

# Southern Yauyos Quechua Lexicon<sup>1</sup>

## Introduction

What follows is a lexicon of the five dialects of Southern Yauyos Quechua (hereafter “SYQ”) [iso: qux], a critically endangered Quechuan language spoken in the Andes mountains in South-Central Peru.<sup>2</sup> The dialects take their names from those of the districts in which they are spoken: Azángaro-Chocos-Huangáscar (AH), Caca-Hongos (CH), Lincha-Tana (LT), Madeán-Viñac (MV), and San Pedro de Huacarpana (SP). The first four sets of towns are located in the south of the Province of Yauyos, Department of Lima, Peru. The last of the towns, San Pedro de Huacarpana – although culturally, linguistically and geographically aligned with Yauyos – lies on the other side of the current-day Yauyos-Chincha border, in the Department of Ica. Hereafter, I use “Yauyos” to refer to all five.<sup>3</sup>

The lexicon counts 2537 Quechua words. Most were gleaned from glossed recordings collected in the eleven districts over the course of four years, 2010-2014; additional terms were identified by eliciting cognate or correlate terms for various items in Cerrón- Palomino's (1994) unified dictionary of Southern Quechua as well as his (1976) dictionary of Junín-Huanca Quechua. The recordings were made as a part of an effort to document the language, supported by two United States National Science Foundation/National Endowment for the Humanities “Documenting Endangered Languages” grants. The recordings and annotated transcriptions, along with a grammar and a collection of stories and various other documents, have been archived by Dokumentation Bedrohter Sprachen/Documentation of Endangered Languages (DoBeS) archive at the Max Planck Institute ([http://corpus1.mpi.nl/ds/imdi\\_browser/?openpath=MPI1052935%23](http://corpus1.mpi.nl/ds/imdi_browser/?openpath=MPI1052935%23)) and the Archive of the Indigenous Languages of Latin America (AILLA) at the University of Texas at Austin (<http://www.ailla.utexas.org/site/welcome.html>). All documents – including the unformatted .xml lexical database – can be consulted via those institutions' web sites. All terms were reviewed with at least two speakers of each dialect: Benedicta Lázaro and Martina Reynoso (AH); Mila Chávez, Delfina Chullunkuy, Esther Madueño, Hilda Quispe, and Celia Rojas (MV); Iris Barrosa, Gloria Cuevas, Senaida Oré, Hipólita Santos, and Erlinda Vicente, (CH); Ninfa Flores and Sofia Vicente (LT); and Santa Ayllu, Elvira Huamán, Sofía Huamán, and Maximina P. I am deeply, deeply grateful to all for

- 1 This document is a product of research funded by two National Science Foundation/National Endowment for the Humanities Documenting Endangered Languages fellowships (FN-50099-11 and FN-50109-12). Any views, findings, conclusions, or recommendations expressed here do not necessarily reflect those of the National Endowment for the Humanities and the National Science Foundation.
- 2 A geographical note. Caca, Hongos, Tana, and Lincha are all located in the valley created by the Caca River and its principal tributaries, the Lincha and Paluche Rivers; Apurí, Madeán, Viñac, Azángaro, Chocos, and Huangáscar are all located in the valley created by the Huangáscar River and its principal tributary, the Viñac River. The two valleys are separated by a chain of (rather high and rocky) hills. Running from east to west, these are the *cerros* Pishquillay, Tinco, Punta Tacana, Ranraorqo, Pishunco, Cochapata, Yanaorqo, and Shallalli. No district but San Pedro is located more than one day's walk from any other; in the case of San Pedro it is two. It is not irrelevant to the explanation of the dialect cleavages that this range seems to block the movement of brides from one town to another. Until very recently, newlywed women generally only moved from one town to another within the same valley. There exists a series of topographical maps prepared and published in 1996 by the U.S. Defense Mapping Agency. Southern Yauyos is covered on the section labeled Tupe and identified Series 1745, Sheet J632, Edition -1 DMA. The map centers the the four districts that lie within the province of Yauyos at about 12°62' S and 75°47' W; it places the principal towns of all the districts except Chocos, Huangáscar, and Tana at altitudes around 3300 meters. The relevant region can be contained within an area of 40m<sup>2</sup>; its highest peak reaches 5055m.
- 3 San Pedro is immediately adjacent to Madeán and Azángaro, at less than a days' walk's distance. Although formerly counted a part of the Department of Lima and the Province of Yauyos, a redrawing of political boundaries placed San Pedro on the Ica side of the contemporary Ica-Lima border. During the colonial period, the Province of Yauyos was larger and included parts of what are now the Provinces of Chincha and Castrovirreyña (Huancavelica) (Landerman 1991: 1.1.3.2.7). Indeed, even the District of Tana was once counted a part of Castrovirreyña.

sharing their knowledge with me. Full lists of the recordings and the participants as well as details of the field work that produced this lexicon are given in *A Grammar of Southern Yauyos Quechua* (Shimelman 2014).

The lexicon of Yauyos should be of great value for those concerned with questions about the origin and spread of the Quechuan languages as well as the variation among them. Yauyos is located on the border between the two large, contiguous zones where languages belonging to the two great branches of the Quechua language family are spoken: the "Quechua I" (Torero) or "Quechua B" (Parker) languages are spoken in the regions immediately to the north; the "Quechua II" or "Quechua A" languages, in the regions immediately to the south. Yauyos may very well represent the "missing link" between the two. The dialects of Yauyos manifest characteristics proper to both the QI and QII languages.

