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New Mochica and the challenge of reviving an extinct language

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In this paper, we discuss New Mochica as an example of language revival. New Mochica is definitely not the Mochica of the colonial or republican epoch of present-day Peru and the continuity of an already extinct language can be questioned. Van Coetsem's (1988, 2000) framework of language contact explains why the contribution of the language revivalists' dominant language, Spanish, has such a powerful impact on New Mochica, eradicating the central typological features of Mochica. On the other hand, the groups of language revivalists presented in this paper explore the linguistic resources at hand in creative ways. Based on this case study, we propose that language revival should be studied as distinct from language revitalization (cf. Zuckermann & Walsh, 2011), yet as related to overall processes of language making (Hüning & Krämer, 2018).

Keywords: indigenous languages of Peru, language policy and planning, language revival, language making

1. Introduction

The Mochica language represents an important element in the process of reconstructing a specific cultural identity on the northern coast of Peru both after its death during the second half of the 20th century and as a result of recent language revival. Mochica is considered a linguistic isolate. It is predominantly a synthetic, suffixing language (Adelaar, 2007[2004]; Eloranta, 2018). It is typologically distinct from Andean Languages. Among its unusual typological features, it presents an “exotic” sound system (Adelaar, 2007[2004], p. 321). The term *exotic* is impressionistic but emphasizes the difference in comparison to Andean languages like Quechua and Aymara, which have a trivocalic system, while Mochica appears to have featured six vowels. The presence of an inalienability split (Eloranta, 2019, forthcoming) and multiple copular verbs (Eloranta, 2014) are other salient features that are not common in Andean languages. Morphologically speaking, Mochica

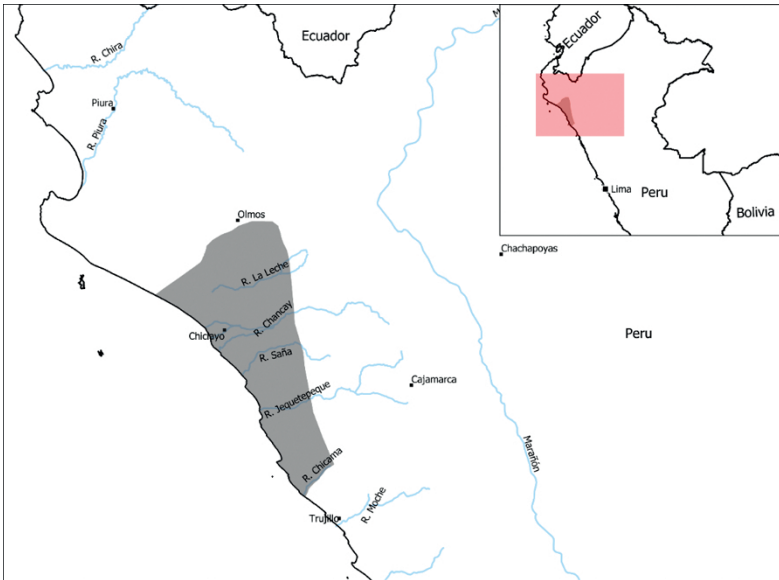
also had two-stemmed nouns (an obligatory distinction between possessed and non-possessed). The recurrent use of passive constructions and the presence of an agentive case suffix *-n* lead Hovdhaugen (2004, p. 74) to state that Mochica was a “rather special kind of a split ergative language”.

Moreover, the presence of numeral classifiers is unusual among Andean languages, but they are common among Amazonian languages. Among the so-called Andean languages, this feature is present in the extinct languages Cholóñ and Hibito of the eastern slopes of the Andes (Alexander-Bakkerus, 2002; Eloranta, 2017; Salas García, 2012) and in Mochica. Mochica’s numeral classifier system has been analyzed by Adelaar (2007[2004], pp. 342–343), Hovdhaugen (2004, p. 26), Middendorf (1892, pp. 129–131), Salas García (2008, 2011, 2012, pp. 154–176), and Torero Fernández (2002, pp. 346–347). Interestingly, Mochica classifiers do not behave like the ones found in Amazonian languages.

There are several problems one encounters when approaching the Mochica language. The fact that there are no speakers left is a clear limitation. In relation to its phonological system, the reconstruction of Mochica sounds will probably always remain hypothetical, unless someone discovers the location of the wax cylinders that were recorded by Hans H. Brüning in Eten. The recordings were made with an Edison phonograph during the first half of the twentieth century. Another problem one faces when dealing with northern Peruvian languages in general, including Mochica, is the scarcity of sources on these languages. The historical distribution of Mochica can be seen in Map 1.

