The many Spanishes of an Andean-Amazonian crossroads

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CHAPTER 10

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In the Southern Peruvian Amazon, agricultural migrants from the Andes have brought Quechua and Andean Spanish into the traditional Amazonian territory of Matsigenka speakers. This chapter offers an ethnographic and socio-historical view of Andean Spanish on one corner of this Amazonian frontier. The social life of Spanish in this region is illustrated through the lives of three community-mates, whose speech exhibits diverse contact effects reflecting the diversity of their frontier experiences. This case shows how, unlike Spanish in the Andes, which developed in the highlands without a major migratory influx from other regions, Amazonian varieties of Spanish emerged as more or less heterogeneous populations from other places migrated and came together with the speakers of dozens of local indigenous languages.

Keywords: Amazonian Spanish, Andean Spanish, migration, Quechua, Matsigenka

1. Introduction

The Southern Peruvian province of La Convención, in the Department of Cusco, covers a vast swath of the Amazon plain and tropical foothills east of the Andes (see map in Figure 1). It includes much of the traditional territory of the indigenous Matsigenka people, and since the 1950s it has also become home to tens of thousands of Quechua-speaking agricultural migrants from the nearby Andean highlands (locally known as *colonos* 'colonists'). This demographic transformation, along with the patterns of intermarriage and interaction that have emerged among the region's inhabitants, has created a complex sociolinguistic network in which people in different parts of the province speak Quechua, Matsigenka, and Spanish, in various combinations (the material presented here is part of a larger ethnographic project about multilingualism and economic change in La Convención; for more, see Emlen, 2015, 2017, 2019, 2020). In recent years Spanish has come to play an increasingly important role in this sociolinguistic ecology, particularly as

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Andean migration has precipitated the region's incorporation into national institutions and broader Peruvian culture and society. Spanish also serves as a lingua franca between some speakers of Matsigenka and Quechua.

As people have migrated to the Amazonian lowlands of La Convención over the last several decades – nearly tripling the population since the 1960s (INEI, 1961, 2007) – they have brought their own forms of Spanish with them.[1] Most of these migrants have come from the neighboring Andean highlands, and speak varieties of Andean Spanish that have been influenced to various degrees by Quechua. Matsigenka speakers, for their part, have begun to adopt this variety of Andean Spanish as it has arrived in their territory, in some cases applying their own set of Matsigenka contact features (for instance, some minor phonological and grammatical effects discussed in Section 4) while supplying names for local plants, animals, and places to the speech of their non-Matsigenka neighbors. The province has also been blanketed with Spanish radio and television in recent years, bringing regional, national, and international programming (for instance, talk shows and soap operas from Lima, Colombia, Venezuela, and Cuba) into the homes of even the most remote Convencianos.

In this chapter, I discuss how people from different backgrounds speak Spanish in the rural, agricultural frontier society of La Convención. I begin with a general demographic introduction to the expansion of Andean Spanish into the Southern Peruvian Amazon, drawing on recent census data to contextualize my own case study (Section 2). Next, I examine this phenomenon at the micro-level by offering an ethnographic account of the Spanish spoken by three people in Yokiri, a trilingual frontier community in La Convención (Sections 3 and 4). These three people include an L1 speaker of Quechua and L2 speaker of Spanish; a 2L1 speaker of Matsigenka and Quechua and L3 speaker of Spanish; and a 2L1 Matsigenka-Spanish bilingual. These people came to inhabit the same community through very different circumstances, and their stories offer an illuminating perspective on the linguistic dynamics that have emerged among the different actors during the region's complex recent history. I give transcripts of interviews that I conducted with each of these three people about their life histories, and about the role that Spanish has played in their lives. I then use these transcripts to discuss some of the linguistic characteristics of each person's Spanish. In particular, all three of these people exhibit linguistic features that are typical of Andean Spanish, some of which can be attributed to Quechua contact. The two Matsigenka speakers also exhibit a few minor phonological and morphological features that may be due to Matsigenka

1. Data from the 2017 Peruvian census are not used for specific information about La Convención in this paper, because tens of thousands of Convencianos boycotted that census as part of a territorial conflict with the neighboring province of Calca. The 2017 census data, however, are used for the national map in Figure 1.

contact, including the realization of /l/ as [ɾ], the elimination of consonant clusters, and constructions that appear to be modeled on the use of the Matsigenka locative marker. One goal of this chapter is to draw attention to the diversity of the local forms of Spanish, which reflects the diversity and complexity of the region's recent social history. However, the chapter is primarily ethnographic, sociolinguistic, and historical, and the linguistic analysis is not exhaustive.

While Andean varieties of Spanish have received a great deal of scholarly attention in recent decades, research on Amazonian varieties of Spanish is still in its infancy. Most of this research been conducted in the Northern Peruvian Amazon, where recent migration from Quechua-speaking areas in the Andes has been minimal (a smaller amount has also been written about Spanish in the Central Peruvian Amazon, where Andean migration is more pronounced). By contrast, in the Southern Peruvian Amazon – which is very closely integrated with the Quechua-speaking highlands – it is necessary to consider some varieties of Amazonian Spanish in the context of their interregional connections. Indeed, migration is highly relevant for understanding the linguistic dynamics of the entire Peruvian Amazon: the population of the Peruvian Amazon, for instance, underwent a nearly nine-fold increase between the 1940 and 2017 censuses, as a result of intensive migration from an array of different places (INEI, 1940, 2017). This situation is quite unlike the rural Andes, where there has been little in-migration in a population that did not even double during the same period (ibid.). Thus, Andean Spanish presents some important sociohistorical differences from Amazonian Spanish: the former developed without a major influx of speakers from other regions, while the latter emerged among more or less heterogeneous migrant populations from other places – some speaking other languages from their places of origin – in addition to the indigenous inhabitants themselves.

For example, in the Amazonian province of Manu (Madre de Dios Department, Southern Peru), which is currently undergoing rapid frontier expansion, there was no majority region of birth in the 2007 census, only a plurality: 45.3% of the population was born in Madre de Dios, 35.3% in various parts of Cusco, 8.4% in Puno, and so on (INEI 2007). This 45.3% of Manu residents born in Madre de Dios was up from just 35.1% in the 1993 census (INEI 1993). Furthermore, the population of Manu Province includes a substantial number of indigenous Amazonians who speak more than a half dozen languages from three different language families. This province is thus a complex mix of backgrounds and languages. Other parts of Amazonia underwent similarly heterogeneous bursts of migratory influx at various periods since the mid-19th century, though the specific time frames, socioeconomic circumstances, and places of origin have varied greatly from one region to the next (for instance, the kind of frontier expansion currently under way in Manu and La Convención happened earlier in the Northern Peruvian region of Loreto; see Santos-Granero & Barclay, 2000).

This complexity is compounded by a second factor that distinguishes the histories of Spanish in the Andes and Amazonia: in the Andes, two widespread and typologically similar language families (Quechuan and Aymaran; see Adelaar, 2012) have led to the emergence of stable contact varieties of Spanish with large speaker populations and broad geographical ranges (see references for Andean Spanish below). On the other hand, in the Peruvian Amazon, Spanish has come into contact with dozens of small languages from several language families, which are more typologically diverse than the Quechuan and Aymaran languages (Adelaar & Muysken, 2004; Dixon & Aikhenvald, 1999, pp. 411–501). For instance, recent studies of Spanish in Amazonia have addressed multilingualism and language contact with Bora (O'Rourke & Fafulas, 2015; Rodríguez-Mondoñedo & Fafulas, 2016), Kokama (Vallejos, 2014), Shipibo-Konibo (Elias-Ulloa, 2015; Sánchez, Camacho, & Ulloa, 2010), Yagua (Mayer, 2017), and Ashéninka-Perené (ibid.), each of which have small population sizes relative to the Andean languages, and are more limited in geographical range. However, some features of those Amazonian Spanish varieties are shared more broadly in the area of Iquitos, and are not limited to speakers of particular indigenous languages (Jara Yupanqui, 2012; Vallejos, 2014).

