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# Corpus Planning for the Southern Peruvian Quechua Language

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This paper presents a case study of corpus planning in a multilingual country. It begins with a discussion of multilingualism in general, and then moves to the specific case of Southern Quechua in Peru. The paper treats such issues as the graphization, standardization, modernization, and renovation of Quechua, in the face of ever-increasing domination by the Spanish language. I present outlines of the efforts of the three major groups of linguists and other national and international scholars working on corpus planning in Peru, and the successes and pitfalls these various groups have encountered and/or created in their work. I conclude with an argument for greater collaboration between these groups, and a reiteration of the need to revalorize the Quechua language both within the Quechua population which speaks it, and within the dominant Spanish speaking population.

*Kichwanchik pulun allpanawlaqmi kaykan.  
¿Imaylaqtra tuki talpuy traklaqnaw likalinga?  
"Our Quechua is still barren soil. When will it become  
a fertile land for sowing the seeds [of new knowledge]?"  
-R. Cerrón-Palomino*

**L**inguistic rights has become a focus of attention in recent years. For example, in the United States, there is a strong movement to legislate the country as "English-only." In Canada, on the other hand, much national legislation is produced not only in English and French, but in various indigenous dialects as well, due to the combined efforts of the multiple indigenous groups residing within that country's borders. In my native country, Peru, the legal status of my native language, Quechua, has fluctuated greatly depending on which political group is in power. The current government recognizes the fact that a large percentage of its population does not speak Spanish, and has, once again, instituted bilingual Spanish-Quechua education. However, this recent effort does not have much impact on the respective statuses of Spanish and Quechua, and so a

diglossic situation continues to exist in Peru. Because of my own desire to improve the present situation of Quechua in my home country, this paper will treat issues of corpus planning in Peru.

With corpus planning in a multilingual country as the main focus, it is perhaps warranted to define just what is meant by multilingualism, and to differentiate between a multilingual country versus multilingual speakers. David Crystal (1985) defines multilingualism in general as both the speech community in which more than one language is spoken, and the individual speakers themselves "who have multilingual ability" (p. 202). Regarding the idea of a multilingual country, Rodolfo Cerrón-Palomino (1989) in particular makes an eloquent point concerning the linguistic status of Peru:

Multilingualism has been a constant feature of the sociocultural landscape of Peru throughout the course of its history. The Peruvian territory, full of contrasts, was an area where languages of different families and different historic roles converged.... The present linguistic map is a result of a series of displacements and superpositions of these languages; the number and nature of these occurrences are difficult to determine (particularly in the past), but their interaction--actually that of the speakers--undoubtedly established the multilingual nature of the country. (p. 11)

Cerrón-Palomino uses the term *multilingual* with respect to the nature of the country as a whole. This is borne out by census statistics on ethnicity and languages spoken. As of 1984, out of a population of 18,274,200 speakers, 72.64% spoke Spanish, 24.08% spoke Quechua, and 3.29% spoke all other indigenous Peruvian languages (Cerrón-Palomino 1989: 14). However, these numbers do not distinguish bilingual or multilingual speakers from monolingual speakers; both groups are lumped together in the statistics. In reality, as Cerrón-Palomino's quote makes explicit, Peru as a country is multilingual, in that a very large number of languages are spoken within the boundaries of the country. At the same time, individual speakers are much less likely to be multilingual themselves. Clearly, many Peruvians are at least bilingual, and some are multilingual. However, according to statistics, the vast majority of speakers in Peru are monolinguals, either of Spanish or of an indigenous language such as Quechua or Aymara. This monolingualism at the individual level is an important point to make because it has a great impact on the current situation of Quechua in Peru in regard to corpus planning.

In discussing the case of corpus planning in Peru, I will follow the model presented in Cooper's (1989) text, *Language planning and social change*. He details the following four areas which are integral to corpus planning:

graphization; standardization, in which Cooper includes the process of codification; modernization; and renovation.

Graphization is the development of a writing system for a previously unwritten language. Ferguson (1968a) states it quite simply: "graphization [is] reduction to writing" (p. 28). Standardization, according to Richards, Platt and Platt, is "the process of making some aspect of language usage conform to a standard variety," usually in connection with the written, rather than the oral, aspect of the language (p. 350). It is also normally implemented by government authority. Codification refers to the written rules of language use (Cooper 1989: 144-145), or making the unconscious process of language production conscious and explicit. Modernization, according to Cooper (1989) is "the process whereby a language becomes an appropriate medium of communication for modern topics and forms of discourse" (p. 149). While modernization is generally a literal attempt to bring a language up-to-date with current technologies and styles, renovation is more "an effort to change an already developed code, whether in the name of efficiency, aesthetics, or national or political ideology.... Whereas modernization permits language codes to serve new communicative functions, renovation permits language codes to serve old functions in new ways" (Cooper 1989: 154).

Having defined the parameters to examine, it might also be useful to have explicitly stated definitions of *language planning* and *corpus planning*. Tauli (1974) succinctly defines language planning as:

the higher and more difficult task of ... the methodical improvement of language, i.e. to eliminate inadequacies and inconveniences in the structure and vocabulary of a language, and to adapt the language for new needs and to make it more efficient. (p. 57)

Fishman (1973) specifies that such efforts usually are carried out at the national level (p. 24). According to Wiley (1996), the process of language planning involves two interrelated processes: *corpus planning*, whose definition very closely resembles that of language planning cited above, and *status planning* (p. 108). Richards, Platt and Platt (1992) define *corpus planning* as deliberately restructuring a language, usually by the government at the national level. This process can include increasing the range of the vocabulary, creating new grammatical structures, or even developing a new writing system or standardizing a current one (p. 88). Cooper (1989) amplifies this by stating, "it refers, in short, to the creation of new forms, the modification of old ones, or the selection from alternative forms in a spoken or written code" (p. 31).

In accordance with an assertion of Haugen's (1966), I would like to emphasize that in corpus planning and language planning the spoken word

is not the most important tool, but rather, the written word. Haugen states Bloomfield's position that writing is nothing more than a way to record the spoken word, and as such, is secondary to it (1933, cited in Haugen p. 53). At the same time, and contrary to Bloomfield, he points out that when an effort is being made to consciously transmit language from one population to another, writing does indeed become more important than speech: "The reason for the reversal [of the relative importance between writing and speech] is given by the function of writing as the medium of communication between speakers separated in time and space" (p. 53). Hence, in agreement with Haugen's argument that the graphic representation is more important than the oral in language planning, I will focus my attention on written form and function, rather than spoken.

In a later work, Haugen (1983) presents what he calls a four-fold model "as a framework for the starting points of language planners everywhere" (p. 269). The four "folds" of his model are: (1) selection of a norm; (2) its codification; (3) implementation of function; and (4) elaboration of the function (p. 270). Selection, of course, is deciding which code to use in the language planning effort. Haugen stresses that this is a societal decision, not an individual one; it is a policy decision of a society's leaders (p. 270-271). Needless to say, although it may be simple to state, it is not a simple decision to make.