Peru’s region of Lambayeque, on the northwestern coast of Peru, witnessed the rise and fall of several important pre-Columbian civilizations, still visible in impressive archaeological sites and diverse cultural manifestations such as pottery, artifacts of metallurgical work, etc. Interestingly, not only the people of modern Lambayeque (which, according to evidence in Torero Fernández, 1986, pp. 523–548, 2002, pp. 213–233, and Urban, 2019, pp. 62–63, was originally a Mochica-speaking area) but also the people of modern La Libertad (which originally was a Quingnam-speaking¹ area) seek to build and reinforce their identity, rediscovering cultural and linguistic elements and trying to implement a new version of the Mochica language. Thence, we find the development of New Mochica which is based on grammatical and lexical features of Mochica as outlined in both colonial and post-colonial descriptions (see Section 3). The areas of Lambayeque and La Libertad, relevant for showing the linguistic boundaries between Mochica and Quingnam, are depicted in Map 2 below where the asterisks mark the Mochica-speaking area (Lambayeque) and the dot the Quingnam region (La Libertad).

1. Quingnam, commonly known as *lengua pescadora* ‘fisher language/language of the fishers’, is another extinct language of the northern Peruvian Coast (Cerrón-Palomino, 1995, p. 31; Rabinowitz, 1983, pp. 260–263; Torero Fernández, 1986, p. 541).



Map 1. The distribution of Mochica according to Carrera y Daza (1644)²

Considering both the period of time when the sources for the study of Mochica were produced and the nature of the language itself, we have been able to delimit three phases. We do not elaborate here on the works developed by linguists, such as grammatical analyses and language sketches. Nevertheless, the first phase covers the colonial period, thus Colonial Mochica, and since the only grammatical description is that by Fernando de la Carrera y Daza (1644), who missionized in Reque, one can suspect that the language described is an abstraction of the several varieties this missionary encountered, but with predominant influence from the Reque variety. The second phase is represented by the remnants of the language collected by several travelers when the language was already dying out, mainly from Eten, the last stronghold of the language. We refer to the Mochica language attested during this phase as Republican Mochica. The third phase coincides with the production of Mochica materials through the efforts of several local researchers from both the regions of Lambayeque and La Libertad. In the quest of constructing a cultural identity, they conduct diverse projects of language reclamation and revival. According to Amery (2016, p. 19), “language reclamation specifically refers to language revival in situations where the language is no longer spoken and little is known orally within the community”. Indeed, we prefer to refer to the ongoing process in northern Peru as language revival rather than language revitalization, as we will explain in Section 2. We shall henceforth refer to the Mochica varieties of this phase as New Mochica.

2. This map was created by Arjan Mossel (University of Leiden).



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

As a result of the language revivalist movement – as opposed to language revitalization – to be outlined in Section 2, Mochica is now used in a much wider area in present-day northern Peru than at the height of its diffusion during colonial times (1542–1821 for Peru), i.e., it is taken as a point of reference and even practiced in areas where it was not previously spoken. This type of Language Policy and Planning (henceforth LPP) intervention by stakeholders not belonging to the original speech community mirrors, for example, the spread of Quechua as a *Lingua Franca* by the Spanish after the Spanish colonization in the larger Andean region³ or, for example, the successful reinvention of Hebrew (cf., e.g., Coulmas, 2016, pp. 139–153) and thence constitutes a perfect example of language revival.

The Regional Board of Education issued resolution number 0675–2008-GR.LAMB/DREL along with the Regional Government of Lambayeque's regional ordinance number 011-2010-GR.LAMB/CR that supports the diffusion of the Mochica

3. Quechua was already used as a *Lingua Franca* in the Inca Empire, but the Spanish LPP intervention, establishing it as an official *lengua general*, a means of interethnic communication (see, e.g., Vitar, 1996, p. 148, for uses of *lengua general*, and Baker, 1990, for “Means of Interethnic Communication”) made it spread well beyond its original area of diffusion. In this context, the observation by Alvar (1996, p. 13) that interethnic communication in Latin America was facilitated by the Spanish is outdated.

language in schools and other educational centers in the region of Lambayeque. As we shall see, this teaching is based on revivalist postures in the sense of reconstructing the language. Basically, the language is taught as a subject in very few experimental schools (Peralta Vallejos, personal communication, August 4, 2017). The community has realized that classroom-based language instruction is not enough (cf. Hinton, 2001, pp. 7, 10). Therefore, the revival of the Mochica language is part of a larger movement in the pursuit of a Mochica identity. To achieve this goal, there are activities held in different schools and communities of the Lambayeque region, such as the election of both the *Chisi Muchik* ‘Mochica girl’ and the *Iñikuk Muchik* ‘Mochica teen.’⁴ These contests can be considered ethnocultural pageants where the participants are evaluated according to criteria such as the ability to give a short speech in Mochica, master some commonly used Mochica expressions, describe regional dishes, or dance traditional Lambayeque dances.

Asensio (2012, 2014) claims that the discoveries of the great archaeological sites in northern Peru during the 1980s motivated the rise of this movement, which he refers to as *Movimiento Muchik* ‘Muchik movement’. This movement is growing stronger through support from the regional government as well as some intellectuals promoting an ethnic and political discourse that allows for the discovery and enhancement of cultural elements – including the linguistic ones to be discussed in Section 3 – that were already either lost or almost lost.

