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Astrid Alexander-Bakkerus
*Vocabulario enla lengua Castellana, la del
Ynga y Xebera* (British Library, Ms. Add.
25,323): sounds and words

The codex *Vocabulario enla Lengua Castellana, la del Inga y Xebera* can be consulted in The British Library, shelf mark Ms. Add. 25,323, London, UK. It does not only contain a Spanish-Quechua-Xebero vocabulary, but also a rather elaborate description of certain Xebero sounds. Although the author of the manuscript is unknown, we may attribute it to Samuel Fritz (1654-1726), a German Jesuit.

Xebero is an indigenous North-Peruvian language and it belongs to the Cahuapana language family, a small family consisting of two languages: Xebero and Chayahuita. Xebero is an agglutinative language and it has predominantly an SOV constituent (subject-object-verb) structure.

In this paper we first analyze the sounds as described by the lexicographer in the manuscript and the graphemes used by him to symbolize them. On the basis of these data an overview of a tentative Xebero sound system is presented. Subsequently, we analyze the trilingual vocabulary in order to determine the roles played by the languages in the lexicon and to show the techniques used by the lexicographer in order to give an adequate translation of the different Spanish, Quechua and Xebero concepts.

Key words: eighteenth century Xebero (Jebero), vocabulary, symbol analysis, lexicography.

1. Introduction¹

¹ A first version of this paper was presented at the 6th International Conference on Missionary Linguistics, organized by Cristina Altman, Emi

The British Library manuscript, *Vocabulario en la lengua Castellana, la del Ynga y Xebera*, henceforth *Vocabulario*, contains a Spanish-Quechua-Xebero vocabulary. The determiner *la del Ynga* ‘the one of the Ynga’ in the title refers to Quechua, the language spoken by the Inca. Xebero is an indigenous North-Peruvian language. There are some 2,300-3,000 Xeberos living along the Platanayacu River and on the Papayacu Lagoon, department of Loreto, Alto Marañón. However, only a few elderly people, living between the Marañón and the Huallaga River in a district called Jeberos, still speak the native language. (Flowers, 2008). Xebero is also spelled as Chébero and Xevero. Its ethnonym is Jebero/ Jevero/ Hevero (Flowers, *ibid.*), and it is autodenominated as Shiwilu (Fabre, 1998:318, Valenzuela 2010).² In this paper, I use the denomination ‘Xebero’, first, because this is the denomination employed by the author of the *Vocabulario* to designate the language; second, to elucidate that the language, as described and translated in the vocabulary, is an eighteenth century stratum of Jebero.

@please insert Maps here

Xebero is a member of a small language family: Cahuapana/ Kawapana. The Cahuapana family consists of two languages only. Chayahuita is the other member (Muysken, 2004:447-449). Xebero is an agglutinative language. Affixes can be prefixed as well as suffixed. The language has predominantly an SOV structure. Further information about the structure of Xebero can be found in Alexander-Bakkerus, (forthcoming).

The *Vocabulario* dates from the 18th century. It had belonged to Amédée Chaumette des Fossés (1782-1841), consul of France in Peru in 1830. After his death a Belgian linguist, baron Pierre Leopold van Alstein, professor at the University of Ghent, bought the manuscript. The British antiquarian B. M. Quaritch purchased the *Vocabulario* in July

Kishimoto, Masayuki Toyoshima, and Otto Zwartjes, at the Tokyo University of Foreign Studies, Tokyo, Japan, from March 16th to 19th, 2010.

² Valenzuela, who is doing fieldwork in Jeberos, reports that in the 1990s an internal movement started a revalorization of the Shiwilu identity and language. Valenzuela is supporting the movement and is working on a description of the Shiwilu language as it is spoken today. She has written a number of linguistic studies, including an article (forthcoming), dealing with the reconstruction of Proto-Cahuapana.

1863 at an auction. The manuscript has not been published yet. Its publication by Alexander-Bakkerus is forthcoming.

The author of the manuscript is unknown, but Valenzuela (forthcoming) attributes the codex to Samuel Fritz (1654-1726), a Jesuit missionary. The Jesuits were the first missionaries who contacted the Xebero people, and they Christianized the region. Notwithstanding the fact that the *Vocabulario* is written in Spanish, the author may have been of German origin, or knew German, judging by the German examples that he employs in his elucidation of Xebero sounds.

The *Vocabulario* runs to sixty nine pages and it can be divided into three parts:

(i), a section called *Dela pronunciacion* 'About the pronunciation', folio 1 recto – 2 verso;

(ii), a vocabulary, folio 3 recto – 34 verso;

(iii), one page with a few additional notes concerning orthography, pronunciation and meaning, folio 35 recto.

The manuscript begins with an introduction of 4 pages in which the author describes a number of exotic sounds which he could hardly represent, since the Spanish or German alphabet did not have an adequate letter to symbolize them. In addition he explains the graphemes that he uses to represent these sounds. He also employs letters in superscript, occasionally in subscript, to represent an alternative sound. The introduction is followed by a trilingual vocabulary of sixty two pages. At the end of the manuscript the transcriber briefly repeats some of the points treated in the introduction, and he explains the use of the digraph *ng* and the trigraph *sch*, and of the acute or grave accent. He also remarks that in a number of cases Spanish and Xebero do not match up, and that in Xebero passives and actives, for instance, may be expressed by separate verbs. This is illustrated by means of the following Quechua entries: *asnan* – Xebero *anali* 'he smells good', *mutquini* – Xebero *lanerlec* 'I smell (something)'. With respect to the meaning of some suffixes, he refers to the grammar. (In the British Library, the grammar is ranged in a companion manuscript: *Gramatica dela Lengua Xebera*, Ms. Add. 25,324). The writer furthermore remarks that he tried to note 'plain' Spanish words only, viz. the most common words, and to avoid synonyms, but that sometimes he had to take down synonymous concepts, because Xebero uses separate, distinctive words for the different connotations of a Spanish concept (see passive *oler* 'to smell': *anali* 'he smells good' ↔ active *oler: lanerlec* 'I smell something' above).

