

# A CRITICAL SURVEY OF THE LITERATURE ON THE AYMARA LANGUAGE<sup>1</sup>

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## INTRODUCTION

Spoken on the high Andean plains of Peru and Bolivia from Lake Titicaca to the salt flats south of Lake Poopó, and in northern Chile, Aymara is the most widespread member of the Jaqi language family whose sole other remnants, spoken in Yauyos, department of Lima, Peru, are the nearly extinct Kawki and the still vigorous Jaqaru.<sup>2</sup> Aymara is estimated to have over a million and a half speakers in Bolivia, roughly 350,000 in Peru, and an unspecified number in Chile, bringing the total to nearly two million.

The two major bibliographical sources for Aymara and its sister languages are the *Bibliografía de las lenguas quechua y aymará* by José Toribio Medina (1930) and the monumental four-volume *Bibliographie des langues Aymará et Kíçua* by Paul Rivet and Georges de Créqui-Montfort (1951–56). A few references to recent works on Aymara and one on Jaqaru are contained in a bibliography entitled *Languages of North, Central, and South America* (1976) published by the Center for Applied Linguistics, and a bibliography of recent books on South American Indian languages by Eduardo Lozano (1977) contains twelve entries for Aymara. Typological surveys that include references to Aymara are *The Languages of South American Indians* (1950) by John Alden Mason, *Catálogo de las lenguas de América del Sur* (1961) by Antonio Tovar, and *Classification of South American Indian Languages* (1968) by Čestmir Loukotka. Until the present, however, there has been no critical survey of works on the Jaqi languages in the light of contemporary linguistic scholarship. The present study attempts to provide such a survey of works on Aymara.

Apart from the aforementioned bibliographies, works on the Aymara language may be divided into two basic groups: traditional studies written without benefit of the techniques of modern linguistic scholarship, and studies reflecting contemporary linguistic theory and practice. The first group may be referred to as prelinguistic and the second, as linguistic studies.

## PRELINGUISTIC STUDIES

### *Colonial Period (Sixteenth to Early Nineteenth Centuries)*

As is well known, the Spanish found no written materials in the languages of the Inca Empire. In the sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries all works

published in or on Aymara were written for the purpose of spreading the Christian faith by missionaries assisted by unnamed Aymara converts bilingual in Aymara and Spanish. Such works consisted of catechisms and other religious tracts, grammars, and dictionaries or "vocabularies." The earliest work known to contain Aymara is the anonymous *Doctrina christiana, y catecismo para la instrucción de los Indios* published in Lima in 1584 (Rivet and Créqui-Montfort 1951, pp. 4–9).

The first attempts at complete grammars of Aymara were those of the Jesuit missionaries Ludovico Bertonio and Diego de Torres Rubio, both of whom wrote on the Aymara of Juli in what is now the department of Puno, Peru. Bertonio was the more prolific, producing three grammars, a dictionary, and several religious works. In 1603 two of his grammars appeared, *Arte breve de la lengua aymara* (1603a) and *Arte y gramatica muy copiosa de la lengua aymara* (1603b). A facsimile edition of the latter was published in Leipzig in 1879 by Julio Platzmann (Rivet and Créqui-Montfort 1953, p. 35).<sup>3</sup> In 1612 Bertonio published a dictionary, the *Vocabulario de la lengua aymara*, which has since appeared in several facsimile editions, most recently in La Paz in 1956. Torres Rubio's *Arte de la lengua aymara* appeared in 1616.<sup>4</sup> In 1967 Mario Franco Inojosa published a modern version of it in Peru, giving the original spellings followed by transcriptions in the official Peruvian alphabet for Aymara adopted in 1946.

Although distorted by their Latinate structure and unsystematic spelling, the Bertonio and Torres Rubio grammars provide a wealth of information on the Aymara of the period. Many suffixes attested are in general use today, others are found in only one or a few present-day Aymara dialects, while still others are not attested in modern Aymara but are extant in other Jaqi languages (see Briggs 1976a, b). Nevertheless, the seventeenth-century texts need careful reinterpretation in the light of contemporary linguistic scholarship and recent discoveries concerning Aymara language and culture. According to two present-day native speakers who are bilingual in Spanish and Aymara,<sup>5</sup> many Aymara terms and sentences given as examples are more or less awkward translations of Spanish rather than native words and expressions. This is not surprising, as Bertonio himself indicated in the introduction to his *Vocabulario* that he took his entries from translations of religious texts into Aymara. In any event, the early grammars became models for later descriptions and laid the basis for Aymara usages that persist today among native speakers and other persons associated with missionaries; such usages are referred to by certain other native speakers as Missionary Aymara.<sup>6</sup>

After the mid-seventeenth century the fervor of missionary zeal abated, and the use of Aymara as a general language gradually gave way to Quechua (Tovar 1961, pp. 186–94). According to Rivet and Créqui-Montfort, for the next hundred years little was published in Aymara except occasional sermons, few of which have survived. The European philologists Hervas, Vater, Adelung, Pott, and Jehan, writing in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries, included in their encyclopedic works Aymara examples taken from earlier sources.