Grammatically, Madeán-Viñac and Lincha-Tana sort together, as these, like the QII languages, indicate the first-person subject with *-ni*, the first-person possessor with *-y*, and first-person object with *-wa*; and Azángaro-Huangáscar, Caca-Hongos, and San Pedro sort together, as these, like the QI languages, indicate the first person subject and possessor with vowel length and the first-person object with *-ma*.<sup>45</sup>

Lexically, however, the dialects cleave along different lines, lines defined not by grammar but by geography. Lexically, the two northern dialects – the "Q1" CH and the "Q2" LT – sort together while the three southern dialects – "Q1" AH and SP together with "Q2" MV – sort together. Below, I detail an analysis of the lexicon that I performed using a subset of 2551 terms. The dialects generally agree in the terms they use to name the same referent: I could identify only 37 instances in which the dialects employed words of different roots. In 32 of these instances the dialects cleaved along north-south lines and in 22 of the relevant 28 cases for which correlate terms could be identified from Junín-Huanca Quechua and Ayacucho Quechua (the former a "Q1" language spoken immediately to the north of Yauyos, the second, a "Q2" language spoken very nearby, to the south), the northern dialects employed the term used in Junín-Huanca, while the southern dialects employed the term used in Ayacucho..

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- 4 Yauyos counts three additional dialects, spoken in the districts of Alis and Tomas; Huancaya and Vitis; and Laraos, all located in the north of the province. This lexicon makes abstraction of these dialects. No speakers could be identified who were both fluent enough and well enough to participate in the project from which the lexicon evolved. The scholars who studied the region before now have proposed slightly different classifications of the languages of Yauyos. Taylor (2000:105) counted only seven varieties of Yauyos Quechua, dividing these into two groups along a north-south axis. In the north are the dialects of Alis/Tomas, Huancaya/Vitis, and Laraos; in the south, those of Apurí/Chocos/Madeán/Viñac, Azángaro/Huangáscar, Caca/Hongos, and Lincha/Tana. Taylor classes four of these dialects – the northern dialects of Alis/Tomas and Huancaya/Vitis and the southern dialects of Azángaro/Huangáscar and Caca/Hongos – as belonging to the QI branch; he classes the remaining three – Laraos in the north as well as Apurí/Chocos/Madeán/Viñac and Lincha/Tana in the south – as belonging to QII. Torero (1974) counted only six dialects, excluding Azángaro/Huangáscar from the catalogue, classing it independently among the QI dialects along with Chinchá's Topará. *Ethnologue* (Lewis 2011), like Taylor, includes Azángaro/Huangáscar and adds an eighth dialect to the catalogue, that of San Pedro de Huacarpána, spoken on the Chinchá side of the Yauyos-Chinchá border. *Ethnologue* further differs from Taylor in putting Apurí in a group by itself; and it differs from both Taylor and Torero in grouping Chocos with Azángaro/Huangáscar. My research supports Taylor's grouping of Apurí with Madeán and Viñac; it also supports *Ethnologue*'s inclusion of San Pedro de Huacarpána among the dialects of Southern Yauyos. Apurí, like its neighbors Viñac and Madeán, uses *-ni* and *-y* to indicate the first-person singular in the verbal and nominative paradigms; they also use *-rqa* and *-sa* to indicate the past tense and perfect. The first pair of characteristics set the Madeán/Viñac and Lincha/Tana dialects apart from the other three; the second pair of characteristics set Madeán/Viñac apart from Lincha/Tana. Chocos, like its neighbors Huangáscar and Azángaro, uses vowel length to indicate the first-person singular in the verbal and nominative paradigms.
- 5 I have argued elsewhere (2013, 2014) that the differences between the dialects have been overstated and that, with the exception of the difference in first-person marking, the dialects of Southern Yauyos are essentially uniform grammatically: "Southern Yauyos" is not a grab-bag of languages that, were it not for geographical accident, would not be classed together; rather, grammatically, "Southern Yauyos" assembles a group of minimally diverse, mutually comprehensible dialects.

Below, in section 1, I give an introduction to the phonology of the language, critical for understanding differences in the realization of the same root in the different dialects.<sup>6</sup> In section 2, give a more detailed analysis of the lexicon. In section 3, I define the conventions employed in the body of the lexicon.

## 1. SYQ Phonology

The syllable structure, stress pattern, phonemic inventory, and morphophonemics of SYQ are not extraordinary. Indeed, what is most extraordinary about them is precisely how unextraordinary they are: SYQ is, phonologically, likely the most conservative of the Quechuan languages, with four of its five dialects essentially instantiating the systems proposed for Proto-Quechua in Landerman (1991) and Cerrón-Palomino (1987:ch.4). All SYQ dialects retain contrasts between [č] and [ĉ];<sup>7</sup> [k], [q]<sup>8</sup> and [h]<sup>9</sup>; [l] and [λ];<sup>10</sup> [n] and [ñ];<sup>11</sup> and [s] and [š];<sup>12</sup> none of the dialects includes ejectives or aspirates in its phonemic inventory. Vowel length is contrastive in the grammars but not the lexicons of the dialects of Azángaro-Chocos-Huangáscar, Caca-Hongos and San Pedro. In these dialects, as in all the QI (QB) languages with the exception of Pacaraos, vowel length marks the first person in both the nominal (possessive) and verbal paradigms (*wasi*-: 'my house' and *puri*-: 'I walk'). The Caca-Hongos dialect is unique among the five in that, there, the protomorpheme \*/r/ is generally but not uniformly realized as [l], and word-initial \*/s/ and \*/h/ are, in the case the former, regularly, and in the case of the latter occasionally, realized as [h], and [š], respectively.<sup>13</sup> The first of these mutations it has in common with

6 I borrow this from my grammar of the language (Shimelman 2014).

7 In Ecuador, Columbia, Bolivia, Argentina, as well as in the east and south of Peru, \*/ĉ/ underwent deretroflexion. SYQ, however, retains Proto-Quechua forms like *trina* 'female', *trupa* 'tail', *katrka* 'know', and *qutra* 'lagoon'. Thus, in SYQ, *traki* 'foot' contrasts with *chaki* 'dry'.