2. New Mochica and language revival

Mochica constitutes an interesting case of language revival. Following Zuckermann and Monaghan (2012) and Zuckermann and Walsh (2011), we prefer to use the term “language revival” instead of “language revitalization” because it is more appropriate to the situation of Mochica. Language revival differs from language revitalization in that there are no longer even vestigial speakers – at times equaled with semi-speakers (cf. Dorian, 1977; Lipski, 1989, p. 31;) – whose knowledge could be drawn upon. This presents special challenges for the reconstructions of the language but also allows for processes of language making (Bartens et al., forthcoming).

After language death in the first half of the 20th century (see Crystal, 2000, p. 19 for the concept), Mochica was revived. As stated above, whereas revitalizing a language implies rescuing a weakening or a dying language, language revival means resurrecting a language with no existing speakers. Coulmas (2016, pp. 139–153) and Zuckermann and Walsh (2011, p. 114) discuss the most quoted example of

4. Iñikuk is Middendorf’s orthographic variation (1892, p. 58) of the term registered as *yñicuc* ‘marriageable woman’ attested in Carrera (1644, p. 146).

language revival, Hebrew, already mentioned above,⁵ and state that modern-day Hebrew or Israeli is a very different language from that of Biblical Hebrew, both typologically and genetically.

Zuckermann and Walsh (2011) present various attempts to classify Israeli. It has been considered either Indo-European or Semitic. However, they find it more appropriate to categorize it as both Semitic and Indo-European at a time. This makes Israeli a hybrid language – not only in terms of being multi-layered in linguistic structure but also multi-parental (Zuckermann & Walsh, 2011, p. 114) – rather than an evolutionary phase of Hebrew. The way these authors conceive the hybridity of Israeli makes it a relevant example for understanding the nature of revived Mochica, or what we prefer to call New Mochica, as we show at the end of this section.

Considering the Mochica revival linguistic movement, it is important to distinguish two groups⁶ of revivalists, the Lambayeque group (in Lambayeque) and the Moche group (in La Libertad). For years, the Lambayeque group has been more visible because of the work of several activists who aim at recovering the Mochica language and other cultural elements (cf., Duranti, 2000, p. 47, on language as an extrinsic part of culture) in order to construct a northern Peruvian identity. The Lambayeque group can be subdivided into two subgroups that we will henceforth call Lambayeque 1 and Lambayeque 2.

Lambayeque 1 is represented by several activists. Antonio Serrepe Ascencio is one of the activists of the northern Peruvian language and culture revival movement in Lambayeque. He is a university lecturer of “History of the Mochica Culture” at the Faculty of Education of the private University of Chiclayo. He has dedicated over sixteen years of his life to the study of the history of Lambayeque and its ancestral civilizations and is the author of a considerable number of publications on these topics. Serrepe Ascencio is also the director of the *Sociedad y Cultura Muchik* ‘Mochica Society and Culture’ in Chiclayo, which is a group of researchers focusing on the Mochica culture, especially the language, founded in 2008. This association is dedicated to the teaching of Mochica at the *Instituto Nacional de Cultura* ‘National Institute of Culture’ in Chiclayo. In 2010, Serrepe Ascencio published a book called *Las culturas prehispánicas en la región Lambayeque I* ‘Pre-Hispanic cultures in the Lambayeque region’. In collaboration with another renowned language revival activist, the lately deceased Ana Ramos Cabrera, he prepared the re-edition of the grammatical description of Colonial Mochica (Carrera y Daza, 2009[1939]) of Altieri’s edition of the 1644 original (Carrera y Daza, 1939[1644]). In the final

5. See also Fishman (2001) on Hebrew revival.

6. Dividing the people involved in the Mochica revival movement into two main groups is our way of analyzing the grassroots LPP situation.

pages of this book, Serrepe Ascencio and Ramos Cabrera (2009, pp. 110–111) include a seminal text written entirely in New Mochica, narrating the mythological legend of Ñaymlap. Serrepe Ascencio and Ramos Cabrera (2012) is a book called *Maellaec Maix ed Muchik* ‘Let’s talk Mochica language’ that consists of a Mochica vocabulary (Serrepe Ascencio, 2012a, 2012b) and a learning/teaching manual *Ed Muchik* ‘Muchik language’ prepared by Ramos Cabrera (2012[2006]). Serrepe Ascencio (2012a) is a compilation of various sources, in which the author respects the original orthography of each author and does not standardize the vocabulary used. Serrepe Ascencio (2012b) is a basic vocabulary of words and phrases that appears in the manual *Ed Muchik* and which was created for pedagogical purposes to facilitate the use of the manual. It includes expressions that pertain to both Colonial and New Mochica.

Linguist Guillaume Oisel, who is a visiting professor at the *Universidad Nacional Intercultural de la Amazonía* ‘Intercultural National University of the Amazon area’ (Pucallpa) and the director of the *Alliance Française* in Chiclayo, also promotes the diffusion of the Mochica language, including a course of the Mochica language at the Alliance Française. According to Oisel (personal communication, May 5, 2017), Serrepe Ascencio supports this teaching initiative in collaboration with two other Mochica language teachers: Luisa Santisteban and Wagner Cabrejos Guevara.

