

# TARA AND Q'UWA—WORLDS OF SOUND AND MEANING

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## I. Introduction: Categories of Sound

One of the most remarkable characteristics of rural music in the Bolivian Andes is the strong association of certain musical instruments, tone colours, genres and tunings with the agricultural cycle and festive calendar. Music should only be played in its appropriate context and, until recently, performance of musical instruments outside their specified season was likely to be punished by community authorities (Buechler 1980:358). In some cases musical sounds are considered to have a direct and concrete effect on climatic conditions, and specific instruments are played to attract, for example, the rain or frost (Stobart [forthc]).

Ethnomusicological studies in other parts of the world have noted correspondences between sound structure in music and social structure (e.g. Feld 1984). Similarly, I shall suggest that specific sounds used in musical performance, by certain peasant farmers in highland Bolivia, both appear to reflect and are perceived to manipulate social and cosmological structures.

In this paper I shall analyse the terms *tara* and *q'uwa* which are used to describe two reciprocal and opposing categories of sound or timbre. I originally encountered these words as the names for paired sizes of *pinkillu* duct flutes, so called due to the contrasting tone qualities associated with each instrument. The terms, or concepts, are also found in many other contexts. I shall suggest that through comparison of their varied semantic images it is possible to gain a deeper understanding of the significance of these categories of sound and their use in musical performance.

Although these concepts appear to apply to a variety of highland regions of the Southern Andes, the majority of my examples will be drawn from fieldwork in a Quechua-speaking community of *ayllu* Macha, Northern Potosí, Bolivia. The terms *tara* and *q'uwa* are also widely used by Aymara speakers from other parts of the region.

As a starting point and a common thread throughout this paper I shall discuss the *pinkillu* duct flute ensembles of Northern Potosí, which are made from wood and perhaps based on the recorder consorts introduced from Spain in the 16th and 17th centuries.

## 2. *Pinkillus*—the Flutes of the Rainy Season

*Pinkillus*, *flawtas*, *lawutas*, or *tarkas* are some of the more common generic terms for the consorts (or *tropas*) of duct flutes, played by peasant farmers throughout Northern Potosí and in a few other surrounding provinces. They are played exclusively during the rainy season, from shortly before the feast of Todos Santos in November until Carnival in February or March. Their sound is said to attract the rain and to discourage frost and hail, and sometimes in periods of drought they are played all night long until dawn.

As Olivia Harris has also remarked, *pinkillus* are especially associated with the dead, who, as a “collective” presence, are said to help the crops to grow through the rainy season (1982:58). The *sirinus* or sirens, also called *yawlus* or devils, who are associated with musical creation and enchantment, are also said to sound “just like *pinkillus*”. *Sirinus* live in certain waterfalls, springs, gullies or large rocks—places which represent the points of communication between the inner earth, or *ukhu pacha* and this world or *kay pacha* (see Martínez 1989:52; Sanchez 1988). At the end of Carnival, when *pinkillus* are dramatically hushed, the dead and devils are said to return back into the earth (*jallp’a ukhuman*). I was told that if *pinkillus* are heard after this time it would be the “ancestors playing” and anyone who continues to play is likely to grow horns, like a devil.

### 2.1 *The pinkillu tropa or Consort*

A *pinkillu* consort usually consists of four sizes (but may include up to six) which play together in parallel octaves (Figure 1). For the larger flutes in particular, the melody is divided between paired instruments pitched a fifth apart, using hocket technique (see Musical Example 1). For example, the largest size, the *machu tara*, can only play three different pitches and thus relies on its partner, the *q’iwa*, to supply the remaining notes. The smaller sizes are usually able to perform a wider range of notes, and the *q’iwita*, pitched an octave above the *q’iwa*, can play the complete scale. However even with these smaller sizes, players often choose to leave out certain notes of the melody.

It is only on the final note or *terminación* of the dance songs called *wayñus* that the instruments of the consort all play together on a long pause note, before a new cycle begins. For this note the *tara* instruments play with two fingers, making a buzzing sound that is rich in harmonics called “*tara*”, while the *q’iwa* instruments play with five fingers (or one hole open), which produces a thin sound with few harmonics referred to as “*q’iwa*”.

