Missionary Linguistic Studies from Mesoamerica to Patagonia

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Contents

Puquina Kin Terms

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1   Introduction

This chapter offers an analysis of kin terms in the Puquina language, spoken until the early nineteenth century in the South-Central Andes. Puquina presents a difficult interpretive puzzle for linguists: despite its prominence during the early colonial period, the language survives today only in fragments of a single text, Jerónimo de Oré's *Rituale seu Manuale Peruanum* (1607). The Puquina passages of this text are often opaque and inconsistent, limiting the descriptive observations that can be made about the language. The Leiden Puquina Working Group has undertaken a reanalysis of the *Rituale*,[1] and some new aspects of the structure and lexicon of the language have become clear. Our analysis of Puquina kinship terminology, presented here, refines and expands upon that of Torero (2002). First, we find that some Puquina kin terms are distinguished by the gender of ego. Second, the terms appear to be organized in a bifurcate merging system, a type of kinship structure first identified for Iroquois by Morgan (1871). Here, ego's father and his brothers are called by the same term; ego's mother and her sisters are called by the same term; and ego's siblings and parallel cousins are called by the same terms (see Sections 3 and 5.1). Both of these features are also found in the Quechua and Aymara systems (Rodicio García 1980; Webster 1977: 28–32; Zuidema 1977: 265). This analysis of Puquina kin terms may help to understand the kinship structure, and the place of Puquina speakers in pre-colonial Andean society, though only so much can be said in the absence of information about Puquina social structure itself (cf. Zuidema 1977: 240).

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1   See https://rituale.gitlab.io/. The Leiden Puquina Working Group currently includes Arjan Mossel, Nicholas Q. Emlen, Simon van de Kerke, and Willem F.H. Adelaar.

2   The Puquina Language and the *Rituale seu Manuale Peruanum*

At the beginning of the colonial period, Puquina was one of the major languages of the South-Central Andes. It was so widespread in some parts of this region that the synods of Cuzco (1591) and Arequipa (1638) required priests to use it, alongside Quechua and Aymara, in their dioceses (Créqui-Montfort & Rivet 1925–1927; Torero 1970 [1972]; Torero 1987) (Toledo 1575). However, unlike Quechua and Aymara, which both thrived throughout the colonial period and have retained large speaker populations to the present, Puquina dwindled and disappeared from the written record altogether in the early nineteenth century.

Our knowledge of Puquina's geographical range comes mostly from colonial documents; the *Copia de los curatos* (ca. 1600) is particularly important in this respect (Bouysse-Cassagne 1975; Torero 1987; Torero 2002). According to Torero, there were three predominantly Puquina-speaking areas: around Lake Titicaca; between the city of Arequipa and the department of Tacna (Peru); and between Sucre and Potosí in present-day Bolivia (see also Domínguez Faura 2014, who argues that the presence of Puquina around Potosí was the result of the Toledan mining mita). Puquina toponymy, which gives a good indication of the language's former geographical extent (Mossel 2009), suggests that it was even more widely spoken before the colonial period. This area roughly coincides with the extent of the Tiahuanaco Empire (around 200–1,000 AD) (Stanish 2003: 8–11), suggesting an association between Puquina and that polity (Cerrón-Palomino 2016: 200). Puquina may have also been the 'particular language' of the Inka nobility (Cerrón-Palomino 2012).

Puquina has no proven genealogical relationship with other languages, though a connection with the Arawak languages has been proposed because of similarities in the pronominal systems and a small number of lexical items (Créqui-Montfort and Rivet 1925–1927; de la Grasserie 1894: 481–482; Torero 2002). The language has on occasion been confused in the literature with Uru as well as Chipaya, and relatedness with the Aymara and Uru-Chipaya language families has been suggested in the past. A clear link does exist with the Kallawaya language, spoken by herbal healers in Bolivia, which mixes Puquina lexical items and Quechua morphology (see also Hannß 2017; Muysken 1997).

The sole surviving document in Puquina is Jerónimo de Oré's *Rituale seu Manuale Peruanum* (1607), a multilingual work containing prayers, catechisms, and instructions for confession in Quechua, Aymara, and Puquina, with shorter sections in Mochica, Guaraní, and 'lengua Brasilica' (Tupinambá).[2] The Pu-

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2   Oré copied the Puquina sections of the *Rituale* from an earlier, unidentified work by the Jesuit

quina text has been studied by a number of scholars since the late nineteenth century (notably, Adelaar and Muysken 2004: 350–362; Adelaar and Van de Kerke 2009; Créqui-Montfort and Rivet 1925–1927; de la Grasserie 1894; Torero 1965; Torero 2002: 408–456). However, problems of analysis remain. The *Rituale*'s substantial orthographic variation and numerous printing errors have made it difficult to interpret both the phonology (for instance, regarding a possible distinction between velar and uvular consonants) and the morphology of Puquina. Further complicating the matter is the likely presence of dialectal variations within the text, which may also account for the ubiquity of synonyms and rephrasings (Adelaar and Muysken 2004: 351; Torero 2002: 409).[3] Finally, the short length (about 3,600 words in total, about 260 unique lexical items) and the religious nature of the text limit its utility for understanding the structure and lexicon of Puquina more broadly.

