

Unity and Difference in Andean Songs

Charles Maurice Pigott

In this essay I textually analyze a selection of Andean songs that I collected during doctoral fieldwork in the Peruvian Andes, between 2010 and 2011.¹ Song is an important oral tradition in the Andes, where verse is normally accompanied by music and dance. Many song-genres (such as those presented here) are only performed during particular festivals, while others (for instance, the *waynu*) are part of daily life. The diversity of songs makes it difficult to classify “genres” according to Western lines of interpretation, which is why in this essay I have adopted an emic perspective and listed each song according to its place within the wider context of the festival. As John Miles Foley states (2002:36), “when dealing with the genres of oral poetry, expect a cornucopia. . . . Examine all defining features of each oral poem according to its idiosyncrasies rather than according to a prepackaged set of expectations,” for “care must be exercised to ‘read’ each oral genre on its own terms first.” Accordingly, this essay adopts an ethnopoetic model of analysis, reading “upwards” from the text rather than “downwards” from preconceived notions or categories. Indeed, “we need to make the effort to speak and hear the right language as fluently as we can manage, even if that effort entails a degree of culture shock” (20). Only by entering the “world” of the poetry—and, in the case of this essay, this means deep textual analysis in tandem with knowledge of the wider cultural context—can we reveal the underlying motivations of the texts in question.²

My research involved traveling among various villages in Bolognesi and Pomabamba provinces, Ancash department, Peru, in search of local song traditions. My focus was on the linguistic and literary aspects of the songs, and particularly how they can elucidate the concept of “identity.” The songs presented here are extracts from the verses sung during the Masha festival in the village of Mangas, Bolognesi. I examine their portrayal of two major aspects of identity-creation, namely “unity” and “difference.” Mangas is well-known across Bolognesi for its traditional festivals, which have earned this village the popular designation as *el pueblo de*

¹ The research involved in this essay was generously supported by the Arts and Humanities Research Council (United Kingdom).

² There have been a small number of studies on Andean sung poetry. Musicological studies frequently include some ancillary reference to the lyrics (for instance, Baumann 1996; den Otter 1985; Stobart 2006). The principal studies on the literary and linguistic aspects of Andean songs are Arnold and Yapita 1998; Harrison 1989; Harrison Macdonald 1979; Husson 1985; Itier 1992; Julca-Guerrero 2009; and Mannheim 1986, 1987, 1998, 1999. There is also some discussion of Andean sung poetry in Delgado and Schechter 2004 and throughout the 1993 volume (19.37) of the journal *Revista de Crítica Literaria Latinoamericana*.

brujos (“town of witches,” a designation not necessarily used in a derogatory manner). The principal language of the songs is Ancash Quechua, a member of the Quechua 1 branch of the Quechua language-family, according to Torero’s (1974, 2002) classification. Quechua 1 is spoken in the central Peruvian Andes, whereas the Quechua 2 branch extends from southern Colombia to northern Chile and Argentina, its original range roughly coterminous with the borders of the Incan Empire. Given the far greater diversity of Quechua 1, we know that it is much older than Quechua 2 (Parker 1976:27-28), despite the very common misbelief—even by Quechua 1 speakers—that the Quechua (a Quechua 2 variety) of the former Incan capital, Cuzco, represents an original standard.

In common with many Amerindian language-families, Quechua is polysynthetic and agglutinating. A polysynthetic language is one that “allows the formation of extremely long words with many affixes” (Parker 1976:29, my translation). An agglutinating language is one where the affixes “undergo very little fusion or morphophonemic change” (29); in other words, adding new affixes does not change the form of those already there. All Quechua affixes are suffixes, and most of the suffixes can combine spontaneously with any word-root so that words are often formed *ad hoc* as meaning is fine-tuned by the addition of different suffixes. According to Mazzotti, Quechua can therefore “better express tonalities and affects without depending entirely on an extensive vocabulary” (2003:101). How such suffixes interact in the creation of meaning is thus a central issue for the current essay. An additional linguistic concern arises from the influence of Spanish now being omnipresent across the Andes, to the extent that it can be viewed as a second native language. As a result, the texts analyzed here incorporate aspects of Spanish to greater or lesser degrees.³

The Masha Festival

The festival of Masha traditionally takes place every November in Mangas and lasts for two weeks. It centers on the construction of the church roof, which is typically changed every year by replacing the straw.⁴ The term *masha* literally means “son-in-law” but is more loosely used in Bolognesi to denote any relation who helps in the construction of a house; the literal meaning of the word, however, indicates how this reciprocal practice of house-construction serves to unite distinct families who would otherwise have no real connection. Much of the festival in Mangas concerns the traditional opposition and complementarity between the two halves of the town, the “lower” Kotos and the “higher” Allawkay. This pattern of dual division is common throughout the Andes (Bourque 1994:230; Bouysse-Cassagne 1986:202-03; Fock 1981:316-17; Platt 1986:230-31; Sallnow 1987:37; Urton 1981:40-42; Zuidema 1964:2-10), though by no means unique to this region.⁵ Manuel Burga, who conducted historical and

³ The structure of Spanish, in common with other Indo-European languages, is “periphrastic,” with meaning becoming fine-tuned principally at the sentence-level. This situation contrasts deeply with the polysynthetic-agglutinative nature of Quechua where meaning-production is mostly word-internal.

⁴ The church allegedly dates from the seventeenth century. See Fig. 1.

⁵ See, for example, Needham 1973 on similar structures in other cultures.

ethnographic fieldwork in Mangas, notes (1998:32) how the division is not necessarily based on physical location, but is largely construed through kin relations; likewise, the designation of “high” and “low” districts does not refer to physical altitude so much as the ascribed origin of each group—an issue discussed in more detail later in the essay. The two districts compete to construct the church roof more quickly than their counterpart and engage in a mock bullfight at the end, but they also exchange goods in an expression of solidarity. This interplay of complementarity and opposition is the chief focus of this essay.



Fig. 1. The seventeenth-century church in Mangas, focus of the Masha festival.
Photo by Charles Maurice Pigott.

The songs of the Masha festival are traditionally performed by a female singer termed *awayaq*, which perhaps derives from the Ancash Quechua verb *away* (“to weave”).⁶ The *awayaq* is accompanied by an *orquesta* (“orchestra”), comprising harp, violin, and drum players. The male Masha dancers attach bells to their trousers in order to accentuate the rhythm as they dance in time to the music.⁷ Every festival has two *awayaqs*, each of whom represents one half of the village. Rather than having a specific personal identity, the *awayaq* has the function of voicing salient themes at any given moment in the festival. Her songs communicate the most important aspects of each event rather than a particular, personal stance with which others might potentially disagree. The texts detailed below were sung by the *awayaq* Doña Clotilde Rojas Varillas, who was in her early seventies at the time and is of primarily indigenous heritage.⁸ I was introduced

⁶ Weaving is a principal occupation of Andean women. Moreover, Allen (2011), Arnold and Yapita (1998), Lienhard (1993), and Mannheim (1998) all suggest a close relation between textiles and poetic patterns in the Andes.

