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Introduction

In his book *Visión histórica del Perú* (A Historical Vision of Peru) the Peruvian historian Pablo Macera (1978) dates the beginning of human presence in the middle Andes at about 20,000 BC. The supposition of such an early human occupation, difficult to explain within the context of New World prehistory, is based on datings relating to excavations conducted by MacNeish at the highland site of Pikimachay of the Pacaicasa complex near Ayacucho (cf. MacNeish 1979). These datings are now considered very controversial (cf. Rick 1988). Although Macera himself recognises the uncertain character of the 20,000 BC date, its value is more than just scientific. It acquires the character of a fictitious date, needed to express the emotional feeling of timeless antiquity often associated with Andean culture and tradition, a feeling that is best put into words by the expression *milenarismo andino* ('Andean millenarism'). It is not the cold evidence of radiocarbon datings, but the conscience of an immobile human society that clings fatalistically to age-old agricultural traditions perfectly adjusted to the formidable Andean landscape, that determines the view of the Andean intellectual until today. It is the view of a reality which has always been there, seemingly immune to the triviality of programmes aimed at modernisation and globalisation.

In the meantime, the antiquity of human settlement in the Andean region, indeed in all of South America, remains a matter of debate. The rise of sea levels at the end of the Ice Age ( $\pm$  10,000–8000 BC) may have hidden the traces of early coastal occupation. Excavations conducted by Dillehay at Monte Verde, near Puerto Montt in the south of Chile, have brought evidence of a relatively well-developed village culture that had its beginnings as early as 11,500 BC. (Dillehay 1989–97; cf. also Fiedel 1992). The inhospitable southern tip of South America at the Strait of Magellan (Fell's Cave) was inhabited about 9000 BC. When considering the linguistic evidence, the bewildering variety of mutually unrelated languages found in South America suggests a protracted, gradual process of penetration, followed by long periods of isolation. This evidence appears to be in conflict with the traditional concept of a rapid colonisation of the subcontinent by big-game hunters, associated with the Clovis horizon of the North

American plains ( $\pm$  9500 BC). For an overview of the arguments in favour of a rapid colonisation of South America after 9500 BC, see Lynch (1999).

For the Pacific side of the South American continent, the alternative of an early human penetration in a context of marine and coastal activity remains attractive to those familiar with the Andean situation, even though there is little support from archaeology. The date at which human activity throughout the Andean region becomes unequivocally visible is 9000 BC.

From a cultural point of view, the Andean civilisation initially did not lag behind the rest of the world. Its agricultural beginnings were among the oldest in the world. The site of Guitarrero cave in the Callejón de Huaylas (north-central Peru) contains evidence of plant domestication (beans, peppers) before 8000 BC (Lynch 1980; Fiedel 1992: 193). Agriculture in the Andes reached a high degree of sophistication, both in diversity of crops and in engineering techniques (terraces, raised fields, irrigation works). The Andean camelids possibly became domesticated as early as 4000 BC (evidence from Telarmachay, Junín, in central Peru; Fiedel 1992: 195). The mummification techniques of the Chinchorro fishermen of the coast near Arica in northern Chile (5000 to 1500 BC) predated those of the Egyptians (Arriaza 1995). The construction of the extensive (pre-ceramic) urban settlement of Caral-Chupacigarro, which has been excavated since 1996 near Supe in the central Peruvian coastal area, has been dated at about 2650 BC (Shady Solís 1997). Curiously, the Andean society failed to develop an indigenous writing system, a circumstance that sets it apart from other areas of civilisation elsewhere in the world.

The variety of native cultures and languages in South America, in particular in the Andes and on its eastern slopes, is remarkable even within the context of the New World. Kaufman (1990) has calculated the number of language families and genetically isolated languages in the subcontinent at 118. Recent advances in the study of historical-comparative relations have tended to reduce this number, but proposed groupings reducing the number of families mainly concern the eastern part of South America (cf. Dixon and Aikhenvald 1999). The Andean area, with its wealth of mutually unrelated languages, has remained as opaque as ever in this respect. The linguistic diversity is not only genetic; the typological distance between some of the language groups is also impressive. It suffices to have a quick look at almost neighbouring languages such as Quechua, Mochica and Harakmbut to be struck by the differences.

