

## POETIC FORM IN GUAMAN POMA'S *WARIQSA ARAWI*

Bruce MANNHEIM<sup>1</sup>

You are in the main square of Cuzco, the Inka capital, several years before the European invasion, on a day late in April - **Inka raymi killa**, the month of the festival of the Inka (GUAMAN POMA, 1615: 319 and 243), as the Inka and his royal entourage celebrate their victory over the year's harvest and commemorate the ending of the rains<sup>2</sup>. The earth has died until the new agricultural year, the crop stored. It is a time for drying aquatic plants - **morqoto** and **llullucha** - for food. As in the antipodal rite in October, there is a llama - in this instance a white one draped in red (or reddish-brown) - tied to a gnomon on the square. The llama is fed with **aha**, maize beer, and thanked for the harvest. It sings the sound of the rivers, and the Inka sings with it (figure one). Here is what the early seventeenth-century ethnographer Felipe GUAMAN POMA DE AYALA reconstructed from the memories of his elderly informants<sup>3</sup>:

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<sup>1</sup> Department of Anthropology, 1054 LSBA, The University of Michigan, Ann Arbor, MI 48109 (313)-763-4259. The present essay is based on a portion of a longer work entitled 'Semantic coupling in Quechua verse'. I am indebted to Rolena Adorno, Ellen B. Basso, A. Roberto Frisancho, Jean-Philippe Husson, Billie Jean Isbell, Dennis Tedlock, and R. Tom Zuidema for critical comments. Text, normalizations, and translations © 1986 by Bruce MANNHEIM

<sup>2</sup> I am indebted to R. Tom Zuidema for lengthy discussions of the significance of the occasion to Inka calendrics and of the specific ritual forms to the culture more generally. I have purposely kept contextualization to a minimum here since my concern is with the formal properties of the text. The relationship between the formal properties of the text and the ritual occasion will be the subject of a future essay.

<sup>3</sup> Transcription of GUAMAN POMA, 1615: 319. Diagonal marks are used to separate the lines of the manuscript. Double diagonals signal the beginning and the end of the page. Other marks (capitals, brackets, periods, and hyphens) reflect the original manuscript.

//FIESTA/ uaricza • arau/ del ynga las fiestas cantar y bailar - uaricza q cantan cō/ puca llama - al tono del carnero cantan dize asi con/ compas muy poco a poco • mediaora dize - y-y-y al to/no del carnero -comienza el ynga como el carnero-/ dize y esta disiendo • yn - lleua ese tono y dalli comensã/do ua disiendo sus coplas muy muchas rresponde las/ coyas y nustas cantan a bos alta muy suauemente/ y uaricsa • y arau • dize aci -arau. arau. arayara/ui - arau yau arau • uan diciendo lo que quieren y/todos al tono de arau rresponden las mugeres - / [uaricsa ayay uaricza -chamay uaricza ayay uaric/za . todos uan deste tono y las mugeres rresponde - /y el haylle • ayau haylli yau haylli • uchuyoccho chac/rayqui • uchuy tunpalla samusac -ticayoccho chac/rayque - ticaytunpalla samusac -aeste tono rrespõ/de las mugeres dize el hombre • chaymi coya • rrespõ/de la muger • ahaylli • chaymi palla • ahaylle • patallanpi/ahaylle • chaymi nusta • ahaylle • chaymi ciclla • ahaylle • / [el arau y cancion lastimosa que cantan las nustas/ y los mosos tocan el pingollo - morcotollay • morcoto • llullucha/lly llullucha • mama soncoyqui queuiccho • mana uacay/cunqui • ciellallay caspa - coyallay caspa • nustallay caspa/ unoy uiquellam apanian yacuy parallam pusariuã/ chay llicllayquita rycuycuspa chay acsoyquita cauaycus/pa • mananam pachapas chiciancho • tuta riccharipti/pas • mananatacmi pacha pacarincho • camca coya cam/pas • ca<sup>4</sup> mananachi yuyarianquicho • cay sancaypi poma/ [a]toc micouaptin • cay pinaspi • uichicasca quicasca tiapti • palla/ ... //

GUAMAN POMA's description is a mosaic. Snippets of Quechua are nested in his Castillian voice, a voice which is shaped nonetheless by Quechua rhetorical form and Andean narrative sensibilities. Genre is nested within genre, song in narrative - and can we even construct an account of Quechua ethno-genres of song, which would allow us to make sense of the embedded text? We read GUAMAN POMA as literate Euro-americans in 1986 as he speaks in a Quechua voice cloaked in Castillian garb, baldly addressed to the King of Spain in 1615. GUAMAN POMA speaks his informants' voices both in Castilian narrative and in Quechua song. Whose voices are these? What is the nature of the slippage between the Quechua texts and those actually performed at the Festival of the Inka? Do they faithfully reproduce GUAMAN POMA's informants' texts? Are they his memories of their memories? Did he simply invent them? Where are the boundaries of text? Is this a text? Contemporary festival descriptions in Andean languages provide an essential clue: they too are mosaics of narrative and songs<sup>5</sup>. But what kinds of connections are there between the textual snippets in Quechua, or between Quechua song and

<sup>4</sup> POZNANSKY (1944) read this passage as **cam/ca señora** (from orthographic {s •<sup>ra</sup>} and Rolena ADORNO (personal communication, 1979 and in GUAMAN POMA, 1980 [1615]) as **cam/a s•<sup>ra</sup>**. This reading would not materially change the interpretation of the **Wariqsa arawi** apart from the addition of a couplet involving Quechua/Spanish alternation, **qoya/señora**.