The analysis that follows examines kin terms that occur throughout the *Rituale*, as well as those found only in a small section of the Puquina confessionary (text L6, regarding the Sixth Commandment) that deals with sexual relations among family members.[4] Note that the standardized Puquina orthography employed in this chapter is not based on an analysis of the sound system—which is still poorly understood—but merely serves the purpose of standardizing and segmenting the text. Our transcription of Oré's original orthography is given in the first line of each example; where used in running text, it is indicated with ‹…›. For most of the document, our interpretation relies on the corresponding Quechua, Spanish, and Aymara sections, since the Puquina version is often a direct or even word-for-word (though not always faithful) translation of the Quechua and/or Aymara versions. Further comments about text L6 are found in Section 5. Our analysis of the Puquina kin terms is summarized, side by side with Torero's (2002), in the conclusion.

Alonso de Barzana (Oré 1607: 385), along with unspecified modifications (see also Durston 2007: 335, note 41). The source may have been a work by Barzana mentioned in bibliographic catalogs (e.g. Alegambe and Ribadeneira 1643), which was supposedly published in Lima in 1590 (Brunet 1820), but this work has never been found.

3 Puquina's large dialectal variation was also mentioned in the constitution of Cuzco's 1591 Synod: "[…] *es tan varia y diferente en cada pueblo á donde se habla*" [it is very diverse and different in each village where it is spoken] (Polo 1901: 454).

4 Torero (2002) labeled the twenty-six Puquina sections in the *Rituale* with the letters A–Z; we follow this organizational system in this chapter, and indicate specific texts in brackets.

3   Mother and Father

Some Puquina kin terms appear frequently throughout the *Rituale*, and do not present major difficulties in interpretation. For instance, *iki* 'father' refers consistently to both the fathers of the parishioners (see (3) below) and to God. This term corresponds regularly to Quechua *yaya* 'father', Spanish *padre* 'father', and Aymara *awki* 'father' in the other versions of the same texts in the *Rituale*, as shown in (1):[5]

(1)   *Cvhañapi Dios **yqui** vin atipeno gutta …*
      kuha-ñ a-p-i   dios **iki**   vin atipa-eno-guta
      like-DV say-2S-IR God **father** all   prevail-AG-AL
      En   'Do you believe in God, the **Father** almighty …'
      Qu   Y, ñinquichu Dios **yaya**, llapa atipacman …
      Ay   Ya, stati, mayni çapaqui Dios **Auqui**, taque atipiriro …
      Sp   Creeis en Dios **Padre**, todo poderoso … [G]

The Puquina term *iki* 'father' is also found in the term *suka iki* 'brother of father' (for more on this term, see Section 5.1). This is consistent with the Quechua and Aymara bifurcate merging systems, in which the terms for 'father', *yaya* and *awki* (respectively), are also extended to father's brother (Zuidema 1977: 265). Note that Aymara *awki* 'father' is sometimes modified by *hila* 'older, greater'

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5   The following morpheme codes are used in this paper:
      2P   second person possessive
      2S   second person subject
      3P   third person possessive
      AB   ablative
      AD   additive
      AG   agentive nominalizer
      AL   allative
      C   comitative
      DV   declarative
      F   future
      G   genitive
      IR   interrogative
      PL   plural
      RF   reflexive
      TO   topicalizer
      VO.FE   feminine vocative
      Other abbreviations include Ay (Aymara), Pu (Puquina), Qu (Quechua), and Sp (Spanish).

and *sullka* 'younger, lesser' (cf. Puquina *hila* and *suka*). We interpret these formal and structural similarities with the Quechua and Aymara kinship terms as evidence that Puquina too extended the meaning of some terms to parallel kin.

Similarly, *imi* 'mother' refers throughout the *Rituale* to the mothers of parishioners, as in (3) below, and to the Virgin Mary (2). This term regularly corresponds to Quechua *mama* 'mother', Aymara *tayka* 'mother', and Spanish *madre* 'mother' in the same texts elsewhere in the *Rituale*:

(2) **ymi** *huaccha cuyeno*
     imi   *wakcha   kuya-eno*
     mother destitute love-AG
     En '**mother** who loves the destitute' (i.e. 'mother of mercy')
     Qu huacchay cuyac **mama**
     Ay huaccha cuyri **tayca**
     Sp **Madre** de misericordia [U]

As with *iki* 'father', *imi* 'mother' is extended to *suka imi* 'sister of mother' (Section 5.1), just as Quechua *mama* and Aymara *tayka* mean both 'mother' and 'sister of mother' (see also Aymara *sullka tayka* 'mother's younger sister', discussed in section 5.1).