The historical picture is further obscured by the radical changes that have affected South America during the last five centuries of the second millennium. Scores of native languages, including entire families, have disappeared, often without leaving a trace. Others have dwindled to insignificant numbers. A few of them, including Aymara, Mapuche and Quechua, maintained a prominent position during the colonial period, partly at the cost of other languages, only to become endangered themselves

in the subsequent period. Mapuche, Muisca and Quechua acted as *linguae francae* for local tongues, which were considered obstacles to evangelisation and effective domination. Most languages, however, gave way to Spanish, the language introduced by the conquerors.

The Spanish occupation, which for the Andean region began in Panamá, the Caribbean coast of Colombia and Venezuela, and at the mouth of the River Plate, brought death and destruction for many native groups. The prosperous and numerous Cueva people of the Darien region in eastern Panamá were exterminated between 1510 and 1535, their country depopulated, given back to the jungle, and partly occupied by other native groups (Romoli 1987). Many others were forced to participate in civil wars or to join discovery parties geared at finding the legendary country of El Dorado (Hemming 1978). Epidemics of devastating dimensions swept through the continent even before the conquest. Huayna Capac, the last ruler of the undivided Inca empire, became one of their victims. After the arrival of the Europeans and during the first half of the colonial period the native population dropped dramatically. Many nations, such as the Quimbaya of the Cauca river valley in Colombia, known as the New World's most talented goldsmiths, disappeared with their languages during that period. At the same time a benign and protective colonial rule guaranteed a state of relative quietude and prosperity. During most of the colonial period widely used native languages, such as Quechua, benefited from a certain prestige and legal protection. In 1770 the new Bourbon administration headed by Charles III banned the use of the indigenous languages from his domains and started a period of effective repression (Triana y Antorveza 1987: 499–511; Mannheim 1991: 74–9). In Peru the repression gained momentum in 1781 after the unsuccessful outcome of the Indian rebellion led by Tupac Amaru II.

The independence of the South American nations was at first a new drawback for the native populations. As a last manifestation of indigenous sentiment, the act of 1816 declaring the independence of the United Provinces of Río de la Plata, the predecessor of Argentina, was printed in Tucumán both in Spanish and in Quechua. Subsequently, the linguistic and cultural rights of native South Americans were discontinued everywhere. In the more traditional areas with large indigenous populations, the hacienda system with its oppressive bondage practices reached its worst dimensions. Physical elimination by military forces or headhunters struck the Indians of Argentina, Uruguay and Chilean Tierra del Fuego, who had largely remained independent throughout the colonial period. The Araucanians of southern Chile lost their independence and integrity as a nation. The increase in the exploitation of rubber around the turn of the nineteenth century brought untold misery to the tribes of the Peruvian and Colombian rainforest, including slavery, deportation and ruthless massacres (Taussig 1987; Gray 1996).

Until the second half of the twentieth century, the attitude of the South American governments and national societies remained indifferent to the existence of the native

languages, if not overtly hostile. The survival of these languages depended on the perseverance of their speakers, occasionally with the support of sympathising groups, such as *indigenista* circles or missionaries. Only during the last decades has there been a growing awareness at the national level of the importance of the cultural and linguistic heritage and the practical consequences of a multilingual reality. It started in 1975 in Peru with the recognition of Quechua as a second national language, a measure now largely forgotten. Meanwhile, the multicultural and multilingual character of the Bolivian nation has been recognised at the official level. A strong movement of highland Indians has come to play a crucial role in Ecuadorian politics. Finally, the cultural and territorial rights of native groups have been recognised in Colombia's constitution of 1991 (see section 1.4 below). There have been several more or less successful attempts to introduce bilingual education in Bolivia, Ecuador and Peru. Needless to say, the practical elaboration of all these measures and their effectiveness still leave much to be desired.

