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Mochica: Grammatical topics and external relations

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Citation
Eloranta-Barrera Virhuez, R. S. (2020, May 12). *Mochica: Grammatical topics and external relations*. *LOT dissertation series*. LOT, Utrecht. Retrieved from https://hdl.handle.net/1887/87645

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Note: To cite this publication please use the final published version (if applicable).

Cover Page

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Title: Mochica : grammatical topics and external relations
Issue Date: 2020-05-12

Part II. The Mochica language

Chapter 2. Mochica and its speakers

2.1. The Mochica language across time

Mochica has received several denominations in the literature since colonial times, for instance, Oviedo y Valdés[5] ([1492-1549] 1855: 224-225) talks about *lenguas mochicas* (Mochica languages); Mogrovejo ([1593-1605] 2006: 43, 45) refers to this language as *lengua mochica* and *lengua yunga*. Oré's denomination (1607: 403) is *Lengua Mochica de los Yungas* 'Mochica language of the Yungas', opting to refer to the speakers as Yungas and to the language as Mochica; Calancha (1639: 550) refers to the language as *lengua Muchic* 'Muchic language', and Carrera (1644) calls his grammatical description *Arte de la lengua yunga,* using the term *yunga* to refer to the Mochica speakers, as well (Carrera 1644: 231). *Yunga* is also the name Martínez Compañón (1783b: EIV) prefers to use.

Later on, during republican times, the Mochica language was called *Sprache der Chimu* 'language of the Chimus' (Bastian 1878a); *lengua Chimu* or *lengua de Eten* 'Chimu language' or 'language of Eten' (Paz Soldán 1880); *Muchik* or *Chimu-Sprache* 'Chimu language' (Middendorf 1892); *Yunca-Sprache* 'Yunca-language' (Seler: 1909?); *Mochica* (Brüning 1905-1924a and b) and *Mochic* (Brüning 1905-1924a: n.p.), *Yunka* (Harrington 1945), *Ed Muchik* 'Muchik tongue' (Ramos Cabrera & Serrepe Ascencio 2012), *Tūk Muchik* 'Mochica language' (Chero Zurita et al. 2012).

Following the information in the list of Mochica speaking areas provided by Fernando de la Carrera (1644), one can determine that Mochica was spoken in the colonial *corregimientos* of Trujillo, Zaña, Piura and Cajamarca (see

[5] It is probable that Oviedo y Valdés ([1492-1549] 1855: 224-225) is referring to several north Peruvian languages, not only Mochica.

Map 2[6]). These old administrative districts do not correspond exactly to the modern Peruvian regions with the same names, but since Carrera (1644) provides the names of the specific villages and *doctrinas*[7] where this language was spoken, one can surmise that it was spoken in the modern region[8] of Lambayeque (Zaña, Eten, Chiclayo, Reque, Mochumi, Túcume, Illimo, Jayanca, Monsefú, Ferreñafe, Copiz, Motupe, Salas, etc.) and in the modern region of La Libertad (Magdalena de Cao, Chocope and the whole Chicama valley).

Mochica was also spoken in some villages in the modern region of Piura (Huancabamba, Frías), in the modern region of Cajamarca (Niepos, Santa Cruz, Huambos) and the region of modern Amazonas (Balsas del Marañón, which was a colonial period *doctrina* in the Marañón river valley). Torero (1986) defines the linguistic distribution of the Mochica language between Río de la Leche and Motupe to the north and the Chicama river valley and the town of Paiján to the south. Between the rivers of Jequetepeque (or Pacasmayo) and Chicama there was an overlapping area between Quingnam and Mochica.

[6] Map 2 shows all the towns and villages where Mochica language was spoken according to the report by Carrera (1644). I have modernized the names of the places mentioned. In Map 2 Zaña appears as a big area, the dotted line represents a division that did not exist during 17th century.

[7] A *doctrina* was a colonial parochial jurisdiction.

[8] After winning independence in 1821, Peru became divided into *departments,* but in order to avoid centralization, elected regional governments have been managing the departments since 2002. Nowadays, regions are the administrative subdivision of the country.

Figure 2. Map 2. Mochica speaking towns and villages, according to Carrera's (1644) account

Mochica represents an important element in the process of reconstructing a cultural identity on the northern coast of Peru both after its death during the second half of the twentieth century, and after language revival. Peru's region of Lambayeque, on the northwestern coast of Peru, witnessed the rise and death of several important pre-Columbian civilizations that left impressive archaeological sites and diverse cultural manifestations such as pottery, metallurgical work, etc. Interestingly, not only the people of modern Lambayeque (which was a clear Mochica speaking area) but also the people

of modern La Libertad (which was a Quingnam[9] speaking area) seek to build and reinforce their identity, rediscovering those elements and trying to put a new version of the Mochica language into use. A "New Mochica" is being developed, which is based on the Mochica colonial and post-colonial grammatical and lexical elements. Thus, Mochica has gone farther than its colonial distribution limits in present-day northern Peru, expanding to areas where it was not previously spoken.

The Regional Direction of Education promulgated a resolution (Nº 0675-2008-GR.LAMB/DREL) along with the Regional Government of Lambayeque which gave a regional ordinance (Nº 011-2010-GR.LAMB/CR) supporting the diffusion of the Mochica language in schools and other educational centers in the region of Lambayeque. The revitalization of the Mochica language is part of a larger movement in search of a Mochica identity. To achieve this goal, there are activities held in different schools and communities of the Lambayeque region, such as the election of both the *Chisi Muchik* (Mochica girl) and the *Iñikuk*[10] *Muchik* (Mochica teen). These contests

[9] Quingnam, commonly known as *lengua pescadora* 'Pescadora Language', is another extinct northern coastal language.

[10] <Iñikuk> is Middendorf's orthographic variation (1892: 58) of the term registered as <yñicuc> 'marriageable woman' attested in Carrera (1644: 146). Cerrón-Palomino (personal communication, January 14, 2020) suggests that the Mochica term <yñicuc> comes from a Quechua neologism that would have been created during the colonial period to refer to a woman who has accepted a proposal of marriage. The hypothesized Quechua neologism would have been *iñikuq* 'the one who says yes', 'the one who accepts'. Although it is not recorded in Quechua from colonial or contemporary times, its segmentable structure supports Cerrón-Palomino's suggestion. The absence of a voiceless uvular stop /q/ in the Mochica system forces the adaptation of the final /q/ to a voiceless velar stop /k/ (see 9.3.1.).

i-	ñi-	ku-	q
yes-	to say-	MID	AG.NMLZ

'The one who says yes'

can be considered cultural-ethnic pageants where the participants are chosen according to criteria such as the ability to give a short speech in Mochica, master some commonly used Mochica expressions, describe regional dishes or dance traditional Lambayecan dances.

Asensio (2012, 2014) claims that the discoveries of the great archaeological sites in northern Peru during the eighties motivated the rise of this movement, which this author refers to as *movimiento Muchik* 'Muchik movement'. This movement is growing stronger, supported by the regional government, as well as by some intellectuals promoting an ethnic and political discourse that allows the discovery and enhancement of cultural elements that had already been lost or almost lost.

2.2. Mochica: lengua yunga and/or lengua pescadora?

In colonial documents, there seems to be confusion as to the way in which the northern Peruvian languages Mochica and Quingnam are referred to. It has been generally accepted in Andean Linguistics that the name Yunga referred to coastal languages in general, and specifically to Mochica, and that Pescadora designated the Quingnam language. The adjective *pescadora,* which qualifies the noun *lengua* 'language'*,* does not have a direct translation into English and is therefore known in English as *Lengua Pescadora*, *Pescadora language* or 'fishermen's language'. Because of the assumption that "pescadora" refers to 'fishermen', some interpreters have been misled to claim that this language was the language of a socio-economic group formed according to a principle of occupational specialization, whose existence is

In the Quechuanist tradition, this element *-ku* is seen as a reflexive/middle voice marker (*"mediopasiva*", Cerrón-Palomino [1987]2003: 214) or as middle voice with different functions (Hintz 165-182).

proven and supported by ethno-historical and archaeological evidence. In spite of this evidence, one cannot find any direct reference of the members of this occupational group speaking this particular language.

Moreover, the reference given by Mogrovejo ([1593-1605] 2006: 48) claiming that a *lengua yunga pescadora* was spoken in Magdalena de Eten, a Mochica speaking town, has intrigued scholars interested in the linguistic and geographic distribution of these languages. Additionally, Mogrovejo ([1593-1605] 2006: 52) praised the language proficiency of the Dominican Bartolomé de Vargas (see 2.4.1.1.), calling him "buen lenguaraz de las lenguas pescadoras" 'proficient in the *Pescadora languages*' in another intriguing reference, accounting for the town of Magdalena de Cao (presumably Quingnam speaking). Note that the term "pescadora" appears in the plural "pescadoras". So far, in a reconciliation attempt, the terms *yunga* and *pescadora* have been assumed to refer to Mochica and Quingnam, respectively (see Rabinowitz 1983; Torero 1986; Cerrón-Palomino 1995: 29-33; Salas 2010; Solís Fonseca 2015; Adelaar 2019). In order to resolve the vagueness and confusion, the authors have offered various justifications for the mention of *lengua pescadora* (assumed to be Quingnam) in a clear Mochica speaking area.

On the one hand, Rabinowitz (1983: 260-263) suggests the possibility of *lengua pescadora* having been a secret language or dialect spoken by fishermen that deviated from Quingnam, with a high degree of specialization on its way to achieving independence. Along the same lines, Torero (1986: 541) and Cerrón-Palomino (1995: 31) follow similar assumptions and believe Pescadora and Quingnam to be related languages, dialects of another language, with Pescadora representing the socially stigmatized version in contrast with Quingnam. Salas (2010: 111, 122) offers a solution to the

problem by proposing a situation of Mochica-Quingnam bilingualism. In this scenario, Quingnam and Pescadora refer to the same language. Therefore, this author prefers to dismiss the information provided by Mogrovejo, considering it a mistake (2010: 90-91).

Adelaar (2019: 305) reflects on this issue and considers that the Pescadora language occupied areas alongside the Pacific shore or nearby the sea, such as Santa, Enepeña (Nepeña) and Guañape, and some other maritime areas on the coast, such as Magdalena de Cao and Santiago de Cao. Adelaar does not consider the problem of interpretation of "Pescadora" to be solved. He is convinced that the language spoken in Magdalena de Eten could only have been Mochica, but leaves the possibility open for Salas' proposal of multilingualism in the area. However, in spite of the fact that it is likely that there was bilingualism in the Mochica-Quingnam territories, this does not seem to the best solution for explaining the "wrong information" provided by Mogrovejo. Furthermore, in agreement with Adelaar, I view the Pescadora problem as the result of inaccurate interpretations, and also, as a problem that remains unsolved.

In what follows, I suggest that there is no need to justify the "confusing" and "misleading" use of the term Pescadora. I will attempt to prove that depending on the area where Mochica was spoken, it can be considered either a Yunga or a Pescadora language. First, I will present excerpts of a so far unknown manuscript that can help to elucidate the name Pescadora. Secondly, I will show how the distinction maritime/mediterranean, used by Spaniards to determine regions, can better explain the denomination Pescadora. As already stated, the Mochica scholar can count on few linguistic sources of the language. It will remain a utopic hope to rediscover the lost grammars. The case seems, anyhow, to be different in relation to information about the priests

who mastered Mochica, as well as the scenarios and localities where this language was still functionally spoken during the first colonial years. One can still encounter manuscripts, in the form of letters, relations, or official statements, which offer a better picture of the context in which Mochica had the status of an important and living language.

In this respect, there exist documents that need revision and research. I was able to check some manuscripts kept in the *Archivo General de Indias*, in Seville, Spain, which date back to the first half of the 17th century. The manuscript presented below has the signature number AGI LIMA 224, N.13[11] (Informaciones: Lorenzo Arias Maraver[12]). It deals with all the information regarding the *concursus*[13] or competitive examination taken by Lorenzo Arias Maraver in 1621 in order to obtain one benefice[14] out of four available positions in Lambayeque. Lorenzo Arias Maraver was born in Zaña to Antonio Arias Maraver and Beatriz Cartagena. He obtained a Bachelor of Arts and Theology, graduating from the Universidad de San Marcos, in Lima (AGI 1621: AGI LIMA 224, N.13 2r).

The language proficiency of missionaries was rigorously examined. Throughout the manuscript, one finds names of examiners of the Mochica

[11] AGI (1621) in the bibliography.

[12] Appears in the manuscript written as <Malaber>, but I respect the transcription of the name provided by the AGI's catalog.

[13] Concursus was a special competitive examination prescribed in canon law for all aspirants to certain ecclesiastical offices. The clerical had to conduct the cure of souls in the office assigned to him (O'Neill 1908).

[14] According to the Council of Trent, to obtain a benefice through concursus implied being a man of virtue and learning. The Council of Trent decreed that the cure of souls needed to be entrusted to someone who demonstrated fitness after examination. The purpose of this examination was not only to exclude unworthy candidates, but to secure the selection of the best (Meehan 1909).

language, references to the language and comments on Arias Maraver's Mochica skills. Regarding the Mochica language designations, Father Díaz from Ferreñafe declares that Arias Maraver spoke "the lengua materna deaquellos balles", 'the mother tongue of those valleys' (AGI 1621: AGI LIMA 224, N.13 12v) and there is mention of Francisco de Saavedra from San Juan de Íllimo as "exsaminador general de la lengua materna de estos balles mochica" 'general examiner of the mother tongue of these Mochica valleys' (AGI 1621: AGI LIMA 224, N.13 13r). Diego de Armenteros y Henao (Oidor[15] of Panamá and Oidor of Lima), Fernando de Guzmán, Francisco Flores and Fernando de Avendaño mention the difficulty of Mochica, ratifying that Arias Maraver preached in Spanish and "en su lengua [de los naturales] que es en aquel pueblo dificultosa porque no es la general" 'in the language [of the native Indians], which in that town is very difficult because it is not the general[16]' (AGI 1621: AGI LIMA 224, N.13 21r). In the same line, in AGI 1621: AGI LIMA 224, N.13 22r one can read about the difficulty of the language spoken in the benefice of Lambayeque granted to Arias Maraver: "que es la **lengua pescadora**[17] que llaman que es muy dificultossa", 'that it is the so called **Pescadora language** (see Appendix A), which is very difficult'.

