71) explores, there is a difference between the spontaneous usage of patterns and words on the one hand and replicable usage on the other, and only a high degree of homogeneity and consistency would enable speakers to form a linguistic speech community. With the reduced data which are available, no hypothesis as to its adoption as the variety spoken by a community can be ventured, although we can see traces of a mixed code in Central Peruvian song lyrics until the present. But on the whole there is not enough information about the language variety or sociolinguistic and diglossic situation in the region and era to allow us to judge whether it was a stable system which could have or did become a vernacular (for some time). However, it probably documents a *media lengua* or at least the initial steps towards one. As this is clearly a code used between two different groups – missionaries and indigenous people – it does not fit into Muysken’s findings for the Ecuadorian *media lenguas* as intra-group languages (1996: 375). Rather, it seems to reflect a diglossic situation between Spanish-speaking priests and Quechua-speaking indigenous parishioners, native speakers of their respective languages, but having become bilingual through lasting contact. We may even speculate about the translator and the process of translation: being a fluent Quechua speaker, he did not find it easy to translate the lexicon which, to a certain extent, was not very common in everyday language (e.g. ‘evil thoughts’), and this may have moved him to simply use the Spanish words within the Quechua structure. We are unable to know, however, whether he was adapting a common strategy or, like Spanglish, creating a more or less personal ‘Quechuañol’.

4. *An Amage (Yanesha’) confession manual*

4.1 *Introduction and contextualisation*

The ms. Add. 25,319 of the British Library includes two versions of an Amage confession manual. The language denominated Amage in the British Library manuscript volume, known today as Amuesha or Yanesha’, belongs to the large Arawakan language family (Adelaar 2006: 292). Nowadays it is spoken in Central Peru, near the Perené river (Muysken 2004: 413).

Yanesha’ has predominantly a VSO order. According to Muysken (2004: 424), its sound system is based on three vowels: /e/, /a/, /o/, which can be aspirated or glottalised; and on 24 consonants: the labials /p/, /b/, /m/, /w/; the palatal labials /pʲ/, /bʲ/, mʲ/; the dentals: /t/, /c/, /s/, /n/, /r/; the palatals /tʲ/, /č/, /š/, /nʲ/, /lʲ/, /y/; the retroflex consonants /ç/, /ž/; the velars /k/, /x/, /ɣ/; and the palatal velar /kʲ/. In the Amage texts in the manuscript we can distinguish five vowel symbols: <a>, <e>, <i>, <o>, <u>, and a number of digraphs representing assumedly a palatal sound, such as <ch>, <sh>, <ss>, <sz>. For example, Duff-Tripp’s suffix

-esha, ‘kind of’, ‘plural’ (1997: 258), is transcribed as “*echa*” and “*eíssa*” in the Amage texts. The example shows that in those days the orthography had not yet been standardised.

The first Amage confession manual, called *Confesonario de Amages* (in the following abbreviated as CLA1, f. 23r–27v; transcribed, analysed and translated in Appendix 2), begins with an introduction consisting of general questions and hypothetical answers (Appendix 2, no. 2–7), followed by questions concerning the compliance with eight commandments and the possible sins committed against them. The manual also contains two warnings (no. 10, 42), a list of numerals (no. 12), as well as a brief text for confession (no. 75). The second text, the *Confesonario en lengua amage* (abbreviated as CLA2, f. 60v–70r), is an extended version of the first one. It begins with an exhortation (f. 61r) and confessional questions belonging to the eight commandments (f. 61v–67r), followed by two exhortations for married people (f. 67r–69r), an act of contrition (f. 69v–70r) and a few numerals (f. 70r). The extended confession manual may have been written later, when the priest(s) noticed that the first one needed additions, such as the act of contrition.⁴⁰

4.2 Observations on the discourse and linguistic structure

The transcription of the *Confesonario de Amages* is accompanied by glosses and followed by a list of Spanish and Quechua borrowings. The glossing is based on the grammatical and lexical data of Duff-Tripp (1997, 1998).⁴¹ Unfortunately, not everything could be glossed with certainty, due to:

(a) the non-standardisation of the orthography⁴² as a result of which the Amage words are not represented unambiguously, so that it is sometimes impossible to recognise the form and to know which word is involved;

⁴⁰ The handwriting of both is different.

⁴¹ This is the only modern grammar and dictionary on Yanesha’. There is a text in Santos (2004: 345–348), but on the whole very little work has been done (see Wise 1976 and Adelaar 2006 for discussions of loan phenomena). Materials from the turn of the nineteenth to the twentieth century are included in Sala (1905, following his multilingual dictionary as announced in the book title, pp. 5–191, there are the “Gramáticas amueixa y campá”, pp. 217–245, and the “Catecismo de la doctrina cristiana castellano, inga, amueixa y campá”, pp. 247–267; see Izaguirre ed., 1929, vol. XIV, for another edition of Sala’s materials). Izaguirre (ed., 1927, vol. XIII,) contains – by anonymous Franciscan authors – a “Catecismo amuesha y campá” (pp. 483–505) and an “Interrogatorio de la confesión en amuesha para uso de los reverendos padres misioneros de la prefectura apostólica de San Francisco de Ucayali” (pp. 511–522). The catalogue of questions of this latter confession manual is not identical with the ones of the British Library texts. A comparative analysis of all these materials is still pending. (SDS.)

⁴² All five vowel symbols used in the manuscript are allographs referring to the phonemes /a/, /e/, /o/; the sounds symbolised by Duff-Tripp as *rr*, *ts*, *tʰ*, *s*, *ss* can all be represented by the graphemes *ch*, *r*, *s*, *ss*, *z* in the manuscript; in the manuscript an accent may also indicate ‘emphasis’, ‘vocative’ or a glottal stop; two separate words can be written as a single word, and one word consisting of two morphemes can be written as two words.

(b) Duff-Tripp’s description of the language: words that have the same form are sometimes listed in lemmata with a different form and meaning in her vocabulary, and in her grammar and vocabulary the same suffix can have different meanings, so that it is difficult to distinguish them. For example, the suffix *-a*, *-e*, *-o* can be glossed as: ‘second element of a negation’, ‘adjectiviser’/ ‘nominaliser’, ‘3sO’, ‘locative’, ‘genitive’, ‘reportative’; the suffix *-(V)cha*, *-(V)che*, *-(V)chi*, *-(V)cho*, *-(V)chu*, *-(V)ch(V)* as ‘vocative’, ‘future/ intention’, ‘dubitative’, ‘habitual’, ‘emphatic declaration/ question’, ‘verbaliser’, ‘past participle; and *-(V)r(r)* as ‘pluraliser’, ‘adjectiviser’, and ‘possessive’;

(c) a different translation of the same concepts, so that we do not know which translation is ‘correct’. For example, the question *Has pensado de otros, que querian pecar, siendo mentira?* [‘Have you thought of others who wanted to sin, which was a lie?’] is translated into Amage as *Ahua píerá pahatá netta achamuchahueta, essé paseta?* in CLA1, f. 26r, but as *Ahua pianchina pensseña ñiapi assinus allusa ssussinat?* in CLA2, f. 65v. Therefore we do not know which translation is the more acceptable one. Another example of a difference in translation of the same concept is the following. The Amage expression *allúsiñá piáchanetá* is translated as *darle [de] Palos* [‘to beat him’] in CLA1, f. 24v, but as *para pecar con el* [‘to sin with him’] in CLA2, f. 65v. So, what does *allúsiñá piáchanetá* really mean: beat someone, or sin with someone?