In this paper we analyze the orthography employed by the lexicographer for the representation of Xebero, so that we may form an

idea of how the language sounded. The graphemes used by the author in his symbolization of Xebero, their putative value, and a tentative Xebero sound system are treated in section 2. We furthermore study the *Vocabulario* in order to gain an insight into the way the lexicographer arranged his lexicon and translated different concepts, and into the position of Spanish, Quechua and Xebero in the vocabulary. The arrangement of the entries, the way in which the concepts are translated, and the role played by the three languages in the *Vocabulario* are dealt with in section 3. Some concluding remarks are found in section 4.

2. The transcription of Xebero

The writer of the *Vocabulario* uses the letters of the Spanish alphabet to transcribe Xebero. In most of the cases, the Spanish sounds symbolized by these graphemes correspond to Xebero sounds, so that the use of the Spanish alphabet does not cause any difficulties. However, in some cases, the Xebero sounds are difficult to symbolize, because they do not occur in the Spanish sound system, or, as the author explains in his notes at the end of the vocabulary: “because in the Castilian language, [...] there is not a similar pronunciation”.³ These problematic sounds, amongst other things, are analyzed in section 2.3. in which consonant symbols are treated. Vowel symbols are described in section 2.1, diphthongs in section 2.2. A survey of tentative Xebero consonants closes section 2.

2.1 Vowels

The transcriber uses the following symbols to represent a vowel: *a*, *e*, *i/y*, *o*, *u/v*. They are likely to represent the vowels [a], [e], [i], [o], [u], respectively. The graphemes *v* and *y* are used as graphic variants of *u* and *i* respectively: *Jesu ~ Jesv* ‘Jesus’, *in- ~ yn-* ‘reciprocity’. The allographs *i/y* and *u/v* may have a vocalic value when occurring syllable-initially or syllable-finally before or after a consonant symbol.

According to the transcriber the graphemes *e* and *i* may be used alternatively, and the grapheme *o* may also be used as an alternative for *u*: “many times they confuse *o* with *u*, and *e* with *i*, for example, *tolec* ‘I

³ “*porque en la lengua castellana, [...] no lo ay semejante pronunciacion*”.

say' with *tulec*, *linlineng* 'his name' with *linlining*".⁴ Since the symbols *e* and *o* may be used as allographs of *i* and *u*, respectively, this means that, (i), [e] and [o], referred to by the symbols *e* and *i*, respectively, function as allophones of [i] and [u], respectively, symbolized by the graphemes *o* and *u*;

(ii), there is no phonemic distinction between the vowels [e] and [i], nor between [o] and [u].

In addition, the writer mentions: "especially in gerunds [e] is pronounced as [a] or [o], for example, *naming* 'being' as *nama^ong*, *tiameng* 'dying' as *tiam^ong*".⁵ As said, the transcriber of the Xebero sounds symbolizes an optional pronunciation by means of a superscript or subscript grapheme. The fact that in these cases, viz. in 'gerunds' before the ending *ng*, the sound symbolized by *e* could also be represented by means of the symbols *a*, *i*, and *o*, leads one to suspect that the grapheme *e* could symbolize a mid central vowel [ə] or schwa, a sound for which the Spanish alphabet had no special letter to represent it. This assumption is supported by the fact that Bendor-Samuels (1961:12) distinguishes a phonemic schwa in his description of the language, which he recorded during his fieldwork in 1955-1956. The schwa does not occur in Valenzuela and Gussenhoven's phoneme chart, but they distinguish a close-mid central vowel close to schwa for which they use the symbol /e/, Valenzuela and Gussenhoven (forthcoming).

The vowel symbol *e* can be suppressed. A suppressed symbol *e* is often indicated by means of an acute or grave accent: *lop'rtiq'n* 'you are drunken' (*quen* '2s'), *nóq'r* 'cold' (< *nóqued* 'cold').

The transcriber also distinguishes what he views as diphthongal sounds: "many times they pronounce vowels as diphthongs: *e* as *oe*, viz. as half *o* and half *e* [...]. In other words they use the diphthong *ôu*, for example, *pôung* 'fire'".⁶ As regards the former 'diphthong', he specifies: "as in German *o^e*, for example *Mörfer* 'mortar', *Öl* 'oil'".⁷ The author transcribes this diphthongal sound by means of the digraph *oel* *o^e*, and by means of the symbol *ö*. The graphics *oe*, *o^e*, and *ö* are likely to refer to a mid front vowel [œ].

⁴ "muchas veces la *o* confunden con la *u*, y la *e* con la *i*, e.g. *tolec* 'digo' como 'tulec', *linlineng* 'su nombre' como *linlining*".

⁵ "especialmente en los gerundios, la *e* pronuncian como *a* u *o*, e.g. *naming* 'siendo' como *nama^ong*, *tiameng* 'muriendo' como *timiam^ong*".

⁶ "muchas veces pronuncian las vocales como diftongos: la *e* como *oe*, eso es, media *o* y media *e* [...]. En otras palabras usan el diftongo *ôu*, e.g. *pôung* 'fuego'".

⁷ "como en la lengua alemana la *o^e*, e.g. *mörser* 'mortero', *öl* 'azeite'".

On the basis of these data we may conjecture that the following vowels occurred in Xebero:

	front	central	back
high	i		u
mid	æ	ə	
low		a	

In this survey, the sounds represented by *e* and *o*, tentative allophones of [i] and [u], respectively, have been omitted.

2.2 Diphthongs

Diphthongs are often symbolized by means of a sequence of two vowel symbols + a circumflex accent on the first symbol, cf. the sequence *ôu* in the lexeme *pông* ‘fire’ in section 2.1. The digraph *ôu* possibly symbolizes the falling diphthong [ow], consisting of the vowel [o] + a bilabial off-glide [w]. In the words *âulec* ‘I feed’, *autîulec* ‘I make dirty’, *nîugli* ‘rain’ (< *nu ugli* ‘rainy day’), the sequences *âu*, *îu*, *ûu*, probably also represent a falling diphthong with a bilabial glide: [aw], [iw], [uw], respectively. It follows that the digraphs *âi*, *îi*, *ûi* may represent a falling diphthong with a palatal glide [y]: [ay], [iy], [uy], respectively. Such sequences have been encountered in the following expressions: *nanâipa* ‘maybe him’ (< *nana* ‘3s’ + *ipa* ‘maybe’), *noliipa* ‘uncertain’ (*noli* ‘like this’ + *ipa* ‘maybe’), *dadapûi* ‘white’, respectively.