In view of the heterogeneous historical nature of Spanish in Amazonia, the purpose of this chapter is to describe how Spanish has taken hold in one small corner of the region, where intensive migration has brought Andean Spanish, alongside Quechua, into the lives of Matsigenka speakers. As mentioned earlier, most research on Peruvian Amazonian Spanish has been conducted in the northern part of the country (and to a lesser extent, in the central Peruvian Amazon), where Andean influence plays a more minor role. This chapter offers a case study from the south, where the Andes and Amazonia are closely connected, and where Amazonian Spanish cannot be understood independently of Andean Spanish.

2. Andean Spanish in Amazonia

Most people in La Convención speak Andean Spanish, a cover term for a set of Spanish varieties in parts of Western South America where Quechua and Aymara are most widely spoken. The features of Andean Spanish that distinguish it from other Spanish varieties have largely developed as a result of contact with Quechua, as well as with Aymara in some places (Hardman, 1982).[2] Some are found primarily in the speech of L1 Quechua speakers who learned Spanish later in their lives,

2. Since the Quechuan and Aymaran languages are very similar in both phonology and grammar (Adelaar, 2012; Cerrón-Palomino, 1994), and since they share at least a third of their lexicons (Emlen, 2017, p. 309), Quechua and Aymara contact effects in Spanish are probably similar and mutually reinforcing (Adelaar & Muysken, 2004, p. 590).

and of stable Quechua-Spanish bilinguals, such as the lowering and centralizing of high vowels (Lipski, 2015; Pérez-Silva, Palma, & Araujo, 2008). This pronunciation is sometimes referred to as *motosidad*, and is associated with negative racial stereotypes of Quechua speakers (Babel, 2018; Cerrón-Palomino, 1975; Huayhua, 2013; Mannheim, 1991, pp. 100–104). Other features are also used to varying degrees by monolingual Spanish speakers in the Andes, such as the reportative evidential particles *dice* or *dizque*, which also exist in varieties of Spanish beyond the Andes but may have become more frequent in Andean Spanish as a result of Quechua and Aymara contact (Babel, 2009). Overviews of Andean Spanish are given by A. Escobar (1978); A. M. Escobar (1994, 2000, 2011); de Granda (2001); Cerrón-Palomino (2003); and Adelaar & Muysken (2004, pp. 585–602). Specific features of Andean Spanish will be discussed in this chapter as they become relevant.

Andean Spanish has extended very far into the eastern lowlands as a result of Andean migration. While much has been written about rural-to-urban migration in Peru (e.g. Altamirano, 1984; Lloyd, 1980; Matos Mar, 1986; Ødegaard, 2010; Paerregaard, 1997), and about the linguistic dimensions of that urbanization (e.g. Klee & Caravedo, 2006; Marr, 1998; Myers, 1973), migration from the highlands to more remote parts of Amazonia has not received as much attention (cf. Emlen, 2020; Shoemaker, 1981; Skar, 1994). However, this demographic trend has been of comparable importance since the mid-20th century, as inexpensive land and work in extractive industries – both brought into reach by the expanding road network – have drawn Quechua-speaking highlanders to the lowlands. This trend has been particularly pronounced in Southern Peru. For instance, while the population of the city of Cusco grew by 287% between the 1961 and 2007 censuses, the population of the lowlands adjacent to the Cusco highlands (the province of La Convención and the Department of Madre de Dios) increased by 260% during the same period. By contrast, the population of the rural highlands of Cusco grew by only 40% between 1961 and 2007, far below the national average increase of 171% (INEI, 1961, 2007). Some rural highland provinces have even decreased in population over the last several decades, as the birth rate has decreased, and the residents have migrated to cities and to the lowlands.

Thus, an important question for research on Amazonian Spanish in Southern Peru is how the influx of Quechua speakers from the Andes has affected the varieties of Spanish spoken there.[3] The map in Figure 1 shows the proportion of the population in each district of Peru that declared Quechua or Aymara to be their first language in the 2017 census (INEI, 2017). Note that a version of this map was also published by Mannheim (2018).

3. Note that not all varieties of Quechua are Andean: Quechuan languages are spoken in the lowland Peruvian areas of Pastaza, San Martín, and Chachapoyas. However, these have small population sizes relative to the Southern Andean varieties.

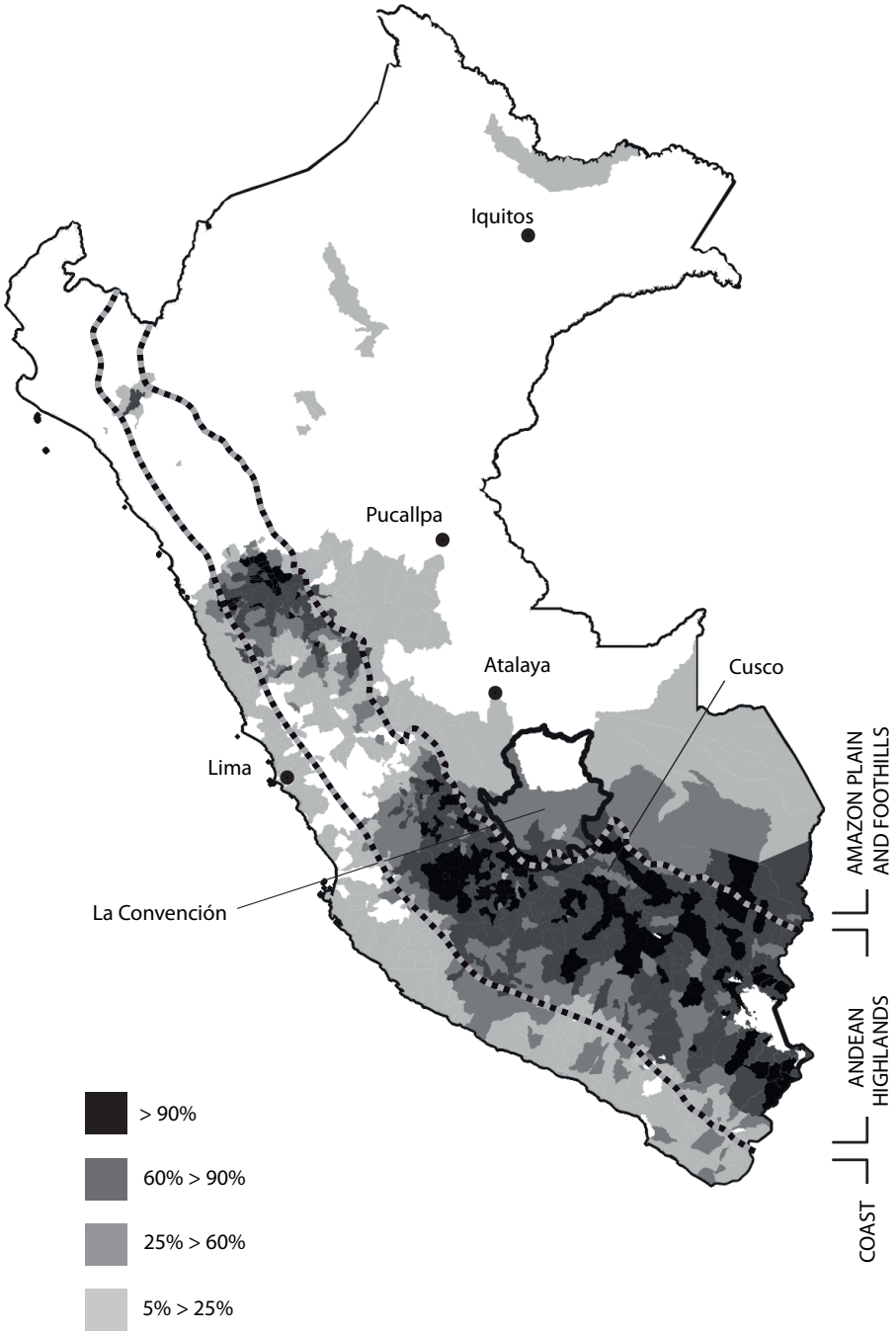

Figure 1. Proportions of first-language Quechua and Aymara speakers, by district. Places mentioned in the text are also indicated. Data from INEI (2017) and www.diva-gis.org/gdata. Map created with QGIS. Image designed by Sophia Nicolay. Used by permission

These figures do not, of course, tell us anything directly about the linguistic characteristics of the Spanish spoken in these places. Rather, they simply provide a rough demographic starting point for where we might expect to find contact effects that are characteristic of Andean Spanish, at least among some segments of the populations, since demographic factors are important predictors of language contact effects (Thomason & Kaufman, 1988).

