

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

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

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

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

### *Codification*

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

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

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

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

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

### *Modernization*

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

### *Renovation*

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

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

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

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

### Conclusions

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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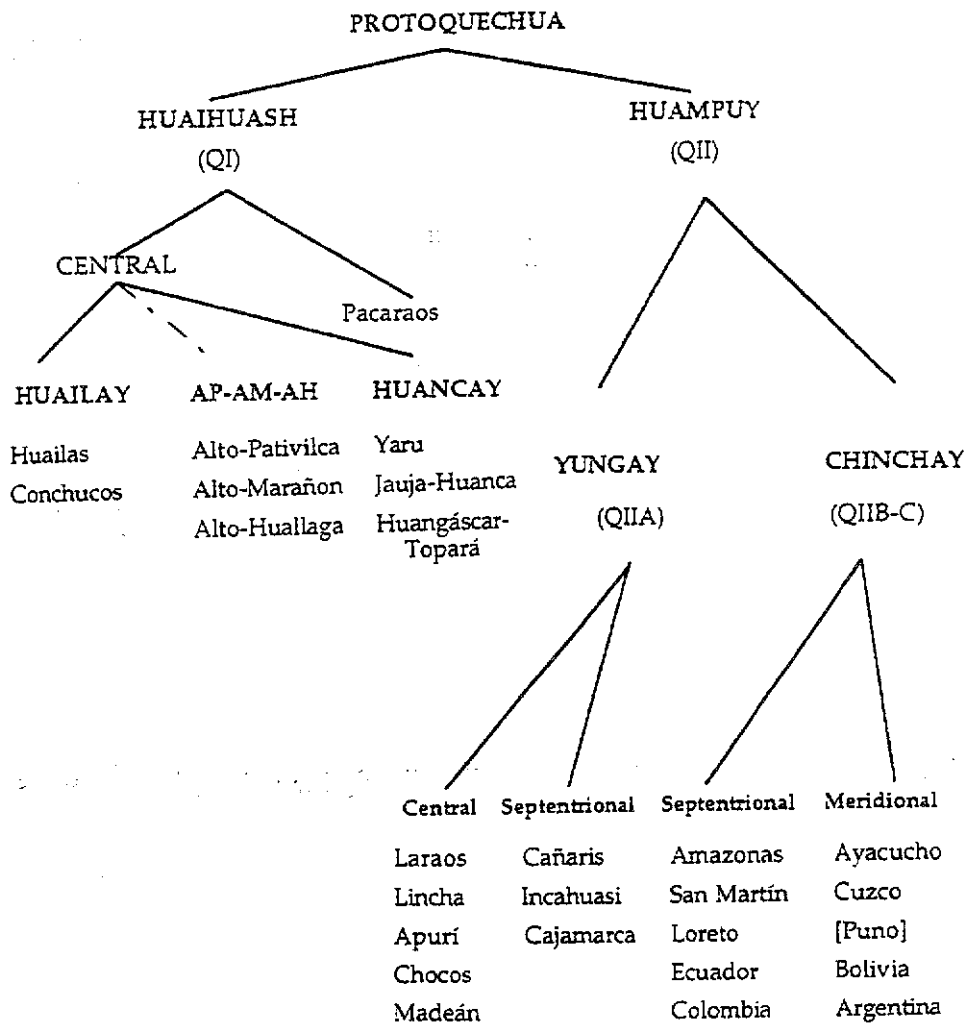
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Linguistic Classification of Quechua Dialects



Source: Cerrón-Palomino 1987: 247.

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

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

## Appendix B

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

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

Adapted from Hornberger 1995: 198.

## Proposed graphization systems for Southern Quechua (QII)

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

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

## Appendix C

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

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

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