The musical score is arranged in four staves. The first two staves are labeled 'Q'iwa' and 'Tara' respectively. The third and fourth staves are labeled 'Machu Tara'. The music is written in treble clef with a key signature of one sharp (F#). The first two staves show a hoquet technique where the instruments play alternating notes. The third and fourth staves show the Machu Tara part, which includes first and second endings.

Mus. Ex. 1. Pinkillu wayñu. Hoquet technique between tara, qiwa and machu tara pinkillus. Recorded at the Fiesta of Candelaria in Pocoata (7.30 am, 3.2.91). Performers from Qullqa Pampa.

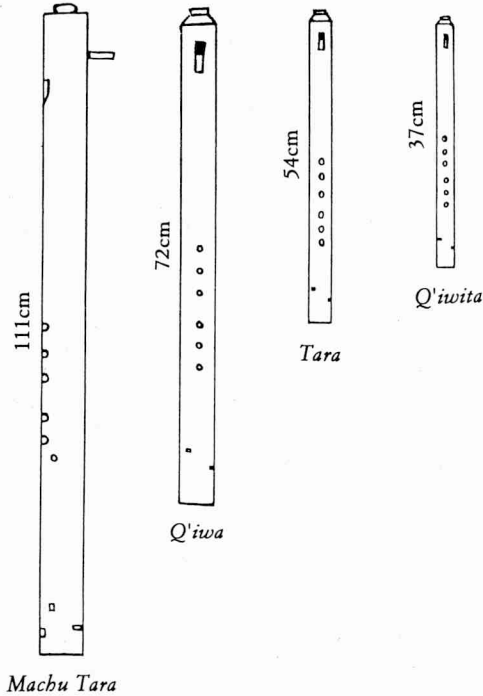


Fig. 1. Pinkillu consort

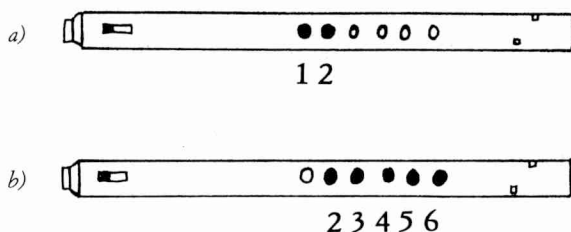


Fig. 2. a) Tara fingering and b) q'iwa fingering

In other words the terms *tara* and *q'iwa* refer to the way in which each instrument is played rather than to its form of construction or voicing. *Tara* and *q'iwa pinkillus* can only be distinguished from one another by their relative pitch within the context of the other instruments of the consort.

## 2.2 The Sounds *tara* and *q'iwa*

The sound *tara* was described to me as “*mezclado*” or mixed. More specifically *tara* was said to be “two sounds” or something that sounds with “two mouths”<sup>1</sup>. This contrasts with *q'iwa*, which is described as a clear sound<sup>2</sup> and was specified to be single and without a double<sup>3</sup>.

A hoarse voice or hoarse-sounding animal cries and certain other sounds were described as *tara*. These included a llama in extreme distress or in heat, the bark of a dog or fox, the bray of a donkey, the croaking of a toad and the sound of running water. Similarly Bertonio gives the entry *Tarcaca cunca* as *voz ronca*, or hoarse voice (1984/1612 I:338).

In contrast, examples of *q'iwa* included bird song and the high pitched whining or bickering sounds of llamas. I was told that anything, when it weeps, is *q'iwa*—*tukuy imata waqashan*—in particular this refers to animals or young children who constantly weep, the English notion of “crybabies”. Although the verb *waqay*, to weep, is used generically to refer to the sound of any musical instrument, in the context of *q'iwa* it is closer to the English sense of the word and specifies weeping from disturbed emotions, such as pain or separation.

## 2.3 Aesthetics and Performance Practice

*Pinkillus* are blown extremely strongly and alongside the practice of wetting, the block is frequently adjusted in order to achieve a rich, dense sound and a *tartamuliata*<sup>4</sup> or “stammering” quality. This vibrating sound is caused by strong difference beats which are an aesthetic ideal much sought after by

the players. *Tara* thus encompasses both notions of space, as breadth of sound, and time, as in the discontinuous stuttering quality of the *tarta-muliata*.

The preference for a “dense” tone quality that is rich in harmonics is found in *pinkillu* performance in other parts of the Andes. I discovered it particularly important to the south of Potosí where it is also called *tara*. Similarly, for the Aymaras of Conima, Southern Peru, Thomas Turino describes how certain players within an ensemble play slightly sharp or flat of the mean pitch series in order to produce a rich abundance of overtones and combination tones—which he refers to as “dense unison” (1989:12).