The language Arias Maraver mastered, which is mentioned throughout the manuscript is definitely Mochica; there is no room for confusion. As I mentioned above, I consider the Pescadora problem to be mainly the result of complex and erroneous interpretations. It is questionable to assume that Pescadora would mean 'Fishermen's language' as a language used exclusively by fishermen, i.e. in the sense of an occupation-based group language or

[15] An Oidor was a judge in a Real Audiencia.

[16] The general language refers to Quechua.

[17] Emphasis is mine.

dialect. There is no direct evidence of such a group with a specialized language. I prefer to formulate an easier interpretation, which relies on the meaning of the word itself. This said, I want to present examples of the way peoples, regions and languages were divided into two main groups, that is, taking the opposition between mediterranean and maritime into account. The Latin word *mĕdĭ-terrānĕus* means midland, inland, remote from the sea, and it is understood in opposition to *maritimus* 'maritime' (Lewis & Short [1879] 1958: 1124).

Similarly, in the Andean context, Garcilaso de la Vega ([1609] 1800: 181) claims that Inca Roca conquered many large mediterranean and maritime provinces. Cobo ([1653]1892: 48-49) reflects on the numerous languages in Peru and suggests that all (in his account probably more than 2000) may have descended from only one family. He also distinguishes between the peoples and languages, speaking of Indians of mediterranean versus maritime regions. Mexico is also divided in the same way, "some of the provinces of that vast realm [of Mexico] were mediterranean and some maritime" (Clavijero 1844: 3). Coleti (1771: 97), in his historical-geographic dictionary, reports about the Caribs[18], dividing them into two groups according to the region in which they lived: those living at the shores or coast of the Atlantic and those living inland: "they are divided in maritime and mediterranean [groups]. The first ones live in the plains and on the Atlantic coast[19]". Interestingly, when talking about the places where Guayaquil obtains wheat, Coleti (1771: 191) mentions the "Provincias mediterráneas de Quito, Perú y Chile".

[18] More references about the mediterranean and maritime caribs "Caribes marítimos y Caribes terrestres o mediterráneos" (Coleti 1771: 189, 104, 192).

[19] "Se dividen en Marítimos y Mediterráneos. Los primeros habitan en las llanuras y sobre la Costa del Mar Atlántico […]" (Coletti 1771).

Another example where the division is used is in the relation to the whole world's most important provinces, kingdoms and cities by Rebullosa (1748). When talking about the historical land of Livonia (nowadays Latvia and Estonia), Rebullosa (1748: 154) uses the distinction maritime/mediterranean: "the maritime lands of Livonia are infested with the impiety of Luther and Calvin: the Mediterranean [lands] and their surroundings, with ignorance […]"[20]. Rebullosa (1748: 329) also makes note of Peru: "But the wealth and strength, in Peru, come from the mediterranean provinces, out of which Collao is the first"[21]. It is clear that the distinction maritime/mediterranean was used to define regions and peoples living within them.

In spite of using the mediterranean/maritime distinction, the Spaniards, when confronted with a vast territory of different geographic and climate zones like Peru, needed to adopt some Quechua terms to refer to and delimit zones, like the term *Yunga.* González Holguín (1608: 373) reports that *Yunca* refers to the region of the plains and the valleys, and as an extension, also to the Indians of those areas (in opposition to <sallqa> 'highlands' and the people native to that area (González Holguín 1608: 306)). Yunga was a polysemous term, as Cieza de León (1554: 164r-165v) explains. Cieza de León's explanation of Yunga, has been summarized by Adelaar (2019: 3), who, by analyzing the description of the town of Puruguay (Mogrovejo ([1593-1605] 2006: 90)), comes to the conclusion that the term Yunga was applied to either language, ethnic or cultural identity, and climate zone.

[20] "Las Tierras maritimas de Livonia, están inficionadas de la impiedad de Lutero, y Calvino: Las Mediterraneas, y sus contornos, de ignorancia […]" (Rebullosa 1748).

[21] "Pero la riqueza y pujanza, en el Perú, conciste en las Provincias Mediterraneas, de las quales la primera es Collao" (Rebullosa 1748).

> [T]his way you have to understand that the towns and provinces of Peru are located according to the disposition I have declared, many of them in the valleys between the Andes and the snowy mountains. And all the inhabitants of the highlands are called Serranos, and the ones living in the plains are called Yungas. And in many places of the highlands where the rivers go through, the mountains are high but the valleys warm and temperate, so much that in many parts it is hot like in the plains, the people who live there even though they are in the highlands, are called Yungas. And in all of Peru when they talk about these warm areas that are between the mountains, they say it is Yunga. And the inhabitants do not have a name even if they have one in their villages or regions. This way, the ones living in the mentioned places, and those who live in all these plains and the coast of Peru are called Yungas because they live in warm land.

Thus, it seems clear that all coastal languages were Yunga languages (languages of warm lands), that Mochica was a Yunga language and that the Mochica speakers were also Yungas (as Carrera (1644: 231) himself states). The fact that the Mochica language is called Yunga in the *Arte* is interesting because it leaves the possibility open that it was a *lengua general* with special status; not every language was considered a *lengua general* during colonial times. Mochica made it to Oré's manual (1607) in companion with the other two major Peruvian languages, Quechua, *la más general*, Aimara, Puquina and Guaraní. Zevallos Quiñones (1947b: 169) informs that in 1587[22] Baltazar Ramírez wrote a description of his trip to Peru around 1567 which was called *Descripción del Reyno del Perú*, in which he reported that "there were three very general languages: Yunga, Quichua and Aymara". The status of *lengua general*, that is, very well extended and considered important, may have

[22] According to the catalog of the *Biblioteca Nacional de España*, this manuscript dates from 1597. I have never accessed this manuscript.

influenced Carrera's decision in calling his grammar *Arte de la lengua yunga,* as if Mochica would have been considered the Yunga language par excellence.

As mentioned already, *Yunga* was a Quechua term used to define a region, an ethnic group, a language, and a climate zone. Other Quechua terms as *Quechua* itself and *Sallqa* accomplished the same task (Itier 2015). I believe the Spanish term *Pescadora* was used in order to fill the gap that presented itself when new distinctions in the large, extensive coastal area of northern Peru had to be established. The cover term Yunga may have become insufficient to distinguish between the numerous languages in the north coast. The need to remedy this motivated the innovation of a term that would establish exactly the same distinction as the one established with the pair mediterranean/maritime. Following this, the pair yunga/pescadora would correspond perfectly to the same opposition. Yunga would correspond to the coastal languages spoken inland, in the plains, in the valleys, distant from the seashore, and Pescadora would refer to the languages of maritime regions, that is, languages spoken by the seashore, next to the sea, in the Pacific coast, at harbors, such as Eten. This explanation would also explain why the plural form Pescadora was used. Indeed, if the term Pescadora designated coastal languages spoken by the people living near the sea, the options of such languages were at least more than one, certainly Mochica-Pescadora and Quingnam-Pescadora.

I believe my proposal to be the simplest way to interpret the term Pescadora. To summarize what has been expressed in this section, Yunga was not the only cover designation for coastal languages. The same concept was embedded in the term Pescadora.

2.3. Who were the Mochica speakers?

Northern Peru has been home to great civilizations, which flourished during pre-colonial times. There has been confusion when relating the Mochica language with a specific pre-colonial civilization. Salas (2012b: 21) suspects that the confusion originated with Larco Hoyle [1938] 2001, who called the Moche culture "Mochica" and claimed that the language was spoken by the Chimús. The association of Mochica language with Moche culture, which flourished from about A.D. 100 and vanished around A.D. 700, is very hard to prove (Salas 2012b: 21). It is also impossible to establish which language was spoken by the ancient Moches.

Confusion arises with the association of the Mochica language with the Chimu kingdom, as well. First, Paz Soldán (1880: 1), in his edition of the grammatical description by Carrera (1644), says that Mochica is the Chimu kingdom language. Middendorf worked with the edition prepared by Paz Soldán, and most probably could have been influenced by the idea of Mochica being the language of the Chimus. Middendorf's (1892) title is: *Das Muchik oder die Chimu-Sprache* 'The Muchik or the Chimu language'. Along the same lines, Hovdhaugen (2004: 6) presumes that Mochica "was most likely the language of the Chimú culture".

Mochica-Quingnam bilingualism is attested via studies of toponyms and through ethnohistorical evidence provided by chroniclers like Calancha (1639: 550). Calancha records that the Chimus conquered the Yungas (Mochica speaking) and made them learn their language. The language of the Chimus was Quingnam. Chimus were the peoples the Spaniards encountered when they arrived to the Peruvian north coast.

Current knowledge and understanding of the Sicán culture, which originated and developed in northern Peru, have contributed to better support the hypothesis that Mochica was probably spoken by at least some of its members. Shimada (2009: 8) and Shimada et al. (2005: 64) present not only archaeological evidence such as pottery and ritual and funeral patterns but also genetic information after investigations of mitochondrial DNA that prove that the society was, in fact, multiethnic (Shimada et al. 2005: 75). This could imply that all members of the Sicán society did not speak the same language. Mochica toponyms in the areas of Sicán's heartland also give support to the proposal that Mochica was the language (or one of the languages) spoken by – at least some – Sicán society members. The highest point of expansion and influence of Sicán was achieved mainly during the phase known as the Middle Sicán period, which flourished from 900–1100 A.D. During Middle Sicán, new metallurgic technology allowing the production of metal alloys, like arsenical copper, and mass production of metallic ornaments and pottery contributed along with other factors to the growth of Sicán's political, economic and religious power (Shimada et al. 2007: 340; Shimada 2009: 48). The Sicán language was most probably Mochica. Cerrón-Palomino (1995: 43) correlates the geographical extension of the Sicán empire with the area of the Mochica linguistic area. The Sicán culture lasted as an independent and autonomous culture for approximately 600 years, starting around A.D. 800-850. Its rulers governed with sovereignity until they got conquered around A.D. 1375 by the Chimus whose government center was the Moche Valley (Shimada 2009: 4).

2.4. Sources for the study of the Mochica language

Considering the period of time when the sources were produced and considering the nature of the language itself, I have delimited three clear

phases of the linguistic production on the Mochica language. I do not include here the works developed by linguists, such as grammatical analyses or sketches. The first phase covers the colonial period, thus Colonial Mochica, and since the only grammatical description is that by Fernando de la Carrera, who missionized in Reque, one can suspect that the language described is an abstraction of the several varieties this missionary encountered, but with more influence from the Reque variety. The second phase is represented by the remnants collected by several travelers when the language was already dying out, mainly from Eten, the last bastion of the language. The third phase of production of Mochica material concerns what I call New Mochica and consists of the results of the efforts of several local researchers from both the regions of La Libertad and Lambayeque, who in the search of constructing a cultural identity, conduct projects of language reclamation and revival. The term "language reclamation specifically refers to language revival in situations where the language is no longer spoken and little is known orally within the community" (Amery 2016: 19). I prefer to refer to the ongoing process in northern Peru as language revival rather than language revitalization, as I will explain in 2.4.3.

2.4.1. Colonial phase

2.4.1.1. Lost sources of Colonial Mochica (late 16th century)

In relation to the languages of northern Peru, there is information about certain missionaries who were active learning indigenous languages and producing linguistic materials. Unfortunately, even though part of that material may have been published, it remains lost. According to Zevallos Quiñones (1948a: 5-6), following Meléndez (1681a: 558-560), Pedro de Aparicio, a Dominican friar, learned and mastered Mochica and prepared a grammatical description of the

language, as well as a vocabulary, sermons, talks and prayers. After inspecting the information on Pedro de Aparicio provided by Meléndez (1681a: 558-560), I cannot affirm with certainty that the language mentioned is indeed Mochica. What is mentioned is that Pedro de Aparicio learned the language of the valley (Chicama). Meléndez (1681a: 613-614), reports relevant information about the convent where Pedro de Aparicio lived: the Chicama (Valley) Convent, which was home to a group of priests involved in the production of linguistic material. This convent was founded by Domingo de Santo Tomás[23]. Pedro de Aparicio lived there with Benito de Jarandilla, Bartolomé de Vargas and Pedro Cano. Apart from Pedro Cano, the rest of the priests mentioned produced linguistic and catechetical material in the Chicama valley language. Concerning the missionary-linguists of the Chicama convent, Espinel (1978: 80) claims that Bartolomé de Vargas had studied and written a vocabulary and a grammatical description of a language called *pescadora,* and Cuervo (1915: 561) states that Bartolomé de Vargas had preprared a grammatical description, a copious vocabulary, a *Sermonario de Santos y de tiempo para utilidad de los naturales y misioneros de Chicama.*

Concerning Benito de Jarandilla, Meléndez (1681b: 40) states that he lived in the convent of the Chicama Valley for forty years, and in collaboration with Pedro de Aparicio, learned the extremely difficult language of the valley; he reports, as well, that they both translated prayers and a cathecism. This information is not precise, but it is complemented by the account by Reginaldo Lizárraga (1545-1615), who, based on the information gathered on his trips, prepared his chronicle *Descripción breve de toda la tierra del Perú, Tucumán,*

[23] Domingo de Santo Tomás (1560a) is very well known for being the author of the first Quechua grammar, *Grammatica, o Arte de la lengua general de los Indios de los reynos del Peru.*

Río de la Plata y Chile (1605)[24]. The following paragraph sheds light on the language(s) corresponding to the Chicama valley: "The Indians from this valley have two languages: the fishermen's one, extremely difficult and the other one not so hard; few speak the general language of the Inca; this good friar knew both, and the more difficult he knew better"[25] (Lizárraga [1605] 1916: 67). This is clear information about Jarandilla's good command of the language of the fishermen, which was most probably Quingnam, many times also being referred to as *lengua pescadora.* The designation *pescadora* language is confusing. At times it refers to Quingnam, and at others it refers to Mochica, as shown in 2.2.