### 1.1 The languages of the Andes

The languages of the Andes are not at all structurally similar, nor directly related, and are spoken in a huge area. Nonetheless, there are many connections between them, and they share a recent history of domination by Spanish. To us falls the task of both pointing out general traits, and doing justice to their various properties. It is only when compared to each other that their individuality emerges most clearly.

In addition, we must try to stay clear of viewing these languages as static. In *Race et histoire* (1952) Lévi-Strauss warns against viewing other civilisations as either infant or stationary. When we sit in a train, our perception of the movement of other trains depends on the direction they are travelling in, with respect to our own train.

The history of the Andes is characterised by an alternation between periods of greater communication and integration of different peoples and languages, and periods of fragmentation and individual development. For this reason we must find, on occasion, a middle perspective between the Andean region as a whole and individual languages. We have tried to establish this by describing the Andean languages grouped into different 'spheres', zones which at different points in time have functioned as single units. Within these cultural spheres, the languages have influenced each other, sometimes rather profoundly. Hence our repeated insistence on the phenomenon of language contact in the chapters that follow.

This book consists of seven chapters. In the introductory chapter we begin by sketching the geographical and the historical context in which the languages of the Andes attained their present form and use. We then turn to an overview of the linguistic and demographic situation of the Indians in each of the Andean countries, and to the history of descriptive and comparative studies of the languages of the Andes. Finally, we give a brief outline of

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the history of classificatory efforts for the Andean languages. More details are provided in chapters 2 to 6, which deal with specific regions or spheres.

Chapter 2 deals with the Chibcha Sphere, which we define as the Venezuelan Andes and Colombia, including some of the border areas of Colombia with Peru and Ecuador. In chapter 3 the Inca Sphere is discussed, roughly the area covered by the Inca empire: highland and coastal Ecuador and Peru, highland Bolivia, northern Chile and north-west Argentina. Chapter 4 deals with the eastern slopes of the Andes and the upper Amazon basin in Ecuador, Peru and Bolivia, and some information on the Gran Chaco area of Argentina, Bolivia and Paraguay will be included. Chapter 5 is dedicated to the Araucanian Sphere: the Chilean coast and highlands and part of south-central Argentina. Chapter 6 treats the languages of Tierra del Fuego and adjacent Patagonia.

Chapter 7, finally, deals with the non-Indian languages, primarily Spanish, but also Afro-Hispanic survivals, as well as Amerindian contact vernaculars. In addition, policies of bilingual education and language maintenance are surveyed.

Language contact in the Andes has taken several forms. First, we find the use of specific lexical items (e.g. the Quechua word *waranqa* ‘thousand’ or reflexes of Quechua *atawa/pa* ‘chicken’, ‘rooster’) in a wide variety of languages, many of which have never been in direct contact with the language of source. This suggests extensive and, as Nordenskiöld (1922) argues, sometimes fairly rapid transmission, over a wide area.

Second, we find cases of intense lexical influence from either a demographically or a culturally dominant language, as in the case of Mapuche influence on Günuna Küne in Argentina, or Quechua influence on Amuesha on the Andean foothills in Peru.

Third, there is evidence of highly complex patterns of long-term convergence, interference and mutual lexical influence in the contact between languages of the Aymaran and Quechuan families. The contact has been so intense in this case that for a long time the two families were thought to be directly related. We will address the question whether the situation of Aymara and Quechua is unique in South America, or whether there are other cases of intense mutual influence as well.

Fourth, there are documented patterns of language mixture through relexification, e.g. in the case of Media Lengua in Ecuador and the Callahuaya in Bolivia, a group of itinerant herbal curers, who used a sort of secret language with elements of Puquina and Quechua.

Fifth, a phenomenon frequently observed is the fusion of the remnants of a tribe that has been decimated in number with another more vigorous tribe. Under the protection of their new social environment such tiny groups may preserve a language for generations, and only gradually adopt the dominant language, as in the Chiquitano area in Bolivia.

Finally, the Indian languages of the Andes have responded in different ways to the pressures from Spanish, from incidental lexical borrowing, through convergence and relexification, to shift and substrate.

In the chapters to follow these different types of contact will be explored in some detail.

