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Mayna, the lost Kawapanan language*

ABSTRACT: The origins of the Mayna language, formerly spoken in northwest Peruvian Amazonia, remain a mystery for most scholars. Several discussions on it took place in the end of the 19th century and the beginning of the 20th; however, none arrived at a consensus. Apart from an article written by Taylor & Descola (1981), suggesting a relationship with the Jivaroan language family, little to nothing has been said about it for the last half of the 20th century and the last decades. In the present article, a summary of the principal accounts on the language and its people between the 19th and the 20th century will be given, followed by a corpus analysis in which the materials available in Mayna and Kawapanan, mainly prayers collected by Hervás (1787) and Teza (1868), will be analyzed and compared for the first time in light of recent analyses in the new-born field called Kawapanan linguistics (Barraza de García 2005a,b; Valenzuela-Bismarck 2011a,b; 2013; Rojas-Berscia 2013, 2015; Madalengoitia-Barúa 2013; Farfán-Reto 2011), in order to test its affiliation to the Kawapanan language family, as claimed by Beuchat & Rivet (1909) and account for its place in the dialectology of this language family.

KEYWORDS: Mayna; Jesuitic linguistics; Kawapanan linguistics; Upper Amazon.

RESUMEN: Los orígenes de la lengua maina, otrora hablada en el noroeste de la Amazonía peruana, permanecieron como un misterio para la academia. A fines del siglo diecinueve y principios del veinte, muchas discusiones en torno al tema fueron puestas sobre la mesa; no obstante, ninguna arribó a consenso. Aparte de un artículo escrito por Taylor y Descola (1981), sugiriendo relaciones existentes con la familia jíbaro, prácticamente nada más ha sido dicho en las últimas décadas. En el presente artículo se proporcionará un resumen de las principales propuestas en torno a la lengua entre los siglos diecinueve y veinte, seguido de un análisis de corpus en el que los materiales disponibles en maina, específicamente las plegarias recolectadas por Hervás (1787) y Teza (1868), serán analizados y comparados por primera vez a la luz de consideraciones vigentes en la recientemente nacida disciplina conocida como Lingüística Cahuapana (Barraza de García 2005a,b; Valenzuela-Bismarck 2011a,b; 2013; Rojas-Berscia 2013, 2015; Madalengoitia-Barúa 2013; Farfán-Reto 2011), con el fin de comprobar su filiación a la familia cahuapana de lenguas, como propuesto por Beuchat y Rivet (1909) y dar cuenta de su lugar en la dialectología de esta familia lingüística.

PALABRAS CLAVE: Maina; Lingüística Jesuítica; Lingüística Cahuapana; Alto Amazonas.

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1. The Mayna and their language

Unfortunately almost no linguistic evidence remained to account for the phylogenetic affiliation of the language called Mayna. For some scholars this must have been a Jivaroan language or Candoan language (Taylor & Descola 1981), for others it must have been a Kawapanan language (Beuchat & Rivet); others do not even have a position (Figueroa 1986 [1661]; Hervás 1787). These people, according to some of the sources, lived in a much extended region, ranging from the coasts of the Marañón river, from the Morona almost till Chambira, and even between the zone of the Potro and the Apaga, in the southern coast of the Marañón (Taylor & Descola 1981: 25). According to the sources of these authors, these people were also characterised for their big houses, hosting 1-3 families, with a generalised polygyny and a very well established division in labour: horticulture and sewing for women, and hunting/fishing for men (ibid: 25).