(d) a non-correspondence between the Spanish phrase and its translation into Amage. For instance, the Spanish sentence *Mira la Confesion nos libra del Ynfierno en donde se padecen muchos tormentos, i trabaxos, i nos lleva al cielo* [‘Look, confession liberates us from hell, where there are many torments and works, and it takes us into heaven’] is briefly translated as ‘*Arincha piamichahue, ponpanpuin piuchin alcha pieta confesion.*’ [‘Do not be afraid, confess honestly your sins over there’.] (CLA1: no. 6).

The phrasing is in general gender-neutral, and both men and women can be asked most of the questions. However, the choice of lexicon indicates that the first question is clearly addressed to a man: ‘Did you confess last year, father?’ (ibid., no. 2), but the following three questions: ‘Did you quarrel with your husband?’ (ibid., no. 29), ‘Did you want to kill your husband?’ (ibid., no. 37), ‘Were you badly fed up with your husband?’ (ibid., no. 38), but almost all the questions of the sixth commandment (ibid., no. 44–58) explicitly refer to women.⁴³

It should be noted that the use of causatives frequently occurs in the Amage confession manual without valency-increasing taking place. In those cases, the causative morphemes “add an extra meaning to the verb” (Aickenvald 2011: 86), relating to an “increase in manipulative effort, intentionality, volitionality, and control; intensive/iterative action; complete affectedness of the object” (ibid. 101). In many instances the causative marker underlines the iterativity of the action, see for example the verbs ‘confess’ and ‘pray’ in no. 2 and 4, respectively. The causative indicates that the penitent should have carried out his/her duty, i.e. confess and pray, all year round. Manipulation as well as control are referred to in question no. 7: ‘Answer me whatever I shall ask you’, in other words: ‘I cause you to

⁴³ In Yanasha’ verb persons are marked by suffixes, but the third person is not gender-marked (Duff-Tripp 1997: 69); therefore it is not clear in indirect questions (such as in no. 58) if they refer to a man or a woman.

answer me, because I ask you to do so'. Intention and volitionality are the motives behind 'kill', see no. 37, and a complete affectedness of the object can be the underlying motive for blaspheming someone, cf. no. 56.

4.3 Borrowings

Most borrowings are lexical items. Grammatically the language of the manuscript (as far as this can be said due to the insufficient modern data) shows that it has not fundamentally changed during the past 250 years.

Borrowings from Quechua:

<i>aiche</i>	< <i>aycha</i>	'meat'
<i>ama</i>	< <i>ama</i>	'no'
<i>apuericha</i>	< <i>apuchay</i>	'to honour'
<i>llaque-</i>	< <i>llakiy</i>	'to be sad', 'sadness'
<i>mune-</i>	< <i>munay</i>	'to want'
<i>uch</i>	< <i>hucha</i>	'fault', 'sin'
6 - <i>pichapa</i>	= 'six' < <i>pichqa</i> , but <i>pichqa</i> means 'five' in Q	
7 - <i>cansu</i>	< <i>qanchis</i>	'seven'
8 - <i>pucha</i>	< <i>pusaq</i>	'eight'
9 - <i>escune</i>	< <i>isqun</i>	'nine'

Borrowings from Spanish:

(a) terms belonging to the semantic field of religion:

<i>acusare-</i>	< <i>acusar</i> 'to accuse'
<i>ayuna-</i>	< <i>ayunar, ayuno</i> '(to) fast'
<i>confesa-</i>	< <i>confesar</i> 'to confess'
<i>confession</i>	< <i>confesión</i> 'confession'
<i>cruz</i>	< <i>cruz</i> 'cross'
<i>Dios</i>	< <i>Dios</i> 'God'
<i>dominquo</i>	< <i>domingo</i> 'Sunday'
<i>erahua</i>	< <i>rezar</i> 'to pray'
<i>misse</i>	< <i>misa</i> 'mass'
<i>Nuestro Señor</i>	< <i>Nuestro Señor</i> 'Our Lord'
<i>Pacher(e)/ papar</i>	< <i>padre</i> 'Father'
<i>perdon</i>	< <i>perdon</i> 'forgiveness'
<i>quaresmo</i>	< <i>cuaresma</i> 'Lent'
<i>viernes</i>	< <i>viernes</i> 'Friday'
<i>vigilio</i>	< <i>vigilia</i> 'vigil'

(b) other terms:

<i>ámiequ-ette</i>	< <i>amigo</i> ‘friend’ + <i>otte-</i>
<i>hacer</i> (?)	= <i>hacer</i> ‘to make’
<i>crusza-</i>	< <i>cruz</i> (?) ‘to swear’
<i>ello</i>	< <i>ayer</i> ‘yesterday’
<i>manzebar</i>	< <i>mancebo</i> ‘bachelor’
<i>palta</i>	< <i>faltar</i> ‘to miss (an obligation)’, ‘to neglect’
<i>tarahuazá</i>	< <i>trabajar</i> ‘to work’
<i>traginer</i>	< <i>trajinero(s)</i> ‘hauler(s)’ ⁴⁴
<i>viedá</i>	< <i>vida</i> ‘life’

5. Conclusion

Probably the two confession manuals, one in missionary Central Peruvian Quechua, the other one in Amage, were written by Franciscan authors in central highland and lowland Peru, and what we have are copies from the eighteenth century. It is remarkable that both are (mainly) directed towards women.

The Amage text seems to be the most ancient existent text in the language; possibly Simón Jara is the author, the possible date of origin is between 1700 and 1742. Without any further early colonial documentation of Amage, the understanding and analysis of the confession manual in this language has to remain partly hypothetical, especially as the grammar and vocabulary have so far been little studied, and few existing linguistic works are the only source for an analysis. In terms of contact phenomena, the Amage text uses a number of loanwords from Quechua and Spanish. Some of the Quechua words may have been borrowed via Christian texts, such as the re-semanticised *ucha*, from *hucha*, ‘fault, sin’; others may be older, for example the numbers from ‘six’ to ‘nine’. Most Spanish words are from the semantic domain of Christianity, and others – such as ‘to work’ and ‘hauler’ – reflect the economic character of the relationship of the Amages and the Spanish-speaking *mestizo* and *criollo* population.

The central Peruvian Chinchaysuyu Quechua confession manual shows two kinds of contact phenomena: in grammatical and lexical terms it consists of Central Peruvian Quechua mixed with Southern Peruvian Quechua. Thus the structure is entirely Quechua, but almost half of the words are relexified in Spanish. It reflects colonial power structures, but at the same time a certain intent at communicative pragmatism. It is probably the earliest documented example of a nascent variety of a mixed language in the Andes, and due to its inconsistent and unsystematic variations it is not unlike Spanglish. Like the Amage text, the Chinchaysuyu manual also has Spanish loanwords; however, not only are they more in number (c. 75), but many sentences consist of mainly Spanish words and Quechua grammar so that the reader/listener was supposed to have had a good grasp of both languages. As the

⁴⁴ ‘To miss’, ‘to work’ and ‘hauler’ reflect the relationship the Amages must have had with the Spanish-speaking *mestizo* and *criollo* population.

mission of the central highlands began very shortly after the conquest, this text may be as early as this, but considering its similarity in character to the other confession manual (eight commandments, directed at women), it may be from the same time as the Amage text.

These texts offer ground-breaking new information on the situation of language contact in eighteenth-century Peru, the linguistic systems of Quechua and Amage (as well as Spanish) at the time, missionary linguists' translation methods and Christian religious discourse of the colonial era. At the same time, many of our answers are tentative, and these thematic fields need further exploration in the future.

Appendix 1: Transcription of the “Confesonario de chinchaisuios”

Notes on the transcription

Whilst in the original manuscript the Quechua questions are followed by the Spanish ones, here they are presented in a table in which we have numbered the questions consecutively.