*Post-Colonial Period (Nineteenth and Twentieth Centuries)*

In the second decade of the nineteenth century some political speeches and documents relating to the independence movements in South America were published in Aymara, as in other native languages. The first Protestant materials in Aymara appeared in 1826, followed by a resurgence of Catholic materials, mostly by Bolivian priests. Late nineteenth-century accounts by European scholar-adventurers of their travels on the altiplano included Aymara grammatical sketches or word lists like those found in David Forbes' *On the Aymara Indians of Bolivia and Peru* (1870).

Forbes gave Aymara names for objects, activities, and the like, most of which, although deformed by an inadequate transcription, are recognizable today. His grammatical analysis of Aymara is brief but accurate so far as it goes. Appendix C of his book is a vocabulary of Aymara words, including kinship terms, with English translations. Forbes cast light on the status of Aymara studies at the time in remarking on his fruitless efforts while in Bolivia to obtain a copy of a seventeenth-century Aymara grammar or dictionary, even though he had advertised in the papers that he would pay "the high sum of 50 dollars" for it (p. 274, fn.).

In 1891 the German philologist Ernst Middendorf published an Aymara grammar, *Die Aymará-Sprache*, as the fifth volume of his study of aboriginal languages of Peru (Rivet and Créqui-Montfort 1952, p. 558). The introduction to this grammar was translated into Spanish by the Bolivian scholar Franz Tamayo and published in 1910 in La Paz (Rivet and Créqui-Montfort 1952, p. 558). Later, the Peruvian scholar Estuardo Núñez, working from an incomplete copy of the Tamayo translation, revised and added some notes to it and published it in a volume entitled *Las lenguas aborígenes del Perú* prepared under the auspices of the Universidad Mayor de San Marcos in Lima to commemorate the fiftieth anniversary of Middendorf's death. The following summary is taken from the Núñez book (Middendorf 1959, pp. 96–102), which I was able to examine.

Middendorf indicated that his grammar was based on Bertonio's and on the dialect then spoken in La Paz. He stated that while both whites and mestizos in that city spoke Aymara, it was in most cases only to communicate with Aymara servants or market vendors, and that he could find only a few persons with enough knowledge to teach him the language. Finally, with the help of some lawyers who had lived among rural Aymara, he reviewed his copy of a Bertonio grammar, comparing forms then in use with earlier ones, noting both, and using them to draw up rules of sentence formation. In the introduction to the Middendorf grammar there are several paragraphs devoted to vowel-dropping (a common morphophonemic process in Aymara), with examples of inflected verbs and comments on verbs of going and carrying. It is to be hoped that Middendorf's grammar may some day be translated into Spanish (or Aymara), preferably by a linguist competent in German, Aymara, and Spanish.

In 1917 another Aymara grammar based largely on Bertonio's appeared, by Juan Antonio García, a Bolivian priest. Subsequently, etymologies and word lists proliferated on such topics as kinship terms, place names, and musical

instruments. A number of stories, poems, and legends were published by self-styled Aymara scholars (*aymarólogos*) in unsystematic transcriptions and in Aymara that is perceived by certain native speakers today as distorted from Aymara reality. Because of its association with the *patrón* (landholding) class, such Aymara is referred to by those native speakers as *Patrón Aymara*.<sup>7</sup>

The characteristics of *Patrón Aymara* are seen in the many virtually identical trilingual handbooks or catalogs of common expressions in Aymara, Quechua, and Spanish published and republished in Bolivia, Peru, and Chile from the middle of the nineteenth century to the present. In the catalogs individual words may be correctly translated, but Spanish phrases are glossed word for word into an Aymara that some native speakers find discourteous if not downright insulting, and often grammatically incorrect. Moreover, chaotic spelling reflects a very inadequate grasp of Aymara phonology.

A variation on the catalog is *Gramática del kechua y del aymara* (1942) by Germán G. Villamor, containing short grammatical descriptions of Quechua and Aymara, a brief three-way dictionary of words from those languages and Spanish, and sections on history, myths, and superstitions. Insofar as the Aymara language is concerned (I cannot speak for the Quechua), the book is deficient, with incorrect material poorly arranged. Another variation on the catalog is *Vocablos aymaras en el habla popular paceña* (1963) by Antonio Paredes Candia, containing Aymara words alleged to occur in colloquial La Paz speech. According to a native speaker from La Paz who reviewed the book with me, the context is not culturally Aymara; the tone is often insulting, many of the Aymara forms are incorrectly translated, and they are in any case terms used by whites and mestizos rather than by rural Aymara. The book may usefully serve, however, as a source of white and mestizo usages and interpretations of Aymara borrowings into Spanish.

