Comprehension and Response in Face of Covid-19 from the Ancestral Wisdom of Indigenous Peoples of the Americas

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ABSTRACT

From the ancestral approach, COVID-19 needs to be addressed in terms of the resulting effect of a civilization crisis, and not as the cause of a new global economic crisis. The rapid globalization of the virus reflects that it is not the result of an apparent “natural mutation” but rather a combined effect of four factors: over population, accelerated environmental deterioration, hyper industrialization and hyper production –as well as genetic manipulation and the lack of sanitary and ecological regulations, particularly related to the climate crisis. Current global institutions, such as World Health Organization (WHO), and Bretton Woods Organizations do not offer conditions to slow down, stop and reverse the pandemic process because member states of these institutions rely on economic programs that tend to reproduce the four factors responsible for the civilization crisis in the first place.

As an alternative, the ancestral health approach is holistic and addresses the imbalance of all components of life. We argue that firstly, people need to face the repercussions of their behavior and beliefs on ecosystems that become dysfunctional and deteriorated. Next, they need take a deep look at the imbalance in the emotional and spiritual bodies to then turn to interpret the physical and biological imbalance. As they recover internal and external balance, they will be able to be active agents in the regenerating process of ecosystems which will reduce conditions for the proliferation of pathogens that attack humans and other species. Ancestral wisdom can help face COVID-19 and potential crises because of the holistic way of addressing life.

KEYWORDS: Traditional Medicine; Ancestral Wisdom; Indigenous Peoples; Covid-19

INTRODUCTION

In the narrative of the Teachings of Don Juan, in Carlos Castañeda’s literary work, there is a very relevant and pertinent
story for these moments. The protagonist, Carlos asks Don Juan, “What was the impact of the European invasion on the populations and cultures of this (American) continent?” The wise old man replies, “The mere presence of the invaders and then their withering colonization process was devastating for most peoples and ecosystems.” Indeed, that event was a real disgrace for the majority of the native populations, who were decimated by the unknown diseases that the colonizers brought to this continent. To the few survivors, these invaders almost managed to exterminate them with the violence and hatred with which they were treated. They imposed a colonialist regime based on the doctrine of discovery1 which promoted dispossession and over exploitation of territories, Christian indoctrination, racism and discrimination in the name of god. This treatment, specifically targeted towards our peoples, prevails today and is known as neocolonialism.

Since 1492 the native people and the American continent have plunged into a dark night that has lasted more than 520 years. But this situation, so terrible for most of the people, was an extraordinary opportunity for wise men and women, who knew how to keep the memory and knowledge of our ancestors and original peoples to this day. It is they who had to face the worst enemies, against the soulless criminals and the epidemic diseases that they brought.

As in colonial times, today, in the face of the contingency of the pandemic, we know that the ancestral traditions and knowledge will provide us with the appropriate advice to survive and be resilient. This knowledge is the result of conscious resistance and is accompanied by own strategies and methodologies to prevent, face and survive this new threat, which is the result of a wrong way of life that is far from natural laws. Only the old way, the way of the heart, will bring light in the midst of this darkness.

CURRENT SITUATION OF THE CRISIS

Since the beginning of the current Pandemic, which started with a person in the city of Wuhan (China) sometime in November of the year 2019, there has been an upward curve globally. It has progressed without pause, counting 10,519,807 infected in the last days of June 2020, of which 4,275,034 were still active, 5,735,883 recovered and 511,890 deceased, which represents 4.86% of total cases. These numbers tend to increase as the virus enters more deeply into the southern hemisphere of America, as well as in Africa, India, Russia, England and the rest of the European countries that have a large population of the elderly. On the other hand, the massive performance of the virus test has also contributed to the increase in the number of identified cases.