In the manuscript some words begin with a capital letter; in the transcription the use of upper and lower case follows modern conventions (for example, ‘santo sacramento’, ‘infierno’), as does the division of the words (in Quechua and Spanish).⁴⁵

Besides some full stops and commas in the original text, which have been maintained, there are forward slashes in order to separate the Quechua questions from the Spanish ones. These have only been kept when they separate phrases or sentences within one question. The manuscript uses numerous abbreviations, such as <p.^a> = <para>, <P.^e> = <Padre>; <p.^{es}> = <pues>, <q.^{do}> = <quando>, <q.^e> = <que>. These have been completed in the transcription, and the old orthography has been respected.

[...] indicates the **reconstruction of illegible letters** or those which are difficult to interpret, normally because they are at the page margin which is sometimes damaged and/or cut.

{...} indicates the **(re)construction of Quechua forms** which are incorrect in the manuscript, i.e. when letters are missing or when the words written in this way lack meaning in Quechua.

Letter: letters which are **crossed out in the manuscript**. In the original text the corrected letter is sometimes written above them or has been inserted.

Italics are used in the transcription to indicate Spanish loanwords in the Quechua text.

“[sic]” has not been used because there are frequent mistakes in the manuscript, which means that apparent errors reflect the original text. In many instances the Quechua text reflects that the amanuensis – to whom the text may have been dictated – or the copyist did not know Quechua (well). There are also numerous mistakes in Spanish. In the transcription only a few cases have been indicated and commented upon in order to exemplify this.

⁴⁵ In the era in question words in Spanish were arbitrarily separated, and the same occurred in colonial Quechua. It is therefore difficult to know whether here it is due to the amanuensis'/copyist's lack of language knowledge, or whether he followed the conventions of the time.

Confesonario de chinchaisuios

No.	Quechua	Spanish
1	[f. 16r]	Confesonario de chinchaisuios Introducion
2	P. <i>Rezarhaiquicho roranhaiquiho Padre mandassum haiquita confesar canian huata?</i>	P. Si rezaste, i hiziste lo que el Padre te mando en la confesion del año pasado?
3	P. <i>Yarpanquicho llampa⁴⁶ pecadosniquip[a?]</i>	Si ha pensado todos sus pecados?
4	P. <i>Ssamunqui repenticum llampa pecadosniquinpa?</i>	Si viene arrepentido de todos sus pecados?
5	P. <i>Lassancho Diosninchita mana cam haiquita [?]?</i>	Si le pesa mucho de haver ofendido á Dios?
6	P. <i>Creeinquicho Diosma todopodero[si]quita? Santisima ley?</i>	Si cre en Dios todopoderoso, i en su santisima ley?
7	P. <i>Creeinquicho cielota allicacunapa? Infierno yahacacunapa⁴⁷?</i>	Si cre que ay cielo para los buenos? Y Ynfierno para los malos?
8	P. <i>Riccuy cay santo sacramentota confesanqui allilla llampa pecados, niquita {pecadosniquita}⁴⁸ hatun dolorgo ofenderhaiquicho Dios-[f. 16v]ninchita aproposito ama pecamquicho / cieloman tucuicho chaichau llampam hurtumchiqui / libricamunchiqui, ynfiernopita hatum tormenta.</i>	Le aconseja, que este santo sacramento confesando bien todos los pecados con gran dolor de haver ofendido á Dios / y proposito de ⁴⁹ no pecar mas / nos lleva al Cielo en donde ay todos los gustos / y nos libra del ynfierno en donde ay grandes tormentos.
9	P. <i>Ricamai llapan pecadosniquita chaimi Diosninchi perdonasunqui? [the sentence ends with a question mark]</i>	Le dice, veme pues confesando todos tus pecados para que Dios te los perdone.
10	P. <i>Confessacui llapanta chaichu pecadosniquita faltanqui, mana servíncho⁵⁰ confesiunta.</i>	Mira que confieses todos tus pecados, que si callas alguno de nada te sirbe la confesion.

⁴⁶ I have not been able to find “llampa” with the meaning of ‘todos’ in any Quechua dialect. However, it occurs several times and is therefore probably not a mistake.

⁴⁷ *Yaqa*, ‘malo’ (Huari), according to Parker and Chávez (1976: 265).

⁴⁸ This example shows that the amanuensis did not know Quechua.

⁴⁹ There are also corrections in the Spanish text; for example <d> has been modified to form the letter <t>.

⁵⁰ What we have written as accent is a small circle open at the top. It is used in some cases, in Quechua and in Spanish, but not consistently. The same can be observed in the Amage confession manual.

- 11 **Primer Mandamiento**
- 12 P. *Creerhuanquicho echizeriácun[a]chau?* Si ha creído en echizerias, sueños paxaros,
Sueñupi? o pizgocunachau? i bruxas etc.,
Bruxascunachau?
Suprestitionescunachau? Y si responde au Padre [f. 17r] dice que si,
creió, y se le pregunta
quantas vezes.
- 13 *Ayca cutin?* Y si respon[de] dice que muchas vezes –
*Achica cutin*⁵¹ Vna vez.
Huc {c} utim. 2.
Ysca cutin. 3.
Quiza cutin. 4.
Chuscu cutin. 5.
Pisga cutin. 6.
Zota cutin. 7.
Hanchis. 8.
*Puza cutin*⁵². 9.
Ysgo. 10.
Chunco. 11.
Chuncahuco. 12.
Chuncauigo
- 14 [After the Spanish:] Ama yapay chaita Y se le aconseja que no haga mas esto,
roranquicho Diosta niquta supaycuna porque pierdes á Dios el cielo, i tu alma, i
apassunqui *ynfierno*chaumi rupanquipa te llevaran los demonio[s] al *ynfierno* á
ianta nau {llanta hina}. quemarte como leña.
Este consexo se repite en todos los
pecados graves.
- 15 *Adorarhonquicho Diostanan* Si ha adorado como á Dios las huacas, o
{Diostanau} / huacata; hercata, zerro,
Ymayhan creaturatapis? ó otras creaturas.
- 16 P. [f. 17v] *Doctrinama faltarhunqui asca* Si ha faltado muchas vezes a la doctrina?
cuti?
- 17 P. *Yglesiacha{u} pensarhauquicho* Si en la yglesia tubo malos pensamientos
{*pensarhanquicho*}, ollogocunahuan? con hombres?
- 18 **2º Mandamiento**
- 19 P. *Llullacuspayqui jurarconquicho?* Si ha jurado con mentiras?
- 20 P. *Yma manalli ruraita rurasac ñispa* Si ha jurado de hazer algun mal?
jurachu canqui?

⁵¹ The insertion of a vowel after the first syllable in <achica> is also found in the (hispanised?) Quechua word <chacara> (e.g. Guaman Poma [1615/16: 860] 2001: 874).

⁵² <Puzacutin>; <z> has been corrected from what was <s>.