Two works that contain more accurate translations are a short Spanish-Aymara dictionary by Mario Franco Inojosa citing forms used in Puno (1965) and a more complete dictionary by Pedro Miranda for forms used in La Paz (1970). These two books employ, respectively, the official Peruvian Quechua/Aymara alphabet of 1946 and the official Bolivian Quechua/Aymara alphabet of 1954. Used by Catholic missionaries, the two alphabets are identical and are phonemic except for representing the three Aymara vowel phonemes by the five Spanish vowel letters.

Protestant missionaries employ the similar CALA alphabet (for Comisión de Alfabetización y Literatura Aymara) which was adopted by official Bolivian decree in 1968, apparently without rescinding official support of the 1954 alphabet. The only difference between the Catholic and Protestant alphabets is that the former uses *k* and *q* for the velar and postvelar occlusives (following International Phonetic Alphabet practice), while the CALA (Protestant) alphabet uses *c* and *qu* for the velar and *k* for the postvelar. Both use *j* for velar fricative and *jj* for postvelar fricative, which leads to spelling ambiguities since the phonemes frequently occur in clusters with each other as well as with other consonants.

By far the best Aymara grammar modeled on Bertonio's is that of Juan Enrique Ebbing (1965). Although it too reflects missionary and *patrón* usages, it

shows an understanding of aspects of Aymara usually overlooked, such as the role of sentence suffixes. On the other hand, the nadir in such grammars is *Suma lajira aymara parlaña* by Erasmo Tarifa Ascarrunz (1969). Although it contains a wealth of material, it is very badly analyzed, organized, and presented. Interestingly, in the book the Spanish translations of the Aymara (or Spanish sentences from which the Aymara was translated?) are in popular Andean Spanish that reflects Aymara structure to a considerable extent. As Laprade has shown (1976, forthcoming) such evidence of Aymara grammatical interference appears even in the speech of monolingual Spanish speakers in La Paz. The Aymara-Spanish contact situation merits further investigation in the light of recent research on pidginization and creolization in other parts of the world.

In a special category of prelinguistic studies are the three typological surveys mentioned in the introduction. Mason contains a short section on the Aymara language, but it is full of inaccuracies, not only with respect to the supposed relationship of Aymara to other languages but also to identification of Aymara-speaking areas and dialects. Tovar represents a slight improvement in the information provided, but the work is still incomplete and inaccurate, and the brief grammatical description of Aymara is inadequate. Loukotka lists traditional names of Aymara regional dialects and identifies a few sources of data for some of them.

#### LINGUISTIC STUDIES

##### *Synchronic Studies*

Turning now to linguistic studies—those with pretensions to being considered within the pale of scientific linguistic theory and scholarship—it appears that the first linguist to state in print that Aymara has a three-vowel rather than a five-vowel phonemic system was Bertil Malmberg (1947–48), although Kenneth Pike included an Aymara problem in his *Phonemics* (1947, p. 153) implying a three-vowel system.

The first texts of Aymara to be published in phonetically reliable (though not completely phonemic) transcriptions are the folktales told by monolingual speakers from Chucuito (Puno, Peru) as recorded by Harry Tschopik (1948) and the folktales told by a speaker of the Pacasa dialect (north of Tiahuanaco, Bolivia), as recorded by Weston LaBarre (1950). Given with English translations, though without grammatical analysis, these texts are significant as the first published native free texts known to exist for Aymara. They are also important as a basis for comparison with present-day renditions of folktales from the same and other Aymara-speaking areas.

The first published morphological analysis of Aymara is that of Thomas Sebeok (1951a). Based on an Aymara version of *Little Red Ridinghood* told by “a highly urbanized native speaker of Aymara . . . from La Paz,” the text is an example of Patrón Aymara. Sebeok also collected material for an Aymara dictionary (1951b), using data from Tschopik, LaBarre, Villamor, Pike, and Floyd Lounsbury as well as his own research. Each entry consists of a set of Aymara words sharing the same root morphemes, with English or Spanish translations.

*Missionary Grammars and Associated Studies* / At about the time that the studies referred to above were appearing, Protestant missionary linguists were turning their attention to the analysis of Aymara. The first attempt at a fairly complete grammatical description of Aymara by a contemporary linguist was *Rudimentos de gramática aymara* by Ellen M. Ross, published by the Canadian Baptist Mission in La Paz in 1953, and again in 1963 for the use of American Peace Corps Volunteers.

Three native speakers of Aymara collaborated with Ross in producing the grammar, a trilingual textbook for English-speaking missionaries and Spanish speakers based on the Aymara spoken in Huatajata, department of La Paz. Making use of aural/oral language-teaching techniques, the book presents graded Aymara dialogues and drills with translations into Spanish and grammatical explanations in Spanish and English. The grammar includes helpful cultural notes such as a comment on the importance of greetings among the Aymara. While it has an index of grammatical forms and topics (in Spanish), it lacks a table of contents and thus cannot easily be used as a reference grammar. The drawbacks of the CALA alphabet used in the book have already been noted above.

Although later research has revealed numerous inaccuracies in the grammatical analysis, when viewed in the context of the state of research on Aymara at the time it was published, *Rudimentos de gramática aymara* represents a creditable achievement, and a tremendous improvement over previous Aymara grammars. Still, it must be noted that, as in the case of the earlier grammars, the Aymara examples it contains are perceived as distorted or non-native by certain native speakers.