Raising diphthongs, i.e. diphthongs that begin with an on-glide, [w] or [y], followed by a vowel, also are often symbolized by means of a vowel sequence with a circumflex accent on the first vowel. The digraphs *ûa*, *ûi*, *ûe*, *ûo*, respectively occurring in the words *qûa* ‘I’, *u^oqûilatôli* ‘lightning’, *-qûec* ‘locative’, *ûogladec* ‘blood’ are likely to symbolize the diphthongs [wa], [wi], [we], [wo], respectively. A sequence *ûu*, hypothetically representing a raising diphthong [wu], has not been found in the data. However, since *o* functions as a graphic variant of *u*, we may consider the sequence *ûo*, tentatively referring to the diphthong [wo], in the word *ûogladec* ‘blood’, as a graphic variant of *ûu*, conjecturally symbolizing [wu], and the diphthong [wo] as an allophone of [wu]. The digraphs *îa*, *îe*, *îi*, *îo*, found in the words *apertîaso* ‘thief’, *chîe* ‘daughter-in-law’, *baîîmboli* ‘not far’ (< *bay* ‘far’ + *îmboli* ‘not’), *motîoli* ‘full’, probably symbolize a raising diphthong with a palatal on-glide: [ya], [ye], [yi], [yo], respectively. By analogy with the lexeme *chîe* ‘daughter-in-

law' in which *êe* possibly symbolizes a raising diphthong [ye], we may assume that the vowel combination *iu* in the synonym *chiiuc* 'daughter-in-law' may also represent a raising diphthong: the diphthong [yu].

We have seen that in a number of cases diphthongs are the result of a morphonological process. They occur at morpheme boundaries when two morphemes coalesce.

The putative Xebero diphthongs are presented in the following overview. The diphthongs [ow], [we], [wo], [ye], [yo], allophones of [uw], [wi], [wu], [yi], [yu], respectively, do not figure in this overview:

falling diphthongs:

with a bilabial off-glide:

[iw] [uw]

[aw]

with a palatal off-glide:

[iy] [uy]

[ay]

with a bilabial on-glide:

[wi] [wu]

[wa]

with a palatal on-glide:

[yi] [yu]

[ya]

As stated in section 2.1, the symbols *i* and *u* may replace *y* and *v*, respectively. They have a vocalic value when occurring in syllable-initial or syllable-final position before or after a consonant symbol, and a consonantal value, when, in the same position, they occur before after a vowel symbol, cf. for instance *bay* ~ *bai* [bay] 'far', *ûogladec* ~ *voglatec* [wogladek/ woglatek] 'blood', and see also section 2.3.2 below.

2.3. Consonants

The transcriber uses the following symbols to represent a consonant: *b*, *c*, *ch*, *d*, *g*, *gu*, *h*, *hu*, *i*, *j*, *l*, *ll*, *m*, *n*, *ñ*, *ng*, *p*, *q*, *qu*, *r*, *s*, *sch*, *t*, *u*, *v*, *y*, *z*; an acute or grave accent; a circumflex accent; a hyphen; and a spacing. They can be divided into five groups: (i), unproblematic symbols, (ii), allographs, (iii), problematic symbols, (iv) the grapheme combinations *ng* and *sch*, (v) acute or grave accent, hyphen, and spacing.

2.3.1 Unproblematic symbols

The employment of most of the consonant symbols mentioned above does not seem to be problematic, because the transcriber does not

elaborate on it. Assumedly, the use of the graphemes is the same as in Spanish, and the symbols evidently refer to sounds occurring both in Spanish and in Xebero. This may be the case as regards the symbols *c* before *a/ o/ u*, *ch*, *d* (in the Sp loan word *Dios* ‘God’, and non-allograph of *r*, *l*, *h*, see section 2.3.3.1), *g* (counterpart of *c*), *hu/_a*, *j* (in the Sp loan word *juralec* ‘I curse’ < Sp *jurar* ‘to curse’), *l* (non-allograph of *r*, *l*, *h*, see section 2.2.3.1), *ll*, *m*, *n*, *ñ*, *p*, *qu/q*, *s*, *t*. They seem to represent the following sounds: [k], [s], [č], [d], [g], [w], [x], [l], [lʲ], [m], [n], [nʲ], [p], [k], [s], [t], respectively. The author of the *Vocabulario* considers the putative sounds [d] and [g], as allophones of [t] and [k], respectively. He states about the former: “although they many times pronounce *t* as *d*, if they clearly pronounce it as *t* or *d*, it is a signal that it should be *t*”⁸ (cf. for instance the example *ûogladec* ~ *voglatec* [wogladek/ woglatek] ‘blood’ in section 2.2); and about the latter: “many times, they confuse *c* and *q* with *g*, for example, they pronounce *latoclec* ‘I estimate’, ‘I appreciate’ as *latocleg*”⁹.

Bendor-Samuel, 1962:12, notes that “all stops are [...] voiceless in all phonetic environments, except that after a nasal all stops are voiced”. This is contradictory to what we find in the manuscript, where the tentative unvoiced stops [t] and [k] become voiced in a non-nasal environment, see the examples *ûogladec* ~ *voglatec* [wogladek/ woglatek] ‘blood’ and *latoclec* [latoklek] ‘estimo’ ‘aprecio’ ~ *latocleg* [latokleg] above.