Codification is the process of establishing written norms for the code chosen. Graphization is often the first step in the process of codification. This process, as opposed to selection, can be the work of an individual. Haugen makes an important point regarding selection and codification when he indicates that:

they both involve decisions on *form* and are part of what has been called *policy planning*.... *Selection* and *codification* remain mere paper exercises unless they are followed by *implementation* and *elaboration*, the former involving social status and the latter the linguistic corpus. (p. 272)

Implementation is the stage at which the decisions from above, as it were, are brought to the community and put into practice, through such devices as books, pamphlets, newspapers, and of course, educational textbooks; it could also include introduction via mass media such as radio and television. Finally, elaboration is, as Haugen (1983) phrases it, "in many ways simply the continued implementation of a norm to meet the functions of a modern world" (p. 273).

Moshe Nahir (1977 and 1984) offers a description of five aspects of language planning, which can work in conjunction with some of what Haugen describes. *Purification* is the first aspect, which he defines as "prescription of 'correct' usage so as to defend and preserve the 'purity' of the language"

(1977: 108). This process is concerned mainly with the standardization of the language, and thus has implications for corpus planning. *Revival* often functions in the formation of a national identity. "There have been some cases ... of old nations, newly aware of their national identity and heritage, forming movements with the aim of restoring old languages to their previous status" (1977: 110). Clearly, in this sense, Quechua has undergone revival at least officially or theoretically, if not in practice. With the government's one-time promotion of it to the status of one of Peru's official languages, it attempted to revive Quechua's importance in the formation of a national image. This point will be discussed further in a later section.

Revival ties into Haugen's classification in that it involves both codification and standardization: "revival = codification + standardization (+ reform)" (Nahir 1977: 111). Revival and purification are both motivated by ideological and emotional factors. *Reform*, however, which is the next level of Nahir's classification, is generally an attempt to make the language easier to use in actual communicative situations, whether through simplification of the lexicon, the orthography, or the spelling system. Needless to say, such reforms may be affected by ideology, politics, or emotion, but they are not necessarily based on them (Nahir 1977: 113).

*Standardization* is a process that falls under the reform movement. Garvin (1993) presents a very clear case for what it is and its importance in language planning in his discussion of its role in language planning, the purposes and functions it serves within society, and its frame of reference in the society. As an example of this, Ayacucho Quechua (a variety of Quechua II) is generally considered to be the best choice for a standardized written language, although there are varying opinions on all sides, as is only to be expected. I will discuss these arguments in more depth in the next section.

The final level which Nahir discusses is *lexical modernization*, which is the practice of bringing an old language up to date to be able to function in the modern world. This process includes inventing new terminology to express concepts not currently available in the language, such as creating words in Quechua to be able to talk about modern technology. It can be done either by adapting loan words into the language, or extending meanings of current words in the language to express new ideas.

Hornberger pulls together many of the concepts discussed above, and presents them in a concise table to show how they all interact. Below, I reproduce the portion of this table which summarizes corpus planning (1994: 78).

As can be seen in Table 1, corpus planning addresses both the form and the function of the language, through the approaches of Policy Planning (form) and Cultivation Planning (function). It then lists the goals of each approach: standardization and graphization are directly related to the form of a language, while modernization and renovation, and their respective subcategories, are related to a language's function.

Table 1  
Summary of Corpus Planning

<i>Approaches</i>	<i>Policy Planning (on form)</i>	<i>Cultivation Planning (on function)</i>
<i>Types</i>	<i>Goals</i>	<i>Goals</i>
Corpus Planning (about language)	Standardisation Corpus Auxiliary code	Modernisation Lexical Stylistic
	Graphisation	Renovation Purification Reform Stylistic simplification Terminology unification

Source: Hornberger 1994: 78. Based on Ferguson 1968a, Kloss 1968, Stewart 1968, Neustupny 1974, Haugen 1983, Nahir 1984, Cooper, 1989.

### Peru: A Case Study

Having discussed the theoretical basis for language and corpus planning in general, I will now give a short historical overview of the linguistic work done on the Quechua language over the last 33 years. Cerrón-Palomino (1987: 223-247) cites Parker (1963) and Torero (1964) as some of the first truly scientific studies completed in the area of Quechua historical linguistics. Both of these investigators did comparative and/or reconstructive studies, which helped to tentatively classify the various dialects of Quechua, many of which are nearly mutually unintelligible, according to phonological and morphological characteristics. In other words, they helped to prove that the various Quechua dialects derive from a common linguistic ancestor. As a result of these studies, Quechua was divided into two main branches: Central Quechua, also known as Huaihuash or Quechua I; and Southern Quechua, known as Huampuy or Quechua II (see Appendix A). This paper focuses on the latter branch.

Following the work of Parker and Torero, Taylor (1984) contributed new details which further clarified the classification system, and many others have continued their investigations. Among the well-known linguists studying the Quechua language, Cerrón-Palomino himself has been actively working in the field since 1973, producing everything from dictionaries and grammars to studies on language planning and language loss.

All these studies provide a theoretical linguistic basis for the ultimate work of corpus planning. Without such pure linguistic studies, we would



not have the knowledge of structure and variation to be able to plan the most effective and efficient ways to standardize the written language. With this foundation, we can now turn to the actual planning of a corpus. As I mentioned earlier, I am following Cooper's (1989) model for organizing my discussion, which incorporates the following foci: graphization, standardization, modernization, and renovation. These are the topics which I will examine in relation to the Quechua situation for the remainder of my paper. I will also look at various related issues which are specifically relevant to Quechua corpus planning.

One of the most critical and confounding of these issues is the fact that there are three distinct groups working on corpus planning in Peru, and these three groups are not necessarily working together in a coordinated effort, as Hornberger (1995) points out. Each group has its own agenda and its own ideologies which influence the differing approaches they take.

The first of these is a group of "Peruvian linguists/bilingual education specialists [who] affirm that they seek the standardization of that authentic Quechua; that is, not the Quechua of the bilingual *mestizo*, but the Quechua of the rural sector, the monolingual *campesinos*" (Hornberger 1995: 198). For the sake of brevity, I will refer to this group as the Peruvian linguists. This group, as Hornberger mentions, consists primarily of linguists who have a profound knowledge of Quechua, and who have a history of production based at San Marcos University, "the oldest and most prestigious of Peru's universities" (p. 198).