Lambayeque 2 counts with a group of revivalists who form an interdisciplinary team consisting of Medali Peralta Vallejos and the brothers Juan Carlos Chero Zurita and Luis Enrique Chero Zurita. Since 2005, this team has been very active in Mochica language and culture revival. Peralta Vallejos is a secondary school teacher of the discipline of “Language and Literature” and a researcher and promoter of the Mochica language and culture. She promotes, for example, the ancestral technique of backstrap loom weaving and other regional craftwork. Juan Carlos Chero Zurita is also a teacher of Language and Literature, a lawyer, and a lecturer at the *Universidad Señor de Sipán* ‘Lord of Sipan University’ in Chiclayo, while his brother Luis Enrique Chero Zurita is an archaeologist and lecturer at the *Universidad Nacional Pedro Ruíz Gallo* ‘National University Pedro Ruíz Gallo’. He is also the director of the Site Museum of Huaca Rajada in Sipán. The efforts and activities led by this team have been fruitful, consisting of workshops, teacher training, and Mochica instruction in some schools. They promote the investigation of cultural manifestations in the area, as well as producing linguistic material. They are also very supportive of other initiatives in the region and eager to work in collaboration with other groups. They have actively participated in organizing various events as part of the *Festival del Señor de Sipán* ‘The Lord of Sipan Festival’ organized between 2012–2016. The result of their years of study of the Mochica language and culture is a language manual of Mochica basics, called *Tūk Muchik* ‘Mochica tongue’ (Chero Zurita et al., 2012).

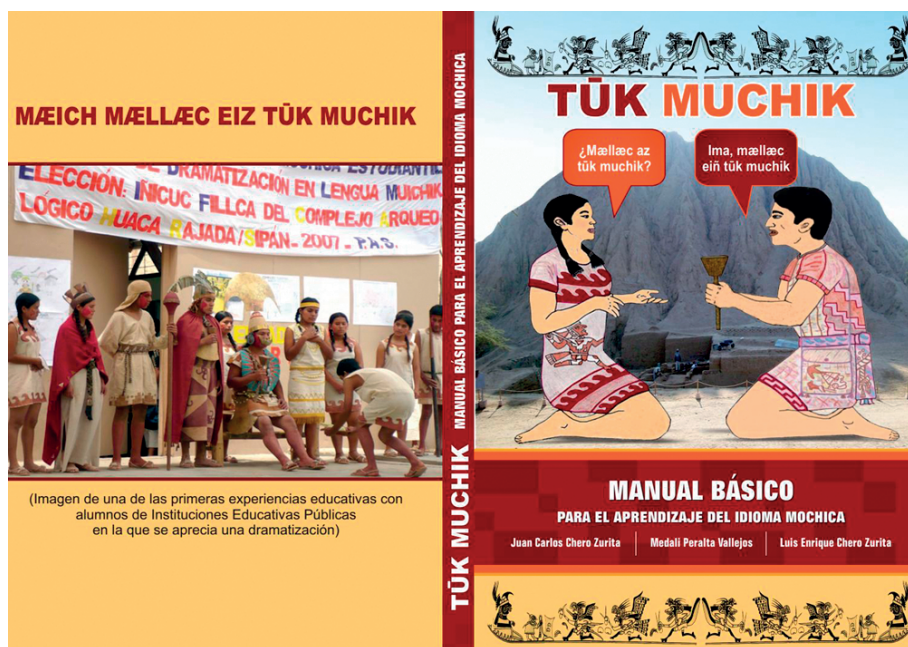


Figure 1. Front and back cover of the Tük Muchik Mochica learning manual

The Moche (La Libertad) group of revival and diffusion of the Mochica language and culture mainly consists of the brothers Antonio Hermógenes and Jorge Juan Sachún Cedeño. Antonio Hermógenes Sachún Cedeño is an ethnohistorian. With his brother, an anthropologist, he co-founded a research center that concentrates on investigating and empowering the Mochica language and culture as a means of constructing and enhancing the ethnic identity. This research center's name is *Eje de Investigación y Vigorización de la Etnia Muchik*. When reading Hermógenes Sachún Cedeño's manuscripts,⁷ one catches a glimpse of his manifesto in which he presents different proposals for the renovation of the educational system, among other ideas; his main goal is, obviously, the diffusion of Mochica language and culture. Indeed, language plays an important role in this manifesto, as a means of learning and interpreting culture and as a key element for the consolidation of the historical, cultural, and artistic identity of the *etnia Muchik* 'Mochica etnia'

7. One of the authors visited Antonio Hermógenes Sachún Cedeño in Moche and received several of his manuscripts. Most of the manuscripts are not dated, but we list them in the bibliography according to their titles.

(Sachún Cedeño, 2004).⁸ This group's motto is *Moeiche Muchik-Chipan siamein*. 'We, the Mochicas, still live.' This, along with many other phrases, are of Sachún Cedeño's authorship, as are the Mochica ethical-moral maxims *Ekeiñ pecanpoen*. 'Tell the truth.', *Lokeiñ odka*. 'Be honest, honorable, sincere.', and *Lokeiñ cafloepac*. 'Be hardworking.' In a 2017 interview, Jorge Juan Sachún Cedeño adds a fourth maxim the spelling of which we assume to be: *Lokeiñ kallapoek*. 'Be friendly.'⁹ The followers of this group are trying to boost the use of these maxims in schools. An important detail to be mentioned in relation to the maxims is that their creators use the first-person singular clitic *-eiñ* in combination with the verbal roots instead of using an imperative form as most probably would have been the pragmatically expected form in Colonial Mochica.