8 \*/q/ was neither velarized nor glottalized in SYQ. The language retains, for example, the PQ forms *qusa* 'husband', *gasa* 'freeze', *waga* 'cry', *agu* 'sand', *uqu* 'wet', *wigaw* 'waist', *wagra* 'horn', and *atuq* 'fox'. SYQ thus retains contrasts like those between *qiru* 'stick' and *kiru* 'tooth'; *qilla* 'lazy' and *killa* 'moon'.

9 \*/h/ appears in SYQ, as in PQ, principally word-initially, as in *hapi*- 'grab', *hampi*- 'cure', and *haya*- 'be bitter'.

10 Cerrón-Palomino – like Torero (1964), but unlike Parker (1969) – does not include \*/l/ in his catalogue of proto-phonemes. He admits, however, that the status of \*/l/ is controversial. While it does occur in a small number of proto-morphemes, he calls it “un elemento marginal y parasitario” (‘a marginal and parasitic element’). He admits, however, that the hypothesis that PQ included palatal lateral (/ll/) but not an alveolar lateral (/l/) runs into the problem that the universal tendency is that the presence of /ll/ depends on the presence of /l/, but not vice versa (1987:123). W. Adelaar (p.c.) writes, “in support of the controversial status of \*/l/ which runs against the universal tendency that /l/ presupposes /l/, there is the case of Amuesha (Yanesha’). This language has a generalized palatal vs. non-palatal opposition in its consonant inventory, but precisely \*/l/ is missing (apparently an areal feature shared with Quechua).” I have postulated an /l/ for SYQ, as both [λ] and [l] appear in more than just a few marginal lexemes. [λ] appears in SYQ lexemes like *llaki* 'sadness', *lluqsi*- 'exit', *allin* 'good', *allqu* 'dog', *tullu* 'bone', *ayllu* 'family', *wallqa* 'garland', and *kallpa* 'strength', among many others. As for [l], as noted in section 2.2, it appears, first, as an allomorph of /r/ in the CH dialect. It also appears in exclamations like *alalaw*! 'how cold!' and *añalaw*! 'how beautiful!' (which occur in Jaqaru, a neighboring Aymara language, as well (Belleza Castro)), as well as in onomatopoeic terms like *luqluqluqya*- 'make the sound of boiling'. Finally, crucially, [l] also appears in a non-negligible number of semantically contentful lexemes, including *lapu*- 'slap', *lapcha*- 'touch', *laqatu* 'slug', *lashta* 'snow', *lawka*- 'feed a fire', *layqa*- 'bewitch', *lani* 'penis', *lumba* 'without horns', *alpaka* 'alpaca', *almi*- 'forge a river', and *alqalli* 'testicle'. [l]/[λ] minimal pairs can be found in contemporary SYQ in the CH dialect where [l] is an allomorph of /r/. These pairs include *laki*- 'separate' and *llaki* 'grieve'; *tali*- 'find' and *talli*- 'pour'; *lunku* 'sack' and *llunku* 'picky'; and *lulu* 'kidney' and *llullu* 'unripe'.

11 In SYQ, [ñ] did not undergo depalatalization as it did in the Quechuas of Central Peru. [ñ] figures in the first-person personal pronoun *ñuqa* as well as in lexemes such as *ñakari* 'suffer', *ñaña* 'sister', *ñiti*- 'crush', *ñawsa* 'blind', and *ñañu* 'thin'. Examples of [n]/[ñ] minimal pairs include *ana* 'mole' and *aña*- 'scold'; and *na* DMY and *ña* DISC.

12 [š] suffered depalatalization throughout the south. SYQ, however, retains Proto-Quechua forms like *shimi* 'mouth', *shunqu* 'heart', *shipash* 'maiden', *washa* 'back', *ishkay*, 'two', *mishki* 'sweet'. [s]/[š] minimal pairs include *suqu* 'gray hair' and *shuqu*- 'sip'. One also finds contrasts between the native-borrowed pairs *ashta*- 'move' and *ašta* 'until'; and *asha*- 'yawn' and *asa*- 'anger'.

13 Willem Adelaar (p.c.) writes that, at least with regard to the examples given here and below, the "Caca-Hongos

neighboring Junín. Subsection 1.1 gives the phonemic inventory of the language; subsection 1.2 treats Spanish loan words and their orthography.

## 1.2 Phonemic Inventory

SYQ counts three native vowel phonemes: /a/, /i/, and /u/. In words native to SYQ, the closed vowels /i/ and /u/ have mid and lax allomorphs [e], [ɪ] and [o], [ʊ], respectively. That is, in words native to SYQ, no member of either of the triples {[i], [e], [ɪ]} or {[u], [o], [ʊ]}, is contrastive with any other member of the same triple. The alternations [i] ~ [e] and [u] ~ [o] are conditioned by environment: the second member of each pair appears in a syllable including /q/ (/qilla/ 'lazy' → [qeɫa], /atuq/ 'fox' → [atoq]).

In all dialects, the consonant inventory counts seventeen native and six borrowed phonemes. The native phonemes include voiceless plosives /p/, /t/, /ch/, /tr/, /k/ and /q/; voiceless fricatives /s/, /sh/ and /h/; nasals /m/, /n/ and /ñ/; laterals /l/ and /ll/; tap /r/; and approximants /w/ and /y/. Borrowed from Spanish are voiced plosives /b/, /d/ and /g/;<sup>14</sup> voiceless fricative /f/; voiced fricative /v/; and trill /rr/.

In the Cacara-Hongos dialect, the protomorpheme \*/r/ is generally but not uniformly realized as [l] (\**r*una > *l*una 'person', \**r*i-y > *l*i-y 'go!', \**h*arka- > *h*alka- 'herd'); word-initial /s/ is generally realized as [h] (\**s*apa > *h*apa 'alone', \**sur*qu- > *hur*qu- 'take out');<sup>15</sup> while word-initial \*/h/ may be realized as [ʃ]. , (\**h*amu- > *sh*amu- 'come', \**h*ampatu > *sh*ampatu 'frog').<sup>16</sup> Examples of native and borrowed lexemes that resist these mutations include *r*iqsi- 'become acquainted' and *r*iga- 'irrigate'; *s*iki 'behind' *s*apu 'frog', and *h*api- 'grab'). In Lincha and Tana – Cacara and Hongos' immediate neighbors to the north-east and south-west, respectively – speakers may realize word-initial \*/r/ and \*/s/ as [l] and [h], respectively, in a few cases (\**r*unku- > *l*unku- 'bag', \**s*apa > *h*apa 'alone'). These substitutions are not systematic, however, and remain exceptions.