<sup>5</sup> See for example the description of *Dia de los Compadres* in ALENCASTRE and DUMÉZIL, 1953. Martha HARDMAN-DE-BAUTISTA (1984) reposed that festival narrative in Jaqaru - a neighboring Andean language that is not genetically related to Southern Peruvian Quechua - has a rhetorical organization of much the same kind.

surrounding Castilian narrative? Translators of the *Wariqsa arawi* (e.g., MERVIN, 1968; BROTHERSTON, 1979: 278-9) have frequently assumed that the boundaries of "the text" are either line 19 or line 21 and line 41, largely as a matter of intuitive judgement based on our own notions of textuality. But textuality - as much as grammatical and lexical categories - is a cultural matter. It is particularly important in the philology of distant cultures and eras that it remain to be estate fished rather than taken for granted. In this case, I assume that GUAMAN POMA did not randomly juxtapose texts, and take the challenge to be interpretation of the larger text rather than any arbitrarily bounded portion. The validity of a holistic approach to this text depends on the kinds of intertextual (cultural) questions which it allows us to raise, and on the extent to which the interpretation allows for more rigorous accountability to textual detail. The analysis presented here seems to me to bear out a holistic approach<sup>6</sup>.

Each step in a philological *study*, including transcription of the source, normalized transcription, and translation, is an implicit interpretation of the text. In order to pose the question about the relationships between the embedded Quechua texts and the Castilian narrative in an intelligible way we need to reframe the way we look at it. The transcription and translation which follow are parsed into lines which represent the rhetorical contours of the narrative and the poetic organization of the embedded Quechua texts. Internal criteria for parsing the narrative included clause structure, evidential aid quotative expressions (which GUAMAN POMA used in ways roughly equivalent to their Quechua counterparts - observe the use of 'saying' and 'it is said') and grammatical parallelism. These were supplemented by GUAMAN POMA's own orthographic conventions, represented in the first transcription by '-', '[', '•', ',', and distinct typefaces. The internal and orthographic criteria were not co-extensive but did complement each other without ambiguous parsings. The representation of Spanish narrative text and the English translation were designed to preserve as much of the rhetorical organization of the original as possible. (For examples of rhetorical parsing of other colonial Quechua text, see MANNHEIM, 1986a.) The Quechua texts are a normalized reconstruction of GUAMAN POMA's early seventeenth century Ayacucho variety of Southern Peruvian Quechua. The standard Peruvian orthography for Ayacucho Quechua is used throughout. These are followed by an English translation of the Quechua texts.

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<sup>6</sup> I hope to explore the consequences of textuality decisions in more detail in a future essay, 'Textuality and translation'.



Figure one. GUAMAN POMA's (1615: 318)  
 drawing of the **Wariqsa arawi**  
 Fiesta of the Incas **Wariqsa arawi**  
 of the Inca sings with his red llama.

# FIESTA UARIQSA ARAWI

del ynga las fiestas cantar y bailar. uaricza q̄ can tanto  
pueca llama. al tono del carnero cantan dize así con  
compas muy poco a poco. me dia ora dize - y. y. y alto  
no del carnero. comienza el ynga. como el carnero.  
dize y esta diciendo. yn. lleva ese tono y dalli comen-  
do ua diciendo sus coplas muy muchas responden las  
coyas y nustas cantan abos alta muy suauemente  
yuaricza - yarawi. dize así - arawi. arawi. arayara  
ui. arawi yau arawi. uan diciendo lo que quieren y  
todos al tono de arawi responden las mugeres —

uaricza ayay uaricza - chamay uaricza ayay uari-  
za. todos uan de este tono y las mugeres responden de -  
yel haylle. ayau haylli yau haylli. uchuyoccho chac  
roy qui. uchuytunpalla samusac - ticayoccho chac  
roy que. ticaytunpalla samusac. aeste tono respo-  
de las mugeres dize el hombre. chay mi coya - respo-  
de la muger. ahaylli. chay mipalla. ahaylle. patallanpi  
ahaylle. chay mi nusta. ahaylle. chay micilla. ahaylle.  
El arawi y cancion lastimosa que cantan las nustas.  
Los mosos tocan el pingollo - morco tollay. morco to. llullucha  
llay llullucha. mama soncoy qui que uiccho. mana uacoy  
cunqui. cilallay caspa. coyallay caspa. mus tallay caspa.  
unoqui que llam apari uan uauy pama llam. pusa uia  
chaylli llay qui tatyuy cuspa chay ac soy qui ta uay uis  
pa. mananam pachapas chici ancho. tuta riccharipti  
pas. mananatac mi pachapaca rincho. camea coya <sup>com</sup>  
<sup>ra</sup> mama nachy yuyari uan qui cho. cay san cay pi poma  
toe micouap tin. coy pimas pi uichicasca quicasca <sup>tiap</sup> pilla  
uan u

Figure two GUAMAN POMA's text of the Wariqsa arawi, obverse of figure one.

## FIESTA

UARICZA ARAUI del ynga,

las fiestas

cantar y baylar **wariqza**, q cantan cõ puca llama.

al tono del carnero cantan dize

asi con conpas muy poco a poco mediaora, dize

"y-y-y" al tono del carnero.

comienza el ynga como el carnero- dize

y esta disiendo yn

lleua ese tono

y dalli comensãdo ua diciendo sus coplas

muy muchas rresponde

las **qoyas** y **nustas** cantan a bos alta muy suaueamente

1 y **wariqsa**

2 y **arawi**

dize aci

3 **arawi, arawi, ara yarawi, arawi**

4 **yaw arawi**

uan diciendo lo que quieren

y todos al tono de arauí rresponden las mugeres

FIESTA

UARICZA ARAUI of the Inka,

the fiestas

to sing and to dance wariqza, which they sing with a red llama.