Overall, the Sachún Cedeño brothers have devoted efforts to developing what Jorge Juan Sachún Cedeño (2017) calls "ethno-pedagogical strategies" in support of the revival of the Mochica language. The election of both the *Chisi Muchik* 'Mochica girl' and the *Iñikuk Muchik* 'Mochica teen' are so-called ethno-pedagogical strategies. The previously mentioned *Iñikuk* ethnocultural pageant appears to have been initiated as a result of an initiative by Jorge Juan Sachún Cedeño¹⁰ in 1993 (Sachún Cedeño, 2017), and it has been gaining acceptance and popularity, nowadays replacing mainstream beauty contests in the area. We will refer to this New Mochica variety as the Moche variety and the two others as Lambayeque 1 and Lambayeque 2 New Mochica.

8. Note, however, that the concept etnia Muchik defended by Sachún Cedeño is highly controversial.

9. Middendorf (1892, p. 67) reports *kallapäk* 'smiling', 'friendly'.

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

3. Characteristics of New Mochica

As outlined in Section 1, Colonial Mochica is characterized by the following linguistic features: it has a numeral classifier system, not found in Andean languages, an inalienability split which should nevertheless be considered a continuum rather than a bipartite system, and a nominative-accusative system in transition toward an ergativity-based system (Eloranta, 2017, p. 321, 2019). New Mochica has none of these features.

It is impossible to discuss all New Mochica features that have emerged lately as a result of the work of the three revivalist groups presented in 2. As these features do neither represent historical continuity nor are they consolidated in the community, it might be too early to speak of varieties of New Mochica but we nevertheless take this approach in our study.

In the following, we illustrate some salient characteristics of New Mochica.¹¹ In order to be able to discuss the nature of these features, an important point of departure is the language of the revivalists. In this respect, Zuckermann and Walsh (2011, p. 115) claim that “the more revivalists speak contributing languages with a specific feature, the more likely this feature is to prevail in the emergent language”, calling this “the Congruence Principle”. This is a typical setup in other language contact situations as well, e.g., the formation of creoles where a relatively homogeneous sub-/adstrate has a stronger and more identifiable impact on the emerging language varieties (see Keesing, 1988, for Pacific English-lexifier creoles).¹² The comparison is warranted as we consider the contribution of language revivalists’ dominant languages a mechanism of imposition in Van Coetsem’s (1988, 2000) framework.¹³ As can be gleaned from the examples below, it is, however, not accurate to speak of an intertwined language in the case of New Mochica. We shall return to this point in our discussion in Section 4.

As far as New Mochica is concerned, the situation is even more clear-cut than in the case of, e.g., Israeli as studied by Zuckermann and Walsh (2011), since the revivalists’ only dominant language is Spanish. The influence of Spanish manifests itself in different aspects of New Mochica, as we will show in what follows.

11. We follow the analysis of the impact of English on Kaurma presented by Zuckermann and Walsh (2011, p. 120) and apply some of the argumentation presented there to explain the case of New Mochica.

12. Discussing the differences between pidgins, creoles, and pidgincreoles pace Bakker (2008), crucial in the context of the emergence and present of the Pacific English-lexifier varieties, is not relevant for our discussion here.

13. Imposition implies source language agentivity in linguistic transfer. Receiving language agentivity results in borrowing (Van Coetsem, 1988, p. 2).

At the level of phonology and phonetics, even though there is no record of the original Mochica pronunciation (cf. Section 1), information on Mochica's peculiar sound system and its phonemes, very different from those of Spanish, was to a considerable extent preserved through colonial documentation, as we aim at showing in Appendix 1. In New Mochica, these particular sounds are simplified; they are pronounced following the Spanish phonetic rules and represented in Spanish orthography.¹⁴ Simplification is also in line with L2 acquisition mechanisms (cf. Flege, 1995; Iverson et al., 2002).

According to Smith-Stark (2005, p. 12), early grammarians used a familiar letter to represent a novel sound. Carrera y Daza (1644)¹⁵ explicitly says that he uses the Latin diphthong, that is, the symbol *æ* itself, to represent a vowel that does not exist in the Spanish inventory, known in the Mochica literature as the “sixth vowel”. Chero Zurita et al. (2012) keep Carrera y Daza's orthographic representation of the sixth vowel *æ*, proposing, however, [eu] as its pronunciation. Ramos Cabrera and Serrepe Ascencio (2012, p. 77) do not always make use of the Latin ligature and most often use either *ae* or *oe*, as in the cases of *aiapaec* and *chizoer*, respectively. These cases would have originally had the Latin ligature *æ* as in *aiapæc* ‘the creator’ and *chizæc* ‘grace’. In the Moche variety, the tendency is to use *oe* instead of the Latin ligature, for example: *cianchipoec* ‘human being’, ‘person’ (Sachún Cedeño, 2013). The segment of this word that serves as an agentive nominalizer *-poec* was originally *-pæc* in colonial Mochica. Carrera y Daza (1644, p. 208) reports *çiamo chipæc* ‘person’.