These linguists have organized and instituted a number of bilingual education projects, the most notable of which are the Experimental Quechua-Spanish Bilingual Education Program of Ayacucho, and the Experimental Bilingual Education Project of Puno (1995: 192). Unfortunately, in 1994, the bilingual education programs which were organized and maintained at the federal level were terminated due to the government's changing priorities (R. Cerrón-Palomino, personal communication, April 27, 1996). Bilingual education is no longer a government priority, and any such programs that are still in effect are not linked in any systematic way to either each other or to the government.<sup>1</sup> According to Luis Enrique López Quiroz, an internationally known scholar who promotes maintenance programs in bilingual Quechua-Spanish education, there are currently 18 different bilingual education projects ongoing in Peru, either through the efforts of non-governmental organizations, or through private organizations (Hornberger, personal communication, April 30, 1996).

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<sup>1</sup> In a later communication, after this paper was first submitted, I was informed that the government had reinstated a national bilingual education program, which it is still in the process of implementing (H. Rosales Alvarado, personal communication, September 2, 1996). This sudden about-face in policy is just one more manifestation of how rapidly situations can change in Latin American politics.

The second group working on bilingual education is the Peruvian Academy of the Quechua Language, based in Cuzco<sup>2</sup> and with a primary objective of establishing and disseminating Quechua not just as a colloquial or vernacular language, but also as a literary and intellectual one. Faustino Espinoza Navarro is the founder of this organization, and has contributed greatly to Quechua's use as a literary language, both by producing literature in Quechua, and by establishing the National Cuzco Prize for a Quechua Novel, Poem, Story and Drama, among other activities promoted by the Academy (Hornberger 1995: 193). The primary ideological focus of this institution is the linguistic purity of Quechua:

The majority of their works ... are composed in a Quechua which is not the spoken language, but rather one that attempts to be 'pure,' 'classical,' 'authentic,' 'legitimate' and uncontaminated by the loan words that characterize the 'mixed,' 'adulterated,' or 'vulgar' Quechua used daily by its speakers.... The revindicated Quechua is supposedly that of the Incas, but in no sense that of the 'Indians.' (Godenzzi 1992: 26-27; translation mine)

The Peruvian Academy has close working connections with the third group, in the sense that they connect in the same geographical sphere and share some of the same resources. However, it seems to me that their ideologies are different enough that they do not generally collaborate successfully on the same projects.

This third group which is involved in promoting the Quechua language is the North American-based international Summer Institute of Linguistics (SIL), which is a missionary body whose primary purpose is to translate the Bible into all languages of the world. Because many of the world's languages are still unwritten, this also means that SIL has been involved in developing writing systems for these languages (Hornberger 1995: 192).

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<sup>2</sup> In an effort to maintain consistency in this work, I will follow R. Cerrón-Palomino's spelling convention for the city of Cuzco throughout my paper, despite variations in spelling among the different authors whom I cite. He notes, "We write Cuzco (and derivatives) with z, and not *Cusco*, because of our loyalty to orthographic tradition. It was written thusly not only by the first scholars of the Quechua language, but also by the Inca Garcilaso himself, who was fond of saying that he had 'suckled' Quechua 'with his mother's milk.' Those who would happily propose the change from Cuzco to *Cusco* do not know—or do not care—that until the end of the 17th century, Cuzco Quechua (not only the Chinchaysuyu variety) distinguished between two types of sibilants (a coronal and an apical: the first was represented by z and the second by s), and if Garcilaso writes *Cozco* it is because the sibilant in question was dorsal and not apical. Therefore, to want to change z to s is an attempt against the etymological integrity of the word." (Cerrón-Palomino 1994: 13; translation mine).

Having three such diverse groups trying to work on the same basic process—corpus planning—from three different directions and with three different agendas makes the ultimate achievement of a successful corpus very problematic. At each stage of the process outlined by Cooper (1989), each of these groups has a differing stance. And since each group has its political agenda, none is willing to sacrifice its position for the sake of the final goal. So instead of unification, the result is ideological schisms and separation within the ranks of language planners. These gaps become apparent when we discuss the various stages of corpus planning, so I will briefly return to these groups in discussing each stage, to illustrate some of the difficulties inherent in trying to transfer theory to practice.

### *Graphization*

The first effort in corpus planning, according to Cooper, should be directed toward graphization. Cerrón-Palomino (1988) also maintains that graphization is fundamental in the codification of a previously unwritten language, and asserts that some form of graphization of Quechua, planned or not, has been undertaken ever since the Spanish Conquest of the Americas, mostly directed towards the effort to subjugate the native population. He points out that early attempts at graphization were far from consistent, for the simple reason that “the described variet[ies] presented exotic sounds to the ears of the Europeans. In these cases, the proposed solutions could not but vary according to the degree of fidelity with which the grammarians tried to represent them” (p. 80; translation mine). As we shall see shortly, such conflicts and difficulties in developing an orthographic system still have not been entirely overcome in the case of Quechua today, at a time when it has been the subject of much debate and careful consideration.

As early as 1954, at the III Congreso Indigenista Interamericano [Third Interamerican Indigenist Congress], efforts were being made to develop an alphabet that would suffice to express both Quechua and Aymara phonemes. This alphabet was known as the *Sistema Unico de Escritura para las Lenguas Quechua y Aymara* [the unified writing system for Quechua and Aymara]. This was the alphabet eventually adopted by the Peruvian Academy of the Quechua Language (Hornberger 1993: 239).

In 1975, during Velasco Alvarado’s administration, Quechua was made an official language of Peru, “coequal with Spanish, and ... taught at all levels of education beginning in 1976 and used in all court actions involving Quechua speakers beginning in 1977” (Hornberger 1995: 189).<sup>3</sup> This, of course, made it necessary to have a written Quechua alphabet, a task un-

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<sup>3</sup> It is significant to note that the Peruvian government later retracted this law in their 1979 constitution, during the administration of Morales Bermúdez, in which Spanish is designated as the only official language, with Quechua and Aymara having “official use zones” (Hornberger 1995: 189).

dertaken by the commission whose duty it was to implement the law. At the same time, they also commissioned the development and publication of dictionary-grammar sets to correspond to each of the six main Quechua dialects in Peru, which were elaborated under the direction of Alberto Escobar. The six dialects for which these sets were produced are Ancash-Huailas, Ayacucho-Chanca, Cajamarca-Cañaris, Cuzco-Collao, Junín-Huanca, and San Martín Quechua. The group contracted to do this work was the group of Peruvian linguists mentioned earlier; therefore, it was their particular ideological influence which colored the format of the alphabet used.

Graphization is not simply a matter of creating a symbol, such as a letter, to represent any given sound. For example, it shouldn't really be necessary to have a different symbol for two allophones of the same phoneme. At the start of their effort, however, these Peruvian linguists utilized some strategies that did just this. They represented allophones of the vowels /i/ and /u/ with separate letters /e/ and /o/, creating an apparent five-vowel system. In Quechua, /i/ is pronounced /e/ and /u/ is pronounced /o/ when they are in contact with the uvular consonant /q/ or its counterparts /q<sup>h</sup>/ (aspirated) and /q'/ (glottalized). The Peruvian linguists also separated the different Quechua dialects into individualized, region-specific books, as stated earlier. In this case, the variants of /q/ mentioned above play a role. The aspirated and glottalized versions of /q/ are found in distinct dialects of Quechua, and it was felt necessary to make these distinctions visible in writing (Hornberger 1995: 195). Hence, this initial effort was still not a unifying one.