The map in Figure 1 shows that Quechua and Aymara are most widely spoken in the rural highland districts of Southern and Central Peru, where in many places more than 90% of the population reported speaking Quechua or Aymara as their first language in the 2007 census, and where there are few migrants from other places. The southern third of Peru is the most interesting for the purposes of this chapter. Here, we see that Quechua and Aymara are not limited to the rural highlands, but rather that those languages radiate outward through both the Amazonian lowlands and the coast, leaving a gradient but unbroken stretch of Quechua and Aymara language use from the Brazilian border to the Pacific. These localized coast-Andes-Amazonia linkages follow the long-held Andean tendency to organize social networks across elevational gradients (Murra, 1972), a pattern that still operates today (Hirsch, 2018). On the Amazonian side, Andean migration has brought Quechua and Aymara into the territories of more than a dozen other indigenous languages – including Matsigenka, as I discuss in the remainder of this chapter. However, as we move north from the Southern Peruvian Amazon, and beyond the *ceja de selva* 'tropical foothills', we enter the great lowland river network that links the cities of Atalaya, Pucallpa, and Iquitos (and Brazil beyond). This constitutes an axis of economic and demographic interaction oriented toward the northern Peruvian lowlands (Santos-Granero & Barclay, 2000) – separate from the Purús and Madeira watersheds that drain much of the Southern Peruvian lowlands – and it signals an attendant decrease in the proportion of the population speaking Quechua and Aymara as first languages. Since Andean Spanish is associated with Quechua and Aymara, we would expect these to be the places where Andean Spanish predominates.

3. People and languages in La Convención

The province of La Convención (Cusco) comprises much of the Amazonian lowlands adjacent to the highlands of Apurimac, Eastern Cusco, and Ayacucho. Today, the region's several thousand indigenous Matsigenka people are greatly outnumbered by Andean migrants, who make up most of the province's 166,833 inhabitants counted in the 2007 census (INEI, 2007) (see Figure 2). The valley has served as a conduit between these highland areas and the lowland river system from the Inka period (and likely long before) to the present (Camino, 1977; Emlen, 2020; Gade,

1972; Gow, 1991), and it has long been a major destination for Andean agricultural migrants. It has also been the target of various extractive industries, from the rubber boom in the 19th century that drew on Matsigenka slave labor, to natural gas drilling since the 1990s that has upended life in many Matsigenka communities today (Smith, 2005).

The arrival of Andean farmers in search of land for coffee plantations – a process locally called *colonización* 'colonization', which has been facilitated by state infrastructural investment since the 19th century (Sala i Vila, 1998) – has put migrant farmers into conflict over land and resources with the indigenous Matsigenka people that live there. However, in some places Matsigenka people and *colonos* have achieved a stable co-existence. One important fact about the interethnic dynamics of La Convención is that Andean migration is highly gendered: most *colonos* are young men. In recent decades, some of these men have formed romantic relationships with Matsigenka women, and many have either stayed with them in the lowlands near the *comunidades nativas*, or have brought those Matsigenka women back to the valley's frontier settlements or to their home communities in the highlands. For this reason, it has become more difficult for Matsigenka men to find wives, and many must now travel to ever remoter areas further down the Urubamba Valley to start families. The result is a system of opposed migratory flows, in which men move downriver with Quechua, and women move upriver with Matsigenka (this dynamic is described in greater detail in Emlen, 2020). The result of this process has been a frontier society of notable interethnic contact and trilingualism. For more about Matsigenka people in La Convención, see Johnson (2003) and Rosengren (1987).

In the early 1930s, a great malaria epidemic swept through La Convención, killing thousands and causing many more to flee. This left only the Matsigenka inhabitants and 15% of the *colono* population remaining (Fioravanti, 1974, pp. 18, 58). Thus, almost all of the Andean migrants living in La Convención today arrived there, or descend from people who arrived there, since the 1940s. This demographic fact is crucial for understanding the variation in Spanish found in the province. Figure 2 illustrates the rapid population growth since the early 1960s, at the beginning of the province's recovery, when only around 20,000 people who had been born in La Convención remained there.[4]

It is instructive to look deeper into these census data to note where the migrants to La Convención came from. In the 2007 census, 35,689 (21.4%) of Convencianos

4. Data for place of birth are not available in the 1961 census, so this graph uses Fioravanti's calculation (1974: 59) that one third of the province's population in 1963–1964 was born there, and applies that proportion to the total population reported by the 1961 INEI census (61,901). Thus the 1961 figure is approximate. 2017 census data is not used because of the census boycott in La Convención. Note that these early census figures do not include most of the Matsigenka population.

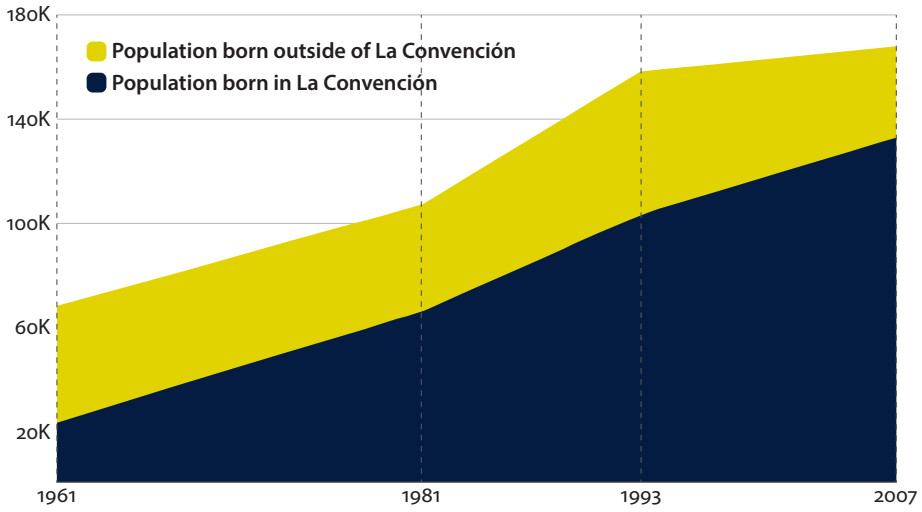

Figure 2. Population of La Convención, 1961–2007. Data: INEI (1961, 1981, 1993, 2007) and Fioravanti (1974, p. 59)

reported that they were born outside of the province; of these, only 650 (1.8%) were born in the adjacent Amazonian areas (Madre de Dios, Ucayali, and the Province of Satipo), while 30,291 (84.9%) of those migrants came from the adjacent highlands of Ayacucho, Apurimac, and Cusco. La Convención is thus much more closely linked with the neighboring highlands than with the rest of Amazonia, both demographically and economically. The province's economic isolation from the rest of the lowlands is due in part to the Pongo de Mainique, a ravine full of treacherous rapids that separates the tropical foothills from the Amazon plain and limits the amount of passenger and commercial traffic that passes between the regions. Furthermore, the parts of the Amazon plain north and east of La Convención are part of the Purús and Madeira watersheds, a division that isolates the Southern lowlands from the rest of Peruvian Amazonia with the Ucayali and Amazon Rivers (among others) at its heart. As mentioned above, this relative isolation of Southern Peruvian Amazonia from the Amazonian river network of Central and Northern Peru explains why Quechua and Aymara have spread so much more widely spoken into the southern Amazonian regions of Peru (see Figure 1).

