

Introduction

Kallawaya is a mixed and secret language spoken in north-western Bolivia. It is a mixed language, because its grammar derives largely, though not entirely, from a southern Quechua variety, while its lexicon comes from several sources that are genetically unrelated to Quechua. It has been suggested (Stark 1972: 206) that Pukina was the main lexifier of Kallawaya. The Pukina language became extinct in the 19th century (Adelaar and van de Kerke 2009: 125), although in pre-colonial and early colonial times it was a wide-spread language of the Bolivian highlands and in parts of Peru. Kallawaya is also a secret language in the sense that its use is restricted to initiated herbalists. One feature of secret languages are so-called lexical manipulations (Mous 2003), i.e. words that are (consciously) distorted in order to make them unintelligible for outsiders.

The project “Erstellung eines typologischen Profils der bolivianischen Mischsprache Kallawaya” has three main objectives: (1) to study the etymological composition of Kallawaya; (2) to classify the lexical manipulations found in the secret Kallawaya lexicon; and (3) to describe the grammatical traits of Kallawaya that deviate from the Quechua model. The project is funded by the *Deutsche Forschungsgemeinschaft* (DFG; HA 6340/2-1) (see also: <http://ifl.phil-fak.uni-koeln.de/11126.html#c56932>).

The following is a comprehensive etymological dictionary of Kallawaya, assembling the lexical information of all available **sources on Kallawaya** and offering suggestions for the etymological origin of the lexical items (for a similar approach to the Kallawaya data of Oblitas Poblete 1968, see Aguilo 1991). In compiling the lexical information on Kallawaya, I used the following sources: Mondaca (n/d), Soria Lens (1951), Oblitas Poblete (1968), Stark (1972), Girault (1984, 1989), Gifford and Lancaster (ca. 1988), and Torero (2002). The information extracted from the sources amounts to 17,190 word forms and about 84 phrases. In order to arrive at a dataset that is more manageable, I deleted most derivational and inflectional forms from the database as well as all compounds, incorporations, reduplications, and phrases. In doing so, I established basic lexical items and headwords. The term **basic lexical item** is a cover term for roots and stems, whose application to the Kallawaya data is often difficult or simply impossible. Thus, for instance, the first syllable of the Kallawaya item *isna-* ‘go, travel’ is clearly based on Pukina *es-~s-* ‘go’, but the origin and possible meaning of the second syllable *-na* is unknown. If the concepts of root and stem were applied, the question was whether Kallawaya *isna-* is rather a root or a stem and, if it was interpreted as a stem, the subsequent question was then how to analyse the element **-na*. Since we cannot answer such questions at our present state of knowledge, I decided to leave aside the terms root and stem. Instead, I classify all items for which a meaningful subdivision is not possible on the basis of the available data as basic lexical items. While a basic lexical item may or

may not be a lexeme of Kallawaya, the term **headword** from lexicography (Jackson 2002: 2) always refers to an actual word of Kallawaya. Thus, while the basic lexical item *kalla* does not occur as an independent word of Kallawaya, there are two headwords based on this basic lexical item: the verb *kalla-nja*- ‘to start, to begin’ and the noun *kalla-pi* ‘coffin’. Two or more headwords, based on the same basic lexical item, are homonyms and unrelated to each other. However, often one basic lexical item is represented by just one headword, the forms of which are identical. Headwords are presented either with their inflectional endings as provided in the respective source(s) or are denoted only with a hyphen. What appears to be an inconsistency evolves from different representations in the sources. For instance, Oblitas Poblete (1968: 77) lists ‘be, exist’ as *acha-na*, i.e. the basic lexical item is *acha*, followed by the infinitive marker *-na*. In contrast, Girault (1989: 23) provides ‘be, exist’ as *acha-ku-na*, where the basic lexical item is identical to that of Oblitas Poblete, but the inflectional ending is different. In order to avoid redundancy and also because I am unable to decide which inflectional marking(s) is/are more appropriate, I leave aside contrasting inflectional markings and list only the basic lexical item as headword, using a hyphen to indicate that further marking is given in the sources. Complete inflectional marking is provided only in case it is homogenous in one source and/or across several sources. Although I deleted all compounds, incorporations, reduplications, and phrases when compiling the dictionary, I provide such complex constructions in parentheses if the headword in question occurs only in this particular context. That is, the form *ch’ali*, for instance, does not occur independently in the Kallawaya sources but only as part of the compound *ch’alimii*, meaning ‘of fragile health’. The second part of the compound is clearly analysable as *mii* ‘people, person, human being’, while the meaning of *ch’ali* itself has to remain largely elusive. However, since we can analyse the compound *ch’alimii* as consisting of two parts, *ch’ali* and *mii*, I list *ch’ali* as a headword in its own right, but point out that it occurs only within the compound *ch’alimii*.