Over time, more and more problems were encountered with trying to apply the official Quechua alphabet. Finally in 1983, a special workshop, *El Primer Taller de Escritura en Quechua y Aymara* (the First Workshop on Quechua and Aymara Writing), was held to try to address these problems. Some of the results of this workshop included formation of orthographic rules, how to deal with Spanish loan words, and the use of only three vowels (a, i, u) in both the Quechua and Aymara official alphabets.

This would have seemed to settle the question of the number of vowels in Quechua, except that there were still two other professional groups working on graphization. In 1987, the Peruvian Academy of the Quechua Language decided by a majority vote to institute a five-vowel system, which once again opened the debate. However, apparently the SIL was quite active in this meeting, and many non-SIL members of the Academy were opposed to their influence. These dissidents claimed that the SIL approach was ultimately disunifying, since it emphasized the surface differences between the dialects rather than their deep-structure similarities (Hornberger 1995: 191). This incident illustrates how important and yet how divisive politics and ideologies can be in establishing a policy. Also, we will see how these same groups continue to work at cross purposes

throughout the planning process.

These conflicting ideas became reflected in the alphabets put forward by each group. (See Appendix B for a schematic presentation of some of the ideological differences between the groups, and the respective alphabets that they proposed.) After many years of discussion and argument by the various groups, finally in 1985, the Pan-Quechua alphabet was proposed by the Peruvian linguists as a fair and accurate representation of the various sounds of the Quechua language. This alphabet is the one that was used in the bilingual education programs and the elaboration of textbooks. However, it has not been universally accepted by either the Peruvian Academy or by SIL, who each have their own proposed alphabets which are similar to each other, so the issue is still not completely settled.

Returning to a more theoretical perspective from this field-based ideological issue, I would like to address some of the strictly linguistic matters that are generally thought to be important in planning an alphabet. There can be political, cultural, or even very practical reasons to choose something other than a Latin-based alphabet; for instance, in certain languages, a syllabary might make more sense than an alphabet, since a one-to-one correspondence between a single phoneme and a letter might be impossible. Tonal languages are an example of this (Cooper 1989: 126), since it is very hard to indicate tonal variations with one-to-one phoneme-to-letter alphabetic correspondences. A syllabary can have as many characters as it needs, which may represent whole words or even phrases, but each character also includes some element which indicates proper intonation.

Another significant point in planning an orthography is the consideration of such characteristics as ease of learning, writing, reading, transference between languages, and so forth. However, Cooper (1989) points out that even these apparently reasonable criteria can conflict with each other: "What is easy to read is not necessarily easy to write and print. What is easy to learn is not necessarily easy to use" (p. 126). Once one has identified the characteristics which are most important or relevant to a given linguistic situation, one then has to be concerned with *how* to achieve these goals. For instance, as Cooper questions, is it more effective to plan for a learner to match specific written symbols with individual oral sounds, or does it make more sense to assume a "correspondence between symbol and meaning" (p. 127)? In the first case, one might design a graphical representation system that differentiates between the final sounds of the words *cats* and *\*horsez*, although in both cases the final sound represents the pluralization of the word. However, in the second case, it would be this plural morpheme function that would be emphasized, and thus both words would end with the same symbol, /s/.

Social concerns are also very important. Regardless of any technical considerations, if the people for whom the alphabet is designed decide for whatever reason that it is not acceptable to them, it will fail. In this instance, Cooper (1989) cites the example of one language, Serbo-Croatian,

being written in three different scripts by three different subgroups, depending on their religious affiliations: Catholic Croats use Latin script, Orthodox Serbs write in a Cyrillic script, and Bosnian Muslims formerly used an Arabic writing system (pp. 128-29).

Quechua itself has not escaped from many of these problems throughout the ages. Of course, with the Spanish written tradition well established by the time of the conquest, the Spaniards felt an almost immediate need to transfer the Quechua oral traditions into written texts. Since their alphabet was not adequate to represent all the sounds present in Quechua, their efforts had very limited success. Attempts to create a standardized alphabet have continued since then, with reasons for failures ranging from not taking the Quechua phonological system into account to attempting to use alphabets that were so complex they were nearly impossible to manage (Cerrón-Palomino 1988: 80-81).

Also, as I discussed earlier, the three primary groups promoting a Quechua alphabet play their part in this ultimate failure of a unified alphabet. However, at the very least, they have produced a considerable amount of written material in Quechua, across a wide variety of genres: educational texts, dictionaries and grammars, transcriptions of stories and myths from the oral tradition, translations of Spanish literature into Quechua, and of course, the Bible. Despite the fact that all these works were generated in at least three different alphabets, their production has not been wasted effort; rather, such a production is very valuable because it demonstrates the utility of Quechua beyond just the home or the local community.

### *Standardization*

The search for a unified alphabet is ultimately a search for standardization. This is not to say that standardization is only concerned with a uniform alphabet, however. Cooper (1989) refers to Rubin's (1977) discussion of the matter, pointing out "that all human interaction requires some degree of standardization, i.e., some degree of shared expectations and shared understanding" (p. 132). This is not normally a problem within a given community, but when the sphere is enlarged to include an entire region or even the whole country, regional variations in pronunciation, in lexemes, or in entire phrases, can become problematic and interfere with the capacity to communicate. It is at this extra-community level that standardization becomes important.

However, this does not mean that the aim of standardization is to eliminate variations from a language. Again, social factors play as important a role as technical ones in trying to standardize language. As Cooper (1989) writes, "when linguistic variants serve as markers of our identity, we may be loath to abandon them, particularly in the name of a soulless efficiency" (133). He goes on to quote Ferguson, who says that "ideal standardization refers to a language which has a single, widely accepted norm which is felt to be appropriate with only minor modifications or variations for all pur-

poses for which language is used" (1962: 10, cited in Cooper: 134).

I would also like to re-emphasize here that in the case of Quechua, the effort at standardization is only in the written language, not in the spoken. No one is denying any native speaker's right to continue to speak as s/he has always spoken; the main purpose of written standardization is to be able to provide a more or less uniform education to all Quechua speakers in their native tongue. Indeed, Cooper (1989) also makes reference to the difference between written and spoken standardization. He indicates that it is generally easier and more successful to standardize the written than the spoken, for a number of reasons:

The need for a single standard written variety is greater than that of a single standard spoken variety; it is probably easier to impart, via schooling, a standard literary variety...; and writers can usually exercise more control over their writing than speakers can exert over their speech (138).