2.3.2 Allographs

As said before, *i* and *u* function as graphic variants of *y* and *v*, respectively. They may represent the vowels *i* and *u* when, in syllable-initial and syllable-final position, they are preceded or followed by a consonant symbol (see section 2.1). The allographs *u/v* and *i/y* may also symbolize a consonant, a bilabial approximant [w] and [y], respectively, when they function as glides in diphthongs (see section 2.2), viz. when they occur syllable-initially or syllable-finally before or after a vowel:

<i>i</i> , <i>y</i> /\$_V, V_\$	[y]
<i>u</i> , <i>v</i> /\$_V, V_\$	[w]

⁸ “*aunque* la *t* muchas veces pronuncian como la *d*, mas si la pronuncian claramente como *t* ò *d*, señal es que ha de ser *t*”.

⁹ “muchas veces la *c* y *q* confunden conla *g*, e.g. *latoclec* ‘estimo’ ‘aprecio’ pronuncian como *latocleg*”.

The symbol *b* is also used as a graphic variant of *v*, and may therefore also represent a bilabial approximant [w]: cf. *baiee notolec* ~ *vaiee notolec* [waye notolek] ‘I suffer’. The grapheme *b* obviously symbolizes a bilabial approximant in the following example in which *b* instead of *hu*, assumedly symbolizing a bilabial approximant [w] when immediately followed by *a* (see section 2.3.1), is used: *bátenli* ~ *huátenli* [wátenli] ‘hard’, ‘solid’:

b/v, b/hu [w]

The view that the grapheme *b* should be read as [w] is supported by the fact that the sound [b] does not figure in Bendor-Samuel’s and Valenzuela and Gussenhoven’s survey of consonant phonemes, and that in Xebero the Spanish word [xebera] is pronounced as [šiwila]: Spanish [b] > Xebero [w] (see the autodenomination Shiwilu in section 1).

The digraph *gu* is used as an alternative for *hu* before the vowel symbol *a*: *guallec* ~ *huallec* ‘until’. We have seen that the digraph *hu* possibly represents a bilabial approximant [w] when occurring before *a*. Therefore, as *hu* in this position, *gu* is likely to represent a bilabial approximant as well:

gu/_a [w]

The grapheme *q* instead of *qu* or, rather, *c*, occurs before the symbols *n* and *r*, when an intermediate vowel symbol *e* is suppressed: *posiqn* ‘you are as’, *noqrlec* ‘I am cold’. (See also *lop’rtiq’n* ‘you are drunken’, *nóq’r* ‘cold’ in section 2.1.). As the digraph *qu*, the grapheme *q* obviously also represents an unvoiced velar stop [k]:

q/_n, r, ‘n, ‘r [k]

Since the letters *z* and *c/_e, i* are employed as graphic variants of *s*, representing a dental-alveolar fricative sound in Spanish, it is not unlikely that they symbolize the same sound in Xebero:

z, c/_e, i [s]

2.3.3 Problematic symbols

The interpretation of the grapheme *d* and its allographs *h, l, r*, causes difficulties and needs some explanation. The use of the symbols *h* and *r* as non-allographs of *d* is also ambiguous.

2.3.3.1 Symbol *d/h/l/r*

The grapheme *d* evidently symbolizes a voiced dental-alveolar stop [d] in borrowings. It also functions as a voiced counterpart of an unvoiced dental-alveolar stop [t], probably symbolized by *t*, see section 2.3.1. However, as regards the use of the symbol elsewhere, the author of the lexicon observes the following: “the greatest difficulty is the pronunciation of *d*, because they pronounce it as half *r*, half *l*, and sometimes as half *h*, for example, they pronounce *dapina* [...] ‘blind’ as ^r*dapina* or *hapina*. [...] when the word begins with it, they pronounce it some aspiration”:¹⁰ ‘*dalec* ‘I enter’ ~ ⁿ*dalec* ‘I enter’. The transcriber goes on to remark: “the same word, if it immediately follows *c* or *g*, they insert *e*, [...] almost [as if] swallowing *c*”,¹¹ and he gives the following examples: *ug^cdalec* ‘I burn’ > *uguedalec*. The author usually represents this sound by means of the following symbols: *d*, and *d* + *r* in superscript (*d^r*). Occasionally, the complicated sound is represented by means of the symbol *r*, or *r* + *d* in superscript (*r^d*). A few times it is symbolized by means of the grapheme *l*: thrice with a superscript *r* (*l^r*), twice in superscript + the grapheme *d* (*d^l*), once in subscript + *d* (see the example ^r*dapina* ‘blind’ above). According to the characterization given by the transcriber, the grapheme *d* in non-loan words symbolizes a very ‘soft’ or ‘subtle’ sound: “*la pronuncian sutilisimamente*” ‘they pronounce it very subtly’.

In Spanish, the graphemes *d*, *r*, *l* symbolize dental-alveolar consonants: a voiced dental-alveolar stop [d], a dental-alveolar trill [r], and a dental-alveolar lateral [l], respectively. Therefore, we may assume that the sound represented by means of the symbols *d*, *r*, *l* had a dental-alveolar point of articulation (a dental-alveolar fricative [ð] with a lateral release?). Bendor-Samuel considers the sound symbolized by means of the graphemes *d*, *l*, *r*, and *h* as a frictionless continuant (Bendor-Samuel, 1961:8), and he uses the symbol ð to represent this sound.¹²

¹⁰ “*la mayor dificultad tiene la pronunciacion dela d, pues la pronuncian sutilisimamente, y suena como media r, media l, y algunas vezes como media h, e.g. dapina [...] ‘ciego’ pronuncian como ^rdapina ò hapina. [...] si la palabra comiensa con ella, casi la pronuncian como proponiendole alguna aspiracion*”.

¹¹ “*la mesma palabra, si sigue imediatamente ala c ò g, entreponen come una e, [...] casi tragando la c*”.

¹² Valenzuela and Gussenhoven (forthcoming) also distinguish an alveolar approximant, symbolized as ð.