In 1958 Ross published a (mimeographed) Aymara-Spanish dictionary, *Diccionario aymara-castellano, castellano-aymara*; it was reprinted (also in mimeograph) in 1973 by CALA, but was not seen for this research.

Ross later wrote a reference grammar for native speakers of Aymara, *Manual aymara para los aymaristas* (n.d.—considerably after Ross 1953). Its stated purpose was to enable Aymara speakers already bilingual and literate in Spanish (“who appreciate the great value of their linguistic heritage and wish to study it formally”—Preface, p. 4) to learn to read and write Aymara and to become aware of differences between Aymara and Spanish structure which may create difficulties for Aymara monolinguals wishing to learn Spanish. In effect, the *Manual* is a contrastive study of Spanish and (Missionary) Aymara, often describing Aymara in terms of Spanish and prescribing correct usages, for example in punctuation (see Lesson 9). The grammatical analysis is lacking in some important respects; for instance, the person system is not completely understood. The obligatory semantic distinction of personal and nonpersonal knowledge is recognized, however, for the first time. The grammatical importance of vowel length and vowel dropping is also grasped and the reader is urged to write words as they are pronounced, although this injunction is not always followed in the examples given in the text. The role of sentence suffixes (called enclitics) is well covered.

But while the *Manual* has its strengths, nevertheless according to native

speakers from Puno and La Paz who have reviewed the book with me, the message it conveys is that learning to read and write in Aymara is primarily a means toward learning to be fully literate in Spanish, rather than an end in itself. Illustrative of this attitude is use of the five Spanish vowels to write Aymara, which has only three vowel phonemes, and the advice to the reader who wishes to write in a more involved Aymara style ("un estilo mas enredado") to consult a good Spanish grammar or to observe the style of writers in that language (p. 121).<sup>8</sup>

Two subsequent teaching grammars of Aymara owe much to Ross. Paul Wexler and his associates attempted, in *Beginning Aymara: A Course for English Speakers* (1967), to write a linguistically sound pedagogical grammar of Aymara specifically for English speakers. Intended for Peace Corps volunteers, this grammar was based on research carried out in Bolivia by three American field-workers who spent a short time there aided by three Aymara native speakers from La Paz who were bilingual in Spanish. While the book is carefully organized into graded dialogues and drills on topics usually relevant to altiplano life, according to some native speakers the Aymara in it again often sounds translated from Spanish, with missionary and/or patrón terminology that is culturally and linguistically unacceptable. Wexler recognized that the Aymara of the book probably was heavily influenced by Spanish, and he did recommend further research with monolingual speakers.

The second Aymara grammar owing much to Ross, and the best of the missionary grammars to date, is *Lecciones de aymara* (1971–72) by Joaquin Herrero, Daniel Cotari, and Jaime Mejia, based on a dialect from roughly the same area as that of the Ross grammars. Herrero is a native of Spain; Cotari and Mejia are Bolivian Aymara speakers bilingual in Spanish. Developed for teaching the language at the Maryknoll Instituto de Idiomas in Cochabamba, this grammar is superior to its predecessors in grammatical analysis, but has some of the same characteristics perceived by certain native speakers as non-Aymara or distorted. An innovation useful for students of Spanish dialects is the provision of two translations of each Aymara dialogue, one in Andean Spanish and the other in peninsular Spanish.

The phonology section of *Lecciones de aymara* includes numerous minimal triplets illustrating plain, aspirated, and glottalized occlusives (the plain forms written as *p*, *t*, *k*, and *q*). The importance of grammatical vowel dropping is clearly grasped and suffixes are designated as weak (retaining preceding vowel) and strong (causing preceding vowel to drop) when they are first introduced, helping the learner to produce correct forms from the beginning. The book presents the person system accurately, avoiding Ross' error, repeated by Wexler et al., of designating the inclusive person (speaker plus addressee) as dual. (More than two persons may be involved.) Full verbal inflectional paradigms with affirmative and negative examples are presented in the body of the text.<sup>9</sup>

A much shorter, less complete grammar by a Catholic missionary is *Método de aymara* (1973) by Marcelo Grondin. Published in Oruro, the book mentions certain forms as different from those occurring in La Paz, but fails to note the velar nasal phoneme occurring in Carangas province of the department of

Oruro (see Briggs 1976a, b). The Aymara person system is clearly grasped, vowel-dropping is understood, and the role of sentence suffixes noted, but the Aymara is presented in short dialogues that once again are perceived as non-native by some Aymara speakers. The translations of the dialogues are in Andean Spanish.