From Roque Cejuela de Traña's testament, reproduced by Zevallos Quiñones (1948a: 25-29), one can find information about the life of this missionary. He had spent 34 years living in Lambayeque, four of which he spent translating a doctrine, a cathecism, a confessionary and a sermon book into "the mother tongue of these plains", as he calls them. Mogrovejo (2006: 43) confirms that the language spoken by this priest was Mochica, with the report stating that he was an examiner of the Mochica language. Roque de Cejuela informs in his testament that he had accomplished the task of preparing all this material with great success and approval of theologists and interpreters (or *lenguas),*

[24] This chronicle remained unpublished but was edited by Ricardo Rojas (1916) with another title: *Descripción colonial.*

[25] "Los indios deste valle tienen dos lenguas que hablan: los pescadores una, y dificultosísima, y otra no tanto; pocos hablan la general del Inga; este buen religioso las sabia ambas, y la más dificultosa, mejor" (Lizárraga [1605] 1916: 67). This information suggests that the information provided by Meléndez (1681b: 40) on Jarandilla and Aparicio mastering the very difficult language would imply Quingnam and not Mochica.

and that he had paid himself over 4000 *castellanos*[26] for getting the work to press (Zevallos Quiñones 1948a: 27). The fact that he had paid for the publication of his work is the best proof that the linguistic material existed; this allows for the possibility that it may still be out there.

Luis de Teruel was a Jesuit who participated in the extirpation of idolatry campaign conducted in four coastal towns north from Lima, namely Barranca, Huaura, Végueta and Huacho (Calancha 1639: 631), during the first years of the 17th century in company of other Jesuits: Hernando de Avendaño and José de Aliaga, known extirpators of idolatries (Calancha 1639: 412; Duviols 1983: 385). Calancha expressely states that he used the information from Teruel's manuscript to write about the idolatries of that coastal area (Calancha 1639: 631). This non-linguistic work describing the traditions and religion of the indigenous people they met during that campaign is not available, and his linguistic works are also lost: presumably, a Mochica grammatical description and a vocabulary. Zevallos Quiñones (1948a: 29-31) reproduces fragments of a letter from the Parish of Lambayeque to the Jesuit priests dated at 1618, where there is mention of Teruel preparing a grammatical description and a vocabulary of the "mother tongue of the mentioned town [Lambayeque] and the valleys of Trujillo". His linguistic production includes yet another lost work, a grammar of the Tabalosa language (De la Cruz y Bahamonde 1812: 339; Torres Saldamando 1882: 123) from the Mission of Lamas, reported to be extinct by Hervás y Panduro (1800: 258).

A reference to another lost Mochica grammar is reported to be of the authorship of Pedro de Prado y Escobar, who was born in Trujillo (Zevallos

[26] One *castellano* or *peso de oro* 'golden peso' was equivalent to 4,6 grams of gold. It was established by the Spanish Crown in 1475 and disappeared by 1497 in Spain, but was still used in the colonies (Torres 1994: 125).

Quiñones 1948a: 10) and who was Vicar of San Martín de Reque and examinator of the Yunga Language (Mochica). The relevant linguistic work prepared by Prado y Escobar is a grammatical description of the "language of the valleys of Zaña, Chiclayo and Trujillo" (Medina 1904: 302-303).

2.4.1.2. Earliest documentation of Colonial Mochica

The earliest testimony of the Mochica language registered in press is that of Jerónimo de Oré (1607: 403-408); this work was part of a polyglot manual prepared for the use of the priests. Oré (1607: 11) compiles the translations of rites, ceremonies and formulas for the administration of the sacraments, according to the Roman Rite, into Quechua, Aimara, Puquina, Mochica and Guaraní. This is the reason why he calls his manual *Manual Catholico Romano Peruano y Cuzquense* (Peru's and Cuzco's Roman Catholic Manual). In this manual, Oré includes the following prayers in the Mochica language: the Our Father, the Hail Mary, the Creed and the Salve Regina. The Articles of Faith, the Ten Commandments and some other Catholic theological issues such as The Theological Virtues, The Acts of Mercy, etc. are also included in this compilation. Oré's register of the Mochica language consists exclusively of religious texts.

So far, Oré's (1607) register has been considered the earliest existing evidence of the Mochica language. Nevertheless, there seems to be a manuscript which would have contained even earlier Mochica evidence. This manuscript was written by the chronicler Alonso Castro de Lovaina in 1582. This chronicle is presumably located in the Archiepiscopal Archive of Trujillo in Peru (Burgos

Guevara 2003: 14[27]) and it is difficult to access[28]. The title of the manuscript is *Gobierno de los situmas antes de los señores yngas comenzasen a reinar, y trata quienes fueron y mandaron en aqueste valle, Cañaribamba*. The striking detail regarding this evidence is that it supposedly accounts information about the Cañari peoples in Azuay, Ecuador and its extinct language, Cañari. Calle Romero (2007: 14-15) copied the Our Father and the Hail Mary prayers preserved in the manuscript, citing the work of Carlos Paida Toalongo[29] (1991).

The prayers in question have never been presented amongst Colonial Mochica testimonies, due to the fact that they have been erroneously assumed to be records of the extinct Cañari language of Ecuador. Both Oré (1607: 403) and Carrera (1644: 203) offer the same prayers. In Table 1, I have arranged the text of these three early Mochica versions of the Our Father[30] in a convenient disposition, to facilitate comparison between them. The 1582 version of the

[27] Burgos Guevara (2003: 14) states that he has had personal communication with Father Máximo Glauco Torres Fernández de Córdova, who has inspected the mentioned chronicle in Trujillo, Peru. Concerning the same issue, Burgos Guevara (2003: 14) cites Torres (1982: 250), which he has not himself accessed but mentions the citation by Hirschkind (1995: 44).

[28] I have tried multiple times to contact the Archiepiscopal Archive of Trujillo in Peru via telephone and e-mails. The end result has not been favorable, except for a possible collaborative work on the investigation of this document.

[29] The work mentioned by Calle Romero (2007: 14-15) is *Taday Patrimonio histórico del Austro* by Carlos Paida Toalongo (1991: 91-92). Calle Romero (2007: 14) copied the transcription of Carlos Paida Toalongo (1991). Calle Romero's access to the text was only through a transcription whose origin goes back to the manuscript, but one cannot be sure whether it is a faithful copy of the original manuscript. Calle Romero does not say whether Carlos Paida Toalongo saw this manuscript himself or whether he transcribed someone's transcription.

[30] Hervás y Panduro (1787: 93) offers the account of Oré's Our Father in Mochica, but with his own orthography. He reports that he uses Oré's account in his *Saggio* (Hervás y Panduro 1787: 64).

Mochica Our Father differs more with respect to the other two, which are more similar to each other. Nevertheless, there are recurrent correspondences between the Mochica Our Father and the other two versions that I will explain and present in Table 2. In Table 2, I locate Carrera's version first because I consider his text my point of reference which I compare the other two versions with, mainly because Carrera justifies to some extent the election of his orthographic symbols.

Table 1. Colonial versions of the Our Father prayer

Castro de Lovaina ([1582] 2007: 14)	**Oré (1607: 403)**	**Carrera (1644: 203)**
Maesi, if alas luciedg dic, tzaedg, ol mag lilem maecia,	Mvchef, acazloc, cuçiangnic, çũq oc licum apmucha,	Mæich ef, acaz loc cuçiang nic, tzhæng, oc mang licæm mæcha,
dof tzaedg, eiaepmadg polaeg maed, mu aeisi lapeec liciadgnic meen.	Piycan ñof, çũgcuçias, eyipmãg, çung, poleng munmo vzicápuc, cuçiangnic mun,	piycan ñof tzhæng cuçias, eiæpmang tzhæng polæng mæn, mo æizi capæc cuçiang nic mæn.
Aio ideng, edendu meaici [sic] zllun, pi led ñof ellu mudum. Efquelad ñuf ixlleese aie ala naix eflo xlldg [sic] musseiu maesi.	Ayoyneng. ynengo, much xllon, Piycam ñof allò molun, ef quecan ñof. yxllis, acan mux efco. xllang museyo. much çiòmun,	Aio ineng inengô mæich xllon, piy can ñof allô mo lun. Efque can ñof ixllæss aie aca naix efco xllang musseio mæich, çio næn.
Amuz toceen ñof zlladg mus emaellael zaer eniluam maesi deynem ef loñof quci.	Amus tocum ñof. xllangmuse yz puçèrenic, namnum, les nan, efco, ñof pissin quich.	Amoz tocæn ñof xllang muss emællæc zær enicnam næm lecqnan efco ñof pissio quich.

When analyzing the version attested in 1582 and comparing it with those of Oré and Carrera, at first glance, one can conclude that the 1582 version corresponds to a variety of Colonial Mochica that exhibits a very particular orthography. Some clear mistakes such as <xlldg> and <meaici> are noticeable. First, a combination of consonants with no single vowel is impossible according to Mochica phonotactics; one would expect to have <xlladg> and <maeci>, respectively.

In relation to the correspondences, Carrera's (1644) sixth vowel <æ> corresponds to <e>, <i> and <v> / <u> in Oré (1607) and to <ae>, <e> and <ee> in Castro de Lovaina ([1582] 2007: 14). Carrera's and Oré's <c> corresponds to Castro de Lovaina's <l> in all contexts: word initial, word

medial, and word final, while Carrera's and Oré's <ç>, <ch>, <n> and <xll> correspond to Castro de Lovaina's <c>, <si> / <ci>, <d> and <zll>, respectively. Carrera's <z> corresponds to Castro de Lovaina's <z> and to Oré's <s>, and Carrera's <tzh> corresponds to Castro de Lovaina's <tz> and to Oré's <ç>. The details are summarized in Table 2.

Table 2. Comparison of three colonial versions of the Our Father prayer

Carrera (1644: 203)	**example**	**Oré (1607:403)**	**example**	**Castro de Lovaina ([1582] 2007:14)**	**example**	**meaning**
<æ>	<pol**æ**ng> <ixll**æ**ss> <lic**æ**m>	<e> <i> <v> <u>	<pol**e**ng> <yxll**i**s> <lic**u**m>	<ae> <ee> <e>	<pol**ae**g> <ixll**ee**se> <lil**e**m>	'heart' 'sin' 'may be'
<c>	<**c**apæc> <li**c**æm> <o**c**>	<c>	<**c**ápuc> <li**c**um> <o**c**>	<l>	<**l**apeec> <li**l**em> <o**l**>	'on top' 'may be' 'name'
<ç>	<cu**ç**iang>	<ç>	<cu**ç**iang>	<c>	<li**c**iadg>	'heaven'
<z>	<amo**z**>	<s>	<amu**s**>	<z>	<amu**z**>	'do not'
<ch>	<mæi**ch**>	<ch>	<mv**ch**>	<si> / <ci>	<mae**si**> <maecia>	'our'
<n>	<i**n**eng> <mo **l**un> <xlla**n**gmuss>	<n>	<y**n**eng> <mo**l**un> <xlla**n**gmuse>	<d>	<i**d**eng> <mu**d**um> <zlla**d**g mus>	'day' 'today' 'enemy'
<tzh>	<**tzh**æng>	<ç>	<**ç**ung>	<tz>	<**tz**aedg>	'your'
<xll>	<**xll**angmuss>	<xll>	<xlla**n**gmuse>	<zll>	<**zll**adg mus>	'enemy'

2.4.1.3. Fernando de la Carrera (1644) and the Arte de la lengua yunga

In spite of the references to the several Colonial Mochica grammatical descriptions presented above, the only available document is the *Arte de la*

lengua yunga by Fernando de la Carrera (1644) (henceforth, *Arte*). The *Arte* not only consists of a grammatical description, but it comprises religious texts with no Spanish translations.

Fernando de la Carrera was the son of Juan de la Carrera and Jerónima Daza Carvajal, a descendant of conquistadores and encomenderos. Since early colonial times, Carrera's family had settled in Trujillo, where he was born (Zevallos Quiñones 1948a: 13, De la Puente Luna 2006: 53). Carrera (1644: n.p.) states, in his dedicatory words to the reader *Al Lector,* that he had learned the language when he was a child in the town of Lambayeque, where he actually grew up.

Carrera did not belong to any religious order; he was a *cura beneficiado* in charge of a benefice[31] or 'incumbent'. In 1630, he was named incumbent of the benefice of San Salvador de Jayanca (in the Corregimiento of Zaña[32]), where he replaced Pedro de Prado y Escobar. He was in charge of San Salvador de Jayanca for three years (Medina 1904: 345; Zevallos Quiñones 1948a: 13-14) after which, in 1633, he arrived to San Martín de Reque, the town which became his benefice (De la Puente Luna 2006: 39).

As Fernando de la Carrera declares that he masters the Mochica language because he learned it since he was a child, one can assume that his proficiency was near native. Juan Niño de Velasco in the approval statement of the *Arte*,

[31] A benefice was an ecclesiastical office such as a diocese, parish, or monastery, often understood as certain property destined for the support of ministers of religion, such as the care of souls. However, in the strict sense it is the right given permanently by the Church to a cleric to receive ecclesiastical revenues on account of the performance of some spiritual service (Creagh 1907).

[32] Carrera (1644: n.p.) claims that before 1644 he had had two benefices, in the Corregimiento de Zaña and in the Corregimiento of Chiclayo.

signed on December 19th 1643, advocating for its publication (available in the first pages of the *Arte,* Carrera 1644: n.p.) informs that Indians themselves had confessed that Carrera knew better than themselves how to speak this difficult language. Carrera claims that he struggled to accommodate Mochica grammar according to the Latin grammar. Especially his explanations referring to the verbal system in Mochica suffer because of his need to adjust everything according to the Greco-Latin paradigm of describing languages. Fortunately, he does deviate from the strict colonial grammar pattern and offers rules on how to, for example, use the numeral classifiers and tries to explain in the best way possible the inalienable/alienable distinction present in the language. Amongst innovations or deviations from the established model of description priests had during the colonial time, Carrera (1644) bravely creates "new letters" to represent sounds foreign to Spanish and for which he gets praised by Juan Niño de Velasco.