When *iki* 'father' and *imi* 'mother' follow the nominal possessive markers *po* 'your' and *chu* 'his, her', they are reduced to *ki* and *mi* (respectively), as in (3):

(3) *... po**qui**, po**mi**hamp yupaychaguepanch.*
     *po **iki**   po **imi**-hamp   yupaycha-ke-p-anch*
     2P **father** 2P **mother**-AD honor-F-2S-DV
     En 'You shall honor your **father** and your **mother**.'
     Qu ... **Yaya**yquicta, **mama**yquicta yupaychanqui.
     Ay **Auqui**ma, **tayca**msa yupaychahata.
     Sp ... Honraras **padre**, y **madre**. [L4 and W]

The full forms and the reduced forms of these terms are in complementary distribution throughout the *Rituale*: *mi* 'mother' and *ki* 'father' always appear after *po* 'your' and *chu* 'his, her', and the full forms *imi* 'mother' and *iki* 'father' appear in all other contexts. This may suggest a general rule that /i/-initial kin terms are reduced after vowel-final possessive markers—indeed, the reduction does not take place after the 1st person inclusive marker *señ* 'our' (note that *no* 'my', the remaining possessive marker in the paradigm, is not attested with /i/-initial

TABLE 10.1   /i/-initial kin terms in the *Rituale*

	Full form	After *po* 'your' and *chu* 'his, her'
(a)	*iki* 'father'	*po ki* 'your father'
		chu ki 'his/her father'
(b)	*imi* 'mother'	*po mi* 'your mother'
		chu mi 'his/her mother'
(c)	*iski* 'daughter (of man)'	*po ski* 'your daughter (addressed to man)'

kin terms in the *Rituale*).[6] This vowel deletion also takes place with the term *iski* 'daughter (of man)', which we will discuss below. This process is summarized in Table 10.1.

Our analysis of the lexemes *iki* 'father' and *imi* 'mother' differs from that of Torero (2002: 451), who posits *uki* and *umi* as variants of those terms (respectively). Torero's evidence for these variants appears to come from constructions in the *Rituale* such as ‹*sancta Dios chumi*› 'Holy mother of God' [U], which Torero interprets as the third person possessive marker *chu* 'his or her' followed by a variant *umi* 'mother' (2002: 149). Instead, we treat constructions such as *chu ki* 'his father' [T, V] and *chu mi* 'his mother' [L6, S, U] as the result of the process of vowel deletion described in Table 10.1 (i.e. /chu iki/ and /chu imi/). Our analysis thus eliminates the need to posit Torero's variants *uki* and *umi*. Indeed, we have not found other cases of *uki* in the *Rituale* or elsewhere, while *iki-li* 'father' is attested both in Kallawaya (Girault 1989: 30; Hannß 2017: 250) and in the Puquina inscription above the portal to the baptistery in the Andahuaylillas church (Mannheim 1991: 47–48; Torero 2002: 394–395).[7]

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6   The deletion of initial /i/ after vowel-final possessive markers only appears to apply to kin terms—for instance, we find ‹*po isu*› 'your house' [K, L3] instead of **po su*.

    Adelaar and van de Kerke (2009: 132) give the form *no uqui* 'my father', on the basis of *nu-uki* presented by Torero (2002: 419). However, this form is Torero's own proposal, and is not attested in the *Rituale*.

7   Torero's reading is also based on occurrences of ‹*omi*› and ‹*umi*› in words for 'queen, noble lady' (Torero 1987: 348). In text U, we find ‹*capacomiye*› 'O mighty queen' (*kapak omi-ye*; mighty queen-VO.FE), which corresponds to Quechua ‹*çapay coya*› 'only queen' and Spanish *Dios Reyna* 'holy queen'. Bertonio's Aymara dictionary (1612b: 325) registers the term ‹*ccap-khomi*› 'mujer noble', and Guamán Poma de Ayala (1615: 179–180) includes the description ‹*capacumi*› for one of the powerful ladies of Collasuyo. Since Quechua *mama* 'mother' was often used to refer to princesses and queens, an etymological connection between the aforementioned instances of *umi* 'lady, queen' and Puquina *imi* 'mother' is plausible.

4 Sons and Daughters

Puquina exhibits distinct terms for sons and daughters of male and female egos. To begin with, the Puquina term for 'daughter (of man)' was *iski*, as in (4). This term follows the pattern of initial vowel deletion after vowel-final possessive markers described in Table 10.1, as in *po ski* 'your daughter (addressed to man)' in text L6 (see (13b) below). Example (4) lists the full form, *iski*:

(4)   *po suca, iqui, isquim*
      po suka   iki   iski-m
      2P younger father daughter.of.man-C
      Eng 'with the daughter of your younger father [i.e. uncle]' [L6]

Sons of men are called *sku* in the *Rituale*, as in (5):

(5)   *Iesu Christo, Dios chuscu.*
      *Jesu   Christo Dios chu **sku***
      Jesus Christ   God 3P   **son**
      Eng 'Jesus Christ, **son** of God.'
      Qu   Iesu Christo Diospa **chur**intam.
      Ay   Iesu Christo, Diosna **yoca**pahua.
      Sp   A Iesu Christo **Hijo** de Dios. [E]

Our analysis of this term differs from that of Torero (2002: 450) in two respects. First, he interprets *chusku* as an independent form, while we interpret it as *sku* modified by a third person marker *chu*. Evidence for this analysis comes from (14d) below, in which we find *po suka iki skum* 'with your uncle's son'—here, *sku* 'son (of man)' appears independent of *chu* 'his'. Furthermore, it is instructive to consult other third person possessive constructions similar to that in (5), such as ‹*Dios chumi*› 'mother of God' (cf. Quechua ‹*Diospa maman*›, Aymara ‹*Diosna taycapa*›, and Spanish ‹*madre de dios*›) [S] and ‹*sanctogata chu anima-gata*› 'the souls of the saints' (cf. Quechua ‹*sanctocunap animãcunacta*› and Spanish ‹*las animas de los sanctos Padres*›) [V]. In such cases, the third person marker *chu* indicates possession by the preceding noun, as it does in ‹*Dios chuscu*› 'son of God' in (5). For these two reasons, Torero's *chusku* is better analyzed as *sku* 'son of man' preceded by a third person possessive marker *chu*.[8] A

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8   However, there are two curious passages in which the 3rd person possessive marker *chu*

second manner in which we differ from Torero is by narrowing of the semantic scope of *sku* from 'son' to 'son (of man)'. In fact, *sku* only refers to sons of men in the *Rituale*, while sons of women are always called *haya* 'child' (see below).