In order to assemble a more nuanced picture of the sociolinguistic ecology of La Convención, I now give an ethnographic account of Spanish in a small, trilingual frontier community called Yokiri (see the map in Figure 3). I focus on three people: Mario (an L1 speaker of Quechua and L2 speaker of Spanish), Edison (a 2L1 speaker of Matsigenka and Quechua, and an L3 speaker of Spanish), and Pedro (a 2L1 Matsigenka-Spanish bilingual). These people, who are neighbors on the same small hillside, represent different facets of the region's history and exhibit different

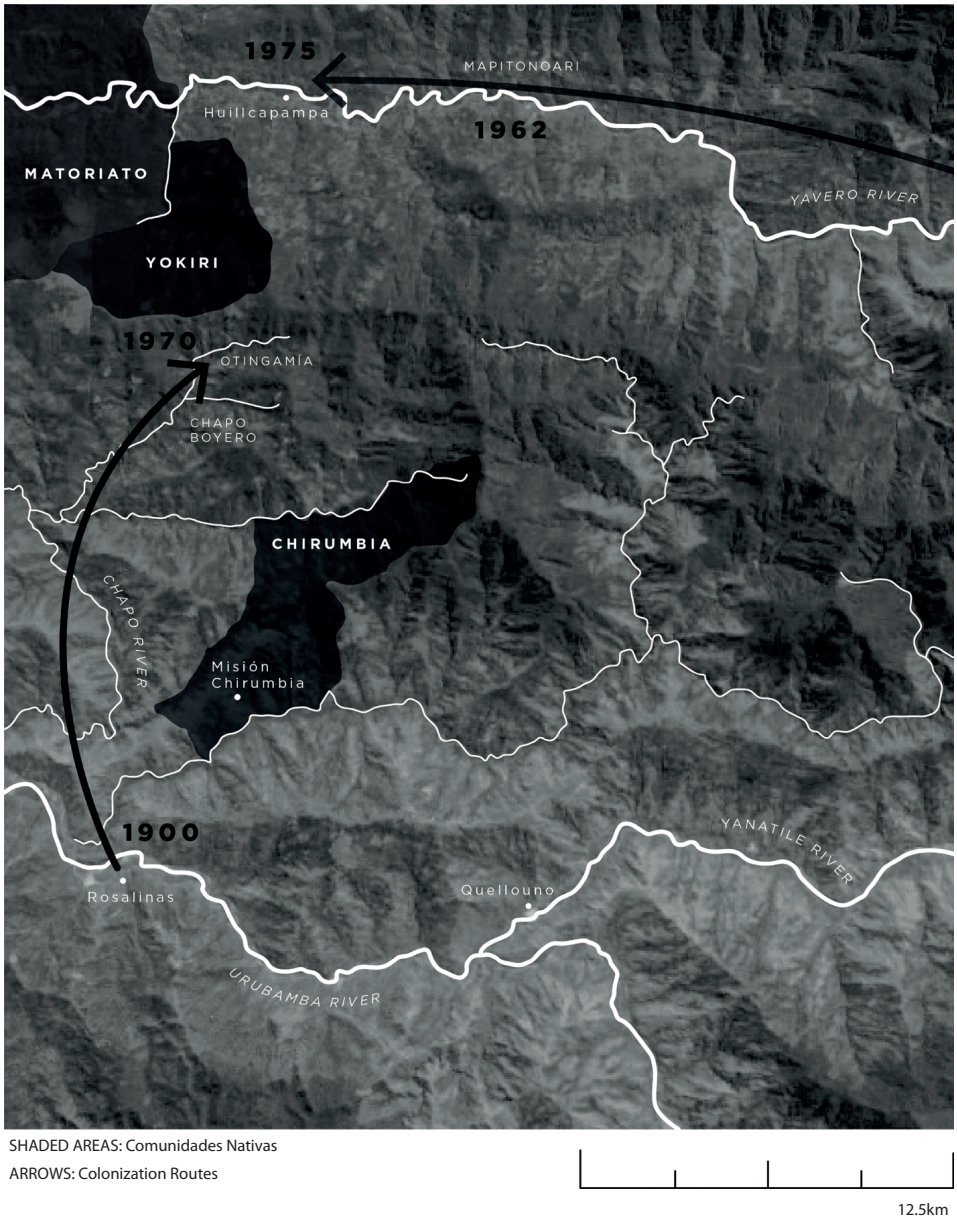

Figure 3. Urubamba and Yavero Valleys, with Matsigenka *Comunidades nativas* 'indigenous Amazonian communities' and Andean colonization routes (and approximate years of arrival). Map data: Google, Landsat, DigitalGlobe, author's GPS data

lexical and structural characteristics in their Spanish, as I discuss in each case. The transcripts given below come from interviews that I conducted during 19 months of linguistic anthropological fieldwork in 2010–2012 (Emlen, 2020), and they are

part of a large, trilingual corpus of both naturally-occurring and elicited data. All names used in this chapter are pseudonyms. Some of the places mentioned in this section, and the routes of Andean colonization and their approximate dates of arrival, are shown in the map in Figure 3.

4. Spanish in Yokiri

In the mid-1970s, when the *comunidades nativas* 'indigenous Amazonian communities' law first gave indigenous Amazonian people in Peru a framework for communal land titling, several Matsigenka families across La Convención who had been displaced by Andean *colonos* came together to claim land in the Yokiri Valley (the information in this section comes from my own fieldwork, and is described in greater detail in Emlen, 2015, 2017, 2020). All of these people spoke Matsigenka and at least a bit of Spanish, and some of them were raised on *colono* coffee plantations, where they also learned to speak Quechua. Interethnic couples were also grandfathered into the community; such unions in La Convención are primarily between Andean men and Matsigenka women, since (as described above) Andean migrants to the agricultural frontier are predominantly men. These families married together upon arriving in Yokiri, and most of the people who have been born in the community since its foundation are trilingual. Most families also include Matsigenka-speaking women who married nearby *colonos*, some of whom are near-monolingual Quechua speakers. All Yokiri families also have Matsigenka kin in more remote forested communities, some of whom are monolingual Matsigenka speakers. In this sense, communities like Yokiri mediate between the Quechua-speaking highlands and the Matsigenka-speaking lowlands.

As Yokiri has been drawn into broader Peruvian institutional and cultural life, Spanish has become an increasingly important part of the community's sociolinguistic landscape. Some Matsigenka people in Yokiri did not interact much with non-Matsigenkas until a couple of decades ago, but now they listen to Spanish radio, travel to the provincial capital of Quillabamba, and meet periodically with Spanish- and Quechua-speaking agricultural extension agents, road crews, municipal officials, and other agents of the state. Most importantly, Yokiri's new primary school has introduced Spanish instruction by teachers from the nearby highlands, all of whom speak Andean Spanish. In addition, Spanish is used almost exclusively in Yokiri's *asamblea* 'community meeting', in which the members come together every few weeks to spend hours debating and discussing matters of community concern. Spanish is an important lingua franca in these meetings, but in addition to this functional role, it is also locally understood to be an ethnically neutral language, and thus appropriate for speech in the democratic public space of such interethnic

communities (Emlen, 2015). Participants in the *asamblea* carefully avoid speaking Matsigenka and Quechua, as this violates the ideology of the ethnically neutral public sphere.

4.1 Mario

The first person to be discussed in this chapter is Mario, an L1 speaker of Quechua and L2 speaker of Spanish. Mario migrated to Yokiri from the highlands of Paucartambo, a heavily Quechua-speaking area to the southeast of La Convención, in the late 1970s. He was born in the Amazonian lowlands near what is now Manu National Park to an indigenous Huachipaeri mother and a Quechua-speaking father, but he lived with his father's family in the Paucartambo highlands after both of his parents died. There he grew up in a near-monolingual Quechua environment. He describes his early life in (1):

(1) Mi padre es Paucartambiño.$_1$ Es de Challabamba.$_2$ Mi madre es de Cosñipata… tribu Huachipaeri.$_3$ Entonces lo que me comentan que- el año cincuenta y dos, cincuenta y tres, esa temporada, en tiempo hacendados, mi papá había sido un administrador de un hacendado.$_4$
NQE: Aha, en Paucartambo?$_5$
No no, en Manu, en la selva.$_6$ Entonces de lo cual hay- había sido era una muchacha, una empleada, como se llama, mi madre.$_7$ Se habían conocido con mi padre.$_8$ … Entonces de allí cuando habían vivido con mi padre, mi padre la había llevado a mi mamá a Challabamba.$_9$ Dice Challabamba es abajito.$_{10}$ Ahora la ha llevado a mi madre, entonces mi madre, como no era acostumbrado con gente blanca [y] no hacía frío en la selva, se había chocado.$_{11}$ Se había muerto mi- mi madre cuando estuve yo dos años.$_{12}$ También mi padre había muerto ya casi cuando estoy yo cinco años o cuatro años.$_{13}$ … Allí me dejaron al lado de- de sus padres, o sea de sus familias de sus primos hermanos.$_{14}$ En su lado [me] habían dejado un niño pe.$_{15}$ Allí me he crecido.$_{16}$ Por eso yo domino mayormente casi Quechua, *qhiswa*.$_{17}$