In spite of the fact that he considers himself a near native speaker of Mochica, there is no doubt that he probably got help from bilingual Indians when preparing his grammar. There do not seem to be available sources telling whether he benefited from the help of native speakers, but when reading the life of a tributarian Indian who considered himself a friend of Carrera's, one can suspect that he may have been a collaborator amongst many other anonymous Indians which probably helped with the preparation of the *Arte.* The name of this Indian is Jerónimo Limaylla or Lorenzo Ayun Chifo. Jerónimo Limaylla, in fact a trickster, was born as Lorenzo Ayun Chifo (1622-1678) in San Martín de Reque, as a common tributarian Indian (De la Puente Luna 2006: 48). The life of this Indian is very interesting, he managed to take the identity of a southern Peruvian noble Indian (Jerónimo Limaylla, for more information about Jerónimo Limaylla, see Alaperrine-Bouyer 2007: 212-217). However, the important details to mention about him are the ones related to

his relationship with Fernando de la Carrera. First, in spite of him being a tributary Indian which meant "one of the lowest statuses within native society", he became a "less Indian" (De la Puente Luna 2006: 50). Common Indians were able to become "less Indian", their involvement with the Church provided them that opportunity. At the age of 11, he was serving the clergymen of the local church as altar boy, by the age of 15 he knew the Christian Doctrine, only Indians belonging to native nobility knew the Doctrine. Around 1638, Lorenzo's parents died and Fernando de la Carrera took care of the sixteen year old boy, he appointed Lorenzo sacristan and later entrusted his musical training to Juan de Ayllón (Franciscan), who became his main benefactor and with whom he refined his skill of writing and reading in Spanish (De la Puente Luna 2006: 52-56). Carrera's relationship with the native community was good, in the introduction to his *Arte,* he tells about the importance of teaching and preaching in the language. When Lorenzo Ayun Chifo got into legal troubles due to his stealing of someone's identity, he communicated with Fernando de la Carrera via letters.

In general, Fernando de la Carrera was a well recognized priest, he was also an Ecclesiastical Judge. Colonial manuscripts (Carrera 1649, López 1649) provide information about the case of the Eucharistic Miracle of Eten, where Fernando de la Carrera was asked by Marcos López (Dean of the San Francisco Convent in Chiclayo) to investigate and testify as ecclesiastical judge in Eten. During the processing of the case, witnesses had to declare what they saw in front of the ecclesiastical judge, Carrera, and a notary, Íñigo de Sarabia, named by Carrera for this purpose (Carrera 1649: 29r). In general, in these documents one can observe that the relevance of knowing the indigenous language is striking; in order to get the sworn testimonies of Indians, interpreters were named and they had to be next to Carrera when the Indians testified in their language. The names of the interpreters were Tomás Castel,

from the village of Reque, "persona entendida en la lengua maternal de estos balles[33]" and Nicolás Chiscul[34], also from Reque, (Carrera 1649[35]: 35r). Indians were interrogated and asked to testify what they saw during the episode of the Miracle of Eten, there are names of Indians (that interpreters helped to get their testimonies in front of Carrera and the notary): Andrés Neciosup, from Eten, sacristan, who knew Spanish (Carrera 1649: 35v), Pablo Quinocial, mayor of Eten (Carrera 1649: 37r) and Fabián Chancafe, mayor of Eten, as well (Carrera 1649: 38v). Nevertheless, there was also a common interrogation process held in Mochica, with the aid of the interpreters, so that the whole village could respond and testify (Carrera 1649: 40r-40v). The names of the involved priests mentioned in these documents, are of those who were proficient in Mochica: Marcos López, Tomás de Reluz and Antonio Crespo. Córdova Salinas ([1651] 1957: 178) reports that they all had the title of *linguae indorum peritus.*

2.4.1.4. Baltasar Jaime Martínez Compañón

In 1778, King Charles III of Spain promoted the young Lima Cathedral canon, Baltasar Jaime Martínez Compañón, to become Bishop of Trujillo. This way, he grouped an elite of ecclesiastical and administrative reformers who

[33] "person who knew the mothertongue of these valleys"

[34] This name is written as Chis cul in Carrera (1649: 35r), and this surname is still found in the modern Lambayeque area.

[35] I have named the *Autos* as Carrera 1649, the *Auto*s is a collection of several manuscripts that include letters, signed testimonies, etc. related to the Miracle of Eten. Carrera y Daza, Fernando de la (1649). Autos originales de la aparición que el S^{r} hizo en la ostia consagrada en el pueblo de Etem, a veinte y dos de julio año de 1649. Juez Don Fernando de la Carrera Vicario de Prov^{a} , en el Corregimiento de Chiclayo. Notario Juan Carrillo. Manuscript signed by Fernando de la Carrera kept in Archivo histórico documental de la Provincia Franciscana de los XII Apóstoles del Perú, Lima. Code I-17. 1. Appendix D is the first page of this manuscript.

performed an important part of the Bourbon reforms in Spanish America. These religious leaders were involved in political economy and state administration activities (Berquist 2008: 377-378). Martínez Compañón had problems when attempting to convert his northern Peruvian bishopric of Trujillo into the industrious province expected by the Bourbons due to economic difficulty, population loss and lack of intellectual and cultural life in Trujillo. Trujillo did not fit the Bourbon agenda well but Martínez Compañón focused on promoting the common good, designing appropiate economy activities for his own bishopric. At the same time, the Bishop of Trujillo dedicated a massive effort in collecting all sorts of ethnographical information. This effort resulted in nine monumental volumes with information about the peoples, costumes, traditions, flora and fauna of the Bishopric of Trujillo. His work is known as *Truxillo del Perú.* Volume II of *Truxillo del Perú* includes a vocabulary list of eight different languages known as the *Plan* (Martínez Compañón 1783b: EIV). The languages registered are Quechua, Yunga (Mochica), Sechura, Colán, Catacaos, Culli, Cholón and Hibito. The list includes 43 entries for each language. Rivet (1949: 1-51) publishes, analyzes and compares the information of the attested languages. Moreover, Martínez Compañón registers a song written in Mochica *Tonada del Chimo* in the same volume (Martínez Compañón 1783b: E180, see Appendix E). There are two interpretations of this 18th century Mochica text, one by Salas (2013) and one by Eloranta (2013a). The information recollected by Martínez Compañón is crucial because it closes the connection gap between 17th century and 19th century Mochica, providing clear cases of phonological changes undergone in Mochica during that period (Cerrón-Palomino 1995: 65). For instance, an important change to be mentioned is [l] > [x]. Martínez Compañón (1783b: EIV) registers the alternation between /l/ and /x/, a change that gets consolidated in Republican Mochica.

The examples in Figure 3 and Figure 4 represent this alternation, <col> means ‘animal’ according to Martínez Compañón, ‘horse’ or ‘llama’ according to Carrera (1644), <ol> means ‘fire’.

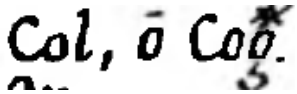

Figure 3. Representation of the alternation [l] ~ [x] in the word <col> ‘animal’ in Martínez Compañón (1783b: EIV)

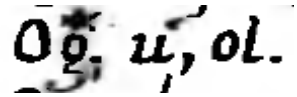

Figure 4. Representation of the alternation [l] ~ [x] in the word <ol> ‘fire’ in Martínez Compañón (1783b: EIV)

2.4.2. Republican Mochica

The presence of German anthropologists and researchers of various disciplines in Peru is remarkable. German interest in the Andes has a long tradition, already in the late 17th century there were German Jesuits missionizing in Peru, preparing grammatical descriptions of indigenous languages, and later on during the 18th century there were travelers visiting Peru even before Alexander von Humboldt’s famous voyage to the New World (1799-1894). During the late 18th century there were German mineralogists who went to Peru as experts to analyze the declining mining industry in the colony. After Peru became independent from Spain, many German scholars traveled across the Atlantic to visit the Andes, such as Eduard Pöppig, Karl Schmarda, Karl Scherzer, etc.

During the period between 1850-1920 about fifty German anthropologists and archaeologists arrived in Peru. In the mid 19th century Germany became the nation with leading academic knowledge of Peru (Kresse-Raina 2008: 104-105). This is the reason why Mochica got so much attention from Germans during post-colonial time, the long list of Germans studying the pre-history of

the ancient cultures before the Spanish colonization in northern Peru starts with Adolf Bastian, who was the first scholar to record Mochica lexical material in Eten. Bastian (1826-1905) is considered the founding father of the German Ethnology, he was the first director of the *Königliches Museum für Völkerkunde* (nowadays known as Ethnological Museum of Berlin, founded in 1868 and open to the public since 1873). He spent twenty-five years travelling around the world and conducted nine collecting trips. He donated his collections to the museum (Vermeulen 2015: 424-425). During one of his trips, which lasted a year, he collected the information contained in his work *Die Culturländer des Alten America.*

The first republican-time Mochica wordlist known so far is registered in this first volume of his monumental work (Bastian 1878a: 169-173). The second volume of his authorship (Bastian 1878b) deals with historical and ethnographic material. He was familiar with chroniclers, missionaries' accounts, legends, etc. Salas (2002: 135) reflects on Bastian's orthography of this Mochica wordlist and states that Bastian was not influenced by Carrera (1644). The first re-edition of Carrera (1644) dates from 1880. Bastian (1878a, 1878b) did not have access to this nor to an original (Carrera 1644), but he knew about the existence of Carrera's grammar. Bastian (1878b: 887) mentions Clements Markham's collection of old grammars, as well. Bastian (1878a, 1878b) refers to Mochica as the language of the Chimus. In this respect, he seems to be influenced by Clements Markham. They had communication, and it would not have been strange if Markham had given that information to Bastian. Markham (1873: xviii) considers Mochica to be a

dialect of the Chimu kingdom. He mentions Fernando de la Carrera's grammar (1644) and the Our Father by Oré (1607[36]).

In relation to his data, Bastian (1878a: 169) explains that he collected his vocabulary and sentences in Eten, with the help of Mr. Sohlfs. Salas (2002: 135-140) presents Bastian's account, to which he had access through Altieri's transcription reproduced in his edition of Carrera ([1644] 1939: xiii-xv). I agree with Schumacher (2004: 81), who complains about Salas not being accurate offering an incomplete list of Bastian. As a late tribute to Bastian, I have decided to include in this thesis my transcription of Bastian's contribution to the study of the Mochica language. I transcribe the list as it appears in Bastian (1878a: 169-173) with no English translations. I present only the Mochica words and phrases and the original Spanish translations, see Appendix B.

Ernst Middendorf (1830-1908) is the second in the list of Germans involved in the study and compilation of Mochica material. Middendorf published *Das Muchik oder die Chimu-Sprache* in 1892. Taking the *Arte* as a basis, he writes his interpretation of the Mochica grammar and complements the existing vocabulary with new lexical items that he records in Eten. In his introduction to this book, Middendorf explains how he proceeded with the collection of materials. He first studied Carrera's materials and prepared adequate questions and forms in order to be able to confront the language consultants with what he wished them to corroborate from Carrera's *Arte*. Not only did he conduct a comparative study between Carrera's attested variant of Mochica and the one he encountered in Eten, because of his knowledge of the Quechua

[36] Markham incorrectly cites the work by Oré (1607), which makes me suspect that he knew Oré via Hervás y Panduro (1800), who records only Oré's Mochica version of the Our Father prayer.

language, he also performed a comparison of some Mochica typological features with Quechua, coming to the conclusion that in contrast with Quechua, Mochica only identifies two cases: nominative and genitive, that the relations of possession have peculiar features in Mochica, that Mochica has a tendency to create short expressions, and that most words and verbal roots are monosyllabic (Middendorf 1892: 43). Middendorf (1892: 46-47) also reports about phonetic changes occurred, for example the change [l] > [x]. He reflects about Carrera's comment on the variation of the pronunciation in the different places where this language was spoken and considers that the variety described by Carrera was of Reque while his was of Eten.

Middendorf (1892: 44) reports that in the coastal valleys and towns people did not use the Mochica language (Chimu-Sprache in his words) anymore, that the elders who spoke the language had died, and that the children were using only Spanish. In most of the places, the language was gone, and the only remains were some isolated words and a specific accent in the local Spanish. The only place where Mochica was still being used was Eten. Therefore, the Mochica language was referred to as "language of Eten". In relation to his language consultants and the process of collecting information, he explained that he got help from father Alejandrino Vallejos, the local parish priest who every morning sent four elders, both men and women, to help Middendorf answer specific questions related to the language. For this purpose, Middendorf had prepared forms and questionnaires so as to check conjugations, pronouns, numbers and expressions. Due to the fact that the people who came to him were not very highly educated, Middendorf experienced the frustration of not getting much progress with his project. After fourteen days of working this way, the results were not motivating at all but, luckily, at that point Middendorf met the most appropriate consultant, a hat salesperson who was a native speaker of Mochica. This speaker knew Spanish

and Spanish grammar, had a better education, and his wife also spoke the language. Middendorf met this person some hours per day and managed to go through all the desired topics of Carrera's grammar.

In my list of German Mochica scholars, Eduard Seler (1849-1922) is the third to appear. This scholar prepared a Mochica vocabulary, which he called *Vocabulario Yunca* (for more information about Seler, see 2.5.). His Mochica vocabulary is probably prior to Otto von Buchwald's because Buchwald mentions in 1909 that he had received a Mochica vocabulary from Seler (see 2.5.). Seler's vocabulary is based on an analysis of Carrera ([1644] 1880) and Middendorf (1892). Comparing all the work of analysis done by all German scholars, one must conclude that Seler's is definitely the deepest and most interesting. For instance, he has a very unique approach to the intriguing nature of the suffix <o> in Mochica, proposing eleven different contexts of its appearance. He dedicates fifteen index cards[37] of his "vocabulario" to examples of the different contexts where this <o> appears. He calls this <o> *Suffix der Beziehung* 'relational suffix'.

As an interesting detail of what can be discovered in an archive, I think I could trace the path that the re-edition of Carrera's grammar (Carrera [1644] 1880) took to arrive in Seler's hands. Among Lehmann's legacy, preserved at the library of the Ibero-Amerikanisches Institut, Preussischer Kulturbesitz in Berlin, there is a short letter that presumably arrived with a book sent by the Austrian (chevalier) Karl von Scherzer (1821-1903), traveler and diplomat, who, while being Consul General in Leipzig (1878-1894) sent Carrera's

[37] To read these index cards, I profited from the friendly and enthusiastic help of Rogier Nieuweboer and Hans W. Giessen, from the University of Helsinki.

grammar edited by Paz Soldán as a gift to Eduard Seler.[38] In the letter von Scherzer states that he got the printed grammar from Paz Soldán himself (Scherzer 1880).

I have decided to posit Otto von Buchwald after Seler because of the information obtained through Buchwald himself in relation to Seler's collaboration with him, handing a vocabulary of his authorship to him (Buchwald 1909: 149). Of course, this is speculative, but the time frame in which this could have happened was probably between November 1896 and March 1909; this I justify as follows: Buchwald mentions the Great Fire in Guayaquil, which occurred in November 1896, where he lost his word list (around 200, fruit of his own fieldwork in Eten (Buchwald 1918: 5)). This information was destroyed but, in general, one can observe the deep interest Buchwald had in Mochica. In most of his writings, like for example Buchwald (1909), (1918) he tries to etymologize Ecuadorian toponyms and ancient anthroponyms with the aid of his Mochica knowledge.

