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PATTERNS OF ORTHOGRAPHY USE
IN COMMUNITY-BASED QUECHUA LITERATURE

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ABSTRACT

This study approaches two major problem areas related to the development of Quechua literature at the community level, i.e. training in the use of Quechua orthography and editing materials thus produced, through an examination of one instance of community-based literature production and of the resulting patterns of orthography use.

First, an analysis is made of the orthography of Quechua texts written by students of a literacy instruction course held in a rural Quechua village in the department of Cusco, Peru, with regard to the degree to which these students approximate official Cusco Quechua orthography (that approved by Ministerial Resolution No. 4023-75-ED in 1975). Writers are of two educational levels, intermediate, or with minimal reading skills and a limited speaking knowledge of Spanish, and advanced, or with developed reading skills and fair fluency in Spanish. Intermediate students, who received some formal instruction in the use of a limited set of Quechua graphemes and who spent some class time reading Quechua materials written in official orthography, are found to write Quechua in a manner more closely resembling official

usage than advanced students, who received no formal training in writing Quechua. The two advanced students who spent some class time reading Quechua materials do use official graphemes comparatively more often than fellow advanced students who did course work only in Spanish. All students differentiate among the various Quechua phonemes in their writing whether they use official, traditional, or original symbols. The findings indicate that some phonemes, however, are more difficult to write than others for all writers. Certain spellings reflect dialectal peculiarities of the community studied.

In the second section, students' representations of Spanish loans are compared to standard spelling for these words. A classification system is then devised whereby loans are grouped into four categories: Spanish-marked, Quechua-marked, ambiguous, and unmarked.

One conclusion of the study is that guided instruction in reading Quechua materials written in official orthography is an informal but effective means of training Quechua-speakers to write Quechua. In addition, specific graphemes requiring most attention in orthography-training are listed and recommendations are given for editing texts for intermediate and advanced-level readers with regard to the way in which Spanish loans should be represented.

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by

Margaret Boothroyd

A dissertation submitted in
application for the Degree of
M. Litt. in the University of St. Andrews



Centre for Latin American Linguistic Studies,
University of St. Andrews.
January, 1979.

CERTIFICATE

I Hereby Certify that the conditions of the Ordinance and Regulations concerning the submission of an M.Litt. thesis have been fulfilled by Ms. Margaret Boothroyd.

Supervisor

DECLARATION

I Hereby Declare that the present work has been composed by myself, and that, the research of which it is a record has been performed by myself.

This thesis embodies work which is being made public for the first time, and which has not been accepted previously for any degree.

Margaret Boothroyd

To my parents

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ABBREVIATIONS

Abbreviations used in the present study are:

CQD: Cusco Quechua Dictionary (Cusihuamán 1976a)

CQG: Cusco Quechua Grammar (Cusihuamán 1976b)

ME: Ministerio de Educación, Peru

CHAPTER I
INTRODUCTION

1. Overview

The present study describes and analyzes the orthography used by members of a literacy course to write stories in Quechua. The rationale for studying one instance of literature-production in Quechua is linked to the necessity for providing reading texts for Quechua-speaking children in Peruvian bilingual schools and the wider need for development of popular community-based Quechua literature.¹ Two predictable problems of literature development are those of training writers in the use of the Quechua alphabet (made official by ministerial resolution in 1975),² and editing the orthography of texts produced by them or by untrained writers. The present study examines one particular case of literature production with respect to the way incipient and subordinate bilinguals with little formal training in writing Quechua wrote the various Quechua phonemes and Spanish loans. The particular variety of Quechua treated is that

1. There is not the space here to discuss these needs themselves. Rather, we will assume that literature development in Quechua can contribute toward increasing the Quechua-speaker's access to his own and to Western resources, and toward creating or reinforcing a positive concept of self and of Quechua culture.

2. See discussions in sections 2.2 and 2.3 and Appendix I.

of the Cusco-Collao region, as defined in the reference dictionary and grammar produced for that region by the Institute of Peruvian Studies (Cusihuamán 1976a, 1976b). Hereafter, we will refer to this dialect as Cusco Quechua or simply as Quechua.

The literacy course, described in section 3.1, was held between June and September 1978 for young adults in the rural community of Usi, a highland Peruvian village located some 50 miles south of the city of Cusco. As part of the course, students were asked to write stories in Quechua. The majority of the stories were later edited and printed in booklet form for distribution to the writers and other members of the course.

As I was collecting and revising the stories written by students, it became immediately apparent that the writing of intermediate students¹ bore a much closer resemblance to official orthography than did that of advanced students. This observation was of interest in that although writers in the first group did receive some systematic training in the writing of Quechua, this training was limited and furthermore, the writing skills of these writers were much less developed than those of advanced students. Secondly, even some of the latter students, who received no formal training whatsoever in the use of the official alphabet but who spent some class time reading texts in Quechua wrote in a manner somewhat resembling official usage.

1. The terms 'intermediate' and 'advanced' are defined in section 3.2.

Students' first drafts of their stories have been systematically analyzed in order to arrive at a more concrete description of these observed trends in orthography usage. It is felt that such an analysis has important implications for editing materials written in Quechua and for training potential writers in the use of the Cusco Quechua alphabet.

2. Theoretical background

2.1. Quechua orthographies: the historical context

The first persons to attempt to write Quechua with the Roman alphabet¹ were the Spanish conquistadores arriving in the mid-16th century. After a period of attempts at evangelization in Spanish, the end of the 16th century saw a surge in the publication of religious and linguistic works in Quechua. It was at this time (c. 1598) that the legend of Huarochirí was recorded in manuscript form as part of the programme of extirpation of idolatries headed by the priest Francisco de Avila (cf. Avila 1966). This work and Huamán Poma's monumental essay, Nueva Corónica y Buen Gobierno, containing some sections written in Quechua, are the two major literary works in Quechua dating from the colonial period. The majority of texts published in Quechua up until the end of the 18th century continued to be translations of religious works and Quechua grammars

1. There is evidence that the Incas had developed before the arrival of the Spaniards a logographic form of writing used in weavings and on wooden qeros, and systematized in kipus or record-keeping knotted cords (De la Jara 1975).

and dictionaries. The beginning of the 19th century saw a new wave of publication of literature in Quechua, still primarily of a religious or linguistic nature, but also including collections of poems, songs, and stories as well as some educational and political texts (Albó 1977: 11-13). The drama Ollantay (cf. Barranca et al. 1973) and the less well-known Usca Paucar (cf. Meneses 1951) date to this period.

Religious works and descriptive linguistic studies have predominated until recent times in written Quechua literature, as Rivet and Créqui-Montfort's bibliography (1951-56) attests. Literature by the Quechua for the Quechua is virtually non-existent.

In spite of the dearth of written literature in Quechua, certain orthographic conventions established during the first period of contact have persisted to the present, at least in some popular publications such as catechisms. Attempts have been made within the last three decades, however, to systematize the widely varying and linguistically inadequate orthographies which have been used for Quechua. In 1946, an Alphabet for Aboriginal Languages (AAL) was promulgated by ministerial resolution under the then Peruvian Minister of Education, Luis E. Valcárcel (Aguilar Páez 1970: 202). Eight years after the publication of the AAL, the Third Interamerican Indigenous Congress held in La Paz, Bolivia, recommended in its final acts a Phonetic Alphabet for the Quechua and Aymara Languages based on the AAL (Aguilar Páez 1970: 204-205). This alphabet was adopted in Bolivia by official decree in the same year (1954) and approved by the Twenty-sixth International Americanist

Congress held in Lima in 1956 (Vizcarra F. 1969: 2). Again in recent years, the Peruvian government has made official a basic alphabet with variations for the six major dialects of Peru (El Peruano 1975; Resolución Ministerial No. 4023-75-ED), following the officialization of the Quechua language in May of 1975 (Decreto Ley No. 21156).

2.2. Major problem areas in Quechua orthography

The comment has been made that there are as many Quechua orthographies as there have been writers of Quechua, if not more, for even the same authors sometimes use different orthographies on different occasions (Parker 1972: 1). Pressure against using a 'linguistic' orthography, i.e. one based on phonological analysis of the language concerned, can at times be strong, as illustrated in Teodoro Meneses' preface to his transliteration and translation of a 19th century codice of Usca Paucar. Here he states quite categorically that far from imitating the innovations introduced by foreign linguists ignorant of the Quechua literary tradition, he prefers to use a more 'traditional' orthography, 'modernized' by making it look as similar to the Spanish as possible, and thus presumably more accessible to the average reader (p. 16). While it is certainly true that graphemes quite far removed from normal Spanish usage (e.g. the linguistic symbol ç for the perfectly adequate Spanish ch) are not recommended for Quechua for the very reason that they are confusing to those already familiar with Spanish orthography, it is generally assumed that one requisite of a good practical orthography is that there be a one-to-

one correspondence between phoneme and grapheme,¹ a correspondence which is certainly not achieved in Meneses' transliteration.

Major problem areas in representing Cusco Quechua have included the writing of the velar and post-velar stops /k/ and /q/, the velar and post-velar fricative phonemes /x/ and /χ/, and the vowels /i,u,a/ (see Chart 1, p. 7). The use of Spanish c and qu for /k/ leads to unavoidable ambiguities and difficulties in transcription. First, if the traditional convention² of doubling the consonant to represent glottalization is adhered to, then the resulting symbol cc for /k'/ conflicts with the same symbol used traditionally for /q/, the result being one symbol for two separate phonemes (as in hancca = /háŋk'a/ and cchocha = /qúça/). Second, the addition of the symbol for aspiration, h (widely accepted, even in traditional writings), to the symbol c gives ch, again producing a single symbol for two phonemes (/k^h/ and /ç/). The problem is further complicated by the question of how to modify the symbol qu,

1. See Berry (1970) for a general discussion of the linguistic principles involved in the development of practical orthographies. While Pike's (1947: 208) norm of one-to-one correspondence need not always be adhered to, especially in cases where spelling can serve to distinguish homophones (e.g. 'sea' and 'see') or to bring out structural regularities (e.g. the plural marker s, written the same for cats and dogs, but phonemically /s/ and /z/, respectively), Berry suggests that an alphabet at least "represent the language system economically, consistently, [and] unambiguously" (p. 738). Sjoberg (1971: 264) also states that while a practical orthography must be socially acceptable, it must first and foremost be based on a thorough knowledge of the language's phonology, grammar, and lexicon.

2. Examples of traditional orthography are taken from the Sahuaraura codice of Usca Paucar, dating to 1838 (Meneses 1951).

Chart 1: Quechua phonemes¹ (applicable to the Cusco dialect, generally, and to that spoken in Usi, specifically)

Consonants

	<u>Bilabial</u>	<u>Dental/ Alveolar</u>	<u>Palatal</u>	<u>Velar</u>	<u>Post-velar</u>	<u>Glottal</u>
<u>Obstruents</u>						
<u>Simple</u>	p	t	ç	k	q	
<u>Glott.</u>	p'	t'	ç'	k'	q'	
<u>Aspir.</u>	p ^h	t ^h	ç ^h	k ^h	q ^h	
<u>Fricatives</u>		s	ʃ	x	x̣	h
<u>Nasals</u>	m	n	ɲ			
<u>Laterals</u>		l	ɭ			
<u>Flap</u>		r				
<u>Glides</u>			y	w		

Vowels

	<u>Front</u>	<u>Central</u>	<u>Back</u>
<u>High</u>	i		u
<u>Low</u>		a	

1. After Solá and Cusihuamán (1975: 5); notation differs slightly and there is one additional phoneme (see note c below).

a) Stops /p,t,k,q/ have the syllable-final allophones [ɸ,θ,x,x̣]. For ease in transcription, these fricative allophones will be normally referred to as /-p,-t,-k,-q/.

b) In at least some dialects of Quechua, including that spoken in Usi, [x] and [x̣] contrast intervocalically, as in the words [míxui] and [áxa]. Intervocalic [x] and [x̣] are thus set up as separate phonemes for the purposes of this study. We have noted that the corresponding syllable-final fricatives [x] and [x̣] are grouped together with stops [k] and [q] to form the phonemes /k/ and /q/, respectively.

c) The so-called 'glottal fricative', [h], is here set up as a separate phoneme, /h/. Solá and Cusihuamán (1967: 1.8 /)

necessarily used before the vowels e and i, to obtain adequate symbols for the glottalized and aspirated velars. In short, traditional orthographies usually fail to contrast adequately velar and post-velar stops.¹ The adoption of the symbols k and q for /k/ and /q/, respectively, and the use of an apostrophe and letter h to symbolize glottalization and aspiration, have served to establish efficient and unambiguous representation of the velar and post-velar consonants since as early as 1946 in the Alphabet for Aboriginal Languages, in spite of strong objections to the use of the 'foreign-looking' velar grapheme, k.

The existence of a post-velar intervocalic fricative phoneme, /x̣/, in at least some dialects of Cusco Quechua² seems to have been ignored in most proposals for a practical

1,8; 1975: 6) group [h], which only occurs word-initially, together with intervocalic [x̣] to form the phoneme /h/, contrasted with the velar phoneme /x/. It is our opinion that such a grouping does not take into consideration the fact that initial [h] does not have the same lowering effect on neighboring vowel sounds as does the post-velar [x̣]; Mannheim (1977b) is in agreement on this point. Although I would be more likely to support the grouping together of [h] and [x] into a single phoneme on the grounds of complementary distribution and phonetic similarity, as would appear to be the analysis of the promulgators of the La Paz 1954 alphabet who write j for both these phones, I prefer here to distinguish all three fricatives in order that the present description may be as unambiguous as possible. See page 9 for a discussion of the use in official orthography of a single grapheme, h, to represent these three phonemes.

d) Glides /y/ and /w/ have the respective syllable-initial allophones [y] and [w] and the syllable-final ones [i] and [u]. For ease in transcription, these variants will be referred to as on-glides /y-/ and /w-/ and off-glides /-y/ and /-w/.

e) The vowels /i/ and /u/ have the lower and laxer allophones [e] and [o], respectively, normally realized as such in the vicinity of a post-velar consonant, i.e. preceding /

Quechua orthography.¹ The La Paz 1954 orthography does include an appropriate symbol, jj, for the post-velar fricative, but states that it is needed only for Aymara. The 1975 official orthography does recognize the existence of such a fricative, but writes it with the same symbol used for the phonemes /h/ and /x/, i.e. h. In the guidelines given for pronunciation of the official graphemes for Cusco Quechua (ME 1977: 24), the phonetic realization of h is predicted by neighboring vowel quality. This unique analysis of the phonetic data forces the writers of the document to state that h is realized as velar [x] adjacent to the high vowels i and u and the 'semi-closed vowel a', but as a 'glottal fricative' adjacent to the vowels e, o, and the 'open vowel a'. If indeed the place of articulation of h is predicted by vowel quality, then we must set up not only /e/ and /o/ as phonemes (as is implicitly done

ceding or following a post-velar consonant, or preceding a combination of flap or nasal and post-velar (e.g. [érqe; órqo]). In other positions of the word, the usual variants are tense [i] and [u], although word-finally, a slightly laxer variety ([ɪ] and [ʊ]) may occur, as in [rfkɪ; Ítʰɔ] (Cusihuamán 1976b: 48-49). See also discussion on page 10.

1. (from p. 8) We can add to the above examples the words ccochin, cconi, and ccahuarei in which the sequence cc stands for /kʰ/, /qʰ/, and /qʰ/, respectively.

2. Cusihuamán (1976b: 41-42) notes that intervocalic [x] varies dialectally with [qʰ] or the sequence [xy], as in the example [áqʰa] ~ [áxya] ~ [áxa].

1. Parker's (1972) otherwise excellent essay on a proposed Quechua alphabet fails to mention the existence of intervocalic /x/, recognizing only the syllable-final fricative, [x], an allophone of /q/. Torero (1974: 54) accepts the use of h for [h] and intervocalic [x], but does not recognize a separate phoneme /x/, presumably considering intervocalic [x] to be an allophone of /qʰ/.

here), but also /a/ ('semi-closed a') and /a/ ('open a'). Otherwise, we cannot tell how to pronounce the examples given of aháy and wahay, the first phonetically [axáy], and the second, [waxay]. We can see, then, that the choice of the symbol h for the phonemes /h,x,x/ in official orthography creates a problem in decoding, if not in writing.

Although it would seem unnecessary to discuss the vocalic system of Cusco Quechua, it being generally accepted that this system is comprised of three vowels /i,u,a/ (cf. Solá and Cusihuamán 1975: 26), proponents of a three-vowel orthography invariably find it necessary to defend their position¹ against the predominant trend to use five vowels. The rationale for setting up five vowel phonemes in Cusco Quechua given in Cusihuamán's reference grammar (1976b: 45-47) is not convincing if we are to base our understanding of phonemic opposition on the notions of minimal functional contrast and phonetic dissimilarity, as generally accepted in linguistic theory (cf. Hockett 1958: 15-26; Lyons 1968: 112-113). Even were we to take into account the existence of Spanish loans in the speech of bilinguals, we would in this case be faced with the problem, not of how many vowels to set up in Quechua, but of whether to treat a bilingual's speech as a single phonological system or as two separate but interlocking systems (Fries and Pike 1949). It is my opinion that where bilinguals make phonemic distinctions

1. Parker (1972: 2,4) defends the adoption of a three-vowel orthography in two succinct statements; Escobar et al. (1975: 128-129) discuss the linguistic reasons for writing Quechua with only three vowels.

not made by monolingual speakers, we can most efficiently deal with the data at hand by positing two overlapping linguistic codes, one consisting of a three-vowel system with predictable high and mid vowel allophones of the vowels /i/ and /u/, and the other of a five-vowel system, two vowels of which (/e/ and /o/) are realized in roughly the same manner as the Quechua mid allophones [e] and [o].

By this digression we only wish to make our position clear that the phonological data unambiguously supports the adoption of a three-vowel orthography for Cusco Quechua. There are, nevertheless, reasons for using five vowels to write Quechua. Quechua has traditionally been written with five vowels. Although, as we have seen, Quechua popular literature is rare, what does exist has created a strong psychological disposition toward seeing Quechua written with five vowels, not only among academicians whose first language is Spanish and who are most likely to be the authors of any Quechua literature, but also among Quechua-Spanish bilinguals for whom the presence of five vowels in their language may be a question of prestige (Escobar et al. 1975: 129). More than one symbol per phoneme can be considered acceptable if a mechanical orthographic rule can be set up to govern the writing of the alternate graphemes (Pike 1947: 221). Such a rule could easily be set up in Quechua stating that e and o be written only in the vicinity of¹ a post-velar (e.g. erge; songo). Such a rule, however, is complicated by the fact that roots ending in i or u can

1. See note 1.e, p. 8, for a definition of 'in the vicinity of'.

be followed by suffixes beginning with post-velars such as topic marker -qa or the nominalizer -qti. In such cases it would seem more reasonable to retain the spelling of the uninflected root (e.g. unu, unuqa). It would appear from the transcription example given for Cusco Quechua (ME 1977: 24) that official policy is to use the lower vowel, even across morpheme boundaries (e.g. llagtaypeqa; wagamogtin).