## 1.2 Physical description

The Andes – or, more properly speaking, the Cordilleras de los Andes – constitute a mountain range about 7,000 kilometres long. They stretch all along the west coast of South America, from near Caracas to Cape Horn. On the average, the Andes are 400 kilometres wide, but at the twentieth parallel, at the altitude of Bolivia, over 900 kilometres. Steep on the western or Pacific side, the Andes are flanked by lower ridges on the eastern side, providing a more gradual transition to the Amazon and La Plata basins. In the south the Andes start out as a single ridge, but in northern Chile they split up into several ridges, enclosing the widening *altiplano* (high plain) of Bolivia and southern Peru. Through northern Peru and Ecuador there are two ranges, with a valley in between. In southern Colombia these join again before fanning out over this country in three separate cordilleras, the easternmost of which reaches into Venezuela. The Andes are a very high range, with several dozen peaks above 6,000 metres, and generally very high passes. Only the Chamaya highlands, at the border between Ecuador and Peru, provide an easy passage from the Amazon basin to the Pacific, as Raymond (1988: 281) points out, providing the opportunity for tropical forest/coastal plain contacts starting in early prehistory.

For our purposes, the physical characteristics of the Andes are important for a number of reasons. First of all, because of their inhospitable character they have provided zones of refuge for numerous indigenous groups. We have but to compare Bolivia, where both remote mountainous regions and inaccessible Andean foothill areas have provided niches for Indian languages, with the Argentinian plains, where widely spread Indian groups were destroyed by the regular Argentinian army in the nineteenth century, to realise the effect that the physical environment has in this respect. The linguistic and cultural zones of refuge exist both where extremely harsh conditions or poor soils made colonisation difficult or unprofitable, and where the terrain made communication with and travel to regional centres an ordeal. Within the ecological perspective taken here, it is important to ask ourselves, for each indigenous language in South America and each group, how come it still exists, resisting or escaping destruction or assimilation?

A second crucial aspect of the Andes, with its often steep slopes, is that it has made available different ecosystems even to a single ethnic group. Thus we find the Quechua-speaking Saraguro Indians in the province of Loja, southern Ecuador, cultivating maize and other cereal crops in the highlands in alternation with the raising of cattle on the eastern slopes. Murra (1975) has documented a very extensive system of ‘vertically’

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organised barter and economic cooperation networks in the Andes of Bolivia and Peru, in which groups located at different altitudes were allied. Sometimes these subgroups belonged to the same ethnolinguistic group, sometimes they did not. *Altiplano* groups such as that of the Bolivian Lupaca kingdom relied on an archipelago of lower-down settlements for their coca leaves and maize crops.

Third, the mountains influence the climates in the Andean region enormously, in conjunction with the Humboldt current. In the extreme south, the western slopes are humid, and on the eastern side, Patagonia, it is dry. Near Valparaíso, however, where the Humboldt current reaches the Chilean coastline, the coast becomes a desert and the eastern side more humid. This is the situation throughout Peru. At the altitude of the Ecuadorian border it changes again: tropical rains fall on both sides of the Andes. In Colombia, the coastal zone is hot and humid, and the central valleys are cooler. Thus we have virtually all existing climates represented in the region we are studying: from the Pacific deserts of Chile and Peru through the rainforest near the Brazilian borders of Bolivia, Peru and Colombia, to the permanent snow of the mountains in the *altiplano* regions around Lake Titicaca.

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We will sketch the prehistory of the Andean region on the basis of Peruvian prehistory, since it has been studied in the greatest detail and provides a point of reference for the whole region. At various points we will link developments in the northern and southern Andes to the central region focused on here.

In Keatinge (1988a, b) the archaeological evidence is reviewed, and it is concluded that the earliest human occupation of the central Andes that is well documented dates back to 9000–8000 BC. The early occupants were hunters and gatherers, and they had well-defined lithic technologies. Soon settlements emerged, on the coast centred around fishing and gathering shellfish, and in the highlands based on the domestication of plants and animals. Although in the central Andes the preceramic period lasted till around 1800 BC, there is evidence of high levels of cultural evolution, e.g. in large constructions such as at Sechín Alto.