To the pitch of the animal they sing, it is said,

like this at a very slow tempo, a, half hour, it is said,

"y-y-y" at the pitch of the animal.

The Inka begins, as the animal it is said,

and he is saying,

carrying that pitch

and beginning from there goes on saying his couplets.

Very many respond

The qoyas and ñustas sing in falsetto [aloud? ] very smoothly,

**1 y wariqsa**

*METATEXT*

**2 y arawi**

it is said like this,

**3 arawi, arawi, ara yarawi, arawi**

**4 yaw arawi**

They begin saying what they wish.

and all to the tune of the arawi respond, the women:

5 **ayay wariqsa**

6 **chamay wariqsa**

7 **ayay wariqsa**

todos uan deste tono y las mugeres rresponde

y el **haylli**:

8 **ayaw naylli**

9 **yaw haylli**

10 **uchuyoqchu chakrayki?**

11 **uchuytumpalla samusaq<sup>7</sup>**

12 **tikayoqchu chakrayki?**

13 **tikaytumpalla samusaq**

aeste tono rrespõde las mugeres

dice el hombre

14a **chaymi qoya**

rrespõde la muger

14b **ahaylli**

15 **chaymi palla, ahaylli**

16 **patallampi, ahaylli**

17 **chaymi ñusta, ahaylli**

18 **chaymi siqlla ahaylli**

el **arawi** y cancion lastimosa que cantan las **ñustas**

y los mosos tocan el **pinqollo**

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<sup>7</sup> GUAMAN POMA regularly use **samuy** with initial **s** for modern Ayacucho **hamuy**. The **s-** form of the stem is the regular reflex of prototypic **\*s** (compare Wanka **shamuy**, CERRÓN-PALOMINO, 1976: 124), and is also reported for Cuzco by GARCILASO (1609: II, xxvii) in a poetic context. The change appears to involve reanalysis of **samuy** as radical **sa-** and suffix **-mu**, which in the context of a motion verb indicates movement toward the speaker. The radical was subsequently reassigned analogically to the radical **ha-** on the model of **haku**, 'let's go!'. (The same process of reanalysis is presently taking place for **yaykuy** > **haykuy**.) SANTO TOMÁS (1560: 103r, 168) reported both a Southern **h-** and Central **ʃ-** variant for the stem. The remaining colonial sources for Southern Peruvian Quechua regularly attest an **h-** variant (Tercer Concilio, 1585 : 2; GONÇÁLEZ HOLGUIN, 1608: 690; PÉREZ BOCANEGRA, 1631: 396; AGUILAR, 1690: 54; see MANNHEIM (ms.) for a more detailed discussion of this and related linguistic changes in Southern Peruvian Quechua). What was the status of the **s-** form for GUAMAN POMA and for GARCILASO? Was it a conscious archaism? Was it restricted to poetic texts?



5 **ayay wariqsa**

6 **chamay wariqsa**

7 **ayay wariqsa**

All go from this pitch and the women respond.

And the **haylli**:

8 **ayaw naylli**

9 **yaw haylli**

10 Your field, is it of spices?

11 As spices do, I will come

12 Your field, is it of flowers?

13 As flowers do, I will come

To this tune the women respond.

Says the man,

14a Thus the **goya**

<queen>

Respond the woman,

14b **ahaylli**

15 Thus the gathered, **ahaylli**

<gathered weave>

16 On its terrace, **ahaylli**

<bounded flat space>

17 Thus the **ñusta**, **ahaylli**

<princess>

18 Thus the braided, **ahaylli**

The **arawi** and the pitying song that the **ñustas** sing,

and the young maen play the **pinqollo** :

- 19 morqotollay, morqoto  
 20 llulluchallay, llullucha  
 21 **mama sonqoyki qewiqchu?**<sup>8</sup>  
 22 **mana waqaykunki**<sup>9</sup>  
 23 siqllallay kaspa  
 24 qoyallay kaspa  
 25 ñustallay kaspa  
 26 unuy weqellam apariwan<sup>10</sup>  
 27 yakuy parallam pusariwan  
 28 chay llikllaykita rikuykuspa  
 29 chay aqsuykita qawaykuspa  
 30 **manañam pachapas chisiyanchu**  
 31 **tuta rikchariptiypas**  
 32 **manañataqmi pacha paqarinchu**  
 33 **qamqa qoya qampasqa**  
 34 **manañachi yuyariwankichu**<sup>11</sup>  
 35 **kay sankaypi**  
 36 **puma-atoq mikuwaptin**  
 37 **kay pinaspi**  
 38 **wichi kasqa**  
 39 **kikasqa**  
 40 **tiyapti**  
 41 **palla**

<sup>8</sup> It is difficult to determine whether line 21 should be read as in the text or as **mana soyqoyki qewiqchu** 'Your heart is not sad/twisted'. GUAMAN POMA's handwriting does not allow for a clear-cut choice in this case, and both interpretations allow for plausible readings. ADORNO chose the second reading, and this formed the basis of the version of this text in the ADORN, MURRA, and URIOSTE edition of GUAMAN POMA.