The peculiar thing so far is that the country that has been hit the most is the United States of North America, with 2,708,743 cases at the end of June 2020, which represents almost a third of the world total; of that number, 1,453,183 are still active and 129,470 have died, according to the CDC (United States Center for Disease Control). Our concern in this regard focuses on the most vulnerable population groups, such as African Americans, Latinos, and populations inhabiting First Nations reservations. The ‘Navajo’ or Diné nation, for example, has been hit hard due to a lack of running water 24 hours a day, combined with poor eating habits, a sedentary lifestyle, obesity, diabetes, hypertension, hyperlipidemia, cancer, and both medically authorized and unauthorized drug dependency. This means that the disease has a greater impact on populations that have become more vulnerable due to different versions of the colonizing economic structure. The latter represents a large part of the countries and territories of the entire American continent, for they face very depressed economic situations accompanied by culturally inappropriate health systems as well as a reduced number of health personnel who are barely trained to accept our approach to health. Likewise, there are inadequate infrastructures, very few medical supplies, very large national territories, few road systems, high bureaucracy, high corruption, limited or no distribution of economic resources and other mitigating factors. All this makes a contingency like the

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1The doctrine of discovery consists of two papal bulls, Romanus Pontifex (1455) issued by Pope Nicholas V, and Inter Caetera (1493) issued by Pope Alexander I. In short, they declare the lands ‘discovered’ Terra Nullius (land without souls), liable to be taken into possession with everything and inhabitants, who must be subject in perpetual slavery condition. This doctrine is still in force and is used in judicial courts by corporations that exploit our territories. The repercussions and implications of this doctrine are widely discussed by the indigenous Caucus at the United Nations, since it is understood as the process of covering up the true causes and effects of the Colonialist Invasion and the current neocolonial process. You can read and download from this link: https://www.un.org/esa/socdev/unpfii/documents/E.C.19.2010.13%20ES.pdf.

2The data corresponds to 4:40 am on June 30, 2020, to update it see the page www.covidvisualizer.com, in the course of 24 hours 40 thousand new cases and 3,000 new deaths were detected in the United States.

appearance of this Coronavirus pandemic become a tragedy. We see, for example, what happened in Guayaquil and what is happening in Brazil, and the most worrying thing is the spread of the disease into indigenous territories which we consider as a serious threat to the ancestral populations and territories.

BRIEF PROBLEM DESCRIPTION

From the ancestral approach, COVID-19 is an effect and not a cause. We believe that it is the accumulated result of the modern mode of production and consumption that focuses on individualism as a way of life and that is based on the overexploitation of people, peoples and nature. These two elements are the foundations of the free market economy, which has seduced China –apparently “communist” but in reality, producer of a large part of consumer goods, especially for world free trade.

Today, China is a corporate state that leads a large part of international trade, at a high social cost. The country is being affected by four factors: over population, accelerated environmental deterioration, hyper industrialization and the effects of hyper production. These four factors could be the precursors of the appearance of COVID-19, either due to an “accident” in which a strain of the virus “jumped” into a wet market with no regulations on wildlife or because there was wildlife trade close to a biotechnology laboratory, or by the combined effect of both risk scenarios.

In our consideration, the rapid globalization of the virus reflects that it is not the result of only an apparent “natural mutation” but rather a combined effect: it is the product resulting from the four factors we have mentioned, as well as genetic manipulation and the lack of sanitary and ecological regulations. We understand the instances and factors that have created it, for they do not offer conditions to slow down, stop and reverse the pandemic process. The rapid spread of the virus globally shows that the four factors or similar factors that affect China (such as the increase in population density in large cities due to the migration of refugees due to climate crisis) threaten to compromise the lives of millions of people in much of the world.

It is worth mentioning that many countries have started a competitive race to find drugs or vaccines (Russia, for example, has started the first stage of testing on June 20, 2020, 18 volunteers who were first in isolation for fifteen days, and will be interned in a hospital for supervision). We believe that these vaccines are palliative that do not solve the underlying problem, since they only mitigate the effects of the cause, which consists in sustaining the neoliberal and globalizing economic system despite all its failings. This is the real and concrete problem that must be addressed.

The premise in the development of medicines and vaccines is that production must be done in an industrial scale, within a purely business and commercial context. In the name of health, businessmen in the medical and healthcare sector generate business, and profit without ever considering the possibility of addressing the underlying problem of the disease and condition of the patient. Indeed, diseases such as diabetes, hyperglycemia, hypertension, cancer, anxiety, depression and neurosis are all attributable to life in large cities, and are linked to an accelerated lifestyle and permanent individual competitiveness, where the person becomes a consumer of products that are harmful, both for their own health and for environmental health. Such products include patent drugs and vaccines, but the damage caused by processed foods and others, which contain high concentrations of traces of heavy metals, pesticides and agrochemicals, microplastics, growth hormones and genetic alterations, must also be remembered (such as seedless fruits and grains).