2.3.3.2 Symbol *h*

The author does not explain the use of the symbol *h*, so that the phonetic value of this grapheme is uncertain. The symbol mainly occurs in initial position. In section 2.3.3.1 we have seen that the grapheme *h* can be used as an allograph of *d*, representing a hypothetical dental-alveolar frictionless sound. As a non-allograph of *d*, the grapheme *h* is found in a few loan words from Quechua, such as the lexeme *huča* ‘sin’ < Q *hucha* [xuča] ‘sin’. We may assume that in borrowings from Quechua the grapheme *h* has a Quechua value and that it symbolizes a velar fricative [x]. However, since the transcriber sometimes refers to German in order to elucidate Xebera sounds (see *öl* ‘azeite’ in section 2.1), it is possible that the symbol *h*, non-allograph of *d*, has a German value and that it indicates a glottal fricative [h].

The fricative sounds [x] and [h] do not figure in Bendor-Samuel’s table of consonants (Bendor-Samuel, 1961:12), nor in the consonant chart of Valenzuela and Gussenhoven (forthcoming). Therefore, it may also be possible that the symbol *h*, as in Spanish, represents zero. In Spanish, the word for *hombre* ‘man’, for instance, can be read as [ombre]. I assume, however, that if this would have been the case, if the symbol *h* would have been equivalent to \emptyset , the transcriber would not have employed it. He would simply have omitted it.

In a number of cases the hypothetical fricative sound symbolized by *h* is semantically distinctive from other sounds and even from \emptyset : *hökeðlek* ‘I open’ ↔ *ökeðlek* ‘I feel’. In the following case, however, where the symbol *h* alternates with zero, the sound which I assume to be represented by *h* is obviously not in opposition to \emptyset : *ha-* ~ *a-* ‘causative modality’. Since the putative fricative sound can be both semantically distinctive and equivalent to zero, we may accept that its phonemic status is weak.¹³

2.3.3.3 Symbol *r*

The use of the symbol *r* also is problematic. The symbol occurs as an allograph of *d* and as a non-allograph. When it is employed as an allograph of *d*, it possibly indicates a complex sound, probably a frictionless approximant [ð] (see section 2.3.3.1).

In a number of cases it is not sure whether the grapheme *r* is used as an alternative for *d*, and in those cases it may represent a dental-

¹³ According to Valenzuela (p.c.): “Quechua has /h/ and Spanish has a voiceless velar fricative, which is more like an approximant in Amazonian Quechua”.

alveolar flap (Bendor-Samuel, 1961:12 and Wise, 1999:313), or trill (Valenzuela and Gussenhoven, forthcoming).¹⁴

However, as a non-allograph of *d*, it is not likely to represent a dental-alveolar trill [r] as in Spanish, because the Spanish lexeme with which the language is indicated, the word Xebero [xebero], with a dental-alveolar trill [r], is not adopted as such. In the word Xebero, [r] is lateralized and the Xebero call their language Xibilo or Shihuilu/Shiwilu [šiwilu], with a dental-alveolar lateral [l] instead of a trill (see also Alexander-Bakkerus, forthcoming).

In a few cases the symbol *r* occurs in Spanish loan words, where it obviously represents a dental-alveolar trill [r].

2.3.4 The symbol combinations *ng* and *sch*

As stated, the author of the manuscript also uses German symbols to indicate a sound, when the Spanish alphabet is not sufficient. This may be the case with the digraph *ng*. It possibly symbolizes a velar nasal [ŋ]. In Spanish it is a distributional variant of [n] and occurs in combination with a velar stop or a velar fricative: *banco* [baŋko] ‘bank’, *ángel* [aŋxel] ‘angel’. Since it is in complementary distribution with [n], it has no independent status or phonemic value of itself and requires no distinctive symbol in Spanish. In Xebero, however, it often occurs syllable-finally, see the examples *naming* ‘being’ and *tiameng* ‘dying’ in section 2.1. According to the German (and English) orthography, the digraph *ng* symbolizes a velar nasal when it occurs at the end of a syllable: *lang* [laŋ] ‘long’. Therefore, it is likely that the transcriber resorted to the German alphabet to symbolize a syllable-final velar nasal sound. Valenzuela and Gussenhoven (p.c.) view the velar nasal sound as an allophone of /n/, though they point out that the occurrence tends to be velar at the end of a syllable. This is in accordance to what we see in Quechua and Cholón, where a final dental-alveolar nasal can be pronounced as a velar, see Alexander-Bakkerus, 2005:95.

The trigraph *sch* evidently symbolizes a palatal fricative [š]. The author refers to the German word *Schreibpapier* [šraybpapir] ‘writing

¹⁴ Valenzuela remarks about the trill: “Vibrants do not appear at the beginning of a word. The glottalized version [see the consonant chart of Bendor-Samuel and Valenzuela and Gussenhoven below, [AAB] occurs only at the end of the syllable, and the simple version also tends to occur in this position. Also, they tend to change phonetically to a sound similar to [d] ~[t]”.

paper’ in order to indicate the sound represented by *sch*: “sch is pronounced [...] as in German *Schreibpapier*” ‘writing paper’.¹⁵

2.3.5 Accute or grave accent, hyphen, spacing

An acute or grave accent occurs in entries such as *dalec* ‘I enter’, where it represents an ‘aspiration’ or ‘swallowing’, and where it may indicate a glottal stop (see section 2.3.3.1). Assumedly, the hyphen and spacing in the entries *hu-at* ‘rat’ (< Q. *hucucha* ‘rat’) and *i insolec* ‘I kneel’, respectively, also indicate the absence or ‘swallowing’ of a noticeable sound, and thus may also symbolize a closure of the glottal. The assumption of the occurrence of a glottal catch in Xebero is plausible, because Bendor-Samuel and Valenzuela also note a phonemic glottal stop in their table of consonants.

2.4 Survey of assumed consonants

The following table is an overview of the tentative consonants (including the borrowed consonants [d], [x], [h], and the voiced allophones [d] and [g] of the unvoiced stops [t] and [k], respectively), reconstructed on the basis of the data contained in the manuscript, and of the data provided by Bendor-Samuel (1961:12-14). Bendor-Samuel’s glottalized stops [f̥] and [k̥] are not listed in this survey. The highly hypothetical sound [r̥], see the section 2.3.3.4, is in parentheses:

consonants:	bilabial	dental-alveolar	palatal	velar
glottal				
voiceless stops	p	t	č	k
?				
voiced stops		d		g
fricatives		s	š	x
nasals	m	n	ñ	ŋ
(trill)		(r)		
laterals		l	l ^y	
approximants	w	ð	y	h

For the sake of completeness, both Bendor-Samuel’s (1961:12) and Valenzuela and Gussenhoven’s (forthcoming) table of phonemic consonants are included below:

¹⁵ “*sch se pronuncia como [...] en la lengua alemana Schreibpapier*”.