Another kin term in the *Rituale* is *chaske*, which we take to mean 'daughter (of woman)'. This term appears just once in the *Rituale*—in the enigmatic Sixth Commandment section of the confessionary, about which more in Section 5—so this should be considered tentative. The example in (6) is the sole reference to a daughter of a woman in the text:

(6) *Chumim **chazquem** pantenoui?*
     chu imi-m   **chaske**-m   panta-eno-p-i
     3P   mother-C **daughter.of.woman**-C err-AG-2S-IR
     En 'Have you erred with **a daughter** and her mother?'
     Qu [yscay ñañantinhuampas,] mamantinhuampas huchallicucchu can-
     qui?
     Ay … taycapampi, **pucha**pampisa … huchallissiritati?
     Sp Has peccado … con madre, y **hija?** [L6]

An alternative hypothesis is that *chaske* comprises *chu* 'his, her' and *iski* 'daughter' (with the attendant vowel deletion described in Table 10.1) and that the vowel /u/ has simply been misspelled as /a/ in the text (note that i/e and u/o variations are common, but a/u variations are not). However, since *chu* is not necessary in this construction, and given that this form is the sole reference to the daughter of a woman in the *Rituale*, it would be an unlikely coincidence that the orthographic error would have happened to occur precisely in this form. Absent further evidence, we propose that *chaske* means 'daughter (of woman)'.

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appears to be doubled with *sku* 'son (of man)': ‹*chu çapa chusco*› 'his only son' [G] and ‹*chu vestonca çapa chuscuguta*› 'to his only son' [T]. These constructions seem to constitute evidence in favor of Torero's proposal of *chusku*, but can be easily understood when we take the Quechua text into consideration where we find on both of these spots ‹*paypa çapay churin*› *pay-pa sapay churi-n* 'he-G single son-3P'. It is clear that the Puquina expression is a word for word translation from the Quechua model (also compare the Andean Spanish variant 'su hijo de Maria' for the standard variant 'el hijo de Maria').

Note too that the *sku* 'son (of man)' may have in fact been *isku*—it only appears after the 3rd person marker *chu* (in this environment initial /i/ is elided in kin terms, as in Table 10.1) and in the construction *po suka iki sku* 'your younger father's son', in which the initial /i/ could have been omitted after *iki*. This would mean that 'mother', 'father', 'daughter/sister (of man)', and 'son (of man)' all would have been /i/-initial.

Another common kin term in the *Rituale* is *haya* 'child' (‹*haya*›, ‹*aya*›), of either a man or a woman.[9] This term is used when the gender of a child is not known or specified, as in *po haya-gata* 'your children' in L4, or when the utterance is addressed to both a mother and a father, as in (7). *Haya* can also be modified with the terms *raago* 'man'[10] and *atago* 'woman' to specify the gender of children, as in the baptismal text in (7):

(7) *Quiñ toopi, raago **ayai**, inque atago **ayay**?*
     *kiñ   too-p-i   raago **aya**-i   inke atago **aya**-i*
     what bring-2S-IR man   **child**-IR or   woman **child**-IR
     En 'What do you bring to the church, a male **child** or a female **child**?'
     Qu Ymactam yglefiaman apamunquichic, cari **huahua**ctachu, cayri huar-
     mictachu?
     Ay Cuna huahuapi yglesiaro apanipiscata, yocallati, ymillacha?
     Sp Qué traéis a la Iglesia, infante, o infanta? [C]

As mentioned above, *haya* 'child' also refers to sons of women (for more examples, see (14e) and (14f) below; however, (14e) contains an exception in referring to the son of a man as *haya*). Example (8) gives a reference to Jesus, the son of Mary:

(8) *poquiruch yurieno Iesus po **haya** …*
     *po kiru-ch   yuri-eno   Jesus po **haya***
     2P belly-AB be.born-AG Jesus 2P **son**
     En 'Your **son** Jesus, who was born from your womb …'
     Qu Vicçayquimanta pacarimua [sic] Iesvs **huahua**yquiri …
     Ay Puracamata yuriri Iesvs **huahua**masca …
     Sp … el fructu de tu vientre Iesus [S]

A final observation regarding *haya* 'child' is that the *Rituale* instructs priests to use this term when addressing parishioners (e.g. ‹*hayaré, hayayé*› 'o [male] child, o [female] child' [N]).
     Table 10.2 summarizes the Puquina terms for 'son' and 'daughter':

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9   *Haya* 'child' appears as ‹*aya*› in the first four of the 36 texts, and as ‹*haya*› thereafter.
     This may reflect the document's hybrid authorship. *Haya* 'child' also appears once as ‹*ha*›
     (text K).