López Quiroz (*Normalización del lenguaje* 1989) emphasizes the importance of a "supradialectal norm," arguing for making indigenous languages into "vehicles of knowledge, empowering their expressive repertoire and standardizing them through the establishment of a supradialectal variety" (p. 30; translation mine). One example of how this applies to Quechua is in deciding which variety to use as the basis for the "norm."

According to one argument made by the Peruvian Academy, Cuzco Quechua is the logical choice for the standard "norm" since Cuzco is widely known to be the seat of the "original" Quechua spoken by the Incas. Their argument is based on their belief that "the purity and authenticity of Quechua have more to do with freedom from contamination from Lima and fidelity to Cuzco norms than with freedom from Spanish influence and bilingual speakers, or with fidelity to the various local varieties of Quechua" (Hornberger 1995: 200).

Others, such as Chuquimamani (*Normalización del lenguaje* 1989), argue that Ayacucho Quechua is a more reasonable choice, for a few reasons. In general, this variety is considered to be a more lexically and morphologically conservative dialect. In addition, perhaps the strongest reason to choose Ayacucho Quechua is that Cuzco Quechua has been influenced by contact with Aymara, which has contributed not only to phonological change but also to lexical change. For example, the word for water in Cuzco is "unu," the same as in Aymara. In all the other dialects of Quechua, which have not been in contact with Aymara, this word is "yaku." Another example, from phonology, is the presence of glottal and aspirated consonants in Cuzco, characteristics which are prevalent in Aymara but which do not appear in other dialects of Quechua.

Chuquimamani (*Normalización del lenguaje* 1989) makes a strong argument for the standardization of Quechua, and proposes the adoption of Ayacucho Quechua as the standard variety, when he emphasizes, “[We must] pursue standardization to avoid ‘Quechuicide’ and to make possible the communication among all Quechua speakers via the introduction of these languages in school as an instrumental language and as languages [sic] as an object of study, that is, via bilingual education” (p. 32-33; translation mine).

A third possibility for standardization has been proposed by Cerrón-Palomino (1994). In the introduction to his *Quechua sureño diccionario unificado*, he proposes using a combination of Cuzco and Ayacucho Quechua. He bases this reasoning, which he actually elaborates for the first time in an earlier work (1991), on considerations of differences in pronunciation between the two varieties, some of which I present below:

(a) The current method of representation in Cuzco-Puno Quechua does not reflect the existence of abstract, deep-structure morphological segments which might not be reflected in surface-structure pronunciation, notably in syllable-final occlusive consonants. By looking at the newer linguistic research, a deep-structure morpheme can be graphized which will reflect a wide variety of pronunciations.

(b) He discusses resolving cases of polymorphism by postulating a single graphic form to represent all oral variations; for example, the suffix *-chka*, which is prone to wide differences in pronunciation. Deciding on a single, preferably more conservative, form to represent all pronunciations will greatly ease the process of standardizing the writing system. “Otherwise, it will be simply impossible to normalize the writing system: each writer will keep writing as he wishes” (35).

(c) Regarding the highly conflictive problem of whether to represent the vowel sounds with three or five distinct letters, which is discussed elsewhere in this paper, Cerrón-Palomino asserts that it is necessary to make a stand once and for all, even if that means resorting to “counting ... votes among the members of the committee in charge of the normalization process” (35).

(d) Certain graphemes which were rejected, with lamentable consequences for the written unification of Panquechua, need to be reconsidered, and perhaps (re)included in the orthographic system; for example, *h*, *k*, and *w*, which are sounds which exist in Quechua, should not be excluded from the orthographic system simply because they are not normally included in Spanish spellings.

(e) Finally, there is extreme variation in the use of laryngeal phonemes (aspirated and glottalized consonants) in the so-called Inca Quechua. For instance, the same phoneme may or may not be either aspirated or glottalized, depending on what region the speaker is from. Therefore, to normalize the orthography, a single representation needs to be chosen to represent the variety of pronunciations (Cerrón-Palomino 1991: 34-36).



This combined alphabet postulated by Cerrón-Palomino would orthographically represent, for instance, the aspirated and glottal versions of /p, t, k, q, ch/ mentioned in (e) above, which are found in Cuzco pronunciations but not in Ayacucho. At the same time it would also represent some Ayacucho traits not found in Cuzco pronunciations, such as maintaining affricates in syllable-final positions rather than softening them to fricatives. An example of such a blending of traits that he gives in his dictionary is the word "ashes," which he represents as /uchp<sup>h</sup>a/. In Ayacucho Quechua, this word is pronounced [uchpa], while in Cuzco Quechua, it is pronounced [usp<sup>h</sup>a]. In Cerrón-Palomino's scheme, the first syllable, /uch-/, maintains the Ayacucho palatal affricate /ch/, while the second syllable, /-p<sup>h</sup>a/, shows the aspirated quality of the bilabial stop, /p/, which is typical of the Cuzco variety (Cerrón-Palomino 1994: 14-15).

The reasoning he gives for maintaining the glottalized and aspirated representation of the consonants mentioned above is based on the most recent findings in historical reconstructions of proto-Quechua. It has been discovered that these consonants existed in proto-Quechua, predating Quechua's contact with Aymara. Therefore, their presence in Quechua is not due to a later contact with Aymara, but already an inherent part of the language which may have been lost in other dialects. This fact also suggests that Quechua and Aymara may share a common root in proto-Quechua (Cerrón-Palomino, personal communication, April 27, 1996).

Another suggestion for standardization is proposed by Gerald Taylor (*Normalización del lenguaje* 1989), who feels that it would be appropriate to revitalize the *lingua franca* used in the colonial period, and codified in the Third Council of Lima. He argues that this would be the most supradialectal, since it is not identified with any one region, it has an extensive Quechua lexicon and a complex syntax which is attested in numerous written documents from the period, and finally, it was used throughout the entire colony (p. 40).

Last but not least is the suggestion to simply leave things as they are, and not standardize anything. This proposal is put forth by SIL, the same group that felt it was necessary to provide a different dictionary/grammar for each of the different dialectal regions. The SIL takes the view that it is these regional variations that serve as symbols of ethnic solidarity for Quechua speakers; to erase such distinctions by unifying or standardizing "would erode the fundamental reason for Quechua speakers to speak Quechua" (Hornberger 1995: 199). However, this argument seems to promote the view that standardization seeks to influence spoken as well as written Quechua, which is not the case, as has been frequently repeated.

### *Codification*

In all these discussions of standardization, the concept of codification is implicit. As indicated earlier, codification has to do with the written rules of language use (Cooper 1989: 144-145). As I have previously mentioned,

there has been a vast production of grammars, dictionaries, and the like, all of which serve to codify the language. Another function they serve, of course, is to "fix" the lexicon, to lay it out in a permanent and more or less unchanging form. In other words, they help standardize the words themselves. As Cooper (1989) indicates, "written codification can influence speakers separated by time and space and is thus likely to promote the stability of the norm which it encodes" (p. 145).