⁷ It was not possible to explore the musicological dimensions of the festival in any detail during my visit, but Masha is sure to offer a rich field of enquiry for ethnomusicologists.

⁸ Any “ethnic” classification is, however, problematic, given the mixed indigenous and Andean descent of most people and the fact that few people in Mangas would identify themselves along ethnic lines.

to Doña Clotilde by Beatriz Arcayo, a local schoolteacher who greatly facilitated my research in the village. Doña Clotilde sang the songs in Beatriz's house, during which time I transcribed the texts. I then asked Doña Clotilde to repeat the songs, whereby I verified my notes against Doña Clotilde's sung version.⁹ After confirming that my transcriptions were accurate, I elicited "native" interpretations from both Doña Clotilde and Beatriz, in terms of both the texts themselves and the wider context of the festival. Thus, my data came from the memory of a recent (but not, at that moment, active) tradition. Doña Clotilde explained to me that there was no single, "correct" version of the songs since the texts were malleable enough to communicate *ad hoc* events occurring in the immediate context. Nonetheless, the verses all pertained to salient themes during the festival, thereby conforming to a single "blueprint."¹⁰ Doña Clotilde did not define each song in terms of a particular genre, or even give a title. Instead, she explained the location of each song in relation to the overall festival. I have followed an emic lead and deployed Doña Clotilde's temporal categorization as a title.

As with many other Andean traditions, Masha seems to be declining; the festival had not been realized for two years prior to my visit.¹¹ The reasons are complex, but it is likely that the traditional festivals are seen as less and less relevant to modern generations, who are increasingly mobile and are experiencing a greater cultural "shift" towards Creole norms, not least through the influence of modern media and contact with urban environments. There were, however, rumors that the festival may recommence in the near future, and I am hesitant to classify Masha as already extinct. Therefore, my deployment of the present tense in this essay is not to be read as an example of the fallacious "ethnographic present," but as a desire not to bury the festival prematurely, which would risk being both inaccurate and unethical. Nonetheless, from the standpoint of my visit there, Masha conformed to what Foley has termed "Voices from the Past" in that the festivals are no longer performed but are nonetheless remembered. Since in such situations, "too much remains either unknown or dependent on composite media to settle unambiguously on single options for composition, performance, and reception" (Foley 2002:50), I have focused principally on the words themselves, albeit with the contextual elucidations of Doña Clotilde and Beatriz.

I have organized this essay under the following sections: anticipation of unity (where the two halves prepare to meet), enactment of unity (the meeting of the two halves), and reinforcement of difference (the mutual separation of the two halves). While, in reality, all of the songs represent all of these issues, particular issues are more clearly represented in some songs than others. The presentation of the songs follows their chronology in the festival of Masha.

⁹ Prior to my research, there was no written record of the Masha texts, nor is there any similar text in the province. (The neighboring settlement of Gorgorillo has a Masha festival, but I was told that there are no songs.)

¹⁰ Thus, the texts are not so *ad hoc* that they cannot be recited away from the festival context (which explains why the "artificial" context of my transcription has not intruded on the texts themselves).

¹¹ At the time of my visit, the church had an aluminum roof that covered the straw on the outward side. While it is still possible to replace the straw from inside the building, the aluminum covering is perhaps a sign of the decline of the importance of Masha.

Section One: The Anticipation of Unity*Song Sung at the Start of the Festival (Day One)*

Llapan yarpanqaykitachi Tsaylla parlakuykallarqayki, parlakuykarqayki Tsayllata tantiar tantiallarqayki Mahallaywan wallqillaywan	All of your worrying You only spoke of that, spoke of it You only thought of that, thought of it With your spouse, with your companion
“Ama tsaapis, mana tsaapis” Nikyayllapachi pasarillaychi Común nunallantsik rimashllapis Pachak nunallantsik parlashllapis	You spend your time thinking “Will it come to pass, will it not come to pass?” While everyone is gossiping While a hundred people are whispering
Shuyakurllaashun Huk hankaq barriumi shuyakallaamantsik Apurayllapa papaakuna, Yusulpay varallantsikmi	We shall wait The other, mountainous district is waiting for us Make haste, fathers, Mayor
Maynachi tsaynachi ashiykaamantsik, watukaykaamantsik Yarpanqaykita tantyanqaykita Kay carguykita	Everywhere they are looking for us, they are visiting us For what you are preoccupied about, thinking about This charge of yours
Kay fiestata rurakurqayki Ishkay mahallayki parlakurqaychi rimakurqaychi, Nikyayllapachi parlakuykallarqayki	You made this festival Speaking, talking as a couple, Talking, speaking

The first verse describes the preoccupation of the *mayordomo*, the festival’s organizer: “all of your worrying” (*llapan yarpanqaykitachi*). The organizer, so the verse reveals, has been talking of nothing else but the festival. His main interlocutor on this subject has been his wife—*mahallaywan wallqillaywan* (“with your spouse, with your companion”). The mentioning of *maha* (“partner”) and *wallqi* (“companion”) introduces another dimension of binary complementarity beyond the moiety (bipartite) division of settlements—that of complementarity between the sexes. The structural parallelism of the two near-synonyms reinforces the binary division. Here, the unity between husband and wife results in the creation of the festival, which would have been impossible without this synthesis. Several scholars have noted the importance of gender-complementarity in the Andes, both past and present. Silverblatt (1980:154) notes how

in Incan society, for instance, “male and female occupations—defined as interdependent and complementary activities—were conceptualized as forming the basic unit of labor required for the reproduction of Andean society.” The regenerative function of sexual complementarity was incorporated into the state religion, where the principal deity, Wiraqocha, was androgynous (159). Silverblatt argues that “these forces stemming from the interplay between the model’s male and female constituent parts were conceptualized as creating the driving energies of the universe” (159). Indeed, this fusion of the sexes in Incan religion is unsurprising if we see ideology as intimately linked with survival. Commenting on the modern Andes, Harris states that “it is the fruitful cooperation between woman and man as a unity, which produces culture, and which is opposed to the single person as a-cultural; culture is based on duality” (1986:25, my translation). This cooperation is arguably what is conveyed by the lines in this song, whereby the festival can only be engendered through fruitful collaboration between the *mayordomo* and his wife. In the phrase *mahallaywan wallqillaywan*, the suffixes *-lla* and *-y* both emphasize the affective nature of this relationship. A principal function of the suffix *-lla* is to convey emotional approximation and a sense of empathy; the suffix *-y* has a similar function, but it can also act as a possessive, thereby conveying all the more strongly the sense of a single sphere of relations. The fact that this relationship of gender complementarity is grounded on pragmatic considerations, yet reinforced through affective use of language, suggests that there is no separation between “affective” and “pragmatic” domains of existence for the authors of this verse. Rather than being incompatible, the “affective” and “pragmatic” are mutually oriented towards productive ends.