A recent study (Boothroyd 1979) has shown that children who were asked to isolate and compare stressed high and mid vowels in pairs of words (e.g. kílla, qélla) identified them as the same vowel in about half of the instances and in the other half, claimed they were different, even though they were able to differentiate phonemically distinct vowels (e.g. t'fka, púka) and identify as the same phonetically identical vowels (e.g. t'fka, wíkka). Children with a higher level of schooling (in Spanish), however, were better able to differentiate high and mid allophones, suggesting that there may be some justification for writing Quechua with five vowels for those who have a reading knowledge of Spanish, i.e. for most subordinate bilinguals.

In summary, the official orthography chosen for the Cusco dialect of Quechua has two potentially weak points, especially with regard to the dialect spoken in the area of research: the use of one symbol, h, for three (or at least two) phonemes (/h,x,x/), and the use of two symbols each, i,e and u,o, for two phonemes, /i/ and /u/, respectively. We can thus predict difficulties in these areas for persons

attempting to use this alphabet to write Quechua.

2.3. Quechua and Spanish orthographies contrasted

The official 1975 alphabet for Cusco Quechua and current Spanish orthography differ for phonemes present in Quechua but not in Spanish (post-velar /q/, glottalized and aspirated consonants, and fricatives /h,χ,ʃ/) and also for some phonemes common to both languages, viz. /k,x,s,y,w,i,u/. The Spanish phoneme chart used for reference follows.

Chart 2: Spanish phonemes (after Navarro 1948: 32-33 with some modifications)

Consonants

	<u>Bilabial</u>	<u>Labio-dental</u>	<u>Dental/Alveolar</u>	<u>Palatal</u>	<u>Velar</u>
<u>Stops</u>					
<u> Voiceless</u>	p		t		k
<u> Voiced</u>	b		d		g
<u>Affricate</u>				ç	
<u>Fricatives</u>		f	s		x
<u>Nasals</u>	m		n	ɲ	
<u>Laterals</u>			l	ʎ	
<u>Flap</u>			r		
<u>Trill</u>			ʀ		
<u>Glides</u>				y	w

Vowels

	<u>Front</u>	<u>Central</u>	<u>Back</u>
<u>High</u>	i		u
<u>Mid</u>	e		o
<u>Low</u>		a	

Briefly, phonemes present in Quechua but not in Spanish are written as follows: q; p', t', ch', k', q'; ph, th, chh, kh, qh; h (for /h,x,x/), sh.

The velar stop /k/ is written in Spanish normally as c before a, o, u and as qu before i and e; a few exceptions occur in which the letter k is used (e.g. kilómetro). As we have seen, the official Quechua alphabet uses only k.

The stop consonants /p,t,k,q/ are realized as fricatives in syllable-final position ([ϕ , θ ,x,x]). A similar phenomenon occurs in Spanish where syllable-final variants are written with the corresponding symbol for the stop variant (e.g. captar, inyectar). Quechua orthography follows the same convention, writing [ϕ] as p (rapra), [θ] as t (hutk'u), [x] as k (wakcha), and [x] as q (llaqta). Quechua differs from Spanish, then, in using k and q to write the syllable-final allophones of /k/ and /q/, respectively.

The intervocalic velar fricative /x/ is written in Spanish as j or g, the latter occurring only before the graphemes i and e (e.g. mujer, ágil). The same fricative is written in Quechua as h (e.g. muhu). In word-initial position, Spanish /x/ contrasts with Quechua /h/, again, the former written as j or g (jaula, gitano), the latter as h (haku).

The alveolar fricative /s/, written in Quechua as s (sara), is written in Spanish as s (sala), z (zorro), or c (cinta), the last before i and e.

The glides /y/ and /w/ are written in Quechua as y and w, respectively, whether preceding or following a vowel. In Spanish, /y-/ is written as y syllable-initially (yo)

and as i following a consonant (bien). The off-glide /-y/ is written in Spanish as y word-finally (voy) or i before a consonant (bailar). /w-/ is written in Spanish as hu (huerto) or, in some dialects, as gu (guantes); following a consonant, it is written simply as u (cuesta). /-w/ is written as u (causa).

As discussed above, the graphemes i, e, u, o correspond in Quechua to two phonemes (/i,u/) but to four (/i,e,u,o/) in Spanish.

We may also note here that the two orthographies differ in that Spanish has retained the aspirate symbol h in some words (e.g. hacer), even though it is no longer pronounced. In Quechua, as we have noted, the initial aspirate phoneme /h/ does exist, even though in the Cusco area it alternates dialectally with zero.¹

In summary, a person unfamiliar with any Quechua orthography, but familiar with the Spanish alphabet, will most likely have difficulty representing the phonemes /q,p',t',ç',k',q',p^h,t^h,ç^h,k^h,q^h,h,x,š/. Second, we can expect divergence from official orthography in the writing of the Quechua phonemes /k,x,s,y,w,i,u/ because of differing orthographic conventions used in Spanish and Quechua. A complete chart of Quechua and Spanish orthographies is given in Appendix I.

3. The project

3.1. The field site and literacy course

1. A. Cusihamán, personal communication.

The duration of field research was from mid-April through September 1978. The site chosen was the community of Usi located at an altitude of approximately 12,000 ft. in the district of Quiquijana, province of Quispicanchis, department of Cusco. A densely populated village of approximately 500 person, Usi is situated in a high (puna) but protected valley some four and a half miles (or a two-hour's walk) west from the main road between Cusco and Sicuani. The foot path from the road to the village follows a winding river which serves as the only source of water for irrigation, cooking, and washing.

The village of Usi belongs to a larger political unit comprising two entities or ayllus, the upper and politically dominant one being Usi, the lower one, Antisuyo. While maize and wheat are the principal crops of Antisuyo, those of Usi are potatoes and barley. Members of the upper and lower ayllus barter with each other to obtain staple goods and with outside communities for other necessary items such as coca and wool products. Villagers also walk to the Sunday market in Quiquijana, some six and a half miles away, and participate to a limited extent in the market economy.

The school, a major landmark in Usi with its white-washed walls and tiled roof, serves the first four grades of primary school (grades 1-4 under the Reform system). At the time of research, the school had been involved for one year in an experimental project in bilingual education¹ involving reading instruction in Quechua for first

1. The project, a joint effort of the Peruvian government and /

year students. One of the two teachers, responsible for first and second grade students, had thus had a year's experience in teaching reading in Quechua and manipulating the official alphabet. Attendance at the school was normally half of the matriculation figure of 50 because of students' work duties in the home or in agricultural activities.

The site was chosen with the aid of the bilingual education supervisor assigned to the school district of Quiquijana who introduced me to one of the two teachers in Usi. The latter called a meeting of heads of family to discuss the possibility of my living there for several months and conducting adult literacy classes. There was unanimous agreement that I come to stay.

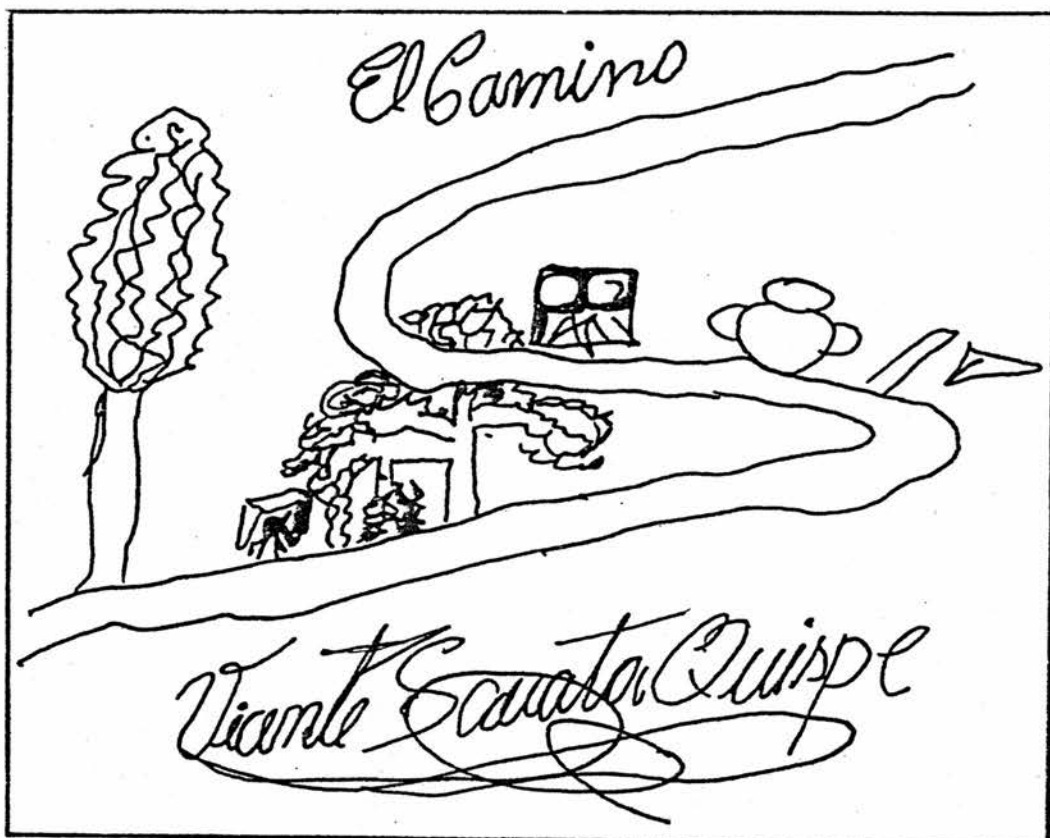
The course was begun after a period of living in the village and getting to know some of the members of the community. Of the eighty persons who were matriculated, approximately 30 between the ages of 11 and 43 came to the classes, held for about two hours every evening by the light of candles and kerosene lamps. A total of 42 classes were given. Literacy instruction materials were in both Quechua and Spanish, either developed by myself or adapted from existing Quechua primers and Spanish school textbooks. Beginners were taught in Quechua by a global reading method. Intermediates worked initially in Quechua, analyzing words into their component syllables, but soon progressed to reading short texts. At this stage, they were allowed to choose

and the United States Agency for International Development, has developed two primers in Quechua for use in approximately 60 experimental bilingual schools.

between Quechua and Spanish as the language of study, as had been the policy for advanced students. In addition to carrying out these exercises, intermediate and advanced students wrote stories in Quechua. At first it was difficult to convince them to do so, as they much preferred to study in Spanish and found writing Quechua difficult. A small group of students nevertheless began writing texts and eventually I gathered a total of 24 (some of these appear in Appendix II). I also had three of the beginners dictate short narratives to me. Of the 27 stories thus collected, 20 were chosen to be edited and printed in booklet form by mimeograph (Boothroyd 1978). Electronic stencils were used to obtain exact copies of the draftsman's hand-printed originals, thereby insuring flexibility in print size and in the number and type of illustrations. Sample pages from the book of stories appear below (pp. 19 and 20). The finished booklets were later distributed to the members of the literacy course in Usi.

3.2. The writers

Thirteen students between the ages of 12 and 36 participated in writing texts. Students were of three educational levels upon beginning the course: non-literates or beginning, partial literates or intermediate, and literates or advanced students. Beginning students were those who had either received no previous literacy instruction or whose literacy skills had fallen into disuse. None of the writers were beginning students. Intermediates had had previous literacy training in primary school; some had also attended adult education classes. Their reading skills at

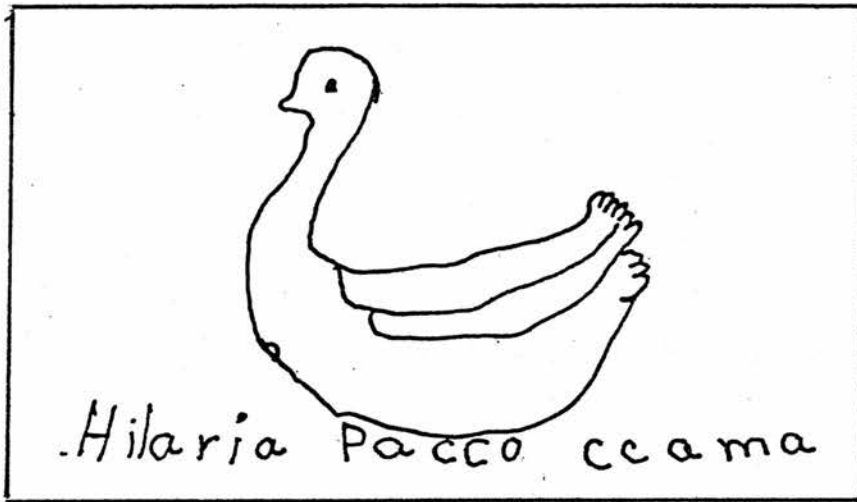


imasmaris, imasmaris,
¿imataq ñanpa uranpi
ñanpa hawanpi,
negro uman papa
kusawan wikch'urayashan?

arrierokunaq
wayk'ukusqan.

Note: All texts for the booklet were inadvertently drafted with uniform use of minuscule letters; the words imasmaris, imataq, and arrierokunaq should all begin with majuscules.

See Chapter IV, section 2.2, regarding the writing of the loans negro and arriero.



chaysi, "noqa horqorampusayki,
ama waqaychu" nispas nin.

chaysi horqoramun qori
hachata.

"¿chaychu qanpa hachayki?"
nispas tapun llantaqta.

"manan chaychu hachayqa,
noqaq hachayqa
thantachallan" nispas nin.

chaysi chay runaman
honrado kasqanmanta
qoyapun chay qori hachata.

the beginning of the course were minimal but they advanced quite quickly and were soon reading simple texts in both Quechua and Spanish although with some difficulty. Six of the writers were intermediates, five of them women between the ages of 14 and 16 and one of them a boy of 12.

The advanced students, young and adult men, could already read and write upon entering class and had at least a limited if not a developed speaking knowledge of Spanish as opposed to the intermediate students who were incipient bilinguals at best. A total of seven advanced students between the ages of 15 and 36 participated in writing stories.

All of the writers had had from two to five years of formal schooling but none of the students in the literacy course had previously received formal literacy instruction in Quechua. Intermediate students in general spent a larger percentage of class time working with materials written in the 1975 official alphabet than did advanced students who had only minimal exposure to Quechua materials, preferring to do exercises in Spanish. Several of the advanced writers had had additional experience using their literacy skills in temporary employment in populated Spanish-speaking areas. All students could have seen publications in Quechua printed primarily in traditional orthographies, as many of the villagers of Usi owned Quechua catechisms and almanacs. The spelling of certain place names (e.g. Ttio, a town between Quiquijana and the closest commercial center, Urcos; the name of this town was clearly printed on a sign at the side of the road) and surnames

(e.g. Ttupa, a common name in Usi) could have been general knowledge for most students in the course.

3.3. The texts

In most cases, students' stories were copied down exactly as they had been written. It was not possible to collect students' hand-written versions as they objected strongly to giving me loose sheets to take home, preferring to write out the stories in their notebooks for me to correct in class. All stories, whether copied in original form or directly in official orthography, were at least briefly checked against students' pronunciation as students were asked to read the stories over to me as I copied.

Copies of the original orthography used by students are available for 19½ of the 24 stories written and include samples of writing from all those who contributed stories. The orthography used for writing Quechua in these twenty texts is described and analyzed in Chapter II, with reference to differences observed between intermediate and advanced students and to individual patterns of usage.

In Chapter III, the orthography used in writing Spanish loanwords is examined and a tentative system is developed for classifying loans into Quechua and Spanish-marked categories.

CHAPTER TWO
ORTHOGRAPHY USED IN QUECHUA CORPUS

1. Introductory remarks

In this chapter we analyze the orthography used by students in writing the various vowel and consonantal phonemes of Quechua, comparing patterns evident in intermediate student texts with those in advanced student texts. Following this analysis, we turn to a discussion of the degree to which students achieve contrast among different phonemes in their writing and are consistent in their representations.

2. Orthography used in writing Quechua phonemes

As outlined in the introduction, intermediate students in general spent more time than advanced students copying and studying materials written in Quechua. Intermediates were asked at the beginning of the course to work on exercises in Quechua, analyzing words into their syllabic components and learning the corresponding syllable families (e.g. ta, ti, tu or qa, qe, qo). After these students had mastered reading a first set of twelve syllable families (involving the consonants p, w, k, t, s, r, n, ch, q, sh, ll, m), they were ready to progress to simple reading materials in Quechua and in Spanish as the first set of exercises seems to have served as an aid in recuperating lost literacy skills. Study cards were available

for the graphemes y, ñ, h, l, ph, and k', but these were optional and not copied by all students.

Intermediates preferred at first to work in Spanish and were given short texts from school readers to copy and read to me. When later in the course I received several copies of an Adult Education reader in Spanish, those who still preferred to read Spanish were given these books to work with. The boy (student 6) consistently chose to work in Spanish; the young women chose first to work in Spanish but toward the end of the course were copying both Quechua and Spanish texts. Student 1 spent a great deal of time copying Quechua stories from a series of adult literacy primers prepared by the Peruvian Evangelical church. Of all of the writers, the intermediate women had the best class attendance (defined as attendance at 29 or more classes). The intermediate boy had good attendance (21-28 days).

The seven advanced students, as mentioned above, worked primarily in Spanish in class exercises, copying from school textbooks, and writing original compositions. The two advanced students with good attendance (students 7 and 8) did spend some class time at the beginning of the course copying texts in Quechua. One of the advanced students (13) had poor attendance (12 days or less) and the remaining students had fair attendance (13-20 days). To summarize, advanced students had received about the same amount of formal schooling as intermediate students but some at least appear to have been using their literacy

skills in temporary employment in larger towns¹ and were more fluent in Spanish than were intermediate students.

More supervision was given to intermediate students than to advanced ones. That is, class exercises and original stories were revised more carefully for these students. Advanced students received really very little training in the use of the Quechua alphabet. Intermediate student 1 and advanced students 7 and 8 wrote more than one text a piece and thus received some feedback on their first attempts at writing Quechua. Nevertheless, extensive corrections were not made as it was felt that such action would have a detrimental effect on student performance.

Hereafter, students will be referred to by their number (S.1, S.2, etc.). A reference chart follows giving students' reading level, attendance rate, and text numbers. Sex of students is not specified; all intermediate students with excellent attendance are female and all remaining students are male.