In 1620, according to Figueroa (1986 [1661]), there were 3500 Maynas around Borja, and no more than 2000 in 1635. This can only show how decimated the population of this ethnic group was in just 15 years (42.86% of the total population), and why there is not even a small remnant of it nowadays. It seems that contact with the Western world may have been catastrophic for these people, not only condemning it to disappearance but to oblivion in linguistic terms.¹ Taylor & Descola argue that the description of this people made by scholars, regarding their social organisation, war techniques and rituals celebrated with trophy-heads (1981: 26; Figueroa 1986 [1661]), could let the academia classify them within the Jivaroan group. This issue, however, is very questionable, since almost all ethnic groups in the zone share these characteristics. For instance, the Xevero ethnic group and the Shawis share almost the same customs as the people described by the authors, issue which would not mean anything but the identification of a zone of intense contact in the Upper Amazon, but no linguistic affiliation. Moreover, the authors, assuming the available linguistic evidence was scarce relying on Tessman's argument that Maynas was only one name used to refer to the Kandoshi group,² subsume the language into the Candoan language family, part of the Jivaroan language family for them, spoken near the places where Mayna was supposed to be spoken. Nowadays it is very well known that the Candoan languages (Kandoshi and Shapra) are not Jivaroan languages;³ however, in the times when the article by Taylor & Descola was written, Peruvian Amazonian linguistics data was not very well shared and was not as available to everyone as it is now. There is, however, no linguistic evidence in Taylor & Descola, apart from their cultural-relatedness suppositions, that would allow us to infer such a connection.

¹ A similar situation, although much worse, happened to the Selk'nam of Tierra del Fuego (Rojas-Berscia 2014).

² In words of Tessman: "Kandoschi [...], in der alten Literatur allgemein als Mainas oder Maynas bekannt. Synonym: Rimachumas. Die Schapra hießen auch Chapras und Chapas" (Tessman 1930: 280).

³ In the words of the authors: "El grupo Candoa constituye un conjunto lingüístico emparentado al jívaro, aunque los dialectos candoa y los dialectos jívaro no son mutuamente inteligibles. Los lingüistas consideran generalmente el candoa como una familia del tronco jívaro" (Taylor & Descola 1981: 27).

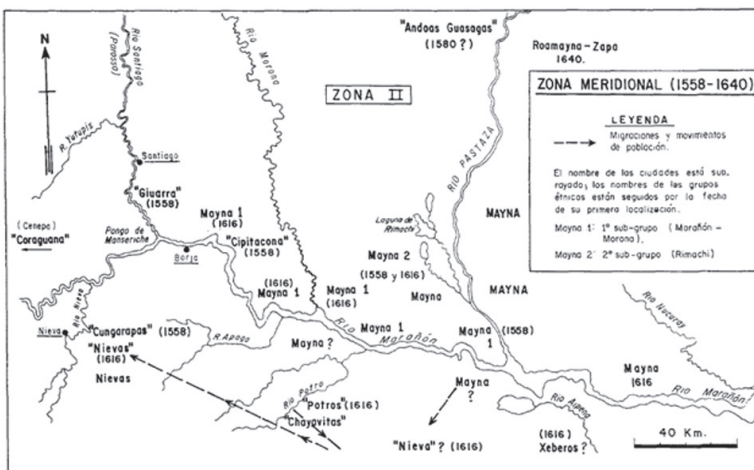
Last year, a scholar from the University of California Berkeley wrote a report on what could constitute the first linguistic analysis in order to classify Mayna within the language families we know by now. According to Veigl (2006[1978]: 107), the first location [of the Maynas] was in the region north of the Marañón, from the eastern bank of the Morona River, including both banks of the lower Pastaza, continuing on to the region in which the small rivers, the Nucuray and the Chambira, are born (translation by O'Hagan 2013). If this description is accurate, this would demonstrate that, indeed, Mayna could have been a name used to name a Kandoshi-speaking community, since, till nowadays, that is the Kandoshi-speaking region. Furthermore, O'Hagan presents some linguistic evidence for the Kandoshi affiliation.

According to Veigl (2006 [1978]) and Figueroa (1986 [1661]), the region from which this Mayna territory started was “el Pongo de Manseriche”, place known because of the parrots living there. The name of “pongo” was given after these parrots. Something revealing is that the Kandoshi word for parrot is *mantsiirchi* (O'Hagan 2013). Moreover, Figueroa (1986 [1661]: 278) mentions the following:

In this Pongo, along a high and steep rock outcrop, which brings about one of the most dangerous passes along this river, which they call Mansariche [sic] because of the small parrots of that name that live in it, they used to say that up high lived *Yñerre* (the name which the Maina give to God), in a cave, where he had as his wife a large serpent which they call *Mother of the water* (translation by O'Hagan 2013).

The most interesting thing about this passage is the name of the God, which could be attributed to the Murato (a Kandoshi dialect) word [a'neire] ‘mother’.