*Aymara-Centered Studies* i Aymara-centered studies focus on the language as spoken in traditional Aymara cultural contexts by monolingual speakers and by bilingual speakers concerned with preserving linguistic and cultural traditions. Such studies are largely the outgrowth of research begun by M. J. Hardman in Jaqaru and Kawki. Hardman's *Jaqaru: Outline of Phonological and Morphological Structure* (1966) was the first descriptive reference grammar of a Jaqi language, written by a linguist for linguists. A useful summary of that work is the review by Yolanda Lastra (1968). A second edition in Spanish translation is now in press in Peru.<sup>10</sup>

While in Bolivia as a Fulbright professor in 1965, Hardman founded the Instituto Nacional de Estudios Lingüísticos (INEL) with Julia Elena Fortún of the Bolivian Ministry of Education. Under INEL auspices, Hardman taught linguistics and conducted fieldwork in the department of La Paz with the aid of students including Aymara native speakers such as Juan de Dios Yapita, author of the first (and so far, only) phonemic alphabet of Aymara produced by a native speaker of the language, and the one used by Hardman and associates ever since; its use among Aymara native speakers is now also widespread.<sup>11</sup> The first published result of research by a Hardman student was *Bosquejo de estructura de la lengua aymara* (1969) by the Argentine linguist Eusebia Herminia Martín. Based on the Aymara spoken in Irpa Chico, province of Ingavi, La Paz, the *Bosquejo* is important as the first published description of Aymara by a linguist for linguists, combining both adequate theory and competent field investigation. It is, however, merely a sketch, as its title indicates.

On the basis of Aymara research undertaken by Hardman and associates in Bolivia, the Aymara Language Materials Project began at the University of Florida in 1969 with support from the U.S. Office of Education (DHEW). The goal of the project was to produce teaching and reference grammars of Aymara reflecting linguistic and cultural realities of the language from the point of view of native speakers. The materials were prepared by a team consisting of Hardman, two Bolivian native speakers of Aymara trained in anthropological linguistics (Yapita and Vásquez, later assisted by Pedro Copana); and three graduate students in anthropology and linguistics who assisted with the analysis and pilot tested the teaching materials in Aymara language classes. A number of other students and native speakers of Aymara collaborated in the study, which was based on data provided by seventeen Bolivian native speakers (in addition to Vásquez and Yapita), many of them monolingual.<sup>12</sup>

The primary result of the project was a three-volume work by Hardman, Vásquez, and Yapita with individual chapters contributed by the three graduate students, entitled *Aymar ar yatiquañataki* (*To Learn Aymara*), which appeared first in 1973 and in a revised edition in 1975.<sup>13</sup> Volume 1 is a course in Aymara for



English and Spanish speakers, consisting of graded dialogues based on rural Aymara life, with drills and translations into English and Spanish, and accompanied by tape recordings with English translations. Volume 2 is a teacher's manual keyed to the course, with cultural and grammatical explanations. Volume 3, entitled *Aymara Grammatical Sketch* in the first edition and *Outline of Aymara Phonological and Grammatical Structure* in the second, is a detailed reference grammar that may stand alone. It incorporates master's theses by Laura Martin-Barber on phonology and Nora Clearman England on verbal derivational suffixes, and my chapter on the structure of the noun system. The project also produced a computerized concordance glossary of words, roots, and suffixes. The three volumes of the Florida Aymara grammar have been translated into Spanish by Edgard Chávez Cuentas, under the direction of Hardman, for eventual publication.

Secondary results of the project include numerous papers by students at the University of Florida, some of which are to appear in a volume edited by Hardman (forthcoming b); two M.A. theses, Sylvia Boynton's on contrastive analysis of Spanish and Aymara phonology (1974) and Richard Laprade's on dialect features of La Paz Spanish (1976) containing evidence of an Aymara grammatical substratum; and two doctoral dissertations, Andrew Miracle's on the effects of cultural perception on the education of Aymara children (1976) and mine on regional dialectal variation in the Aymara language (1976a). Supporting his argument with linguistic evidence, Miracle attributes the failure of Bolivian educational programs for the Aymara to conflict between Aymara and Hispanic cultural perceptions in the realms of social identification, social ethic, spatial domain, and the bases (sources) of knowledge.

Published articles resulting from the Aymara Project include Hardman's on Jaqi linguistic postulates (1972a, 1979) and the reconstruction of the Proto-Jaqi person system (1975, 1978a, 1978b), Pedro Copana's recommendations concerning the education of rural Aymara children (1973 and Hardman forthcoming b), and numerous articles by Yapita (see References) such as three that appeared in the La Paz press in 1977: *Los onomásticos en el mundo aymara*, *Etnosemántica de "reír" en aymara*, and *Pautas para una educación bilingüe*.

Increasing numbers of materials in the Aymara language itself, written in the Yapita alphabet, have appeared as a result of the project. The *Aymara Newsletter* has been published at the University of Florida since 1970, most recently under the editorship of Justino Llanque Chana, an Aymara from Socca, Peru. In Bolivia Yapita has been among the most prolific writers, producing under INEL and ILCA auspices mimeographed literary journals, introductory readers, and Spanish-English-Aymara vocabularies.<sup>14</sup> Vásquez is preparing an Aymara primer for children.