<u>Student</u>	<u>Level</u>	<u>Attendance</u>	<u>Text numbers</u>
1.	Intermediate	Excellent	4, 21, 23
2.	Intermediate	Excellent	2
3.	Intermediate	Excellent	16
4.	Intermediate	Excellent	22
5.	Intermediate	Excellent	24
6.	Intermediate	Good	25

1. The oldest student (13), for example, had worked as a cook in the eastern lowland city of Maldonado and was very proud of the fact that he had been able to cook following the instructions printed on the labels of tinned food. Student 8 also told me that he had worked for a short time in Maldonado.

7.	Advanced	Good	19,13,18,5
8.	Advanced	Good	20,9,10
9.	Advanced	Fair	14
10.	Advanced	Fair	17
11.	Advanced	Fair	26
12.	Advanced	Fair	27
13.	Advanced	Poor	15

2.1. Vowels

2.1.a. /i/ and /u/

We can characterize intermediate students' writing as using the high vowels i and u approximately twice as often as e and o, whether these occur in pretonic, tonic, or post-tonic position of the word (wasikuna, suyasaque; nispa, ronakuna; apani, pallamanchu). In spite of this overall preference for high vowels, we do find considerable free variation in usage for each student, e.g. S.1 nispa but nespa or S.2 wasikuna but malquikona. A few individual patterns stand out, such as student 1's writing of pretonic /i/ primarily as e (henaspa), but of pretonic /u/ as u (runata) and student 4's writing of pretonic /u/ primarily as o (ronakuna) but of pretonic /i/ as i (tiyachanku). Student 6 uses an equal number of i and e (mijoron; nescca) but uses o exclusively (ronas).

Vowels in the vicinity of a post-velar consonant occur rarely in intermediate texts. Again, we find both high and mid vowels in this position (siq'urakapusun, k'epe-nakusgaku; q'uncha, qolla). It may be significant that in the four cases where the vowel /u/ occurs at the end of a morpheme and preceding a post-velar, students write u

(tukapakug; tusug).

Advanced students, like intermediates, show a general tendency to use the high vowel i about twice as often as e; again we find instances of free variation within texts of the same author (mijonata, mejoron; cheysi, chiyse). We can observe, however, a trend toward writing e more frequently for vowels in post-tonic position (chaime) and i for vowels in tonic or pretonic positions (tiran), most notably for student 7 who writes pretonic and tonic /i/ almost exclusively as i (ripusqa, kusisqa), but post-tonic, and especially word-final /i/ about three-quarters of the time as e (nine), reminding us of one description of Quechua word-final vowels, i.e. that they are lower in this position (Cusihuamán 1976b: 48-49).

Exceptions to these patterns are student 8's slight preference for i for vowels in all word-positions (tiyasqa, wasiman, cagmansi), student 12's overwhelming preference for i, e being written only three times in his corpus, and then, only for vowels in post-tonic position (e.g. riscca but sotince), and student 13's use of e exclusively (semenman).

Whereas intermediate students write u more frequently than o, advanced students write these with about equal frequency (urayman, oranmantas). Student 7, however, shows a definite tendency, as for the vowel /i/, to write u for vowels in pretonic and tonic positions (runaqa, runas) but o for those in post-tonic position (cutinpon).

Other students tend to prefer o to u overall, e.g. students 9 and 12 (riponco; toro).

Front vowels in the vicinity of a post-velar are written by advanced students either as i or e (huaeccenkunaman, zhiccichiquiman); for most students, we can observe no patterns regarding the writing of root or suffix-final vowels (e.g. S.8 neqtinse but huaeccenkunaman; S.9 nictin but zhiccichiquiman). Student 7 does write root-final /i/ consistently as i (nigtinse, riqtiy).

Four advanced students (7,10,11,12) show a clear tendency to write /u/ as o when in the vicinity of a post-velar (e.g. alcoconcuna), most notably S.7 who writes even tonic vowels adjacent to a post-velar most often as o (noqan, ccore).

Again, it may be significant that in the limited instances where /u/ is followed by a suffix beginning with /q/, we can observe a slight tendency to write u, as for S.7's muyug or S.8's tutayapuqtin. More data is needed to substantiate this finding.

For vowels not adjacent to a post-velar, then, intermediates' writing more closely resembles official usage than does that of advanced students because of the former's overall preference for both i and u. We have seen, however, that this resemblance is minimal, for intermediate students, like advanced students, display considerable free variation in the writing of high and mid vowels.

Certain individual patterns of spelling stand out: student 6's writing resembles that of advanced student more than that of fellow intermediates in that the vowel u never appears in his corpus; student 1's writing resembles

official usage most closely of all students in her quite consistent use of the high vowels i and u; advanced student 7 seems to follow a rule which governs the writing of /i/ and /u/ as i and u, respectively, in pretonic or tonic positions, but as e and o in post-tonic position; finally, certain students show definite preferences for one vowel or the other throughout their corpuses.

Data is limited for vowels in the vicinity of a post-velar, but we have seen that advanced students tend to write the vowel /u/ as o in this position, even taking into account some students' overall preference for o. Finally, there is limited evidence that where /i/ or /u/ is followed by a suffix beginning with /q/, the preferred grapheme is i or u, respectively.

2.1.b. /a/

The vowel /a/ is in almost all cases written as a (e.g. wallata), but there are some exceptions. Where /a/ appears within a single morpheme in the diphthong /ay/ (for standard Cusco Quechua¹), it is quite frequently written as i or e (e.g. cheysi). This dialect-related phenomenon is treated in section 2.3.

/a/ is written as i by students 1 and 7 in morphemes followed by a post-velar (michiychiq = standard /miçiyçaq/; waccayshiqtiy = /waqayšáqtiy/); these writings may have a basis in actual pronunciation but I can find no corroborative evidence that [a] is raised by a following post-velar

1. The standard forms of Quechua words for the Cusco area are based on those listed in the Cusco Quechua Dictionary (Cusihamán 1976a), hereafter referred to as CQD.

fricative.

2.1.c. Anomalies

Instances where the vowel o or u is written for /a/ (e.g. cononcha = /kunančá/; pasuposcca = /pasapúsqa/) are sporadic and likely to be orthographic errors. We also find isolated instances of a written for /u/ (e.g. tukapakuq = /tukupákuq/), leading us to suspect that students at times confuse the graphemes a, u, and o; this confusion is most likely not language-related.

2.2. Consonants

In this section we examine students' writing of the various consonantal phonemes of Quechua.

2.2.a. Simple, glottalized, and aspirated obstruents

1) Simple obstruents

In the writing samples, we find the Quechua phonemes /p, t, č/ written almost uniformly with the letters p, t, ch, respectively (e.g. paykuna, tapun, chayme). Among intermediates, the only exception is student 3's use of h for /č/ word-initially (hiysi) but ch word-medially (kachasqa). Advanced student 13 also writes h for /č/ word-initially (haulla, hey, heccacta) and ch medially (cononcha). These are evidently cases of omission of part of a digraph, but I am at a loss to explain the consistency of usage. Also in exception to the use of ch for /č/ is student 9's writing of th and zh in two instances of the word /č^háču/ (zhatho, zhazho) in spite of his normal usage of ch in other words (e.g. rowasoncho). These exceptions appear to be related to the student's use of the symbol zh for /č^h/ at the

beginning of the word. Finally, student 7 writes /t/ once as t' (jamphat'omá = /hamp'atumá/). We can only hypothesize that the student is compensating for the absence of the apostrophe in ph by placing one on the following t.

The phonemes /p,t,č/, then, are written by all students primarily as in official orthography with the exception that intermediate student 3 and advanced students 9 and 13 use additional symbols for /č/.

The velar stop /k/ is written by intermediate students almost uniformly as k (kan) with the exception of student 6, the boy who did most of his class work in Spanish, who uses c (cascca) and qu (waquen). Student 1 uses primarily k, but has two instances of q (suwaquna), one of c (cani) and one of qu (suyasaque). Student 2 also uses qu once (malquikona). In all cases where qu is used, it occurs before the vowels i or e; we find only two instances of k before i, both in intermediate texts (S.3 apasanki; S.4 kiska).

Advanced students write /k/ primarily as c and qu (cascca; quina). Students 7 and 8, those with good attendance, use in addition to these symbols (but with less frequency) official k (kutillantag; kanqo) and the latter uses as often as k, q (puñoqamunko). Finally, there are isolated instances of cc for /k/ in S.7's and S.9's texts (ccasqa; juñorcco = /huñurúkun/).¹ We can see that advanced students tend to use the Spanish graphemes for /k/ except for stu-

1. I verified with the student that this word was in fact [huñurúkun] and not [huñórqon] as it would at first glance appear to be. The u and n have been omitted.

dents 7 and 8 who use in addition official k.

/q/ is written by intermediate students most often as q (qaten) and by advanced students as cc (moccope). A notable exception among intermediates is the use of cc by student 6 (mejoroscca), the same student who wrote c and qu for /k/. Other symbols for /q/ used by intermediates are isolated instances of k (kusqa) and q' (nuq'aku = /nuqáyku/). All advanced students use cc but students 7 and 8 use more often official q (noqa; qarayosqa). Student 7 also uses with about the same frequency as cc, kq (runakqa), an innovative combination of two official graphemes, k and q. A variety of other symbols for /q/ are also found in advanced students' texts: S.7's qq (wiraqqocha), q' (q'ore) and k (koskqoq),¹ S.12's ccc (chiccca), qc (qcorichanpas) and c (tococapuscaña) and S.11's p (orpoppe). Student 11 most likely was attempting to write q, the inverse of p.

Where /q/ occurs before a front vowel (only in three advanced students' texts), it is written as cc (huaeccen-kunaman, zhiccichiquiman, ccerechoman). There seems to be no restriction for advanced writers, therefore, on the use of cc before i or e.

The Quechua word kuntur or kundur (CQD), hispanized as cóndor, appears in five students' texts. Graphemes used to write this word are not included in this descrip-

1. Although this Quechua root (/qúsku/) has been borrowed into Spanish as Cusco, the word is analyzed here as part of the Quechua corpus, the base form for student 7 evidently being /qúsku/ and not /kúsko/.

tion as representative of students' writing of Quechua but, rather, are here treated separately.

The first phoneme of this word (/k/ for both Quechua and Spanish base forms) is written as k by intermediate student 1 (kunturta), once as c and once as g by intermediate student 6 (condormi, gondor), and as c by advanced students 7, 11, and 12 (e.g. condorman). This usage corresponds to these same students' writing of /k/ in the Quechua corpus, except for student 6's instance of g. I do not feel that the use of g in this case is an anomaly, even though I am not sure how the student pronounces this particular word in his own speech. I did observe, however, that he pronounced the word castellano as [gastiÍánu], voicing the initial velar stop. The writing of b for Spanish /p/ by one intermediate student was noted in one class exercise where she wrote basto for Spanish pasto; I was able to corroborate that [bástu] is a common pronunciation for this word in Usi. Furthermore, Cusihamán (1976b: 52) states that for some Spanish loans, Spanish [p] becomes [b] in Quechua as in barabin for Spanish parabién. I believe, therefore, that there is sufficient evidence that the initial phoneme of cóndor could have been pronounced as [g] by student 6.

We can see from the same examples that the medial stop in the word in question is written by student 1 as t (kunturta) but by the remaining students as d (e.g. condormi). Both these spellings are given as alternate forms in the Cusco dictionary, kuntur reflecting the indigenous form of the word and kundur reflecting a systematic phonological change (not necessarily due to Spanish influence)

which has taken place in some Quechua words, primarily place names (Cusihuamán 1976b: 53).

In summary, advanced students' use of d and g in spelling the word cóndor does not correspond to their spelling of any other Quechua word; we shall return to this point in Chapter III, section 3.1.

2) Glottalized obstruents

Glottalized consonants occur more frequently in advanced students' texts where they appear only in stories written by student 1. This student writes glottalized consonants as in official orthography, i.e. as the symbol for the simple stop followed by an apostrophe (p'asñata, maqt'a, k'anchamushasqa, q'uncha). The only exception is where she writes k' for /q'/ (e.g. k'eperosqa).

The use of an apostrophe to mark glottalization is also found in texts of advanced students 7 and 8 but not in the remainder of texts except for one instance of q' for /k'/ (aq'orachimoy = /hak'uraçímuy/). Thus, for student 7 we find, among other representations, p' for /p'/ (jap'iron), t' for /t'/ (llant'ata), c' and q' for /k'/ (llac'arane, llanq'an), and q' for /q'/ (laq'ayurucon). Student 8 writes p' for /p'/ (p'anaramun), ch-' for /ç'/ (reqcha'llasgas), and k' and q' for /k'/ (sulk'a, sullq'a).

Other representations for glottalized consonants (for advanced students 7,8,9,11, and 12) include the following:

/p'/ is written by student 7 as ph (jamphato) and \emptyset (unchayqa = /p'unçáyqa/). The latter may be dialect-related (see section 2.3).

/t'/ is written by students 11 and 12 as t (toro), as tt by student 11 (ttipurachiscca), and as th and tl by student 12 (thacaroy, tlacaroscca). tl is most likely equivalent to th as both occur within the same root, /t'áka-/. We may note that tt is one traditional representation of /t'/ (e.g. ttica).

/ç'/ appears in four advanced students' texts and is written by all four as ch (chullochayta). Student 12 also writes chh (muchhuyman) while student 9 writes in addition zh (zhoracta) and chch (chchilleguito), the latter corresponding to the traditional convention of writing a geminate for the glottalized consonant.

/k'/, where not written with an apostrophe, is written by student 7 as qk (qkor) and by student 12 as cc (moccoy), again, a traditional convention.

3) Aspirated obstruents

Aspirated consonants are even rarer in occurrence than glottalized consonants. The two instances of aspirates in intermediate texts do not correspond to official usage: S.3 writes f for /p^h/ (faway) and S.1 writes qq for /q^h/ (qqalichu). We may note that doubling of the consonant is a convention sometimes used, not only for glottalized consonants, but also for aspirated ones (as in the surname Ttupa).

Student 7 uses h to mark aspiration for the phonemes /p^h/ and /t^h/, but not for /q^h/, for which he uses kq (phawaylla, thantachallan, kqapaqyayon¹). Student 10 also

1. This example is written in the original text as two words: kqapaq yayon.

uses the official symbol for the only instance of an aspirate in his text, writing th for /t^h/ (wathiyaroconi).

Other representations of aspirate phonemes are as follows:

/p^h/ is written by student 12 in one root as p (ropa) and in another as f (fahuay).

/č^h/ is written by student 8 as chc (ichcu), perhaps revealing an attempt to write a geminate, and by student 9 as zh (zhatho).

/q^h/ appears in student 8's text once as cj (cjawa-mosccaqu) and once as ck (ckawarirusqa).

In conclusion, we can find no significant differences between intermediates' and advanced students' spellings of the simple consonants /p,t,č/ but we have seen that intermediates tend to use official k and q for /k/ and /q/ whereas advanced students use the traditional symbols c or qu and cc. Exceptions to these patterns are intermediate student 6's use of traditional symbols for /k/ and /q/ and advanced students 7 and 8's use of official symbols in addition or in preference to traditional ones for these consonants.

Similarly, official usage in writing glottalized and aspirated consonants is followed most closely by intermediate student 1 and advanced students 7 and 8.

Symbols used by students in representing simple, glottalized, and aspirated consonants are summarized in Chart 1. Symbols below the line are those used with low frequency in comparison to those above the line. Only overt representations are recorded.

Chart 1: Students' representations of simple, glottalized, and aspirated consonants

<u>Stu- dent</u>	p p' p ^h	t t' t ^h	ê ê' ê ^h	k k' k ^h	q q' q ^h
1.	p p'	t t'	ch	<u>k</u> k' q c qu	q q' qq k'
2.	p	t		<u>k</u> qu	
3.	p f	t	h ch	k	<u>q</u> k
4.	p	t		k	q q'
5.	p	t	ch	k	q
6.		t	ch	c qu	cc
7.	p p' ph ph	<u>t</u> t' th t'	ch ch	c q' qu qk <u>k</u> c' cc	q q' kq cc kq <u>kq</u> qq q' k
8.	p p'	t	ch ch-' ch ch chc	c k' k q' q qu	q cc cj ck
9.	p	t	ch ch zh th zh zh chch	<u>c</u> qu cc	cc
10.	p	t th	ch	c qu	cc
11.	p	t tt t	ch	c	<u>cc</u> ct p
12.	p p f	t th t tl	ch ch chh	c q' qu cc	<u>cc</u> ccc qc c
13.	p	t	h ch	c qu	cc

2.2.b. Glottal, velar, and post-velar fricatives

The glottal fricative /h/ is written by intermediate students 1,3, and 6 only as official h (hayqurusqaku, haymusqa, hog) but by advanced students as both h and j (hinaspas, jinaspas).

Advanced student 8 uses h exclusively (e.g. haqay) whereas student 7 uses both j and h (jamuscca, hamushasqa), with a preference for j. The other two advanced students who use h initially (S.10 and S.13) do so only in the word /huq/ (hog; huc), using j and y, respectively, in other words (jinaspas; yaecoscca). We may also note that intermediate student 6's instance of initial h also occurs in the same word (hog) whereas, as can be seen by the examples, intermediate students 1 and 3 and advanced students 7 and 8 use h both for hog and for other words as well. In the three cases mentioned, hog is the first word of the story. Advanced students 10 and 13 initiated their stories with a great deal of difficulty, and I would guess that these students and possibly student 6 received help in writing the first word from students 7 and 8 who wrote hog with h at least part of the time.

The initial aspirate is not written in some cases; this phenomenon is treated in the section on dialect-related spellings (section 2.3).

Intervocalic /x/, occurring only rarely in the corpus, is written by intermediate student 6 as j (mejoroscca). Advanced students 7 and 8 also use j (mijon; mijorosqa) while student 13 writes y (meyosaque). We can deduce that this last student, who came to only the last few days of

classes, was confusing y with j, the two being quite similar in script. As we can see, no student writes /x/ with official h.

Intervocalic /x/ appears only once in the entire corpus and is written by student 8 as cc (waccan).

Syllable-final /-k/ occurs only in advanced students' texts; students 7, 8, and 12 all use c (wicsanmanraqtaqse, wicchuracian, racray). Student 8 also uses q (reqcha'llasgas). Again, there is no correspondence with official orthography, but we should note that students have chosen for /-k/ the same symbols they use for the velar stop /k-/.

Syllable-final /-q/ is written by intermediate students almost uniformly as q (e.g. imapaq). Exceptions are students 5's qs (tusuqs) and student 4's use of an apostrophe before the vowel which we take to indicate the post-velar fricative (ll'atakupi = /ʔaqtaykupi/).

Like intermediates, advanced students 7 and 8 use the official symbol q for /-q/ (muyuq; caqmansi), except for isolated instances of c for both students (llanq'ac; imatac) and of cc and k for student 8 (caccman, sagak). Other advanced students, on the other hand, tend to prefer the traditional c (e.g. pactatac) except for student 10 who, in addition to c, uses q once (hoq) and student 12 who in addition uses j once (chicaj).