Tables 1 and 2 give the vowel and consonant inventories of SYQ. If the orthographic form differs either from the usual orthographic symbol among Andean linguists or from the IPA symbol, these are noted in square brackets. Parentheses indicate a non-indigenous phoneme.

Table 1. Vowel Inventory

	Front	Central	Back
<b>Closed (High)</b>	i		u
<b>Closed (Mid)</b>			
<b>Open (Low)</b>		a	

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development of \*/s/ to /h/ is found throughout Junín (with the exception of Jauja). These dialects also use *shamu-*, instead of *hamu-*. The first form ... is typical for Quechua I, and also for Ecuador and San Martín." *shamu-* may be older than *hamu-*, he writes, "but the correspondence is largely unpredictable according to dialects."

14 In SYQ, \*/p/ \*/t/ and \*/k/ were not sonorized. SYQ retains PQ forms like *wamqu* 'boat' and *shimpa* 'braid'; *intji* 'sun' and *anta* 'copper-colored'; and *punki* 'swell' and *punku* 'door, entryway'.

15 According to Parker (1971:51-62) this mutation of word-initial /s/ into /h/ occurs as well in all the QB lects, including the three Huanca lects, those of Yauyos' immediate neighbor to the north, Junín. In CH, as in the QB lects, many stems retain initial /s/: *supay* 'phantom', *sipi* 'root', *siki* 'behind', *supi* 'fart', *suwa-* 'to rob', *sinqa* 'nose', *sasa* 'hard', and *siqna* 'wrinkle'.

16 Further examples: *saru-* > *haru-* 'trample', *sara* > *hara* 'corn', *siqa-* > *hiqa-* 'go up', *sira-* > *hila-* 'sew', *sama* > *hama* 'rest'.

Table 2. Consonant Inventory

	Bilabial	Labio-dental	Alveolar	Post-alveolar	Retroflex	Palatal	Velar	Uvular
<b>Voiceless plosive</b>	p		t		tr [ç][t]	ch [ç][c]	k	q
<b>Voiced plosive</b>	(b)		(d)				(g)	
<b>Nasal</b>	m		n			ñ [ɲ][ɲ]		
<b>Trill</b>			(rr)[r]					
<b>Tap or Flap</b>			r [r]					
<b>Voiceless fricative</b>		(f)	s	sh [ʃ][ʃ]			h	
<b>Voiced fricative</b>		(v)						
<b>Approximant</b>	w <sup>17</sup>					y [j]		
<b>Lateral approximant</b>			l			ll [λ][λ]		

## 1.2 Spanish Loan Words

SYQ is extremely endangered: all but the very, very oldest speakers are bilingual and, indeed, Spanish-dominant. As a result, individual speakers are not limited by the constraints of Quechuan phonology and generally pronounce loan words with their original syllable structure and phonemes, even where these do not conform to the constraints of Quechuan phonology.<sup>18</sup>

*Spanish phonemic inventory – consonants.* Spanish loan words often feature consonants foreign to the SYQ inventory: voiced plosives /b/, /d/ and /g/; voiceless fricative /f/; voiced fricative /v/; and trill /rr/.

<sup>17</sup> Labio-velar

<sup>18</sup>Where restructuring does take place, it does so according to the following rules.

*Syllable structure violations – vowel sequences.* In cases where the loaned word includes the prohibited sequence \*VV, SYQ, like other Quechuan languages, may apply one of three strategies: (a) the elimination of one or the other of the two vowels ('aceite' → *asiti* 'oil'); (b) the replacement of one of the two vowels by a semiconsonant ('cuerpo' → *kwirpu* 'body', 'sueño' → *suyñu* 'dream'); or (c) the insertion of a semiconsonant between the two vowels ('cualquiera' → *kuwalkiyera* 'any'). In the special case where the sequence 'ue' or 'ua' is preceded by 'h' – generally silent in Spanish – 'h' and 'u' together are replaced by the semiconsonant [w] ('huérfano' → *wirfanu* 'orphan'..

*Syllable structure violations – consonant sequences.* In case the loaned word includes a syllable of the prohibited form \*CCV or \*VCC, SYQ, again, like other Quechuan languages, employs one of two strategies: (a) the elimination of one of the two consonants ('gringo' → *ringu* 'gringo') or (b) the insertion of an epenthetic vowel ('groche' → *guruchi* 'hook', 'crochet').

*Stress pattern violations.* Speakers vary in the extent to which they restructure borrowed Spanish terms to conform to Quechua stress pattern. Plentiful are examples of both practices:

### No restructuring

*kanásta-wan* (Sp. 'canásta' 'basket')  
*fwírata* (Sp. 'fuérra' 'outside')  
*mútu-qa* (Sp. 'móto' 'motorcycle')

### Restructuring

*tirruristá-wan* (Sp. 'terrorísta' 'terrorist')  
*Kañiti-ta* (Sp. 'Cañete' 'Cañete')  
*vaká-qa* (Sp. 'váca' 'cow')

It might be expected that [b] and [d] would be systematically replaced with their voiceless counterparts, [p] and [t], and that trill [r] would, similarly, be replaced by tap/flap [ɾ]. Speakers of SYQ, even the oldest, do not in fact regularly replace these or other non-native phonemes ('balde' → *baldi* 'bucket'; 'doctor' → *duktur* 'doctor'; 'fiesta' → *fiysta* 'festival'; 'velar' → *vilaku-* 'watch', 'hold vigil').