BIOCOMMUNITY VISION

To deal with the problem posed, we must resort to another way of perceiving and interacting with reality. We must start from our ancestral knowledge and from our strategies of coexistence with the land and survival in our communities; they are strategies with which our peoples have endured more than 500 years of genocide and permanent invasion.

We have resisted, because we have preserved community life and the community showing greater strength: we conceive it as a great articulated and interdependent family. From this bio-community vision (the community of life), individual health is linked to group health, it is, integral and integrative health, where the internal and external aspects of the individual being and the collective Being intervene. Of vital importance are the multiple aspects of the social being in relation to nature and Mother Earth. The vitality of the life system in all its integrity and interaction depends on this quality of relationship.

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The ancestral health approach is multidisciplinary and holistic. Firstly, there is a need to face the condition of disease, from the spiritual and emotional point of view (internal), and then moving on to the interpretation of the physical and biological imbalance (external).

In contrast, the western approach is dialectical: it is based on the affirmation that the disease (the virus) is an enemy, and as such, we must kill it. This vision based on antibiotics acts in this way in all fields; it needs an enemy to make sense of the story.

That is why, since the pandemic began, they are invading us through the mass media, with a global campaign of terror and widespread fear. They have waged a media war on the virus with all that that means to them, pushing people to despair and panic. The civilization of fear and biotechnology (antibiotics) only reproduces in all forms what it is itself.

Gandhi said that violence only breeds violence. To cure ourselves of this madness, we must first silence this war of disinformation in our minds and in our hearts. This infopandemic, is doing more damage than the virus itself: its affectation is relatively low (its incidence of mortality is 6.18%), but the media handling of its threat produces a serious harmful effect on the social psyche.

Faced with this media violence and institutional panic, we must regain control of the flow of external information (“turn off the TV”), appease our emotions and enter our interior where our ancestral memory lives, and from there extract solutions. In this way, the answers will come from ancestral knowledge.

ANCESTRAL PROPOSAL

In order to contribute to traditional ancient medicine, we have consulted a collegiate group of wise men and women of ancient ancestry about improving immune conditions. These conditions, which allow the strengthening of our immune system, occur at three levels: the bio-immune level (use of food), the phyto-immune level (use of plants) and the emotional-spiritual level (spiritual practices).

The first strategy based on bio-immunity has to do with food safety and culture and avoiding harmful foods, especially those that are not part of our original food culture: mainly bovine milk and any of its derivatives. What does help is to increase the intake of healthy foods which we cultivate in ancestral territories, such as quinoa, amaranth, trawi, quelites, nopales and other regional edible plants.

To expand our knowledge about correct nutrition we must remind that there are four food groups:

The first and most important are vegetables (pumpkins, chilacayotes, chayotes, melons, watermelons, chili peppers, chilies, various lettuces, and seeds, such as chia, quinoa, and amaranth). These should be consumed at least 30% of our daily food.

The second group is formed by cereals (from gramineae, such as maize and fresh corn), legumes (beans) and tubers (yam, yucca, potatoes, jicama, carrots, garlic, onions) and must be integrated in the diet by 30%.

The third group consists of seasonal fruits and preferably from the same basin or agro-ecological region (mainly wild fruits), with an average consumption of 20%.

The fourth group consists of meats. The meats and fruits of the sea, lagoon or river, preferably fish are collected in an artisanal way, in wild reproduction and in the correct season. It is suggested that they be consumed by 10%. Non-industrial breeding birds and others, such as rabbits and guinea pigs (bred and slaughtered with respect) can be consumed at 5%. As for other meats such as beef or pork, a consumption of 5% is recommended, preferably from community or domestic farming with good hygienic and slaughter management. In all cases, meats require excellent handling of preserves (traditional or ‘modern’, such as freezing) as well as cooking to avoid the intake of parasites that can reproduce in the intestines and other organs, compromising our health.

With the second strategy, at the phyto-immune level, we proceed to undertake effective and efficient actions to improve our internal immunological conditions. For this, we initially suggest two types of medicinal plants that help in this purpose: first, those of the Uncaria genus that grow in China (place of origin of the virus), but also now exist in our continent, which we call cat’s claw, Uncaria tomentosa (Willd. ex Schult.) DC. or Uncaria guianensis (Aubl.) J.F.Gmel. This increases levels of internal defense, something akin to a natural shield. The other is the bark of Cinchona of the species Cinchona officinalis L., from which quinine is extracted.