My father is Paucartambiño.$_1$ He is from Challabamba.$_2$ My mother is from Cosñipata … Huachipaeri tribe.$_3$ So, what they tell me- in the year '52, '53, that time, in the time of hacendados (estate owners), my father was apparently a manager for an hacendado.$_4$
NQE: Aha, in Paucartambo?$_5$
No no, in Manu, in the jungle.$_6$ So there'sapparently there was a girl, an employee, what's it called, my mother.$_7$ She and my father met.$_8$ … Then when [my mother and] my father lived together, my father brought my mother to Challabamba.$_9$ They say Challabamba is a bit further down.$_{10}$ So he took my mother, and then my mother, since she wasn't accustomed to white people [i.e. Andean highlanders] [and] it wasn't cold in the jungle, she got sick.$_{11}$ Apparently my- my mother died when I was two years old.$_{12}$ Apparently my father also died when I was around five or four years old.$_{13}$ … They left me there with- with their parents, I mean the relatives of his first cousins.$_{14}$ They left [me] with them as a child.$_{15}$ That's where I grew up.$_{16}$ That's why I'm mostly fluent in Quechua, *qhiswa*.$_{17}$

Mario lived with his Quechua-speaking relatives in the highlands of Paucartambo for the rest of his childhood. As an adopted child in a poor family, he earned his keep by working in their homes and agricultural plots instead of attending school. Thus, because school is often the first context in which Quechua speakers in the rural Andes are exposed to Spanish, he did not learn Spanish until later. He worked odd jobs between the highlands of Paucartambo and the nearby lowlands of Manu during his childhood and early adolescence, and then at age fourteen he entered school and began to learn Spanish for the first time.

After leaving school, Mario gradually migrated down the Yavero Valley toward the Urubamba Valley, working as a seasonal laborer on coffee plantations and municipal construction projects. In the late 1970s, when he was in his 20s, he learned of a group of farmers whose land had been destroyed by a flood in Lares (a nearby highland valley), and who were planning to venture down the Yavero River in search of new land. At that point the reaches of the Yavero Valley below the colonization zone were inhabited exclusively by Matsigenka people who did not own legal title to the land, and the highland *colonos* could claim it and clear it for coffee plantations. Thus, as for many poor people in the rural Andes, the prospect of colonizing a remote patch of Amazonian forest represented a rare opportunity for Mario to acquire land of his own, something that was not possible in the more densely populated highlands. Mario describes his arrival in the Yavero Valley, where he later met his first Matsigenka wife and started a family (2):

(2) Entonces yo bajé acá abajo más arriba de Lacco, más arriba.$_{18}$ Allí estuve una temporada ya jovencito así.$_{19}$ Después me iba hacia [donde] mis familias.$_{20}$ Ya estuve era diecinueve, veintidos años.$_{21}$ Escucho están coloni- entrando ya a colonizar a Yavero.$_{22}$ Ya habrán regresado pues "hay nativos pucha, ay!"$_{23}$ Yo pensaba que estaba mi raza pues.$_{24}$ Bajé junto con esos colonos pe en el setenta y nueve.$_{25}$ … Entonces, bajé entonces, no había sido mi tribu sino había sido Matsigenka, aha.$_{26}$ … Acá estaba mi señora anterior que es María.$_{27}$ Había estado ya madre soltera.$_{28}$ Con ella hemos conversado, ya hemos convivido con ella.$_{29}$ Así pues.$_{30}$

Then I came down here a little bit above Lacco, further up.$_{18}$ I was there for a while as a young man.$_{19}$ Then I went [further down] to where my relatives were.$_{20}$ I was nineteen, twenty-two years old.$_{21}$ I heard that some people were colonizing- entering [the forest] to colonize the Yavero.$_{22}$ [Some] must have come back, "there are Amazonians, damn, oh no!"$_{23}$ I thought they were my race.$_{24}$ I went down together with those colonos in '79.$_{25}$ … So I went down, it turned out not to be my tribe, but rather it turned out to be the Matsigenkas, aha.$_{26}$ … My previous wife was here, who was María.$_{27}$ She was a single mother.$_{28}$ She [and I] conversed, and then she [and I] lived together.$_{29}$ That's right.$_{30}$

At this point Mario and several other families acquired legal title to the land in Yokiri, and he has lived there, with his first and then second Matsigenka wives (both of whom were L1 Matsigenka and L2 Spanish speakers), since then. He learned to

speak some Matsigenka, and his second wife learned to speak some Quechua, but they conduct their relationship primarily in Spanish (which she learned as a child while attending school in a nearby Dominican mission at Chirumbia). In this case, Spanish serves as a lingua franca among L1 speakers of different indigenous languages – interestingly, unlike other Quechua speakers who shift to Spanish upon migrating to a city, Mario only began speaking Spanish regularly upon moving from the rural highlands to the even more remote lowland valleys of La Convención. However, Mario and his wife each speak to their children in their own first languages, and the children are trilingual in Spanish, Matsigenka, and Quechua. Like many children in such interethnic families, they make a gendered association between Quechua and the broader world of men's agricultural work and wage labor, and between Matsigenka and the domestic work mostly conducted by women. This association between Quechua and men on the Amazonian frontier is the reverse of the association between Quechua and women in the highlands.

In addition to their domestic communication, Mario and his wife speak Spanish in interactions with some of their fellow community members and neighbors. As mentioned earlier, the interethnic nature of the community, and the ideological regimentation of the *asamblea* as an ethnically neutral, public discursive space, have been mediated through the use of Spanish. Mario and his wife also speak Spanish with the many agents of the state (e.g. municipal officials, engineers, extension agents, construction crews) that have begun to visit Yokiri more and more frequently. They also spend their evenings listening to radio programming in both Spanish and Quechua.

Some linguistic features of Mario's Spanish

Mario's Spanish exhibits a number of features typical of L1 Quechua speakers and stable Quechua-Spanish bilinguals in the Andes. For instance, he tends to produce the Spanish high vowels /i/ and /u/ lower and more centralized than L1 Spanish speakers do (what is known in Peru as *motosidad*). This can be seen in his pronunciation of *administrador* 'manager' as [aχmınıstradʊr] in sentence 4. Additionally, some stops undergo lenition and uvularization in syllable codas, as can be seen in the [χ] in the same example. This is also a phonological characteristic of the variety of Southern Peruvian Quechua spoken by Mario (Mannheim, 1991, pp. 208–217).

Mario's Spanish also exhibits inconsistent gender agreement (e.g. *mi madre, como no era acostumbrado…* 'my mother, since she wasn't accustomed…', sentence 11) (Adelaar & Muysken, 2004, p. 598), and he frequently omits articles and prepositions (*en tiempo hacendados* 'in the time of hacendados (estate owners)', sentence 4). Another feature likely due to Quechua substrate influence, which I have not seen described in the literature on Andean Spanish, is the use of verbal plural inflection in clauses in which a singular subject is coordinated with other referents

indicated with *con* 'with'. Examples include *cuando habían vivido con mi padre* 'when [my mother and] my father lived together' in sentence 9, and *con ella hemos conversado, ya hemos convivido con ella* 'she [and I] conversed, and then she [and I] lived together' (sentence 29). This appears to be a calque on a similar Quechua construction with the comitative suffix *-wan* 'with', as in (3), also collected in Yokiri.