The second verse begins with the clause “*Ama tsaapis, mana tsaapis*” / *Nikyayllapachi pasarillaychi* (“You spend your time thinking / ‘Will it come to pass, will it not come to pass?’”), which follows the typical head-final word-order of Quechua whereby what is quoted precedes the verb that marks the quoted speech (hence my English translation is the inverse of the Quechua). Beatriz Arcayo explained the meaning of the clause thus: if everyone makes an effort, the festival should be a success, whereas if they do not, it will not be. Therefore, the success of the festival depends on the extent to which people are willing to join together and cooperate. Beatriz’s explanation suggests that unity is not pre-given, never guaranteed, but requires personal and communal effort for it to be realized. The final two lines of the verse nonetheless convey a latent sense of community that can be actualized if people are willing to do so: *Común nunallantsik rimashllapis / Pachak nunallantsik parlashllapis* (“While everyone is gossiping / While a hundred people are whispering”). The term *nuna*, or *runa*, “refers to person in a general sense, conveying in a broad sweep the condition of humanity while at the same time having the potential descriptively to qualify the many sub-categories of the particular reference group,” meaning also “member of one’s particular community” (Skar 1994:200). Thus, the word here indicates an undifferentiated mass of people with the latent potential to form a single community, an idea further emphasized by the use of *común* (“common”) and *pachak* (“hundred”), words that both convey unity through diversity. Additionally, the suffix *-ntsik* (used twice in these lines) is first person plural possessive (“our”). Quechua, unlike English or Spanish, has two first person plural (“we”) categories. The inclusive category (*noqantsik*) includes the speaker as well as the addressee as part of the referenced group; the exclusive category (*noqakuna*) includes the speaker and other people, but not the addressee. The suffix *-ntsik* pertains to the inclusive category. There is, however, no external “possessed” object in this verse; instead, the people

“possess” each other. Thus, rather than viewing this suffix in terms of true “possession” (which suggests hierarchy), we can read it as depicting a sphere of common relations, where everyone has latent bonds with everyone else. This function of *-ntsik* is reinforced by the affective *-lla* that precedes it. Given that the unity is only latent and not yet actual (the success of the festival is not yet guaranteed, with people still arriving), we can read these two lines as more enactive than descriptive. The language, rather than being separate from the action, functions as a catalyst for the unfolding of the event. Accordingly, the emphasis on speech, realized through the two near-synonyms (*rima-* and *parla-*) for the verb “talk, speak,” highlights the communicative basis of unity, while the multiplicity of people is conveyed by *-pis* (“too, also”), reinforcing the sense of unity in diversity.

The third verse introduces the notion of an external community: *Shuyakurllaashun / Huk hankaq barriumi shuyakallaamantsik* (“We shall wait / The other, mountainous district is waiting for us”). This verse refers to the bipartite division of Mangas, specifically the “higher” Allawkay.¹² According to Beatriz, the populations of the two districts would meet in the center of the village during the festival and, in earlier renditions, young men and women would choose their husbands and wives. A key term in this verse is *huk* (“other”). This term conveys the fact that the two halves of the village are separate. However, this does not imply an unbreachable divide in the way that the word *wakin* (also meaning “other”) would. The term *huk* is also the number “one” and serves to stress the wholeness of an entity rather than its marginality; a more appropriate translation might therefore be “the other,” “an-other,” or “one more.” Thus, the term *huk*, while stressing difference, conveys the possibility of the two entities becoming linked in meaningful ways. We can see *huk* as the principle of unity, whereby in Hegelian fashion two *huks* form a larger *huk* that can in turn be decomposed into *ishkay* (“two”) separate *huks* in their own right. This principle is suggested by the following observation in relation to a southern Peruvian village (Allen 1988:85): “While each man and woman is a complete individual with both male and female qualities, the two unite to form another individual of a higher order: a *warmi-qari*, the nucleus of the household.” Arguably, the communication of this synthetic process is enhanced by the parallel structure of the verses here. For instance, we have already seen this parallelism in *Mahallaywan wallqillaywan* (“With your spouse, with your companion”) as well as *Común nunallantsik rimashllapis / Pachak nunallantsik parlashllapis* (“While everyone is gossiping / While a hundred people are whispering”). As Mannheim states (1998:267), Quechua poetic parallelism facilitates a “cognitive focus on commonalities and specific differences” that do not exist as inherent relations but rather as strategic connections whose pragmatic value can be reaffirmed or negated by changing contexts. Lienhard (1993:93) and Husson (1985:352) argue that Quechua parallelism is linked to a general cultural orientation toward dualism. However, while parallelism is a useful means of conveying dualism, it does not entail a dualistic worldview. Indeed, it is a common poetic device in widely varying cultures around the globe. Nonetheless, the moiety division of towns, the emphasis on male/female unity, and perhaps, in this context, the semantic parallelism are all examples of what in Quechua 2 is referred to as *yanantin* or *iskaynintin* (Urton 1997:78): “The terms *yanantin* and *iskaynintin*

¹² We know, therefore, that the singer, Doña Clotilde, positions herself in the “lower” district of Kotos.

represent what we could call imperative forces that ‘urge’ the linkage of things considered to have a natural, complementary relationship to each other.”

The complementarity between Kotos and Allawkay is reflected in the two uses of the first person (inclusive) plural category (“we”) in combination with the verbal root *shuya-* (“wait”). Thus, the word *shuyakurllaashun* contains the first person (inclusive) future form *-shun* (“we shall wait”); likewise, *shuyakallaamantsik* contains the first person (inclusive) object-marker *-ma . . . ntsik* (“to us”) so that the whole word reads “waits for us.” The first word denotes Kotos people waiting for Allawkay people, while the second word denotes the converse. Thus, each half waits for the other half. The final lines of the verse, *Apurayllapa papaakuna / Yusulpay varallantsikmi* (“Make haste, fathers, / Mayor”), refer to the fact that each of the two districts has its own *Yusulpay vara* or *alcalde* (“mayor”) for the festival, whose role is to oversee the festival and provide food and drink to the community. The *alcalde* of Kotos is urged, along with the other authorities, to make haste so that they may join their counterparts from Allawkay. The fact that there is no single organizer of the festival—indeed the responsibilities are divided equally between the two districts—again illustrates the complementarity that is generated through opposition.