In summary, the official graphemes h and q for /h/ and /-q/, respectively, are used most often by intermediate students and advanced students 7 and 8. Occurrences of /x/, /x/, and /-k/ are rare and are never written with official symbols.

A summary chart of these symbols follows.

Chart 2: Students' representations of glottal, velar, and post-velar fricatives

Student	h	x	x̣	-k	-q
1.	h				q
2.					q
3.	h				q
4.					ʔ
5.					qs q
6.	h	j			q
7.	j h	j		c	$\frac{q}{c}$
8.	h	j	cc	c q	$\frac{q}{c}$ k cc
9.	j				c
10.	j h				c q
11.	j				c
12.	j			c	$\frac{c}{j}$
13.	h y	y			c

2.2.c. Alveolar and palatal fricatives

In the corpus, we find /s/ written almost entirely as s. Limited exceptions occur only in texts of advanced students 7 and 12, the former writing in one instance sh (mantinicus_haq) and the latter using in addition to s, c

(huacita) and z (quinza). There are also sporadic instances of omission of s syllable-finally (e.g. nipa = /nɪspa/).

The official symbol sh for the palatal fricative /ʃ/ is used by only two authors, intermediate student 1 and advanced student 7 (e.g. k'anchashaqa; hamoshagtey). Other symbols used by intermediates are s by students 1 and 3 (e.g. apasanki) and ch by students 1 and 4 (e.g. tiyachanku).

Except for student 7's predominant use of official sh, s is the most common symbol for /ʃ/, used by all four advanced students whose texts contain this phoneme (e.g. kasasqacu). In addition, students 8 and 12 write once each the sequence ci (e.g. cacian; ci is most likely a traditional representation) and the former student writes (also once) cs (ccatyamucsancu), interestingly the reverse of one traditional representation, sc (e.g. cchus-chuscanin).

Official usage for /s/, then, is followed by all students except S.12; only intermediate student 1 and advanced student 7 use official sh for /ʃ/. These symbols are summarized in chart 3, p. 42.

2.2.d. Nasals

Nasals /m/, /n/, and /ɲ/ are written in the Quechua corpus as m, n, and ɲ, respectively (e.g. mayota, nispas, ɲañay). Occasionally, ɲ is found written without the tilde in both intermediate and advanced texts (e.g. p'asna). We can safely assume these are orthographic errors as contrasting examples of the same words written with the tilde can be found in the same students' texts (e.g. p'asñata).

Chart 3: Students' representations of alveolar and palatal fricatives

Student	s	ʃ
1.	s	sh s ch
2.	s	
3.	s	s
4.	s	ch
5.	s	
6.	s	
7.	<u>s</u> sh	<u>sh</u> s
8.	s	s cs ci
9.	s	
10.	s	
11.	s	
12.	<u>s</u> c z	s ci
13.	s	s

The geminate /nn/ occurs in one of advanced student 7's texts and is written with a double n (maquenneyoqta).

Bilabial /m/ followed by /p/ is sometimes written as n (e.g. panpaman), but always as such in various examples where the sequence /mp/ divides morphemeically as /-n + p-/. For example, /qámpa/, morphemically /qan + -pa/, is written by student 7 as kqanpa and /wasímpi/, /wási + -n + -pi/ by

student 8 as wasinpe. Furthermore, the sequence /-mpu/ derived from translocative /-mu/ followed by benefactive /-pu/ is written by three different authors (7,8, and 12) as np (cutinpon; lluqsenpuncca; orccoranpuhuay) and by only one (S.11) as mp (ccateyamposcca). Student 7, exemplifying these findings, writes the sequence of a nasal and bilabial stop as n plus the stop when they occur across a morpheme boundary, but as m plus the stop within a single morpheme (e.g. chayaronanpaq = /čáya- + -ru + -na + -n + -paq/ and cutinpon = /kúti- + -m(u) + -pu + -n/, but jamphato = /hamp'átu/ and pampata = /pámpa + -ta/).

From the sample transcription given for Cusco Quechua (ME 1977: 24), it appears that official policy is to write /m/ as n if there are morphological reasons for doing so (e.g. kanpis = /ka- + -n + -pis/) but as m within a single morpheme (e.g. pampa).

The alveolar nasal /n/ appears as m in three instances of student 4's writing of the word /tarpúnku/ (tarpomko). This is the only example of such an anomaly.

Syllable-final nasals are sporadically omitted (e.g. llat'ata = /lant'áta/; monayma = /munáyman/).

Writing of nasals is summarized together with that of liquids in chart 4.

2.2.e. Liquids

The alveolar lateral /l/ and palatal lateral /ʎ/ are written in the Quechua corpus as l and ll, respectively (e.g. kgala, llagtape). Sporadic exceptions are the writing of l for /ʎ/ syllable-finally (e.g. S.2 malquikona; S.8 sulk'a). These are most likely instances of omission

of part of a digraph as S.8 also writes sullk'a.

Flap /r/ appears uniformly as r (e.g. runakqa; sara-ta). In one exception, intermediate student 1 writes the two words /čay runáqa/ together as one word, using rr for /r/ (chirronaqa).

In conclusion, both intermediates and advanced students write nasals and liquids in a manner generally consistent with official usage. Symbols used for these phonemes appear in chart 4.

Chart 4: Students' representations of nasals and liquids

Student	m	n	ñ	l	l̄	r
1.	$\frac{m}{n}$	n	$\frac{\tilde{n}}{n}$	l	ll	$\frac{r}{rr}$
2.	m	n			$\frac{ll}{l}$	
3.	m	n			ll	
4.	m	$\frac{n}{m}$	ñ		ll	r
5.	m	n		l		
6.	m	n				r
7.	$\frac{m}{n}$	n	$\frac{\tilde{n}}{n}$	l	ll	r
8.	$\frac{m}{n}$	n	ñ	l	$\frac{ll}{l}$	r
9.	m	n	ñ		ll	r
10.	m	n	$\frac{\tilde{n}}{n}$		ll	r
11.	m	n		l	ll	r
12.	$\frac{m}{n}$	n	ñ		ll	r
13.	m	n			ll	r

2.2.f. Glides

The on-glide /y-/, when in word-initial position, is found throughout the corpus written as official y (e.g. yorac). Intervocally, it is written primarily as y (chayango), with isolated instances of w in advanced student 8's texts (e.g. owaresqa). There are also three instances in which intervocalic /y/ is not written at all, once by intermediate student 1 (kutiosgaku) and once each by advanced students 7 and 12 (iscaynioq; purioscca). In all three cases where y is dropped, it is between the graphemes i and o, but we also find examples in other students' texts of y between high front and back vowels (e.g. ccateyoccaco; sutiyoc; maquenneyoqta).

Syllable or word-final /-y/ is written in the majority of texts as y (apay) and in this respect, intermediate students do not differ from advanced students. y is omitted in some morphemes, as for example in verb suffix /-yki/ following the vowel /a/ (e.g. suyasaque = /suyasáyki/); these omissions are largely systematic and are treated in section 2.3. We may note here, however, that where the geminate /yy/ occurs (in texts of students 7,9,12) as imperative /-y/ followed by emphatic /-yá/, a single letter, y, is written (e.g. pagapuya; saramowallaya). This usage is in accordance with that of Solá and Cusihamán (1975: 74) who write the same sequence /-yyá/ as yá on the phonetic grounds that the two glides merge as one in speech.

The off-glide is represented in isolated cases as n (e.g. wanlas; chan). Although this anomaly would appear to be a spelling error, it occurs in the texts of two inter-

mediate and two advanced students and would thus appear to be at least a very common spelling error. The vowels e and i are also found in advanced students' texts to represent /-y/ (e.g. yaecoscca; chaimanta).

Although all students, then, use y for the off-glide /-y/, advanced students differ more from official usage than intermediate students by the use of vowels i and e, which, as we saw in the section on vowels, are often used interchangeably. We may note that student 7, except for occasional instances of y-dropping and one instance of n, uses y exclusively to represent the off-glide /-y/, following official usage. Student 10, on the other hand, uses only i (e.g. monaicha).

The on-glide /w-/ is written by intermediate students exclusively as w (e.g. wasikuna) and by advanced students primarily as w, but also as hu (e.g. huacanque). Specifically, students 7,8,9, and 10 all write w, with only one instance each for students 7 and 8 of hu. Student 12, however, does not use w, preferring hu (e.g. huataña). Two anomalies are student 13's use of u in meyouycho = /mixuwáyçu/, the sequence uy corresponding to /way/; we assume that h and the vowel a have been omitted from huay. Student 12 writes one instance of y for /w-/ (chicapuyan) and we will recall that student 8 wrote w twice for /y-/.

Finally, off-glide /-w/, where it occurs, is written by one intermediate student as w (yaw) but by advanced students as u (e.g. yau, hau_ulla). Intermediate student 1 interprets the onomatopoeic words [ma_u] (the sound a cat makes) and [há_uç_is] (the braying of a donkey) as mayo and

haychis, respectively. In the first, the sequence yo would seem to represent /w/ while in the second, y represents the sequence /-wp/ (the only instance of syllable-final /-p/ in the corpus). Once again, we should note that the confusion of y and w does not seem to be an unusual phenomenon.

Most students, then, use official w for /w-/, while w for /-w/ is written only by one intermediate student.

Spelling of glides is summarized in chart 5 on page 48.

2.2.g. Silent H

The letter h (exclusive of the sequence hu before a vowel) is at times found written at the beginning of words whose pronunciation in standard Quechua does not involve initial aspiration. This phenomenon occurs sporadically and only in the texts of advanced students 7,8, and 13 (e.g. himapaqmi; human; hunota).

In conclusion, we see that for phonemes not present in Spanish or for those with different spellings in Quechua and Spanish, intermediate students tend to use official orthography whereas most advanced students use traditional or other symbols. Students 7 and 8, however, use official symbols notably more often than other advanced students and intermediate student 6's writing is more similar to that of advanced students than to that of fellow intermediates. All students tend to write the glide /w-/ with the official grapheme.

Phonemes which appear to have been most difficult

Chart 5: Students' representations of glides

Student	y-	-y	w-	-w
1.	y	y	w	y yo
2.	y		w	
3.	y	$\frac{y}{n}$	w	w
4.	y	y	w	
5.	y	n	w	
6.			w	
7.	y	$\frac{y}{n}$	$\frac{w}{hu}$	u
8.	$\frac{y}{w}$	y e	$\frac{w}{hu}$	u
9.	y	y	w	u
10.	y	i	w	
11.	y	y		
12.	y	y e $\frac{e}{n}$ i	hu	
13.	y	$\frac{y}{e}$	u	u

to write, judging by the number of symbols used for them by individual students, are /ç, ç', k, k', q, q', š/.

2.3. Dialect-related spellings

Samples from the texts support the finding that for some variants of Cusco Quechua, the /a/ vowel is raised by a following semi-vowel /y/ (Mannheim 1977a: 36).¹ We do

find examples of /ay/ written with the vowel a (e.g. chayse, chaychu) but we also find e (cheysi) and i (chiysi, chiesi). A high vowel written for standard /a/ is found most often within a single morpheme (e.g. chiysi = /çay/ + /si/; wicheyman = /wifçay/ + /man/). The phenomenon of writing a high front vowel for /a/ in the word chay occurs quite systematically within both intermediate and advanced students' texts (e.g. student 1's chiysi and student 8's cheysi). Interestingly, student 7 switches about a third of the way through his first text from writing a high vowel to writing standard a (chayse) and continues to do so in this morpheme throughout the remainder of his texts; this alteration may be due to corrections made on his earlier text for which I do not have an original copy.

For all students, the diphthong /ay/ is at times written as a. I believe this is not always an instance of leaving off a syllable-final consonant, but rather a reflection of the actual pronunciation of the word in question. I noted often in Usi that the vowel /a/ plus the verb or noun suffix /-yki/ would be pronounced [aki]. In the corpus, this phenomenon occurs in several cases e.g. orgoranposaque; ccosaque; unaquere.

Alternation between the presence and absence of an initial /h/ phoneme occurs within the Cusco Quechua dialect.¹

1. (from p. 48) Alternation between [ai] and [ei] is also well-attested for Latin-American as well as peninsular Spanish (Gifford 1969: 165-166) and would therefore appear to be a systematic sound change.

1. A. Cusihamán, personal communication.

In the corpus, certain words are represented in writing, as in speech, without initial aspiration.¹ Standard horqoy (CQD) is written by student 7 in all cases without initial h (e.g. orqoramon). Similarly student 12 writes aq'orachimoy for /hak'uračimuy/ and student 13 writes enaspa, uc, and atun for standard /hináspa, huq, hátun/.

Another dialectal peculiarity reflected in writing is that of standard ukyay appearing in student 13's text as hujascca and hujasacten, read to me by the student as [uxásqa] and [uxašáxtiŋ], respectively. Cusihamán (1976b: 42) notes that [x] and [xy] are dialectal variants.

Standard p'unchay appears in one of student 7's texts in inflected form as unchayqa. I was not able to attest to the student's pronunciation of the word in this case but we may hypothesize that the leaving off of the initial consonant p' is not accidental.

In short, certain systematic recurrences of non-standard forms in students' texts reflect dialectal variants either observed in Usi or documented for the Cusco area.

3. Contrast

One of the principles on which the official alphabet for Quechua is based is the notion of contrast, i.e. different phonemes are represented for the most part by different symbols. Intermediate students 1-5, by virtue

1. When I had the students read their texts to me, I noted that in their pronunciation of these words, no initial aspiration was perceptible.

of the fact that they write Quechua most often in official notation, achieve good contrast between velar and post-velar stops (e.g. kiska; qaten). Furthermore, student 1 distinguishes in her writing among simple, glottalized, and aspirated consonants (e.g. paykuna, p'asñata; qaga, q'uncha, qqalichu), and between alveolar and palatal fricatives (suyasaque; k'anchashaga).

We may ask how well those students who do not use official orthography also achieve similar contrast. We shall consider these three major areas of opposition (velar/post-velar, simple/glottalized/aspirated, and alveolar fricative/palatal fricative) separately.

3.1. Velar/post-velar opposition

Students who write the phonemes /k/ and /q/ in traditional orthography achieve adequate contrast between these phonemes (e.g. S.10 cascca, unaquere; moccope). Even where several alternative symbols are written by S.12 for /q/, the two phonemes are still kept separate by the symbols c and qu for /k/ (concaymanta, quina) and cc, ccc, or qc for /q/ (ccochapi, chiccca, qcorichanpas).

Student 7, although he contrasts velar and post-velar stops on the whole fairly well, uses an overlapping symbol for /k'/ and /q'/', viz. q' (llanq'an; laq'ayurucon). The two glottalized phonemes /k'/ and /q'/' never contrast within the same text for this student, however, q' being written for /k'/ in text 19 and for /q'/' in text 18.

Student 8 is the only student for whom velars and post-velars are not well-differentiated because of his use

of q for /k/ (e.g. puñoqamunko = /k/ but haqay = /q/). The remaining symbols this student uses for /k/, however, do contrast effectively with those he uses for /q/ (kanqo, coraq, mallquepe = /k/; qarayosqa, ccarayollantaq = /q/), indicating that he is aware of the difference between the two phonemes.

3.2. Simple/glottalized/aspirated opposition

A review of chart 1 on page 37 shows quite clearly that all students use at least one set of symbols which effectively differentiate among simple, glottalized, and aspirated consonants of a particular series. For example, student 12 writes /p^h/ once as p (ropa) but once as f (fahuay), distinguishing it from p of /p/ (pacaroscca). Similarly, the same student writes t for /t'/ (toro) but in two roots uses th (thacaroy, thantata) and student 11 writes the same phoneme once as t (mactacha) but in two other instances uses tt (e.g. ttipurachiscca). Even student 9, with seven symbols for /ç, ç', ç^h/ and some overlapping, contrasts the three phonemes in at least one set of words (cheyse; chchillequito; zhazho).

Other students, in spite of a large number of symbols for each phoneme, achieve total contrast. Thus, students 7, 8, and 12 distinguish /k/ from /k'/ by mutually exclusive sets (S.12's concaymanta, quina vs. aq'orachimoy, moccoy; S.8's coraq, kanqo, mallquepe vs. sulk'a, sullq'a, and S.7's casqa, waccanque, kutillantaq, ccasqa vs. llanq'an, qkor, llac'arane).

Least contrast is evident among the palatal affricates

/ç, ç', ç^h/, overlap of symbols being more evident than for other phonemes (S.7 chiysi, chullochayta; S.8 chayango, wicchuracian, hichu; S.9 zhazho, zhoracta, zhatho; S.12 chiy, huicchopuscca).

3.3. Alveolar fricative/palatal fricative opposition

Only two students (3 and 13) do not distinguish /s/ from /š/ in their writing (kasqa, apasanki; ccosaque, hujasacten). In other cases, the phonemes are kept apart by at least one set of differing symbols (e.g. S.8 sulk'a vs. ccatyamucsancu and wicchuracian; S.12 huasinta vs. cacian).

In summary, although students often use a number of symbols for each phoneme and at times use the same symbols for different phonemes, they succeed in differentiating these at least some of the time by the use of mutually exclusive sets of graphemes.

4. Patterning

Examples can be found in the Quechua corpus supporting the notion that students display consistency or patterning in writing glottalized and aspirated consonants, or velar and post-velar syllable-final fricatives, even where their representations differ from official or traditional usage.

4.1. Glottalized and aspirated consonants

Where students' symbolizations for glottalized and aspirated consonants differ from official orthography, we

can still perceive patterns in writing which lead us to believe that the students base their representations of at least some phonemes on analogies to their representations of other phonemes.

For example, we have seen that student 8 uses both k and q quite frequently for /k/; thus it is not surprising that he uses both k' and q' to write /k'/ (kanqo; sulk'a, sullq'a). Secondly, student 7 uses c' once for /k'/ by analogy to c for /k/ (casqa; llac'arane).

Student 11's use of ct for /q'/ may very well be based on analogy to his writing of /t'/ as tt immediately preceding the instance of ct (ccaccatticcoman cteperoscca = /qáqa t'uqúman q'ipirúsqa/).

One of the symbols used by student 12 for /t'/ is th and similarly, one used for /t'/ is chh.

4.2. Velar and post-velar syllable-final fricatives

The writing of c for the syllable-final fricative /-k/ by students 7, 8, and 12 (e.g. racray) may be an analogy on the use of c for /k-/ or simply imitation of the symbol used in traditional orthographies as well as for the corresponding allophone in Spanish. Student 8 uses q once for /-k/ (reqcha'llasqas) but this is consistent with his frequent use of q for /k-/ and of q' for /k'/.