In the context of the *pinkillu* consort the *q'üwa* sound of an instrument was not specifically judged as a “bad sound”, it was just inferior to *tara*. However a poor *charango* that will not play in tune or any other instrument that will not tune with the others is referred to as *q'üwa*. This is most definitely a negative aesthetic but it does not necessarily mean that the instrument in question cannot sound good in another context. For example in the instrument-making village of Walata Grande (Prov. Omasuyos, Dept. La Paz), when discussing the possibility of playing my recorder together with a consort of *tarkas*, I was told that my recorder would either be “*igualado*”, in tune, or else “*q'üwa*”, out of tune with the other instruments.

<u>TARA</u>	<u>Q'ÜWA</u>
Double Sound	Single Sound
Dense/Mixed Sound	Clear/Pure Sound
Broad/Fat Sound	Thin Sound
Energized/Vibrant Sound	Weak Sound
Discontinuous	Continuous
Positive Aesthetic	Negative Aesthetic
(In Tune?)	Out of Tune
Hoarse Voice	Weeping

Table 1. Aural associations of *tara* and *q'üwa*

By looking beyond the specifically aural context, we are able to discover more about the semantic fields of these two words and their broader meanings.

### 3. *Tara* and *q'üwa* in Other Contexts

#### (a) Number

I came across *tara* in reference to things which have an aspect of being two or double in some way on many occasions. Typical examples were the broad central section or cradle of a sling (Figure 3), woven with a central slit to facilitate the placing of a stone missile (also see Zorn 1980:8), and the paired

ear flaps of a *ch'ullu* (knitted hat), but the most common was a double potato, which significantly was also often called a *tarka* (Figure 4). My host explained that *tara* was *parenintin*, which means “always paired”, and that even multiples of two, such as the numbers four and eight were also *tara*. Similar explanations were given to me in Aymara speaking areas, including Department La Paz.

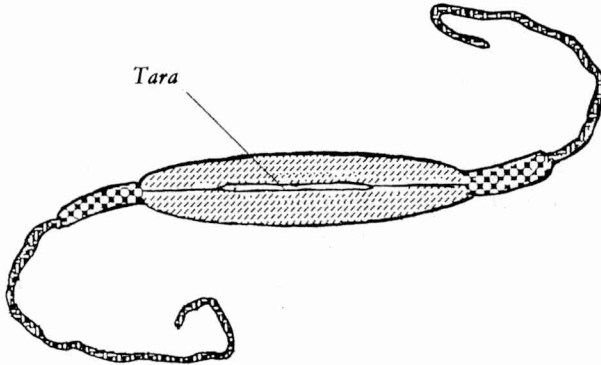


Fig. 3. A Sling (*warak'a*)

*Q'iwa*, on the other hand, was always said to be *ch'ulla*, meaning “single” or “alone”, a concept which refers to objects that belong in pairs but have become lost or separated from their partner—for example, a single eye or shoe<sup>5</sup>. Sometimes when explaining this term, people would relate it to the sadness of being alone or to death. Libations for the dead are drunk from a single cup but for all other ritual drinking in the Macha region paired cups are used. The dead are *ch'ulla*, I was told, because they die singly. But once they reach *alma llajta*, the world of the dead, they live as we do, in couples or families and are no longer *ch'ulla* or sad. Weeping, sadness and loneliness pervade this aspect of *q'iwa* reflecting the lonely and troubled journey between the world of the living and that of the ancestors.

I was assured that the dual notion of *tara* is not the same as *yanantin*, or the concept of a mirror image referred to by Tristan Platt (1986:228). The hocketing between the paired *tara* and *q'iwa* instruments was however classed as *yanantin*. But more relevant is the opposition *allqa* and *suwamari* mentioned by Veronica Cereceda (1990), in her fascinating analysis of the plastic language of colour. This has much in common with opposition *tara* and *q'iwa* and the dual, opposed and discontinuous colours of *allqa* as a positive value contrast with the single, continuous and negative associations of *suwamari*.

SOUND	COLOUR
<u>Tara</u>	<u>Allqa</u>
double	double
positive aesthetic	positive aesthetic
discontinuous	discontinuous
<u>Q'iwa</u>	<u>Suwamari</u>
single	single
negative aesthetic	negative aesthetic
continuous	continuous

Table 2.