The fourth verse is once more addressed to the organizers: *Maynachi tsaynachi ashiykaamantsik, watukaykaamantsik / Yarpanqaykita tanyanqaykita / Kay carguykita* (“Everywhere they are looking for us, they are visiting us / For what you are preoccupied about, thinking about / This charge of yours”). The phrase *Maynachi tsaynachi* (“everywhere”) consists of *may* (“where”), *tsay* (“there”), temporal *-na* (“already”), and the evidential marker *-chi* (evidentiality is a grammatical category in Quechua that indicates relative degrees of certainty). The beginning of this verse serves to show, then, that people are coming from all directions, “looking for” (*ashiy*) and “visiting” (*watukay*) the group. The group is again defined by the object construction of *-ma . . . ntsik* (the inclusive plural “us”). The boundaries of the group—precisely who is included and who is not—are nonetheless more difficult to ascertain here (does the group comprise just the speaker and the authorities, or Kotos, or the whole village?), but it is likely that the group is no longer defined by its opposition to Allawkay, for otherwise people would probably be coming from a specific direction rather than described as acting *Maynachi tsaynachi* (“everywhere”). The fact that the original location of the visitors is ill-defined is highlighted by the evidential marker *-chi*, which denotes doubt and uncertainty. Furthermore, the temporal suffix *-yka* indicates continuous action, serving to highlight both the act of traveling a long way and the number of people who are continuously arriving. The end of the verse makes it clear that people are arriving for the purpose of the festival: *Yarpanqaykita tanyanqaykita* (“For what you are preoccupied about, thinking about”), and the responsibility of the organizers for making the festival a success is emphasized in the final line: *Kay carguykita* (“[For] this charge of yours”), referring to the authorities’ role in bringing the festival to fruition. The adjective *kay* (“this”) emphasizes the present location as the center to which people are gravitating, and also the immediacy of the authorities’ responsibility. This responsibility is stressed in the final verse: *Kay fiestata rurakurqayki* (“You made this festival”). It is clear, then, who is to be acclaimed if the festival is a success, and who is to be blamed if it is not! That the accomplishment of the festival was not a solitary affair, however, is reinforced in the rest of the final verse: *Ishkay mahallayki parlakurqaychi rimakurqaychi / Nikyayllapachi parlakuykallarqayki* (“Speaking,

talking as a couple / Talking, speaking”). Gender complementarity is once again stressed, illustrated by the number *ishkay* (“two”) followed by *mahallayki* (“your partner”). Romero defines *maha* as “companion, partner, counterpart” (2003:121, my translation); as in several other examples in this song, the focus is on productive unity between two equal halves. And it is this process of combination of complementary elements that leads to productivity and creativity engendering the festival, which in turn unites Kotos and Allawkay. The dialogical base of this cooperation is indicated by three verbal roots concerning speech: *parla-* (“speak, talk”), *rima-* (“speak, talk”), and *nikya-* (“say, tell”).

This song has depicted the interplay of unity and difference chiefly through the following examples:

- gender complementarity indicated by *maha* (“partner”) and *wallqi* (“companion”)
- the suggestion that unity is a prerequisite to production, in *Ama tsaapis, mana tsaapis / Nikyayllapachi pasarillaychi* (“You spend your time thinking / ‘Will it come to pass, will it not come to pass?’”)
- the latent potential for unity in multiplicity, conveyed by *Común nunallantsik rimashllapis / Pachak nunallantsik parlashllapis* (“While everyone is gossiping / While a hundred people are whispering”)
- the word *huk* (“other”) in *huk barriu* (“other district”), which implies complementarity in difference, the synthesis of a Hegelian whole
- the interplay between *shuyakurllaashun* (“we [inclusive] shall wait”) and *shuyakallaamantsik* (“waits for us”), whereby the two districts parallel each other’s actions, also reflected in the fact that there are two organizers—one from each half—and two singers
- the focus on communication in the verbal roots *parla-* (“speak, talk”), *rima-* (“speak, talk”), and *nikya-* (“say, tell”)
- semantic parallelism, whereby potential relations between concepts are foregrounded through their structural juxtaposition



Fig. 2. The church’s straw roof, which is traditionally replaced every year. Photo by Charles Maurice Pigott.

Section Two: The Enactment of Unity

Arrival of the Grandfather and Black Man (Day Three)

This song describes the arrival of the *awelitu* (“grandfather”) and *rukya* (“black man”), who symbolize Allawkay and Kotos respectively and are enacted by a member of the corresponding district. The *awelitu* descends from a location above Allawkay, while the *rukya* ascends from a place below Kotos.

Hirkapita aywallaamun	From the hills is coming
Awelituntsik kay costumbrellantsikta	Our grandfather, to this custom of ours
Cada watallan kay cargullantsikman	Every year, to this charge of ours
Kay fiestallantsikman	To this festival of ours
Kanan hunaqlla aywaykamun	Today is coming
Rukyanashllantsikqa	Our black man
Qeshpikaamun, Huacho markapita	He is appearing, from the town of Huacho
Yunka markapita	From the coast
Pescado cargallachi	Carrying fish
Vino cargallachi	Carrying wine
Aywallaamun	He is coming
Kay costumbrillantsikchi	To this custom of ours
Kay nillapachi	Saying so
Yarpay shonqullachi aywakyaamun	He of mindful heart is coming
Rukyanashllantsikqa	Our black man

The first verse begins with a statement of the *awelitu*'s arrival: *Hirkapita aywallaamun / Awelituntsik kay costumbrellantsikta* (“From the hills is coming / Our grandfather, to this custom of ours”), before describing the cyclical nature of the event: *Cada watallan kay cargullantsikman / Kay fiestallantsikman* (“Every year, to this charge of ours / To this festival of ours”). Again there is abundant use of the first person (inclusive) possessive *-ntsik*. But this time it is also applied to the *cargu* (“charge”), which in the previous song was *cargullayki* (“your charge,” with second-person possessive *-yki*). Thus, from the initial implication that the festival is entirely the organizers’ responsibility, there is now a progression to stating that it is *everyone’s* responsibility. This movement reflects the fact that in the previous song people were in the process of arriving, whereas now almost everyone has arrived. Therefore, a single community is physically present, where before it was still in the process of becoming consolidated. Now that the people are here, it is up to everyone to determine whether the two halves can unite in turn. The phrase *cada watallan* (“every year”) stresses the cyclical nature of the festival, suggesting that *cargullantsik* (“our charge”) is built on a series of acts of relational approximation. Thus, the solidarity that emerges as people arrive at the festival does not emerge from a vacuum, though neither is it automatically produced if people are unwilling to engage. As Stobart states for the

Bolivian Andes (2006:89), “the annual repetition of the various musical genres, each connected to and creating a particular context, also instills a sense of history and serves as an important mode through which cultural knowledge and sensibilities are both grasped and transmitted.” The use of the first person (inclusive) possessive *-ntsik* in *costumbrellantsik* (“our custom”) and *fiestallantsik* (“our festival”) conveys not just that the festival is “of the group,” but also that the group derives “from the festival,” given that the nature of the festival is that of people joining together in some form of unity. It is, moreover, already obvious that this is a festival of people in Mangas (rather than elsewhere); thus, the addition of the possessive suffix is not strictly necessary, suggesting that it serves a phatic purpose of enacting unity through expressing it.