The one instance of cc for /-q/ (caccman) is also analogous to the frequent use of the same symbol by the same student (S.8) for /q-/ (ccarayollantaq).

5. Innovations

Some representations of various phonemes cannot be attributed to knowledge of one or more Quechua alphabets or to analogies to representations of other phonemes, but are nevertheless logical and innovative.

Students 3 and 12 write the grapheme f for /p^h/ (faway; fahuay). This usage may have a basis in the actual phonetic realization of this aspirate; in any case, f is a logical symbol for /p^h/, [p^h] and [f] being quite close phonetically.

I find the symbol kq used by student 7 quite frequently for /q/ (werakqucha) a logical extension of his more frequent usage of q (noqa). I also find it interesting that this student stops using k for /k/ after his first text (19), using from then on c and qu; in the last two texts (18 and 5), where c and qu are used for /k/, kq is adopted as the most frequent representation of /q/, giving the impression that the author feels that the use of q and qu for /q/ and /k/, respectively, does not produce as effective a contrast as do kq and qu.

cj is a logical symbol for /q^h/ (S.8 cjawamosccaqu) as it displays the features stop and fricative release, features common to /q^h/.

We have seen that qs is used by student 5 for syllable-final /-q/ (tusuqs); it is interesting to note that qs is a combination of q, indicating post-velar place of articulation, and s, possibly symbolizing spirancy.

Student 12's use of j for /-q/ (chicaj) may be based on literature he has seen in Quechua but in any case is a

logical symbol, being that normally used for the Spanish velar fricative, and well-distinguished from syllable-final /-k/ for which the student writes c (racray).

Symbols used for /š/ other than sh or s also display features common to the most frequent realizations of this phoneme in Usi ([š] and [s^y]): ch (S.1 onqochane; S.4 tiya-chanku) displays the features of palatal place of articulation and spirancy; cs (S.8 ccatyamucsancu) combines two symbols used for /s/; ci (S.8 wicchuracian; S.12 cacian) reflects palatalization in the variant [s^y].

6. Summary

We can summarize the findings of the present chapter by making the following observations:

- 1) All students show considerable alternation between the use of i and u on the one hand and of e and o on the other; the only observable patterns in students' writing of vowels in the vicinity of a post-velar consonant is advanced students' preference for o in this position. There is tentative evidence that morpheme-final vowels followed by a post-velar are written with the high vowel, as in the non-inflected form of the word. Advanced students' writing of vowels differs from that of intermediates in the former's more frequent use of o. One advanced student shows a clear tendency to write vowels in pretonic or tonic position as high i and u but in post-tonic position as e and o.
- 2) Students fall into three major groups as regards their writing of consonants: a) intermediate students 1-5, who use primarily official orthography, b) advanced students

9-13 and intermediate student 6, who use primarily traditional orthography, and c) advanced students 7 and 8, who use a combination of both types of orthography. These three groupings correlate with the amount of class time students spent reading and copying materials in Quechua, i.e. group a) spent the greatest amount of time, group b) the least, and group 3) an intermediate amount.

3) Certain dialectal peculiarities of speech such as vowel raising or absence of initial aspiration are reflected in students' writing.

4) Where students do not use official orthography, they nevertheless contrast phonemes by the use of nearly mutually exclusive sets of symbols. Students also display consistency and innovation in their choice of graphemes.

CHAPTER THREE
ORTHOGRAPHY USED IN SPANISH LOANS

1. Introductory remarks

A total of 87 Spanish loans, primarily substantives, are found in the corpus. Most are well-integrated, whether they be cultural loans (e.g. cebada, carro, fósforo) or words which compete with native forms (e.g. chico, Q. erqe; señora, Q. mama; O.Sp. parlar, Q. rimay). Certain others appear to be less well-integrated semantically (e.g. preso, zorro).

In the present chapter students' writing of loans is analyzed for the degree to which standard Spanish orthography is approximated. The notion of markedness is introduced and loans are classified into marked and unmarked categories. Emphasis in this chapter is on the spelling of individual loans rather than on observed differences between intermediate and advanced students, although these differences are used in the classification of some loans.

2. Spelling of Spanish loans

The following analysis is based on a comparison of the spelling used by students and the standard Spanish spelling of loanwords. First, spelling of Spanish vowels, diphthongs, and vowel sequences is examined. Next we treat students' representations of the various consonantal phonemes, and finally we discuss vowel and syllable-deletions.

As will become clear, certain graphemes not used in the students' Quechua corpus are nevertheless used by them in writing loans. Conversely, we find some loans written with graphemes not generally used in standard Spanish orthography. We have found it convenient to consider such graphemes as features marking words for either Spanish or Quechua characteristics.

2.1. Vowels

2.1.a. Simple nuclei

Intermediate students display an overall tendency to write with equal frequency i or e for both /i/ and /e/, without regard to position of the vowel within the inflected word. Thus, we find both i and e for Spanish /i/ (chiku; mesa) and i and e for /e/ (iranku; español). Only two instances of Spanish /u/ occur in intermediate texts and both are written as u (apura; acunta); u and o are used with about equal frequency for /o/ (chikuchan; siñora). It would appear, then, that intermediate students write proportionately more e and o in Spanish than they do in Quechua, but that as for Quechua, there is no observable pattern as to when a particular vowel will be chosen, and no significant correspondences between the Spanish vowel and the grapheme chosen by the student.

Advanced students except for student 7 appear also to write both /i/ and /e/ with equal frequency as either i or e. Thus we find both i and e for /i/ (S.8 cuchilluta; ñeño) and similarly either vowel for /e/ (S.9 girata, gerata). The data, though limited, leads us to suspect

that student 7 follows a similar rule in writing Spanish front vowels as in writing Quechua /i/: Spanish /e/ is written by this student primarily as i when in pretonic and tonic positions (pilayon; angilta) but as e in post-tonic position (pobre; angel).

Spanish /u/ appears only infrequently in the corpus of loans written by advanced students and appears in three loans as u (cuchilluta; puntapi; luchu) but in one as o (molape). The more frequent phoneme /o/ is written on the whole more often as o than as u (siñora) but examples can be found in which students use both vowels for the same word (honrado, hunrados; cunbuta, conbo). Vowels in word-final position are written in all cases but one as o (saco; carro) as opposed to relatively more frequent occurrences of u in tonic or pretonic positions (S.7 luco; S.8 lluqutaraq, cuchilluta; S.12 triguta).

Thus, it would appear that advanced students, like intermediates, write Spanish vowels in a manner consistent with the way in which they write Quechua vowels, i.e. without regard to the phonemic shape of the vowel in Spanish, but rather, in the case of advanced students, with regard to the position of the vowel within the inflected or uninflected loan.

Both intermediate and advanced students do use proportionately more e and o vowels in Spanish loans than in Quechua; were the data more extensive, we might be able to consider some occurrences of e and o to mark words in students' texts as belonging to a Spanish subclass as opposed to a Quechua one. For the data at hand, however,

we cannot consider students writing of Spanish vowels to be significantly different from their writing of Quechua ones.

The evidence, then, supports the well-documented finding (cf. Gifford 1969: 163-165; Hoggarth 1974: 75-76) that high and mid vowels are often confused in mestizo Spanish and in Spanish loans used by Quechua-Spanish bilinguals (Hoggarth 1974: 101). That this alternation may not be completely sporadic, as intimated by Hoggarth (p. 76) in her study of bilingualism in the Peruvian town of Calca, is born out by such examples in our corpus as angel, angilta, implying the existence (for at least some students) of a rule which predicts the writing (and presumably the pronunciation) of Spanish vowels.

Central /a/ is written in the corpus of Spanish loans primarily as a (nadaytapis), although isolated exceptions occur as in the Quechua corpus (e.g. pasuposcca, Sp. pasar).

Anomalies include /e/ written once as o in the root vender (S.3 vintonmunapaq; I have no explanation for the n following o) and once as ei (S.7 preicio, Sp. preso). We can find no phonetic basis for /e/ to be written as ei but orthographically the sequence would seem to mark the word as Spanish as the same sequence never appears in student 7's Quechua corpus. The sequence io for /o/ in the same word also appears to be a marker for Spanish although we do not discount the possibility that the sequence cio be interpretable as ci for /ʃ/ and o for /u/.

2.1.b. Diphthongs

Five diphthongs occur in the corpus of Spanish loans: /ye,we,ya,wa,yo/. These are found in both intermediate and advanced texts in the loans arriero, fiesta, hacienda, cuento, dueño, escuela, guardia, iglesia, cuarto, and necio.

/ye/ is written in all three loans as a simple vowel by one intermediate and two advanced students, i.e. as i (S.5 fista) or as e (S.8 harerokunag; S.13 asendan). The verb mantener appears in student 7's corpus as mantinen. The base form here could be the third person singular Spanish mantiene, in which case the diphthong /ye/ has been reduced in writing to i, but more likely the base is infinitive mantene- as another instance of the same verb, inflected for first person, future tense, contains the root mantini and not anything similar to the Spanish first person form mantengo (mantinicushaq).

/we/ is written once by intermediate student 2 and once by advanced student 7 as ue (escuela; cuento). In the loan dueño, appearing in the corpus of intermediate student 1 as well as in that of advanced student 7, /we/ is written by the former as oyu (doyuñunsi) and by the latter as oy (doyñunqa), coinciding (except for the superfluous u in the first example) with CQD duyño.

/ya/ is found in the corpus reduced in one instance to a by intermediate student 2 (enllisa) and expanded to eya or iya by advanced student 9 (guardeyaconacca, wariyaconata). The former corresponds to CQD inlisa with respect to writing of the diphthong ia.

/yo/ is written by student 7 as the simple vowel u (nisuta).

Only Spanish /we/, then, is written by students as the standard Spanish diphthong; the majority of diphthongs are written as a single vowel, an inverted diphthong (oy), or a sequence of vowel-glide-vowel. These spellings reflect known phonological changes in the adoption of Quechua loans into Spanish.¹ We can consider the correct writing of /we/ as ue, therefore, to mark escuela and cuento for Spanish orthography, especially as the sequence ue following a consonant (other than h) does not occur in the Quechua corpus.

2.1.c. Vowel sequences

Vowel sequences occurring in the corpus are /ió,éó, eó/, in the words prioste, fideos, and panteón.

Prioste is written by student 5 once as perwaiste and four times as perwaste. This word had to be repeated to me several times as I was unfamiliar with it;² the student's pronunciation was [pirwísti], corresponding to her spelling except for stressed [i] written once as ai and four times as a (reflecting perhaps confusion between [i] and [ai]). The inclusion of the back glide /w/ is not

1. Cusihamán (1976b: 54) states that Spanish loans assimilate to the phonological system of Quechua and lists such examples as phista (/ye/ → /i/), huwis (/we/ → /uwi/), and eskuyla (/we/ → /uy/); Gifford (1969: 166) cites instances of simplification in Peruvian mestizo Spanish of the diphthongs /ye/ and /we/.

2. I was only later able to confirm that the word was of Spanish origin, prioste being the standard-bearer in a church procession (L. Hoggarth, personal communication). The word is used in Usi to mean a sponsor of a dancing group during the village fiesta.

surprising, as the word was most likely originally heard in Quechua as [priyústi] and developed to [pirwísti] through metathesis of [i] and [r], and alteration of the diphthong [yu] to its inverse [wi].

/eó/ is written correctly by intermediate student 5 (fideos) whereas /eó/ is written as a sequence of vowel-glide-vowel by student 2 (panteyun). I do not consider the difference in stress of the original Spanish sequences to be significant.

In summary, vowel sequences, like diphthongs, are sometimes written in a manner corresponding to known phonological changes in the incorporation of Spanish loans into Quechua (e.g. CQD pantiyun). For words written as in standard Spanish (cuento, escuela, cuarto, fideos), we must assume that either the student actually uses the Spanish diphthong or vowel sequence in his idiolect, or that regardless of his own pronunciation, he is aware of and imitates the Spanish spelling of these words.

2.2. Consonants

2.2.a. Consonants with the same graphemic representation in Quechua and Spanish

The phonemes /p,t,ç,m,n,ñ,l,ɿ,r/ are written by students in the corpus of Spanish loans as p (panteyun), t (tarecama), ch (chicaj), m (mantinen), n (nadaytapis), ñ (bañacusascca), l (luchu), ll (anillo), and r (eraroy), respectively, and in this respect do not differ significantly from standard Spanish orthography nor from the representations used by students for the same phonemes in Quechua.

Exceptions are /n/ spelled once by advanced student 8 as ñ (ñeñocha, Sp. niño) and /l/ twice as ll (S.2 enllisa, Sp. iglesia; S.8 lluqutaraq, Sp. loco¹). In the last case, the student insisted during class revision of the texts that the word was [ʔukutáɾax] and not [lukutáɾax] as his friend, student 7, claimed. Student 8 finally capitulated and decided that it should be pronounced with the alveolar and not the palatal lateral, but the incident illustrates the fact that student 8 originally wrote ll because his own idiolect uses [ʔ] and not [l] for this particular word. Similarly, we will assume that the writing of ll for /l/ in enllisa reflects the student's pronunciation of the word, the evolution of [ɟl] to [ʔ] being an acceptable phonetic change and documented for Romance (Menéndez Pidal 1973: 159). The writing of ñ for /n/ in ñeñocha most likely reflects assimilation of the initial nasal to the medial palatal nasal /ɲ/.

2.2.b. Consonants with different graphemic representation in Quechua and Spanish

The phonemes /k,s,x,w/ (/y/ does not appear in the corpus except in diphthongs) occur in both intermediate and advanced texts, except for /w/ which occurs only in advanced student 9's text and is written in the same loan once as Spanish gu (guardeyaconacca, Sp. guardia) but

1. Although I cannot find support for this word being of Spanish origin and llukulla, 'rapidly', is presented in CQD as a Quechua word, student 7's use of loco in a similar context (also meaning 'rapidly'), and student 8's acceptance of the form [lukutáɾax] lead me to believe that the word is Spanish.

twice as w (e.g. wariyas).

The writing of /s/ by all students almost uniformly as s, whether Spanish s, z, or c, is attributable to the nature of the Spanish orthographic system, and not necessarily to any influence from the Quechua system which uses s exclusively. Spanish z is written correctly by intermediate student 3 (zapatu) but incorrectly as s by three advanced students (sorro; sonso; casaracosccaco). In view of the fact that the intermediate student knew less Spanish than the advanced students and that she uses only s in writing Quechua /s/, I find it significant that she knew the the word zapato should be spelled with z. Other exceptions to the use of s are student 7's writing of c in the loan preso (preicio) and student 5's use of c for /s/ before the vowel u in the loan Asunta (acunta). As only student 12 uses c or z for /s/ in Quechua, we can consider these examples as words marked for Spanish orthography.

Students' writing of Spanish /k/ is consistent for the most part with their writing of the Quechua velar stop, i.e. intermediate students use k (chiku), advanced students 9-13 use c (caballeroc), and advanced students 7 and 8 use primarily c (carro; conbo) but also either k or q (iskapayrapun; saqak). Intermediate student 2 writes c for two loans (escuela, yaca) whereas in Quechua she uses k for /k/ before the vowels a and u (e.g. kan, wasikuna). We may therefore hypothesize that her use of c in the two Spanish loans is significant.

Initial /x/ occurs in only one Spanish loan and is written as j by student 12 (jubenhuan).

Medial /x/ is written correctly as j or g by all students (e.g. manijaqllaña; angilta) except for intermediate student 3 who writes h (naranhata). Although she has no word-medial /x/ in her Quechua corpus, the same student does write h for Quechua initial /h/ in two words (hoq, haymusqa) and would thus seem to be applying her knowledge of the Quechua symbol for /h/ to the writing of the similar Spanish phoneme /x/. Student 1, on the other hand, writes h for Quechua /h/ (henaspas) but j for Spanish medial /x/ (ojatas). Data is too limited to compare systematically the writing of Spanish initial and medial /x/ with that of Quechua /h/ and /x/. The most we can say is that both intermediate and advanced students' writing of Spanish /x/ is consistent with their writing of the same phoneme in Quechua, with the exception that student 7 uses correctly the symbol g in the loan angel (e.g. angilta).

2.2.c. Consonants not present in Quechua

In this section we consider students' writing of the phonemes /b,d,g,f,ʃ/ and of silent H.

The voiced stop consonants (/b,d,g/) occur throughout the corpus written with the corresponding Spanish symbol as in bañacusascca, ventananta, doyñu, gallonches, but quite often with alternative symbols.

In addition to b and v, w and p are used for Spanish /b/ (e.g. wakawaka, Sp. vaca; siwarata, Sp. cebada; portol, Sp. Bartolo). The use of w for /b/ occurs in both an intermediate and an advanced student's text (S.5 wakawaka; S.8 wacata). Student 2 writes the loan vaca as yaca, but although we have seen that the graphemes w and y are sometimes

confused in the Quechua corpus, we cannot assume that the student meant w by y as y is similar in shape to v and she could just as easily have meant v. We may note that Spanish vaca and cebada are considered to be integrated loans by Cusihuamán (CQD) and are written respectively as waka and siwara.

The word oveja is also considered to be an integrated loan in Cusco Quechua (CQD uwiha) but is written by two intermediate students and one advanced student as oveja (S.4 ovejata; S.7 ovejaman), the y marking these spellings for Spanish.

/d/ is found written in one instance as t by student 3 (vintonmunapaq, Sp. vender) whereas advanced student 7 writes /d/ following a nasal as d (condenarota). The intervocalic fricative allophone [ð] of /d/ is found written in the corpus both as d (e.g. S.5 fideos; S.7 honrado) and as r (S.4 siwarata; S.8 condenarota). Transformation of Spanish /d/ into /r/ in the incorporation of Spanish loans into Quechua is attested by Cusihuamán (1976b: 53). Two instances of the sequence /rd/ being written simply as r are also found (S.7 tarecama, Sp. tarde; S.9 wariyas, Sp. guardia), reflecting possible assimilation of /d/ to /r/.

Although /g/ is written most often as g, even where Spanish orthography calls for gu (girata), intermediate student 2 and advanced student 8 write /g/ before a liquid /l/ or /r/ as n (enllisa; ninro); the phonological change in Spanish loans of /g/ to /n/ before /l/ is mentioned by Cusihuamán (1976b: 54) and inlisa appears as an integrated loan in CQD. The use of n in ninro appears to

have been a stylistic choice, as when I asked the student if he meant negro by what he had read to me as [nɨŋru], he replied, "Sí, señorita, 'negro'," pronouncing the word this time with the cluster [gr] rather than the sequence [nr]. Intervocalic /g/ (fricative [ɣ]) is written as g (triguta) but once as w (S.8 siwerawoqon, Sp. asegurar), corresponding to a known phonological change for Spanish in Quechua, i.e. /g/ to /w/ (Cusihuamán 1976b: 54). This particular loan is listed in CQD as siwray but we would find /siwiray/ to be an equally plausible adaptation of asegurar.