At the lexical level, these varieties present a good number of calques from Spanish, evidently literal translations that have appeared independently in the work of the two groups. The word for ‘welcome’ is an illustrative case. There are three versions of the translation of ‘welcome’ into New Mochica: *chizoer tañeiñ* (Sachún Cedeño, 2013),¹⁶ *ayen tesäkedo* (Serrepe Ascencio & Ramos Cabrera, 2009, p. 99) and *ayentaado* (Chero Zurita et al., 2012). The version *chizoer tañeiñ* is perhaps used the most due to the fact that it appears to be the oldest one. In opposition to *chizoer tañeiñ*, Peralta Vallejos (personal communication, August 4, 2017) considers the calque *ayentaado* more appropriate but does not have a clear opinion on *ayen tesäkedo*. The respective glosses are presented in (1), (2), and (3).¹⁷

14. To give just one example: As for example in Quechua, Aymara, Guaraní, and Bubi (of Ecuatorial Guinea; cf. Bartens forthcoming), Spanish ñ is used for the palatal nasal.

15. The pages in Carrera y Daza (1644) are not numbered and are henceforth cited as “n.p.”; also used for some other authors cited below for the same reason.

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

17. Example (1) was produced by the Moche group, (2) is from Lambayeque 1 and (3) from Lambayeque 2.

- (1) *chizoer tañeiñ* (Sachún Cedeño, 2013, n.p.)
 chi- zoer tañ =eiñ¹⁸
 be- EVENT.NMLZ.REL go =1SG
 ‘welcome’
- (2) *ayen tesäkedo* (Serrepe Ascencio & Ramos Cabrera, 2009, p. 99)
 ayen t- esäk -edo
 well go- EVENT.NMLZ -PTCP
 ‘welcome’
- (3) *ayentaado* (Chero Zurita et al., 2012, p. 10)
 ayen- ta- a -ado¹⁹
 well- come- a²⁰ -PTCP
 ‘welcome’

Despite the fact that these three interpretations depart from Colonial Mochica grammar (see Carrera y Daza, 1644), it is necessary to accept them all as correct, keeping in mind that the only way of maintaining the recovered language alive is embracing its hybridity (see Section 4).

At the syntactic level and with regard to constituent order, all three New Mochica varieties share the same characteristic: they formulate expressions according to SVO order. It is often assumed that free word order implies a significant amount of morphological marking. Nevertheless, Colonial Mochica, lacking overt morphological distinctions between arguments, had a rather free constituent order. However, the preferred order was Agent-Verb-Object order in transitive active clauses and Verb-Subject in intransitive clauses (Hovdhaugen, 2004, pp. 72–73). In his discussion of the free order of arguments in Colonial Mochica, Torero Fernández (2002, p. 32) identifies three options, namely SVO, VSO, and OSV, as shown in (4), (5), and (6), respectively. Mochica copulas and clitics are constrained to the clause initial or second position (Hovdhaugen, 2004, pp. 72–73).

SVO Order

- (4) *Moiñ ang met xllac* (Carrera y Daza, 1644: 97)
 Moiñ ang met xllac
 1SG COP bring fish
 ‘I bring fish’

18. In Colonial Mochica, the clitic for 1SG is normally =eiñ or =iñ. It is common in the variety of Moche to have only the 1SG clitic for all grammatical persons, thence resulting in a simplification of the system.

19. Carrera y Daza (1644: 147) reports the participle *tædo* as the participle form of verb ‘to go’.

20. According to Peralta Vallejos (personal communication, August 4, 2017), a would be a support vowel, being such term her own way of explaining the occurrence of this extra a.

VSO Order

- (5) *Meteiñ xllac* (Carrera y Daza, 1644: 97)
 met =eiñ xllac
 bring =1SG fish
 ‘I bring fish’

OSV Order

- (6) *Pupeñ met mæiñan ainaem* (Carrera y Daza, 1644: 102)
 pup =eiñ met mæiñ an ai- næm
 wood =1SG bring 1SG.OBL house do- PURP
 ‘Wood I bring to build my house’

Whereas SVO is very common in Spanish (fronting of subjects for signaling new information, emphasis or contrastive focus), VSO is considered the canonical word order (Ordóñez, 2000; Suñer, 1994). A number of Amerindian non-SVO languages have, however, experienced variable pressure toward SVO as a result of language contact with Spanish. For example, in K’ichean Maya LPP, SVO order is identified with and therefore avoided as an emblem of Spanish domination despite the fact that some varieties of Kaqchiquel Maya have already undergone the shift to SVO while geographically much more isolated Sipakapense has not (Barrett, 2008).