10 The sequence *aa* in ‹*raago*› 'male' is probably separated by a glottal stop or glottal frica-
     tive; note the variant ‹*rahago*› in text O (cf. Kallawaya *laja* 'man'). Thus it should not be
     interpreted as a long vowel. Absent a closer phonological analysis of Puquina, we have let
     this orthographic convention stand.

TABLE 10.2   Puquina terms for 'son' and
              'daughter'

	Son	Daughter
of man	*sku*	*iski*
of woman	*haya* 'child'	*chaske*

5   The Sixth Commandment of the Confessionary

So far, we have mostly limited our discussion to kin terms that appear throughout the *Rituale*. However, a larger set of kin terms are found only in the section of the confessionary relating to the Sixth Commandment (Text L6), in which parishioners are asked about various types of sexual behavior. The third passage of the Puquina version of that text inventories family relations with whom parishioners are forbidden from engaging in sexual contact, and thus provides a uniquely comprehensive source of kin terms.

A striking aspect of this text is that the Puquina version is far more detailed and voluminous in its inventory of kin relations than either the Spanish, Quechua, or Aymara versions. The Spanish version comprises just two sentences (9):

(9)   *Has tenido quenta con alguna parienta tuya, ò de tu muger? Has peccado*
      con dos hermanas, ò con madre, y hija?
      'Have you had sexual relations with a female relative of yours, or of your
      wife? Have you sinned with two sisters, or with a mother and daughter?'

The Quechua and Aymara versions of the passage are similarly terse, adding only a slightly elaborated construal of the European concept of *parienta* 'female relative' for an Andean audience. The Quechua and Aymara versions are given in (10) and (11):

(10) *Yahuar macijqui huarmihuan, cispa aylluyquihuan, huchallicucchu can-*
      qui? huarmiiquip yahuarmacinhuampas? yscay ñañantinhuampas, ma-
      mantinhuampas huchallicucchu canqui?
      'Have you sinned with a female blood relative, [or] with a close affine?
      With a blood relative of your wife? Have you sinned with two sisters, [or]
      with [a daughter] and mother?'

(11) *Vila macima marmimpi, chinquima nacampi, apañamampi huchachassiri-*
      tati? marmimana vila macipampi, cullaca purampisa? michca taycapampi,
      puchapampisa, vel, huayupampisa huchallissiritati?

      'Have you sinned with your female blood relative, with your younger
      sisters/cousins, [or] with your blood relative? With a blood relative of
      your wife, [or] among sisters/cousins? Or with a mother and daugh-
      ter?'

At first, the Puquina text follows the brief Spanish, Quechua, and Aymara
models, and inquires about a man's consanguines and affines (12a). In this
passage, the Puquina term ‹*sallasi*› corresponds to Spanish ‹*parienta*› 'female
relative' (this may be related to Quechua *saya* 'moiety'), which we have sim-
ply glossed as 'family'. In Quechua, this concept is rendered with the opposed
terms *yawar masi warmi* 'female blood relative' and *sispa ayllu* 'close affine' (an
opposition also recorded by González Holguín 1608). The Spanish question ‹*ò*
de tu muger› 'or of your wife' (Quechua ‹*huarmiiquip yahuarmacinhuampas*›,
Aymara ‹*marmimana vila macipampi*›) corresponds to Puquina ‹*po atago sal-*
lasi coyemghe› 'female affines of your wife's family'.

(12) a. *Po sallasi ghe ya gatomghe; po atago sallasi coyemghe huchachasque-*
          noui?
           po sallasi-ghe yagato-m-ghe¹¹ po atago sallasi kuy-m-ghe
          2P family-TO woman-C-TO   2P wife   family female.affine-C-TO
          huchacha-ska-eno-p-i
          sin-RF-AG-2S-IR
          'Have you sinned with the women of your family; or with the women
          of your wife's family?'

The Puquina version proceeds to inquire about ‹*cuyusun eguitoch*›. This con-
struction is rather opaque, but it appears to refer to female affines—perhaps
the equivalent of *sispa ayllu* 'close affine' in the Quechua version (10). *Kuy* refers
to 'female affine' throughout the text (as in 12a and 12b), while the construc-
tion ‹*eguitoch*›, and its longer version ‹*eguitochquineno*›, appear to mean 'affine'
(perhaps comprising a verb of motion *egui-* and the directional suffix *-tochu*
'inward motion').

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11   *Yagato* appears to be either an error or a variant of *atago* 'woman'.

(12) b. *cuyusun eguitoch roguenoui?*
         kuy   usu-n eguitoch roga-eno-p-i
         female.affine girl-C affine   have.sex-AG-2S-IR
         'Have you had sex with a female affine?'

Like the Spanish, Quechua, and Aymara texts, the Puquina version next addresses the question '… with a daughter and mother', which we address in (6) above. Note that the question regarding 'two sisters', which is found in the Spanish (9), Quechua (10), and Aymara (11) versions, is apparently omitted in the Puquina text.