- 21 P. *Maldiçunta* ruranhonquicho
cozayquipa?
Huahuaiquicunatan
{huahuaiquicunatan}?
- 22 P. Cozayquita *ojala* bañunquiman?
Supay apassunquiman?
huanbrarquicunata supaycunaapa churin?
ninquichu *Animal*cunatapis?
- 23 [f. 18r] **3º Mandamiento**
- 24 P. *Faltar*huanquicho *domíngocunapi*
missamá fiestacunapi dexaita *puede*
chaspaiqui {caspaiqui}{?}
- 25 P. *Missachau* carhaiqui mana
*atencionni*quihua billapanacuspaiqui
*Yglesia*pi?
- 26 P. *Fiestacunapi* aruruhaiquicho mana
*nescesidad*niqui captin?
- 27 P. *Deixar*honquicho *aiunata yglesia*
*ma[n]daicahuti*qui {*mandasuptyki*},
puede caspaiqui?
- 28 P. *Viernes*cunapi aychata micurhanquich[o]
*vigiliacunapi, Quaresma*pi?
man{a} *nescesidad*niqui captin?
- 29 [f. 18v] **4º Mandamiento**
- 30 P. Ayca cuti mana ruraronquicho,
*padri*qui *mandasum* haiquita
{*mandasuptyki*}?
- 31 P. *Respetunta* *perderhan*quicho
*padri*quicunata
malas palabraspa *trata*honquicho?
tratandolos de malas palabras?
- 32 P. Auquicunata *respetunta* *perderhon*qui?
- 33 P. *An{c}iana* carhaiquicho tataiquihua?
- 34 P. Huambriquicunata allipichu
*iachachin*qui, *castigan*quichu?
A tus hixos los enseñas bien, i los castigas?
- 35 P. Manacho *obedecer*conque cozayquita?
- 36 P. Horhonquicho *pesaresta* cozaiqui[...?]
- 37 P. Cozaiquita *quesachan*quicho?
- 38 P. Man{a}cho *casuta* rurahunqui
cozayquita?
Si dá pesares a su marido?
- 39 P. [f. 19r] Puñusum ñisuptiqui manan
{ay}ñechu canqui?
Si desprecia a su marido?
no hazes casso de tu marido?
Si niega el debito a su marid[o?]

- 40 P. *Maldecir* honquicho *cassara*[sc]aiquita[?] has dicho mal aia la hora en que nos casamos?
- 41 **5° Mandamiento**
- 42 P. Yarparhaiquícho pitapis hunuchita {huañuchita}? Deseaste matar alguno?
- 43 P. Maihanpatapis huañuinínta *desear*haiquicho? Deseaste la muerte á alg[una] persona?
- 44 P. Quiquiquipata hu {a}ñuiniquita iarparconquicho? Si deseaste la muerte a tí misma?
- 45 P. Quiquiquita *maldecir* corhonquicho[?] Te has echado maldiciones a ti misma?
- 46 P. *Desear*honquicho huañuíta cozayquipata? Has deseado la muerte a tu marido[?]
- 47 P. Ayca cutin machassaiquicama vpíahunqui?⁵³ Te has emborachado alguna vez?
- 48 P. Yarpayniquita vxiasancama? Si bebi[ste/io?] hasta perder el juicio?
- 49 P. *Viciopita* ayca cutin micorhaiqui? Si ha comido con uicio alguna vez?
- 50 P. Ayca cutin *malas palabras*pa rimarhaiqui? Si ha dicho palabras malas alguno que aya sentido mucho?
- 51 P. [f. 19v] Jũquampihuanpís {Huqhuampis}⁵⁴ piñana huzgachu canqui? Si está enojada con alguno i no trata con el?
- 52 *Perdonata* manei {mañay} *enemihuiquícunata*⁵⁵ *amihuta* rurai manachaita rurariqueha supaycuna apassumquipahc mana chaita ruranquehà? [the sentence ends with a question mark] Pídele pues perdon i haste amigo con el, que si asi no lo hazes te llevaran los demonios.
- 53 **6° Mandamiento**
- 54 P. Pihuanpis huchata rurarchanquicho? Si ha pecado con hombre?
- 55 P. Pihuanpis amancebado chucanqui? Si vive amancebada, en mala vida?
- 56 P. *Ayca tiempo*?
- 57 R. *Ayca* Vlai⁵⁶. mucho tiempo.
huc uata. huc uata.
huc uata. huc uata.
huc {qu}illa. vn mes.

⁵³ <upía-> (in no. 47) vs. <uxia-> (probably pronounced [ɣ]) (no. 48): interestingly the same word is used first in central Peruvian or Ayacucho Quechua (plosive), and then in Cuzco Quechua (fricative).

⁵⁴ Repetition mistake, due to that it is a copy?

⁵⁵ This is another indication that the manuscript is a copy: *enemihuiquícunata* – the second <i> is written above the line.

⁵⁶ This is possibly a variant of *unay* ('un rato', 'un tiempo', Quechua II ([Cusihuamán 1976: 155] and Quechua I [*Vocabulario poliglota* 1905: 342/13 Ancash]).

	yscay quilla. achicahuancho?	2 meses. con muchos.
58	P. <i>casadohuancho?</i> <i>solterohuancho?</i> turiquihuancho? ayca cutin?	[no translation]
59	P. [f. 20r] Desearhonquicho olgoam pecaita?	quantas Vezes. etc. Si has deseado pecar con hombre?
60	P. Olgota mucharhanquicho?	Si há vesado algun hombre?
61	P. Rura{r}honquícho <i>cosas desonestata</i> runa ñaupanpi <i>authoriquipa</i> ñaupanpi?	Si ha hecho cosas torpes delante de sus hixos, i otros?
62	P. Alcahueta carhaiqui ayca cuti?	Si ha sido alcahueta?
63	P. Ayca cutin <i>señasta</i> rurarrhonguicho olgocunahua <i>pecanaiquipa?</i>	Si há echo senales á algun hombre para pecar?
64	P. Kam ayca cutin quiquiqui iatapacuspaiqui, pensarhaiqui malos <i>pensamentusta</i> olgoam?	Si ha tenido tocamientos consigo misma con sus manos pensando en hombre?
65	P. Olgoam pecanta ru{r}a{r}haiqui ayca cutim casspaiquipita {quepa-/huasa-}?	Si ha tenid[o] pecados por la parte de atras con hombre?
66	P. Mana allin taquicunata taquichu canqui?	Si ha cantado cantares dos o mas[?]
67	P. Huchallícorhonquicho <i>bestiacuna</i> [uan]	Si ha pecado con alguna bestia?
68	P. [f. 20v] Olgo camcho <i>peca</i> masiqui?	Si tiene amigo con que peca?
69	P. Caricunahuan maguipura pullapa yachucanqui?	Si ha retozado con los hombres?
70	P. Caricunahuan huaromicunahuanpas, mapa simicunata rimachu canqui?	Entre hombres, o mugeres hablaste palabras desonestas?
71	P. Cangracho llapai juchaiqui?	tienes mas pecados?
72	7º Mandamiento	
73	P. Suacurhaiquicho runapa huazinta o chacaranta o huco <i>manerapa</i> aparrunqui <i>peca</i> [ta...?]	Has hurtado en casa, ó en chacra, ó de otra manera llevaste alguna cossa a tus proximos?
74	P. Zuata yanapachu camqui?	Ayudaste a rrobar?
75	P. Rurarhaiquicho hucupa <i>aciendacho</i> [?]	has echo daño en la hacienda ajena?
76	P. [f. 21r] <i>Precissamente</i> restitunqui suacuvaiquicunata mana chaita rura{p}tiqui ruraspaiqui <i>condenacunquipagme?</i>	es preciso que restituras todo esso que tienes hurtado, que si no te condenas.
77	P. <i>Pagaránaiquipa diligenciata</i> ruranquicho.	hazes diligencias en pagar algun debe[r]
78	8º Mandamiento	
79	P. Runa maciquita <i>levantarhonquicho</i> <i>falsso testimoniuta?</i>	Si ha levantado algun falso testimonio a su proximo?