In some cases, the suggested etymological relation between Kallawaya and a possible donor language is not a complete match, as in Kallawaya *k’ani* ‘plait’, derived from Aymara *c’ana* ‘plait’. However, one of the most frequent lexical manipulations found in Kallawaya is vowel alternation, affecting in particular [a] and [i]. Thus, although Kallawaya *k’ani* and Aymara *c’ana* are not completely identical with respect to form, the Kallawaya item can be nonetheless classified as being derived from Aymara and manipulated in Kallawaya.

In establishing the **etymological composition** of Kallawaya, I used the following languages:

- | | |
|-------------------------|---------------------------|
| - Pukina (unclassified) | - Ese Ejja (Takanan) |
| - Quechua (Quechuan) | - Takana proper (Takanan) |
| - Aymara (Aymaran) | - Leko (isolate) |
| - Spanish (Romance) | - Mosetén (Mosetenan) |

- Uru (Uru-Chipaya)
- Chipaya (Uru-Chipaya)
- Araona (Takanan)
- Cavineña (Takanan)
- Ignaciano (Arawakan)
- Trinitario (Arawakan)
- Kunza (isolate)

Table 1 lists the **sources** used for the etymological comparison.

Language	Sources
Pukina	Torero (2002)
Quechua	Gonzalez Holguín (1608), Lira (1944), Academia Mayor de la Lengua Quechua (AMLQ) (2005)
Aymara	Bertonio (1612), DeLucca (1983)
Spanish	http://de.pons.com/ , http://www.spanishdict.com/ , http://www.wordreference.com/
Uru	Hannß (2008)
Chipaya	Cerrón-Palomino and Ballón Aguirre (2011)
Araona	http://lingweb.eva.mpg.de/ids/
Cavineña	Guillaume (2008), http://lingweb.eva.mpg.de/ids/
Ese Eja	http://lingweb.eva.mpg.de/ids/
Takana proper	Ottaviano and Ottaviano (1989), Montaña Aragon (1987), http://lingweb.eva.mpg.de/ids/
Leko	Lafone Quevedo (1905), Montaña Aragon (1989), van de Kerke (2000, 2002, 2006)
Mosetén	Bibolotti (1917), http://lingweb.eva.mpg.de/ids/
Ignaciano	http://lingweb.eva.mpg.de/ids/
Trinitario	http://lingweb.eva.mpg.de/ids/
Kunza	Vilte Vilte (n/d), http://lingweb.eva.mpg.de/ids/

Table 1: Sources used for the etymological comparison

The following **abbreviations and symbols** are used in the dictionary:

Languages

- P Pukina
- Q Quechua
- Q (H) Quechua (Gonzalez Holguín)
- A Aymara
- A (B) Aymara (Bertonio)

Q-A	Quechua-Aymara ¹
S	Spanish
U	Uru
Ch	Chipaya
U-Ch	Uru-Chipaya ²
Ar	Araona
Ca	Cavineña
EE	Ese Ejja
T	Takana proper
L	Leko
M	Mosetén
K	Kunza

(Although Ignaciano and Trinitario were checked for etymological relations to Kallawaya, the investigation brought no results. Accordingly, neither language is listed here.)

Lexical items not checkable are marked as follows

- a lexical item not found in Quechua
- b lexical item not found in Aymara
- c lexical item not found in Uru
- d lexical item not found in Leko
- e lexical item not found in Mosetén
- f lexical item not found in Takanan languages
- g lexical item not found in Chipaya
- h lexical item not found in Ignaciano
- i lexical item not found in Trinitario

¹ Refers to lexical items that are phonologically and semantically (almost) identical in Quechua and Aymara, such as e.g. *apa-* 'carry, to transport'. In such cases, it is impossible to determine which language gave rise to the Kallawaya expression.

² Refers to lexical items that are phonologically and semantically (almost) identical in Uru and Chipaya, such as e.g. *chijñi* 'rain'. Again, it is impossible to determine which language gave rise to the Kallawaya expression.

Sources

G1	Girault (1984)
G2	Girault (1989)
M	Mondaca (n/d)
OP	Oblitas Poblete (1968)
S	Stark (1972)
SL	Soria Lens (1951)
Tor	Torero (2002)

Other symbols

~	orthographic variation
?	etymological origin, relation, etc. uncertain
<u>underlined item</u>	marks the most plausible origin, meaning, etc.

The **spelling** of Kallawaya has been adjusted, partly following the suggestion made by Muysken (2009: 155). However, often it has to remain uncertain whether a Kallawaya item should be spelt with e.g. <i> or <y>, in which case I maintain the orthographic representation of the source(s). The spelling of Pukina, Quechua, Aymara, etc. has been adopted as provided in the respective sources, which leads to a certain inconsistency, particularly with respect to stops and fricatives.

The dictionary as provided in the following is far from being complete, but presents a first result of compiling and classifying the Kallawaya data. Further etymological research is needed in order to arrive at a more comprehensive picture of the Kallawaya lexicon.

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