Former students of Yapita in Bolivia have also produced materials in Aymara. Representative are articles by Vitaliano Wanka describing his Aymara literacy program in Tiahuanaco (Wanka 1973a, b); an Aymara primer for adults by Francisco Calle P. (1974) of which a first edition of 17,000 was printed, according to *Chaski*, a La Paz publication;<sup>15</sup> and a bilingual manual on medicinal plants and herbs by Gabino Kispi (1974). Domingo Choque Quispe and Martirián

Benavides Rodríguez wrote *Cursado de fonología aymara* for use in Oruro (1970). Choque Quispe, who directs the Oruro branch of ILCA (see note 5), is also the author of *Aymara yatiquañani*, an Aymara literacy text for native speakers published in 1976 in La Paz by INEL.

Independently of the Aymara Project at the University of Florida, anthropologist John T. Cole discovered the primacy of the inclusive over the exclusive in the Aymara world view, a primacy which Hardman (1972a, b) and Dell Hymes (1972) noted is reflected in the Aymara person system. In his dissertation, Cole characterized the Aymara concept of the soul as fundamentally mutual rather than individual and indicated that "the emphasis on mutuality as more fundamental than individuality forms a theme that runs through Aymara culture accounting for a number of otherwise inexplicable details of Aymara custom" (Cole 1969, abstract). In other words, Cole sees mutuality as what Hardman would call a linguistic postulate (and Miracle, a cultural perception) of Aymara. Hardman has pointed out that in the Aymara language this mutuality is not only expressed overtly in the inclusive fourth grammatical person (speaker plus addressee), but is also signalled by overmarking of the second person in verbs (see Hardman et al. 1975, 3:33).

*Sociolinguistic Studies* / The thrust of much of the new research on Aymara is sociolinguistic, focusing on such concerns as language attitudes and dialect variation.<sup>16</sup> Yapita, who teaches Aymara at the Universidad Nacional de San Andrés in La Paz and conducts research in Aymara ethnolinguistics for the Bolivian Museo Nacional de Etnografía y Folklore, lectures extensively on Aymara language and culture and bilingual education, and is training his students, many of whom are bilingual in Spanish and Aymara, to do research in the linguistic correlates of social discrimination, some preliminary results of which are found in his article *Discriminación y lingüística y conflicto social* (1977a). In 1973 and 1974, Yapita and Pedro Plaza (director of INEL in La Paz) conducted, with support from the Ford Foundation and the Centro Pedagógico y Cultural de Portales in Cochabamba, sociolinguistic surveys of Aymara and Quechua speakers in Bolivia, using methods developed by Wolfgang Wölck for Quechua in Peru (Wölck 1972, 1973).

The Portales Center in Cochabamba, which is supported by the Patiño Foundation, published during 1973–74 a series of materials in Spanish, such as an article by Javier Albó on the future of Aymara and Quechua (which he considered to be "oppressed languages"), the Yapita phonemic alphabet, a summary of Hardman's article (1972a) on linguistic postulates of Aymara, and my article on the Aymara person system.

A valid contribution to knowledge of the Aymara-speaking population of northern Potosí department in Bolivia is an article by the British anthropologist Olivia Harris (1974) giving indications of apparent Aymara-Quechua diglossia.

In Peru, where the government inaugurated a policy of bilingual education in 1972, so far as I am aware there has been only one sociolinguistic survey of Aymara speakers: a 1973 survey of eighty-five high school students in the town of Chucuito near Puno by Justino Llanque Chana (1974). The survey re-

vealed negative attitudes toward Aymara language and culture that the author interpreted as confirming the alienating effects of an educational system that stressed acquisition of Spanish skills while banning (in theory if not in strict practice) the use of vernacular languages.

In 1973 Domingo Llanque Chana, a Peruvian Aymara who is a Catholic priest, published in Spanish translation an interview he had conducted in Aymara with a fifty-six-year-old man from a rural community near Lake Titicaca. To my knowledge this is the first time the topic of social interaction among the Aymara has been discussed in print by an Aymara. (The topic has since been taken up by Yapita and others.) The author observed that the basic element of Aymara interaction is mutual respect (again, the focus on mutuality) expressed primarily through courteous speech as exemplified in greetings.

Reference has been made above to missionary and patrón usages that appear in published sources. As for regional dialect variation, although known to exist since colonial times, very little attention has been paid to systematically describing it. My fieldwork in 1972–74 (described in Briggs 1976a, b) shows the existence of two major dialect areas, north and south, with an intermediate area sharing features of both; of certain features linking noncontiguous dialects; and of innovations spreading outward from La Paz to more conservative peripheral areas. These findings have implications for reconstruction of Proto-Jaqi, as Hardman has noted (1975), and also for determination of past population movements and present social trends.