The ceramic period is characterised by phases in which cultural elements were shared by groups in the whole central Andes, called *Horizons*, and intermediary periods in which cultural developments (as reflected, for instance, in ceramic patterns) were more regional. The Early Horizon (900 BC–AD 200), is associated with the Chavín de Huántar religious shrine and represents the consolidation of a pan-Andean religious foundation. The Middle Horizon (AD 600–1000, according to Keatinge 1988a, b) is linked with the two large urban centres of Huari and Tiahuanaco, which may have been the capitals of two empires: Tiahuanaco around the Titicaca basin and extending into western Bolivia and northern Chile, and Huari extending as far as the northern Peruvian coastal plains. These zones of influence did not last for more than two centuries, but they formed the

scene for a large network of exchange of goods, visual motifs and patterns of organisation throughout the whole central Andes. The shared religious heritage remains, however, in the subsequent period of regionalisation and is preserved in such centres as Pachacamac. During this period of regionalisation we do see large kingdoms emerging, particularly on the coastal plains of northern Peru, such as the Chimú kingdom. The Late Horizon corresponds to the Inca period, to which we will turn shortly.

To the north in Ecuador we find equally old early settlements, both near Quito and on the Santa Elena Peninsula, where there are traces of some of the earliest New World ceramics and textiles. Ecuador was at the crossroads between the Peruvian civilisations just mentioned and circum-Caribbean cultures. The bivalve shell *spondylus*, fished along the Pacific coast of Ecuador (and later much further north as well), was a highly valued object of trade, not just in Ecuador but also in Peru, particularly in the Chavín culture.

Colombian archaeological remains date back to 8000 BC at the site of Tequendama (Correal and Van der Hammen 1977; Lynch 1999). Ceramic techniques were known as early as 3000 BC at the site of Puerto Hormiga on the Colombian Caribbean coast (Reichel Dolmatoff 1965; Rojas de Perdomo 1979; Allaire 1999). The earliest constructions at San Agustín date back to 500 BC (Rojas de Perdomo 1979), but the highly developed gold-working techniques, which inspired the Spanish thirst for gold and led to the myth of *El Dorado*, generally can be dated as having arisen in the first millennium. The San Agustín culture lasted until shortly before the arrival of the Spaniards.

Although the Andes are associated in popular opinion with the Inca civilisation, historically the Incas played a relatively minor role. In the early part of the fifteenth century, they rose as a military power in southern Peru. Under Pachacuti Inca Yupanqui the southern highlands were conquered, and one by one the earlier Peruvian states, including powerful Chimú, were toppled. After 1460 his son Tupac Inca conquered the northern highlands, as far as Quito in Ecuador, and after 1471 highland Bolivia and adjacent parts of Chile and Argentina were incorporated into the growing Inca empire. While most highland territories thus became Inca, the tropical forest remained out of reach for the new conquerors.

Unlike earlier military powers, the Incas were not content with looting new territory, but rather they organised and restructured it. Huayna Capac, who succeeded around 1492, only added small parts to the empire, and withstood the first major assault on it, from the Chiriguano in the southeast. When Huayna Capac died in 1527, his two sons, Huascar and Atahualpa, fought over domination for five years, and when a small group of Spaniards under Francisco Pizarro invaded Peru in 1532 they could profit from the divisions caused by the wars of succession and from the disaffections among local elites of nations recently conquered by the Incas. In addition, the Incas were greatly debilitated by waves of European epidemic diseases, smallpox and measles, which had reached the Andes even before the advent of the Spaniards themselves.



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From 1538 on Peru was firmly under the control of the Spanish colonialists, and it remained under their control inspite of uprisings and resistance during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. Resistance to Spanish colonial rule took several forms. While the Spaniards had been able to conquer most of the Andean region rather rapidly, in the *montaña*, on the eastern slopes, the Incas held out for a long time, in fact until 1572, in their stronghold at Vilcabamba. While Europeans played the dominant role in the highlands, it should not be thought that there were no Indian rebellions during the colonial and republican periods. Messianic movements (Ossio 1973) kept flaring up throughout the colonial and early republican periods. Only a few can be mentioned here.