80	P.	<i>Murmurar</i> honquicho hucupata?	Si ha murmurado?
81	P.	<i>Juzgar</i> honquicho mayhantapis?	Si ha juzgado á otros?
82	P.	Llullacarhaiquicho?	Si mentio.
83	P.	Pata hilla camgui?	Si es aragan.
84	P.	Vnamaciqipa <i>honrranta</i> mastarhonquicho?	Si quitaste el credito, i honra a tu proximo?
85	R.	Cotichinqui <i>onrranta desdice</i> cuspayqui <i>almai</i> quipa <i>salbacion</i> nimpa =	[f. 21v] Pues es preciso restituirsela desdeciendote, si te quieres salbar =
86	P.	<i>Soverviachu</i> camgui?	[no translation]
87	P.	<i>Ynuidiachu</i> camgui? [Exhortación]	[no translation] [begins with the question in Spanish] P.
88		Huchaqui cancho yapay <i>confessacuna</i> i quipa?	Tienes mas pecados, que confesar?
89		Ricarpactn [Ricarpacta?] huchaiquita <i>pecanqui</i> mana <i>servissum</i> quicho, <i>confessionni</i> qui? [sentence does finish with a question mark]	mira, que si dexas algun pecado por confesar esta confesion no te sirve para salvarte.
90	P.	Cai huchaíquipíta <i>emienda</i> con quicho cananga?	te has de emendar de aqui adelante de todos tus pecados?
91		Cananga alli <i>christianacho</i> can quipa huchaiquipita <i>emienda</i> congichu { <i>emienda</i> congicho}.	has de ver buena cristiandad mira; que si pecas mas te ha de llevar el demonio al infierno.
92	P.	<i>Diosta palabrai</i> quitahonquicho mana yapay <i>ofendena</i> i quipa?	[f. 22r] Dime te acusas de todos los pecados con que has ofendido á Dios?
93	P.	Capassum quicho ⁵⁷ <i>pecados</i> <i>confessánar</i> quipa?	[No translation] Si responde mana capamacho? [has a question mark] no ay cosas dice. Si responde capananrraros [?]; dice qu[e] ay mas. para quales son?
94	P.	Maiáhanta? Yarpasspaiquieha huara <i>reconcilian</i> quipa =	se le dice, que si se acuerda de algunos pecados mas, mañana se reoncialará, i los confesara? [question mark, possibly crossed out]

⁵⁷ *Ka-pa-* can mean that something exists for someone (cf. Hintz 2011: 177), i.e. that s/he has it; **kupasunkichu?*, ‘do they belong to you; do they exist for you?’. The answers could be: **mana kapamanchu*, ‘they don’t exist [for me], i.e. I don’t have any [sins]’; **kapamanraq*, ‘they still exist for me’; using the transitional suffixes *-su-nki* (3-2) and *-ma-n* (3-1).

- 95 Para quando no ay materia
- 96 Ynmacussas chusco *ultimum*
pecadosniquita contrarhaiquicho
mandamentosniquita a la lei de Diosta
cay materiata confesionniquita =
- 97 P. [f. 22v] Chaipis canta *Diosnichita*
ofendenaiquipa pensarhaiquicho palabra
obrata.
- Dime te acusas de los 4 ultimos pecado[s]
cometidos contra el sexto mandamiento de
la lei de Dios, para materia de esta
confesion –
tambien te acusas de todo quanto ayas
ofendido a Dios por pensamiento palabra,
i obra.

Appendix 2: Transcription, analysis and translation of the “Confesonario de amages”

Notes on the transcription and translation

The lines:

- ***Amage ms. text*** bold and italics
- *Spanish ms. translation* italics
- [‘AAB’s English translation from Spanish’] in inverted commas and in brackets
- **Analytical transcription** bold
- Glosses see ‘Gloss abbreviations’ below
- ‘AAB’s translation of the Amage text’ in inverted commas
- Comments
- Underlined letters completed abbreviations

Gloss abbreviations:

ABL	ablative	ITER	iterative
ADJ	adjectiviser	LOC	locative
ANT	anticipation	NEG	negation
CAUS	causative	O	object
COM	comitative	p	plural
CONT	continuative	PRF	perfective
COR	coordinator	POSS	possessive
DISTR	distributive	PST.PART	past particle
DUB	dubitative	Q	question marker
DUR	durative	REF	referential case marker
EMPH	emphasis	REG	regressive
FUT	future	REST	restrictive
GEN	genitive	s	singular
INCH	inchoative	S	subject
INCL	inclusive	TERM	terminative
INT	interrogative	VOC	vocative
INTN	intentional modality		

Confesonario de amages

1

Introducion.

[‘Introduction’]

2

P. Pie confesá ayañena papi?

Dime confesaste el Año pasado?

[‘Tell me, did you confess last year?’]

pi-e-confesá-ø **ay-añe-na** **papi**
 2sS-CAUS-confess-PRF that.time-this.one-INCL father
 ‘Did you confess last year, father?’

3
Si dice
 [‘If he says’]:
au Pachere
 ‘*Si Padre*’
 [‘Yes father’],

si
 [‘if’]
ama Pachere
 ‘*no Padre*’
 [‘No father.’]

4
P. Pierá huaniche mantepi Pacher?
Dime Padre rezaste lo que te mando el Padre?
 [‘Tell me father, did you pray what the Father ordered you?’]

pi-e-ráhuani-che-ø **ø-mante-pi** **Pacher?**
 you-CAUS-pray-DUB-PRF 3sS-order-2sO Father
 ‘Did you pray what the Father ordered you?’

5
Miminina
 ‘*Que si*’
 [‘yes’]
mimin-in-na
 obey-1sS-EMPH
 ‘I obey!’

6
Ad. Arincha piamichahue, ponpanpuin piuchin alcha pieta confesion.
Mira la Confesion nos libra del Ynfierno en donde se padecen muchos tormentos, i trabaxos, i nos lleva al cielo.

[‘Look, confession liberates us from hell, where there are many torments and hardships, and it takes us to heaven.’]

arin-cha **pi-a-micha-hue** **ponpanpuin**
 not-VOC 2sS-CAUS-be.afraid-NEG honestly
pi-uchin **alcha** **pi-e-ta** **confesion**
 2sS-sin over.there 2sS-CAUS-do confession

‘Do not be afraid, confess honestly your sins over there.’

7

Ad. *Piana panacha echanachop taypi.*

Veme padre respondiendo a lo que te preguntare.

[‘Look at me father, answering what I will ask you.’]

pi-a-nap-an-acha	echa	na-ch	o-ptay-pi
2sA-CAUS-answer-1sO-EMPH	thing	I-FUT	CAUS-ask-2sO

‘Answer me whatever I shall ask you.’

8

Primer Mandamiento

[‘First Commandment’]

9

P. *Ahuá piminia pichupuñé uchénéissá?*

Has creído en sueños, i Paxaros?

[‘Have you believed in dreams and birds?’]

ahuá	pi-minia-ø	pi-chupuñe	uché-n-éissá
INT	2sS-believe-PRF	2sPOSS-dream	bird-this-kind.of

‘Did you believe [in] your dreams [and in] this kind of birds?’

10

[23v] *Advertencia*

[‘Warning’]

Cheñapá ariápichá anteses, atache chietássá uñimai, illiños neissá, achisnuguu

No hagas mas esso, que te llevará el diablo al infierno.

[‘Do not do that any more, or the devil will take you to hell.’]

che-iñ-apá	arrápich-á	anteses	atach-e
do-DUR-2sS	but.not-VOC	these.things	so.that-NEG
ø-chietássá	ø-u-ñimai-pi	illiños-neissá	achisnugu-u
3sS-seize	3sS-CAUS-take-2sO	devil-this.kind.of	hell-LOC

‘But do not do these things, so that the devils do not seize and take you to hell.’