Whilst the similarities between these oppositions from the aural and visual worlds are striking, it is important to note that in practice no connection is made between them. On every occasion that I attempted to associate the two, people were quick to point out that they belonged to different categories.

#### (b) Vibrancy and Production

Often when talking about the sound *tara*, the vibrant quality of the “r” would be emphasized by making an “arrr” sound with rolled “r’s”. Similarly, Bertonio gives us the verbs *tarrttatha* and *tarrthapatha*, with triple “r’s” to refer to the sound of an object being thrown or two rocks smashing together<sup>6</sup>. These verbs clearly refer to the onomatopoeic sound of objects vibrating on impact, and Hornberger as well (1983) gives the Quechua verb *tarantachay* “to tremble”, for example from fright. This echoes the vibrant, buzzing sound of *pinkillu tara*.

In contrast to the multiple vibrations of *tara* and its associations with multiplicity, the ejective “q’i-” in *q’iwa* brings about a shortening of the vowel sound. As Bruce Mannheim points out, the ejective concentrates the energy discharge into a reduced interval of time (1991:193). Mannheim goes on to establish a series of semantic categories or associative sets based of this form of sound imagery. For Quechua words with an ejective he notes that the semantic core of the set is smallness, narrowness or thinness (1991:195).

Appropriately in this linguistic context, perhaps the most common uses of the word *q’iwa* is to refer to a person, animal or object that is unproductive or gives very little. A castrated llama, a white potato plant without chlorophyll or a homosexual are all unable to reproduce and are termed *q’iwa*, as is a person who is mean or ungenerous. If you fail to offer food or to buy drinks or constantly press for bargains you are likely to be accused of being *q’iwa*. In short, *tara* is productive and *q’iwa* unproductive.

## (c) Density

There are many references to *tara* as wide or *ancha*, but we also find that the word *tar*, without the final “a”, is used by both Lara and Lira in their Quechua dictionaries to refer to excessive tightness or density in the former, and extreme congestion, in a textile for example, in the latter<sup>7</sup>. Besides acting as a good description of the *tara* tone quality, this information suggests that the root of the verb is “tar” without the final “a” and that we should not limit ourselves to verb stems that include this final “a”. Furthermore, apocopation, by which the final vowel of a stem is dropped before the addition of a suffix, is a common feature of Aymara grammar.

## (d) Energy

The Quechua dictionary glosses for the root *tar-* as congestion or tightness find echoes in the notion of stretching in Aymara. Bertonio translates *tartatha* as to stretch out a skin with ropes (II:338), which immediately suggests a drumskin, tensed and vibrant. In the same entry Bertonio includes its opposite: *Ecaptatha. Su contrario, Afloxarse* [loosen] (II:338). Significantly, the Spanish word *flojo* was one of the most common translations of *q'iwa*, meaning “loose, lax or slack”. The low energy of *q'iwa* thus contrasts with the vibrant and energized associations of *tara*.

## (e) Balance/Tuning

Following this idea of tightness and stretching, Bertonio translates *tarakhtaatha* as to tie a load on firmly (II:338). Here, he clearly refers to the loading of animals, and most especially llamas. As I discovered on the annual journey to the valleys with llamas to collect maize, loading llamas is a job which demands both considerable skill and strength. The load must be perfectly balanced and tied very firmly. If the rope is not tight the bundle quickly loses balance and falls to one side; in resignation or annoyance a llama herder will refer to an overbalanced load as *q'iwaska*. It is doubly *q'iwa*; both the ropes are loose and the load out of balance.

Significantly, Bertonio also uses the word *tartaatha* in reference to tuning the strings of a guitar: *Quitara tartaatha: tirar las cuerdas de la guitarra* (II:338). Here, as in loading a llama, he is not merely referring to the action of tightening the strings but also to that of bringing the instrument into tune. One of the musical terms used in the countryside to express tuning string instruments today is the Spanish verb *igualar* (*iwalar*). This word implies the action of bringing things into balance, as in retying the load on a llama's back. Similarly, as I mentioned earlier, an instrument that will not play in tune or constantly slips out of tune is referred to as *q'iwa*.



We now note a direct correlation between the use of energy or force as *tara* and the maintenance of balance or equilibrium. This is contrasted by *q'iwa*, which is characterized by low energy, imbalance and disequilibrium.