In 1564 there was a revolt in the Ayacucho region of Peru, inspired by native religious leaders, called *Taki Onqoy* (lit. 'dancing sickness', i.e. 'dancing into a trance'), which spread through large parts of central Peru and lasted seven years (Millones 1973, 1990). Around 1780 there was the famous uprising in southern Peru of Tupac Amaru II, a remote descendant of the Incas, which gained enormous peasant support before being squashed.

The Páez in Colombia withstood the attacks by various Spanish *conquistadores*, including Belalcázar,<sup>1</sup> but here also the Spaniards profited from conflicts between the various Indian nations. The Magdalena valley remained difficult to control for the colonial rulers until the nineteenth century.

Just as the Incas had never been able to conquer the Mapuche in Chile, the Spanish *conquistadores*, after some initial successes, were unable to bring this Araucanian group down. Until the latter part of the nineteenth century, the Mapuche retained their independence and proved to be a formidable enemy, requiring repeated military expeditions by the colonial and later by the republican powers. After new hostilities, in 1869 and again in 1880, they were finally subdued or 'pacified' in 1882. They were forced to share their limited agricultural area with intrusive settlers, but a majority has stayed in the heartland south of the Biobío river.

The independence from Spain of the Andean regions and the formation of new nation-states brought some changes for the Indian populations, but in many ways the patterns established in the colonial period persisted. The overt rebellion against Spain started in 1810 at the two opposite ends of the Spanish empire – Caracas and Buenos Aires – and spread from there to the central Andean regions. Bolívar in the north first liberated Venezuela, then Colombia and then Ecuador, with the help of Sucre. San Martín started in the Argentine and then liberated Chile. The two met in Peru, where the battle of Ayacucho in 1824 marked the effective end of Spanish rule in South America.

<sup>1</sup> Benalcázar or Benalcaçar in the colonial sources.

Even though Bolívar attempted to form larger nation-states, e.g. uniting Peru and Bolivia, and uniting Colombia, Venezuela and Ecuador, the contours of what were to become the Spanish American republics became clearer as the Wars of Independence were fought. The republics founded in the early nineteenth century have remained till today, and have now developed strong national identities. It would be a mistake to think that independence was inspired by the Indians or was beneficial to them. The opposite is the case, for several reasons.

To begin with, independence from Spain did not mean full autonomy. When the Spanish officials were gone, European bankers, traders and settlers stepped in. The nineteenth century was a period of more intensive exploitation of a new series of natural resources in Latin America. The *guano* dug up along the Peruvian coast, the saltpetre mined in northern Chile and the rubber gathered in the upper Amazon basin are examples of this. In many areas, the Indians were driven from their homesteads by new colonists or forced to participate in the new explorations under hardship conditions.

Further, the nationalism accompanying the forging of new nations was often translated into a desire for the cultural homogeneity of the citizenry. Public education, in Spanish, was extended into rural areas. Cities expanded, and urban norms and values were seen as signs of modernity. All of this meant that Indian lifestyles were depreciated and threatened. An extreme result is the genocide perpetrated against the Indians of the Argentinian *pampas* under the command of General Roca (1878–82).

Finally, independence had been fought for and won by elites associated with the import and export sectors of the colonial economies, who had been clamouring for trading possibilities with different nations, against the Spanish monopoly. These elites favoured the breaking up of the traditional feudal landholding system, which had exploited the Indian work force but at the same time sheltered their culture, or rather a complex amalgam of their traditional culture and colonial patterns. Modernisation of agriculture was accompanied by the increasing mobility of rural labourers, and hence by the splitting up of traditional Indian communities.

These three factors still hold and help shape the relations between Indians and non-Indians in the Andes. In recent history organised Indian movements have allied themselves with political movements, but major guerrilla activities such as Sendero Luminoso in Peru and FARC in Colombia are only peripherally related to Indian movements (cf. the contributions in Eckstein 1989).

#### 1.4 A brief overview of the different Andean countries

All Andean countries have a native population which speaks several native languages. However, the number of languages that became extinct since 1500 probably exceeds