Bendor-Samuel (1961:12):

consonants:	bilabial	dental-	palato-	palatal	velar
	glottal		alveolar	alveolar	
stops	p	t		č	k
	ʔ				
glottalized					
stops		ʃ			ć
sibilants		s	ʃ		
flap		r			
laterals		l		ł	
nasals	m	n		ñ	ŋ
frictionless					
continuants	w	ð		y	

Valenzuela and Gussenhoven (forthcoming):

consonants:	bilabial	dental-	palato-	palatal	velar
	glottal		alveolar		
stops	p	t			k
	ʔ				
affricate			tʃ		
fricatives		s	ʃ		
trill		r			
glottalized		ʃ			
laterals		l		ł	
nasals	m	n		ñ	
approximants	w	ð		y	

3. The vocabulary

3.1 Arrangement

The vocabulary has some three thousand entries. A great number of synonyms, cognates, and words belonging to the same semantic field are added between the lines and in the margins.

@ please insert excerpt ms. 1 here

In items consisting of a main word and different synonyms or words belonging to the same semantic field, the Quechua and Xebero translations are often numbered, so that the Quechua and Xebero equivalents have the same number.

@ please insert excerpt ms. 2 here

The wordlist is divided into twenty sections: A, B, C, D, E, F, G, H, I/J/Y, L, M, N, O, P, Q, R, S, T, V, Z. This arrangement suggests an equivalence of the symbols *i*, *j*, and *y* at the beginning of the Spanish entries, which is not completely true. The symbols *i* and *y* are allographs of each other and have the same value, when they occur in initial position before a vowel or a consonant symbol. Before a consonant symbol they represent a high front vowel [i]: cf. *yr* [ir] ‘to go’ ~ *isla* [isla] ‘island’ (see also section 2.1), before a vowel symbol, *i* and *y* represent a palatal glide: *yucca* [yuka] ‘yucca’ (see also section 2.2). A Spanish entry beginning with *i* before a vowel symbol has not been encountered. The symbol *j* is not equivalent to *i* and *y*. It symbolizes a velar fricative [x]: *jugar* [xugar] ‘to play’, *juntarse* [xuntarse] ‘to meet each other’ (see also section 2.3.1).

@ please insert excerpt ms. 3 here

Although the *Vocabulary* is embedded in a tradition of Spanish lexicography, starting with Nebrija, it does not faithfully follow the model of its predecessors. In the following surveys, Table 1-3, the arrangement of the *Vocabulary* (probably late 17th century, early 18th century) and some entries are compared with those of Antonio de Nebrija’s (*1441-†1522) Spanish – Latin dictionary (1516), and the Spanish – Quechua vocabularies of Fray Domingo de Santo Tomás (1499-†1571) (1951 [1560]), González Holguín’s (1560-†ca. 1620) (1952 [1608]), see also Macdonald 1973), Maynas (18th century, see also Alexander-Bakkerus, 2009, 2010), and Juan de Velasco (*1727-†1792) (1964 [c. 1787], see also Alexander-Bakkerus, 2009, 2010). In the overviews, the capital letters N, T, H, M, V, and X, refer to the word lists of Nebrija, Santo Tomás, González Holguín, Velasco, Maynas, and Xebero, respectively. The small letters in Table 1 indicate the first letter of the entries. Table 1 shows the differences between the *Vocabulary* and the dictionaries of a number of predecessors and contemporaries. It appears that the *Vocabulary* stands out and that it is less conventional than the word lists of its contemporaries. In the Xebero vocabulary the division in chapters or sections and the number of sections differ from those of the other dictionaries. In the *Vocabulary*, the sections *i*, *j*, and *y*

are amalgated into one chapter, so that a separate chapter *y* is missing. A distinct section *x* is also lacking in the Xebero word list, as a result of which the *Vocabulary* comprises 20 chapters only, whereas the vocabularies of N, T, H, M, V, run to 26, 24, 24, 22, 25 chapters, respectively.

@ please insert Table 1 here

In the dictionaries of N – V, the entries *ablantar* ‘to soften’ and *blando* ‘soft’, Table 2 – 3, form a semantic field, followed by words related to the concept ‘to soften’ and ‘soft’, respectively. In the *Vocabulary*, however, the words *ablantar* and *blando* are not part of a semantic field and they are not followed by words derived from the concept at issue.

@please insert Table 2 here

@please insert Table 3 here

3.2 Languages involved

An interesting aspect of the lexicon contained in the British Library manuscript is the fact that it is trilingual. We thus may distinguish three components in the *Vocabulario*: Spanish, Quechua and Xebero, each having its own status. Spanish literally and figuratively is the first language of the manuscript:

- (i), it is the language which has to be translated: prayers, the Christian doctrine, biblical and liturgical texts, viz. texts which are essential for the Christianization of the indigenous Xebero people, are in Spanish;
- (ii), in the *Vocabulario*, it usually serves as a metalanguage, viz. the language of description of Xebero sounds;
- (ii), in the lexicon, it generally functions as a main entry or point of departure: the lemmas start with a Spanish lexeme or expression, followed by a Quechua equivalent, and they end with a translation in Xebero.

Quechua is the second language of the *Vocabulario*. It mainly is used as an intermediary through which the translation of a Spanish concept is passed on. Occasionally, it is used to explain the use of Xebero affixes and Xebero concepts, and may thus be considered as a

metalanguage as well. In a number of cases, Quechua also functions as a point of departure.

Xebero is the last component. It functions as the object language and it is the final result of the process of translation. However, sometimes, it is Xebero which is the source of information that has to be passed on. In those cases, Xebero functions as a starting point, and the Xebero concept may be considered as the entry.