The second verse describes the arrival of the *rukya*¹³ (“black man”) *yunka markapita* (“from the coast”), or more specifically *Huacho markapita* (“from the town of Huacho”). This arrival is narrated in fascinating contrast to that of the *awelitu* in the first verse, who descends from the mountains. The *rukya* is described as *Pescado cargallachi / Vino cargallachi* (“Carrying fish / Carrying wine”). The *awelitu* arrives with straw, *machka* (“flour”), and *sango* (*machka* with water and fat added), whereas the *rukya* arrives with fish, wine, or *chicha* (a mildly alcoholic beverage made from fermented maize); the products carried by the *awelitu* are not specifically mentioned in the verse, but Beatriz explained that this is indeed what happens during the festival. Thus, the theme of reciprocity is played out between the two halves of the village, who meet and exchange goods. The reciprocity, however, is not limited to the confines of the village itself. Rather, Mangas becomes a microcosm of the relations that have linked the highlands with the coast for millennia: the *rukya* is first described as coming from Huacho, a city on the coast, and later as from the *yunka*, a general term for the coastal regions; the *awelitu* was described as coming *hirkapita* (“from the hills”). The products carried by the *rukya* and *awelitu* are also typical of their respective regions. This communal depiction of the exchange of products between coast and mountains relates closely to Núñez’s theory that from 8000 BCE there was significant trade between coastal and mountain populations, with the former traveling to the Andes in search of camelids (llamas, alpacas, and vicuñas) and the latter traveling to the coast in search of the abundant maritime harvests (Núñez 1962, cited in Kolata 1993:56-57). Somewhere around the fourth millennium BCE, domestication of camelids made food-production more reliable, which resulted in more organized interaction between the two ecosystems, with camel caravans following well-defined routes between coast and mountains along a network of villages that followed the streams flowing down from the Andes (57). This network was probably established through kin relations between traders, since only this kind of arrangement could ensure that on arrival they would be given food and shelter as well as guaranteed trade (57).

Another—not incompatible—theory, that of Duviols, may also shed light on the origin of the practice depicted in Masha. Duviols (1973:176) postulates that the division of many Andean townships into two halves (moiety) resulted from tensions created by the incursion of nomadic herding groups (Llacuaces) into the territory of sedentary agriculturalists (Waris). The solution

¹³ According to Beatriz, the *rukya* depicts the Africans who were brought as slaves to work on plantations along the coast. Beatriz described the *awelitu* (“grandfather”) as a *brujo* (“witch,” a Spanish rendering of *yachaq* [“holder of divinatory powers”]). Thus, each figure can be interpreted as an ancestral symbol of the moiety that they represent.

was to divide the land clearly into two halves, with each half managed by one group: the higher land would be controlled by the herders, with the lower land comprising the domain of the agriculturalists (178). The system was maintained by each group having rights of access to the commodities produced by the other group. In Kolata's words (1993:102), "conflict was prevented by creating a dynamic, although potentially unstable, social organization with community authority invested equally in the two moiety leaders." The theories of both Núñez and Duviols link closely with what we observe in the words of the Masha songs. Núñez's explanation is highly consistent with the clear emphasis on trade between coast and mountain in the song. The fact that the *awelitu* and *rukyaana* are counterparts of each other strongly resembles Núñez's theory of kin-like relations between traders. The meeting between Kotos and Allawkay, as well as the exchange of products typical of different ecosystems, can be explained in terms of the complementarity between higher and lower lands as described by Duviols.¹⁴ Indeed, Burga (1998:40) has also explained the division in Mangas according to Duviols' theory. Thus, whereas Núñez's theory offers a plausible explanation for the reciprocity between coast and mountain that is mentioned in the song, Duviols offers an interesting perspective on the division of the village into two halves. Barth also notes how ethnicity can be maintained through ecological interdependence, whereby different groups "may provide important goods and services for each other, i.e. occupy reciprocal and therefore different niches but in close interdependence" (1969:19).

In the theories of both Núñez and Duviols, the stress is on unity between distinct elements with the fundamental motive of survival. As Urton (1981:231) states for elsewhere in the Andes, "it is the dialectical relationship between communalism and differentiation which, in the first place, motivates work by everyone in the community on certain tasks but which at the same time insists that such tasks should be performed by people working in their different *ayllu* [community] groupings." The unity that results from this ecologically motivated process of approximation and differentiation is expressed in the current song by the first person (inclusive) possessive suffix *-ntsik*, which is deployed both for the *awelitu* ("grandfather") and for the *yana* ("black man"). Whereas this suffix denoted only Kotos affiliation in the earlier song, here it denotes affiliation with both districts, which have now come together as a single unit. A single community is therefore enacted through the shifting denotations of the same possessive suffix. Here we see clearly how the Quechua possessive, rather than conveying hierarchical "ownership," serves in these songs to define a sphere of relations that are realized for productive ends. The evidential suffix *-chi* conveys the sense of expectation, but not certainty, that the *rukyaana* will be bringing the commodities mentioned. The lack of certainty arguably reminds us that the world of the high Andes is capricious and that even the most seemingly predictable of circumstances cannot be guaranteed—hence the importance of conscientiously reaffirming relations to actualize them out of latency. The directional *-mu*, conveying movement towards the speaker, exemplifies the process of forming unity through increasing approximation. We witness this suffix in *aywaykaamun* ("is coming") and *qeshpikaamun* ("is appearing to us"). The locus of the opposition, the point of origin that gives the movement its relational meaning, is the suffix

¹⁴ While Kotos is physically higher than Allawkay, it is associated with lower lands because its flat terrain is more suitable for agriculture than the technically lower, but steeper, Allawkay.

-pita (“from”) in the two instances of *markapita* (“from the town/country/land of”). The fact that this approximation is latent but not always actual is emphasized by the phrase *kanan hunaqlla* (“today”), where the suffix *-lla* could be interpreted as both affective and limitative (“only today”).