(f) Equilibrium

*Tara* often suggests the image of an object in the process of binary division where the two halves remain connected, as in the case of a double potato (Figure 4a). This is again reflected in the use of *tarka yurus* in the Macha region and several other parts of the Andes. These are paired earthenware ritual drinking vessels, where the two halves are connected by a tube enabling the liquid to pass freely between each side (Figure 4b). The connecting tube ensures that when drinking takes place from one of the two mouths equilibrium between the paired vessels is restored. I am grateful to William Sillar for introducing me to these vessels.

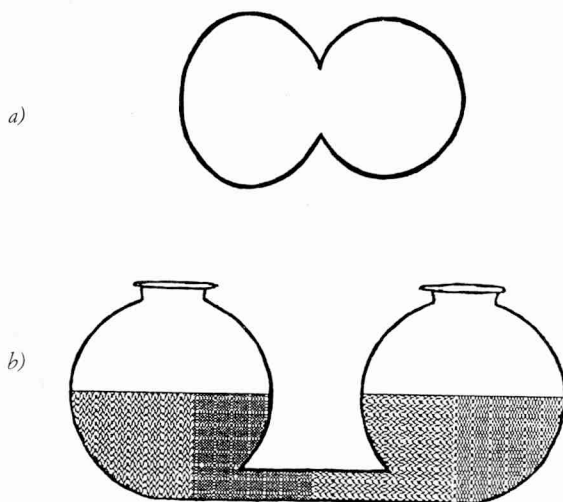


Fig. 4. a) "Tara papa" or "tarka papa" (double potato). Ayllu Macha, Northern Potosí, Bolivia.—b) "Tarka yuru". Ayllu Macha, Northern Potosí, Bolivia (pers. comm. William Sillar)

In contrast the word *q'iwa* is often used to describe uneven objects or shapes. My host referred to the uneven lengthed tuning pegs of a *charango* as *q'iwa* and Bertonio (1984/1612) gives *qbehua hanko* for a person who is lame with one leg shorter than the other or who limps due to illness<sup>8</sup>. Similarly a field of uneven shape, where one end is longer than the other, is termed

*q'iwa*. Such fields are unpopular as they present considerable difficulties when it comes to ploughing with oxen.

#### (g) Culture

Following its associations with duality and balance, it is tempting to assume that *tara* is perceived as purely a cultural value. This would imply that the relationship *tara/q'iwa* for sound is analogous to the opposition *allqa/suwamari* for colour that has been demonstrated by Veronica Cereceda (1990) as “cultural/non-cultural”. However, although *tara* is unquestionably involved in the maintenance and construction of cultural equilibrium, its associations are sometimes also linked with the negation of cultural values. For example Bertonio (1984/1612) refers to *tarcaca tarma* as a person who is disobedient, hard or obstinate (II:338) and *tarcaca cunca*, a hoarse voice (II:338), implies a voice that is out of control. This is echoed by the modern derogatory term *t'ara*, which I was told, with this addition of an ejective, is used to refer to a coarse, harsh or ignorant person. Furthermore, this contrasts with *q'iwa*, which was commonly translated as “coward”, “crybaby” or someone who does not want to fight.

#### (h) Sexuality and Gender Mediation

In the context of the *pinkillu* consort, the paired terms *tara* and *q'iwa* are said to be a couple, or *qhariwarmi* (man and woman). But when I asked which was male and which female the ambivalent responses quickly made me realize that the question was inappropriate<sup>9</sup>. It would appear that the gender opposition between *tara* and *q'iwa* does not concern male versus female, but rather the degree of gender or sexuality. In this context *tara* seems to refer to heightened sexuality: the dynamism, vibrancy and uncontrollability of the sexual urge, which may be masculine or feminine<sup>10</sup>.

Perception of sexuality is linked to the countless daily tasks, rituals and social practices that are differentiated according to gender, whereby men and women are perceived both as complementary and as polar opposites. This notion of male space contrasting to female space reminds us of the image of the *tarka yuru* above (Figure 4), where *tara* implies the balancing of paired elements. In practical terms society is viewed to be at its most productive and harmonious when men and women both accomplish their respective, but differentiated, roles equally and individually.