Spanish /f/ occurs in four loans appearing in students' stories (twice in one loan): fósforo, fiesta, fideos, faramalla. The grapheme f is used by intermediate students 1 (fuspurochawan) and 5 (fista, fideos) for word-initial /f/, while advanced student 7 uses ph (pharamalla). As we can see from the first example, /f/ following a consonant is written as p. This last usage is corroborated by CQD phosporo.

Where f is used correctly, we cannot say that these are instances of marking for Spanish orthography, for, as we have seen, f is also used in the Quechua corpus by one intermediate and one advanced student to write Quechua /p^h/ (faway; fahuay). On the contrary, we cannot tell just by examining students' writing whether Quechua /p^h/ is pronounced as [f] or Spanish /f/ as [p^h] or whether pronunciation of both phonemes is somewhere inbetween. My own observations were that the pronunciation of /p^h/ in Usi varies between [p^h] and [ʔ]. In any case, the two phonemes appear

to be identified as one and the same by most students.

Student 7 is the only student whose texts contain both Quechua /p^h/ and Spanish /f/ and both are written as ph (phawaylla; pharamalla). Whereas we cannot be sure whether orthographic f means [f], [ɸ], or [p^h], we can safely assume that ph for this student is phonemically /p^h/ as he uses this grapheme three times in the Quechua corpus for standard Quechua /p^h/ (twice in phurunta and once in phawaylla). Furthermore, the student was fairly fluent in Spanish, both in speaking and in reading, and we assume that he was perfectly aware of the orthographic convention of using f for Spanish /f/. We consider the grapheme ph, therefore, to mark the word pharamalla as belonging to a Quechua subclass of Spanish loans.

Rolled /r̄/ occurs in the Spanish loans carro, arriero, zorro, guerra, Rosa, renegar, and honrado and only in advanced student texts. The Spanish double R is written as such by students 7 and 10 (carro; sorro) but by students 8 and 9 simply as r (harerokunaq; girata), corresponding to the phonological change of /r̄/ to /r/ (Cusihuamán 1976b: 54). The word or syllable-initial trill is written by students 7 and 12 as r (honrado; rosa) but as rr by student 7 in another word (rrinigaypi). While the first examples are consistent with both Quechua and Spanish spelling patterns and thus unmarked, the second example is marked for Spanish spelling as rr never occurs in the Quechua corpus (except for the previously mentioned example of student 1's chirronaqa which may be considered an anomaly).

Spanish silent H occurs only in the loans hacienda,

hacha, hasta, and honrado. The last two examples are written by student 7 with h (hasta; honrado); the same student also writes hacha once with h (hachatari). The remaining occurrences of hacha, however, are written with j (e.g. jachan), the same symbol student 7 uses most frequently in Quechua to represent initial aspiration (e.g. jamuscca). This student's pronunciation of the word in reading over the story was indeed [háçá]; the adoption of initial aspiration in Spanish loans (or more likely the retention of the old Spanish aspirate phoneme) is not unusual in Quechua (e.g. CQD hawas, Sp. habas). Because, however, student 7 uses h as well as j for Quechua /h/, and because in his Quechua corpus two instances of an initial silent H appear (hormayon; himapaqmi), we cannot consider the h of hasta and honrado to mark these words for Spanish spelling, although in all probability, they do not represent initial aspiration and are not accidental.

Student 13 writes Spanish hacienda without initial h (asendan), as compared to three Quechua words which he writes with silent h (hunota, hujascca, huc). This student, then, does not appear to recognize initial H as a convention linked to a particular language.

2.2.d. Consonant clusters

The syllable-initial clusters /pr, tr, br, gr, gl/ occur in the loans prioste, preso, primer, trigo, pobre, tigre, negro, and iglesia.

/pr/ is written by students 7 and 8 as pr (preicio; primerta) but by intermediate student 5 as discontinuous p-r (perwaste), corresponding to her pronunciation of the

word ([pirwɪsti]; see section 1.2.b).

/tr/ and /br/ are written by students 12 and 7 as tr and br, respectively (triguta; pobre). Although the cluster /tr/ seems to be an acceptable sequence in Quechua (e.g. CQD trawu; triyu), intervocalic /br/ seems to have been interpreted in Cusco Quechua most often as /-wr/ (e.g. CQD kawra, Sp. cabra). Nevertheless, for the sake of consistency, we will consider all clusters written as in Spanish to mark words for Spanish, as such clusters never occur in students' spelling of Quechua words.

As already noted, Spanish /gr/ appears in advanced student texts once as gr (tigrita) and once as nr (ninro) while /gl/ is written as nll (enllisa).

2.3. Vowel and syllable-deletions

Spellings of some words reflect deletions of vowels or syllables from the original Spanish word.

Initial /a/ is deleted from Spanish amasar and asegurar (masaroy; siwerawogon), corresponding to the forms listed in CQD, masay and siwray.

Vowels are also deleted from the proper names Bartolo and Salomón in student 12's text (portol; salmón); the omission is not accidental as these words are written five times each in a consistent manner by the student.

The Spanish loan mestizo, well-integrated into Quechua as misti (CQD), is written by student 3 in this modified form (misti).

Finally, Spanish oveja, although appearing in both intermediate and advanced texts as oveja, is written by two

intermediates (1 and 2) as oja, reflecting the common pronunciation of the word in Usi as [úxa] in which the syllable [be] has been deleted.

3. Marking of loans

We have seen that the majority of Spanish loans are written in a way consistent with the way in which students write Quechua. Certain orthographic patterns, however, stand out as being more representative of Spanish orthography than of Quechua orthography, i.e. they involve graphemes or sequences of graphemes not found generally in the Quechua corpus. Conversely, spelling of some loans includes graphemes found only in Quechua or reflects known modification of the words' original phonological shape.

In this section, the findings of section 2 are restated such that loans are grouped together into Spanish-marked, Quechua-marked, and unmarked categories.

3.1. Loans marked for Spanish

Specifically, the presence of one or more of the following graphemes or grapheme sequences in a Spanish loan will be considered to mark the loan for Spanish orthography: c for /k/ by an intermediate student, b, v, d, g, c (for /s/), z, rr, gu (for /w/), ua, ue, eo, pr, tr.

The voiced stop symbols b, d, g are included in the 1975 official alphabet for Quechua but as they occur in very few words of Quechua origin and are used primarily in Spanish loans (Cusihuamán 1976b: 52-54), we include them here as features marking for Spanish in students' writing.

f, another symbol included within the official alphabet, and used only in Spanish loans, is not considered here to be a marker for Spanish as it is used by two students to write Quechua /p^h/. b, d, and g, on the other hand, do not appear in the Quechua corpus except for d and g in Quechua /kúntur/, hispanized as condor and written by some students as condor or gondor (see pp. 32-34). These spellings could by our criteria be considered to be positively marked for Spanish; we do not attempt, however, to analyze the entire Quechua corpus, but rather consider it to be the context within which Spanish loans are written.

The grapheme g marks for Spanish, whether it represents Spanish /g/ or /x/.

The symbols c (for /k/ and /s/) and z do occur in the Quechua corpus, but by different authors than those who use these graphemes in Spanish loans.

Initial h is not included as a marker for Spanish as this symbol is found in the Quechua corpus of the same student who uses h in Spanish.

Chart 1 on page 75 gives a list of spellings marked for Spanish orthography as written by intermediate and advanced students; only the root form is given. Words listed more than once under the same number are different spellings used by the same author. Same words with different numbering occur in texts of different authors. Relevant features are underlined.

3.2. Loans marked for Quechua

The spelling used by students in all remaining loans

Chart 1: Loans marked for Spanish

<u>Intermediates</u>		<u>Advanced</u>
1. <u>a</u> cunta	1. <u>a</u> ngel, <u>a</u> ngil	11. <u>p</u> aga-
2. <u>e</u> sc <u>u</u> ela	2. <u>b</u> aña-	12. <u>p</u> ob <u>r</u> e
3. <u>f</u> ide <u>o</u> s	3. <u>c</u> ab <u>a</u> llero	13. <u>p</u> re <u>i</u> cio
4. <u>g</u> allo	4. <u>c</u> arga-	14. <u>p</u> ri <u>m</u> er
5. <u>o</u> ye <u>j</u> a	5. <u>c</u> ar <u>r</u> o	15. <u>r</u> rin <u>i</u> ga-
6. <u>o</u> ye <u>j</u> a	6. <u>c</u> un <u>b</u> u, <u>c</u> on <u>b</u> o, <u>c</u> un <u>b</u> o	16. <u>t</u> ig <u>r</u> i
7. <u>y</u> ac <u>a</u>	7. <u>c</u> uar <u>t</u> o	17. <u>t</u> ri <u>g</u> u
8. <u>z</u> apatu	8. <u>c</u> ue <u>n</u> to	18. <u>v</u> ent <u>a</u> na
	9. <u>n</u> ad <u>a</u> -	19. <u>s</u> or <u>r</u> o
	10. <u>o</u> ye <u>j</u> a	

(except for those which are marked for both Quechua and Spanish) is consistent with their spelling of Quechua words, i.e., we cannot tell simply by looking at the way the words are spelled that they are of Spanish origin. Some, rather, appear to be marked for Quechua orthography, when compared to their spelling in standard Spanish. These particular loans contain graphemes not commonly used in standard Spanish or graphemes or grapheme sequences which reflect systematic phonological changes in the adoption of Spanish words into Quechua.

3.2.a. Graphemes not commonly used in Spanish

Graphemes marking words for Quechua orthography are w (for Sp. /w/), k, g (before a syllabic vowel), and medial

h. We cannot be sure how students wrote Spanish before they attended the literacy instruction course; it is safe to assume, however, that these graphemes were at most marginal elements in students' graphemic repertoires before they began reading class materials in Quechua. That they in some instances applied these graphemes to the writing of Spanish loans indicates to me that at least they do not find it objectionable to write such loans in Quechua orthography. The loans concerned are listed below.

Chart 2: Loans marked for Quechua (a)

Intermediates

1. chiku
2. iskapa-
3. naranha
4. waka

Advanced

1. iskapa-
 2. wariya
 3. llugu
 4. saga
-

3.2.b. Graphemes which reflect phonological changes

Certain loans contain graphemes reflecting phonological changes which have taken place in the incorporation of Spanish loans into Quechua, viz. p for Spanish /b/ or /f/, w for /b/ or /g/, ph for /f/, r for /d,rd,ř/, n for /g/, t for /d/, ñ for /n/, ll for /l/, or j for silent H. Also marking for Quechua is the use of a simple vowel or rising diphthong for a Spanish falling diphthong or vowel sequence (e.g. a for /ya/ or oy for /we/) or insertion of a glide (e.g. eyu for /eó/, w in perwaste). Other features

are the deletion of a vowel or syllable and metathesis of a consonant and vowel. Words containing these features are as follows:

Chart 3: Loans marked for Quechua (b)

<u>Intermediates</u>	<u>Advanced</u>	
1. si <u>w</u> ara	1. masa- (/a/ → ∅)	11. ñ <u>e</u> ño
2. f <u>i</u> sta	2. har <u>e</u> ro	12. salm <u>ó</u> n, salmun (/o/ → ∅)
3. fusp <u>u</u> ro	3. si <u>w</u> era- (/a/ → ∅)	
4. en <u>l</u> l <u>i</u> sa	4. p <u>o</u> rtol (/o/ → ∅)	13. tar <u>e</u>
5. misti (/so/ → ∅)	5. p <u>h</u> aramalla	14. <u>w</u> aca
6. oja (/be/ → ∅)	6. war <u>i</u> ya	
7. oja "	7. <u>j</u> acha	
8. pant <u>e</u> yun	8. <u>l</u> luqu	
9. p <u>e</u> r <u>w</u> aste, p <u>e</u> r <u>w</u> aiste	9. nis <u>u</u>	
10. <u>w</u> aka	10. nin <u>r</u> o	

3.3. Loans marked for both Spanish and Quechua

Some loans as written by students display both Spanish and Quechua features and are here listed separately as a special category. The order of features is specified in brackets following each example (S for Spanish and Q for Quechua).

Chart 4: Loans marked for both Spanish and Quechua

Intermediates

1. doyuñu (S,Q)
2. vinto- (S,Q)

Advanced

1. condenaro (S,Q)
 2. doyñu, doyño (S,Q)
 3. guardeya (S,S,Q)
 4. gira, gera (S,Q)
 5. asenda (Q,S)
-

3.4. Unmarked loans

The remaining spellings of Spanish loans are unmarked for either Quechua or Spanish orthography. These are listed in chart 5, p. 79.

3.5. Observations

In most instances, differences in writing of the same loan by a single author do not affect the marking of that loan. For example, writing of consonants is consistent for the Spanish-marked loans combo and honrado, written respectively as cunbu, conbo, cunbo and honrado, hunrado. Although most students are consistent in their writing of Spanish loans, three loans are written in different ways within the same author's texts. Student 7 writes Spanish hacha only once as hacha (unmarked) but sixteen times as jacha (Quechua-marked); the loan is thus considered to be Quechua-marked on the whole. Spanish escapar is written by the same author three times as

Chart 5: Unmarked loans

<u>Intermediates</u>		<u>Advanced</u>	
1. apura	1. altu	13. iscapa-	25. pasa-, pasu-
2. asnu	2. anillo	14. hacha	26. pasa-
3. ira-	3. anello	15. hasta	27. pila-
4. español	4. anellito	16. honrado, hunrado	28. pensa-
5. supa	5. animal	17. juben, jubin	29. punta
6. mesa	6. animo	18. luco	30. rosa
7. pasa-	7. carajo	19. luchu	31. saco
8. señora	8. casa-	20. manija-	32. saco
	9. cuchillu	21. mantine-, mantini-	33. señora
	10. chica	22. mola	34. silla-
	11. era-	23. parla-	35. tuca-
	12. escapa-	24. pasa-	36. sonso

iscapa- (unmarked) but once as Quechua-marked iskapa-, allowing us to classify the loan as marked for Quechua in this student's writing, one marked case being sufficient to consider corresponding unmarked loans as belonging to the same category.

Student 17 writes Spanish guardia once as guardeya (marked twice for Spanish by gu and d and once for Quechua by eya) but twice as wariya (marked for Quechua by w, r, and iya). As the loan is written more often as wariya than as guardeya, the former is taken to be the norm for this

author and the loan is classified as being marked for Quechua. Seven loans are marked differently for different authors: chica or chico (considered as a single loan for the purposes of comparison), dueño, escapar, loco, oveja, saca or saco (considered here together) and vaca. Predictably, loans containing the phoneme /k/ are written in most instances by intermediates with k (e.g. chiku; iskapa-) and by advanced students with c (e.g. chica; escapa-), marking the former spellings for Quechua orthography. Some of these loans, however, are written by both intermediates and some advanced students in a Quechua-marked form (iskapa-, iskapa-; waka, waca). Spanish-marked oveja, on the other hand, appears written as such in both intermediate and advanced texts, and dueño is marked for both Spanish and Quechua for both intermediate student 1 and advanced student 7 (doyuñu; doyñu). Thus we can say that markedness on the whole does not seem to correlate with student level.

Loans written by more than one author within the same level also show differences in marking. Spanish loco is written by student 7 in unmarked form (luco) but by student 8 marked for Quechua (lluqu). Similarly, we can compare unmarked escapa- and saco to Quechua-marked iskapa- and saca. In these instances, it is preferable to regard the marked forms as primary, i.e. if a loan is written in a marked form by one student, then we consider all unmarked instances of that loan for students in the same level (all advanced students in this case) to be marked. This argument is based primarily on simplicity

of patterning, but it is not unreasonable to hypothesize that student 7 might in some instances write luku for loco or that student 9, if he had more familiarity with Quechua orthography, might write escapa- as eskapa-.

Where loans show marking for Quechua by one student but marking for Spanish by another student within the same level, as is the case for the loans oveja, written by two intermediates as oja and by two others as oveja, and vaca, written by one intermediate as waka and by another as yaca, we prefer not to make any assumptions regarding how most students at the same level might write them.

A summary list of Spanish loans follows, indicating which loans are marked for Spanish (heading S), which for Quechua (Q), which for both Spanish and Quechua (S+Q), and which are unmarked (\emptyset). Although normal convention is to indicate marking for more than one feature by pluses under both feature headings, and \emptyset by no pluses, S+Q and \emptyset are set up here as separate categories to simplify reading of the chart.