The third verse begins by emphasizing once again the theme of relational approximation, in this case through the word *aywallaamun* (“is arriving”). The coming together of the group by virtue of custom and the existence of the custom by virtue of the willingness to unite are reinforced by the possessive in *kay costumbrillantsikchi* (“this custom of ours”). The line *kay nillapachi* (“saying this”)—from the verbal root *-ni* (“say”)—could refer to either the speech of the *rukyaana* who states that he is coming or that of the villagers who comment on his arrival. The threefold repetition of the evidential *-chi* again conveys an element of uncertainty—that he is expected to be arriving but it is not known for sure. I have translated the phrase *yarpay shonqullachi* as “mindful heart,” the “heart” being the principal denotation of *shonqu*. However, the seventeenth-century chronicler González Holguín suggests a much wider interpretation: “The heart and entrails, the stomach and consciousness, judgement and reason, memory, the core of wood, wilfulness and understanding” (González Holguín 1952 [1608], quoted in Husson 1985:111, my translation). Mannheim (1986:51, n.14) suggests that “essence” might be a better translation. For Montes, *chuyma*—the cognate of *shonqu* in Aymara (another major Andean language)—denotes “heart and everything that pertains to the inner state of the soul, emotion, sensibility, effort, judgement, understanding, knowledge, intelligence, memory, wisdom, disposition, and attitude” (Montes 1986:165, paraphrased in Gutiérrez Condori and Gutiérrez Condori 2009:40, my translation). *Shonqu*, then, combines the emotional and the rational, incorporating the pragmatic and affective nature of community whose basis is physical and psychological security.

The conflation of these two qualities is exemplified by the verb *yarpay* (“mindful”). The term *yarpay* reflects a sense of emotional engagement as well as moral responsibility, intertwined in the act of “remembering.” As Howard notes (2002:29-30):

Remembering in the Andes (*yarpary* in Quechua I; *yuyary* in Quechua II) is a culturally vital activity involving not only the telling of stories but also the performance of rituals and participation in festivals. Forgetting (*qunqay*), by contrast, is the way that neglect of social and ritual obligations is described, and it is punishable in the form of sickness, crop failure, even death.

Thus, the phrase *yarpay shonqullachi* communicates the sense that the *rukyaana* both cognitively acknowledges and emotionally feels his responsibility to, and integration with, the community.¹⁵ This mindfulness reflects the age-old cooperation between the two halves, who base their complementarity on reciprocal engagement with the common aim of survival. This situation again recalls Howard in that the “cultural function of remembering in Andean ways of thinking is a regenerative one, whereby the past provides the symbolic resources for making sense of the present and projecting toward the future, in a way that allows at once for continuity and

¹⁵ The emotional element is also reinforced by the affective *-lla*.

change” (46). Thus, in *yarpay shonqullachi*, we see the inseparability of the pragmatic, emotional, and ethical, all orientated towards the fundamental goal of survival, a goal that is realized through reciprocal complementarity: unity in diversity. Münzel similarly notes the fusion of the “pragmatic” and the “ethical” among Amazonian groups (1986:196). But the dubitative *-chi* reminds us that this unity is not guaranteed and therefore requires care and willingness for it to be maintained.

Arrival of People from Lima

The following verse is from a song that describes the arrival of the organizers’ relatives from the national capital, Lima. Migration is a ubiquitous feature of contemporary Andean life, as people seek better opportunities in the coastal cities. This migration usually involves a cultural shift towards Hispanic norms, including loss of Quechua in favor of Spanish. The scale of the migration is indicated by the following statistics: in 1940, 35% of Peruvians lived in cities, 65% in rural areas; by 1982 these figures were reversed (von Gleich 1992:59). The following verse primarily concerns the reincorporation of migrants into their community of origin. The common cultural estrangement of migrants probably renders this reincorporation a particularly pertinent issue.

Kayllaqa nunalla	This person
“Mamallayki taytallayki	While saying
Rikyapaymushaq rirqapaymushaq”	“I will see
Nikyayllapashi aywaykaamun	Your mother, your father”
Capital markallapita	Is coming
Yarqarallaamunaq	From the capital
Vinollan cargashqalla	Carrying his wine
Licornin apashqallapashi	Transporting his liquor
Aywaykyaamun	He is coming

The first line defines the new arrival as *kayllaqa nunalla* (“this man”). We saw that the term *nuna* (“man, person”) is usually deployed for people from one’s own community; thus, its use here arguably conveys willingness to reincorporate this person into the group, reinforced by the two affective *-lla* suffixes. The adjective *kay* (“this”), normally used only for immediate objects or people, suggests a desire to welcome this person who is still on his way, as made clear by the last line: *aywaykyaamun* (“is coming”). The topicalizer *-qa* highlights the sense of immediacy conveyed by *kay*. The lines *mamallayki taytallayki / rikyapaymushaq rirqapaymushaq* (“I will see, I will see / your mother, father”) are quoted speech, indicated by the following word *nikyayllapashi* (“while saying”).¹⁶ The citation of the arrival’s speech confirms his increasing approximation and his entering into the sphere of communication and reciprocity, both of which index and further facilitate his reincorporation into the community. We do not know whom the traveler is addressing, but the important point is that he is anticipating renewing

¹⁶ Again, this verse follows Quechua head-final word-order whereby quoted speech precedes the verb that indexes it, just as the object precedes the verb.

a relation with people in Mangas. Within the quoted speech, the directional *-mu* (movement towards the speaker) indicates a metaphorical, emotional approximation towards the community. The word *nikyayllapashi* contains the evidential marker *-shi*, which indicates third-hand “knowledge.” There is therefore still a degree of doubt about whether the quoted speech is accurate, but the very fact that someone has reported it suggests that a relation has already been formed. The traveler is described as *Capital markallapita / Yarqarallaamunaq* (“From the Capital / He left”), which alludes to his current abode in Lima. The suffix *-naq* in *yarqarallaamunaq* (“left for here”) indicates action completed in the past. This suffix is generally used for far-off, unwitnessed events, such as occur in myths or legends. Here, this suffix seems to emphasize the (cultural as well as physical) remoteness of Lima. The suffix also conveys the sense that the individual is following the practice of a long tradition with its origins in the remote past—as is indeed the case, given the millennia of trade between coast and mountains. Here, reciprocity is emphasized through the parallel lines *Vinollan cargashqalla / Licornin apashqallapashi* (“Carrying his wine / Transporting his liquor”). In the Andes, migrants who return temporarily to their community are expected to bring gifts that are impossible to find in the villages. This act is a way of reinforcing communal ties. Therefore, this song reaffirms the age-old tradition of reciprocity between mountain and coast in terms of the modern context of urban migration, where reciprocity—whether communicative, emotional, or material—is the vehicle of reintegration. Difference is therefore both a factor to be overcome partially by unity and also a facilitator of such unity: if the migrant had never left Mangas, he would not need to become reincorporated into the community, yet his access to commodities not found in Mangas is an essential factor in his reincorporation. Likewise, if Kotos and Allawkay were not perceived as distinct, there would be no rationale in the Masha festival (which brings them together). But their mutual acts of unity rely precisely on the reinforcement of their differences through complementary reciprocity.