A useful phonological description of the Aymara of the Chilean altiplano (department of Tarapaca, districts of Los Condores and Cariquima) is that of Christos Clair-Vasiliades (1976; reviewed by Eric Hamp in *IJAL* 43:255). On the basis of his description, the Chilean dialect may be classed as southern, with the similar nearby dialects of Carangas and Salinas de Garci Mendoza in Oruro, Bolivia (Briggs 1976a, b). Like the Carangas dialect, the Chilean has a velar nasal phoneme, and like Salinas, occlusive voicing rules. The only weaknesses in the analysis (which would have been eliminated with a larger corpus) are the failure to note phonemic vowel length and failure to distinguish the vowels /i/ and /u/ from the consonantal glides /y/ and /w/. (Examples proving this distinction may be found in Martin-Barber 1975.) On the whole the study is a very welcome addition to the sparse published literature on Aymara regional dialects.<sup>17</sup>

### *Historical Studies*

As for historical studies, the most detailed to date, based on glottochronological calculations, is that of Alfredo Torero (1972), although the results of my research on Aymara regional variation suggest Torero's theory of a gradual north-to-south expansion of Aymara needs further refinement. Hardman is now engaged in reconstruction of Proto-Jaqi on the basis of data from existing Aymara dialects as well as from present-day Jaqaru and Kawki.

The relationship of the Jaqi languages and Quechua, the other major language family of the Andean area, has long been debated. Mason (1950, p. 196) proposed Kechumaran as a term "to designate the yet unproved but highly

probable subphylum consisting of Quechua and Aymara." Subsequently, James Lorient (1964) and Louisa Stark (1965) included a few references dealing with the supposed relationship in their brief bibliographies of Aymara and Quechua under the heading Quechumaran. Also supporting a fairly close relationship between Quechua and Aymara are Carolyn Orr and Robert E. Longacre (1968) and Lastra (1970). On the other hand, Hardman (in press a) marshals impressive evidence of important differences in grammatical structure that have not hitherto been taken into account, to show that similarities in lexicon, phonology, and semantic categories, where they exist, must be ascribed to geographic proximity and borrowing rather than to a genetic relationship. Stark (1970) has provided phonological data that support Hardman's position and, more recently, further support has been forthcoming from Davidson (1977), based on a careful comparison of morphological data from Cuzco Quechua and Bolivian Aymara (data for the latter primarily from Hardman et al. 1973).

#### CONCLUSIONS AND SUGGESTIONS FOR FURTHER RESEARCH

This survey has shown that almost all published works and research on the Aymara language have until very recently been written or directed by non-Aymara. It is only now that, after centuries of cultural isolation, Aymara native speakers are beginning to undertake research in their language and culture and to bring the results to public attention via the spoken and written word. Recent writings by native speakers reaffirm Aymara cultural and linguistic values which, together with regional and social variation, should be taken into account in the development of materials for literacy and bilingual education, if the conflict between Spanish and Aymara norms noted by Miracle (1976) is to be resolved.

Further research is needed on the social correlates of Missionary and Patrón Aymara. In particular, the extent to which native speakers themselves use them, and in what circumstances, needs to be clarified. That is, do native speakers use missionary and patrón forms primarily or solely when speaking with non-Aymara who use those forms and/or represent certain social groups? Or, do certain native speakers regularly use Missionary and Patrón Aymara among themselves, and if so, in what contexts?<sup>18</sup> Does a kind of bidialectalism or diglossia exist with respect to their use?

In the future, searches for other Jaqi languages possibly surviving along the ancient Andean highways should be undertaken, and the Aymara spoken in Bolivia, Peru, and Chile investigated further, with the eventual aim of compiling a linguistic atlas of the entire Jaqi area. To be fully effective, such studies should be carried out by native speakers trained in anthropological and sociolinguistic field methods, in conjunction with similar studies of Quechua and Andean Spanish.

#### NOTES

1. I would like to dedicate this article to the memory of my father, Ellis O. Briggs, a Career Ambassador in the U.S. Foreign Service. An earlier version of this paper enti-

tled "Current Status of Research on the Aymara Language" was read at the 76th Annual Meeting of the American Anthropological Association at Houston in December 1977. Some of the research on which the paper is based was funded by graduate fellowships from the National Science Foundation and the University of Florida, which I acknowledge with appreciation. I wish also to acknowledge the facilitation afforded me by the Instituto Nacional de Investigación y Desarrollo de la Educación (INIDE) in Peru and by the Instituto Nacional de Estudios Lingüísticos (INEL) and the Instituto de Lengua y Cultura Aymara (ILCA) in Bolivia. Acknowledgements to native speakers of Aymara who assisted me with this study are given in note 5. (*N.B.* Present-day usage usually omits a final accent mark on the word *Aymara*, as it is pronounced by native speakers with the stress on the second syllable.)