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3The ancestral proposal is based on the collective contributions of wise men and women ancestors through personal communication, they are: Mindahi Bastida (Mexico), Marcelo Zaiduni (Bolivia), Cristóbal Cojti (Guatemala), Francisca Califin (Chile), Gerson Paredes (Peru), Ninawa Hunikui (Brazil), Ema Aleman (Argentina), in addition to the support of Carlos Prado, Bolivian Quechua Herbalist; Cancio Mamani, Herbalist Aymara Boliviano; José Illescas Pompino, Peruvian Quechua Herbalist.
We also recommend the use of medicinal and aromatic plants that protect the home environment such as lemon balm, lavender, sage, thyme, elderflower, rosemary, all kinds of mint, jasmine, among others, which help to maintain a healthy environment.

Drinking water must be boiled and accompanied with any of the plants that we have mentioned. To the infusions (mates) we can add coca leaves, parsley, orange peel or lemon, in order to improve the pH level (alkalinity) of the water. This water acts as a regular vehicle in the body, the better the regular condition, the lower the chances of viral infection.

The ancestral wise men and women consulted agree that the water we consume is the basis of our health. Adding to our water intake Magnesium Chloride may give us the basis of alkalization sufficient and necessary to protect the body from the presence of viruses, bacteria and other pathogens.

THE USE OF MAGNESIUM CHLORIDE

For centuries, the medicinal use of seawater, which must be filtered or purified to eliminate impurities in its composition, has been called by our ancestors the water of life and its intake is powerful medicine. In regions where there is no seawater, we can substitute it with the use of Magnesium Chloride⁵.

The medicinal intake of seawater or Magnesium Chloride leads to its components concentrated in the bones of the body, where blood is formed. In addition, it acts on muscles, soft and fluid tissues and on every cell of the body, collaborating as a molecule that helps internal chemical reactions. In short, it is an integral proactive substance. Its presence in the muscles reinforces their performance during exercise by helping the best fluidity of the blood and eliminating lactic acid, increasing our physical and muscular performance thanks to the best elasticity, which is important when faced with acute or chronic illnesses.

On the overall health state, Magnesium Chloride reduces depression, anguish and muscle aches, making it ideal for people at high risk for cardiovascular or respiratory diseases. It also reduces heart risks by naturally controlling and lowering blood pressure. Insulin is produced thanks to magnesium. Insulin receptors in cells require magnesium, so it serves to control diabetes. Furthermore, it regulates intestinal function, regulates potassium in cells, extracts salt from cells so that potassium can enter, favoring the elasticity of intestinal tissue. It mainly controls the pH level in the blood, significantly reducing the survival risks of any type of virus, as well as helping to improve the integral quality of the blood and its fluidity. It reduces the amount and presence of bad LDL cholesterol, and relieves bronchitis. In summary, it is the best ally against a possible medical condition of Coronavirus. For people over 50 years of age, it is advisable to start consuming Magnesium Chloride immediately and regularly.

The correct daily use for each person is as follows: take a glass bottle or container for one liter of drinking water and dilute a maximum of 2 grams of Magnesium Chloride per liter for 4 to 5 days, consuming one glass per day.

Daily consumption of a glass for long periods is recommended, as it has no contraindications. There are no reports of Magnesium Chloride overdose in the human body. Once the intestine is saturated with Magnesium Chloride it works as a natural laxative; and the excess Magnesium Chloride is expelled.

OTHER PLANTS AND PRODUCTS OF TRADITIONAL MEDICINE SUGGESTED BY THE ANCIENT SAGES

Today there is a wide variety of aromatic incenses, but many are of large-scale production. It is preferable to make your own or buy handmade ones that use natural resins and plants such as rosemary and cinnamon. Both plants can also be used as an infusion and cat’s claw can be added to them, with which we will have a more powerful infusion.

Another remedy that can help us is the eucalyptus leaf (Eucalyptus globulus) and its extract, eucalyptol. The decoction of a handful of leaves in two liters of water is aspirated through the nose with vaporization. The decoctions also aromatize the spaces, which inhibits the presence of pathogens. The extract is also used as syrup. The diluted extract is used to mop or disinfect surfaces such as floors and walls. Spraying it to disinfect surfaces has also shown good results.