*Spanish phonemic inventory – vowels.* The inventory of Spanish vowels includes two foreign to SYQ: /o/ and /e/ ('Dios' 'God'; 'leche' 'milk'). As detailed in section 1.2, in words native to SYQ, [o] and [e] are allophones of /u/ and /i/, respectively. It is to be expected, then, that speakers would systematically replace the [o] and [e] of Spanish loan words with native correlates [u] and [i], respectively ('sapo' → *sapu* 'frog'; 'cerveza' → *sirbisa* 'beer'). This does indeed occur. More commonly, however, [o] and [e] are either replaced by the /u/ and /i/ allophones [ʊ] and [ɪ] ('cosa' → [kʊsa] 'thing', 'tele' → [tɪlɪ] 'tv') or, even, not replaced at all. The realization of non-native vowels varies both among speakers and also among words: different speakers render the same word differently and individual speakers render the same phoneme differently in different words.

*Special case: 'ado'.* Spanish loan words ending in '-ado' – with the non-native /d/ and /o/ – present a special case. '-ado' is generally rendered [aw] in SYQ ('apurado' → *apuraw* 'quick'; 'lado' → *law* 'place').

I have chosen an orthography that makes use of all and only the letters appearing in Tables 1 and 2, above. Orthography rather strictly follows pronunciation in the case of consonants in both indigenous and borrowed words; in the case of vowels in borrowed words, it is something of an idealization (*i.e.*, it should not in these cases be mistaken for phonetic transcription).

This alphabet does not include the letters 'c', 'j', 'z', 'e' or 'o', all of which occur in the original Spanish spelling of many borrowed words. Spanish 'c', 'j' and 'z' have been replaced with their SYQ phonetic equivalents: "hard" 'c' is replaced with 'k'; "soft" 'c' with 's'; 'j' with 'h'; and 'z' with 's'. Thus, the borrowed Spanish words 'caja' ('box', 'coffin') and 'cerveza' ('beer') are rendered *kaha* and *sirbisa*, with no change in the pronunciation of the relevant consonants in either case. Spanish 'e' and 'o', appearing simply, are replaced with 'i' and 'u' ('compadre' → *kumpadri*). Spanish vowel sequences including 'e' and 'o' are replaced as follows:

ea → iya	'solea'	→ <i>suliyā-</i>	'sun'
au → aw	'autoridad'	→ <i>awturidad</i>	'official'
ía → iya	'policía'	→ <i>pulisiyā</i>	'police'
ia → ya	'familia'	→ <i>familyā</i>	'family'
ie → iy	'siempre'	→ <i>siympri</i>	'always'
io → yu	'invidioso'	→ <i>inbidyusu</i>	'jealous'
ío → iyu	'tío'	→ <i>tīyu</i>	'uncle'
ua → wa	'guardia'	→ <i>gwardya</i>	'guard'
ue → wi	'cuento'	→ <i>kwintu</i>	'story'
ue → uy	'sueño'	→ <i>suyñu</i>	'dream'

I have deviated from these practices only in the case of proper names, spelling these as they are standardly spelled in Spanish. Thus, Cañete and San Jerónimo, for example, are not rendered, as they would be under the above conventions, *Kañiti* and *San Hirunimu*. 'Dios' ('God') is treated as a proper name.

## 2. Analysis of the lexicon

In an earlier version of the corpus counting 2462 items, in only 37 instances<sup>19</sup> did the different dialects differ in the terms they employed to name the same referent. This does not mean that the dialects employed identical terms in all the remaining 2387 cases (subtracting 75 for 36 pairs and one triplet). Far from it. All dialects employed identical terms in only 1603 instances. Included among these are all but 20 of the 522 words in the corpus borrowed from Spanish (examples in (1)).<sup>20</sup> Once terms of Spanish origin are eliminated, we are left with a corpus of 1940 items. All dialects agreed perfectly in their realizations of these items in 1081 cases (56%) (examples in (2)). The remaining 755 items are accounted for as follows. In 154 cases a Quechua-origin term was realized identically in all dialects in which it was attested but remained unattested in one or more dialects, as in (3). Given the current state of the language – classified as “moribund” in the 2013 edition of *Ethnologue* – nothing can be concluded from these gaps, neither that the dialects originally employed the same term nor that it was necessarily different. In 630 cases, the dialects employed terms of the same root but with different realizations, as in (4). Included among these are 236 cases where these differences can be attributed to differences in the phonology between Caca-Hongos and the other four dialects: the realization of \*/t/ as [l], for example (151 cases, examples in (5)) or \*/s/ as [h] (45 cases, examples in (6)). Also counted among these 745 cases are terms affected by metathesis and other phonological processes (vowel lowering (/i/), velarization (/q/), depalatalization (/sh/), and gliding (/y/), among others) (207 cases, examples in (7) and (8)). Finally, the sample counts terms affected by variation in verbal or nominal morphology (62 cases, examples in (9)). Principal among these are instances of words derived with past participles – formed with *-sha* in the north and *-sa* in the south – and others that also differ by virtue of the fronting of /sh/ (40 cases, examples in (10) and (11)).

(1) Spanish-origin terms identical in all dialects

<i>tuma-</i> (ALL)	(cf. Sp. <i>tomar</i> )	'take'
<i>kida-</i> (ALL)	(cf. Sp. <i>quedar</i> )	'stay'
<i>papil</i> (ALL)	(cf. Sp. <i>papel</i> )	'paper'

(2) Quechua-origin terms identical in all dialects

<i>sapi</i> (ALL)	'root'
<i>sasa</i> (ALL)	'hard'
<i>yanapa-</i> (ALL)	'help'
<i>ishpay</i> (ALL)	'urine'
<i>ayqi-</i> (ALL)	'escape'
<i>chaqchu-</i> (ALL)	'sprinkle, scatter'

19 No pair was counted more than once. The lexicon includes both roots and derived terms. Thus both the pairs *sumaq* (MV, AH, SP) and *tuki* (CH, LT) 'pretty' and *sumaq-lla* (MV, AH, SP) and *tuki-lla* (CH, LT) 'nicely' appear in the corpus. Only the root pair, *sumaq* ∞ *tuki*, was entered in the catalogue of those cases where dialects differed in root terms employed. “Multiples” such as these numbered 116. These were excluded from the count and account given here. Examples are given immediately below.