This likelihood between what is found in the chronicles and what can be found in contemporary Candoan languages sheds light on a possible Candoan affiliation of the Mayna language. However, since no more linguistic evidence for this case is available, the debate remains open. Something that stays unanswered is the linguistic affiliation of the Mayna living in the south of the Marañón river. Taylor & Descola (1981: 19) present a map which could shed light on the region I am describing:



Map 1. (extracted from Taylor & Descola)

If we assume that the Mayna groups represented in this map on top of the Marañón river are Candoan, what about the Mayna groups in the south? Figueroa may have shed some light in order to answer this question. According to the Jesuit,

Much clearer news were given by the Indians of Santiago, Nieva and the jurisdiction of Xaen, who lived up the Marañón and out of the Pongo: who say **Cumbanama** preached to them, who, it can be understood, was one of the two apostles, and left vestiges, his footprints, a hand and other signs in a rock near Nieva, as it is affirmed by witnesses who have seen him⁴ (Figueroa 1986[1661]: 279).

The mention of **Cumbanama** is crucial in this passage, since he is the main God of the Shawi/Chayahuita people. According to a recent analysis of the theonym, it would be composed of the roots *kanpu* ‘we’ and *nama* ‘lord’, meaning ‘our lord’ (Rojas-Berscia & Ghâvami-Dicker 2015). It is interesting, nevertheless, that the region of Nieva is nowadays populated by a Jivaroan ethnic group, the Awajún/Aguaruna, which speaks a Jivaroan language. This goes hand in hand with the fact that these people still venerate Cumbanama, often called Kumpanam (Garra 2012). The migration line from the “Chayavita” zone in the map to the region of Nieva would explain the borrowing of this term and its religious implications. If this is the case, the south of the Marañón River would have been inhabited by another, today extinct, Kawapanan group, often called Mayna by the Jesuits. This does not mean that the group northwards was Kawapanan as well, since we still lack a lot of evidence. The language I aim to propose for a Kawapanan affiliation here is what I will call from now on: Southern Mayna. This language, fortunately, did not remain without linguistic evidence. Hervás (1787) presented a text, not collected by him but taken from somewhere else, where a translation of the “Our father” in the Mayna language can be found. Beuchat & Rivet (1909) presented this same prayer again, accompanied by another translation in what is called “Cahuapana” by Teza (1868). These two versions, for the means of comparison, will be presented in the following section with a correspondent gloss and translation. These corpora, thereafter, will be analyzed in light of historical linguistics. Finally, a proposal in order to posit the language of these prayers in the dialectology of the Kawapanan linguistic family will be presented.

2. Corpus analysis

Currently there are just two remnant Kawapanan languages: Shawi, aka Chayahuita or Kanpunan, and Shiwilu, also known as Jebero. The former is spoken in the regions of Alto Amazonas and Datem del Marañón in the Upper Amazon of Peru by ca. 21 000 speakers (Rojas-Berscia 2013), and has three macro-dialects: Balsapuerto, Cahuapanas and Sillay.⁵

⁴ Translation from Spanish by the author.

Original version: “Más claras noticias daban y tinen los yndios de Santiago, Nieva y jurisdiccion de Xaen, que bibian en este Marañón arriba y fuera del Pongo: que dicen les predicó el Cumbanama, que se entiende fue uno de los dos apóstoles, y dejó vestigios, impressos los piés, una mano y otras señales, en una peña de las partes de Nieva, como afirman personas fidedignas que las han visto” (Figueroa 1986 [1661]: 279).

⁵ This is still a fact to be studied, since no serious scientific dialectological classification of the varieties of the language has been carried out.

The latter is spoken in the district of Jeberos, Alto Amazonas, Peru, with less than 20 fluent speakers of the language (Valenzuela 2013), and in the village of San Gabriel de Varadero, in the margins of the Paranapura river, district of Balsapuerto, Alto Amazonas, Peru.