Villarreal (1921) provides a grammatical analysis of the Mochica grammar by Carrera ([1644] 1880) edited by Paz Soldán. Villareal (1921: 9-44) is the vocabulary extracted by Villarreal from Carrera ([1644] 1880). In addition, in the same work, Villarreal (1921: 122-124) offers a vocabulary list collected in Eten, in 1920, by Amadeo Vilches from María Carbayo. Villarreal (1921: 125-126) is the lexical information gathered by Lorenzo Colchón in Eten.

Brüning (1840-1928) is an important Peruvianist who dedicated many years of his life to the study of northern Peru and the Mochica language. He prepared

[38] I assume the book was sent to Seler and not to Lehmann even though the letter is kept by Lehmann, because the year when the letter was signed is 1880, and by then Walter Lehmann (1878 –1939) would have only been two years old. In 2.5. I explain Lehmann's close relationship to Seler, which would explain why he kept his letter.

a vocabulary basing himself on his analysis of Carrera ([1644] 1880), other historical sources such as Calancha, Oviedo y Valdés, and his own fieldwork. The variety attested in his work is the variety of Eten. In his vocabulary there are several new lexical items and multiple expressions. Brüning's manuscripts, Brü 1.34 and Brü 1.35 (Brüning 1905-1924a and Brüning 1905-1924b, respectively), kept in the Ethnological Museum in Hamburg, were edited by Salas (2004) as the *Mochica Wörterbuch/Diccionario Mochica*.

Larco Hoyle ([1938] 2001) prepared two volumes called *Los Mochicas.* In the first volume, there is a section dedicated to the Mochica language (Larco Hoyle [1938] 2001: 129-143). This section includes a brief analysis of Mochica grammar, according to the author (Larco Hoyle [1938] 2001: 129-138) and a comparative vocabulary list of 174 lexical items, where Larco Hoyle ([1938] 2001: 139-143) compares the vocabulary registered by Carrera (1644), the one provided by Villarreal (he names the columns according to the respective language consultant and the year of recollection: María Carbayo (1920) and Lorenzo Colchón (1920)). The column containing the result of his own field work performed in Eten and Monsefú is named Domingo Reyes and other names, in reference to his own language consultants.

Walter Lehmann (1878-1939) studied medicine but felt attracted to the research conducted by Eduard Seler at the University of Berlin. In 1900, he took some courses about ancient American cultures with Seler and by 1903 he was a volunteer at the *Museum für Völkerkunde* in Berlin. He worked under the supervision of Seler. Even though he did not have the education of an archaeologist or anthropologist, his talent, scientific level, and the approval of Seler granted him the option to become a very well recognized Americanist. He was very interested in languages and studied many different Amerindian languages (Riese 1983: 311-312).

He traveled through Central America and South America. The result of his journey through South America is the collection of data in his manuscript called *Vokabulare zu meiner Süd-Amerika Reise: Aymará, Quechua, Mochica, Uro-Chipaya (verwandt mit dem Puquina), Atacameño, Puquina* (Lehmann 1929f). This, like most of his manuscripts on languages and linguistic research on Peruvian languages, is kept unpublished as part of his large legacy collection in the library of the *Ibero-Amerikanisches Institut* in Berlin. On the first page of this document, one can get interesting information about the short time Lehmann spent in every place when gathering his data. For instance, for Mochica, he dedicated two days, the 14th and the 15th of December 1929 (Lehmann 1929f).

This tendency of spending a short time with his language consultants is criticized by Dürr (1993: 174-175). This may be true, but his manuscripts show that he prepared himself before his field work trips for gathering data. For instance, in relation to Mochica, before his encounter with his consultants, he prepared a dictionary based on Carrera [1644] 1880 and Middendorf (1892) called *Kleines Wörterverzeichnis alphabetisch geordnet: der Mochica-Sprache, Nordküste Peru's nach Carrera (1644). Vocabulario Lengua Mochica (Carrera 1644*). He prepared it in Trujillo, during the short period of the 4th-9th of December, 1929 (Lehmann [1929a] 1937). In relation to his work of Mochica, he collected lexical items with the help of consultants. Isidora Isique was over 80 years old and she was Lehmann's "main interpreter" according to his own account (Lehmann [1929g] 1931). Lehmann got help from other consultants: Trinidad Chancafe, Juan de Dios Puican, Martín Chirinos, and José Velásquez.

In what follows, I wish to present two vocabularies, namely, the one compiled by Huber [1946] 1953a and b, and the vocabulary by Kosok [1948] 1965,

[1951] 1965. Salas (2002: 237-244) presents Huber [1946] 1953a and b and Kosok [1948] 1965 as copies of the same manuscript. Salas (2002: 237-239) applies philological criteria of textual criticism to establish how the copying process occurred. He establishes that Huber had made a better copy than Kosok but disregards entirely Huber's contribution excluding it completely from his Mochica dictionary (Schumacher 2004 does not mention Huber's contribution either). A clarifying note why he decided not to include the data gathered during this author's fieldwork in old Mochica speaking areas would have been enough to at least make the reader aware that such information exists.

Let us turn to Konrad Huber (1916-1994). He was a Swiss Romanist, a disciple of Jakob Jud (Decurtins 1995: 247, Huber [1946] 1953a: 127). Konrad Huber lived in Peru during 1943-1947 (Huber [1946] 1953a: 127) working as the director of the Private Swiss School "Pestalozzi" in Lima. He arrived in Peru in 1943 (see in bibliography Pestalozzi School). He mentions his stay in Peru in his article *Contribution a la langue Mučik* (Huber [1946][39]1953a: 128-130), in which he claims that he wished to investigate whether one could find Mochica words in the Spanish variants of the indigenous people of the northern coast of Peru. He thought he could apply his mentor Jakob Jud's methods of linguistic geography that were previously applied to finding pre-Roman terms in French dialects. He traveled to northern Peru 1946 with a questionnaire he had previously preprared in order to obtain terms related to agriculture, fishing, flora, and fauna. He had chosen these semantic fields building on his own experience in the Alps, where he discovered that these fields included archaic lexical items. He took his

[39] I record the year of recollection in brackets [1946], the year Huber published this material was 1953.

questionnaire with him to Ferreñafe, Mórrope, Lambayeque, and Eten. With great enthusiasm he gathered data and compiled it as *A. Vocabulaire personnel* (Huber [1946] 1953a: 128-130). He also found a manuscript vocabulary that he copied under *B. Vocabulaire manuscript appartenant à Rafael Quesquén de Eten* (Huber [1946] 1953b: 130-134).

In relation to the lexical items corresponding to part A, he explicitly says that he did not have the time to investigate whether the list includes Quechua items or whether the words corresponded to Carrera's information or not, but that his intention by publishing it was to make his data accessible to Mochica scholars (Huber [1946] 1953a: 127). Indeed, there are several regionalisms that have Quechua origin and one should work with his list, but there are also several words referring to different calabashes, fish names, trees and herbs that are worth considering and comparing to other sources. Huber was careful to indicate where he recorded the words, using initial letters Fe (Ferreñafe), VE (Villa Eten), Mp (Mórrope), L (Lambayeque). Part B contains the vocabulary he copies from the aforementioned manuscript. Rafael Quesquén explains to Huber that those are all the words and expressions that he had gotten from the elders. Huber explains that the orthography follows Spanish orthographical conventions (Huber [1946] 1953a: 128).

Paul Kosok (1965) offers *List 1 of Mochica words and phrases* (Kosok [1951]1965: 248-249). This list is a copy of the copy made by Antonio Rodríguez Suy Suy (of Simón Quezquen's copy made out of his grandparents' originals collected in 1951). Kosok ([1948]1965: 249) offers *List 2 of Mochica words and phrases,* which is a copy obtained by Schaedel and Rodríguez Suy Suy from Manuela Millones de Carrillo in Trujillo in 1948.

Zevallos Quiñones (1941: 377) provides a list of fifty terms collected by himself in Monsefú, with the collaboration of two language consultants: Manuel Llonto Esqueche (70 yeas old) and José Ayasta (72 years old) (Zevallos Quiñones 1941: 377), while Zevallos Quiñones (1947b) comprises the information of several sources: Carrera [1644]1939, Bastian (1878), Middendorf (1892), Villareal (1921), Larco Hoyle [1938] 2001. He also registers eight terms extracted from Calancha (1639).

Augusto Orrego (1958) published *Palabras del mochica* in the Revista del Museo Nacional del Perú, edited by Luis E. Valcárcel. The author does not give any kind of explanations about how he compiled his vocabulary or which sources he has used. But he seems to have used practically all sources including Calancha's information as Zevallos Quiñones did. Apparently, this vocabulary is based on Zevallos Quiñones (1947b) but has some additional entries.

Gertrud Schumacher de Peña's (1991) edition of Walter Lehmann's vocabulary compared with other lexical sources is a careful edition of Lehmann's data from Eten. The materials of Lehmann's dictionary consist mainly of nouns, some verbs, adjectives, and short expressions (Schumacher 1991: 2). In her edition of the dictionary Schumacher compares Lehmann's materials with Carrera [1644] 1939, Martínez Compañón (1783) (accessed by Schumacher from the reproduction provided by Zevallos Quiñones 1948b: 119), Bastian (1878a), Middendorf (1892), Villareal (1921), Larco Hoyle [1938] 2001, Zevallos Quiñones (1941) and Kosok (1965) (Schumacher 1991: 2-3).

One has to acknowledge the work carried out by Salas (2002) at compiling a large amount of Mochica lexical evidence from various sources. His

dictionary demonstrates an effortful attempt to accomplish a task that had not fully been done before. Salas has the merit of unifying and interpreting the various materials he includes in his *Diccionario Mochica-Castellano/Castellano-Mochica*. For every single entry in his dictionary, he offers a hypothetical phonetic transcription (Schumacher 2004: 77-78). This work is a compilation of all the sources except for Lehmann, in spite of the fact that Lehmann's data were available through the edition by Schumacher (1991). He did not use Brüning's manuscripts Brü 1.34, Brü 1.35 which he later on edited in 2004. In spite of all the good efforts of Salas (2002), it must be remarked that he does not render the available sources in a complete way. For example, he did not use Bastian's original, nor did he include the contribution of Huber's (Huber [1946] 1953a: 128-130). Salas has tried to be as accurate as possible but there are several misspellings and inadequate transcriptions of the originals in his dictionary. Unfortunately, I agree with the point of Schumacher (2004) that it is always necessary to consult the original sources until a newer compilation of Mochica vocabulary appears in the future.

Serrepe Ascencio (2012a,) included in Ramos Cabrera & Serrepe Ascencio (2012: 25-61), is a compilation of various sources. The author respects the original orthography of each source not uniformizing his vocabulary. Serrepe Ascencio (2012b) (in Ramos Cabrera & Serrepe Ascencio 2012: 63-66) is a basic vocabulary of words and phrases that appear in the manual *Ed Muchik* 'Mochica language', a learning manual, prepared by Ramos Cabrera in 2006. It was created by the author with pedadogical purposes in mind, to help in the use of the manual. It includes expressions that follow both the rules of Colonial Mochica and the rules of New Mochica. Ramos Cabrera ([2006] 2012) included in Ramos Cabrera & Serrepe Ascencio (2012: 69-180) is a

manual to learn Mochica which includes both grammatical rules and explanations and lexical information from different sources.

Table 3. Summary of the information on the materials compiled by researchers during the last decades of the 19th century and the second half of the 20th century

Author	**Source**	**Place of recollection of data**	**Type of material**
Adolf Bastian (1878a: 169-173)	with the help of Mister Sohlfs collects a word list and sentences of the Mochica variety of Eten	Eten	word list and some expressions
Ernst Middendorf (1892)	based on analysis of Carrera ([1644] 1880) consultants: a hat merchant and his wife (Middendorf 1892: 46)	Eten	analysis of Carrera's grammar new vocabulary
Eduard Seler (earlier than von Buchwald, second half of the 19th century)	based on analysis of Carrera ([1644] 1880) and Middendorf (1892)	-	vocabulary and grammatical analysis
Otto von Buchwald (?)	own fieldwork	Eten	vocabulary list destroyed by the big fire in Guayaquil 1896
Federico Villareal (1921)	collected by Amadeo Vilches from María Carbayo and Felipe Yumps collected from Lorenzo Colchón	Eten Eten	variants of existing lexical material, new items
Brüning (1905-1924)	based on analysis of Carrera ([1644] 1880) and own fieldwork	Eten	new lexical ítems expressions

Author	Source	Place of recollection of data	Type of material
Larco-Hoyle [1938] 2001	Domingo Reyes and others	Monsefú Eten	variants of existing lexical material, original expressions
Walter Lehmann (1929a, 1929b)	Trinidad Chancafe Juan de Dios Puican Martín Chirinos José Velásquez Isidora Isique	Eten	new lexical items
Zevallos Quiñones (1941)	Manuel Llonto Esqueche José Ayasta	Monsefú	short lexical list, variants of existing lexical material
Zevallos Quiñones (1947b)	based on analysis of Carrera ([1644] 1880) and Middendorf (1892) and Calancha (1639)	-	compilation
Huber ([1946] 1953a)	own field work summer of 1946	Ferreñafe Eten Mórrope Lambayeque	own list, some items of Quechua origin
Huber ([1946] 1953b)	copy of list of Rafael Quesquén of Eten (1946)	Eten	expressions and variants of existing vocabulary, new items
Kosok (1965)	LIST I copy of the copy made by Antonio Rodríguez Suy Suy (of Simón Quesquen's copy made out of grandparents'originals (1951) LIST II copy by Kosok and Rodríguez Suy Suy from Manuela Millones de Carrillo (1948)	Eten done in Trujillo, consultant is from Eten	list full of clear copyist mistakes
Augusto Orrego (1958)	based on Zevallos Quiñones 1947b (?)	-	vocabulary

Author	Source	Place of recollection of data	Type of material
Gertrud Schumacher de Peña (1991)	edition of Walter Lehmann's vocabulary compared with other lexical sources	-	
Salas (2002)	compilation of all the sources except for Lehmann, did not use Brüning's manuscripts Brü 1.34, 1.35, did not use Bastian's original	-	vocabulary
Serrepe Ascencio (2012a)	compilation of various sources	-	vocabulary
Serrepe Ascencio (2012b)	vocabulary list created to better understand the book *Maellaec Maix ed Muchik* 'Let us talk Mochica'	-	
Ramos Cabrera ([2006] 2012)	grammatical information and vocabulary based on different sources	-	created phrases by the author following Colonial Mochica and New Mochica (see 1.4.3.)