The role of Spanish, Quechua and Xebero is discussed in greater detail in the sections 3.2.1, 3.2.2, and 3.2.3 below, respectively.

3.2.1 Spanish

As stated, in the lexicon Spanish has a leading role. It generally functions as the main entry, and it usually is followed by a straightforward, literal Quechua and Xebero translation:

@please insert Table 4 here

A literal one-to-one translation is possible when it concerns words belonging to a corpus of universal core concepts, such as names of body parts and sensory perceptions (see for instance the examples 'hand' and 'to hear' above), or when it concerns concepts the speakers of Quechua and Xebero were familiar with and for which they had an adequate word in their own language.

A number of Spanish concepts, however, could not be translated directly into Quechua and Xebero, because,

- (i), they were unknown to the indigenous people;
- (ii), the word at issue has different connotations which in Quechua and Xebero are indicated by separate words.

In the former case, viz. concepts the Quechua and Xebero speakers were unfamiliar with and for which they had no literal equivalents in their own language, these concepts are either not translated and adopted as loan words (Table 5) or are translated periphrastically (Table 6):

@please insert Table 5 and 6 here

When a Spanish word has several meanings, the Spanish entry is often followed by different Quechua and Xebero translations: one translation for each connotation (Table 7):

@ please insert Table 7 here

3.2.2 Quechua

Quechua occupies an important position in the manuscript. The author of the manuscript takes it for granted that the users of the vocabulary, his successors or fellow missionaries, know Quechua. In the introduction, for instance, the writer refers to Quechua in order to explain the use of the Xeberó suffix *-ti*: “[...] they attach *ti* at the end of the syllable, without changing the meaning [...], almost as *mi* is attached in the language of the Inca [...]”;¹⁶ and in his sound description, he sometimes translates Xeberó words, used to exemplify a certain sound or a certain morphological phenomenon, into Quechua instead of into Spanish, as is expected since Spanish is the metalanguage: “So they say *dacona* instead of *dacunla* ‘*iaicui ringui*’, *macona* instead of *macunla* ‘*chasquii ri[ngui]*’”.¹⁷ The reader of the *Vocabulario* thus has to have knowledge of the morphology of Quechua and to know Quechua in order to be able to understand the function of the suffix *-ti* in Xeberó, and to translate the Quechua glosses ‘*iaicui ringui*’ and ‘*chasquii ri[ngui]*’. In Quechua the suffix *-mi* serves as a validator or affirmative marker, indicating that the speaker saw or experienced the related event and that he is sure of his utterance. Since, according to the writer of the *Vocabulario*, Quechua suffix *-mi* equals Xeberó *-ti*, we may conclude that, in Xeberó, the latter also functions as an affirmative marker. The Quechua glosses *iaicui ringui* and *chasquii ringui* mean ‘you come to enter’ and ‘you come to receive’, respectively. In the word list, Xeberó translations can also be clarified by means of Quechua instead of Spanish. In Table 5 below, for example, the Xeberó translations of the Spanish word *maleza* ‘weed’, the Quechua loan word *chocho* ‘wet nurse’ and the Quechua word *millay* ‘a disgusting person’, are explained by means of the Quechua additions *viñasca* ‘growing’, ‘growth’ (< *wiñay* ‘to grow’), *ñuñuc guambra* (< *ñuñuc* ‘the one who nurses’, *guambra* ‘person’), and *sagra cac* (< *sagra* ‘skunk’, *cac* ‘the one who is’), respectively.

@please insert Table 8 here

The fact that in a number of cases Quechua instead of Spanish serves as a starting point also gives evidence of the important role that Quechua plays in the vocabulary. In the following examples (Table 9), the main entry is a Quechua concept, followed by a Xeberó translation (see also the items *asnan* ‘he smells good’ and *mutquini* ‘I smell

¹⁶ “añaden al fin la sylaba ti, sin que se muda la significacion [...], casi de manera conque se añade enla lengua del Ynga la mi [...]”.

¹⁷ “Asi dizen *dacona* en lugar de *dacunla* ‘*iaicui ringui*’, *macona* en lugar de *macunla* ‘*chasquii ri[ngui]*’”.

something' in section 1, and *millay* 'a disgusting person', the last example in Table 5):

@please insert Table 9 here

In the following examples, Table 10, the Quechua words *guanbirochi* 'a kind of cotton', *huandini* 'to carry/ lead someone' and *pacha* 'clothing' may also be considered as entries, which by means of a periphrasis are translated into Spanish. A Xebero translation of the Quechua concept *huandini* 'to carry, lead someone' is even omitted, indicating that Quechua plays the leading part.

@please insert Table 10 here

In the lexicon also occur Spanish borrowings from Quechua. They concern concepts that are typical of the indigenous culture. Such loan words may have become so established, that they occur as Spanish entries. Sometimes, the Quechua word is left out, as if it concerned a borrowing from Spanish:

@please insert Table 11 here

Quite a number of Spanish concepts are clearly translated into Xebero through Quechua, because,
(i), they occur as Quechua loan words in Xebero (Table 12):

@please insert Table 12 here

(ii), the periphrasis by means of which the Spanish concept is translated into Xebero is a calque of the Quechua periphrasis and seems to be engrafted onto a Quechua structure (see Table 13) (cf. also the Quechua and Xebero translations of Spanish *contumaz* 'obstinate' and *cruel* 'cruel' in section 3.2.1):

@please insert Table 13 here

Notwithstanding the fact that the author takes it for granted that the user of the vocabulary knows Quechua, the Quechua part contains many borrowings from Spanish. Even common Quechua words are substituted for Spanish loan words, or are translated periphrastically. The fact that a Spanish borrowing or a periphrasis instead of the Quechua equivalent is used, may suggest that the Quechua words have become

obsolete, and that Spanish is superseding Quechua. In the following examples of Spanish loans in Quechua, the original Quechua word is in parentheses:

@please insert Table 14 here

Sometimes, the Quechua equivalent of the Spanish loan word is given as an alternative:

<i>cada</i> ‘each one’	<i>cada</i> or <i>tucui</i>
<i>ciego</i> ‘blind’	<i>ciego</i> , <i>ñausa</i>

The Spanish entry may even have different connotations in Quechua, which Spanish does not have, and which therefore are not translated, so that they may get lost. For instance, the Spanish word *nieto* ‘grandson’ is adopted as such in Quechua. However, in the manuscript *Lengua de Maynas*, which contains a description of Ecuadorian Quechua and which also dates from the 18th century, the language does make a distinction between a son of a son *kari wawa-pak wawa* and a son of a daughter *kari wawa-pak warmi wawa* (Alexander-Bakkerus, 2010:70) (see Table 15). In *Diccionario Qheshwa-Castellano, Castellano-Qheshwa*, Lara (1991:373), the word *nieto* ‘grandson’ is translated as ‘willka’.