<i>qawa-</i> (MV, AH, SP) ∞ <i>rika-</i> (CH, LT) 'see'	→	<i>qawa-chi-</i> ∞ <i>rika-chi-</i> 'show', 'make and offering'
<i>chakwash</i> (MV, AH, SP) ∞ <i>paya-</i> (CH, LT) 'old woman'	→	<i>chakwash-ya</i> ∞ <i>paya-ya</i> 'become an old woman'
<i>qishta</i> (MV, AH, SP, LT) ∞ <i>tunta</i> (CH, LT) 'nest'	→	<i>qishta-cha-</i> ∞ <i>tunta-cha-</i> 'build a nest'

20 Virtually any term of Spanish origin in current use in the area may be borrowed into SYQ. I have included Spanish-origin words in the lexicon just in case they were either (1) of extremely high use (*tuma-* 'take', 'drink' (fr. Sp. “tomar” 'take', 'drink')); (2) had no corresponding indigenous term (in contemporary usage) (*matansiya* 'massacre' (fr. Sp. “matanza” 'massacre')); or (3) had altered substantially either in their pronunciation or denotation (*firfanu* 'orphan' (fr. Sp. “huérfano” 'orphan'); *baliya-* 'shoot' (fr. Sp. “bala” 'bullet')).

(3) Terms with no Quechua-language correlate in one or more of the dialects

<u>Quechua-origin term</u>	<u>Spanish-origin term</u>	<u>Gloss</u>
<i>chaskay</i> (MV, AH, SP)	<i>lusiru</i> (cf. Sp. “lucero”) (CH, LT)	'morning star'
<i>tapsipa-</i> (MV, AH, SP)	<i>balansiya</i> (cf. Sp. “balancear”) (CH, LT)	'rock'
<i>uya</i> (MV, AH, SP)	<i>kara</i> (cf. Sp. “cara”) (CH, LT)	'face'

(4) Terms of the same root but with different realizations in different dialects

<i>warmi</i> (MV, AH, SP)	∞	<i>wal̄mi</i> (LT, CH)	'woman'
<i>sapa</i> (MV, AH, SP)	∞	<i>hapa</i> (LT, CH)	'alone'
<i>aqsa</i> (MV, AH)	∞	<i>asqa</i> (SP)	'bitter [potato]'
<i>qaracha</i> (MV, AH, SP, CH)	∞	<i>karacha</i> (LT)	'scabies', 'mange'
<i>alli-paq</i> (MV, AH, SP)	∞	<i>alli-lla</i> (LT, CH)	'slowly'
<i>kitra-sa</i> (MV, AH, SP)	∞	<i>kitra-sha</i> (LT, CH)	'open'

(5) Terms where \*/r/ is realized as [l] in CH

<i>raki-</i>	→	[laki]	'separate'
<i>quru</i>	→	[qolu]	'mutilated'
<i>trura-</i>	→	[çula]	'put'

(6) Terms where \*/s/ is realized as [h] in CH

/sara/	→	[hala]	'corn'
/sama/	→	[hama]	'rest'
/sati/	→	[hati]	'insert'

(7) Terms affected by metathesis

<i>chaksa-</i> (MV, AH, CH)	∞	<i>chaska-</i> (LT, SP)	'air out'
<i>shanta-</i> (AH, CH, SP)	∞	<i>tansha-</i> (MV, LT)	'choke'
<i>shipti-</i> (MV, AH, LT)	∞	<i>tipshi-</i> (CH, SP)	'pinch'

(8) Terms affected by other phonological processes

<i>allp̄i</i> (MV, AH, LT, CH)	∞	<i>allpa</i> (SP)	'dust', 'dirt'	(vowel lowering)
<i>chillqi</i> (MV, AH, LT, SP)	∞	<i>chillki</i> (CH)	'bud'	(develarization)
<i>malshu</i> (LT, CH)	∞	<i>mayshu</i> (MV, AH, SP)	'breakfast'	(gliding)

(9) Terms affected by variation in verbal or nominal morphology

<i>utr'ku-ø</i> (MV, AH, LT, SP)	∞	<i>utr'ku-cha-</i> (CH)	'dig a hole'
<i>tardi-ku</i> (MV, AH, CH, LT)	∞	<i>tardi-ya-</i> (SP)	'get late'
<i>aytri-na</i> (MV, CH)	∞	<i>aytri-ku</i> (AH, LT)	'stick for stirring'

(10) Terms derived with past participles

<i>paki-sa</i> (MV, AH, SP)	∞	<i>paki-sha</i> (CH, LT)	'broken';
<i>punki-sa</i> (MV, AH, SP)	∞	<i>punki-sha</i> (CH, LT)	'swolen'
<i>yaku-na-sa</i> (MV, AH, SP)	∞	<i>yaku-na-sha</i> (CH, LT)	'thirsty'

(11) Terms that differ by the exchange *s/sh*

<i>suytu</i> (MV, AH, SP)	∞	<i>shuytu</i> (CH, LT)	'oval', 'oblong'
<i>siqsi-</i> (MV, AH, SP)	∞	<i>shiqshi-</i> (CH, LT)	'itch'
<i>wiswi</i> (MV, AH, SP CH)	∞	<i>wishwi</i> (LT)	'greasy'

A very clear pattern emerges both with regard to the cases where the dialects employed terms of different roots and those in which they varied in their realizations of the same root term. In 32 of the 37 instances in which root terms differed, the dialects cleaved along north-south lines, with the northern dialects – CH and LT<sup>21</sup> – sorting together and the southern dialects – MV, AH, and SP – sorting together, as in (12).<sup>22</sup> In four of the five remaining instances San Pedro supplied the outstanding term. In 32 of the 37 cases, cognate terms could be identified for Junín and Ayacucho (Yauyos’ “Q1” (northern) and “Q2” (southern) neighbors, respectively). In 23 of the relevant 28 of these 32 cases, the northern dialects – “Q1” CH and “Q2” LT – employed the term used in Junín, while the southern dialects – the “Q1” AH and SP and the “Q2” MV – employed the term used in Ayacucho, as in (13).<sup>23</sup> The full list appears in Table 4 at the end of the introduction.