11

P. *Essonachehua?*

Quantas vezes?

[‘How many times?’]

esson-ache-hua

‘how.many-DISTR-Q’

‘How many [times]?’

12

R. *Yllátónache*

muchas vezes

[‘many times’]

ylláton-ache

‘many-DISTR’

Passuche

una vez

[‘once’]

eupuche ‘2’

mapache ‘3’

patachus ‘4’

amunaruche ‘5’

pichapache ‘6’

cansuche ‘7’

puchache ‘8’

escuneche ‘9’

chasache ‘10’

chasapaches picha ‘11’

chasaipa picha ‘12’.

[The ending **-(V)che/ chu(V)** is a distributive, AAB.]

13

P. **Paltáhuañá Doctrina?**

Si faltaste a la doctrina?

[‘If you missed the doctrine.’]

palta-∅- hua-ña doctrina

miss-PRF-Q-EMPH doctrine

‘Did you miss the doctrine?’

14

Nepaltá Pachere,

dice que no faltó.

[‘S/he says that s/he did not miss [it].’]

ne-palta-∅ Pachere

NEG-neglect-PRF Father

‘I did not miss [it], Father.’

15

[24r] 2°. *Mandamiento*

[‘2nd Commandment’]

16

P. **Pié Cruzsahuá piétoumañó?**

Juraste con mentira?

[‘Did you swear using lies?’]

pi-e-cruzsa-ø-hua

2sS-CAUS-swear-PRF-Q

‘Did you swear with lies?’

pi-é-touma-ñ-o

2sS-CAUS-lie-DUR-COM

17

P. *Ahuá piéchó tanete?*

Has echado maldeciones?

[‘Have you cursed [someone]?’]

ahuá pi-é-chótanete-ø

INT 2sS-CAUS-speak.ill-PRF

‘Did you speak ill [of someone]?’

18

P. *Pié tohuá piétomain?*

Dixiste mentiras?

[‘Did you tell lies?’]

pi-é-to-ø-hua

you-CAUS-do-PRF-Q

‘Did you do tell lies?’

pi-e-toma-in

2sS-CAUS-lie-DUR

19

3er Mandamiento

[‘3rd Commandment’]

20

P. *Pié paltahuá passuche Dominquó Misse píunté?*

Dexaste de oyr Míssa algun Domingo?

[‘Did you neglect Mass on a Sunday?’]

pi-é-palta-ø-hua

2sS-CAUS-miss-PRF-Q

passu-che

one-DISTR

dominq-uó

Sunday-LOC

misse

Mass

pí-unt-é?

2sS-be.disheartened-ADJ

‘Did you disheartenedly miss a Mass on Sunday?’

21

P. *Piatá huañá misuu orinpiámuñoté, vñerere chipiahua sesparché, piahua?*

Has estado á mira sin atencion, mirando, i parlando?

[‘Have you been looking around without paying attention, [just] looking and talking?’]

pi-a-ta-ø-hua-ña

2sS-CAUS-do-PRF-Q-EMPH

missu-u

Mass-LOC

orin

not

pi-a-muño-te

2sS-CAUS-hear-NEG

uñer-erechi

look-PST.PART

pi-ahua

you-INT

sespa-reche

talk-PST.PART

pi-ahua

you-INT

‘Did you not hear the Mass, you, looking [and], you, talking?’

22

P. *Pié tarahuazá huaná Domínquó?*

Trabaxaste los Domingos?

[‘Did you work on Sundays?’]

pi-e-tarahuaza-ø-hua-ña dominq-uo
 2sS-CAUS-work-PRF-Q-EMPH Sunday-LOC
 ‘Did you work on Sunday?’

23

P. *Pie paltahuá ayunaché Quaresmo, vigilió?*

Faltaste al ayuno los Viernes de Quaresma, y vigiliás pudiendo?

[‘Did you neglected to fast on the Fridays of Lent and on vigils, although you could [have done so]?’]

pi-e-palta-ø-hua ayuna-che quaresm-o vigili-o
 2sS-CAUS-neglect-PRF-Q fast-DUB day.of.fasting-LOC vigil-LOC
 ‘Did you neglect to fast on days of fasting and on vigil?’

24

[24v] **P. *Piessé huañá viernes ssó, quaresmo Aiché?***

Has comido de carne los Viernes y Quaresma?

[‘Have you eaten meat on Fridays and in Lent?’]

pi-essé-ø-hua-ña viernes-sso quaresma aiché
 2sS-eat-PRF-Q-EMPH Friday-COR day.of.fasting meat
 ‘Did you eat meat on Fridays and days of fasting?’

25

4º. Mandamiento

[‘4th Commandment’]

26

P. *Ahuá piquilláchá nich mantepe papar piachor?*

Hazes de mala gana lo que te mandan tus Padres?

[‘Do you reluctantly do what your parents order?’]

ahuá pi-quilláchá nich mante-pe p-apa-r pi-ach-or
 INT 2sS-do.reluctantly they order-2sO 2sPOSS-father-GEN 2sPOSS-mother-GEN
 ‘Do you reluctantly do [what] your father and your mother order you?’

27

P. *Piánephuá papar apochen?*

Respondes a tus Padres palabras que sienten mucho?

[‘Do you give your parents answers that hurt much?’]

pi-á-nep-huá p-apa-r apochen
 2sS-CAUS-answer-Q 2sPOSS-father-GEN badly

‘Do you answer your fathers in a bad manner?’

28

P. Llecaqué chachahuá pipie pipapar?

Das pesares a tus Padres?

[‘Do you cause your parents troubles?]

llecaqué-cha cha-huá pi pie pi-papa-r
 cause.trouble-3pO is.it.true-Q you much 2sPOSS-father-GEN

‘Is it true that you caused your fathers many troubles?’

29

P. Pichés tahuañép Pereullar?

Has renido mucho con tu marido?

[‘Have you often argued with your husband?]

pi-chésta-ø-hua ñep pe-reulla-r
 2sS-quarrel-PRF-Q together.with 2sPOSS-husband-GEN

‘Did you quarrel with your husband?’

30

5°. Mandamiento

[‘5th Commandment’]

31

P. Ahua piepiétá?

Has peleado?

[‘Have you quarreled?]

ahua pi-e-pieta-ø
 INT 2sS-CAUS-fight-PRF

‘Have you fought?’

32

P. Pié mune huañá muchahueta allúsiña piáchanetá?

Has querido matar alguno, i darle [de] Palos?’

[‘Have you wanted to kill someone and beat him?]

pi-é-mune-ø-hua-ña mucha-huet-a allúsiña pi-á-chan-et-á
 2sS-CAUS-want-PRF-Q-EMPH kill-3pO-EMPH with.them 2sS-CAUS-fight-3pO-EMPH

‘Did you want to kill people and fight with them?’

33

[25r] *P. Piñóssó suiñahuá possomuñé essachon?*

Deseaste la muerte [a] alguno?

[‘Did you want someone to be dead?]

pi-ñóssósuíña-ø-huá **p-o-ssomuñe** **essachon**
 2sS-want-PRF-Q 2sS-CAUS-die someone
 ‘Did you want someone to die?’

34

P. Piñusuissahua, pissúmuñé?

Deseaste morir, tu?

[‘Did you want to die?’]

pi-ñusuissa-ø-hua **pi-ssúmuñé**
 2sS-want-PRF-Q 2sS-die
 ‘Did you want to die?’

35

P. Pieza mieniahuá, piahachá?

Estas mal con alguna persona, i no tratas con ella?

[Are you angry with someone, and do you not have contact with him/her?]

pi-e-zamienia-huá **pi** **ahachá**
 2sS-CAUS-be.angry-Q you since.a.long.time
 ‘Are you angry with someone, you, for a very long time?’