Source: Republican sources of study of Mochica

2.4.3. New Mochica and language revival

Mochica constitutes an interesting case of language revival. Following Zuckermann & Walsh (2011) and Zuckermann & Monaghan (2012), I prefer to use the term language revival instead of language revitalization because it is more appropriate for the situation of Mochica. After its extinction in the first half of the 20th century, it was revived in an attempt to maintain it and empower it. In contrast to revitalizing a language, which implies rescuing a weakening or a dying language, language revival means resurrecting a language with no existing speakers. Zuckermann & Walsh (2011: 114) discuss

the most quoted example of language revival, Hebrew, and state that modern-day Hebrew or Israeli is a very different language from Biblical Hebrew, typologically and genealogically speaking. These authors expose the various attempts to classify Israeli; it has been considered both Indoeuropean and Semitic. However, they find it more appropriate to categorize it as both Semitic and (Indo-)European; this makes Israeli a hybrid language rather than an evolutionary phase of Hebrew. The way these authors explain the hybridity of Israeli is relevant to understanding the nature of the revived Mochica, or what I prefer to call New Mochica.

Considering the Mochica revival linguistic movement, it is important to distinguish two groups[40] of revitalists, the Lambayeque group (in Lambayeque) and the Moche group (in La Libertad). For years, the Lambayeque group has been employing several representatives to recover the Mochica language and cultural elements in order to construct a northern Peruvian identity. Antonio Serrepe Ascencio is one of the representatives of the language and culture revival movement in Lambayeque. Serrepe Ascencio is a university lecturer of History of the Mochica Culture at the Faculty of Education in the private University of Chiclayo. He has dedicated over sixteen years of his life to the study of the history of Lambayeque and its ancestral civilizations and is the author of publications on these topics.

Serrepe Ascencio is the director of the *Sociedad y Cultura Muchik* association in Chiclayo, which is a group of Mochica culture and, especially, language researchers, founded in 2008. This association is dedicated to the teaching of Mochica in the *Instituto Nacional de Cultura* in Chiclayo (National Institute of Culture). In 2010 Serrepe Ascencio published a book called *Las culturas*

[40] This categorization is my own way of presenting the people involved in the Mochica revival movement.

prehispánicas en la región Lambayeque – I. In collaboration with another notorious revitalist representative, the late Ana Ramos Cabrera, he prepared the re-edition of Altieri's re-edition of the *Arte* by Carrera [1939] 2009. In the final pages of this book, Ramos Cabrera (2009: 110-111) includes an impressive, long text written entirely in New Mochica, telling the Ñaymlap legend (see Appendix C).

Linguist Guillaume Oisel, who is a visiting professor at the Universidad Nacional Intercultural de Amazonía (Pucallpa) and the director of the Alliance Française in Chiclayo, also promotes the diffusion of the Mochica language, including a course of the Mochica language at the Alliance Française. Serrepe Ascencio supports this teaching initiative in collaboration with two other teachers: Luisa Santisteban (born in Mórrope) and Wuagnner Cabrejos Guevara (Alliance Française 2018; Guillaume Oisel, personal communication, June 26, 2018).

Lambayeque counts on another group, including a younger generation of revitalists, such as Medalí Peralta Vallejos and the brothers Juan Carlos Chero Zurita and Luis Enrique Chero Zurita, who work in an interdisciplinary team that, since 2005, has been establishing an active front of the revived Mochica language and culture. Peralta Vallejos is a secondary school teacher of Language and Literature and a researcher and promoter of the Mochica language and culture; she promotes the ancestral technique of waist loom weaving and regional craftwork. Juan Carlos Chero Zurita is also a Language and Literature teacher, a lawyer and a lecturer at the Universidad Señor de Sipán (Lord of Sipan University) in Chiclayo, while his brother Luis Enrique Chero Zurita is an archaeologist and lecturer at the Universidad Nacional Pedro Ruíz Gallo, who also holds the position of Director of the Site Museum of Huaca Rajada in Sipán.

The efforts and activities led by this team have been fruitful, with learning workshops, teachers training, and Mochica instruction in some schools. They promote the investigation of cultural manifestations in the area, as well as producing linguistic material. They are also very supportive to other initiatives in the region and eager to collaborate. They have actively participated in organizing various events as part of the *Festival del Señor de Sipán* (Lord of Sipan's Festival) from 2012-2016. The result of their years of study of the Mochica language and culture is a learning manual with Mochica basics, called *Tūk Muchik* (Chero Zurita, Juan Carlos, Medalí Peralta Vallejos & Luis Enrique Chero Zurita 2012).

The Moche (La Libertad) group of revival and diffusion of the Mochica language and culture is mainly composed of the brothers Antonio Hermógenes and Jorge Juan Sachún Cedeño. Antonio Hermógenes Sachún Cedeño is an ethnohistorian; along with his brother, an anthropologist, he co-founded a research center that concentrates on investigating and empowering the Mochica language and culture as a means for the construction and vigorization of ethnic identity. This research center's name is *Eje de Investigación y Vigorización de la Etnia Muchik*. In the founder's manuscripts[41] he stipulates diverse proposals of renovation of the education system, among other ideas; his goal is the diffusion of Mochica language and culture. Language plays an important role in this manifesto, as a means to learn and interpret culture and as an important element for the consolidation of historical, cultural and artistic identity of the *etnia Muchik*[42] 'Mochica ethnia' (Sachún Cedeño 2004). This

[41] I visited Antonio Hermógenes Sachún Cedeño in Moche and received several of his manuscripts. Most of the manuscripts are not dated, but I list them in the bibliography according to their title.

[42] The concept *etnia Muchik* is defended by Sachún Cedeño but it is highly controversial.

group's motto is *Moeiche Muchik-Chipan siamein* 'we, the Mochicas, still live'. This, along with many other phrases, are of Sachún Cedeño's authorship, as are the Mochica ethical-moral maxims *Ekeiñ pecanpoen* 'tell the truth' *Lokeiñ odka* 'be honest, honorable, sincere'and *Lokeiñ caf loepac* 'be hardworking'. In an interview in 2017, Jorge Juan Sachún Cedeño adds a fourth maxim whose spelling I assume to be: *lokeiñ kallapoek*[43] 'be friendly'. In Moche they are trying to boost the use of these maxims in schools.

The Sachún Cedeño brothers have devoted efforts to developing what Jorge Juan Sachún Cedeño (2017) calls "ethno-pedagogical strategies" and to supporting the revival of the Mochica language. The election of both the *Chisi Muchik* (Mochica girl) and the *Iñikuk Muchik* (Mochica teen) are so-called ethno-pedagogical strategies. The *Iñikuk* ethno-cultural pageant appears to have been started by the initiative of Jorge Juan Sachún Cedeño[44] in 1993 (Sachún Cedeño 2017), and it has been gaining acceptance and popularity, nowadays replacing beauty contests in the area.

[43] Middendorf (1892: 67) reports <kallapäk> 'smiling', 'friendly'.

[44] Peralta Vallejos (personal communication, August 4, 2017) believes that there is no consensus about which group initiated the celebration of the election of the *Iñikuk.* Besides Sachún Cedeño, Victorino Túllume, archaeologist, director and founder of the *Círculo Cutural Étnico Pedagógico Victorino Túllume Chancafe*, claims to have been the initiator. Serrepe Ascencio & Ramos Cabrera (2009: 7, 102) confirm that Túllume Chacafe started with the celebration already in 2002, the first *Iñikuk* was Amalia Uypan. However, the regional government institutionalized in 2008 the election of the Regional *Iñikuk* as a cultural symbol to recover and promote values such as respect, responsibility, solidarity (Gobierno Regional Lambayeque et al. 2008).

2.4.3.1. Characteristics of New Mochica

It is impossible to talk about all the features of the New Mochica varieties that have emerged lately. To illustrate cases concerning some aspects[45], I want to offer examples of their salient characteristics. First, to be able to discuss the nature of this language, an important point to consider is the language of the revitalists. In this respect, Zuckermann & Walsh (2011: 115) claim that "the more revitalists speak contributing languages with a specific feature, the more likely this feature is to prevail in the emergent language". In the case of New Mochica, the revitalists' language is exclusively Spanish, and its features are evident in different aspects, as I show in what follows.

At the level of phonology, even though there is no record of the original Mochica pronunciation, the information on Mochica's peculiar sounds, very different to those of Spanish, was preserved through colonial documentation, as will be shown in Chapter 3. In New Mochica, these particular sounds are simplified; they are pronounced following the Spanish phonetic rules and represented following the Spanish orthography. Chero Zurita et al. (2012) keep Carrera's orthographic representation of the sixth vowel <æ>, proposing <eu> as its pronunciation. Ramos Cabrera ([2006] 2012: 77) does not always make use of the Latin ligature and most often uses either <ae> or <oe>, as in the cases of <aiapaec> and <chizoer>, respectively. These cases would originally have had the Latin ligature <æ>: <aiapæc> 'the creator' and <chizær> 'grace'. In the Moche variety, the tendency is to have <oe> instead of the Latin ligature, for example: <cianchipoec> 'human being', 'person' (Sachún Cedeño 2013). The segment of this word that serves as an agentive

[45] I follow the analysis of the impact of English on Kaurma presented by Zuckermann & Walsh (2011: 120) and apply some of the argumentation presented there to explain the case of New Mochica.

nominalizer <-poec> was originally <-pæc> in Colonial Mochica. Carrera (1644: 208) reports <çiamo chipæc> ‘person’.

At the lexical level, these varieties present a good number of calques, evidently literal translations that have appeared independently in the groups, the word for ‘welcome’ is a clear case. There are three versions of the translation of ‘welcome’ into New Mochica: <chizoer tañeiñ> (Sachún Cedeño[46]), <ayen tesäkedo> Ramos Cabrera (2009: 99) and <ayentaado> (Chero Zurita et al. 2012). The version <chizoer tañeiñ> is perhaps used more due to the fact that it is older. In opposition to <chizoer tañeiñ>, Peralta Vallejos (personal communication, August 4, 2017) considers the calque <ayentaado> more appropriate but does not comment on <ayen tesäkedo>. The respective glosses are presented in (1), (2) and (3).

(1) <chizoer tañeiñ> (Sachún Cedeño)

chi-	zoer	ta	=ñeiñ[47]
be-	EVENT.NMLZ.REL	GO	=1SG

‘welcome’

(2) <ayen tesäkedo> (Ramos Cabrera 2009: 99)

ayen	t-	esäk-	edo
well	go-	EVENT.NMLZ-	PTCP

‘welcome’

[46] There is no report of the year when this expression came into use, but even in local museums in Lambayeque, tourist guides welcome guests using this expression.

[47] In Colonial Mochica, the clitic for 1SG is normally =eiñ or =iñ. In this example, the clitic is =ñeiñ. It is common in the variety of Moche to have only the 1SG clitic for all grammatical persons. It is some kind of simplification of the system.

(3) <ayentaado> (Chero Zurita et al. 2012)

ayen- ta- a- ado[48]

well- come- a[49]- PTCP

'welcome'

Despite the fact that these three interpretations depart from the various ways of understanding Colonial Mochica grammar, it is necessary to accept them all as correct, keeping in mind that the only way of keeping the recovered language alive is embracing its hybridity.

At the syntactic level, with regard to the constituent/word order, all three New Mochica varieties share the same characteristic; they formulate expressions according to the most common order in Mochica, which corresponds to the traditional sequence in Spanish, the SVO order. My suspicion here is that they all follow the Spanish, and this is the reason for the similarity in the three Mochica varieties.

In relation to word order within the noun phrase, New Mochica nominal expressions do not follow the original Colonial Mochica order of modifier-modified, but rather follow the word order of the Spanish construction. Examples (4), (5) and (6) show cases of the modifier-modified order of New Mochica. Interestingly, in the translations in (4) and (6), the use of the ablative <ich> is preferred where maybe a genitive would be the easiest solution.

[48] Carrera (1644: 147) reports the participle <tædo> as the participle form of verb 'to go'.

[49] According to Peralta Vallejos (personal communication, 4 August, 2017), <a> would be a support vowel.

(4) <An kankapissäkærô “Çiequic Sipán ich”> (Peralta Vallejos 2007[50])

An	kan-	kap-	issäk-	ær-	ô	Çieq-	uic	Sipán
house	a lot-	know-	EVENT.NMLZ-	OBL-	REL	lord-	DEREL	Sipán

ich

ABL

house knowledge of lord Sipan of

‘house of knowledge (university) “Lord of Sipán”’

(5) <Ap eiñ ed muchik Centro Investigacioneaerô Muchik nic>

(Ramos & Serrepe 2012:164)

Ap=eiñ	ed	muchik	Centro Investigacion-	eaerô	Muchik
Ap=1SG	tongue	muchik	Center of Investigation-	OBL	Muchik

nic

INE

in

Learn I tongue muchik Center of Investigation of Muchik

‘I learn Mochica language in the Mochica Center of Investigation’

(6) <Kankapissak kesmik ich moche> (Sachún Cedeño 2013)

Kan-	kap-	issak	kesmik	ich	moche
a lot-	know-	EVENT.NMLZ	old	ABL	moche

knowledge old from moche

‘ancient Moche knowledge’

[50] Peralta Vallejos (personal communication, August 4, 2017) reports that the first time they used the term was in 2007 in the archaeological complex of Huaca Rajada in Sipán.

Expressions in New Mochica are not the exclusive creations of the groups mentioned so far. The Universidad Señor de Sipán (Lord of Sipán University) in Lambayeque has an institutional scientific journal called *Tzhoecoen*. Peralta Vallejos (personal communication, August 4, 2017) informed me that the meaning of this name is 'the messenger' but does not have a reference from where this word came from. Personally, I believe that the only verb that can be its origin is <tzhæcæm[51]> 'to run', which is attested in Carrera (1644: 136, 147). This is an interesting case of word creation in New Mochica because there is a direct connection to a mythical Mochica personage considered a messenger or ritual runner who would bring a bag of lima beans as a message (Castillo Butters 2000: 116).