Chart 6: Summary list of loans and their marking

<u>Loan in standard Spanish spelling</u>	<u>Example of spelling used by students</u>	<u>S</u>	<u>Q</u>	<u>S+Q</u>	<u>\emptyset</u>
a) <u>Intermediate students</u>					
1. Asunta	acunta	+			
2. escuela	escuela	+			
3. fideos	fideos	+			
4. gallo	gallo	+			
5. zapato	zapatu	+			
6. cebada	siwara		+		
7. chico	chiku		+		
8. escapar	iskapa-		+		

<u>Loan in standard Spanish spelling</u>	<u>Example of spelling used by students</u>	<u>S</u>	<u>Q</u>	<u>S+Q</u>	<u>∅</u>
9. fiesta	fista		+		
10. fósforo	fuspuro		+		
11. iglesia	enllisa		+		
12. mestizo	misti		+		
13. naranja	naranja		+		
14. panteón	panteyun		+		
15. prioste	perwaste		+		
16. dueño	doyuñu			+	
17. vender	vinto-			+	
18. oveja	oveja	+			
	oja		+		
19. vaca	waka		+		
	yaca	+			
20. apurar	apura				+
21. asno	asnu				+
22. era	ira-				+
23. español	español				+
24. misa	mesa				+
25. pasar	pasa-				+
26. señora	siñora				+
27. sopa	supa				+

b) Advanced students

1. angel	angel	+			
2. bañar	baña-	+			
3. caballero	caballero	+			
4. cargar	carga-	+			
5. carro	carro	+			
6. combo	cunbu	+			
7. cuarto	cuarto	+			
8. cuento	cuento	+			
9. nadar	nada-	+			
10. oveja	oveja	+			
11. pagar	paga-	+			
12. pobre	pobre	+			
13. preso	preicio	+			
14. primer	primer	+			
15. renegar	rriniga-	+			
16. tigre	tigri	+			
17. trigo	trigu	+			
18. ventana	ventana	+			
19. zorro	sorro	+			
20. amasar	masa-		+		
21. arriero	harero		+		
22. asegurar	siwera-		+		
23. Bartolo	portol		+		
24. escapar	iskapa-		+		

<u>Loan in standard Spanish spelling</u>	<u>Example of spelling used by students</u>	<u>S</u>	<u>Q</u>	<u>S+Q</u>	<u>Ø</u>
25. faramalla	pharamalla		+		
26. guardia	wariya		+		
27. hacha	jacha		+		
28. loco	lluqu		+		
29. necio	nisu		+		
30. negro	ninro		+		
31. niño	ñeño		+		
32. saca	saqa		+		
33. saco	saco-		+		
34. Salomón	salmón		+		
35. tarde	tare		+		
36. vaca	waca		+		
37. condenado	condenaro			+	
38. dueño	doyñu			+	
39. guerra	gira			+	
40. hacienda	asenda			+	
41. alto	altu				+
42. anillo	anello				+
43. anillito	anellito				+
44. animal	animal				+
45. ánimo	animo				+
46. carajo	carajo				+
47. cazar	casa-				+
48. cuchillo	cuchillu				+
49. chica	chica				+
50. era	era-				+
51. hasta	hasta				+
52. honrado	hunrado				+
53. joven	juben				+
54. Lucho	luchu				+
55. manejar	manija-				+
56. mantener	mantine-				+
57. mula	mola				+
58. hablar	parla-				+
59. pasar	pasa-				+
60. pelar	pila-				+
61. pensar	pensa-				+
62. punta	punta				+
63. Rosa	rosa				+
64. señora	siñora				+
65. silla	silla-				+
66. tocar	tuca-				+
67. zonzo	sonso				+

c) <u>Words which appear in both lists</u>	<u>S</u>	<u>Q</u>	<u>S+Q</u>	<u>∅</u>
1. chico(a) <u>int.</u> <u>adv.</u>				
		chiku	+	
		chica		+
2. dueño <u>int.</u> <u>adv.</u>				
		doyuñu		+
		doyñu		+
3. era <u>int.</u> <u>adv.</u>				
		ira-		+
		era-		+
4. escapar <u>int.</u> <u>adv.</u>				
		iskapa-	+	
		iskapa-	+	
5. oveja <u>int.</u> <u>adv.</u>				
		oveja	+	
		oja		+
		oveja	+	
6. pasar <u>int.</u> <u>adv.</u>				
		pasa-		+
		pasa-		+
7. señora <u>int.</u> <u>adv.</u>				
		siñora		+
		siñora		+
8. vaca <u>int.</u> <u>adv.</u>				
		waka		+
		yaca	+	
		waca		+

4. Summary

In summary, we can make the following generalizations about students' writing of Spanish loans:

- 1) Writing of the vowels /i, e, u, o/ does not differ greatly from patterns of writing displayed by students for the Quechua vowels /i/ and /u/, i.e. there is considerable free variation between use of the grapheme i and u on the one hand and e and o on the other except that advanced students show a tendency to write i and u in pretonic and tonic posi-

tions and the lower vowels e and o in post-tonic position. Although proportionately more e and o occur among Spanish loans than in the Quechua corpus, usage is not systematic enough to consider the presence of these vowels to mark words as Spanish.

2) Diphthongs and vowel sequences are at times written in accordance with modified forms known to occur in Cusco Quechua. Other spellings reflect deletions of vowels or entire syllables from the Spanish base form. These modifications are considered to be Quechua features.

3) Certain spellings of consonantal phonemes entail the use of graphemes not present in students' spelling of Quechua words. These spellings are considered to be Spanish features.

Other sets of graphemes used by students are not part of the standard Spanish graphemic inventory (w, k, q, medial h) and are thus classified as Quechua features. In addition, spellings which reflect phonological changes known to be common in the adoption of Spanish loans into Quechua are considered to be markers for Quechua orthography.

4) Both intermediate and advanced students use Spanish-marked and Quechua-marked sets of graphemes.

5) The entire set of loans, with a few exceptions, can be classified into one of four categories: Spanish-marked, Quechua-marked, marked for both Spanish and Quechua, and unmarked. Some loans written differently by different students (chico(a), oveja, vaca) cannot be classed in a single category and thus are ambiguous, as are those loans

marked for both Spanish and Quechua (dueño, vender, con-
denado, guerra, hacienda).

CHAPTER IV
CONCLUSIONS

In the foregoing discussions we made several observations regarding the way young Quechua-speakers wrote stories in Quechua. These findings in turn carry implications for the writing of dialectal variants and Spanish loans in popular Quechua literature, editing materials produced at the community level, training writers in Quechua, evaluating the alphabet chosen for the Cusco dialect, and using written data in phonological analysis.

1. Review of the findings and major conclusions

Our first observation of an examination of students' writing of Quechua was that intermediate students use graphemes more systematically resembling official Quechua orthography for the Cusco area than do advanced students who tend to use orthographic conventions derived from Spanish or from traditional Quechua orthographies. Thus, for example, where intermediates (exemplified by student 1) write k, w (for both /w-/ and /-w/), sh, t', q, and h, advanced students tend to write c, hu and u (for /w-/ and /-w/, respectively), s, tt, cc, and j. Intermediate student 6 and advanced students 7 and 8 are exceptions to these rules, the former's writing more closely resembling that of advanced students and the latter two's incorporating both official and non-official symbols. Thus the former

writes c and cc for /k/ and /q/, respectively, whereas the two advanced students use, in addition to c, k or q for /k/ and primarily q but also cc for /q/. We also find in these two students' texts frequent instances of h and the use of an apostrophe to mark glottalization (e.g. p', t', k', q'). As intermediate student women spent the most class time of all students reading and copying from materials written in official orthography, intermediate student 6 and advanced students 7 and 8 had some exposure to materials written in Quechua, and the remaining advanced students spent very little if any class time reading and copying Quechua texts, we can conclude that the greater students' exposure to literature written in official orthography, the more likely they are to use symbols corresponding to that orthography.

This conclusion, although at first glance quite obvious, has important implications for training potential writers in the use of the official alphabet for Cusco Quechua. It suggests, first of all, that even persons with little-developed writing skills in Spanish can quickly become good writers of Quechua, if not better writers than literate bilinguals who tend to show greater resistance to change in their writing habits. Furthermore, we can observe that in spite of no systematic instruction in the use of Quechua graphemes, two advanced students were able to imitate orthographic conventions found in the limited number of texts they read in Quechua and to generalize from instructional materials which they observed their fellow students to be using. Student 1, who used official

symbols for four glottalized stops, could have learned these from copying the one instructional card illustrating the family k'a,k'i,k'u, but more likely learned them from reading and copying advanced level Quechua primers containing these graphemes. The often-held belief among many Peruvians that Quechua is difficult to write¹ is thus shown by these findings to be a fallacy, if even semiliterates with very little training can learn to write the language systematically.

The great variety of symbols used by students in writing Quechua gives the Quechua corpus as a whole a confusing aspect, leading one to believe that editing of manuscripts produced under similar situations would be a major undertaking. We have seen, however, that students develop individual codes for writing Quechua. For example, student 7 seems to progress in his writing toward contrasting /k/ and /q/ by the symbols c and qu on the one hand, and kq on the other. Student 11 evidently invents a symbol for /q'/ (ct) by analogy to tt, the traditional symbol he uses for /t'/. Student 8 appears to be attempting to contrast the phonemes /s/ and /š/ by his use of the symbols cs and ci for the latter. Two students adopt the grapheme f to represent /p^h/, a logical symbol and effectively con-

1. Even one of the local school district officials who had at least been aware of a programme in bilingual education going on within his district commented that producing literature in Quechua was a very good idea but that the language was practically impossible to read. This idea is fostered by the existence of widely varying and for the most part linguistically inadequate orthographies but unfortunately, many believe that Quechua by nature is difficult to read and write.

trasted with p, the symbol for /p/. Even student 9, whose writing shows a general confusion of the phonemes /ç, ç', ç^h/, uses at least one set of contrasting symbols for these, viz. ch, chch, and zh.

Such patterns lead one to conclude that students hear phonemic oppositions in Quechua and attempt to reflect these in their writing, although some students appear to be more adept than others at achieving contrast. Editing of the overall manuscript then becomes simply a matter of decoding these individual patterns. I believe that apart from specially-trained linguists and regional or local-level school officials, such as school district (NEC) personnel or local school teachers, community members themselves participating in literature production efforts would make good editors. Further research would be required to determine how adept such students as intermediate student 1 or advanced students 7 and 8 might be at reading other students' texts and systematizing their orthography.

2. Implications for writing dialectal variants and Spanish loans

2.1. Dialect variants

We have seen that students' writing of Quechua reflects certain dialectal and individual phonological peculiarities such as the raising of the vowel /a/ preceding the glide /y/ (e.g. chiysi), absence of initial aspiration in certain words for certain speakers (e.g. orqoramon, enaspa, atun), absence of an initial glottalized bilabial

(e.g. unchay), and dropping of /y/ following /a/ in the suffix /-yki/ (e.g. suyasaque). Further research is needed to determine just how widespread such variants are within a given speech area. If for example, the intended readership of the stories gathered were the students of the literacy course in Usi, I would suggest writing the verb horqoy without initial h, reflecting the pronunciation of a (presumed) majority of the members of the course. I would not write hinaspa without initial h, however, as for most persons in the class, the word is pronounced with initial aspiration and written as such in their texts.

Writing of dialectal variants will depend largely on stylistic and sociopolitical criteria. Writing Quechua as it is pronounced by potential readers might give such literature more emotional appeal and serve to reinforce positive self-concept among readers. On the other hand, there is something to be said for standardization in writing, as this is an effective way to reach a large number of readers with minimal labor and cost. It is perhaps instructive in this respect that student 7 changed his writing of the morpheme /çay/ from dialectal chiy or chey to standard chay early in his first text recorded in original form, indicating that potential readers would find little difficulty in deciphering standard forms which do not vary greatly from the forms used within their own speech areas.

2.2. Spanish loans

We have seen that some Spanish loans are written

in a manner marked for Spanish, i.e. containing graphemes not used by students in writing Quechua. I believe that such spellings as escuela and carro are evidence that the writer is aware that these words belong to a separate language system. Loans overtly marked for Quechua (e.g. siwara, pharamalla), on the other hand, indicate that students treat these as being part of the Quechua language system, i.e. we can consider such loans to be well-integrated, at least for the students who wrote them. We can conclude that a systematic examination of writing patterns can provide some evidence regarding the degree of integration of Spanish loanwords in Quechua. For the majority of loans, however, marking is not present as in the words supa and animal, written in a manner consistent with both Quechua and Spanish orthographies. Further investigation would be needed to determine the degree to which these loans are known by Quechua-speakers to be of Spanish origin.

Thus, the writing of Spanish loanwords seems to depend in part on the way the writer actually pronounces the loan and in part on his knowledge of how the word is written in Spanish. If we assume that students will prefer to see loans written in a manner similar to the way in which they wrote them,¹ we can conclude that in editing

1. This assumption is based on the known preference in Usi for Spanish over Quechua as a written medium; we can guess that where persons are aware of a standard Spanish spelling for certain loans, they would prefer to see these written in their standard Spanish form. This hypothesis is born out by those who have had extensive experience developing written literature in Quechua. Leslie Hoggarth, for /

students' stories for persons at an intermediate reading level, those loans which intermediate students wrote as Spanish-marked (Asunta, escuela, fideos, gallo, zapato) should be written in standard Spanish, and those which were written by these students in Quechua-marked form should be written in standard¹ Quechua: siwara, chiku, iskapa-, phista, phúspuru, inllisa, misti, naranha, pan-tiyun, pirwisti.

Similarly, advanced students' Spanish-marked loans should be written in Spanish in any text edited for advanced-level readers (angel, baña-, caballero, carga-, carro, combo, cuarto, cuento, nada-, oveja, paga-, pobre, preso, primer, renega-, tigre, trigo, ventana, zorro). Quechua-marked loans, on the other hand, should be written in standard Quechua: masa-, ariru, siwira-, purtul, iskapa-, pharamalla, wariya, hacha, lluku, nisu, ninru, ñiñu, saka, saku, salmún, tari.

Furthermore, we can hypothesize that if some words are recognized by even intermediate students as being of Spanish origin, these words will be recognized as such by bilinguals with advanced reading skills. Conversely, words

for example, has found that literate bilinguals react negatively to such forms as iskuyla or awila (abuela), feeling them to be condescending.

1. We recommend that only high vowels i and u be used in Quechua-marked forms; consonants should be written in a manner consistent with the way in which students wrote them, except where students' graphemes did not coincide with official usage (e.g. j for h); we accept the writing of voiced stops b, d, g but not of f, ph being an adequate symbol for the latter.

marked for Quechua in advanced texts would most likely be marked for Quechua if written by intermediate students. Thus, in our edited versions of students' stories, intermediates' Spanish-marked loans and advanced students' Quechua-marked loans should be written as such in both intermediate and advanced-level texts.

Finally, we can suggest that unmarked or ambiguous loans (those marked for both Spanish and Quechua and those marked differently for different students, viz. dueño, ven-der, condenado, guerra, hacienda, chico(a), oveja, and vaca) be written in Quechua orthography for intermediate readers and in Spanish for advanced readers, because of the observed differences in Spanish language ability in the two groups. Condenado, for example, would appear as condenado in a text for advanced students but as kundinaru in one for intermediates. Similarly, advanced students' Spanish-marked loans (e.g. caballero) should be written in Quechua orthography for intermediate-level texts (kaballiru) as we cannot assume that the latter will be able to decipher the Spanish forms. Intermediates' Quechua-marked loans, on the other hand, appear for the most part to be well-integrated and could thus be written in Quechua even for advanced-level texts (e.g. siwara). These suggestions are summarized in the chart on page 95; examples of texts edited for intermediate and advanced-level readers are found in Appendix II.

The question of how to deal with Spanish loans in editing Quechua literature remains subject to broader stylistic and sociopolitical criteria. The fact that an advanced student would write the form ninro in spite of his

Summary of suggestions for editing loans for two reading levels with examples

Texts for:

	<u>Intermediates</u>	<u>Advanced students</u>
Int. students' Spanish-marked loans	SPANISH <u>escuela</u>	SPANISH <u>escuela</u>
Int. students' Quechua-marked loans	QUECHUA <u>siwara</u>	QUECHUA <u>siwara</u>
Adv. students' Spanish-marked loans	QUECHUA <u>kaballiru</u>	SPANISH <u>caballero</u>
Adv. students' Quechua-marked loans	QUECHUA <u>wariya</u>	QUECHUA <u>wariya</u>
Unmarked or ambiguous loans	QUECHUA <u>kundinaru</u>	SPANISH <u>condenado</u>

awareness of the Spanish form negro is evidence that stylistic choice plays a role in the writing of loans. While writing loans in Quechua orthography gives them a 'local' flavour and thus makes them more readily accessible to readers at all levels, writing them in their Spanish form respects readers' ability to decipher words belonging to a separate and more prestigious language code. Perhaps it will take years of Quechua-speakers' writing and editing their own literature to provide more definite guidelines as to how to write Spanish loanwords

in Quechua texts.

3. Evaluation of the official alphabet for Cusco Quechua

Although there is evidence that students in general write Quechua the way they pronounce it, i.e. with contrasting symbols for contrasting phonemes, we do find considerable overlap in symbols used for certain sets of phonemes and must assume in these cases that either students do not in fact make phonemic distinctions or that these particular graphemes are unusually difficult to write.

We saw that velar and post-velar stop phonemes are written with overlapping symbols by some students, most notably student 8 who uses the symbol q for both /k/ and /q/ and also student 7 who uses a considerable number of symbols for velar and post-velar phonemes. My guess is that the confusion here is due, not to difficulties in making phonemic distinctions, but to interference from the Spanish orthographic convention of using qu for /k/. The Quechua usage of a similar symbol (q) for a different phoneme (/q/) must be misleading to a person with good reading ability in Spanish, whereas it does not appear to cause such a problem for intermediate students who exhibited only minimal fluency in Spanish reading.

Another area of difficulty within the simple/glottalized/aspirated series was the writing of the affricates /ç, ç', ç^h/. We can hypothesize that modification of a complex grapheme (ch) is more difficult to achieve than modification of a simple grapheme.

We saw that the symbol j was often used for Quechua /h/ and /x/. Although we support the use of a single symbol for both phonemes, the choice of h in official orthography appears to have created certain problems in students' writing because of interference from the convention of writing a silent h in some words in Spanish. Students know that the symbol has phonetic meaning in Quechua for they use it properly most of the time (hinaspá) and leave it off where it is not pronounced in their speech (orqoramun). When Spanish loans are incorporated into the Quechua corpus, however, problems are created if these contain initial silent h. A person who does not know the etymology of honrado, for example, will pronounce the loan if written as such (as we advocate for advanced texts), with initial aspiration. Furthermore, a person such as student 7 will be confused by the standard rendering horqoramun, as he will not know whether the h is silent, as in his own idiolect, or pronounced, as in standard form. Spanish loans written in Spanish with h and pronounced in Quechua with initial aspiration (as was the case for hacha) create an especially sticky problem, for a good writer would want to use the official grapheme h to represent the initial aspiration in the word, but, if he is aware that the word is Spanish, would not want to give the impression that the initial h is silent. Student 7 solved this problem by writing hacha sixteen times as jacha and only once as hacha. I would also adopt the grapheme j to write Quechua /h/ and /x/ (as is done in the La Paz 1954 orthography) if I were to modify official usage,

reserving h for the intervocalic post-velar fricative /x/. The writing of h in medial position does not pose a problem as in this position it does not conflict with Spanish h which only occurs initially.

The symbol sh seems to have been adopted fairly easily by at least intermediate student 1 and advanced student 7 and we would hypothesize that with more practice, other students would have no problem using this grapheme.

The grapheme w was used quite consistently by most students, even advanced students who had the least exposure to materials written in official orthography. This fact may be due to their having seen this symbol in other Quechua orthographies or it may be that usage of a single symbol as opposed to a digraph (hu) is assimilated quickly by students.

Vowel graphemes show enough free variation to say that students do not contrast different phonemes by the use of i and u on the one hand, or e and o on the other, nor do students write vowels consistently as e or o when in the vicinity of a post-velar and as i or u elsewhere. Our findings do indicate, however, that morpheme-final vowels followed by a post-velar are likely to retain their non-inflected shape (e.g. riqtiy from the root ri-) and should thus most likely be written as such in edited texts.

Although our findings cannot justify the inclusion of e and o in official orthography, one of the stories written during the literacy course illustrates the psychological importance of a five-vowel system for young students

who have received formal education in Spanish. The story begins:

Once upon a time, three children went to school. Their parents asked the eldest child, "What do you learn there?"

He replied, "I make noises like someone who's crying."

Then they asked the second child and he said,

"I read making noises like someone who's crying."

Then they asked the youngest child who said he read saying "A-e-i-o-u."

So they said to the youngest boy, "You are our son," but to the other two they said, "You two go away from here, anywhere, in any direction."