<sup>9</sup> The injunctive force of the utterance is affectively softened by the derivational suffix **-yku**, the use of the non-imperative negative form (**mana** rather than **ama**) and the lack of the negative **-chu** on the negated form. The affective softening is (inadequately) translated by 'please'. Notice that with the 'softening' effect, lines 21 and 22 are non-parallel even 'if the first word of 21 is interpreted as **mana**; interpretations which assume such parallelism as the basis for a reading of 21 as **mana sonqoyki qewiqchu** are thus in error.

<sup>10</sup> The verbs in lines 26 and 27 are both in the inceptive form (suffix **-ri-**), which focuses on the initiation of the action designated by the stem.

<sup>11</sup> The enclitic **-chi** is not attested in contemporary Ayacucho Quechua. I assume - on the basis of comparative evidence from the Central Quechua languages (PARKER 1976: 150-1 for Ancash; ESCRIBENS and PROULX, 1970 for Huaylas; SOLÁ 1958 for Huánuco) that it marked supposition or conjecture. ROWE (1950: 142) cites a post-vocalic form **-ch** 'perhaps' which - on analogy with the **-mi** ~ **-m** and the **-si** ~ **s** alternations - witnesses an underlying **-chi**. A **-ch** ~ **-cha** alternation is attested for Cuzco Quechua as late as the mid nineteenth century by Gabriel CENTENO (nd).

- 19 Just my **morqoto, morqoto**<sup>12</sup>  
20 Just my **llullucha, llullucha**<sup>13</sup>  
21 Your mother-heart, is it sad?<sup>14</sup>  
22 Please don't cry.  
23 Being my little braided one  
24 Being may littel **qoya**  
25 Being my little **ñusta**  
26 My water, just tears, is brought to me, <inceptive>  
27 My water, just rain, is led to me, <inceptive>  
28 Looking at that shawl of yours  
29 Gazing at that skirt of yours  
30 Though the world no longer enters evening  
31 As by night I awaken  
32 The world even no longer dawns  
33 You, you still are qoya  
34 Perhaps you no longer remember me  
35 In this prison of mine  
36 Where the puma-fox eat me  
37 In this captivity  
38 Separated,  
39 Out of reach,  
40 As I remain  
41 Gather, [ed?]

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<sup>12</sup> Unidentified moving-water algae.

<sup>13</sup> *Nostoc vesiculosos* (HERRERA, 1935: 52), a still-water algae.

<sup>14</sup> The word **sonqo** in line 21 is possibly construed too narrowly. The notion of **sonqo** is broader than its customary translation as 'heart' and might be represented better as 'essence'. The body part denotatum of **sonqo** seems to me to be less essential to its meaning than its English or Spanish counterparts (wich even so can be used with an 'essence' reading).

The Wariqsa **arawi** is far more complex than contemporary folk poetry in terms of semantic organization and in terms of the diversity of syntagms. The second of these textual properties makes the very identification of significant structural units in the text problematical, at least in comparison to modern-day **waynus** for which recurrent melodic phrases and regular meter facilitate identification of constituent units. The **Wariqsa arawi** is through-composed and has the feel of an open, heterogeneous field, rather than a repetitive strophic form. Different regulation devices come into play at different moments. Moreover, the form that a particular regulation device takes is fluid. A couplet bridged by three lexical pairs will abut a phonically shorter couplet bridged by one. The domain of a versification device is *local* in several senses first, it establishes a network of relationships over a limited textual range, from two to a handful of lines. Such networks may be facultatively indexed by limited metric regularity. Second, no single regulation device exhaustively versifies a text. Finally, devices do not have global repercussions. Thus, the notion of 'device' cannot be collapsed - as is often assumed - into 'genre' or 'way of speaking'.

The division of the Quechua text into constitutive units was made on the basis of local organization into semantic couplets, and in two cases on the basis of wider-domain grammatical parallelism. 'Semantic couplets' are a peculiarly Quechua poetic device in which two otherwise morphologically and syntactically identical lines are bound together by the alternation of two semantically related word stems. The stems are a semantic *minimal pair*; they differ by a single semantic property, and there is no word stem with a value for that property mid-way between them. The order in which the word-stems appear in a couplet is strictly regulated in terms of a hierarchy of values for the semantic property which distinguishes the word-pair. The word-stem which is semantically more complex, or *marked* for the distinction occurs in the second line in the couplet, just as the less complex stem, *unmarked* for the distinction occurs in the first line. The non-invariance of metrical structure as a defining characteristic of poetic units is particularly striking. In seventeenth - and eighteenth-century texts in which metrical principles do come into play, the unit divisions which they establish do not necessarily coincide with unit divisions constructed on other grounds, such as grammatical parallelism. Although metric identity here is not the defining characteristic of the textual constituents it is a redundant or supportive property of certain of the units, the semantic couplets. The equivalence of meaning expressed by the semantic couplet is indexed by an equivalence of sound, by metric equivalence. The ensuing discussion is

concerned with the formal organization of the **Wariqsa arawi**, with its conditions *for* meaning (BARTHES, 1966 56f.; CULLER, 1975: viii), not with its 'meaning' itself in any larger sense. The interpretation of the **Wariqsa arawi** in a larger sense would move from the text of GUAMAN POMA through intertexts horizontally represented elsewhere in GUAMAN POMA's chronicle through intertexts in other chronicles and elsewhere in the culture. This is not possible within the limitations of the present essay, although ZUIDEMA's discussion indicates one direction in which intertextual connections of the **Wariqsa arawi** could be explored.

