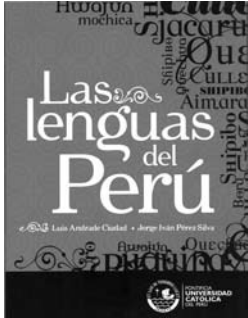


The languages of Peru



Luis Andrade Ciudad and Jorge Iván Pérez Silva

Lima: Pontificia Universidad Católica del Perú-Oficina Central de Admisión, 2009.

In November 2008, the Pontifical Catholic University of Peru and TV Culture published two audiovisual materials: “The Spanish languages of Peru” and “The languages of Peru”. These videos have been complemented with a book titled *The Languages of Peru*, written by Jorge Pérez and Luis Andrade, which deepens in the points shown in the audiovisual materials along with pedagogic activities and complementary readings to consolidate the activities in each chapter. The book becomes a guide to work with the audiovisuals.

The book and the videos were made “[...] to contribute to stop indigenous languages, as well as regional and popular varieties of Spanish being considered second class linguistic entities, becoming recognized with pride and respect by their own speakers and by all citizens” (8).

The book is divided in three chapters and conclusions we describe briefly.

The first is titled “The indigenous languages of the past” and it was written by Luis Andrade. The chapter deals with the languages spoken in the coast, the highlands and the jungle of Peru that are now extinct. Andrade says that despite the fact that this traditional division of Peru in coast, highlands and jungle has recently been criticized, he adopts it because it can “order this general situation in a pedagogic way” (12). It presents a vision of the languages of the past which are not spoken anymore but whose existence is known because of the trails left in documents, onomatological sources and loanwords.

The chapter shows a view of the extinct languages in the coast in which the case of Mochica, one of the general languages in Peru during the XVI c. spoken in the north coast, is specially revised. In the highlands, the author also shows us a view of the extinct languages in the region and revises one, Culle language, which had its religious and political center in Huamachuco and was spoken in the south easternmost part of Cajamarca (Cajabamba and San Marcos) and in the extreme north of Ancash in Callejón de Conchucos (Pallasca). It is interesting to point out that while there are documentary sources for Mochica language (*Yunga language grammar, written in 1644* by Fernando de la Carrera, and a list of Mochica words made by bishop Martínez Compañón at the end of the XVII c, etc), there has not been written material on Culle (no catechism, lexis or grammar). Here, onomatological sources were consulted, as Andrade says:

“ No other extinct language in the present Peruvian territory has shown with such clarity as Culle has the importance of the toponymy for historic linguistics, because this language’s non highland territory has been traced with great precision and reasonable consensus among specialists thanks to the names with special sonority such as Shagaganda, Chochoconday, Pusvara and Querquerball” (25).

For Amazon languages, it is more complicated to study the extinct ones as there are no documentary sources (no toponymy studies have been made). Andrade says:

“ Even though we cannot know how many and which are the Amazon languages that became extinct in the decades following the Spa-

nish conquest, or have an idea of the dynamics in the extinction during the pre-Hispanic times, we do not have a direct vision of the seriousness of the linguistic death in the recent centuries in the Peruvian Amazon" (26).

This shows what Calderón Pacheco (2000) mentions regarding the fact that the attention to Amazon matters has much less time than the one dedicated to Andean matters. When an issue on this region is approached, the references will be the most recent extinct languages. Andrade mentions the languages that became extinct in the last century according to Wise, Ribeyro and Solís's studies.

We would like to draw the attention of this point: "Solís reports the extinction of Andoa from the Zaparo family, due to the death of its last speaker, and that the last Waripano or Panobo speaker died in 1991" (28). As a matter of fact, it is too risky to refer to the "last speaker", for example, for the Andoa case, the one Solís reports extinct in 1991. Lev Michael (<http://lev.d.michael.googlepages.com/research_projects>) reports news of two fluent Andoa speakers in the community of Andoas Viejo in the river Pastaza, near the border with Ecuador.

An interesting topic Andrade considers is the criteria used to claim if a language is in danger, pointing out that the statistics criterion is not enough, and that it is necessary to consider the kind of contact the minority language has had with the more prestigious ones. When there is an intense contact between the minority language and the hegemonic language, the latter starts being used over the minority language. The hegemonic language ends up, as Tove Skutnabb-Kangas says, killing the minority language.

Apart from the situation of the extinct languages, this chapter seeks to answer: Why did these languages become extinct? And this is an important point because languages do not become extinct due to "natural causes" but because there is a conflict between them,

and where the dominant one displaces the other. This has happened in the past when, for example, Aimara displaced Puquina, or in the present, when Spanish displaces other indigenous languages.

But as these language disappearances have taken place, there is also linguistic revitalization, an aspect that has not been considered in the book and that we miss because despite the disappearances, we have also witnessed affirmative ethnic processes in which indigenous people seek "to recoup" their ancient languages. Thus, we have news, for example, on the recovery of Iquito in Iquitos (<http://www.ailla.utexas.org/site/cilla1/Panel_ILDP.pdf>), or the resurrection of Mochica en Lambayeque (<<http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=YiKGu1j7ZkM>>).

The second chapter of the book was also written by Luis Andrade, and it is named "The languages of the present". Here we find a view of the languages spoken nowadays and the minority situation in which indigenous people are now. There are no references of the languages of the coast, the highlands or the jungle. Andrade claims that:

“ Every time we recognize more that there are no impassable boundaries between the Andes and the Amazon neither in the geographic nor in the cultural aspect. If we approach to both the history of our societies and the economic and cultural circuits that rule now the different regions of the country, we note that the links between both regions has been and will always be vital and dynamic" (39).