It also happens that Quechua is omitted and that the Spanish entry is directly translated into Xebero. Quechua then seems to have lost its intermediary function (see Table 15 below):

@please insert Tabel 15 here

3.2.3 Xebero

The Xebero part contains many borrowings from Spanish and Quechua (see section 3.2.1 and 3.2.2, respectively). Borrowings from Xebero have not been found in the lexicon. Although Xebero is the object language, it may also be the provider of new concepts, possibly unknown to the Spanish and Quechua population, and function as a starting point. It then concerns concepts and objects which are typical of the Xebero culture or the Xebero habitat, such as names of indigenous animals and plants. They are translated into Spanish and into Quechua by means of a periphrasis elucidating the Xebero concept. In the former case, the Quechua intermediary is often missing; in the latter case, the Spanish entry may be omitted:

@please insert Table 16 here

An interesting case of translation combined with borrowing is the following: the Spanish concepts *absolver* ‘to absolve’, *dexar, cessando* ‘to leave’, ‘to quit’, and *renunciar* ‘to renounce’, which apparently have no Xebero equivalent, are not translated by means of three corresponding loan words or periphrases, but by one single loan word, covering all three connotations: *anulalec* ‘I annul’ (Table 17):¹⁸

@please insert Table 17 here

In section 3.2.2 we have seen that a number of concepts are translated into Xebero by means of the intermediary of Quechua, resulting in Quechua loan words and periphrases. On the other hand, the Quechua translation may also be left out and Quechua borrowings from Spanish may be ignored. The Spanish concept is then directly translated into Xebero without the intervention of Quechua (see Table 15), emphasizing the independent status of Xebero.

4. Conclusion

The *Vocabulario en la lengua Castellana, la del Ynga y Xebera* is an interesting manuscript. It opens with a section entirely consecrated to orthography and pronunciation, and it closes with complementary notes about the same subject. This is extraordinary, because an explanation about orthography and pronunciation is usually summarized in a few words at the beginning of a grammar, usually not at the beginning or the end of a vocabulary. The lexicographer deviates from this convention, because he wrote the word list for his fellow missionaries, so that they could use it when they had to preach the Bible to the Xebero people. It would facilitate their work, or, in his own words: “the missionary [...] with the help [...] of the vocabulary and the grammar [...] can easily learn [the language] in order to explain them with more profit the word of

¹⁸ The translation of Sp *isla* ‘island’ into X *enzelandasu* is also remarkable. The Xebero word *enzelandasu* may refer to German *Insel* + English ‘island’.

God”.¹⁹ And, to help them to understand Xebero, he dwells on the pronunciation of certain sounds. This is necessary, because, according to the writer, Xebero is difficult to understand: “even though almost all the words are known, when hearing them talking to each other, little can be understood”.²⁰ For his description and transcription of such difficult sounds and for a possible reconstruction of the Xebero sound system, see section 2 above.

Another noticeable point of interest of the *Vocabulario* is the fact that it is trilingual and that we may distinguish three scopes: a Spanish scope, a Quechua range, and a Xebero field of vision. We have seen that Spanish occupies an important place in the lexicon, which is not surprising, since Spanish is the official language of the country. The Bible, the catechism, the prayers, in sum all the religious texts needed for the conversion the indigenous people were written in Spanish, and the missionaries who came to work in the region had to know Spanish. In the word list, Spanish generally functions as the main entry, followed by a Quechua and Xebero equivalent. The leading role of Spanish is underlined by the great number of Spanish borrowings in Quechua. In section 3 we have seen that Quechua uses Spanish loan words for concepts for which it has its own equivalent. The use of Spanish loan words instead of the usual Quechua equivalents may be due to:

- (i), the dominance of Spanish as an official language;
- (ii), a long contact of the Quechua speakers with the Spanish-speaking population;
- (iii), the fact that the lexicographer translated Spanish into Quechua with the assistance of ‘ladinos’, mestizos, who spoke Spanish.

Despite the amount of borrowings from Spanish, to the detriment of Quechua, the latter does not play a subsidiary role in the vocabulary. It is used to interpret and clarify Spanish and Xebero concepts, and, besides functioning as an intermediary, in a number of cases, it also functions as a main entry. The lexicographer probably chose Quechua as an intermediary, because the church considered it as the *lingua franca* by means of which it could contact the indigenous Xebero people. Nowadays, Quechua is the second official language in Peru.

¹⁹ “*el misionero [...] con ayuda [...] del vocabulario [...] puede facilmente aprender para explicarles la palabra de Dios con mayor fruto*”.

²⁰ “*aunque se sepan bien casi todas palabras, en oyendo los Xeberos hablar entre si, poco se entiende*”.

Xebero is a minority language, spoken by the autochthonous rural population. It is the third language in the lexicon where it functions as the object language.

The author begins his introductory section with the observation that the Xebero confuse many ‘letters’, viz. sounds, because they do not speak well their own language (sic!), and because they cannot write nor read it. This ‘warning’ (advertencia) is followed by nine, more or less extensive, notes, in which he describes a number of sounds, and explains how his graphemes should be interpreted (see section 2). He illustrates his explanation with a lot of examples. At the end of the introduction, the author once more remarks that the Xebero speak their language so badly and that they pronounce it so differently, that they are not understandable when they talk among themselves.

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