The Spanish and Quechua versions end at this point, while the Puquina text goes on to list a bewildering array of kin terms, many of which are not attested elsewhere in the *Rituale*. This part of the text comprises two versions: one addressed to men (13) and one addressed to women (14). These are arranged side by side in Table 10.3 to show the correspondences in order of presentation between the two texts. Note that (14e) and (14f) are reordered to line up with their apparent counterparts.

The profusion of kin terms in these passages presents a difficult puzzle, for which the more economical Spanish (9), Quechua (10), and Aymara (11) texts provide no guidance. In some cases—in particular, singletons that are listed outside of any clarifying context—interpretation is difficult. However, passages (13) and (14) do offer some analytical footholds. First, the frequent appearance of terms already discussed in this chapter gives hints to otherwise opaque constructions. Second, some of the terms are familiar in Quechua, Aymara, Uru-Chipaya, and Kallawaya. Third, as illustrated in Table 10.3, the men's and women's texts follow a similar order of presentation that allows for comparison between them.

5.1   *Further Kin Terms in the Puquina Confessionary*

We now offer an analysis of the kin terms found in (13) and (14) that have not already been addressed in this chapter. The examples in this section follow the same numbering system given in Table 10.3

At this point in text L6, both the men's and the women's versions give detailed lists of the categories of kin with whom sexual relations are forbidden. (13a) begins by inquiring about a man's female relative called *psami*, probably related to *imi* 'mother'; the position in the text suggests that this means 'female progenitor', or perhaps 'grandmother', given its resemblance to *aps-ma* 'grandmother' in Uru (La Barre 1941: 519).

TABLE 10.3   Men's and women's Puquina texts in the Sixth Commandment, arranged side by side in Oré's orthography. Terms in boldface are discussed in this chapter.

	(13) Addressed to men	**(14) Addressed to women**
Parents and grandparents	(13a) *Pop samim mighenoui? po **mim pantenoui?*** 'Have you slept with your female progenitor? Have you erred with your mother?'	(14a) *Po **equinom** rosinoui?* 'Have you had sex with your male progenitor?'
Siblings	(13b) *posquim pocuy eguitochquineno?* 'With your sister, [or] your female affine?'	(14b) *po **gom**, po **hilacom**: po **sucacom** **eguitochquineno** cogatam,* 'with your brother/male cousin, your older brother/male cousin, with your younger brother/male cousin, with your in-marrying brother/male cousins ...'
Aunts and uncles	(13c) *po **vpra**, po **sucaymi**, po **quim** **equitochquineno** cuyum* '[with] the sister of your father, [with] the sister of your mother, or [with] the female affines of your father (and his brothers)'	(14c) *po **suca iquim**, po **apisam**,* 'with your brother of your father, with the brother of your mother'
Children of aunts and uncles	(13d) *po **suca, iqui, isquim**, po **rullin**.* 'with the daughter of your father's brother, or with your female cousin'	(14d) *po **suca yquiscum**,* 'with the son of your father's brother' (14f) *po **rutum**, po **sucaymi raago hayam** rosinoui?* 'Have you had sex with your male cousin, or with the son of your mother's sister?'
Children of brothers and sisters	(13e) *po **hilaco**, po **sucaco** ysquim mighenoui?* 'the daughter of your older brother/male cousin, or of your younger brother/male cousin?'	(14e) *po **guio raago hayam**, pogogata **raago hayam**,* 'with the son of your sister, [or] with the son of your brothers/male cousins'
Other	(13f) *po **atago imim** roguenoui?* 'Have you sinned with your wife's mother?'	

TABLE 10.3   Men's and women's Puquina texts in the Sixth Commandment (*cont.*)

(13) Addressed to men	(14) Addressed to women
	(14g) *po**mi raagon**[12] mighenoui? sucaymi raagom, chu **sua raagom** rosi-noui?* 'Have you slept with your mother's man? Have you had sex with your younger mother's husband, [or] with her cohabitant?'

(13) a. *Pop samim mighenoui?*
      po   psami-m   migha-eno-p-i
      2P   female.progenitor-C sleep-AG-2S-IR
      'Have you slept with your female progenitor?'

This is followed by the question ‹*po mim pantenoui?*› 'have you erred with your mother?', which does not present any difficulties in interpretation.

    Turning to the women's version of the same question in (14a), we find the term *ekino* 'male progenitor'. This is likely related to the verb *aki-* 'to engender', or perhaps to *iki* 'father'.

(14) a. *Po equinom rosinoui?*
      Po   ekino-m   rosi-eno-p-i
      2P   male.progenitor-C have.sex-AG-2S-IR
      'Have you had sex with your male progenitor?'

Passage (13b) turns to a man's sisters and the female affines of his generation. Curiously, *iski* appears to mean both 'daughter (of man)' and 'sister (of man)' in the *Rituale*. This would be unusual, but it appears to be the best explanation of the data.

(13) b. *posquim pocuy eguitochquineno?*
      po   iski-m   po   kuy   eguitochkineno
      2P   sister.of.man-C 2P   female.affine affine
      'With your sister, [or] your female affine?'

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12   In (14g), *pomi raagon* probably should have said *pomi sua raagon*.