According to Beuchat & Rivet (1909), based on information provided by Hervás, Vater, Markham and Brinton, the Kawapanan language family was composed by: Ataguates, Cahuapanas, Cingacuchuscas, Chapas, Chayavitas, Coronados, Cuire, Cutinanas, Humuranas, Imaschahuas, Inuris, Ipapuisas, Jeberos, Lamas, Lamistas or Motilonos, Maynas, Miscuaras, Muchimos, Muniches, Otanavis, Pandabeques, Paranapurás, Rimachumas, Roamainas, Simarrones, Tabalosos, Tivilos and Ungumanas (ibid: 618). Nowadays we know that many of these groups belong to other language-family groupings. For instance, the Omurano and the Muniche are two language orphans in the zone with no linguistic relation to Kawapanan languages. In other cases, however, this remains a mystery. Although the authors assume that the Kawapanan Maynas were the ones living along the Pastaza River, and to the east of this river near Nucuray and Chambira (the north Mayna language region), I assume this is just an imprecision, at least by now that we do not know anything but some words of that language. The most important fact is the presentation of the corpus. The authors provide two texts: one in Mayna and one in Cahuapana. The first one was taken from Hervás (1787) and the second one from the *Saggi inediti di lingue americane* from Teza (1868). In both cases, I consulted the original version. The Beuchat & Rivet (1909) version was an exact copy of both sources.

Hereby I present a critical version of the *Mainas* and the *Cahuapana* texts interpolated. I considered this way the best to approach both texts since they seem to be copied from an original one (they have a common textual origin). We can almost be sure about this fact, since most of these prayers were not collected by the Jesuit compilers themselves but by some others which worked *in situ* and then distributed the texts among their fellow Jesuits. The possible gathering place of this Mayna prayer may have been near the Cahuapanas region, a region with *Cerros*, i.e. mountains, which may have led the compilers to the ulterior change of its name to Cahuapana. This could also mean, however, that Southern Mayna was the ancestor of the modern Cahuapanas dialect of Shawi. This issue, however, remains partially unanswered.

In the analysis, the first lines will always contain the Hervás text, while the second ones Teza's. The third line will contain my proposed textual reconstruction based on the manuscripts, while the fourth and the fifth line consist of a gloss and a translation respectively. If necessary, some comments will be added immediately after some of the verses:

Language called *Cerros* (“mountains” in Spanish) of Mainas

Pater Noster

1 Papampoa yauranso **inapake**

Papa-mpoa **inapa-que** yau-ranso

Papa-npua' inapa-ke ya'we-r-an-su'

father-1P.PL heaven-LOC live-IND-2-NMLZ

“Our father, you live in heaven

Note 1

In this first case, the Teza version seems to be more accurate. Thanks to recent work on Kawapanan languages (Rojas-Berscia 2013), it is known that they tend to prefer a AOV sentence structure. If that is the case, the complement *inapake* should appear before the verb ‘to be’. The Hervás version seems to have adapted the Maina text to an Italian mold.⁶

2 apurinen **kema** mucharinso-ni
quema apurinen mucharinso-ni
 kema apuri-ne-n mucha-r-in-su-ni
 2P name-ALIEN-2P revere-IND-3-NMLZ-ERG ?
 be your name revered

Note 2

In this case, once more, the Teza version is the most accurate. The pronoun in this case makes better sense before the possessed noun. In the Hervás version, it looks as if it was a translation from Italian ‘il nome tuo’, lit. ‘the name yours’. Something interesting about this sentence is the appearance of the synchronic ergative marker *-ri/-ni* after a nominalization, issue which could shed light on a possible passive marker origin of it.⁷

3 kema inapa keyavei
 Quema inapà queyauei
 Kema inapa keya-we-i
 2P heaven give-1P-PL
 give us your heaven

Note 3

No discrepancy between versions.

4 Kema lovanturanso **lelinso-ni**
 Quema lovantu-ranso lelin-so
 Kema lowan-tu-r-an-su’ lel-in-su-ni⁸
 2P want-APL-IND-2-NMLZ do-3-NMLZ-ERG?
 let your will be done

⁶ Following modern studies on Kawapanan grammar (cf. Barraza 2005a, Rojas-Berscia 2013), it would be inaccurate to believe the difference between the two versions is due to dialect variation, since Kawapanan languages unlikely show Hervás’ corpus syntactic structure.

⁷ This idea will be furtherly explored in my Ph.D dissertation.

⁸ The ergative marker appears once more with a passive function.