(3) *Familiaykunawan hanpurayku.*
familia-y-kuna-wan *hanpu-ra-y-ku*
family.member-1-PL-COM return-PA-1-PL
'My family members [and I] came back here' (lit. 'we came back here with my family members')

Mario's speech exhibits a number of features that are also used by monolingual Andean Spanish speakers. These include frequent diminutives in nouns, adjectives (*jovencito* 'young man', sentence 19), and adverbs (*abajito* 'a bit further down', sentence 10) (A. M. Escobar, 2001, 2011, p. 332). He also uses the double possessive, as in *sus familias de sus primos hermanos* 'the relatives of their first cousins' (sentence 14). This is common in Andean Spanish and appears to be a Quechua contact feature (Adelaar & Muysken, 2004, pp. 593–595), and it is also found in the Northern Peruvian Amazon (Rodríguez-Mondoñedo & Fafulas, 2016; Vallejos, 2014). Some spatial and temporal deictic expressions are also calqued from Quechua, including *en allí* 'there' (cf. Quechua *chay-pi* / that-LOC) and *de allí* 'then' (cf. Quechua *chay-manta* / that-ABL) (Adelaar & Muysken, 2004, p. 599; Pfänder, 2009, pp. 201–202). He also frequently uses *ya* 'already, at that point' for a broad range of functions, sometimes twice in a single construction (Calvo Pérez, 2000; A. M. Escobar, 2000, p. 138), in a manner comparable to the Quechua completive enclitic *-ña* (Cerrón-Palomino, 2003, pp. 243–259).

Like many Andean Spanish speakers, Mario makes frequent use of the present perfect, though he also uses the preterit and the imperfect. He also uses the pluperfect to express a mirative or 'non-experienced past' meaning (A. M. Escobar, 1997; Sánchez, 2004), as in *no había sido mi tribu* 'it turned out not to be my tribe', in sentence 26, a function that resembles Quechua *-sqa* (Adelaar & Muysken, 2004, p. 601) (for more about -sqa, see Faller, 2004). Mario also frequently uses objects and adverbials in preverbal position (for references, see A. M. Escobar, 2011), a word order that is common in both Andean Spanish and Quechua (e.g. *con ella hemos conversado* 'she [and I] conversed', sentence 29; *en su lado [me] habían dejado un niño pe* 'they left [me] with them as a child', sentence 15). Mario's Spanish also exhibits the typically Andean discourse marker *pues/pe* 'affirmative' (Manley, 2007; Zavala, 2001) and the reportative evidential particle *dice* 'they say' (Babel, 2009). Finally, he uses a wide range of Quechua agricultural terms in his Spanish, and he has borrowed many Matsigenka words for local flora, fauna, and cultural items

since arriving in Matsigenka territory. For example, one day when I visited Mario's house, he called out to his Matsigenka-speaking wife, *¡chagompítale!* 'tie up [the baby] in the sling!', from the Matsigenka verb *tsagompu-* 'to tie up a baby in a sling'.

4.2 Edison

Edison is a trilingual Matsigenka man who was born in the 1960s near the Mapitonoari River, a tributary of the Yavero some ten kilometers upstream from Yokiri (see map in Figure 3). He is a 2L1 speaker of both Matsigenka and Quechua, and an L3 speaker of Spanish. His parents and grandparents, who were monolingual Matsigenka speakers, had migrated to Mapitonoari from the Camisea watershed after fleeing slave raids some years earlier. At that point the nearest Andean *colonos* were still further up the Yavero Valley, but around the time that Edison was born (when his father was away, working in another valley), the Andean migratory wave finally arrived at the family's land. Edison explains this history in (4):

(4) Era colono era arriba Pampa Blanca todavía.$_{31}$ Hasta arriba vivía Matsigenka, harto era.$_{32}$ Yo he nacido en mil novecientos sesenta y dos.$_{33}$ Este- cuando yo he nacido ya estaba ya donde Mapitonoari.$_{34}$ Como ese porte, casi yo estoy el porte de ese chivolito [points to a child], a ese porte ya.$_{35}$ Ya estaba colono, ya han venido- seguía colonizando.$_{36}$ Seguía colonizando hacia abajo, así pe.$_{37}$ Aha.$_{38}$ Volviendo mi papá, ya no había terreno para que trabaje.$_{39}$

The colonos were still up in Pampa Blanca.$_{31}$ Matsigenkas lived further up, there were lots of them.$_{32}$ I was born in 1962.$_{33}$ Um- when I was born, they were already around Mapitonoari.$_{34}$ Around that size, I was around the size of that little kid [points to a child], that size.$_{35}$ The *colonos* were already here, they came- they kept on colonizing.$_{36}$ They kept colonizing further down, that's right.$_{37}$ Aha.$_{38}$ When my father returned [from working in another valley], there was no more land for him to work.$_{39}$

As the *colonos* transformed the forest into coffee plantations, Edison and his family remained and worked in an *hacienda* 'estate' in exchange for the right to cultivate a plot of their own. Participating in the agricultural economy and local Andean social milieu meant speaking Quechua, and because Edison was a young child when the *colonos* arrived, he grew up bilingual in Matsigenka and Quechua. However, he did not attend school, so his exposure to Spanish was limited until the bilingual Quechua-Spanish *colono* society had consolidated in the Yavero Valley some years later. Edison explains (5):

(5) No me han puesto escuela.$_{40}$ Como mi papá dice, "lejos es la escuela," lejos era pe.$_{41}$ Mis hermanos mayores, ellos han terminado primaria.$_{42}$

They didn't put me in school.$_{40}$ As my father said, "the school is far away," it was far away.$_{41}$ My older brothers, they finished primary school.$_{42}$

NQE: Seguías hablando Matsigenka también con tu familia?[43]
Sí, normal era pe.[44] A veces me prohibía pe, "para qué vas a hablar Matsigenka?" dicen.[45] Pero siempre hablaba Matsigenka, hasta ahora sigue estoy hablando Matsigenka.[46]

NQE: Did you also continue speaking Matsigenka with your family?[43]
Yes, it was just like normal.[44] Sometimes they prohibited me, "why would you speak Matsigenka?" they said.[45] But I always spoke Matsigenka, until now I continue to speak Matsigenka.[46]

After the families of Yokiri had banded together to claim the land, Edison left the *colono* estate where he had lived most of his life and traveled down the Yavero Valley to join them in Yokiri. At that time, the next wave of Andean colonization – of which Mario was a part (Section 3.1) – had advanced to the area around Yokiri, displacing many Matsigenka people to more remote valleys (6):

(6) A treinta años, por allí, yo he venido acá ya también.[47] Ya también he venido abajo acá en Huillcapampa, así caminando así.[48] Nadies había gente- ya no había nativos.[49] En Matoriato sigue había.[50] Como están arreando gentes colonos, ya también algunos se ha ido pe Kirahateni.[51] Algunos se ha ido a Matoriato, algunos se ha ido- de acá se ha ido Chirumbia.[52] … Despues ya he venido pues acá hasta Yokiri.[53] Habia una chocita, casita.[54] Yo tenía treinta y dos años.[55]

But at thirty years old, around there, I came here at that point.[47] At that point I came down here to Huillcapampa, walking.[48] There was nobody- there weren't any *nativos* [i.e. Matsigenkas] left.[49] In Matoriato, there still were.[50] Since *colonos* were displacing people, some went to Kirahateni at that point.[51] Some went to Matoriato, some went to- from here, they went to Chirumbia.[52] … Then I came here to Yokiri.[53] There was a little hut, a little house.[54] I was thirty-two years old.[55]

At this point, the Yokiri Valley was surrounded by *colonos* on three sides, and bordered the Matsigenka community of Matoriato on the fourth (see map in Figure 3). As the road network advanced toward – and eventually through – Yokiri, the community's relationship to the surrounding agrarian society became increasingly close. For Edison, an important part of this gradual integration into the surrounding society was speaking Spanish more regularly. Furthermore, many of his close family members married Andean *colonos* that they had known on the estate near Mapitonoari, so Edison conducts close relationships with many of his kin in Spanish and Quechua.

Some linguistic features of Edison's Spanish

Edison is an L1 speaker of both Quechua and Matsigenka, and he learned Spanish later; however, the target variety of Spanish that he learned was in fact the interlanguage spoken by the L1 Quechua/L2 Spanish speakers from the highlands that came to surround him in the Yavero Valley. He shares with Mario a number of the Quechua contact features described above, as well as some possible Matsigenka contact features (note that a description of the relevant Matsigenka dialect does

not yet exist, but it is similar in most respects to the closely related Nanti language described by Michael, 2008).