(12) Root terms varying along north-south lines

<u>MV, AH, SP (SOUTH)</u>	<u>LT, CH (NORTH)</u>	<u>Gloss</u>
<i>chumpi</i> (MV, AH, SP)	<i>watrakuq</i> (CH, LT)	'sash'
<i>anu-</i> (MV, AH, SP)	<i>wasqi-</i> (CH, LT)	'wean'
<i>sumaq</i> (MV, AH, SP)	<i>tuki</i> (CH, LT)	'pretty'

(13) North/south differences in root terms alligning with Junín and Ayacucho.

<u>MV, AH, SP (SOUTH)</u>	<u>LT, CH (NORTH)</u>	<u>Ayacucho</u>	<u>Junín</u>	<u>gloss</u>
<i>puyu</i>	<i>pukatay</i>	<i>puyu</i>	<i>pukatay</i>	'cloud', 'fog'

21 With the exception of two and a half cases: one where LT sorts with the southern dialects ('make an offering'), one where LT recorded no Quechua-origin term ('bitter'), and one where Caca and Hongos split, Caca alone recording a second term ('rain').

22 A geographical note. Caca, Hongos, Tana, and Lincha are all located in the valley created by the Caca River and its principal tributaries, the Lincha and Paluche Rivers; Apurí, Madeán, Viñac, Azángaro, Chocos, and Huangáscar are all located in the valley created by the Huangáscar River and its principal tributary, the Viñac River. The two valleys are separated by a chain of (rather high and rocky) hills. Running from east to west, these are the *cerros* Pishqullay, Tinco, Punta Tacana, Ranraorqo, Pishunco, Cochapata, Yanaorqo, and Shallalli. That said, no district but San Pedro is located more than one day's walk from any other; in the case of San Pedro it is two. It is not irrelevant to the explanation of the dialect cleavages that this range seems to block the movement of brides from one town to another. Until very recently, newlywed women generally only moved from one town to another within the same valley. There exists a series of topographical maps prepared and published in 1996 by the U.S. Defense Mapping Agency. Southern Yauyos is covered on the section labeled Tupe and identified Series 1745, Sheet J632, Edition -1 DMA. The map centers the the four districts that lie within the province of Yauyos at about 12°62' S and 75°47' W. The relevant region can be contained within an area of 40m<sup>2</sup>. The principal towns of all the districts except Chocos, Huangáscar, and Tana are located at altitudes around 3300 meters. The highest point in the region is at 5055.

23 In at least two of these 32 cases, the Junín term had a cognate correlate in Jaqaru, an Aymaran language spoken in Tupe, Caca's closest neighbor to the north. The terms are *kallwi-* 'cultivate' and *liklachiku* 'underarm'.

<i>qishTa</i>	<i>tunta</i>	<i>qisha</i>	<i>tunta</i>	'nest'
<i>rakta</i>	<i>tita</i>	<i>rakta</i>	<i>tita</i>	'thick'

(14) Synonyms employed in southern but not northern dialects

<u>Employed in all</u>	<u>Employed just in the south</u>	<u>Gloss</u>
<i>wallwa-</i> (MV, AH, SP, CH, LT)	<i>uqlla(n)cha-</i> (MV, AH, SP)	'carry under the arm'
<i>patrya-</i> (MV, AH, SP, CH, LT)	<i>tuqya-</i> (MV, AH, SP)	'explode'
<i>alalaya-</i> (MV, AH, SP, CH, LT)	<i>chiriya-</i> (MV, AH, SP)	'be cold'

I have taken it as my task here only to present the data; I leave it to other scholars to come to their own – hopefully diverse – conclusions. The raw data are available in the form of an .xml document that can be accessed by all via the DoBEs and AILLA websites (addresses above).

Table 4. Differences among dialects in root terms used to refer to the same referent