GUAMAN POMA's text is pragmatically characterized by multiple embedding of rhetorical stance within rhetorical stance, marked in the first instance by his shift between Castilian as the language of narrative and Quechua as the language of quotation, the former as third or *non*-person, the latter marked with deictic persons and so implicated in the ritual performance. (I indicate this change in footing in the normalized text by translating the Castilian narrative level into English, while the embedded performance remains in Quechua. Line numbers refer only to the embedded performance.) Embedding rhetorically conspires with semantic coupling to establish intensional contexts, in which the denotatum of a linguistic expression shifts from its conventional referent to its sense itself, from the state-of-affairs it denotes to the stance it takes toward its referent (cf. MANNHEIM, 1986b). Lines 1 to 9 frame the **Wariqsa arawi** by means of repeated appeal to genre and event; they constitute a meta-text which embeds the remainder of the performance. From here the shifts between Castilian narrative and Quechua quotation are further polarized. Both the passage from 10 to 13 and 14 to 18 are marked by heavily situational orientations, the first along a speaker addressee axis, the second by means of the demonstratives. Finally, both of these passages - for structural reasons, as we see below - contain the **arawi** of lines 19 to 34. The orientation here is primarily appellative, toward an inscribed addressee; first person reference is restricted to nouns (largely in epithets), to verbs of embedded clauses (which in Southern Peruvian Quechua are marked by the nominal person system) and to the object of main clause verbs (lines 26 - 27 and 34). Where is the identity of the addressee established? GUAMAN POMA's Castilian narrative informs us that the Inca sang along with the llama. But line 20 establishes this more directly. It is structurally ambiguous between mono-morphemic **llullucha**, denoting an aquatic plant, and bi-morphemic **llullu+cha**, **llullu** 'tender', further marked with the diminutive **-cha**. **Llullucha** commonly denotes a tender, young llama as it unequivocally does elsewhere in the *Nueva corónica* (1615 : 890). Line 20,

**llulluchallay**, **llullucha**, then, is also 'my tender, young llama', to whom the **Wariqsa arawi** is directed.

Prior to the **arawi** proper, lines 10 and 12, and 11 and 13 respectively pair **uchu** 'spice, vegetal colorant' and **tika** 'flower'. Lines 14 to 18 intersperse couplets constructed around the pairs **qoya** 'queen'/**ñusta** 'princess' and **palla** 'gathered, a gathered weave, lady of honor' (LIRA, 1975: 265)/**siqlla** 'braided'. The interspersions make for a close-knit equivalence between the couplets. From this vantage, line 16 might be seen as a kind of boundary which joins the respective poles of the two couplets.

The close-knit quadruple **qoya/ñusta = palla/siqlla** reappears in lines 23 to 25. The couplet 24 **goyallay kaspā**/25 **ñustallay kaspā** strands 23 **siqllallay kaspā**, for there is no correspondingly paired **palla** line. The stranded line is oriented in two directions one orientation is to the earlier couplet 19 **morqotollay**, **morqoto**/20 **llulluchallay**, **llullucha**, in which the common elements, rounded shape and smallness, are brought into relief. We will take up the second orientation momentarily. Both **morqoto** and **llullucha** connote 'freshness' and 'tenderness'. As we have already seen, **llullu** has been lexicalized as 'tender' and with the diminutive denotes a young, tender llama. The connotation of tenderness is emphasized by the exaggerated use of the onomatopoeic limitative suffix - **lla** (ten occurrences: lines 11, 13, 16, 19, 20, 23, 24, 25, 26, 27), translated here by 'just' and 'little'. There is, in addition, an alliteration of color which draws **morqoto** and **llullucha** into a common web with the young **puka llama**. The **llullucha** was described by GONÇÁLEZ HOLGUÍN as 'morado' (1608: 529) and the **morqoto** as 'morena' (1608: 245). Both descriptions fall within the denotative range of the Quechua color term **puka**, 'reddish brown'.

Three lexical pairs couple across lines 26 and 27. **Unu**, presently the word for 'water' in the Cuzco area is paired with **yaku**, 'water' in the rest of the Quechua family, including the Ayachuco variety of Southern Peruvian Quechua. It may well be that GUAMAN POMA's **unu/yaku** couplet (cf. GUAMAN POMA, 1615: 191, 317, inverted on 285) reflects a conscious shibboleth for the distinction between the Cuzqueño center and non-Cuzqueño periphery of the Inka state, possibly signalling differential symbolic access to water for these groups. Were this the case, we might view the pair as a predecessor to the Quechua/Spanish pairings described earlier. GONÇÁLEZ HOLGUÍN's (1608) dictionary of the Cuzco variety attests both as co-extensive. But **unu** is regularly

cited first, and is cited more frequently. GUAMAN POMA (1615: 257) himself used a **yaku/unu** doublet in two appositive constructions: **Runayquiman yacoyquita unoyquita cacharimouay** 'To your people (humans) send you **yaku** and your **unu**', and **uno yaco pachacuti** 'world-return by water' (1615: 51).