At the level of discourse, everything said is translated from Spanish; in this respect, besides the pervasive tendency of calquing, Spanish discourse patterns seem to be another highly pervasive feature. As stated before, a revived language is no longer the original language; in relation to New Mochica, one can be sure that there is no relation to an evolutional stage of Mochica. One rather talks of a new language with the base of Mochica, but with different structures belonging to Spanish. The resulting new language will develop new functions and new vocabulary, the same way another living language would. It will also remain as a valid system of communication as long as the new speakers value it as a true expression of their identity (Crystal (2000: 162), Zuckermann & Walsh (2011: 120)).

2.5. Seler as Mochica scholar in Berlin

During the last two decades of the 19th century, the investigation on the ancient cultures in the Americas developed as a new scientific discipline. Max Uhle

[51] This verb is attested as <tsůkum> in Middendorf (1892: 91).

(1856-1944) and Eduard Seler (1849-1922) were two academics who specialized in America (Bankmann 2003: 231). Eduard Seler is considered the founder of pre-colonial Mexican and Amerindian studies in Germany. Seler is very well known, as a preeminent Mayanist and Mesoamericanist, but very little is known about him as a South American scholar. Among his disciples in the area of the Americanist studies, one can name Theodor Wilhelm Danzel, Ernst von Hoerschelmann, Walter Krickeberg, Franz Termer and Walter Lehmann (Thiemer-Sachse 2001: 205, 2003: 63). With no doubt, one can be certain that Seler is a lost link in the well recognized continuous chain of German scholars dedicated to the study of the Mochica language.

Seler was a (South) Americanist and, to some extent, also a Peruvianist; he devoted work and research to Peruvian pottery, textiles, archaeological sites and even tried to establish connections between Mexico and Peru based on pottery patterns, for example (Bankmann 2003: 231-257). In relation to Peru, one can establish his relationships with other German scholars who were also interested in Peru, such as Adolf Bastian (1826-1905) and Max Uhle (1856-1944). Bastian, who was the founder and first director of the Ethnological Museum of Berlin, invited Seler to work in the museum in 1884 (Bankmann 2003: 232). His relationship with Uhle was not the friendliest (Bankmann 2003: 250), but they definitely shared an interest in Peru, attending the same conferences and dealing with the same topics of research, many times with diverging opinions (Bankmann 2003).

Seler taught numerous courses on Mexico, and Mexican languages and cultures at the University of Berlin, but he taught some courses on South America, as well. The courses that covered South American topics are presented in the list below. As can be seen in the list, Mochica was taught at least once during the winter semester 1908/1909 as an open class.

- Die alten Kulturstamme Südamerikas[52] (WS 1908/09 [privatim])
- Kulturvolker Südamerikas (WS 1914/15, SS 1916 SS 1918 [privatim])
- Grammatik der Khetschua-und Aymará-und Yunca-Sprache[53] (WS 1908/09 [offentlich])
- Grammatik der Khetschua-und Aymará-Sprache (WS 1914/15 [privatissime (and unentgeltlich]; SS 1916)
- Ketschua und Aymará-Sprache (SS 1918 [privatissime (and) unentgeltlich])

In Berlin, the Ibero-Amerikanisches Institut (IAI or Ibero-American Institute) preserves Seler's legacy. Among the copious collection of his linguistic and ethnographical contributions preserved in the IAI, I could spot two little boxes, labelled *S.A. Vocabulario Yunca I a-m* and *Vocabulario Yunca II n-u Nachlass Seler,* respectively (S.A. refers to South America). The boxes are about ten centimeters long and contain a total of about 1400 handmade index cards. Each of these cards is probably the size of a sixth of a sheet of paper. The index cards contain a vocabulary of the Mochica language, elaborated upon by Seler. The two main sources for the preparation of his vocabulary are the re-edition[54] of the colonial grammatical description of his time (Carrera [1644] 1880) and Middendorf (1892).

[52] In the collection of Seler's legacy, a manuscript preserved at the library of the Ibero-Amerikanisches Institut, Preussischer Kulturbesitz in Berlin is the copy of Seler's lessons taken by Krickeberg (Krickeberg [1908-1909] 1913).

[53] The courses on Mochica are mentioned as well by Masson (2001: 222), (2003: 167).

[54] The first re-edition of the colonial Mochica grammar was conducted by Paz Soldán (1880).

Seler's *Vocabulario Yunca* was probably well known and used in Germany by his disciples or any others interested in the Mochica language. Otto von Buchwald (1909: 149) reports about his own Mochica vocabulary (word list), lost in the major fire of Guayaquil in 1896, also mentioning Seler's vocabulary:

> Durch die Güte des Herrn Prof. Dr. Ed. Seler in Berlin habe ich ein Vokabular der Yungasprache (Chimu-Mochica) erhalten, das er nach dem Buche des Pfarrers Carrera (1644) und dem Vokabular des Dr. Middendorf zussamengestellt hat. Eine Wortliste, die ich selbst in Eten gesammelt hatte, ist leider in dem grossen Brande von Guayaquil 1896 vernichtet. Das ist insofern ein Verlust, als die Sprache wohl heute kaum noch gesprochen wird.[55]

The index cards of Seler's vocabulary do not only contain lexical items extracted by Seler from the sources mentioned, but he also attempts to give explanations of grammatical constructions. For example, a case of interest is his analysis of all possible different contexts of occurrence of <o>, which he calls a "relational suffix[56]" (Seler's Vocabulario Yunca II). He dedicates 15 index cards to this analysis and identifies eleven different contexts, offering examples of each case. Seler was not known as a Peruvianist, or at least not contemporarily, and amongst the Mochica studies Seler's work has never been mentioned so far. I consider it only fair to pay late tribute to him as a Mochica

[55] By the kindness of Mr. Professor Dr. Ed. Seler, I received in Berlin a vocabulary of the Yunga language (Chimu-Mochica), which he has prepared based on the book of the priest Carrera (1644) and the vocabulary of Dr. Middendorf. Unfortunately, a wordlist that I had myself collected in Eten, got destroyed in the big fire of Guayaquil in 1896. This is a loss because the language is probably nowadays barely spoken. [My own translation].

[56] Indeed, this <o> appears in different contexts in Mochica; Seler calls it "Suffix der Beziehung".

scholar who was a support, mentor and inspiration, and reference for other German researchers interested in the Mochica language, such as Otto von Buchwald (1843-1934), Walter Lehmann (1878-1939) and Hans Heinrich Brüning[57] (1848-1928).

Walter Lehmann's work on Mochica is vast, and part of it is known through Schumacher de Peña's publication of his vocabulary (Schumacher de Peña 1991), but what is not known is by whom his passion for the Mochica language was inspired. Without a doubt, it was Seler who inflamed Lehmann's interest in the Mochica language. Lehmann was his loyal disciple, continuing with and trying to finish his investigations (Thiemer-Sachse 2001: 206, 2003: 63).

2.6. Mochica Onomastics

There are several anthroponyms and toponyms that could be discussed in this section, but I want to inspect *Naimlap* and *Lambayeque.* Naimlap is an anthroponym and Lambayeque is a toponym. These two names were registered by Cabello Valboa ([1586] 2011: 393-395), who collected information from the northern Peruvian coast in his *Miscelánea Antártica.* In this work, he compiled the answers to the question the Indians themselves gave about their origin. These two names are connected to the myth of the origin of the dynasty of rulers of the late prehispanic cultures of the northern Peruvian coast that Spaniards were still able to encounter.

[57] Seler's legacy includes correspondence between Seler and Brüning that clearly shows how Seler advised Brüning during his stay in Northern Peru and how Brüning reported to Seler about his discoveries and concerns; for instance, see the letter by Brüning (1912) to Seler (Lambayeque, den 10ten April 1912). Seler's legacy is preserved at the library of the Ibero-Amerikanisches Institut, Preussischer Kulturbesitz in Berlin.

These mythological names have intrigued people over time. For instance, Father Justo Modesto Rubiños y Andrade[58] ([1782] 1936), in his own version of Naimlap's myth, includes etymologies. Brüning ([1922]1989: 10-21) inspects all the names recorded in the account of the myth and inspects Lambayeque, as well. Lehmann [1929g] 1931 seems considerably interested in names (both toponyms and anthroponyms) in the Mochica area and dedicates two sections of his *Mochica-Sprache von Eten bei Chiclayo*[59] to names. Salas (2012b: 22) claims that one can be certain that the names presented in the legend of Naimlap correspond to the Colonial Mochica. Salas is right in the sense that the names mentioned appear to have a Mochica origin, but in most of the cases the etymology is either obscure or impossible. Moreover, Salas (2012b: 25) does not inspect all the legends' names but only *Ñina Cala*[60], the official responsible for the throne and royal litter of Naimlap.

Urban & Eloranta (2017) analyze the names associated to Ñaimlap's dynasty that appear in the account of Cabello Valboa ([1586] 2011), demonstrating that some names of the members of Naimlap's court can indeed be etymologized with the aid of Mochica linguistics[61]. In 2.6.1., I review and reconsider what was said about *Naimlap* and in 2.6.2., in relation to

[58] Justo Modesto Rubiños y Andrade was born in Lambayeque in 1724 (Zevallos 1947a: 115).

[59] *Mochica-Sprache von Eten bei Chiclayo* is a manuscript kept in the archive of the Ibero-Amerikanisches Institut, Preussischer Kulturbesitz in Berlin. Nachlass W. Lehmann. This manuscript consists of 440 index cards, some of which include the results of Lehmann's study of place and personal names of Mochica origin.

[60] Literal translation of Ñina Cala would be 'llama of the sea'. For further discussion of this name, see Urban & Eloranta (2017: 161).

[61] Due to the lack of comprehensive information about Mochica grammar and vocabulary, it is impossible to etymologize all names.

Lambayeque, I will offer a novel interpretation not developed in Urban & Eloranta (2017).

2.6.1. The case of an anthroponym: *Naimlap* or *Ñaimlap*?

Naimlap was the mythological dynastic founder of Lambayeque. He was the first ruler who arrived to the Lambayeque shores with his wife, Ceterñi, a royal court (forty officials) and a big fleet of balsas. They brought an idol made from green stone, called Yampallec[62] (or Yanpallec). Cabello Valboa ([1586] 2011) registers Naimlap and other variants: Naylamp and Nainlap. Rubiños y Andrade[63] ([1782] 1936: 361-363), about two hundred years after Cabello Valboa's account, registers another version of the myth and the variant Ñamla. According to Mochica phonotactics and following Cerrón-Palomino (1995: 43), Naimlap is the most adequate. Nevertheless, in Urban & Eloranta (2017: 157) the spelling *Ñaimlap* is chosen considering that the name of the idol that represents this personage is Yampallec and taking into account the Ñamla spelling by Rubiños y Andrade.

Urban & Eloranta (2017) moreover adopt the Ñaimlap spelling because this shows that the name has something to do with the word for 'bird' (cf. Cerrón-Palomino 1995: 43; Torero 2002: 229), which is <ñaiñ> according to Carrera (1644: 144). In what follows, I present the plausible scenarios that favor the

[62] Cabello Valboa explicitly says that Yampallec means "figure and statue of Naymlap" ("figura y estatua de Naymlap").

[63] Walter Lehmann ([1929c] 1937) copies what he considers the most important parts of Rubiños' account ([1782] 1936) and attempts some etymologies. Lehmann himself reports that he extracts the "most important", stating "wichtigstes ausegezogen …" This manuscript of Lehmann's is part of his legacy kept in the Ibero-Amerikaniches Institut in Berlin, Preussischer Kulturbesitz. Nachlass W. Lehmann.

different attested spellings and that justify their deviation from <ñaiñ>[64]. First, although the palatal nasal /ɲ/ orthographically represented by <ñ> is a phoneme in Spanish, its presence in word initial and final position is uncommon. This fact could have motivated replacement by the closest sound available, which is the alveolar nasal /n/ in the onset of the initial syllable of the name as recorded by Cabello Valboa (Naimlap). Secondly, the sequence [ɲl] offers articulatory difficulties leading to probable dissimilation of <ñaiñ> to <ñaim>. In this respect, it is worth mentioning that Cabello Valboa's spelling <Nainlap> retains an articulation point closer to Urban & Eloranta's (2017) proposal of the presumed original <*Ñaiñlap>.

The etymology of the element <-lap> remains unclear. Rubiños y Andrade ([1782] 1936: 363) suggests an etymology for <Ñamla>. He claims that it means 'bird (or hen) of water'[65]. Cerrón-Palomino (1995: 44, fn 22) calls this proposal "popular etymology" because the original <-*lap> with no known meaning cannot relate to <*la> 'water'; the final stop /p/ of the original version of Cabello Valboa's would lack explanation. Urban & Eloranta (2017: 157), following Rowe (1948: 38, fn 14), support Cerrón-Palomino's rejection of Rubiño y Andrade's etymology with an additional argument. Mochica has dependent-head order in compounds; thus, the interpretation would necessarily be 'bird-water' rather than 'water-bird'.

Although Urban & Eloranta (2017: 157-158) are not totally convinced about their new proposal of etymology of Ñaimlap, they nonetheless turn to the

[64] These possibilities were presented in Urban & Eloranta (2017: 157).

[65] "…significa ave (o gallina) de la agua en la lengua Indica" (Rubiños y Andrade ([1782] 1936: 363)). One has to remember that even though Carrera (1644) mentions the word 'hen', there were no hens (as the ones we refer to as 'hens') in prehispanic Peru. Most probably the word <ñaiñ> originally only meant bird. This is a case of semantic change in lexical acculturation.

popular form <ñampal> 'osprey' (*Pandeon haliaetus),* citing Watanabe (1995:87) and Elera Arévalo (1998: viii, 328). Unfortunately, there is no early record of this form from colonial times. However, it is attested during the first half of the 20th century, while the language was dying out. The earliest record of <ñampal> I have found is Brüning ([1922]1989: 18-19, 22). Brüning had access to Ternaux-Compans' (1840) French translation and very first edition of Cabello Valboa's *Miscelánea Antártica.* On the basis of this translation of the account of Ñaymlap's legend, he prepares his study about the foundation of Lambayeque. When he deals with the anthroponym Naymlap, he suggests that this name may have been "Nyampal" or as written already during his time "Ñampal". He states: "I believe the name of our Chief was not ***Naymlap*** but ***Nyampal,*** or according to how it is written nowadays: ***Ñampal***[66]**".** He suspects that Ternaux-Compans (1840: 89-93) may have committed a copying error from the original manuscript or that there may have been an editing/printing error. As can be observed, during Brüning's time it was common to refer to Naymlap as Ñampal. Moreover, this author offers support to his assumption, indicating that he has seen the use of <ni> and <ny> in place of <ñ> in old documentation.