In the case of Peru, there is an extensive history of lexical codification of Quechua, as far back as the Conquest. However, there is no codification of any kind of supradialectal Quechua; in general, the grammars and dictionaries which have been produced have been regional efforts. This makes it necessary, in the effort to standardize a written Quechua, to elaborate a basic dictionary to codify that part of the lexicon which is common to the entire Andean region. This can only be done after carrying out an appropriate study to collect the necessary information for a preliminary work. Lexicalization is ultimately a continuous and permanent task, since it will always be necessary to develop new terms as Quechua speakers come more and more in contact with the modern world. This point also becomes important in the section below on modernization.

The steps involved in the corpus planning process of any language are not discrete and separate. There will always be overlap between them, and this overlap can be seen clearly here between codification and standardization. For example, in Cerrón-Palomino's discussion of his reasons for proposing a combined Ayacucho-Cuzco pandialect, the implications for orthography are implicitly present in his explicit discussion of standardization. Since orthography is one of the main tools of codification, his discussion of this pandialect could just as easily fall under this section on codification as under standardization.

A final example of codification is the elaboration of textbooks in Quechua. This also could be cross-listed under modernization, since many of these textbooks deal with subject matter that has not been very much discussed until recently in Quechua, such as science and social studies classes.

### *Modernization*

I indicated previously that Cooper (1989) defines modernization, sometimes referred to as elaboration, essentially as the process of updating a language to make it functional in the discourses of the modern world (p. 149). He also points out that "standardization itself is seen as 'modern,' an attitude which sometimes promotes standardization of languages in developing countries" (Rubin 1977, cited in Cooper: 150). In this statement, we once again see the mixing of categories.

Moshe Nahir (1977), on the other hand, describes a more complex process, divided into two categories depending on the level of "maturity" of a language. Hence, in a more "immature" language (such as Malay, Irish, or

Quechua), modernization is part of a process of revival, reform, or standardization, "to enrich the lexicon with new terminologies, due to the gap that exists between them and modern technology, thought, and knowledge." In a more mature, "fully established, standard" language, such as Hungarian or Swedish, modernization is more a process of creating new, technological terms to add to an already established base (p. 117).

Such a process of lexical modernization as described by Cooper (1989), and in the first point of Nahir (1977), will obviously be critical to the development of Quechua. For example, the final report which I discussed earlier gives lists of linguistic, grammatical, mathematical, and pedagogical terms expressed in Quechua (*Normalización del lenguaje* 1989: 55-58; 62-64; 69-70; see Appendix C for samples from these lists). This text also offers specific lexical, syntactic and stylistic suggestions for developing and modernizing new terminologies in Quechua and Aymara (*Normalización del lenguaje* 1989: 45-54). Pantigozo Montes (1992) produced an article on Quechua linguistics, in Quechua (pp. 268-273); this was another completely new application of the language. Also using Quechua to modernize Quechua is the publication of a Quechua-Quechua dictionary, *Vocabulario razonado de la actividad agraria andina*, written by Ballón Aguirre, Cerrón-Palomino, and Chambi Apaza (1992). Two final examples of modernization and codification are Hornberger and Hornberger's (1983) trilingual dictionary of Cuzco Quechua, produced in Quechua, English and Spanish; and a modernized version of the *Diccionario políglota incaico 1905* by Cerrón-Palomino, et al. (in press). The latter work is an updated elaboration of the original 1905 Spanish-to-Quechua edition. The original dictionary gave glosses for Spanish words in the Cuzco, Ayacucho, Huanca and Ancash dialects of Quechua and in Aymara, but did not use the alphabet in a systematic way due to a lack of any standardized Quechua orthography in that era. The edition currently in press modernizes the language by using the official Quechua alphabet proposed by the Peruvian linguists, and by including additional homonyms beyond the original glosses provided for many of the Spanish entries. As in the original 1905 edition, it maintains the use of the four Quechua dialects and Aymara.

It should be emphasized here that the above sampling of works is by no means exhaustive. There are many other works similar to these which there is no room to mention individually: grammars, dictionaries, collections of poetry, children's story books, translations of works in other languages into Quechua. Some of these, such as poetry and children's stories, might more properly fall under standardization since they might not require the use of modernized language in their telling; however, they are modernizing efforts in the sense that they have been transferred to writing and widely disseminated.

Such terms and ideas which are expressed in all the above mentioned texts have never existed before in these languages. In the age of their greatest use, such terms were not necessary. As the rest of the world moved into

the twentieth century, and Quechua became devalued relative to Spanish, it did not seem worthwhile for a long time to try to coin such new, modern terms.

It is important to note that when we speak of modernization, we are not necessarily referring here to loan words, but to new Quechua words developed from Quechua morphemes with meanings that, when combined in new ways, lend themselves to the modern meanings. Many linguists and language planners believe that loan words from other languages should be considered only when it becomes completely impossible to develop anything from within the existing Quechua structure. Cooper (1989) discusses general issues to consider in the process of coining such new terms. If the new word is built from indigenous sources, one can either give a new meaning to an existing word, build around an indigenous root, or translate a foreign word into the indigenous language. If the new word is borrowed directly from a foreign language, then issues such as whether and how far to indigenize it need to be considered: should the pronunciation or spelling be nativized? Or perhaps only its affixes should be modified to fit the structure of the borrowing language (p. 151)?

In texts such as Quechua-Quechua dictionaries, questions similar to those above are being addressed, and attempts made to resolve them. Needless to say, the answer chosen will be different in each specific case. For example, mathematical terms might more easily be coined from pre-existing Quechua structures, while computer terminology could well be beyond the reach of any Quechua linguistic manipulations. The answer can also vary depending on which ideological focus is in play: the SIL is in favor of accepting loan words from Spanish without any modification whatsoever. In other words, for example, if Quechua were to borrow the word "escuela" from Spanish, then in Quechua it should be spelled "escuela" and not "iskuyla" (Weber 1994: 150). This stand is antithetical to the majority of linguists working in Quechua, who feel that if loan words are accepted, they should be nativized to match with typical Quechua spelling and pronunciation.

These same Quechua-Quechua dictionaries, as well as translations of foreign works and Quechua literary production, are some other important functions of modernization, and I have cited some specific examples of these above. Rather than being a translation dictionary, with definitions in Spanish or English, a Quechua-Quechua dictionary defines Quechua terms in the Quechua language. This in itself requires a certain degree of creativity, especially if one is defining terms new to the language.