36

P. Pié sulli miminchihuá?

Has deseado vengarte de alguno?

[‘Have you wanted to revenge yourself on someone?’]

pi-é-sullimimin-ø-chi-huá
 2sS-CAUS-revenge(?)-PRF-3sO-Q
 ‘Did you want to revenge someone?’

37

P. Pié muché huañá Preullar?

Has deseado matar a tu marido?

[‘Have you wanted to kill your husband?’]

pi-é-muché-ø-hua-ña **p-reulla-r**
 2sS-CAUS-kill-PRF-Q-EMPH 2sPOSS-husband-GEN
 ‘Did you want to kill your husband?’

38

P. Piú chí huañá Pereullar apochen?

Has tratado mal a tu marido?

[‘Have you treated your husband badly?’]

pi-ú-chi-ø-hua-ña **pe-reulla-r** **apochen**
 2sS-CAUS-be.fed.op.with-PRF-Q-EMPH 2sPOSS-husband-GEN badly
 ‘Were you badly fed up with your husband?’

39

P. *Pían tu huañá apuchena alláchaiená pichiura nueñé?*

Has echo cosas malas delante de tus hixos, i de otros?

[‘Have you done bad things in front of your children and others?’]

pi-a-ntu-ø-hua-ñá **apuchena** **alláchaiená** **pi-chiura** **nueñé**
 2sS-CAUS-behave-PRF-Q-EMPH badly other.persons 2sPOSS-child in.presence.of
 ‘Did you behave badly in the presence of others and your children?’

40

P. *Ahuá pié posnateñot?*

Te has emborrachado?

[‘Have you got drunk?’]

ahuá **pi-é-posnateñot**
 INT 2sS-CAUS-be.drunk
 ‘Were you drunk?’

41

[25v] **P. *Pié sehuá erseses achenatata puhua?***

Has comido mucho que te aya echo mal?

[‘Have you eaten much that has disagreed with you?’]

pi-é-se-ø-huá **erseses** **ø-a-chenatata-pu-hua**
 2sS-CAUS-eat-PRF-Q much.food 3sS-CAUS-disagree.with-2sO-Q
 ‘Did you eat much food that has disagreed with you?’

42

Advertencia para los enemistados

[‘Warning for enemies’]

Cheipá piena muericha perdon piá miequetessáchá, néparin, chapa mache, quehueno pie confesio[n], chotassá vñumepi, illínoch neissá.

Pidele perdon, i haste amigo con el, porque si no no ay confesion buena, y te llevará el diablo.

[‘Ask him for forgiveness, and become friends with him, because if not the confession is not good, and the devil will take you.’]

chei-pá **pi-e-namueri-cha** **perdon** **pi-á-miequette-ssa-chá** **néparin**
 do-2sS 2sS-CAUS-ask(?)-3sO forgiveness 2sS-CAUS-be.friend.with(?)-FUT-3sO if.not

chap- mache **quehueno** **pie** **confesion** **chota-ssá-ø** **vñume-pi,** **illínoch-neissá**
 morning-this good your confession take-FUT-3sS head-2sPOSS devil-kind.of

‘Do forgive him, be friends with him, if your confession is not good this morning, the devil will take your head’.

43

6°. *Mandamiento*

[‘6th Commandment’]

44

P. *Píu chiñá tuhuá nepé Asseñus?*

Pecaste con algun hombre?

[‘Did you sin with a man?’]

pi-u-chiñatu-ø-huá	nepé	asseñus?
2sS-CAUS-sin-PRF-Q	together.with	man
‘Have you sinned with a man?’		

45

P. *Miminina?*

R. *Que si*

[‘Yes.’]

mimin-in-a

obey-1sS-EMPH

‘I obey!’

46

P. *Essosiñahua?*

Con muchos?

[‘With many?’]

essosina-hua

who.ever-Q

‘[With] whomever?’

47

P. *Acasarañau?*

Si era casado?

[‘Was he married?’]

acasara-ña-ú

married-EMPH-COM

‘With a married one?’

48

P. *Mascenache?*

Si era soltero?

[‘Was he single?’]

mascenache

single

‘A single?’

49

P. *Isuhuá piumuchuhuá?*

S[i] era pariente?

[‘Was he a relative?’]

isu-huá pi-umuchu-huá
 what-Q 2sPOSS-relative-Q
 ‘What relative?’

50

P. *Piseyhuá?*

Si era hermano?

[‘Was he [your] brother?’]

pi-sey-huá
 2sPOSS-brother-Q
 ‘Your brother?’

51

[26r] P. *Piézoñá machuhuá?*

Deseaste a algun hombre?

[‘Did you desire a man?’]

pi-é-zoñá-ø machu-huá
 2sS-CAUS-have-PRF man-Q
 ‘Did you want a man?’

52

P. *Píá patahuá Asíñus pieñúsuissá?*

Tocaste a ti misma con deseos de hombre?

[‘Did you touch yourself with desires for a man?’]

pí-á-pata-ø-huá asinus pi-e-ñúsuissá-ø
 2sS-CAUS-touch-PRF-Q man 2sS-CAUS-desire-PRF
 ‘Did you touch [yourself], [and] desire a man?’

53

P. *Piñuu suisausahuá ñepen sachen asíñus usiñatoch?*

Des[e]aste pecar con algun hombre?

[‘Did you want to sin with a man?’]

pi-ñuusuisausa-ø-huá ñepen s-achen Asíñus u-siñat-och
 2sS-desire-PFV-Q together.with something-PL man CAUS-sin-INTN/FUT
 ‘Did you want to sin with some men?’

54

P. *Ahua pieztá?*

As fornicado?

[‘Have you fornicated?’]

ahua pi-e-ztá-∅

INT 2sS-CAUS-do-3sO

‘Did you do it?’

55

P. *Ahuá pianchiñá achahueta allusiñá pia chanetá?*

Has echo señales a algun hombre para pecar con el?

[‘Have you indicated a man to sin with him?’]

ahuá pi-anchiñá-acha-∅-hueta allusiña pi-a-cha-eta

INT 2sS-sign-audaciously-PFV-3pO.COM and.then 2sS-CAUS-sin-3pO.COM

‘Have you signed them audaciously and then sinned with them?’

56

P. *Ahua píerá pahatá netta achamuchahueta, essé paseta?*

Has pensado de otros, que querian pecar, siendo mentira?

[‘Have you thought of others who wanted to sin, which was a lie?’]

ahua pí-e-rápahatan-∅-etta a-chamucha-hueta essé paseta?

INT 2sS-CAUS-think(?)-PFV-3pO CAUS-blaspheme-3pO lie be

‘Have you thought of others [and] blasphemed them, which is a lie?’

57

P. *Nállihuá pí manzebar?*

Tienes algun Amigo manzebo?

[‘Do you have a bachelor friend?’]

ñalli-huá pi manzebar

be.there-Q you bachelor

‘Is there a bachelor [friend] [for you]?’

58

R. *Ñalli,*

dice que tiene

[‘s/he says that he does.’]

∅-ñalli

3sS-be.there

‘It is there.’

ama ñalle,

dice que no tiene

[‘s/he says that he does not.’]

ama **ø-ñalli**
no 3sS-be.there
'No, it is not there.'

59

[26v] 7. *Mandamiento*
['7th Commandment']

60

P. *Pié tuhuá pucullarcho?*

Hurtaste en alguna casa?

['Did you steal in a house?']

pi-é-tu-ø-huá **pucull-ar-cho**
2sS-CAUS-steal-PFV-Q house-GEN-LOC
'Did you steal in someone's house?'