Phonologically, Edison tends not to lower and centralize the Spanish high front vowel /i/ like Mario and other L1 Quechua speakers and bilinguals, perhaps because Matsigenka has this vowel. However, he often pronounces the Spanish high back rounded vowel /u/ as [o] (e.g. *pucha!* 'damn!' as [po͡ʧa]), as Matsigenka lacks /u/, which might be reinforced by the tendency of Quechua speakers to lower Spanish /u/. Furthermore, as Matsigenka lacks /l/, he often realizes this as [ɾ] (e.g. *colono* [koɾono], sentence 31). He also eliminates some initial consonant clusters, which do not exist in Matsigenka, through metathesis (e.g. *prohibía* [poɾiβia] 'prohibited' in sentence 45).

Edison's Spanish also exhibits a number of morphosyntactic, semantic, and discursive features typical of both monolingual Andean Spanish and of the interlanguage of L2 Spanish-Quechua bilinguals. For instance, he uses the Spanish gerund to form subordinate clauses (e.g. *volviendo mi papá, ya no había terreno para que trabaje* 'when my father returned, there was no more land for him to work', sentence 39) (Adelaar & Muysken, 2004, pp. 599–600; Lipski, 2013). Objects and adverbials also often appear in preverbal position (e.g. *hasta arriba vivía Matsigenka* 'Matsigenkas lived further up', sentence 32). Gender and number agreement are inconsistent (e.g. *algunos se ha ido a Matoriato* 'some went to Matoriato', sentence 52) (Adelaar & Muysken, 2004, p. 598). Like many speakers of Andean Spanish, he uses the perfect more frequently and the preterit less frequently than in other Spanish dialects (Howe, 2013). He also uses the imperfect, but unlike other Andean Spanish speakers he does not use the mirative or non-experienced past function of the pluperfect. He also uses the same kinds of diminutive constructions mentioned above (e.g. *chocita* 'little hut', sentence 54; *chivolito* 'little kid', sentence 35), the familiar set of calques of Quechua enclitics such as *ya* 'already' (cf. Quechua *-ña*), and Andean constructions such as the pluralized form of *nadie* 'nobody', *nadies*, in sentence 49 (Pato, 2013), which may not be due to contact with Quechua.

In addition to these features of Andean Spanish, Edison' speech also exhibits some apparent morphosyntactic contact features from Matsigenka. For instance, the omission of a preposition in *[algunos] se ha ido Chirumbia* '[some] went to Chirumbia' (sentence 52) resembles the Matsigenka bare locative construction (Michael, 2008, p. 366), in which the locative case suffix *-ku* is omitted with verbs of motion (though in Matsigenka this is a postposition, while in Spanish it is a preposition). The Matsigenka example as in (7) also comes from Yokiri:

(7) *Iatake Shimaa.*
i-a-t-ak-i *shimaa*
3M-go-EP-PF-REAL shimaa
'He went to Shimaa.'

Edison also frequently refers to plural human referents using singular constructions, which is common in Matsigenka when plural interpretation can be drawn from context (Michael, 2008, p. 268); take, for instance, *hasta arriba vivía Matsigenka* 'Matsigenkas used to live further up' (sentence 32) and *ya estaba colono* 'the *colonos* were already here' (sentence 36). Note that this is also common in Quechua. Edison's Spanish also exhibits some other features that are not straightforwardly attributable to Matsigenka or Quechua influence, including *sigue* 's/he continues' as a continuative particle instead of an auxiliary verb (e.g. *en Matoriato sigue había* 'in Matoriato, there still were', sentence 50; and *hasta ahora sigue estoy hablando Matsigenka* 'until now I continue to speak Matsigenka', sentence 46). I am not aware of comparable constructions in Matsigenka or Quechua. Several other people in Yokiri use *sigue* in this manner, though I have not seen it mentioned in the literature on Andean or Amazonian Spanish, so it may be a local innovation.

4.3 Pedro

The final Spanish speaker to be discussed in this chapter is a 2L1 Matsigenka-Spanish bilingual named Pedro. Pedro was born in the late 1960s in Otinganía (alt. Otingamía), the valley immediately south of Yokiri (see map in Figure 3). Pedro does not speak much Quechua. Like Edison's family, Pedro's parents and grandparents moved around the Urubamba Valley during the 20th century, first fleeing murderous slave raiders, and then struggling to stay ahead of the wave of Andean colonization. However, that is where their stories diverge: while Edison lived and worked among *colonos* for nearly all of his early life, Pedro always lived apart from *colono* society, which is why he never learned Quechua like Edison did. His family remained in the orbit of the Dominican mission at Chirumbia for decades, with successive generations attending the boarding school there for brief periods. Like many Matsigenka people in the region, they never lived in Chirumbia permanently, but visited frequently and sent Pedro there to attend school and learn Spanish. Thus, Edison's and Pedro's stories represent two sides of 20th century Matsigenka history: those who joined *colono* society, learned Quechua, and lived as agriculturalists in nucleated settlements, and those who remained relatively apart, living as horticulturalists and hunter-gatherers, and speaking Matsigenka and some Spanish.

In (8), Pedro describes his father's early life in the forests of Anchihuay and Koviriari, where he occasionally worked for *colonos* along the Urubamba River and traded with the priests at the nearby Dominican mission at Chirumbia. Because of these relationships, Pedro's father spoke some Quechua and some Spanish in addition to Matsigenka, his first language. While the mission at Chirumbia offered Matsigenka people in the region a measure of protection and stability, Pedro's

father found it to be an oppressive social environment, and did not stay for long. Eventually, he retreated from the mission orbit and started a family in the more remote forests of Otinganía (8):

(8) Mi papá ha nacido en Anchihuay.$_{56}$ … En esos años no había nada, no sé en que año habrá sido, no había colonización pe.$_{57}$ … Mi papá, como vivía en- por Anchihuay, Koviriari, antes incienso buscaba, y iba pe para que compre salcito, llevando incienso.$_{58}$ Hace cambio.$_{59}$ Así, según me contaban pe.$_{60}$ … Los padres lo habían llevado hacia la misión.$_{61}$ Ha estudiado casi tres meses nomás.$_{62}$ Después hay uno, su familiar dice de mi papá, se habían escapado de noche, porque dice explotaban dice allá pe.$_{63}$ O sea había dice curaca, y después no les ha gustado, y se habían escapado de noche pe, mi papá, de Chirumbia.$_{64}$ … Como digamos mi hijo así [points to child], así está trabajando en los colonos, allí ha aprendido a hablar Quechua.$_{65}$ Ya poco a poco se ha crecido ya, a tener su familia pe.$_{66}$ … Ya después se ha buscado- se ha apartado de la gente, y se ha venido a la montaña pe, claro.$_{67}$

My father was born in Anchihuay.$_{56}$ … In those years there was nothing, I don't know what year it must have been, there was no colonization.$_{57}$ … My father, since he lived there in- around Anchihuay, Koviriari, he used to gather incense, and he used to go [to Chirumbia] to buy a bit of salt, bringing incense.$_{58}$ He traded.$_{59}$ Like that, according to what they told me.$_{60}$ … The priests took him to the mission.$_{61}$ He studied just around three months.$_{62}$ Then there was one [boy], apparently a relative of my father's, [and] they escaped at night, because apparently they exploited [them] there.$_{63}$ I mean, apparently there was a *curaca* (labor overseer), and they didn't like it, and they escaped at night, my father, from Chirumbia.$_{64}$ … Like, let's say, around [the size of] my son [points to child], he was working [at that age] on the colonos' [land], that's where he learned to speak Quechua.$_{65}$ Then bit by bit he grew up, and had a family.$_{66}$ … Then he looked for- he removed himself from the people, and he came to the forest, that's right.$_{67}$

Pedro's father thus managed to establish a life for his family in Otinganía, which remained beyond the reach of Andean colonization until the mid-1970s. There they had little interaction with *colono* society, though they maintained a close relationship with the Dominican mission, and Pedro grew up speaking both Matsigenka and Spanish as a young child.