⁵On Magnesium Chloride we can see a more extensive exposition of its uses and faculties at https://lpi.oregonstate.edu/es/mic/minerales/magnesio; in ancestral practices is the harvest of sea salt on the full moon of each month, source of information, Marcelo Zaiduni, its use in traditional medicine, has many similarities with the practices of alternative medicine and modern trends in comprehensive health and healthy diet, food security, among others.
Other plants that have been suggested to us by the wise men and women who protect ancestral knowledge are oregano, sage, basil, Echinacea sp. and Astragalus sp., among others, since all of these have proven viable in strengthening the immune system. 7,8

Oregano (Origanum vulgare L.) has aromatic digestive, antioxidant and expectorant properties. It is best if a powdered extract is prepared or if its oil is used to improve conditions in people with respiratory conditions or gastrointestinal ailments. It helps when there are respiratory conditions because it contains anti-inflammatory, antihistamine and antibiotic properties.

Sage (Salvia officinalis L.), an aromatic shrub-like plant, has been used since ancient times in natural medicine and its name refers to the act of saving. It is grown near houses as a protective plant for the home. Its cleaning capacity is widely used in infusions that fulfill an expectorant, fever reducing and antitussive function. Also, vaporization allows the inhalation of its properties, which facilitates the elimination of mucus.

Basil (Ocimum basilicum L.) has a strong diuretic capacity, which helps lower blood pressure. It is a good muscle relaxant and antidepressant. It relieves cough and favors expectoration. It lowers the temperature quickly when the leaves are used as an infusion. It improves the immune system, it is a good oral antiseptic when preparing it as an infusion and using it to gargle and rinse mouth.

Echinacea (Echinacea sp.) is a natural antihistamine. It must be prepared in pure alcohol with a high concentration. One of the most relevant characteristics of Equinacea is that it is rich in fiber, iron, sodium, calcium and magnesium, as well as in vitamins C and B and beta-carotenes. It is very useful to prevent and reduce the effects of a common virus or flu spread, in addition to other respiratory conditions such as allergies. This plant strengthens and significantly increases the immune system, as it is anti-inflammatory and antihistaminic. During the viral cold, it helps a lot to eliminate mucus, fever and reduce cough, either from the cold or from any other type of disease related to the respiratory system.

Ginger (Zingiber officinale Roscoe), specifically the root, has a strong aroma and flavor. It is a strong expectorant, it helps reduce the amount of mucus and phlegm, is antibacterial and antioxidant, natural relaxant, and improves blood flow since it contains high magnesium content. It should not be used during fever periods as it increases body heat.

Garlic (Allium sativum L.) contains an active ingredient called allicin that is activated by grinding. It is advisable to consume it raw or mixed with olive oil and turn into syrup. Another way is an alcohol-based preparation: a garlic head is placed in a glass container. Thus alcohol works by absorbing the properties of garlic. After a week, a teaspoon of the preparation is extracted from the container daily and consumed every day at dawn on an empty stomach, waiting half an hour to eat. It increases defenses, regulates urea and lowers blood pressure.

The wirawira or viravira (Tussil gofarfara L.) is a small herbaceous plant that grows high up and in mountainous places. It has a leaden whitish color. Its botanical description is the following: it belongs to the family of the Cinarocefalea, the tribe of the Carduceous and to the genus tusilago. Herbaceous with thin straight and lanuginous stems of whitish color, common calyx composed of linear leaflets arranged in a single row, the disc florets are hermaphrodite and the semiflools of the circumference are feminine, the involucre is simple and of narrow leaves, the seeds have a plump look with simple hairs and a smooth receptacle.

The stems are crushed, their sap is extracted, and then a syrup is prepared from it. It has a strong and deep flavor that cleanses the respiratory system, protects the lungs and revitalizes the immune system.

Wild mushrooms or cultivated mushrooms, strengthen immune functions; they have antioxidants, anti-carcinogens, improve intestinal digestion, and increase organic defenses. It is best to consume them in hot soup, accompanied by berries and other healthy products. 10,11

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SPIRITUAL PRACTICES

To finish, we will briefly talk about the third strategy, which refers to the spiritual uses, practices and traditions by our native peoples and nations, in times of disease or epidemics. In times like these, the wise men and women, practitioners of ancient knowledge, perform rituals of cleansing, healing and restoration of balance, called rituals of change. In more severe cases, stronger practices and rituals are required that use power plants in places of power. We consider illness to be primarily a spiritual imbalance and it is in such a setting that the most terrible battles are fought.