Note 4

Although there is no discrepancy in this case, it is surprising that this Kawapanan language shows an [l] sound, inexistent in modern Shawi dialects but only existent in modern Shiwilu. Since the corpus can be analysed as a Shawi variety, the [l] appearance has to be taken into account for further analysis.

5 *mompuye inapake napupintinati isse-ke-nta*
mompupe inapa-que napu-pitinati isse-que-nta
mumpuye inapa-ke napupintinati⁹ i-se-ke-nta
 like? heaven-LOC in the same way that-DCT-LOC-ADIT
 in heaven as well as in the earth

6 *Cussaru-mpoa taveri rosa nanni ketuke ipure*
nani taveri rosa cussaru-mpoa ipura quetu-que
na'ni taweri-ru'sa' kusharu-npua' ipure ketu-ke'
 every day-PL food-1.PL now give-2P.IMP
 Give us now our food of every day

Note 5

In this case, the Teza version is the accurate one. Hervás version makes little sense, since it violates most of Kawapanan typical syntax (Barraza 2005a; Rojas Berscia 2013). Our reconstruction follows Teza.

7 *Huchampo-anta anisake*
hucha-mpoa-nta anisa-que
Hucha-mpua-nta a'nisa-ke
 offence-1.PL-ADT cut-2.IMP
 forgive our offences

8 *mompupe campo-anta **aloyotupe** saya-pita anisere*
*mompupe ca-mpoa-nta **aloyotupe** soya-pita anisere*
mompupe ka-mpua-nta aluyu-tu-wei? saya-pita anise-we'
 like 1P-P.INCL-ADT shove?-IMP-1P.PL? that-PL cut-1.PL.EXCL
 in the same way we forgive the ones that would offend us;

9 *campo-anta co apukesoe tentacioneke co anotakeve*
ca-mpoa-nta co apuquesoe tentacion-que cu anota-queve
ka-mpua-nta ku apu.ke-su tentacion--ke ku anota-ka-wei
 1-PL.INCL-ADT NEG leave-2.IMP-NMLZ temptation-LOC NEG fall-PSEUD-1.PL.EXCL
 do not let us fall in temptation,

⁹ “This word would be *napupinachin* in Modern Shawi, meaning “same, equal, in the same way”. In this case, there seems to be a reduplication of the segment <-ti>, maybe due to copying problems. Something interesting to pay attention to is the absence of palatalization, something modernly present in Shawi, i.e. *ti > chi*”.

10 Ina-kera ateeke campu kera co **loyave** pita
 ina-quera co **loyave**-pita quera campu atee-que. Amen
 Ina-k-e-ra ku loya-we-pita-k-e-ra ka-mpu atee-ke
 that-OBL-LOC-ABL NEG good-NEG-PL-OBL-LOC-ABL 1P-PL.INCL free?-2.IMP
 and free us from the evil ones.”

Note 6

In this case, once more the only reliable version is Teza’s. The fact that Hervás did not know the language made him change the syntactical order of the constituents, rendering an almost incomprehensible last verse. The ablative in Hervás, for instance, is placed in an awkward position, as if it was a preposition and not a suffix.

Final Note

Some unknown lexemes were marked with a ‘?’ in the glosses and remain undeciphered for further analysis

3. Historical issues

In this section, I will discuss two important phenomena found in the corpus: possession in Kawapanan and the *r>l regular phonetic change in Proto-Kawapanan, as well and the appearance of concomitant possessive phrases:

3.1. Possession in Kawapanan

In modern Shawi/Chayahuita the means for possession marking are the possessive suffixes:

Table 1. Paradigm of possession in modern Shawi (extracted from Rojas-Berscia 2013)

Possession Paradigm				
Person	Inalienable nouns		Alienable nouns	
1st Person	-we	Excl.: -wei	-ne-we	-ne-wei
		Incl.: -npua’		-ne-npua’
		Dual: -npu’		-ne-npu’
2nd Person	-n	-ma’	-ne-n	-ne-ma’
3rd Person	-in/-n	-ina’/-na’	-ne-n	-ne-na’

A possessive phrase makes use of these suffixes; however, in modern Shawi, a personal pronoun is added with a genitive marker too as in many other Andean languages (Quechua, Aymara) (cf. Valenzuela 2015):