Though Pedro grew up speaking some Spanish, he had his most sustained introduction to the language while attending the Christian boarding school at Chirumbia. The Spanish priests there taught the Matsigenka children to live in nucleated settlements as sedentary agriculturalists, to abandon their Matsigenka animist ontologies in favor of Catholicism, and to speak Spanish. The Dominican priests taught the children exclusively in Spanish, and some former students I spoke to reported being punished for speaking Matsigenka. The children were also responsible for some aspects of Chirumbia's economic life, including tending to the mission's livestock on the grassy ridge that looms over the mission, creating handcrafts

for sale, and bringing the mission's products to market. This brought the children into regular contact with speakers of Spanish and Quechua outside of the mission, as well as with the many Andean workers that were employed within the mission. The increasingly intense interaction with non-Matsigenka speakers in the mission orbit – not to mention with the priests and nuns themselves, who largely came from the Basque region and other parts of Northern Spain – also meant a gradual shift from Matsigenka to Spanish among young people like Pedro. Furthermore, the constant interaction between Matsigenkas and neighboring Andean migrants led to a great number of interethnic unions between Matsigenka women and Andean men over the decades. Today Pedro has many *colono* family members, with whom he speaks Spanish. In this case as well, Spanish serves as a lingua franca between Matsigenka and Quechua speakers.

Eventually, Pedro left Chirumbia and returned to his family's land in Otinganía. However, at this point *colonos* had occupied the land there, so he and his family crossed over into the adjacent Yokiri Valley to help found the community of Yokiri. There, Pedro continued his education among *colonos* at a school in the nearby frontier settlement of Huillcapampa, as he explains in (9):

(9) Después ya me he regresado ya, no me hallo, me he regresado ya.$_{68}$ En ochenta ya la colonización ya estaba lleno ya, por Huillcapampa, ya estaban ya colonizando ya todo.$_{69}$ Aquí esta parte de Yokiri era silencioso, no había gente, el único mi papá vivía pe.$_{70}$ … Ya cuando había muerto mi papá en mil novecientos ochenta, ya después ya no he regresado a estudiar a Chirumbia, allí nomás me he quedado pe.$_{71}$ Ese año tendría doce años.$_{72}$ Después ya, como se llama, me he quedado allí, y en el año ochenta y dos ha habido acá escuela aquí en Huillcapampa, en la colonización pe, allí ha habido una escuela.$_{73}$ En allí he estudiado, doce años, hasta el cuarto año pe, primaria.$_{74}$ Después ya como ya no hay nadie que me apoya, mejor me dedico a trabajar.$_{75}$

Then I came back, I didn't like it, I came back.$_{68}$ In '80 the colonization was already full [i.e. advanced], around Huillcapampa, they were already colonizing everything.$_{69}$ This part of Yokiri was quiet, there was nobody, my father was the only one living [here].$_{70}$ … After my father died in 1980, I didn't go back to study in Chirumbia after that, I just stayed there.$_{71}$ In that year I must have been twelve years old.$_{72}$ Then, what's it called, I stayed there, and in the year '82 there was a school here in Huillcapampa, in the settlement, there was a school there.$_{73}$ I studied there, twelve years old, until the fourth year, primary school.$_{74}$ Then since there wasn't anyone to support me anymore, [I thought] it's better that I dedicate myself to working.$_{75}$

After leaving school in Huillcapampa, Pedro married a Matsigenka woman who grew up in the mission at Chirumbia and brought her to live with him in Yokiri. They speak Matsigenka together, but because she was born and spent much of her life in the mission, she is an 2L1 speaker of Matsigenka and Spanish. Like Mario and Edison, they speak Spanish frequently in their interactions with neighbors, kin, and visitors of all kinds.

Some linguistic features of Pedro's Spanish

Although Pedro does not speak much Quechua, his Spanish includes a number of grammatical features typical of Andean Spanish (discussed below). However, he does not exhibit the Andean phonological characteristics discussed above. Some Andean Spanish features are to be expected, since his exposure to Spanish has largely been through the Quechua-Spanish bilingual Andean migrants around Chirumbia and Yokiri, the Andean mission employees, his trilingual parents, his Andean kin, and local radio broadcasts. His Spanish also exhibits possible limited Matsigenka influence, though these effects are not as pronounced as in Edison's speech. For instance, like Edison, he often produces Spanish /l/ as [ɾ], and he metathesizes consonants to reduce some clusters. Both of these can be seen in his pronunciation of *explotaban* 'they exploited' in sentence 63 as [eksporɾtaβan].

Andean Spanish morphosyntactic and discursive features in Pedro's speech (all of which have already been discussed in this chapter) include the double possessive (e.g. *su familiar dice de mi papá* 'apparently a relative of my father's', sentence 63), deictic expressions (e.g. *en allí* 'there', sentence 74), OV word order (e.g. *incienso buscaba* 'he used to gather incense', sentence 58), and the use of *ya*, in some cases doubled (e.g. *ya estaba lleno ya* '[the colonization] was already full [i.e. advanced]', sentence 69). He also omits articles (e.g. *ha habido acá escuela* 'there was a school here', sentence 73), uses frequent diminutive constructions (e.g. *salcito* 'a bit of salt', sentence 58), and organizes his discourse with *pues/pe* 'affirmative' and the reportative evidential particle *dice* 'they say'. He also uses the present perfect, as well as the mirative/non-experienced past function of the pluperfect.

Pedro also uses a few grammatical features that may be due to Matsigenka influence, though these are more difficult to interpret. First, his use of the preposition *en* to indicate a person's house or land (e.g. *está trabajando en los colonos* 'he was working on the *colonos*' [land]', sentence 65) may be a calque of a common Matsigenka construction using the locative suffix *-ku* (see Michael, 2008, pp. 286, footnote 240); though as mentioned earlier, this is a suffix in Matsigenka and a preposition in Spanish. There is no such construction in Quechua. Sentence (10) gives a Matsigenka example from another speaker in Yokiri, in which 'at our (inclusive) family's place' is expressed by suffixing the locative *-ku* to *atovaire* 'our family'.

(10) *Irirori itimi anta atovaireku.*
iriro-ri *i-tim-i* *anta* *a-tovai-re-ku*
he-CNTR 3M-live-REAL there 1.INCL-family-ALIEN.POSS-LOC
'He lives there, at our (inclusive) family's place.'

5. Conclusion

The three people discussed here represent different facets of the complex history of La Convención. Mario is an L1 Quechua and L2 Spanish speaker who migrated from the highlands in search of land; Edison is a 2L1 Matsigenka-Quechua speaker, and an L3 Spanish speaker who grew up within the Andean *colono* society that overtook his Matsigenka family's land; and Pedro is a 2L1 Matsigenka-Spanish bilingual who spent most of his life at the periphery of the Andean *colono* world as it expanded through the region. These three people live together in the same community, itself a complex product of intermarriage and migration. The purpose of this chapter has been to sketch some of the social and historical trends that have led to the current sociolinguistic position of Spanish in this small corner of La Convención, and to briefly outline some of the linguistic characteristics of the three people's Spanish. In particular, this chapter has shown that the variety of Spanish adopted by Matsigenka speakers in this region has many of the most commonly cited grammatical features of Andean Spanish, whether the Matsigenkas themselves speak Quechua (as in the case of Mario and Edison) or not (as in the case of Pedro). The L1 Matsigenka speakers, Edison and Pedro, also appear to have introduced some minor phonological and morphological contact effects of their own.

Clearly, Amazonian Spanish in this part of Peru can only be conceived in the context of the arrival of Andean Spanish, and Quechua, with the great migratory wave from the adjacent highlands. Other parts of Amazonia have also been the targets of intense migration in recent decades – as mentioned earlier, the population of the Peruvian *selva* has increased by nearly an order of magnitude since the 1940s, almost as quickly as the city of Lima (INEI, 1940, 2007) – though Quechua and Aymara linguistic influence is most pronounced in Southern Peru (see Figure 1). Indeed, this demographic transformation has taken hold differently across the various regions of Amazonia, and the migrants have come from a wide variety of places. Given this diversity of migration into Amazonia, and given that Spanish has come into contact with dozens of indigenous Amazonian languages with small geographical ranges (like Matsigenka), it is likely that Amazonia is home to a wealth of Spanish variation that has only begun to be recognized.

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Morpheme codes used in this chapter

1	first person	EP	epenthetic
1.INCL	first person inclusive	LOC	locative
3M	third person masculine	PA	past
ABL	ablative	PF	perfective
ALIEN.POSS	alienable possession	PL	plural
CNTR	contrast	REAL	realis
COM	comitative		

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