In modern attestations, however, **unu** and **yaku** are not coextensive, although the nature of their differences is varied and even contradictory. José María ARGUEDAS observed that for speakers of Ayacucho Quechua in Puquio (Lucanas Province, Department of Ayacucho) **yaku** is the general term for water, while **unu** is used in sacred contexts, to refer to **orqo taytapa venan**, 'the veins of the lord mountain' (1956: 200) or of the **Wamani** mountain deities (1956: 192, 198). PARKER (1969: 209) confirms this datum and cites **unu qoñi** 'water warmth, breakfast' for Parinacochas Province (Ayacucho). At the beginning of this century a traveller, Harry FRANCK, observed that in Cuzco, ". . . **yacu** is flowing water . . . whereas **unu** designates the liquid (1919: 437)". **Unu** thus appears to be the more specialized of the pair in Ayacucho, whereas **yaku** is in Cuzco. KURYOWICZ's (1949) observation that the introduction of a new, more general expression always entails specialization of the older expression is relevant here. Ayacucho **unu** is used in highly restricted contexts whereas Cuzco **yaku** was used in a more general way. The degree of specialization of the two situations allows us to provisionally infer that the case reported by FRANCK represents the early colonial semantics indirectly attested by GUAMAN POMA in the **unu/yaku** couplet.

In the same lines as **unu/yaku**, **weqe** 'tears, drops of secretion' is paired with **para** 'raindrops', and **apay** with **pusay**. **Apay**, 'to carry' conceptually focuses on the carrier as agent of the action, whereas the **pusay** 'to guide' provides more equal perspective on the two substantives bound up in the action. If something moves on its own - for example irrigation water - the appropriate verb is **pusay**, not **apay** (MANNHEIM, 1986b). The couplet formed by lines 28 and 29 pairs **liklla** 'woven shawl' with **aqsu**, a skirt made with a larger bolt of woven cloth (see GUAMAN POMA's illustration) and **rikuy** 'to look at' with **qaway** 'to look at carefully, to watch'.

Semantic couplets are absent from the passage from line 30 to line 34. The passage is regulated by a grammatically parallel triplet superficially scuttled by focus and connective enclitics, setting lines 30 and 32 into contrast with line 34:

30 manañam pachapas chisiyanchu

//*neg.-complete-witness affirm*/world /evening-become- $\emptyset$  person-*negative*//

32 manañataqmi pachaø paqarinchu

//neg.-compl.-contrast-witness affirm /world /dawn-ø person-negative//

34 manañachi yuyariwankichu

//neg.-compl.-conjecture/remember-2→1 person-negative//

For the couplet 35 **kay sankaypi**/37 **kay pinaspi**, 'in this prison of mine/in this captivity' metrical identity takes precedence over identity of morpho-syntactic context. Quechua substantival person markers alternate according to the syllabicity of the preceding segment. The first person possessive, then, is **-y** immediately following a vowel, and receives an epenthetic **-ni-** following a consonant, hence **-niy**. (I do not see any reason to assert that the **y** represents "poetic licence" on the part of GUAMAN POMA.) Were 37 to have the first person marker of 35 following the canonic norm of morpho-syntactic identity between couplet members, it would require an additional syllable, \***kay pinasnipi** rather than the attested **kay pinaspi**. Metric identity thus takes precedence over morphosyntactic identity as a facultative feature of semantic couplets.

What of the stranded line, 23 **siqllallay kaspá**? **Siqlla**'s counterpart, **palla** is itself stranded at the close of the **Wariqsa arawi**. But **palla** appears as a bare stem, at once an icon of its place in the formal organization of the **Wariqsa arawi** - the stranded counterpart of a stranded line - and of the separation of the animating speaker (GOFFMAN, 1981 [1979]: 144), **wichi kasqa**, **kikasqa**, from **palla**. The last line satisfies the expectations left unfulfilled by the stranded line, 23 as it separates the animating speaker, it closes the text. Closure of the **Wariqsa arawi**, then, is established by a two-fold mechanism. The close-knit set of couplets in lines 14 to 18 creates expectations left unfulfilled by the stranded line. These are in turn fulfilled by the last line. The brief passage from 14 to 18 is a single text with 19 to 41. The mode of closure (cf. HERRNSTEIN-SMITH, 1968, esp. 237ff ) employed here is typical of non-strophic, traditional Quechua poetry in that it is established by means of an internal synecdoche which imposes structure on the whole. This is presumably what GARCILASO DE LA VEGA meant when he remarked that Inka poems were "like ciphers" (1609, II, xxvii).

The poetic devices attested in the **Wariqsa arawi** continue to be important in Southern Peruvian Quechua verbal art. But contemporary Southern Peruvian Quechua song - particularly vernacular song - strongly tends toward a strophic organization, formally closed by the repetitive pattern of syllables in a