61

P. *Pié tuhua chiécherecho?*

Hurtaste en chacra?

['Did you steal in a field?']

pi-é -tu-ø-hua **chiéchere -cho**
2sS-CAUS-steal-PFV-Q field- LOC
'Did you steal in a field?'

62

P. *Piaña sochahuá traginer puman?*

Has negado lo que debes a los tragineros?

['Have you withheld what you owe the haulers?']

pi-a-ñasocha-ø-hua **traginer** **pu-man**
2sS-CAUS-withhold-PFV-Q carrier 2sPOSS-coca
'Did you withhold [it from] the carriers [of] your coca?'

63

P. *Amahuá pia tarahuá tarahuazena?*

No trabajas como debes?

['Do you not work as you should?']

ama-hua **pi-a-tarahua** **tarahuaz-ena**
not-Q 2sS-CAUS-work work-ITER/DUR
'Do you not work steadily?'

64

P. *Llaquillepe?*

Eres Aragan?

[‘Are you in low spirits?’]

llaquille-pe

be.sad-2sS

‘Are you sad?’

65

8. *Mandamiento* [‘Commandment’]

66

P. *Ahua piéchaneche achin chenatoche?*

Has levantado falso testimonio alguno?

[‘Have you given any false evidence?’]

ahua pi-é-chaneche-ø achin chenatoche

INT 2sS-CAUS-give?-PFV false evidence?

‘Have you given false evidence?’

67

Si dice

[‘If s/he says’]

‘*au*’,

se le avisa como queda dicho, o, si no, con estas palabras

[‘s/he is warned as said, or if [s/he says] ‘no’, with these words]:

Piá pueri chañá, piutépe essé.

Pues vuelvele la honra, diciendo que dixiste mentira.

[‘Well, return him/her the honour, saying that you told lies.’]

pi-ápu-eri chaña pi-uté pe-essé

2sS-gain-REG honour 2sS-tell 2sPOSS-lie

‘You regain honour [when] you tell your lies’.

68

P. *Piutem illallé minche piuchin incheq_u confessá?*

Dime, tiene mas pecados que confesar?

[‘Tell me, do you have other sins to confess?’]

pi-u-te-m illallé-mín-che pi-u-chin-in-cheq_u confessá

2sS-CAUS-tell-1sO something.else-CONT-DUB 2sPOSS-CAUS-sin-DUR-REF confess

‘Tell me, is there still something else to confess concerning your sins?’

69

R. *Nalle*,

dice que ay mas

[‘s/he says that there is more’],

ama ñalle,

dice que no está

[‘s/he says that there is nothing else.’]

70

[27r] P. *Piutem lláché piuchutena, ponpanpuin, piucherero chuhusei Dios?*

Dime, te pesa de todo corazon de aver ofendido a Dios?

[‘Tell me, do you honestly regret to have offended God?’]

pi-u-te-m	lláché	pi-u-chute-na	ponpanpuin
2sS-CAUS-tell-1sO	sadness	2sS-CAUS-suffer-EMPH	honestly

ponpanpuin	pi-u-cher-ø-ero	chuhusei	Dios
honestly	2sS-CAUS-insultar-PFV-3sO	soul	God

‘Tell me, do you honestly suffer from sadness [that] you insulted the soul of God?’

71

P. *Piutem natote piamuninche atin entoc anche piámunin, atin Achisnuhuu?*

Dime, quieres ir al Cielo, o al Ynfierno?

[‘Tell me, do you want to go to heaven or to hell?’]

pi-u-te-m	nato-te	pi-a-munin-che	atin	ent-oc
2sS-CAUS-tell-1sO	maybe-DUB	2sS-CAUS-want-FUT	go.up	heaven-LOC

anche	pi-á-munin	atin	achisnuhu-u
this.maybe	2sS-CAUS-want	go.up	hell-LOC

‘Tell me, maybe you will want to climb into heaven, maybe you want this: to climb into hell.’

72

Entoc pañéllé ponpanpuin hinmañé: Achisnuhuu muerustacha zoo, vineicóp.

Mira, en el Cielo, ay muchos gustos, pero en el Ynfierno ay muchos tormentos.

[‘Look, in heaven there are many pleasures, but in hell there are many torments.’]

ent-o	p-añéllé	ponpanpuin	hinmañé:	achisnunu-u
heaven-LOC	2sS-completely?	honestly	be.happy	hell-LOC

ø-muerusta-cha	zó-o	vineic-op
3sS-suffer-badly	fire-LOC	eternally-REF

‘In heaven you are honestly completely happy, in hell one badly suffers eternally in the fire.’

73

P. Piutem, piacusarenach, p[i] confesach ponpanpuin piuchiñá neissa ñatota pseumuchDios?

Dime, te acusas, i confiessas de todos los pecados que has cometido contra Dios?

[‘Tell me, do you accuse yourself and confess all the sins you have committed against God?’]

pi-u-te-m	pi-acusaren-ach	p[i]-confesa-ch	ponpanpuin
2sS- CAUS-tell-1sO	2sS-acuse-FUT	2sS-confess-FUT	honestly

pi-uchiñá-neissa	ñato-ta	p-seum-uch	Dios
2sPOSS-sin-kind.of	maybe-Q	2sPOSS-husband-REST	God

‘Tell me, do accuse [yourself] and confess honestly your sins [to] God, your only husband maybe.’

74

P. Piutem, piá puiñá huaña Dios Nuestro Señor, pie huñehuaché, pié viedá eluche añerpuche, pie chinátesses?

Dime, das palabra à Dios Nuestro Señor de emendar tu vida de aqui adelante, y de no cometer mas pecados?

[‘Tell me, will you promise God Our Lord to mend your ways from now on and not to commit more sins?’]

pi-u-te-m	pi-ápuiñá-hua-ña	Dios Nuestro Señor
2sS-CAUS-tell-1sO	2sS-promise-Q-EMPH	God Our Lord

pi-e-huñe-hua-ché	pi-é	viedá	eluche	añerpuche	pi-e-chiná-t-esses
2sS-CAUS-end-TERM-FUT	you-VOC ⁵⁸	life	there	this.time-COR	2sS-CAUS-sin-Q-NEG

‘Tell me, do you promise God Our Lord that you will end your life there and that [from] this time [on] you will not sin?’

75

[27v] *Para poner materia quando no la ay*

[‘To have material when there is nothing else’]

Piú tuhuá ponpanpuin, piuchere pé confessaten, ponpanpuin, uchiña neissá nechuta. jussessumche, chupiezta lleissé patachinta llesses allipuenena?

Di conmigo, de todo corazon, acusome de todos los pecados que come[ti] contra Dios fornicando, y mui en particular, de los 4 ultimos mas graves.

[‘Say with me, wholeheartedly: “I accuse myself of all the sins I committed against God, fornicating, and in particular of the last four most serious ones”’].]

⁵⁸ A deferential vocative.

pi-ú-tu-huá 2sS-CAUS-tell-Q	ponpanpuin honestly	pi-uch-ere 2sPOSS-sin-PL	p-é-confessat-en 2sS-CAUS-confess-1sO	ponpanpuin honestly
vchiña-neissá sexual.sin-kind.of	n-echuta-ø 1sS-do-PFV	ju-sseß-um-che devil-thing-ABL-DUB	chupiezta in.particular(?)	
ll-eissé 1pPOSS-kind.of	pata four	chinta last	lleses ones(?)	allipuenena of.this.size

‘Tell honestly your sins, confess honestly to me: “I committed sexual sins, devilish things maybe, in particular our kind of the four last ones of this size.”’

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