If the Spanish vowels are slurred together, they do in fact sound like someone crying; the two older children could not pronounce the vowels correctly and were punished for their supposed stupidity by being sent away from home.

In summary, students had difficulty writing some of the symbols used in official orthography for Cusco Quechua; these problem areas should be taken into consideration in training literate or semiliterate Quechua-speakers to write in Quechua.

4. Implications for phonological analysis

Finally, it is worth mentioning that the examination of orthography patterns in Quechua-speakers' writing of Quechua and Spanish can be used as a tool in measuring phonological and phonetic phenomena. For instance, we saw that Quechua /p^h/ is written by some students as f, a logical symbol for the common realization of this phoneme in the area of research as a bilabial fricative ([ɸ]). The frequent use of the same symbol, j, for /h/ and /x/ by advanced students and an intermediate's writing

of Spanish /x/ with Quechua h provide support for grouping [h] and [x] together as a single phoneme. Students' writing of the sequence /-n + p-/ as np (kqanpa) shows that they are aware of the morphological structure overlaying the phonological structure of the word.

A very interesting case was that of student 7's writing of Quechua vowels. Far from using these vowels to contrast high and mid phonemes, he appeared to be following a rule to write high vowels in pretonic and tonic positions and lower ones in post-tonic position. We can thus use this student's writing samples as evidence that he hears phonetic distinctions in vowels not heard or heard differently by most other students. We can hypothesize that such a student is able to hear phonetic differences because of his knowledge of a Spanish five-vowel system, even if he reinterprets this system in the context of Spanish loans in terms of his rule for writing tonic and post-tonic vowels. We cannot say that this student's Spanish entails a full-fledged five-vowel system, but we can say that because he writes both Quechua and Spanish with five vowels and in ways consistent with common realizations of Quechua vowels as regards stress, he appears to be moving toward the development of a five-way contrast. It is my conviction that while this particular bilingual may eventually make phonemic distinctions e.g. misa/mesa or muro/moro, he will only do so in Spanish, continuing to use high and mid allophones in Quechua in a predictable way, even if he is aware of their phonetic value. We must

reiterate that unless minimally contrastive phonemic distinctions become established within Quechua words themselves, there is no justification for positing a five-vowel phonemic system in this language, even though extra-linguistic factors necessitate setting up a five-vowel orthography.

That some Spanish loans are written by students in a manner consistent with phonological changes which have taken place in the incorporation of Spanish loans into Quechua indicates that analysis of written data can be used as a tool in corroborating such phonological adaptation, although as we have seen, the inverse is not true, i.e. Spanish-marked loans cannot be used as evidence that these loans are pronounced exactly as in Spanish.

Although written data can provide us with a considerable number of clues regarding analysis of a language at varying levels of structure, we would advise that such data be used with caution, as many non-linguistic factors influence performance in writing.

5. Final remarks

Our aim in the present study has not been to find fault with the official orthography adopted for Cusco Quechua, nor to analyze errors made by Quechua-speakers in using that orthography, but rather to show that an examination of these persons' writing provides us with data which can be used in making recommendations concerning editing of manuscripts written by incipient and subordinate

bilinguals and training such persons in the use of the official alphabet. In short, we would conclude that while any person who has received literacy instruction in Spanish is capable of developing a systematic individual code for representing Quechua, it is possible to train writers to use a single code simply by providing them with examples of literature written in a particular alphabet. Such institutions as the national Office of Bilingual Education¹ within the Ministry of Education and the Regional Bilingual Education Unit in Cusco are at present laying the groundwork for growth in Quechua literature; facilitating the development of community-based literature-production projects remains a challenge to Peruvian leaders and educators.

1. See Alfaro and Zegarra (1976) for a review of the office's involvement in providing Quechua literacy materials in compliance with the government's national policy on bilingual education (ME 1972).

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APPENDICES

Appendix I: Contrastive orthographies for Quechua and Spanish¹

<u>Phoneme</u>	<u>Quechua</u>	<u>Spanish</u>
p	<u>p</u> <u>pana</u>	<u>p</u> <u>padre</u>
t	<u>t</u> <u>tayta</u>	<u>t</u> <u>tomo</u>
ç	<u>ch</u> <u>chita</u>	<u>ch</u> <u>chosa</u>
k-	<u>k</u> <u>killa</u>	<u>c</u> <u>casa</u> <u>qu</u> <u>queso</u> <u>k</u> <u>kilómetro</u>
-k	<u>k</u> <u>wiksa</u>	<u>c</u> <u>inyectar</u>
q-	<u>q</u> <u>qocha</u>	---
-q	<u>q</u> <u>llaqta</u>	---
b	<u>b</u> ² <u>binininiy</u> (CQG:52)	<u>b</u> <u>bailar</u> <u>v</u> <u>vender</u>
d	<u>d</u> <u>kundur</u>	<u>d</u> <u>dar</u>
g	<u>g</u> <u>garchi</u>	<u>g</u> <u>gallo</u> <u>gu</u> <u>guitarra</u>
p'	<u>p'</u> <u>p'acha</u>	---
t'	<u>t'</u> <u>t'anta</u>	---
ç'	<u>ch'</u> <u>ch'aska</u>	---
k'	<u>k'</u> <u>k'aspi</u>	---

1. Examples for Quechua are, unless otherwise noted, from Cusihuamán 1976a (CQD).

2. The graphemes b, d, g are included in the official alphabet, but the occurrence of voiced stop phonemes in Quechua is rare. These graphemes are most often used for Spanish loans (e.g. balikuy, dañukuy, ganay).

<u>Phoneme</u>	<u>Quechua</u>	<u>Spanish</u>
q'	<u>q'</u> q' <u>ala</u>	---
p ^h	<u>ph</u> <u>phaway</u>	---
t ^h	<u>th</u> <u>thanta</u>	---
ç ^h	<u>chh</u> <u>chhalla</u>	---
k ^h	<u>kh</u> <u>khanka</u>	---
q ^h	<u>qh</u> <u>qhatu</u>	---
f	(<u>f</u>) ¹ (<u>firma</u>)	<u>f</u> <u>fósforo</u>
s	<u>s</u> <u>sara</u>	<u>s</u> <u>sala</u> <u>c</u> <u>cinta</u> <u>z</u> <u>zorro</u>
š	<u>sh</u> <u>kashan</u>	---
x	<u>h</u> <u>muhu</u>	<u>j</u> <u>mujer</u> , <u>jaula</u> <u>g</u> <u>ágil</u> , <u>gitano</u>
x̣	<u>h</u> <u>wahay</u>	---
h	<u>h</u> <u>haku</u>	---
m	<u>m</u> <u>michi</u>	<u>m</u> <u>mono</u>
n	<u>n</u> <u>nina</u>	<u>n</u> <u>niña</u>
ñ	<u>ñ</u> <u>ñaña</u>	<u>ñ</u> <u>caña</u>
l	<u>l</u> <u>lawa</u>	<u>l</u> <u>leche</u>
l̪	<u>ll</u> <u>llasa</u>	<u>ll</u> <u>llano</u>
r	<u>r</u> <u>runtu</u>	<u>r</u> <u>pero</u>
ř	---	<u>rr</u> <u>perro</u> <u>r</u> <u>rana</u> , <u>honrado</u>
w-	<u>w</u> <u>wasi</u>	<u>hu</u> <u>huerto</u> <u>gu</u> <u>guantes</u> <u>u</u> <u>cuento</u>
-w	<u>w</u> <u>yaw</u>	<u>u</u> <u>causa</u>

1. The grapheme f is included in the official alphabet but is used only in Spanish loans.

<u>Phoneme</u>		<u>Quechua</u>		<u>Spanish</u>
y-	<u>y</u>	<u>yana</u>	<u>y</u> <u>i</u>	<u>yo</u> <u>bien</u>
-y	<u>y</u>	<u>kay</u>	<u>y</u> <u>i</u>	<u>voy</u> <u>bailar</u>
H (not a phoneme)	---		<u>h</u>	<u>hasta</u>
a	<u>a</u>	<u>apu</u>	<u>a</u>	<u>ala</u>
i	<u>i</u> <u>e</u>	<u>killa</u> <u>qella</u>	<u>i</u>	<u>misa</u>
e	---		<u>e</u>	<u>mesa</u>
u	<u>u</u> <u>o</u>	<u>sunkha</u> <u>songo</u>	<u>u</u>	<u>muro</u>
o	---		<u>o</u>	<u>moro</u>

Appendix II: Sample stories in three transcriptions

Six stories are recorded here first in their original form (A), followed by edited versions as they would appear for intermediate-level readers (B) and advanced-level readers (C). A free translation is given in D. Some stories are incomplete or ambiguous and thus adequate translation is not always possible.

Spanish loans are underscored in transcriptions B and C to facilitate comparison of forms. Edited versions for students to read would not contain underscoring.

Passages in brackets in transcriptions B and C have been added to clarify meaning; bracketed sections in A have been omitted from the edited versions, again for stylistic reasons.

Text 2, Student 2 (Intermediate)

A.

usipe tiyane usi llaqtape kan panteyun kan
escuela kan enllisa wasikuna kan malquikona
kan llama kan ojakan yaca kan

B.

Usipi tiyani. Usi llaqtapi kan pantiyun,
kan escuela, kan inllisa. Wasikuna kan, mallkikuna
kan, llama kan, uha kan, waka kan.

C.

Usipi tiyani. Usi llaqtapi kan pantiyun,
kan escuela, kan inllisa. Wasikuna kan, mallkikuna
kan, llama kan, oveja kan, vaca kan.

D.

I live in Usi. In the town of Usi there is a cemetery, a school, and a church. There are also houses, trees, llamas, sheep, and cows.

Text 16, Student 3 (Intermediate)

A.

Hoq siñora kasqa. Hiysi chikuchan kasqa Hiysi kachasqa faway naranhata pallamun nispa hiysi ninsi manan pallamanchu nispa. nisqa faway apay naranhata nisqa hiysi Hoq misti haymusqa hiysi yaw chiku imantan apasanki naranhata apani imapaq vintonmunapaq Hoq naranhata kusqa hiysi nisqa zapatu

B.

Hoq siñura kasqa. Chaysi chikuchan kasqa. Chaysi kachasqa,
"Phaway, naranhata pallamuy" nispa.
Chaysi nin, "Manan pallaymanchu"
nispa nisqa.

"Phaway apay naranhata" nisqa.
Chaysi hoq misti hamusqa.
Chaysi, "¡Yaw chiku! ¿Imatan
apashanki?"

"Naranhatan apani."

"¿Imapaq?"

"Bintimunapaq."

Hoq naranhata qosqa. Chaysi nisqa,
"Zapato."

C.

Hoq señora kasqa. Chaysi chicochan kasqa. Chaysi kachasqa,
"Phaway, naranjata¹ pallamuy" nispa.
Chaysi nin, "Manan pallaymanchu"
nispa nisqa.

"Phaway apay naranjata" nisqa.
Chaysi hoq misti hamusqa.
Chaysi, "¡Yaw chico! ¿Imatan
apashanki?"

"Naranjatan apani."

"¿Imapaq?"

"Vendemunapaq."

Hoq naranjata qosqa. Chaysi nisqa,
"Zapato."

D.

There once was a woman. She had a son. Then she ordered him, saying,

"Go quickly and pick some oranges."

He replied, "I won't go and get them."

"Go and take these oranges," she said.

Then a mestizo came by and he said, "Hey boy! What are you carrying?"

"I'm carrying oranges."

"What for?"

"To sell."

The boy gave him an orange. Then he said, "Shoe."

Text 21, Student 1 (Intermediate)

A.

ojatas michisqa p'asña chiysi maqt'a taypasqa henaspas
k'epenakusqaku qaqat'uqoman k'eperosqa p'asñata wachakusqa
kunturta runata chiysi kuntursi chi p'asna tapukusqa
unuta t'epurachin teyachinqa chiysi manas roncha kuntursi
kasqa.

1. (from p. 111) Although we have recommended writing most intermediate Quechua-marked loans in Quechua orthography for advanced-level texts, this particular loan is written here in Spanish as it would most likely be more recognizable as such by advanced students.

B.

Uhatas michisqa p'asña. Chaysi maqt'a tupasqa.
Hinaspas q'epinakusqaku.

Qaqa t'oqoman q'epirusqa p'asñata. Wachakusqa
kunturta¹ runata.

Chaysi kuntursi.

Chay p'asña tapukusqa. Unuta t'impurachin.
Tiyachinqa.

Chaysi manas runachu. Kuntursi kasqa.

C.

Ovejatas michisqa p'asña. Chaysi maqt'a tupasqa.
Hinaspas q'epinakusqaku.

Qaqa t'oqoman q'epirusqa p'asñata. Wachakusqa
condorta runata. Chaysi condorsi.

Chay p'asña tapukusqa. Unuta t'impurachin.

Tiyachinqa. Chaysi manas runachu, condorsi kasqa.

D.

Once upon a time a girl was pasturing her sheep.
Then a boy met up with her. Then they played piggy-back.

The boy carried the girl to a cave. She bore him
a condor, a person.

They say it was a condor.

The girl asked him.² She boiled some water.

She'll make him sit on it.

They say it wasn't a person. It was a condor.

1. This Quechua word, marked for Spanish in advanced students' texts, is written in Quechua orthography for intermediates and in Spanish for advanced students.

2. The word tapukusqa could easily be tapakusqa from the Spanish, tapar, in which case the translation would be, "The girl covered (the pot)."

Text 10, Student 8 (Advanced)

A.

Imas mares imas mares
ñanpa uranpe ñanpa hawanpe
ninro human papa cusawan wicchuracian
harerokunaq wayk'ukusqan

B.

Imasmaris imasmaris,
¿(Imataq) ñanpa uranpi ñanpa hawanpi,
ninru uman papa kusawan wikch'urayashan?
Arirukunaq wayk'ukusqan.

C.

Imasmaris imasmaris,
¿(Imataq) ñanpa uranpi ñanpa hawanpi,
ninru uman papa kusawan wikch'urayashan?
Arirukunaq wayk'ukusqan.

D.

What is it, what is it?
What is it that at the bottom of the road and at the
top of the road, a black head and roasted potatoes are
lying about?
A herder's food.

Text 14, Student 9 (Advanced)

A.

Juoc wariyas cascca chiyse yau zhatho sarumowallaya
carajo yau zhzaho pactatac sarospa acaquitara zhiccichiquiman
carajo nipca nicca. chita nictin girata rowasoncho nescca
rowasonchiya nipa nicca. Chiysi chillequitocca jofñorocoscca
tigrita zhoracta llepen animalconata juñorcco. cheyse
urccopuntapi suyanacoson nipa nicca. Cheyse suyanacuccaco
cheyse guardeyaconacca jamosccaco Chiyse girata rowasccaco

(chise gerata rowaccaco) wariyaconata mitaman ccateyoccaco cheyse waquin escapascaco machac waycona riponco.

B.

Hoq wariyas kasqa. Chaysi (ch'illikitu nin),

"iYaw chhachu, sarumuwallayá,¹ karahu!"

"iYaw chhachu, paqtataq saruspa akaykitaraq ch'eqechiykiman, karahu!" nispa nisqa (wariyaqa).

Chayta niqtin, "¿Girata ruwasunchu?" nisqa.

"iRuwasunchisyá!" nispa nisqa.

Chaysi ch'illikituqa huñurusqa tigrita, ch'uraqta, llipin animalkunata huñurukun.

Chaysi, "Orqo puntapi suyanakusun" nispa nisqa.

Chaysi suyanakusqaku, chaysi wariyakunaqa hamusqaku.

Chaysi girata ruwasqaku, wariyakunata mitaman qatiyusqaku.

Chaysi wakin iskapasqaku. Mach'aqwaykuna ripunku.

C.

Hoq wariyas kasqa. Chaysi (ch'illikitu nin),

"iYaw chhachu, sarumuwallayá, carajo!"

"iYaw chhachu, paqtataq saruspa akaykitaraq ch'eqechiykiman, carajo!" nispa nisqa (wariyaqa).

Chayta niqtin, "¿Guerrata ruwasunchu?" nisqa.

"iRuwasunchisyá!" nispa nisqa.

Chaysi ch'illikituqa huñurusqa tigreta, ch'uraqta, llipin animalkunata huñurukun.

Chaysi, "Orqo puntapi suyanakusun" nispa nisqa.

Chaysi suyanakusqaku, chaysi wariyakunaqa hamusqaku.

Chaysi guerrata ruwasqaku, wariyakunata mitaman qatiyusqaku.

Chaysi wakin iskapasqaku. Mach'aqwaykuna ripunku.

D.

There once was a policeman. Then (the grasshopper said),

"Hey, good-for-nothing, come on and step on me,

1. Here we have followed the students' writing of the geminate /yy/ as y.

dammit!"

"Hey, good-for-nothing, I hope that by stepping on you I squeeze out your innards, dammit!" (the policeman) said.

When he had said that, the other replied, "Shall we go to war?"

"Yes, let's do!" he said.

Then the grasshopper gathered together the tigers, the ants, and all the animals.

Then he said, "We'll wait for each other at the top of the mountain."

So they met there, and then the policemen arrived. Then they fought and the animals pushed the policemen over the edge of the cliff.

Some escaped. The snakes went home.

Text 5, Student 7 (Advanced)

A.

hoq cuento huanocmanta

nokqan jamurani kqosqomanta chaymi jamsaqtiy carro hormayon chan koskqoq jawan orpesape chaymi runa wanun iscay chunca carropes wañollantaq manijaqllañña iscapan. chayse runa wañuchikqanmanta preicio jaycupon chunca iscayniyoq wata chaymantañas lluqsenpuncca chay runa wañuchiskqanmanta.

B.

Hoq kuyntu wañuqumanta

Noqan hamurani Qosqomanta. Chaymi hamushaqtiy karu urmayun chay Qosqoq hawan Oropesapi. Chaymi runa wañun iskay chunka, karupis wañullantaq. Manihaqllañña iskapan.

Chaysi runa wañuchisqanmanta prisu haykupun chunka iskayniyoq wata. Chaymantañas lloqsimpunqa chay runa wañuchisqanmanta.

C.

Hoq cuento wañuqmanta

Noqan hamurani Qosqomanta. Chaymi hamushaqtiy carro urmayun chay Qosqoq hawan Oropesapi. Chaymi runa wañun iskay chunka, carropis wañullantaq. Manejaqllaña iskapan.

Chaysi runa wañuchisqanmanta preso haykupun chunka iskayniyoq wata. Chaymantañas lloqsimpunqa chay runa wañuchisqanmanta.

D.

A story about the dead people

I came back from Cusco. As I was coming, a lorry turned over outside of Cusco, in Oropesa. Twenty people died and the lorry was destroyed. Only the driver escaped.

The driver was sent to prison for twelve years for killing those people. One day he'll leave prison (where he's been) for having killed.