Families in their homes can also invoke our ancestors and guardian spirits, offer them copal or incense. It is a good habit to leave them a glass of good liquor, offer them their favorite foods and even better is to raise a ritual table for them. These actions facilitate the link or connection with those forces that are our roots, and as we already know a tree with strong roots copes with any storm. It is the roots of our practices, customs and traditions that constitute our greatest strength.

CONCLUSIONS AND PROPOSAL

Our ancestors were not wrong in saying that we create our reality. Neuroscience supported by quantum physics now says the same thing. What we now know about the sense of reality is what our ancestors knew. We build reality from the information we receive. At this time, every day and at all hours we are bombarded with disturbing information that penetrates and manipulates our consciousness and sub-consciousness. The media message says “DANGER OF IMMINENT DEATH”, and most people panic and develop deep anxiety. On the other hand, they reinforce the European mindset of fear of death: the western myth of death contradicts the ancestral principle that tells us that death is a transitioning stage towards another life. In the cycle of life, death and rebirth, the seeds germinate and become plants with fruits that are again full of seeds. We perceive and experience life and death in a constant, circular and spiral cycle in the immense cosmos.

To make detoxify of the media content in our system, we must disconnect from the media for one or several days, and during that time wisely discriminate which media outlets to use, that is, which ones to access to inform ourselves. Furthermore, we need to verify the quality and source of the information, knowing that there is a lot of biased information, from unreliable sources, that seek to manipulate us and therefore lead us to anxiety, fear and then panic. The reality is that of the 100% infected, only 7% die, 13% have medium ailments and the remaining 80% pass the disease without discomfort or very minor discomfort.

To close, we share the word that the ancient sage Gerson Paredes of Peru transmits to us and with this we want to promote this type of writings and reflections from the peoples to share with humanity in crisis. “I bring you the order of our dear and beloved Apus. We are new people in these times of light, of this Pachacuti of light. We have long walked the sacred route of the Qhapaqñan. Then we say observe and return to the distant worlds of the interior of the depths, we all evolve, we awaken each of our powers, be it healers, teachers, professors, builders of personal universes; become great leaders, knowledgeable managers of our mission, thus open in communion with the local, regional and universal guardians and their energetic eyes: the ayllin yachay, the good existence, the good being in the good life; ayllin yachay, good knowing; ayllin muchoy, good prediction; the ayllin samay, the trips to all times (dimensions); rimay, mikuy, good breathing, good talking, good eating; ayllin uyaimunay good feeling; ayllin imay, love; ayllin wiñay, transcending, leaving traces on our paths. Then we can live the good life, happy. Do not forget our blood, there is our strength, today we must return to the sacred worlds of the interior and deep, these are their times, I will return with the song of the birds, I still exist.”

13 Apus is called in the Quechua and Aymara language, the hills, mountains and sacred spaces that are guardians and ancestors of a given territory, and some of great hierarchy even of an entire nation or several nations; like Aconcagua (Chile and Argentina); Huancanu (Peru and Tawantinsuyo); Imbabura, Tunguragura and Pichincha (Ecuador); Tapayac-Tonantzin (Mexico and the entire continent); Tunupa, Illampu and Sajama (Bolivia-Peru-Chile) and hundreds of others throughout the continent.
14 The overturning of time-space, the total and radical modification of the wrong way of living and the restitution of the good path are called Pachacuti.
15 The Qhapaqñan was declared a World Heritage Site by UNESCO, it is the ancestral road network of more than 56,000 thousand kilometers and that runs from Chile, Argentina, Bolivia, Peru, Ecuador, Colombia; but in this case it refers to the philosophical and spiritual conception of the concept, which means the good way, the good government, the just way of governing and other similar definitions.
16 The words in Quechua vary according to the region where they were pronounced, they have been corroborated with what is mentioned in the dictionary of the Quechua language (Holguin 1608). For online consultations you can go to http://www.runasimi.org/cgi-bin/dict.cgi?LANG=es
REFERENCES