2. M. J. Hardman instituted the use of the term *jaqi*, which means "person, human being" in all the member languages, to designate the language family.
  3. A photocopy of a volume belonging to Juan de Dios Yapita, containing the first fourteen pages of the *Arte breve* bound together with pages 19 through 348 of the *Arte y gramática muy copiosa* (missing the title pages, a section entitled *Al lector*, and pages 207 and 208) is in the University of Florida Library. (Photostatic copies of the missing pages were recently obtained for the University of Florida Library from the John Carter Brown Library of Brown University, which owns a complete copy of the *Arte y gramática muy copiosa*.)
  4. A photocopy, the original of which belongs to ILCA in La Paz, Bolivia, is also in the University of Florida Library. It lacks leaves 65 through 68 and 72 through 77 but contains, following the grammar itself, the complete *Catecismo en la lengua española y aymara del Piru* originally published in Sevilla in 1604 on the basis of materials dating from a provincial council in Lima in 1583.
  5. They are Juana Vásquez of INEL (Casilla 7846, La Paz, Bolivia) and Juan de Dios Yapita, Director of ILCA (Casilla 2681, La Paz), whose generous help made this study possible. The prelinguistic Aymara grammars and other works were exhaustively analyzed and retranscribed with their assistance, and their comments were sought on later grammars as well. Mr. Yapita is from Compi and La Paz, and Ms. Vásquez is from Tiahuanaco and La Paz. Although the exact extent to which their views are shared by other Aymara speakers must await further research, all indications are that they speak for a considerable sector of the Aymara community.
- Other native speakers of Aymara whose views on Aymara language and culture also reflect concern for the preservation of traditional speech forms and social values are Domingo Choque Quispe and Martirián Benavides Rodríguez of ILCA Oruro (Casilla 812, Oruro, Bolivia); Jaime Wanka (or Huanca) Torrez of the Comisión para la Promoción de la Lengua Aymara (COPLA) in Tiahuanaco; Justino Llanque Chana and the Reverend Domingo Llanque Chana of Socca, Puno, Peru; and persons associated with ILCA in La Paz (see note 14).
6. It should be noted that this term is applied to the speech of certain native speakers of Aymara, not primarily to that of missionaries. Examples of Missionary Aymara may be found in Briggs (1976a, chap. 9; forthcoming b).
  7. Examples of Patrón Aymara are given in Briggs (1976a, chap. 9; forthcoming b).
  8. Readers interested in obtaining an up-to-date catalog of CALA publications in and on Aymara may write to the Comisión de Alfabetización y Literatura Aymara, Cajón 2724, La Paz, Bolivia.
  9. Further information about Maryknoll-sponsored publications may be obtained by writing to the Instituto de Idiomas Padres de Maryknoll, Casilla 550, Cochabamba, Bolivia. As of October 1978 a Spanish-Aymara dictionary was in press. In Puno, the Maryknoll-operated Instituto de Estudios Aymaras (IDEA) has reportedly published research bulletins on Aymara cultural life. The address of IDEA is Casilla 295, Puno, Peru.
  10. Pre-Hardman sources for the study of Jaqaru and Kawki are J. M. B. Farfán (1955) and José Matos Mar (1956), not read for this study.

11. The Yapita phonemic alphabet is given below.

Vowels: i a u

Vowel length: ː or ˑ

Consonants:

	Bilabial	Alveolar	Palatal	Velar	Postalveolar
Occlusives					
Plain	p	t		k	q
Aspirated	pʰ	tʰ		kʰ	qʰ
Glottalized	pʰ	tʰ		kʰ	qʰ
Affricates					
Plain			ch		
Aspirated			chʰ		
Glottalized			chʰ		
Fricatives		s		j	x
Laterals		l	ll		
Nasals	m	n	ñ	(nh)*	
Glides	w		y		
Flap		r			

\*The digraph *nh* is used for the velar nasal phoneme that occurs in the Aymara of Tarata (Peru), Carangas (Oruro, Bolivia), and Chile.

12. Their names are given on page ii (Credits) of *Outline of Aymara Phonological and Grammatical Structure*, part 1.
13. Since I was a participant in the University of Florida Aymara Project, my account of its results will be descriptive rather than evaluative.
14. Others writing in ILCA publications in 1977–78 were Basilia Copana Y., Francisco Calle Parra, Jorge Chambi Siñani, Vitaliano Wanka (or Huanca) Torrez, Celia Yapita de Laura, and Petrona Apaza.
15. *Chaski del Servicio Ecuménico de Documentación*, No. 2, July 1974.
16. Research on Aymara child language acquisition has also been reported by Terry Jacobsen, a graduate student in Psychology at the University of California (Berkeley). The research took place from August 1975 to September 1977 in small nursery schools near Chucuito and Acora near the city of Puno, Peru. As of early 1978 the researcher planned to begin an extensive analysis of the data in the summer of 1978 (Jacobsen, personal communication).
17. Additional information about the Aymara of Chile may be obtained from Manuel Mamani, who teaches the language at the Universidad del Norte in Arica and has written an Aymara course outline (1973).
18. The Reverend Domingo Llanque Chana indicates that according to his observations, the use of *Patrón* and *Missionary Aymara* is socially and contextually determined. That is, *Patrón Aymara* is used by persons who identify with the *patrón* class, which may now include native speakers of Aymara, even though such usages are stigmatized as rude. *Missionary Aymara* is used in religious circumstances when doctrinal matters are treated, such as in sermons or Bible study.

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