line and lines in a strophe, a pattern which imposes structure on the text with the regularity of a cookie-cutter. Here might be a significant parameter of change in Southern Peruvian Quechua poetic form: the **Wariqsa arawi** appears to us to be an "open" form (DUNCAN, 1960), "composed by field" (OLSON, 1950). But the distinction between open and closed form poems, poetries and poetics is the artifact of a particular turn in English-language poetry, a move away from metric regulation which condoned division of the line into scannable units toward forms which emphasized the unity of the line and its coextension with breath and thought. If the **Wariqsa arawi** seems archaically modern to us, it is the variability of the line and the close relationship between the rhythm of line length and the ebbing, draining rhythm of separation which makes it so. This is a reading *pour nous*, of course, a reading which makes sense in terms of our late-twentieth century tradition, not a reading which is grounded in an early seventeenth-century Quechua mode of interpretation. If we are to think of Quechua poetry in these terms, the terms must give way to critique and refinement in confrontation with the object texts and traditions. The sense of "open form" in the **Wariqsa arawi** appears to be a consequence of two distinct but intersecting parameters: the first is strophic versus non-strophic regulation, where we might think of 'strophic' as 'exhaustively versified by an iterative device'. The **Wariqsa arawi** is non-strophic, of course. The second parameter is local versus global regulation devices. As we have seen the devices which are called into play in the **Wariqsa arawi** are distinctly local in character. The domain over which a particular device holds sway is quite limited, as we have seen. This allows characteristic flexibility in line timing, for correspondence between the perceivable and cognized division of the text. What allows for textual integrity in such a system, in the absence of closure by means of the regulation device? We have observed two closure mechanisms, one pragmatic and the other textual. Pragmatic closure is achieved in the **Wariqsa arawi** by means of a meta-text, a stereotypic invocation of genre names which precedes the performance of the core of the text (lines 1-9). We see echoes of this tradition in contemporary **waynu** performance in the frequent spoken utterances calling attention to the performance situation and in the stereotypic emotive devices which accompany it. Textual closure is achieved in the **Wariqsa arawi** by means of an internal synecdoche of form, in this case by collusion between the couplets in lines 14 to 18 and the stranding of line 23 against the bare stem form of line 41. Textual closure by means of internal synecdoche is frequent if not regular in the earliest recorded Quechua poetic texts, and jibes nicely with the overall iconic (and especially diagrammatic) orientation of the cultural

aesthetic. Internal closure coexists in a weakened form in colonial strophically-regulated verse, and has largely disappeared in modern **waynus**, possibly apart from a tendency toward internal diagrams of one passage on another. The 'open form' effect is thus the product of local, non-strophic regulation and internal, synecdochal closure. It is the appropriate product of a culture in which text is built mosaically, rather than by global criteria of internal consistency.

## The place of the *Chamay Wariqsa* in the rituals of Cuzco

R. Tom ZUIDEMA<sup>1</sup>

It is my intention in this note to place GUAMAN POMA's recording of the **wariqsa** or **chamay wariqsa** song in a ritual, calendric, and mythic context, which the extensive, and in this case, precise ethnohistorical data allow us to do (GUAMAN POMA, 1615: 318-9 [320-1]).

GUAMAN POMA elaborates on the description of a rite that he already mentioned earlier as part of **Inca raymi**, the "festival of the King" in the month of April (1615 : 242 [244]). The first **Inca raymi** ritual consisted of tying a white llama, called **napa** (SARMIENTO, 1947 [1572]: chapter 12) to a pole in the plaza Haucaypata and giving it maize beer to drink (COBO, 1956 [1653]: XIII, xxvii). The stated purpose of the ritual was to make the maize cobs of the new harvest have good grains. But the ritual also occurred at the time that the rains ended and when people started to repair and reuse their irrigation canals. The fact that the llama was supposed to kick over the container of beer may have been in reference to the new water in the canals. The animal was covered with a red cloth and it is for this reason that GUAMAN POMA calls it **puca llama** 'red llama'. In the drawing illustrating the description of the song, the King and the llama are represented singing to each other while standing in the plaza. But in GUAMAN POMA's drawing of the month of April, the King sings to the Sun, walking toward it followed by the Queen and another woman who is playing drums. This drawing conforms more to the description that Bernabe COBO (1956 [1653]: XIII, xxvii) gives of the ritual for May, the second month of the harvest. (The rites for both months were considered a single group, and chroniclers disagree over which month a particular ritual was held.) The harvest would be brought in procession from the valley east of Cuzco to a second plaza, also called Haucaypata, but situated on the outskirts of town. The procession was preceded by two boys and the white llama **napa**. Their songs expressed the hope that the maize would last and not finish until the next harvest. In the first of these processions the recently initiated boys brought the harvest from a special field, **Sausero**, dedicated to **Mama Huaco** the ancestress who gave the Incas their first maize (MOLINA "El Cuzqueño", 1943 [1574]: 66 -7; HERNÁNDEZ PRÍNCIPE, 1923 [1622]: 54; ZUIDEMA, 1978: 145). The King and the nobles

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<sup>1</sup> Department of Anthropology, University of Illinois, Urbana, IL 61801.

went to **Sausero** shortly thereafter to plow. Afterward they returned in the best dress they won in war and gave a sacrifice in the manner of sacrifices following victory at war. In the final ritual everyone would select the best grains of maize from their fields and store them in a vessel at home, richly dressed in cloth as a woman and called **sara mama**, 'mother of maize'. Priests asked the vessel if it had sufficient strength to give them a new harvest the following year.



Figure three. GUAMAN POMA's (1615: 242) drawing of the Fiesta of the Inca, April.

## ABRIL

## INCAYMIQUI

En este mes ofrecian unos carneros-pintados  
 alas dhas uacas y a los dioses comunes q̄ abia en todo  
 el reyno y con ello tenían mucha sermonia y  
 el dho ynga tenía muy grande fiesta conbidava  
 a los grandes señores y principales y a los de mas  
 mandones-y a los yns pobres y comia y cantava  
 y dançava en la plaza publica-en esta fiesta  
 tauca el cantar de los carneros-puca llama y a  
 tar de los rios a aquel sonido q̄ haze-esto son natu-  
 ral propio cantar del ynga-como el carnero canta  
 y dize-yn-muy gran reato con conpas-y con ello-  
 mucho cumbite y anquite-y mucho uino-y amur-  
 aca estemes esta la comida maduro y a nei comē  
 y uenen y sechar tan lagente del reyno a osta  
 del ynga-y estemes los aues del cielo y los reato-  
 nes tienen que comer-todo el mes juegan los s̄-  
 principales al juego-de ruii-choca-al uayō de  
 ynaca-pibica de hila cula-y de challo chima  
 y juegan otros juegos-y recozigos tiene todo el  
 reyno en este mes de abril yncaraymi y se ho-  
 radan las orejas en este mes todos haun yncas  
 como capac ynga uaccha yngas con ello tienen  
 gran fiesta entre ellos y se conbidan unos con  
 otros asi como rico como pobre

hatun

Figure four. GUAMAN POMA's (1615: 243) description of April rites. Compare the description of the Wariqsa arawi, figure two.