The following examples of unity and difference were salient in this section:

- the transformation from *cargullayki* (“your charge”) in the song depicted in Section One to *cargullantsik* (“our [inclusive] charge”) in the first song of Section Two, which both expresses the concomitant formation of unity and catalyzes its further consolidation
- the phrase *cada watallan* (“every year”), which depicts the cyclical nature of the festival whereby productive relations are latent and require mutual willingness to be reactivated
- the shift in the denotation of the first person (inclusive) plural suffix *-ntsik*, from just one half of the village (in Section One) to the whole village (in Section Two), which both describes and enacts the synthesis between the two districts
- the reciprocity between the *rukyaana* (“black man”) and the *awelitu* (“grandfather”), who thereby partially reinforce and partially negate their mutual distinctness
- the mapping of this duality onto the relations of mountain/coast, Kotos/Allawkay, and rural/urban, which each convey a productive, pragmatic rationale for unity

- the interplay of directional *-mu* (“towards”) and locative *-pita* (“from”), which exemplifies the process of forming unity through increasing approximation

Section Three: The Reinforcement of Difference

The Bullfight (Penultimate Day)

The next song is performed during a mock bullfight at the end of the festival. Each district constructs a model of a bull, and these models are both placed in the center of the town-square. (The division between Kotos and Allawkay runs through the square.) The members of each district then fight against members of the corresponding district, with the men actively engaging in combat while the women throw objects to hit the men of the opposing group. At the end of the fight, each side states that it has won, but there is never an adjudicated winner. As Burga states, the bullfight serves to “ritualize this ancient opposition, of antagonism and complementarity, between Waris and Llacuaces [the agriculturalists and herders, respectively]” (1998:103, my translation). This song depicts the Andean practice of *tinku*,¹⁷ or ritualized warfare (Harrison 1989:52): “A pan-Andean phenomenon, *tinkuy* consists of a ritual battle between groups of men (and often groups of women) which may result in deaths.” A wider definition, however, is the “convergence of oppositional forces” (Seligmann 2004:131) in a spirit of cooperation and competition. Stobart (2006:140) notes how “*tinku* has been widely associated with the definition and maintenance of balanced relations, especially the dialectical dualism or ‘charged diametricality’ of the *ayllu* [Andean community]. . . . In this context the word *tinku* emerges as a form of ‘violent harmony.’” The further implications of *tinku* will become apparent in my discussion below.

Alli toromi torollaaqa	My bull is a strong bull
Allawkinupa torullaaqa	The bull of an <i>allauquino</i>
Paja castillo michikoq toru torum	My bull is a bull that eats tough straw
torullaaqa	My bull is a bull that eats the flowers of
Oqshapa tuktunta michikoq toru torum	<i>oqsha</i>
torullaaqa	It lives in Qeqishpunta
Qeqishpuntachawmi taarakoqmi	
Alli torupa tsurillanmi	The son of a strong bull
Alli vacapa wawallanmi	The son of a strong cow
Qeqishpunta chamoqllami	Arriving from Qeqishpunta
Gánalo gánalo	Defeat him, defeat him
Kotosino gana al allawkino	<i>Cotosino</i> defeats the <i>allauquino</i>

¹⁷ This concept can be expressed as both *tinku* and *tinkuy*. *Tinku* is the lexical root; in this case, the addition of the suffix *-y* serves to form a verbal infinitive (“to converge”) that, in turn, can also serve as a noun (“the act of converging”).

Kotosino échale échale
No te chupes

Give it to him, give it to him, *cotosino*
Don't chicken out

The first verse begins with a description of the bull from Allawkay: *Alli toromi torollaaqa / Allawkinupa torullaaqa* (“My bull is a strong bull / The bull of an *allauquino*”). While Doña Clotilde sang every other verse of Masha from the perspective of Kotos, this (and the following) verse is sung from the perspective of Allawkay. Perhaps the most likely explanation is that Doña Clotilde is immersing herself in the ritual context of the battle, moving from one side to the other in this “liminal” situation. This alternation would be consistent with the purpose of *tinku* as uniting through opposition and with the fact that the *awayaq*s represent different districts in different years. The verses concerning the bullfight would be uttered in a kind of “call-and-response” manner, a verbal duel between the *awayaq* who that year represented Kotos and the *awayaq* representing Allawkay.

This first verse also communicates a strong link between communal identity and strength (and therefore survival). The parallelism reinforces the correlation between being *alli* (“strong”) and being from Allawkay; the evidential *-mi* conveys emphasis and certainty, and the affective *-lla* appropriates the bull through emotional engagement, illustrating once more the intertwining of the affective and the pragmatic. The fourfold repetition of the first person singular possessive (indicated by vowel-lengthening) in *torollaaqa* (“my bull”) suggests a close link between the vitality of the bull and that of the individual—particularly given the importance of the bull for agriculture. That the “bull” is in reality a model shows that the phrase is uttered not as a statement of fact but arguably as an enactment of communal solidarity. The phrase *paja castillo michikoq* (“that which eats tough straw”) describes the bull as eating the straw used to make *castillos*, temporary architectural structures that are constructed during traditional festivals. This straw is very tough, so only the strongest of animals can eat it. Thus, the strength of the bull (and of the community which the bull represents) is emphasized. The same emphasis is present within *oqshapa tuktunta michikoq* (“that which eats the flowers of *oqsha*,” a very tough grass [*Muhlenbergia peruviana*]). The phrase *Qeqishpuntachawmi taarakoqmi* (literally, “that which lives in Qeqishpunta”) refers to the location whence the *awelitu* (“grandfather”) descends, and hence the mountain origin of Allawkay. The double evidential *-mi* is highly marked since this suffix is normally used only once in a clause; here, it seems to ground the origin of the bull more firmly, whereby strength and fertility are intertwined with Allawkay’s communal identity.

Complementary unity is then evidenced in the next verse, where the bull is defined as *Alli torupa tsurillanmi / Alli vacapa wawallanmi* (“The son of a strong bull / The son of a strong cow”). The parallel lines coincide with parallel genders, reflected in the term *toru* (“bull”) and *vaca* (“cow”). Quechua, moreover, has separate terms for “son” and “daughter,” depending on which parent is referenced. *Tsuri* refers to the father’s son, and *wawa* to the mother’s son; here too, then, gender complementarity is indexed, showing that the single entity of the “young bull” is the fusion of binary elements. Duality is also represented in the relation of “parent” to “child.” Thus, a fourfold division is presented, resulting from the combination of two dual divisions:

young against old; male against female.¹⁸ It is by virtue of this division that the bull is engendered—the reproductive unity of male and female means that the older generation creates a new one, just as in Section One the unity between husband and wife resulted in the creation of the festival, which in turn synthesized the divisions of Allawkay/Kotos, mountain/coast, and rural/urban. This process of synthesis lies at the heart of the Masha songs, where the separation between distinct elements is what allows reciprocal relations to exist and creates the dynamism necessary for the production of new elements synthesized from the interaction of the old.