I now disagree with Urban & Eloranta (2017) and do not consider it adequate to suggest that <ñampal> originally meant 'osprey' in Mochica. I suggest that the meaning 'osprey' has been attributed to this word due to the influence of Spanish phonotactics. According to the legend, Ñaimlap developed wings and flew away after his death. Following the legend, the modern association of Ñaimlap with an osprey or any being with wings appears natural. In

[66] "Creo que el nombre de nuestro Jefe no ha sido ***Naymlap***, sino ***Nyampal***, o según se escribe ahora: ***Ñampal***." Brüning's emphasis ([1922]1989: 18).

conclusion, Ñaimlap can be segmented into two parts: <ñaym-lap>, <ñaym> may be the word for 'bird' and <-lap> will remain unknown.

2.6.2. The case of a toponym: *Lambayeque*

Toponyms link a language and its territory, current or ancestral, in a very special way (Nash & Simpson 2012: 392). Throughout the years, the etymology of the toponym Lambayeque has been subject to study and speculation. For instance, Brüning ([1922]1989: 19-21) inspects Carrera's (1644: 129) registered form for Lambayeque <ñam paxllæc> and tries to explain how this term could have changed into Lambayeque. Additionally, Brüning relates the name Ñaymlap with Lambayeque, pointing out that both <Ñan> and <pallec> (or variants) recur in both personal and place names of Lambayeque. He also mentions that <Ñan[67]> alone is the name of an old parcialidad. On the other hand, Brüning (1905-1924b: 60) registers Lambayeque as 'clay jug of smoke', Brüning (1905-1924a: n.p.) records <nyampášik> ~ <ñampášek> and Brüning (1905-1924b: 60) registers <ñampášek> ~ <nyampášk> as 'Lambeyeque'. Brüning (1905-1924a: n.p.) records both <ñam> and <nyam> 'smoke' and Brüning (1905-1924b: 17, 18) <pášĕk> ~ <pa͡ijnek> ~ <pa͡iÿäk> 'clay jug' and <pášek> 'clay jug, vessel to sieve chicha'.

In relation to Brüning's first concern, there is probably no need to look for a complex explanation for such a change. Already occurring during the 16th century[68], and in the times of Carrera in the 17th, the Spanish correspondence

[67] Zevallos Quiñones (1989: 63) also mentions the parcialidades that existed by the end of the 16th century, and Ñan is one of them.

[68] Lambayeque as a place name appears in early documentation; for instance, Lambayeque is mentioned in the report of the *Visita* under the commission of the *oidor* González de Cuenca (an oidor was a judge). In that account, one learns that

of <ñam paxllæc> was already Lambayeque. Toponyms can easily undergo changes when they are borrowed or translated into other languages. Spanish speakers, since the beginning, adopted Lambayeque as the hispanized representation of <ñam paxllæc>. The adaptation is easy to explain, considering Spanish phonotactics. As mentioned above, the presence of the palatal nasal /ɲ/ in word initial and final position is uncommon in Spanish. The addition of a final vowel to the final consonant of Mochica words is also typical and can be seen in several cases of Mochica place names, such as in Firruñap > Ferreñafe (Middendorf 1892: 64). Zevallos Quiñones (1993: 220) mentions that toponyms ending in <ap>, <ep> have become <ape>, <epe>, etc.

Brüning was not the only German Mochica scholar who showed interest in searching for the etymology of Lambayeque. Walter Lehmann [1929g] 1931 was interested in names as well. His work *Mochica-Sprache von Eten bei Chiclayo* was compiled in Eten in 1929 but put in order in Berlin in 1931. The first part of this work includes two sections of names: *Ortsnamen,* or toponyms, (38 index cards) and *Eigennamen von Personen,* or anthroponyms (7 index cards). On one index card, he records Lambayeque as <Ñampajek> and <Ñanpajek> (as recorded by Middendorf (1892: 64, 190). On another index card, he presents Isidora Isique's[69] record (See Figure 5). Lehmann

Lambayeque became an official settlement consolidation or *reducción* during 1566-1568. Lambayeque became a *pueblo* or town that included twelve parcialidades of Indians (Noack (1997); Zevallos Quiñones (1989: 63); Gómez Cumpa (2002: 50)). Mogrovejo ([1593-1605] 2006) also records the place name Lambayeque. Moreover, in different documents from the early 17th century, one discovers alternation of the following variants of this toponym: <Lanbayeque>, <Lambaieque> and <Lambayeque>.

[69] Isidora Isique was over 80 years old, she was Lehmann's language consultant and "main interpreter" according to his own account (Lehmann [1929g] 1931).

analyzes the word in two segments, <Ñắm> and <pæ̆e̯>, claiming that the name includes the family name <Ñam> or <Ñan>.

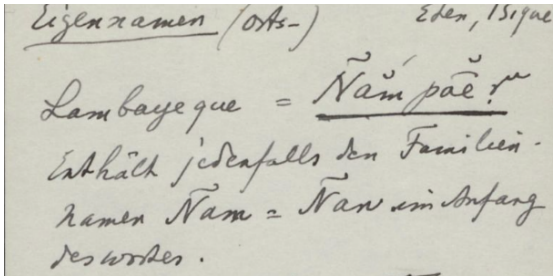

Figure 5. Isidora Isique's pronunciation of the name Lambayeque as recorded by Lehmann ([1929g]1931)

On a third index card, Lehmann includes <Ñanlaipe>, referring to Lambayeque, underlined twice. This word Ñamlaipe resembles Naymlap (and considerably even more Ñaimlap). With the evidence of an initial palatal nasal, what was said about Ñaymlap and Ñampal and Brüning's report (Brüning ([1922]1989: 18-19, 22) gets reinforced. Moreover, Lehmann's record shows that during the early twentieth century it was common to interchange the names Naymlap and Lambayeque.

Zevallos Quiñones (1944: 7) records <Ñampallæc> and registers Federico Villarreal's form for Lambayeque <Ñancaip> (Villarreal 1921: 126). He also proposes an adventurous etymology, suggesting tripartite segmentation of the toponym: <Ñam-p-allæc>. According to his interpretation, the segments would mean <ñam> 'smoke', <p(e)> 'place' and <allaec> 'cacique'. This way, the etymology of the place name would be 'place of the cacique's smoke'. In some odd way, Zevallos Quiñones forces the correspondence of this etymology with the legend of Naymlap, who flew away after his death. This etymology has problems because even though some place names include

the aforementioned ending, such as <Cɥiclaiæp>, <Firruñap>, <Morrope>, <Motupe> (Carrera 1644: n.p.), there is no record of an element <p(e)> in Mochica as a word meaning 'place'. Furthermore, the word for 'cacique' is recorded as <alæc> (Carrera 1644: 45) and not as <allaec>.

Urban & Eloranta (2017) claim that the idol name <Yampallec> seems to be relevant for the etymology of the name of Lambayeque. Urban & Eloranta (2017: 158) try to reconcile the form registered by Carrera (1644: 129), <Ñampaxllæc> 'to Lambayeque', with <Yampallec>. The connection is plausible, indeed. However, the authors see problems mainly in the translation 'to Lambayeque' and deduce that the ending <-æc> must be an unproductive locative case suffix, following Hovdhaugen (2004: 23). Due to concern with this supposed locative, the authors suggest the etymology of <Yampallec> to be 'at the osprey' or even 'osprey place' (Urban & Eloranta 2017: 159).

In this respect, I turn to the section where Carrera registers this toponym. Carrera (1644: 129) explains how to answer to the question <Iztæc>? 'Where do you go?' and gives several place names as journey destinations. Amongst those examples, he offers <Ñampaxllæc> 'to Lambayeque' and <Cɥiclaiæp> 'to Chiclayo'. First, in his explanation Carrera mentions that the names of towns, cities and cultivation fields have to be in accusative case with or without the presence of the verb 'to go'. Carrera (1644: 126) also registers the form corresponding to 'in Lambayeque' when answering the question <In>? 'Where are you?' and explains that the place names have to be either in the nominative or accusative. It is important to note that in Mochica one cannot distinguish nominative or accusative cases. In the end, both are the absolute form of the noun. Secondly, if the form <Cɥiclaiæp> 'to Chiclayo' is compared to the form that occurs as part of a list of places where Mochica was spoken, in the first pages of the *Arte*, one can observe that the forms are

identical. This evidence only confirms that although there are records of <Ñampaxllæc> as 'to Lambayeque' and 'in Lambayeque', it is the place name as well, with no extra locative case suffix present.

Torero (2002: 229) and Cerrón-Palomino (2008: 157, fn. 5) suggest that <paxllæc> 'lima bean' (*Phaseolus lunatus)*, which is known in the whole Peruvian territory as *pallar*, forms the second part of <Ñampaxllæc>. This word is actually not attested in Carrera (1644). Torero (2002: 229) establishes the relationship between the segment that is part of <ñam paxllæc> 'Lambayeque' (Carrera 1644: 129) and the <pexllæc> element without translation that forms part of the following sentence in (7).

(7) <mit can moiñ pexllæc> (Carrera 1644: 116)

mit-	c-	an	moiñ	pexllæc
bring-	BEN-	IMP	1SG	pexllæc

'Bring me pexllæc'

The meaning 'lima bean' is inferred from the sentence in (7). One cannot be sure about such a meaning, and there is also another problem: the quality of the vowel of the first part of the syllable remains problematic, as noted by Urban & Eloranta (2017: 159). Cerrón-Palomino (2008: 157, fn. 5) accepts that <paxllæc> is present in the dynastic Mochica name <Ñaimpaxllæc[70]> and comments that the form <paxllær>[71], derived hypothetically from <paxllæc>, must be the origin of the word *pallar* that we know. In the same vein, Salas (2012b: 59) reconstructs <*paxllær> 'lima bean' or *pallar*.

[70] Cerrón-Palomino (2008: 157) registers <Ñaimpaxllæc>, and Carrera (1644: 129) provides <Ñampaxllæc>.

[71] <paxllær>, which could be the possessed form of <paxllæc>

I agree with Urban & Eloranta (2017: 159) and consider this etymology semantically unconvincing. There is no non-linguistic evidence (archaeological, ethnohistorical, or iconographic) to assure that there is a connection with the 'lima bean' and Lambayeque. Nevertheless, in relation with the term <paxllæc>, I consider it of particular importance to present a third term that could contribute with the elucidation of <ñampaxllæc>. One of the non-translated texts in Carrera (1644: 209-210) is the Salve Regina prayer. In this prayer, I found evidence from a verb, that could be the origin of the nominalization that <paxllæc> represents, according to my interpretation. This verb has never been mentioned so far by any Mochica scholar, and since this is a *hapax legomenon,* it is difficult to be sure about its most adequate meaning. In spite of this, one can conclude that the verb <paxll-> in (8) is in the imperative form and may mean 'to return', 'to turn', 'to turn round', 'to turn back', 'to turn or direct somewhere' (Lewis & Short ([1879] 1958:464), as its corresponding Latin counterpart *converte* in the Latin version of the Salve Regina.

(8) <paxll con mæich totna aio chang ñicopæco locɥ> (Carrera 1644: 210)

paxll-	c-	on	mæich	totna	aio
turn-	BEN-	IMP	1PL	towards	DET.DIST

chang	ñico-	pæco	locɥ
2SG.POSS	to do good-	AG.NMLZ	eye

Lit. 'Turn towards us those eyes of yours that do us good'

'Turn thine eyes of mercy toward us'

Taking this evidence into consideration, it is highly probable that the toponym that refers to Lambayeque does not have anything to do with the term known as lima bean or *pallar* as suggested by Torero (2002: 229) and Cerrón-

Palomino (2008: 157, fn. 5). <Paxllæc> is possibly segmented as <paxll-æc>, where the presence of the nominalizer <-Vc> is evident. Due to the fact that this suffix can be used to create both deverbal place and instrumental nominalizations (see chapter 7) <paxllæc> could mean, 'the place of (re)turn' or 'the one who (re)turns' / 'the one who converts (into)'. The existence of a verb <paxll-> in the Mochica language, which most probably did not have any relationship with the lima bean or *pallar,* and which is the plausible origin of a nominalization, supports this suggestion. Furthermore, the etymology for <ñampaxllæc> with a segment <paxllæc>, which would mean 'the one who converts into', acquires a very interesting nuance, especially when one takes into account the legend of the origin and foundation of the ruling dynasties of northern Peru, which involves someone's arriving from a distant place and developing wings and flying away after his death.

Combining the first segment <ñaim> 'bird' with <paxllæc> 'the one who converts into', I suggest that the meaning of Lambayeque is 'the one who turns (into) bird'. <Ñaimpaxllæc> would be an argument embedded headless relative clause structure that I analyze in (9):

(9) <Ñaimpaxllæc> (Carrera 1644: 129)

Ñaim- paxll- æc

bird- turn- NMLZ

'the one who turns (into) bird'

There are several attested examples of such argument embedded headless relative clause structures in Carrera (1644). Let us consider, for instance, examples (10) and (11).

(10) <lecɥ chipæc> (Carrera 1644: 145)

lecɥ	chi-	pæc
head	be-	AG.NMLZ
Lit.	'the head/principal being'	
	'the adult'	

(11) <xllaxll mitapæc> (Carrera 1644: 145)

xllaxll	mit-	(a)pæc
money	bring-	AG.NMLZ
Lit.	'the bringer of money'	
	'the one who brings the money'	

In this section, I have revisited earlier proposals of etymologies of Ñaimlap and Lambayeque and proposed an etymology, at least for Lambayeque. As stated in Urban & Eloranta (2017), there is a clear avian connection in the anthroponym Ñaimlap. Urban & Eloranta (2017: 162) argue that there is a general preoccupation with avian motives in Andean cultures (Fernández Alvarado 2004; Yakovleff 1932). Morever, the authors cite Makowski (2001: 146), who notes that transformation of anthropomorphic deities into birds is a frequent Andean theme (cf. Steele 2004: 107-108).

In general, etymologyzing names belonging to a dead language is a difficult task. Thus, the etymologies discussed and proposed here must be taken with criticism. However, I believe that the proposed etymology of Lambayeque not only respects the structure and syntax of the Mochica language, but its proposed meaning also responds perfectly to the legend of the foundation of the first ruling dynasty in the Mochica speaking area.