The balanced opposition and separation of the sexes, although culturally productive, as demonstrated by the many associations of *tara* above, is perhaps perceived to be uncreative in terms of sexual reproduction and regeneration. Accordingly, excess sexuality is perceived to be uncreative. As Denise Arnold writes that if a woman has too much wet, female substance as warm blood or contact with the female-gender earth, her womb will rot. But if a

man has excess male substance, his hollow, dry penis will blow empty breath and his semen will be said to be frozen (1988:126)<sup>11</sup>. These images reflect the most radical position in the polar opposition between the sexes, where contact between them is impossible and gendered substances are unable to mix and generate new life.

Whilst in the towns *q'iwa* is commonly translated as *maricón* or homosexual, in the countryside it is used in a less specific way to refer to a variety of aspects of gender mediation. A man with a high-pitched voice is *q'iwa* as is a woman who speaks in a low-pitched voice or acts like a man. Similarly the term is used to refer to men when they dress up in women's clothes for certain rituals. But more specifically, on several occasions I have been told that *q'iwa* is *kbuskan qhari*, *kbuskan warmi* or "half-man, half-woman". As such, *q'iwa* represents the conjunction of male and female, where the opposing sexes mix together equally. Summary:

<u>TARA</u>	<u>Q'IWA</u>
vibrant/energized	loose/low energy
positive aesthetic	negative aesthetic
broad sound	thin sound
(rich in harmonics)	(few harmonics)
hoarse sound	weeping/crying
in tune (balanced)	out of tune (out of balance)
discontinuous	continuous
stretched/taut	slack/lax
broad/productive	mean/non-productive
equilibrium/even	disequilibrium/uneven
dual (joined/paired)	single (separate/without partner)
highly gendered	mediated gender
arrogant/harsh/obstinate	cowardly/non-aggressive

Table 3.

#### 4. Conclusions

These various images of *tara* and *q'iwa* paint a complex semantic canvas, the full implications of which are well beyond the scope of this short paper. To sum up, I shall limit myself to a few points specifically relevant to music and cosmology.

The associations of *tara* would seem to represent the sometimes violent exertion necessary for the maintenance of equilibrium and harmonious human existence, through the definition and balancing of opposed and complimentary concepts, such as:

male/female  
living/dead  
upper world/lower world  
sound/silence, etc.

In contrast *q'iwa* occupies a marginal or mediatory position between such opposed concepts, which, whilst permitting contact and the exchange of energies to occur between them, at the same time represents the creation of imbalance and disruption of binary order.

Thus, for example, the *q'iwa* sound is thin, lacking in energy and perceived as a negative aesthetic. It lies midway between silence and the dense, dynamic sound of *tara*. As weeping, the thin continuous sound of *q'iwa* is associated with the margins between life and death, such as the crying of young children and women's wailing for the dead. Both young children and the dying are, like *q'iwa*, weak and unproductive to society but are linked with regeneration. It is healthy, strong and sexually active adults, grown to their full stature, who, in the same way as *tara*, are most dynamic and potentially productive. But, like the obstinacy and uncontrollability associated with adolescents in our own society, this very strength, if mishandled, is potentially destructive.

silence	<i>q'iwa</i> sound	<i>tara</i> sound
silence	weeping	hoarse voice
dead	newborn/dying	strong/sexually active

I was told that the world of the dead, as the inversion of our own, is permanently green, and that the souls who live there constantly sing and dance the *wayñu* dance-songs of the rainy season, but they never perform the dry season genres<sup>12</sup>. By extension we may perhaps assume that if contact between these worlds did not take place, the world of humans would be permanently dry. It is therefore essential that transference of substances occurs between the worlds of the living and dead in order to bring liquidity to the world of the living and generate new life.

Central in this process of exchange seem to be the lonely souls from recent deaths, on route to *alma llajta* (the world of the dead) and the *sirinus* who, like other *yawlus* (devils), live in the marginal regions between the inner earth and the world of humans. Significantly, I was told that all *sirinus* are *q'iwa* which, besides implying that they are half-man, half-woman, suggests a mediatory position as half-human, half- non-human. On many occasions I have been told that *sirinus* may appear as humans or transform into a variety of different creatures. In other parts of the Southern Andes *sirinus* or *sirenas* are especially associated with the image of a mermaid: half-woman, half-fish (Turino 1983, Giesbert 1980).