- (11) Ka-ken ya'pira-we
 1-GEN eye-1
 lit. 'of me my eye'

In lines two and six from the Mayna corpus we can see that these suffixes were used in this language too; however, another type of construction which does not exist in modern Shawi appears:

- (12) Kema inapa (line 3)
 2P heaven
- (13) Kema apuri-ne-n (line 2)
 2P name-ALIEN-2P

In (12) we can see that there is no genitive marker, nor possessive suffixes. In (13), although the possessive suffixes are used, no genitive marker appears.¹⁰ A concomitant construction like (12) seems to have been very common in Kawapanan before possessor indexing and genitive redundancy started to be frequent.¹¹ Rojas-Berscia & Ghâvami-Dicker (2015) present a historical analysis of the theonym *Cumpanamá*, which would literally mean 'our lord' (*kanpu* 'we', *nama* 'lord'). This analysis seemed to be very speculative according to other scholars familiar with the suffixing nature of modern Kawapanan languages. The Mayna case, however, shows that the concomitant possessive construction was common. This construction could have started to be replaced by the suffixing construction with time. Unfortunately, there are no more Kawapanan texts apart from prayers. If any other text is found, a special emphasis in this type of constructions would be very fruitful in order to see how this language change occurred systematically in these languages.

3.2. Phonetic change

According to Valenzuela,

The /l/ phoneme is very productive in Jebero but inexistent in Chayahuita. The jeberian /l/ has two correspondences in Chayahuita, /r/ and /n/ [...] [In Chayahuita /r/ neutralizes to /n/] at the beginning of a word and after a nasal consonant [...] In consequence, we propose for Proto-Kawapanan the existence of a single liquid consonant *r. This consonant, which Chayahuita conserves, [...], would have gone through a process of lateralization in Proto-Jebero" (Valenzuela-Bismarck 2011a: 280-281).

This rule is very true for both modern Kawapanan languages. No [l] is found in any modern Chayahuita/Shawi dialect. However, what can be seen in lines 4, 8 and 10 is that there are some lexemes with [l] in Mayna, which is closer to Chayahuita/Shawi than to Jebero/Shiwilu.¹²

¹⁰ This is a common pattern found in modern Kawapanan languages nowadays as well (Valenzuela 2015).

¹¹ Genitive redundancy may even be part of a late areal process, involving contact with Andean languages such as Quechua and Aymara (Valenzuela 2015; Rojas-Berscia & Ghâvami-Dicker 2015).

¹² Any kawapanist would identify Mayna as a variant of Shawi or a very close related language to Shawi, rather than to Shiwilu.

The equivalents of those lexemes in modern Shawi would be the following:

lel-> *nin*- ‘to do’

aluyu-> *a’ne?*/*a’nu?* ‘to shove, to fall’

luya > *nuya* ‘good’

With these examples we can see that the equivalent of Mayna /l/ is /n/ in modern Shawi. Since Mayna is an extinct language now it is impossible to prove that this language underwent the same phonetic process Shiwilu did; however, we can estimate that it was undergoing a similar lateralisation process in which the Proto-Kawapanan *r became /l/ in the same places where *r neutralised with /n/ in the other Shawi dialects. In the Mayna case, a nasalisation of *r would not have occurred, but rather a lateralisation of it in initial position and after another lateral consonant. If this is the case, it could be possible that this process was the first stage before the nasalisation process, assuming that the modern Cahuapanas dialect of Shawi is indeed a descendant of Mayna. This last idea, however, remains speculative. The process may be illustrated as follows:

Shawi/Chayahuita (Balsapuerto/Sillay/Kawapanas): *r > /r/ & /n/ (in the nasal neutralisation cases)

Mayna: *r > /r/ & /l/ (in the lateral neutralisation cases)

Jebero/ Shiwilu: *r > /l/

Phonetically, this would posit Mayna in between Jebero and Shawi.

Last but not least, Figueroa’s naming of the Kawapanan God ‘Kumpanama ?’ as *Cumbanama* can give us another hint about the Mayna Kawapanan language. Although only one lexeme is available, the fact that it carries a voiced stop [b] after nasal cannot be a matter of coincidence. Figueroa was a speaker of Spanish and the difference between /p/ and /b/ is categorical in his language. He would not have made a mistake. This same issue would apply to the majority of missionary Jesuits in the zone, who were speakers of other romance languages.