Turning back to the women's text, we find the terms ‹go› and ‹co› in (14b), which likely mean 'brother' of either a man or a woman, as well as 'male parallel cousin'. This would be consistent with the kind of bifurcate merging system that is also shared by Quechua and Aymara, in which there is, for example, one term for both brothers and male (parallel) cousins (see also Bertonio (1612a: 62–63)). Because of this, and since voicing alternations are common in the *Rituale*, we will treat ‹go› and ‹co› as a single term *ko* (cf. Torero (2002: 453), who also gives one lexeme, *qu*).

In several cases, the term *ko* 'brother/male parallel cousin' is modified with the loanwords ‹*hila*› 'older, larger, first' (Ay) and ‹*suca*› 'younger, youngest, smaller, lesser' (Qu/Ay *sullka*). Their use appears to be similar to that in Aymara, where they generally refer to relative age. These terms are illustrated in (14b). Note that ‹*eguitochquineno*› in (14b), as above, refers to affines.

(14) b. *po gom, po hilacom: po sucacom eguitochquineno cogatam*
      po ko-m   po hila ko-m   po suka   ko-m
      2P brother-C 2P older brother-C 2P younger brother-C
      eguitochkineno ko-gata-m
      affine   brother-PL-C
      'with your brother/male parallel cousin, your older brother/male parallel cousin, with your younger brother/male parallel cousin, with your in-marrying brother/male parallel cousins …'

In (13c), the men's text moves on to a man's aunts. Just as with *suka ko* above, the term *suka imi* (lit. 'younger mother') apparently refers to a parallel aunt—that is, the sister of one's mother. *Suka imi* 'sister of mother' is clearly modeled on the Aymara kin term *sullka tayka* (lit. 'younger mother'), which Bertonio glosses as ‹*Tia hermana menor de su madre*› 'aunt, younger sister of mother' (1612b: 326)—in other words, 'parallel aunt'.

On the other hand, *upra* is likely the cross aunt: 'sister of father', the equivalent of *ipa* in both Quechua and Aymara. This term is also attested in the Uru language as *upla* 'tía' (Uhle 1894), though without further detail regarding its meaning.

After listing these two kinds of aunts, the text goes on to mention the female affines of a father and his brothers.

(13) c. *po vpra, po sucaymi, po quim equitochquineno cuyum*
      po upra   po suka   imi   po iki-m   ekitochkineno
      2P sister.of.father 2P younger mother 2P father-C affine

kuy-m
female.affine-C
'[with] the sister of your father, [with] the sister of your mother, or [with] the female affines of your father (and his brothers)'

The corresponding women's passage (14c) lists a woman's uncles in a manner analogous to the presentation of men's aunts in (13c). The term *suka iki* 'lit. younger father' refers to the parallel uncle (father's younger brother), cf. Aymara *sullka awki*. *Apisa*, on the other hand, likely refers to the cross uncle: 'brother of mother', the equivalent of *kaka* in Quechua and *lari* in Aymara. This analysis is supported by the analogous pairing of the two types of aunts and uncles, in the men's (13c) and women's (14c) texts (respectively), suggesting *apisa* is the counterpart to *upra*. However, *apisa* only appears once in the *Rituale*, so this analysis remains tentative.

(14) c. *po suca iquim, po apisam,*
          po suka   iki-m   po apisa-m
          2P younger father-C 2P brother.of.mother-C
          'with the brother of your father, with the brother of your mother'

Passage (13d) of the men's text moves on to ego's generation. Here, we find *suka iki iski* 'daughter of father's brother', or 'female parallel cousin', and the term *rulli*. The latter term is rather unclear, though it may indicate the female cross cousin.[13] However, absent further evidence for a more precise definition, we have chosen to simply gloss this as 'female cousin'.

(13) d. *po suca, iqui, isquim, po rullin.*
          po suka   iki   iski-m   po rulli-m
          2P younger father daughter.of.man-C 2P female.cousin-C
          'with the daughter of your father's brother, or with your female cousin'

Similarly, the sons of a woman's uncles are also given at this point in the women's text, beginning with (14d)—‹*po suca yquiscum*› 'with the son of your father's brother', or male parallel cousin. This passage does not present difficulties in interpretation, so we do not give a morphemic analysis here. Passage

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13 Torero (2002: 454) glosses *rullin* as "cierto pariente", and observes that it means "persona que se vuelve pariente al casarse e instalarse en el lugar" in Kallawaya ('person who becomes a relative upon marrying and taking up residence'). This is consistent with our analysis of *rulli* as a female cross cousin.

(14f) lists sons of a woman's aunts. Here, we find ‹*sucaymi raago haya*› 'mother's sister's son' (parallel cousin). We also find the sole instance of the term *rutu*, which may be the male cross cousin, the male counterpart of *rulli*. However, since it only appears once in the text, we have chosen to gloss it simply as 'male cousin'.

(14) f. *po rutum, po sucaymi raago hayam rosinoui?*

    po rutu-m   po suka   imi   raago haya-m
    2P male.cousin-C 2P younger mother male child-C
    rosi-eno-p-i[14]
    have.sex-AG-2S-IR
    'Have you had sex with your male cousin, or with the son of your mother's sister?'