The dynamic nature of entities, as communicated by the Masha verses, dialogues closely with Harrison's findings across many parts of the Andes that "the conceptualization of the contradictions and oppositions is a natural, normal manner of viewing the world. Things are not statically described but are seen as things in movement which recombine to make new wholes in meaningful juxtaposition" (1989:30). The repetition of *-mi* (the evidential denoting epistemic strength) adds force to the lines, grounding the relation between fertility and communal identity on an epistemological basis of certainty. The threefold structure of the verse also conveys the sense of a new element originating from two complementary ones. In the line *Qeqishpunta chamaqllami* ("Arriving from Qeqishpunta"), the verb *chamaq* ("arriving") projects the bull from its origin in Qeqishpunta to its destination in the main square, conveying movement and dynamism in the ontogeny of elements. And, on the main square, a new complementarity is created through antagonism, as the bull meets its counterpart from Kotos. The antagonism is paradoxically an expression of unity since the "bullfight" only makes sense if both sides share the same symbolic associations; after all, a "political confrontation can only be implemented by making the groups similar and thereby comparable" (Barth 1969:35). Allen is worth quoting at length on this point (2002:177):

Warfare of any kind expresses a group's social boundaries and is also a form of communication between the opposing groups. In *tinkuy*, one experiences an opponent's similarity to oneself as well as his or her differences. If there were no basic similarity between the combatants, they could not join in battle; but if there were no differences between them, they would not have a reason to fight. Any characteristics of the Andean *ayllu* . . . are expressed by means of the *tinku*: the *ayllu* coheres as a faction and defines its boundaries while simultaneously being incorporated into an *ayllu* of a higher order.

The Masha songs exhibit a very similar fusion of unity and difference. By antagonistically reinforcing their differences, Kotos and Allawkay define the parameters of productive exchange. Through this exchange, the districts combine to create a larger entity: Mangas. Likewise, Mirande defines the Aymara notion of *taypi* ("center") as having "a double force, centripetal and centrifugal, which allows opposites to unite without merging" (2005:364-65, my translation).

The final verse illustrates the new opposition (the fight) that results from the oppositions that created the bull in the first place (the bull and the cow). Unlike the other Masha verses, this one is in Spanish. The linguistic contrast reflects the contrast in tone—from a description of the

¹⁸ This situation recalls the fourfold division of the Incan Empire, which was named *Tawantinsuyu* ("Land of Four Quarters").

bull to the incitement of action—and the actualization of the bull’s potential. The fact that Spanish is used in more “serious,” “official” contexts means that its use here may serve to heighten the emotional tone; the contrast between the two languages may also reinforce the sense of complementary antagonism. Thus, bilingualism furnishes Andeans with extra rhetorical resources (Julca-Guerrero 2009:69): “Both Quechua and Spanish are used in various ways, essentially to create special poetic and expressive-communicative effects.” The first three lines—*Gánalo gánalo / Kotosino gana al allawkino / Kotosino échale échale* (“Defeat him, defeat him / The *cotosino* defeats the *allawkino* / Give it to him, give it to him, *cotosino*”)—could not be a stronger depiction of antagonism.¹⁹ However, Beatriz told me that no winner is ever declared in these confrontations. Each half is, after all, equal. The focus, then, is not on victory as an ultimate goal, but on the process of interaction, the fight itself. The final line, *No te chupes* (“Don’t chicken out”), emphasizes the vitality of the fighter, specifically his courage. In the fight, we see that it is antagonism at one level (between two halves) that creates unity at another level (within each half), recalling Evans-Pritchard’s (1940) thesis on segmentary opposition among the Sudanese Nuer. However, the depiction of antagonism and unity here is more pervasive than the consolidation of one group by contrast with another. We have seen that opposition does not just unite the opposed groups *internally*, but paradoxically it unites the opposed groups *with each other* by foregrounding the difference that makes the unity productive and that also sets the dialogue in motion. As Bastien states of *nuwasi*, the Aymara cognate of *tinku*, “It is a way of uniting opposite sides in a dialectic that clearly defines and recognizes the other as well as establishes their interdependence” (1992:159).

The themes of unity and difference were evident in the following examples in this section:

- the first person possessive in *torullaaqa* (“my bull”), whereby communal strength is depicted through intimate association with the strength of the bull (where the symbolism involves a hiatus between the “group” and its “totem,” though it is arguably this hiatus that allows for a clearer, more objective—because partially externalized—appraisal of group-unity)
- the fourfold complementarity through difference in *Alli torupa tsurillanmi / Alli vacapa wawallanmi* (“The son of a strong bull / The son of a strong cow”), whereby reproductive male/female complementarity results in the production of a second generation
- the projection of this new element into a sphere of social relations in *Qeqishpunta chamoqllami* (“Arriving from Qeqishpunta”) that are mirrored by the verse’s threefold structure, thus indicating the production of a third element from the synthesis of two preceding elements

¹⁹ Incidentally, the verse also illustrates that Doña Clotilde once again positions herself from the Kotos perspective.

- the contrast between Quechua and Spanish, which indicates the creation of a new relational context (that is, the bullfight itself)
- the bullfight, which is an expression of unity as much as difference since the fight can only make sense if the two sides partake in the same “dialogue,” sharing the same communicative norms; the fact that there is no adjudicated winner shows that the focus is on the process of differentiation through interaction rather than wholesale defeat



Fig. 3. The main square of Mangas, which separates Kotos from Allawkay, and where the bullfight is enacted. Photo by Charles Maurice Pigott.

Conclusion: An Ecological Appraisal of Meaning

In this essay I have illustrated how, in a selection of Andean songs, unity is predicated as much on difference as on similarity. Taken as discrete concepts, “unity” and “difference” seem difficult to reconcile since the former suggests fusion while the latter suggests divergence. However, from the standpoint of the Masha songs, there is no contradiction because what counts as an “entity” is not a discrete and monolithic block, but a form that emerges through interaction. Here the “entity” is to be taken as a contingent manifestation, consolidated to an extent but never so consolidated that it loses touch with the environment whence it originates.²⁰

Moreover, in the Masha songs there is no division between the “physical” world and an “idealized” representation of that world in language. Instead, the language is at once expressive and enactive. The conceptual oppositions displayed in the songs (Kotos/Allawkay, coast/

²⁰ The interplay of unity and difference in Andean societies is highly redolent of the philosophical writings of Merleau-Ponty and Derrida, particularly Merleau-Ponty’s (1964) notion of *chair* (“flesh”) and Derrida’s (1967) *trace* (“trace”).

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