The harvest was a victory obtained by the people, who sang their victory songs as GUAMAN POMA tells us. But it was also a time for thinking about the year to come; April was a time of new year. These considerations allow us to outline the mythical and astronomical context of the **wariqsa** song and to understand why it was sung in April or May.

The term **chamay wariqsa**, as far as I know, is used only one other time by another chronicler, SANTA CRUZ PACHACUTI YAMQUI (1950 [1613]: 214). When the founding ancestor of the Incas, **Manco Capac** and his three brothers and four sisters conquered the valley of Cuzco, they sang the **chamay wariqsa**. According to this myth it was **Manco Capac's** sister **Mama Huaco** who defeated the original inhabitants of Cuzco. SANTA CRUZ PACHACUTI and earlier chroniclers (such as SARMIENTO, 1947 [1572]: chapter 13) describe the exact route she took in the valley to accomplish the conquest. She passed **Collcampampa** and **Guamantianca** to arrive at the site of **Corincancha**, where the main temple was later built. The same route was followed in the harvest ritual while bringing the maize from Sausero to Cuzco. One of the Spanish conquerors produced an extraordinary eyewitness account of the ritual as it occurred in April, 1535 (April 11 in the Julian calendar, May 11 in the present-day Gregorian calendar; MOLINA "el Almagrista", 1968 [1553]: 81 - 3). The places or **Huacas** mentioned in the myth were located on one of the forty-one directions or **seques** radiating out from the Corincancha toward the horizon, **seque III, 3, a**, the seventh **seque** of **Antisuyu** in COBO's list of **seques** (ZUIDEMA, 1981, 1982; ROWE, 1979: 37). The precise identification of this **seque** on the ground allows us to study its importance in the astronomical system of the Incas as well as its calendrical and cosmological use.

**Seque III, 3, a** defines the direction of sunrise,  $13\ 1/2^\circ$  south of east, when the sun traverses zenith, the highest and central point in the sky, an event celebrated by the King, the son of the Sun, in the month of November (POLO, 1916 [1584]: 24-6; COBO, 1956 [1653]: XIII, xxx, xxxi). But in April or May, half a year later, the direction followed was not toward the horizon but toward the town, to the second Haucaypata plaza. By then, April 25, the sun would set in the opposite direction,  $13\ 1/2^\circ$  north of west, going through nadir, the lowest point under the earth. The rituals described by MOLINA "el Almagrista" vividly express the feeling that the Incas had for this moment in the sun's path. All nobles would stand along the road of the procession accompanied by the mummies of their ancestors. At sunrise they began to sing slowly raising their

voices as noon approached. Then their voices would drop again until sunset, when they ended. From time to time, the King himself would lead the songs. Two hundreds virgins of the Sun carried baskets of green coca leaves to offer the Sun in the procession. Following these ceremonies, the King plowed the field of Sausero, next to the procession route to initiate the new agricultural year.

On the basis of the data of COBO and MOLINA "el Almagrista", I would suggest that the **haylli**, the **arawi**, and the **chamay wariqsa** were sung during these processions around of after April 25, in honor of **Mama Huaco**. She was the emblem of victory, and it was her maize that allowed people to plant in the coming year. When she originally conquered the valley of Cuzco, its climate was said to be tropical and dedicated to the cultivation of green coca and **ají** spices (BETANZOS, 1968 [1551]: chapter 4; ZUIDEMA, 1964: 161, 193-6, 199). Its original inhabitants, the Huayllas, were expelled from the valley to one named after them where, according to BETANZOS (1968 [1551]), they continued to grow coca. **Mama Huaco** was not only the conqueror of these people - whose name, **Huaylla**, means 'green pasture' and refers to the rainy season, but also of the season itself, thereby allowing the maize to dry for storage.

Having interpreted these and other rituals not yet mentioned as belonging to an agricultural new year in April or May, I would like to finish with a discussion of the Quechua meaning of the terms **haylli**, **chamay**, and **wariqsa**. **Haylli** was a victory song used for entering a town after harvest or planting, and after victory in battle. **Chhama** or **chama**, according to GONÇÁLEZ HOLGUÍN (1608), refers to strength as put into work. No colonial dictionary mentions **wariqsa**, but GONÇÁLEZ HOLGUÍN (1608) cites the verb **arini** 'to use, to initiate a new thing'. The alternation of initial **a** with **wa** is attested elsewhere in the language, for example in the proper name cited either as **Anco ayllu** or **Anco huayllu** (ZUIDEMA, 1964 187; LIRA, 1944, cites **wayllu** as a cognate of **ayllu**). The name for the month of April used by most of the chroniclers was **Ayrihua**, but ALBORNOZ (in DUVIOLS, 1967), GONÇÁLEZ HOLGUÍN (1608), and COBO (1956 [1653]) also used the form **Arihua**, a word based on the same root **ari** 'new' as **wariqsa**. **Chamay wariqsa** might have been the victory song of the new year over the old.

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