### *Renovation*

Renovation might almost be considered a type of modernization, but it serves a slightly different function, as described earlier. An example in relation to Quechua might be the case in Ecuador where Quechua has already been standardized. Now, with the effort to standardize across Peru,

Bolivia, and Ecuador, this represents a *re*-standardization in Ecuador; so for them, this would be a renovation, while for the other two countries, it would still be an innovation.

Hornberger (1994) indicates that renovation can also include purification, language reform, stylistic simplification, and terminology unification (p. 78). Purification is the prescription of correct usage and protection against internal change, which is a primary function of grammars and dictionaries; so here again we find overlap between the category of standardization, and this one of renovation.

Language reform, according to Hornberger (1994), is a "deliberate change in specific aspects of the language or literacy, with the intention of improving it" (p. 80). Clearly, then, this entire process of corpus planning is an attempt at language reform. Stylistic simplification involves the reduction of ambiguities, whether in lexicon, grammar or style. This subcategory is most applicable to professional jargons, and also includes the final subcategory of terminology unification, which seeks to reduce ambiguity specifically in specialized lexicons, such as those used in scientific and technical fields (Hornberger 1994: 80). To some degree, then, stylistic simplification and terminology unification are not really applicable to Quechua, since it is just now beginning to try to modernize to include such terminology. Of course, it is still possible to simplify some stylistic aspects which may not have anything to do with jargon; for example, if linguistic purists were to try to express the idea of a computer in Quechua, they would have to create an entire phrase to do it. However, a simplifying move might be to adopt the term from another language and nativize it according to Quechua phonological and orthographic rules.

### Conclusions

Plainly, Quechua is a language which has a long and varied history. It has suffered an extended period of devaluation since the Spanish Conquest, and it still has a long way to go before it will be considered of real value to both the majority of its native speakers and to the Spanish-speaking population. Clearly, there are groups who are very interested in the maintenance of the Quechua language; unfortunately, they are not the ones who will ultimately be able to continue its existence. As Cerrón-Palomino (1989) points out in criticizing the Peruvian Academy:

when we look at some of the institutions that claim to protect the language, but whose members in fact do not even use it in routine discussions, we are obviously looking at organs, which far from fulfilling their stated basic commitments, help to perpetuate linguistic discrimination: nothing can be expected from academies that begin by putting aside the language within their own institutions.

This is why linguistic elaboration must primarily spring from authentic speakers. Consequently, there is an urgent need to train native speakers to write. (p. 30)

This is not to say that these institutions should play no role in Quechua maintenance; most assuredly, they still serve important functions. However, Quechua will only have a real chance of maintaining its viability when the speakers who use it for everyday living, as well as for the other purposes which I have discussed in this paper, can be convinced of its value and want to continue to use it themselves.

In this work, I have outlined the process of corpus planning in general, and used the case of events in Quechua language planning to illustrate the points raised. Based on the issues discussed here, it would seem that there is reason to hope for a brighter future for the Quechua language. Nevertheless, despite Cerrón-Palomino's (1989) criticism of one organization, this hope depends in large part on greater cooperation among the three primary groups working on the development of the Quechua language. All national and international intellectuals interested in revitalizing Quechua also have important roles to play. Renewed interest on the part of the central government in supporting the effort will be essential for both policy and financial issues. Ultimately, it is also crucial to convince the native speakers themselves, and the Spanish speakers with whom they are in regular contact, to revalorize the Quechua language. This latter effort will be the greatest challenge by far.

Standardizing Quechua does not need to begin from ground zero. Rather it is a matter of advancing from where we currently stand, for which purpose I propose the following tasks:

1. The formation of interdisciplinary academic commissions, which will work in conjunction with the native speakers to fulfill the following:
  - a. Compile inventories of existing terminology
  - b. Create new terms capable of expressing scientific and technological advances
  - c. Recuperate terminology which has fallen into disuse....
2. Diffusion and application of the Pan-Quechua Alphabet, through the elaboration and publication of, for instance, a newspaper in Quechua, which will at least allow the native Quechua speaker to develop a positive attitude towards her/his language.
3. The promotion of translations into Quechua of informative articles from different disciplines which might be of interest to the native population, with the goal of gradually enriching the language both stylistically and lexically.

4. Creation of a high-quality academic institute specifically for the teaching of Quechua as a second language.
5. The promotion of Quechua courses at universities, with concomitant support offered to their departments to be able to do so.
6. Implementation of intercultural bilingual education in the Andean regions which are primarily monolingual Quechua, to improve their chances for social mobility (Coronel-Molina 1992: 4, 6-7; translation mine).<sup>4</sup>

Many researchers have put forth proposals which attempt to fulfill the projects and tasks mentioned above (cf. *Normalización del lenguaje* 1989), and some of them have been implemented in various parts of the Quechua speaking countries. As just one example, 1996 marks the first year of a new summer program in Quechua language and literature education at the Colegio Andino in Cuzco, Peru, organized and promoted by Centro de Estudios Regionales Andinos "Bartolomé de las Casas." This program addresses points five and six above. Nevertheless, despite such advances, there is still much work to be done. Without the continued effort of all those involved in the promotion and maintenance of Quechua, the financial and administrative support of the central government, and the active involvement of the Quechua people themselves, the outlook for Quechua is bleak indeed. In other words, for Quechua to flourish and grow, language planning should be carried out both from the bottom up (grass roots movements) and from the top down (institutional and policy support).

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<sup>4</sup> Numbers 5 and 6 of my proposed tasks, strictly speaking, pertain to the realms of status planning and acquisition planning, which I do not specifically discuss in this paper. However, the effects of implementing these projects would also have positive implications for corpus planning in the sense that such institutions as I am proposing would be able to disseminate the work of corpus planners. These cases illustrate the interconnecting nature of these three subdivisions of language planning (cf. Wiley 1996: 108-109).