It is from the *sirinus* that the new tunes necessary to bring about regeneration each year are collected and whose enchanting music breaks down the barriers between men and women<sup>13</sup> and between the worlds of the living and dead, drawing them creatively together. These marginal beings and the sound "*q'iwa*" seem to represent the fertile conjunction or engendering of male and female, living and dead, dry wind and still water, etc., bringing rain and new life to the world of the living. In order to acculturate and socialise this new life, and to stop or control the rain, the vibrant and duplicating en-

ergy of *tara* appears to be necessary, serving to control the flow of creative substance and restore equilibrium.

When the peasant farmers of Northern Potosí alternate the *tara* and *q'iwa* sounds of their *pinkillus*, many of them do so with the strong belief that their music has the ability to influence climatic conditions. Players did not specify that *q'iwa* attracts the rain or that *tara* controls or halts it<sup>14</sup>, but a distinction of this type is made between two types of duct flute played during the rainy season in several regions of Department La Paz. The thin, high-pitched sound of cane *pinkillus*, matching our description of *q'iwa*, is played specifically to call the rain. In contrast, the dense, buzzing sound of wooden duct flutes called *tarkas*<sup>15</sup>, is used to attract dry spells, when the rain becomes too heavy, and at Carnival to halt the rains in preparation for harvest.

Although the cane *pinkillus* and *tarkas* of Department La Paz are never played together in the same ensemble, as in the case of the *tara* and *q'iwa* sounds in the *pinkillu* consorts of Northern Potosí, it seems possible that these two contrasting categories of sounds are perceived to perform similar functions. In these examples, weak, thin and continuous sounds would appear to be associated with generating the flow of substances, instability and transformation, while strong, dense and vibrant sounds seem to be linked with controlling the flow of substances and the maintenance of binary equilibrium and stability.

### Acknowledgments

I am grateful to the British Academy and St John's College Cambridge for funding a year of fieldwork in Bolivia and research in the U.K. towards this paper. Special thanks to Olivia Harris, Elayne Zorn, Ruth Davis and Ian Cross for their helpful comments on earlier drafts of this paper.

### Notes

- 1 "Cuando se oye con dos vocas".
- 2 "Se oye bien clarito, eso se llama q'iwa".
- 3 "Un solo sonido: no tiene doble".
- 4 From the Spanish "tartudear" - to stammer.
- 5 Chulla: Lo que esta sin su compañero que avia de tener.  
Chulla nayra: Ojo sin compañero (Bertonio 1984/1612 II:96).
- 6 Tarrthatha: Hazer ruydo las cosas que arrojan.  
Tarrthathatha: Encontrarse dos piedras y hazer ruydo, y otras cosas semejantes (Bertonio 1984/1612 II:338).
- 7 Tar: adj. Tupidísimo, demasiado apreto (Lara 1978:235).  
Tár: Expresión usada par indicar lo muy congestionado de un tejido (Lira 1982:282).
- 8 Qhehua hanko, Quelo, Cayu pilla: Coxo que tiene una pierna menor que otra, o coxea por enfermedad que tiene (Bertonio 1984/1612 II:286).
- 9 Certain friends considered *tara* female whilst others opted for male or avoided the issue.
- 10 The associations of *tara* with high energy, stretching and harshness would appear more strongly linked with common perceptions of male, rather than female sexuality. However, paired and firm breasts might possibly be seen as a manifestation of *tara* as female sexuality.

- 11 Similarly, a *pinkillu* which is too dry will not sound properly and literally blows empty breath. Players constantly wet their instruments with *chicha* or water during performance and commonly make allusions to the phallic shape and function of *pinkillus*.
- 12 The ambiguity between the association of the dead with silence on the one hand and *wayñu* dance songs on the other was not a problem for my hosts. To the living the world of the dead is silent but for the dead themselves it is full of music. It would be interesting to discover if the world of the living is also perceived to be silent for the dead.
- 13 Young men take their instruments to places called *sirinus* (or *sirenas*) late at night in order to imbue them with special musical powers that no woman can resist (see also Turino 1983, Mariño Ferro 1989).
- 14 I did not actually ask what now seems this obvious question.
- 15 Squared off wooden flutes played in many parts of the Southern Andes. It seems likely that the name for these instruments (*tarka*) is derived from the stem "tar" and concept of *tara*. Significantly, amongst the Chipayas *tarka* duct flutes of similar construction are referred to as *tar pinkayllu* (Baumann 1981).

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