'old man'	<i>machu</i>	MV, AH, SP	<i>awkish</i>	LT, CH	<i>machu</i>	<i>awkish</i>
'old woman'	<i>chakwash</i>	MV, AH, SP	<i>paya</i>	LT, CH	<i>chakwash</i>	<i>paya</i>
'nettle'	<i>llupa/itana</i>	MV, AH, SP	<i>chalka</i>	LT, CH	<i>itana</i>	<i>itana</i>
'germinate'	<i>shinshi-</i>	MV, AH, SP	<i>chilQi</i>	LT, CH	NC	?
'close eyes, blink'	<i>qimchiku-</i>	MV, AH, SP	<i>chipupa-</i>	LT, CH	<i>chipu-</i>	<i>(close hanqimlla- / qimchi-</i>
'sash'	<i>chumpi</i>	MV, SP	<i>watraku</i>	LT, CH	<i>chumpi</i>	<i>watrakuq</i>
'sneeze'	<i>hachiwsa-</i>	MV, AH, CH, LT	<i>haqchu-</i>	SP	<i>hachi-</i>	<i>haqchiwsa-, achiv</i>
'cultivate, hoe'	<i>hallma-</i>	MV, AH, SP	<i>kallwa-</i>	LT, CH	<i>hallma-</i>	<i>kallwa-</i>
'scratch'	<i>rachka-</i>	MV, AH, SP	<i>hata-</i>	LT, CH	<i>hata-</i>	<i>rachka-</i>
'add fuel'	<i>lawka-</i>	MV, AH, CH, LT	<i>huya-</i>	SP	?	?
'sickly'	<i>iqu</i>	MV, AH, SP	<i>latru</i>	LT, CH	<i>iqu</i>	?
'thorn, bramble'	<i>kichka</i>	MV, AH, SP	<i>kasha</i>	LT, CH	<i>kichka</i>	<i>kasha</i>
'stick'	<i>kaspi</i>	MV, AH, SP	<i>shukshu</i>	LT, CH	<i>kaspi</i>	<i>shukshu</i>
'splinter'	<i>killwi</i>	MV, AH	<i>qawa /waqcha</i>	LT, CH / SP	<i>killwi</i>	<i>waqcha (log, timl</i>
'make an offering'	<i>qawachi-</i>	MV, AH, LT	<i>likachi-</i>	CH	<i>qawai-</i>	<i>(see lika- (see)</i>
'underarm', 'armpit'	<i>wallwachuku</i>	MV, AH, SP	<i>liklachku</i>	LT, CH	<i>wallwa</i>	<i>liklachiku</i>
'all'	<i>lliw</i>	MV, AH, SP	<i>limpu</i>	LT, CH	<i>lliw</i>	<i>lliw</i>
'avalanche', 'mudslide'	<i>lluqlla</i>	MV, AH, SP	<i>tuñiy</i>	ALL	<i>tuñi-</i>	<i>(tumble downlluqlla (waterfall)</i>
'coagulate'	<i>tika-</i>	MV, AH, LT, CH	<i>marki-</i>	SP	<i>tikaya-</i>	<i>tika- (made adobe</i>
'knee'	<i>muqu</i>	MV, AH, SP	<i>qunqur</i>	ALL	<i>muqu, qunqura-</i>	<i>(muqu (joint)</i>
'comb' (v.)	<i>ñaqcha-</i>	ALL	<i>qachaku-</i>	LT, CH	<i>ñaqcha-</i>	<i>ñaqcha-</i>
'cloud', 'fog'	<i>puyu</i>	MV, AH, SP	<i>pukutay</i>	LT, CH	<i>puyu</i>	<i>pukutay</i>
thorn bush variety	<i>ulanki</i>	MV, AH, SP	<i>qaparara</i>	LT, CH	?	?
'sick'	<i>unqu</i>	MV, AH, SP	<i>qisha</i>	CH	<i>unqu</i>	<i>qishya</i>
'nest'	<i>qishTa</i>	MV, AH, SP	<i>tunta</i>	LT, CH	<i>qishTa</i>	<i>qisha</i>
'thick'	<i>rakta</i>	MV, AH, SP	<i>tita</i>	LT, CH	<i>rakta</i>	<i>tita</i>
'snow', 'sleet'	<i>riti</i>	MV, AH, SP	<i>rasu</i>	LT, CH	<i>riti</i>	<i>lasu</i>
'eaten by birds', 'washed'	<i>wshuQli</i>	MV, AH, LT, CH	<i>wishlu</i>	SP	?	?
'beautiful'	<i>sumaq</i>	MV, AH, SP	<i>tuki</i>	LT, CH	<i>sumaq</i>	<i>tuki</i>
'sheep'	<i>uyqa</i>	MV, AH, SP	<i>usha</i>	LT, CH	NC	<i>(uwish)</i>
'roll'	<i>sinku-</i>	ALL	<i>trinta-</i>	LT, CH	NC	NC
'explode'	<i>tuqya-</i>	MV, AH, SP	<i>patra-</i>	ALL	<i>tuqya-</i>	<i>patra-</i>
'bitter' [potato]	<i>aqsa</i>	MV, AH, SP	<i>qatqi</i>	CH	<i>qatqi</i>	?
'rain'	<i>para-</i>	MV, AH, SP, LT	<i>tamya-</i>	Cacra	<i>para-</i>	<i>tamya-</i>

NC= not cagnate

?= not found

### 3. Conventions and abbreviations.

Entries in Part I (SYQ-to-English) are given in the following form.

**Akra-** v. MV, SP Choose, select. cf. Aklla-, Akla-.

Akrawanchik karnirutahina. '[God] chooses us like the rams.' (MV)

The SYQ entry is bolded; it is immediately followed by part of speech in italics; next, in small capitals, is an indication of the dialect or dialects that employ the term. Possible English glosses follow. These four elements are common to all entries. In case a term is realized differently in one or more of the

other dialects or in case one or more of the other dialects uses a different term, there follows a relay to this/these. Examples may follow. IN these cases, the Quechua appears first, succeeded by a free translation into English, enclosed in single quotation marks. Most examples are drawn from the annotated recordings; a few were elicited. An indication of which dialect supplied the example then follows the free translation in small capitals in parentheses. In the case of verbs, it is the base form – not the infinitive – that is given.

Entries in Part II (English-to-SYQ) are given in the following form.

**Choose.** *v.* MV, SP Akra-. AH Aklla-. CH, LT Akla-.

The entry is bolded; it is immediately followed by part of speech in italics. Where a term is common to all dialects, that is noted “all” in small capitals. There follows the corresponding term in SYQ. Where different dialects realize a term differently or where dialects employ different terms, these are all listed, preceded by an indication in small capitals of the dialect to which they correspond.

The following abbreviations are used

adj.	adjective
adv.	adverb
AH	Azángaro-Chocos-Huangáscar dialect
CH	Cacra-Hongos dialect
connect.	connective
det.	determiner
F	feminine
fr. Sp.	from Spanish
interj.	interjection
LT	Lincha-Tana Dialect
MV	Apurí-Madeán-Viñac dialect
n.	noun
num.	numeral
o.s.	oneself
prep.	preposition
pron.	pronoun
quant.	quantitative
s.o.	someone
SP	San Pedro dialect
s.t.	something
v.	verb

Cerrón-Palomino, Rodolfo (1994): *Quechua sureño, diccionario unificado quechua-castellano, castellano-quechua* .  
Lima, Biblioteca Nacional del Perú.