The role of Spanish in this converging process is highlighted by the fact that within the noun phrase, New Mochica nominal expressions do not follow the original Colonial Mochica order modifier-modified, but rather follow the usual Spanish NP word order postposed modifiers.²¹ Examples (7), (8), and (9) show cases of the modifier-modified order of New Mochica.²² Note that in the translations of (8) and (9), the use of the ablative *ich* is used while the genitive would be the preferred solution in Colonial Mochica as described in Carrera y Daza (1644) and used in (7).

- (7) *Ap eiñ ed muchik Centro Investigacioneærô Muchik nic*
 (Ramos Cabrera, 2012[2006], p. 164)
 Ap =eiñ ed muchik Centro Investigacion- eærô Muchik nic
 learn =1SG tongue Mochica Center of Investigation- OBL Muchik INE
 ‘I learn Mochica language in the Mochica Center of Investigation’

21. The order modifier-modified only occurs for emphasis or specific meanings in Spanish: *un excelente trabajo* ‘an excellent work’ is even better than *un trabajo excelente*.

22. Example (7) is from Lambayeque 1, Example (8) from Lambayeque 2 and Example (9) from the Moche group.

- (8) *An kankapissäkærô “Çiequic Sipán ich”*
 (Peralta Vallejos, personal communication)²³
 An kan- kap- issäk- ær- ô Çieq- uic Sipán ich
 house a lot- know- EVENT.NMLZ- OBL- REL lord- DEREL Sipán ABL
 house knowledge of lord Sipán of
 ‘house of knowledge (university) “Lord of Sipán”’
- (9) *Kankapissak kesmik ich moche* (Sachún Cedeño, 2013, n.p.)
 Kan- kap- issak kesmik ich moche
 a lot- know- EVENT.NMLZ old ABL moche
 knowledge old from moche
 ‘ancient Moche knowledge’

Expressions in New Mochica are not the exclusive creations of the groups mentioned so far; the *Universidad Señor de Sipán* ‘University Lord of Sipán’ in Lambayeque has an institutional scientific journal called *Tzhoecoen*. Peralta Vallejos (personal communication, August 4, 2017) informed one of the authors that the meaning of this name is ‘the messenger’ but was not able to indicate the origin of this name. We believe that the only verb that it can be derived from is *tzhæcæm* ‘to run’,²⁴ which is attested in Carrera y Daza (1644, pp. 136, 147). This is an interesting case of neologism in New Mochica because there is a direct connection to a mythical Mochica character considered a ritual messenger who would deliver a bag of lima beans as a message (Castillo Butters, 2000, p. 116).

At the level of discourse, everything said is translated, i.e., calqued, from Spanish which therefore goes well beyond lexical calquing. Zuckermann and Walsh (2011, p. 120) comment on revived Kurna that “The most pervasive influence from English is at the level of discourse. Almost everything said or written is translated from English. Thus, the turn of phrase and the idioms are from English.” According to the observations of one of the authors, this also applies to a large extent to San Andrés Creole English, heavily influenced by Spanish (Bartens, 2003, p. 14). For limits of space, we shall address this issue in New Mochica in a posterior study, making use of, among other sources, the text by Ramos Cabrera mentioned in Section 2.

23. Peralta Vallejos (personal communication, August 4, 2017) reported that the first time they used the term was in 2007 in the archaeological complex of Huaca Rajada in Sipán. A hypothetical Colonial Mochica version would have been *Çiequic Sipaning cancapissæcærô an*.

24. This verb is attested as *tsükum* in Middendorf (1892, p. 91).

4. Discussion and conclusions

New Mochica is definitely not the Mochica of the colonial or republican epoch and the continuity of an already extinct language can be questioned as has been in the case of Hebrew. This is why we speak of New Mochica. But if New Mochica is not Colonial Mochica, what is it then? Considering that basically only two languages are involved, it might be suggested we are dealing with a mixed language, especially when allowing for a more diversified definition than the classical lexicon – grammar split manifest in the subtype of intertwined languages (see, e.g., the often cited case of *Media Lengua*; Muysken, 1997) and relaxing identity-based criteria (cf. Bakker & Mous, 1994; Matras, 2003; Matras & Bakker, 2003; Bakker, 2013). This is clearly not the case and, as we have suggested above, we are rather dealing with the effects of imposition of source language structures (cf. Van Coetsem, 1988, 2000) in language revival.

This type of language making (cf. Bartens et al., forthcoming; Hüning & Krämer, 2018) or reconstitution (Makoni & Pennycook, 2005) as a result of a conscious effort by language activists engaged in language revival could be studied as a paradigm distinct from cases of language revitalization – as suggested above (and Zuckermann & Walsh, 2011) – or other cases of language making (see Bartens, 2019, forthcoming, under review, for language making in creole communities) as the challenges are quite different even to revitalizing almost, but not completely extinct languages which still have vestigial speakers. A revived language is no longer the original language. Rather than an evolutionary phase of Mochica, New Mochica is a new language based on Colonial and Republican Mochica, albeit with different structures belonging to Spanish in the sense of imposition mentioned above. The integration of such structures into remnants of the original language needs to be mapped in a more systematic way in order to understand the possibilities of language revival as a means of countering the loss of linguistic (and bio-)diversity and part of our cultural heritage (cf., e.g., Nettle & Romaine, 2000).