The most interesting fact about this stop voicing after nasal is that it still occurs in the Cahuapanas and Sillay varieties of Shawi (cf. Barraza 2005a), and Shiwilu. Madalengoitia-Barúa (2013) presents some cases that illustrate this phenomenon:

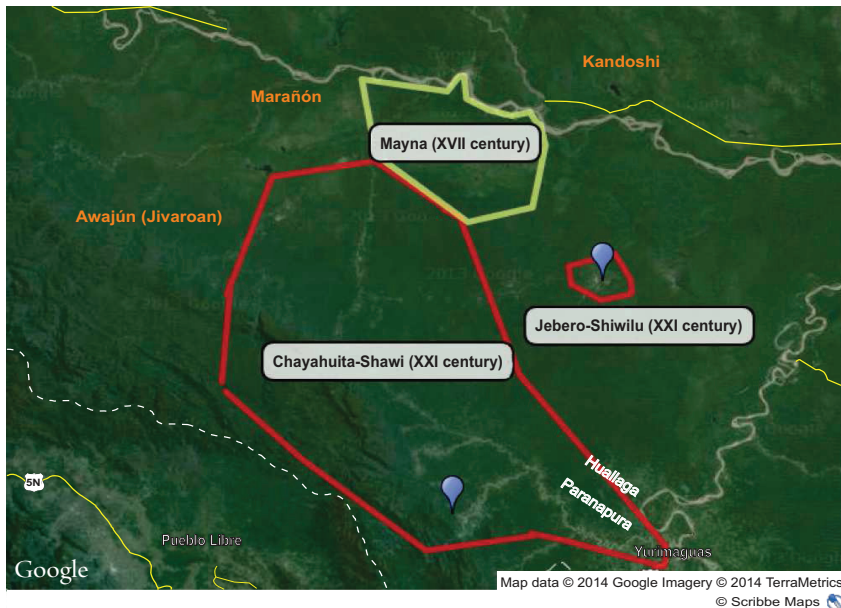
Table 2: Context of appearance of voiced consonant stops
(extracted from Madalengoitia Barúa 2013: 30)

[ʃʉmbi]	tipo de caracol
[pindər]	‘tabaco’
[miɲdʒər]	‘tímpano’, ‘caracolito’
[pəŋgu]	‘pato’

According to the author, “although it was said that there are no voiced stops in Shiwilu, we found voiced consonant stops as allophones of every one of the voiceless consonant stops”¹³ (Madalengoitia-Barúa 2013: 29). Consonants are voiced after a nasal consonant. This is exactly what happened with *Cumbanama*. This would posit Mayna as a language phonetically related to Shiwilu as well in a deeper way compared to other Shawi dialects. Since there is no more corpus, nothing else can be said about the voicing process in the language.

4. Kawapanan dialectology

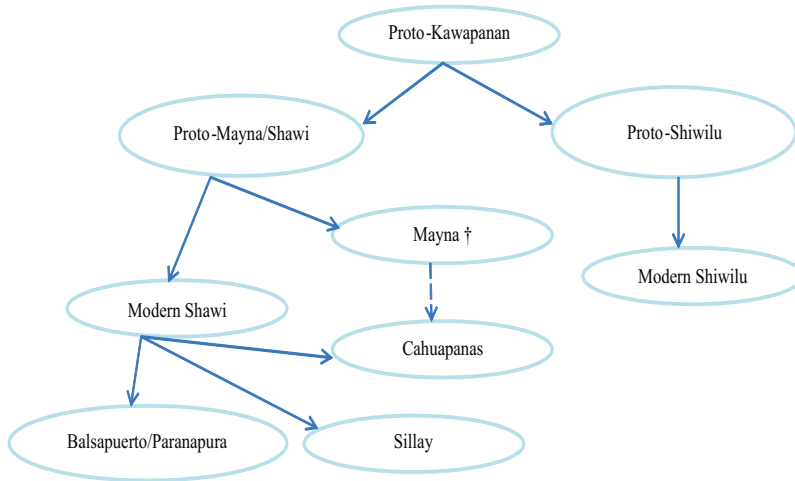
If the data provided by all the previous accounts is accurate, this southern Mayna language, by no means a Candoan language, but a Kawapanan language, may be a today completely extinct Kawapanan language or the ancestor of the modern northern varieties of Shawi, like Cahuapanas and Sillay, still spoken nowadays, or Shawi in general. Since no thorough descriptions of this northern dialect have been yet made, it is impossible to state an undoubtful affiliation. Based on the data provided in the previous paragraphs and my own data collected in previous fieldwork, I am as yet assuming they were different but contiguous and maybe conformed a linguistic continuum. Hereby, I present a map with the approximate location of the Southern Mayna language, member of the Kawapanan language family, spoken in the XVII century AC:



Map 2. Distribution of modern Kawapanan languages and Sprachraum of Mayna

¹³ Translation by the author.

Based on the phonetic changes documented, a new dialectological distribution of the Kawapanan language family should be stated. Hereby I present an initial proposal:¹⁴



Graph 1. Kawapanan dialectology

According to this graph, although the XVII century Southern Mayna language was a descendant of Proto-Mayna/Shawi, its close relatedness with Shiwilu may have made it undergo similar processes. Moreover, we still do not know whether Mayna is the ancestor of the modern Cahuapanas dialect of Shawi (or maybe all of them?). This is still an open question. However, I drew a line indicating a close relatedness with Cahuapanas too, since the documents account for that, maybe because of geographical contiguousness or direct affiliation.

This is still a draft of what could be a real dialectological account of the Kawapanan languages. Unfortunately, there is just general information regarding all of these languages, with no complete survey grammars. That is a future task which must be realized in order to improve this chart and our rather poor knowledge of this language family of the Upper Amazon.

5. Conclusions

In a nutshell, several main ideas can be extracted from the previous paragraphs:

- (1) There is some evidence for Northern Mayna to be a Candoan language. More documental data must be gathered in order to confirm this hypothesis.
- (2) Southern Mayna, following geographical and linguistic data, appears to be an already extinct Kawapanan language spoken in the Upper Amazon.

¹⁴ I have not yet considered the Sillay dialect as directly related to Mayna for this graph, since the records found do not give any reference to that, as they do for Cahuapanas. From a historical perspective, however, both the Cahuapanas and Sillay dialects seem to maintain some processes once existent in Mayna.

- (3) Among the linguistic data, two manuscripts referring to the same language, Southern Mayna, were presented by Hervás (1784) and Teza (1868). The second one looks more reliable from a linguistic point of view. Hervás text seems to have undergone some kind of “fixing” following an Italian mould.
- (4) An concomitant possessive phrase construction was found in Southern Mayna, adding more support to Rojas-Berscia & Ghâvami-Dicker’s (2015) reconstruction of the Shawi theonym *Kumpanama*’.
- (5) Southern Mayna shows an interesting process of regular phonetic change *r> /l/, similar to Shiwilu’s formally, but also to Shawi’s procedurally.
- (6) A relic of Southern Mayna postnasal stop voicing can be traced in the theonym *Cumbanama*, gathered by Figueroa (1986 [1661]), phenomenon only occurring in modern Shiwilu and Sillay-Cahuapanas Shawi.
- (7) Although Mayna could be considered a separate branching from the Proto-Maina/Shawi branch of the Kawapanan language family, it could be possible that it is the ancestor of the nowadays Shawi dialect of Cahuapanas or, at least, has been in intense contact with it.

This was just a first account of what could be further documental research about Kawapanan languages. It is important for scholars to look for this type of data in order to test some of the normally admitted ideas in reconstructions. Although the corpus is not as old as for other European and Asian languages, it gives us the chance to trace back some of the history of these people, not only for the sake of linguistics itself but for the vindication of these people’s history and culture in modern times.

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Abbreviations

1	First Person
2	Second Person
3	Third Person
ADIT	Additive
ALIEN	Alienable
APL	Aplicative
DCT	Deictic Marker
ERG	Ergative
HIP	Hypothetical Mood
INCL	Inclusive
IND	Indicative
IMP	Imperative
LOC	Locative
NEG	Negation
NMLZ	Nominalisation
OBL	Oblique Case Marker
P	Person
PL	Plural

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