The men's and the women's texts then proceed to ask about the descending generation—that is, the children of one's brothers and, in the women's text, sisters. The men's text (13e) straightforwardly asks about ‹*po hilaco, po sucaco ysqui*› 'the daughter of your older brother/male parallel cousin, [or] of your younger brother/male parallel cousin', while in the women's text we find the term ‹*guio*› (14e). This probably means 'sister'—and possibly, 'female cousin'— since it is opposed to *ko* 'brother'. However, this too is a singleton, and does not offer much context (the term is simply glossed as 'hijo' by Torero (2002: 459)). One question in this passage is why the children of *go* 'brother' are not called *sku* 'son of man' in (14e), but rather *raago haya* 'male child.'

(14) e. *po guio raago hayam, pogogata raago hayam*

    po guio raago haya-m po go-gata   raago haya-m
    2P sister male child-C 2P brother-PL male child-C
    'With the son of your sister, [or] with the son of your brothers/male cousins?'

The men's text concludes with a clear inquiry about ‹*po atago imi*› 'your wife's mother' (13f). This construction is clear, so we will not discuss it here. On the other hand, the women's text concludes with a reference to a ‹*sua raago*›—

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14   The root *ro-* combines with an element *-ga* for men, while for women the Puquina reflexive suffix *-ska* and the likely Aymara reflexive suffix *-si* are used. In a question about homosexual sex addressed to men, the form *ro-ga-ska* is also used, suggesting *-ska* may also have had a reciprocal meaning. Similarly *migha-* 'to sleep with' can be combined with *-ska* when referring to women.

equivalent to the Spanish term *mancebo*—which we gloss as 'unmarried male cohabitant' (14g). The verb *sua-* means 'to fornicate', as in ‹*Ama* **suarquen-huanch**› 'thou shalt not fornicate' [L6]. The distinction in (14g) between an aunt's *raago* 'husband' and her *sua raago* 'unmarried male cohabitant' likely reflects the fact that many Andean couples that missionary priests encountered lived together while unmarried.

(14) g. *pomi raagon mighenoui? sucaymi raagom, chu sua raagom rosinoui?*
        po imi   raago-m migha-eno-p-i suka   imi   raago-m
        2P mother man-C   sleep-AG-2S-IR younger mother man-C
        chu sua-   raago-m rosi-eno-p-i
        3P fornicate man-C   have.sex-AG-2S-IR
        'Have you slept with your mother's husband? Have you had sex with your younger mother's husband, [or] with her cohabitant?'

6   Conclusion

In this chapter, we have reexamined the Puquina kin terminology found in the *Rituale*, with special attention to the section of the confessionary relating to the Sixth Commandment. Our analysis presents some terms that were left out of Torero's analysis, and we have clarified both the meaning and the form of several others. In particular, we have refined Torero's analysis by observing that some of the terms are distinguished by the gender of ego, and that the system appears to follow a bifurcate merging pattern. These observations allow us to posit more precise meanings where Torero gives more general glosses (like 'hijo' or 'hermano'). These reinterpretations of the Puquina terms have been supported by comparison with their Quechua and especially Aymara counterparts (for instance, regarding the similar functions of Aymara *hila* and *sullka*). However, in several cases the *Rituale* provides only enough information to propose general information about the gender of the ego or the kin. Our analysis is summarized, in alphabetical order, alongside Torero's (2002) in Table 10.4.

Beyond its contribution to Puquina lexicography, this analysis may eventually allow a more thorough interpretation of the Puquina kinship structure itself. For instance, features like cross- vs. parallel-cousin marriage; lineality; or exogamy and endogamy might be discerned in this system, particularly in close comparison with the Quechua and Aymara systems. These, in turn, might help us understand the position of the Puquina language and its speakers in sixteenth- and seventeenth-century Andean society, though such an endeavor

TABLE 10.4 Puquina kin terms proposed in this chapter, compared with Torero (2002)

Puquina kin terms	Torero (2002)
apisa 'brother of mother'	*apisa* 'cierto pariente'
atago 'woman, wife'	*atacu* 'mujer, esposa'
chaske 'daughter of woman'	
eguitoch(*kineno*) 'affine'	
ekino 'male progenitor'	
ko 'brother/male parallel cousin'	*qu* 'hermano'
guio 'sister (of woman?)'	*ckiu* 'hijo'
haya 'child'	*haya* 'hijo'
iki 'father'	*iki ~ uki* 'padre'
imi 'mother'	*imi ~ umi* 'madre'
iski 'daughter (of man), sister (of man)'	*ski* 'hijo'
kuy 'female affine'	
psami 'female progenitor'	
raago 'man, husband'	*raacu* 'varón, marido'
rulli 'female (cross?) cousin'	*rullin* 'cierto pariente'
rutu 'male (cross?) cousin'	
sallasi 'family'	*sallas* 'familia, parentela'
sku 'son (of man)'	*chusku* 'hijo'
sua 'unmarried cohabitant'[15]	*sua* 'manceba, amante'
suka iki 'brother of father'	
suka imi 'sister of mother'	
upra 'sister of father'	
usu 'girl'	

is limited by the paucity of information about Puquina social structure. Thus, further comparative work on Puquina kin terms may have implications not just for the study of the Puquina language, but also for Central Andean ethnohistory.

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15 Verbal modifier combined with *atago* 'woman' and *raago* 'man'.

Acknowledgements

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