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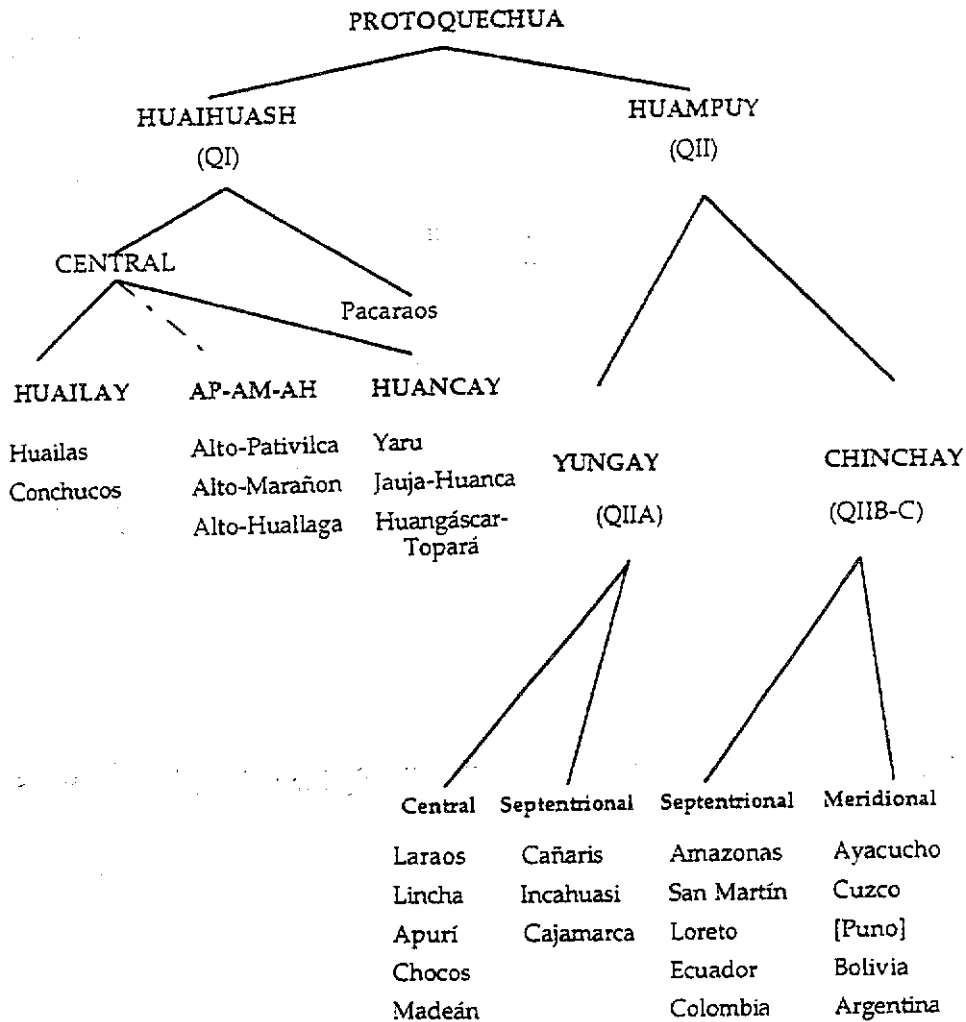
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## Linguistic Classification of Quechua Dialects



Source: Cerrón-Palomino 1987: 247.

As this diagram shows, Quechua is divided into two large linguistic branches. Up until now, Quechua II has received the most attention, and it is this branch that is in the process of being orthographically standardized. The reason for concentrating on Quechua II is that its dialects are much more widely spoken than those of Quechua I. It is only recently that linguists have begun to study Quechua I with the depth that they have devoted to Quechua II.

It is important to note that even though I talk about Quechua II as a more or less homogeneous unit, it is actually composed of a wide range of dialects. Each of these dialects varies slightly from the others in some linguistic features, which makes creating a standardized written language somewhat problematic, but not impossible.

## Appendix B

### Three Controversial Institutional/Linguistic Groups Working on Corpus Planning in Peru

Peruvian linguists/bilingual education specialists	Peruvian Academy of the Quechua Language	Summer Institute of Linguistics (SIL)
<p>Seek to standardize the authentic Quechua; i.e., not the Quechua of bilingual <u>mestizos</u>, but of the rural monolingual <u>campesinos</u>. This group has been most visibly involved in formal maintenance bilingual education efforts.</p> <p>*Taylor, a specialist in Andean linguistics, suggests revitalizing <u>lingua franca</u> of colonial period, as the most supradialectal form. It is not identified with any one region, has extensive Quechua lexicon &amp; complex syntax, and was used throughout entire colony.</p>	<p>Based in Cuzco; primary objective is to establish and disseminate Quechua as literary/intellectual language as well as colloquial/vernacular. Promotes Cuzco Quechua as "authentic, pure" Quechua: more an ideological stance than linguistic. They do not necessarily exclude criollos and mestizos; rather, they exclude anything to do with Lima, so they are more concerned with geographic than ethnic purity.</p>	<p>A missionary body whose main goal is to translate the Bible into all languages of the world; because many of these languages are still oral ones, this has necessarily involved SIL in developing writing systems. Proposes simply leaving things as they are, and not standardizing anything: results in needing to produce different materials for each region. Their focus is individual autonomy of oral languages, and the evangelization of the Quechua speakers.</p>

Adapted from Hornberger 1995: 198.

## Proposed graphization systems for Southern Quechua (QII)

Peruvian linguists/bilingual education specialists	Peruvian Academy of the Quechua Language	Summer Institute of Linguistics (SIL)
Vowel Systems		
i            u  a	i            u e            o a	i            u e            o a
Consonant Systems		
<i>Pan-Quechua Alphabet:</i>	<i>Sistema Unico de Escritura para las Lenguas Quechua y Aymara:</i>	<i>Alphabet for parts of Southern Quechua:</i>
ch, chh, ch', ts, tr, h, k, kh, k', l, ll, m, n, ñ, p, ph, p', q, qh, q', r, s, sh, t, th, t', w, y (b, d, g, f) for loan words	ch, chh, ch', j, jj, k, kh, k', l, ll, m, n, ñ, p, ph, p', q, qh, q', r, rr, s, sh, t, th, t', w, y, h (b, c, d, f, g, x, z) "foreign letters" for mestizo and exotic voices	p t ch c/qu q p' t' ch' k' q' ph th chh kh qh (b) (d) (g/gu) (f,v) s (cz) sh j m n ñ l ll r (rr) w/u y

Adapted from Cerrón-Palomino 1987: 396 (Peruvian linguists); Baca Mendoza et al. 1970: 50-51 (Peruvian Academy); and Weber 1994: 146 (SIL).

## Appendix C

### Examples of Modernized Words Coined or Adapted from Pre-existing Quechua Words

Quechua	Literal Translation	Gloss
<b>Phonology terms</b>		
sapaq rimaq	the one that talks apart, or distinct (from another)	'vowel'
hukwan rimaq	the one that talks together with another	'consonant'
<b>Orthography terms</b>		
hatun qillqa	large writing	'capital letter'
huch'uy qillqa	small writing	'lower case letter'
<b>Morphology terms</b>		
sutichay	to give a name to something	'nominalization'
rimana	the place where two (or more) talk together	'conjugation'
<b>Syntactic terms</b>		
rimay	to talk; to speak	'sentence'
suti ranti	to buy a name	'pronoun'
<b>Lexicography terms</b>		
simi rimachiq	something that makes the tongue speak	'definition'
achka	many; a lot; much; too much	'polyseme'
<b>Mathematics/Geometry terms</b>		
kikin	the same	'equal'
mira-y	to add on to; to increase	'to multiply'
tanta	gathered together	'set'
pacha	earth, world; space and time joined together ("space-time continuum")	'space'

Adapted from *Normalización del lenguaje* 1989: 55-58; 62-64; 69-70.