This is also crucial for understanding what can be achieved at what price. Hinton (2001, p. 16) gives the example of two Californian indigenous languages, Karuk and Nomlaki, both of which are being brought back to life. Language activists prefer working with what is left – or can be reconstructed – of the language eclectically over not using it at all. This is the only option for New Mochica as well.

Assuming the resulting new language develops new functions and new vocabulary, the same way any living language does, it will become as valid a system of communication as any other – as long as the new speakers value it as a true expression of their identity (Crystal, 2000, p. 162; Zuckermann & Walsh, 2011, p. 120). However, the challenges are substantial on all levels of this LPP endeavor – not only

is documentation of Colonial Mochica limited but all resources are also scarcer than in other cases of language revitalization or revival:

1. There is no support from the national government, only the regional one.
2. Teaching materials and teacher training resources are insufficient.
3. The former should be based on linguistic research and counseling which need to be incremented.

Rivalry and lack of consensus between the two main revivalist groups (Lambayeque 1 and 2 vs. Moche) also diminishes the impact of the resources at hand. Combined with the fact that all parties involved are not linguistically trained results in a revival process which at times may appear chaotic.

Sometimes a relatively small and less obvious LPP measure may have a relatively big impact: In the Hubei province of China, heritage tourism has led to the reinvention of linguistic forms of the nearly extinct and hitherto unwritten Tujia language and its introduction into the local linguistic landscape in writing (Wang, 2018). While not necessarily suggesting Mochica revivalists go for heritage tourism – so far, the affirmation of New Mochica identity targets people from the area, some of whom could not even be descendants of the original Mochica speakers, e.g., through the mentioned pageants – we can conclude by saying that diverse options can be explored in establishing New Mochica as a genuine means of communication.

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<https://doi.org/10.1080/07268602.2011.532859>

Appendix 1. Phonological interpretations of Colonial Mochica

Carrera y Daza (1644)	Stark (1968)	Cerrón-Palomino (1995)	Torero Fernández (2002)	Salas García (2002)	Hovdhaugen (2004, 2005)	Adelaar* (2007 [2004])	Eloranta (2013)	Michael et al. (2015)
<i>a</i>	a, aː	a, aː	a	a	a	a, aː	a, aː	a, aː
<i>e</i>	e	e	e	e	e	e, eː	e, eː	e
<i>i</i>	i	i, iː	i	i	i	i, iː	i, iː	i, iː
<i>o</i>	o, oː	o, oː	o	o	o	o, oː	o, oː	o, oː
<i>u</i>	u, uː	u, uː	u	u	u	u, uː	u, uː	u, uː
<i>æ</i>	ø	ø	ʌ	əʊ	ə	ə, œy	i	i
<i>c/qu</i>	k	k	k	k	k	k̃	k	k
<i>ç/z</i>	ç / z	s	s	s	s ^j	s	s	s
<i>ch</i>	t͡ʃ	t͡ʃ	t͡ʃ	t͡ʃ	t͡ʃ	t͡ʃ	t͡ʃ	t͡ʃ
<i>çy</i>	t͡ʃ	t͡ʃ	k ^j	t͡ʃ	t͡ʃ	t͡ʃ / t ^ç	c	c
<i>d</i>	ɖ	d	d	d	ð	ð / θ	d	d
<i>f</i>	f	ɸ	f	f	f	f / ɸ	ɸ	f
<i>l</i>	l	l	l, ʎ	l	l	l / ʎ	l	l
<i>ll</i>	ʎ	ʎ	ʎ	ʎ	ʎ	ʎ	ʎ	ʎ
<i>m</i>	m	m	m	m	m	m	m	m
<i>n</i>	n	n	n	n	n	n	n	n
<i>ñ</i>	ɲ	ɲ	ɲ	ɲ	ɲ	ɲ	ɲ	ɲ
<i>ng</i>	ŋ	ŋ	ŋ	ŋ	ŋ	ŋ	ŋ	ŋ
<i>p</i>	p	p	p	p	p	p	p	p
<i>r/rr</i>	r/r	r/r	r	r	r	r/r	r	r
<i>s/ss</i>	z/s	ʂ	ʂ	ʂ	s	ʂ	ʂ	ʂ
<i>t</i>	t	t	t	t	t	t	t	t
<i>tr</i>	–	–	–	–	t̥	–	–	–
<i>tzh</i>	t͡ʃ	t͡ʃ	t͡ʃ / t͡ʃ	t͡ʃ	ts ^j	t͡ʃ / t ^s	t͡ʃ	t͡ʃ
<i>v</i>	u	u	u	u	u	u	u	u
<i>x</i>	ʃ	ʃ	ʃ	ʃ	ʃ	ʃ	ʃ	ʃ
<i>xll</i>	ç ^j	ʎ	ʎ	ʎ	ç	ʎ	ʎ	ʎ
<i>y, j, i</i>	j	j	j	j	j	j	j	j

* Adelaar's column is based on Adelaar (2007[2004], pp. 321–329) but it also profited from Adelaar's revision and comments (personal communication, March 8, 2019).