Andrade wonders whether the frontier between the Andes and the Amazon is not the linguistics. However, we are still far from finding the answer because linguists have studied the groups separately and have emphasized basically the differences between the languages of these areas over their similarities.

“ It is still far the moment in which linguists can reflect on both groups of languages, Andean and Amazon, comprehensively and fluently. For the

moment, however, we can say that although there are unquestionable distinctions between one and another [...], there are many territories of grammar and the use of the language in society in which a joint reflection can be enlightening" (40).

This chapter has two parts: one on the Andean languages and the other on the Amazon ones.

When the first are mentioned, Quechua and Aimara are referred. Quechua is used in four Andean countries: Colombia, Ecuador, Argentina and Peru. In our country, there are two big branches: Quechua I or Huayhuash and Quechua II or Yungay; Quechua II is spoken in the other Andean countries. The division of Quechua in these two sub branches is widely accepted by Quechua experts and it was proposed at the beginning and independently (although with different nomenclature) by Gary J. Parker (1963) and Alfredo Torero (1964). What differentiates Quechua I from Quechua II is the conjugation in the first person of the present:

Quechua I	Quechua II	Translation
Huayhuash	Yungay	
Purii	Purini	(I) walk
Tapuu	Tapuni	(I) ask
Waqaa	Waqani	(I) cry

Andrade presents a view of the different branches and sub branches of Quechua, so

we can see how this language spreads along the national territory.

One very interesting point is the one regarding the destruction of a prejudice over Quechua: its origins in Cusco. What the dialect studies revealed is that the varieties of Quechua I are older than the ones of Quechua II: "[...] for it is impossible to think of an area of origin located precisely in the center of the country for this linguistic family" (44). Although there is no scientific evidence of the origin of Quechua, there is certainty that is not Cuzco but the north of the country.

Regarding Aimara, Andrade follows the terminology of Cerrón Palomino referring to central Aimara (which groups Jaqaru and Cauqui as two variants of the same language) and south Aimara. We have to say, however, that Jaqaru speakers do not consider themselves Aimaras of the center, for this is a useful and relevant classification for researchers but not for speakers. And even though Andrade is aware of that, he justifies the use of that nomenclature because is clearer than other existent proposals (Torero mentions the Aru family and Martha Hardman refers to Jaqui), and because "[...] it has the virtue of keeping the parallelism with the name of the Quechua family, which adopts this name as its general name without distinguishing specific Quechuas inside" (50).



The languages in Peru. Lima: PUCP and TV Cultura, 2008.

This documentary presents the history of the languages in Peru. It shows the enormous diversity of languages in the Peruvian Amazon, the already extinct ones—and not well-know—the languages in the coast, and tells the history of the Andean languages such as Quechua and Aimara, Jaqaru, Puquina, Culle and Uro. It seeks to demystify certain beliefs rooted in Peruvians' imaginary, such as the idea that indigenous languages are not languages but "mere dialects" that Quechua is from Cuzco, that the varieties of Aimara are only spoken in the south of Peru or that only Spanish was spoken in the coast.

The documentary is available in Internet: <<http://videos.pucp.edu.pe/videos/ver/ae753f60d44b59a314071e71e848a2aa>>.

If we agreed that languages do not exist but only their speakers, I think we should reflect more on this parallelism, because while none of the speakers of Quechua denies his speaking, we are sure Tupe speakers will not affirm they speak Aimara but Jacaru.

The linguists who have investigated these languages agreed that they belong to the same family. This leads us to wonder how two languages are spoken in the same family in two distant points. Cerrón Palomino has reached to the conclusion that:

“ [...] Aimara covered a larger area than the present one in the XVI c., covering mostly the wide hall that separates these two languages of the family: in this way Aimara was probably spoken not only in Lima but also in the present departments of Ica, Huancavelica, Ayacucho, Apurímac and Cuzco, up to Puno and Bolivia in a late period of its expansion. The advance of Quechua would have been pushed Aimara even more to the south, leaving the dialects of Tupe and Cachuy as a sample of the ancient variety of the territory” (54).

In the sub chapter regarding Amazon languages it is said that there are approximately 40 and that they belong to 16 different families, being 2 of an “isolated” category. Obviously, it is impossible to show the characteristics of the languages and their linguistic families in a manual such as this book; what was done in this chapter was to show the aspects that enable awareness rising of the richness of these languages. If we talk about languages and linguistic families, the readers may wonder: Why is it important to talk about linguistic families? Pilar Valenzuela provides the answer:

“ The classification of the Amazon languages to a linguistic family is very important because to say that two groups of people that live now in different areas belong to the same linguistic family means that we can reconstruct where these groups come from, where they migrate and learn about their knowledge in a territory such as the Amazon where archaeology is not practiced widely. Thanks to lin-

guistics, we can reconstruct much of the history of these groups of people.” (59).

Another point shown in this chapter is regarding the lost of the indigenous language in the younger generations due to immigration processes. For example, the case of the Shipibo living in Lima is mentioned from whom we do not know how children learn the language of their parents and the way this indigenous language is going backwards opposite Spanish (70). Andrade tell us that what Shipibo people are experiencing is also happening with other indigenous languages, and not only in the cities but in the indigenous communities as well. He mentions the case of the Ashaninka community where the mother tongue of the children is Spanish and where the school is one of the strongest actors that promotes the lost of the indigenous language with its racist attitude.

But not all the experience is negative. Andrade mentions the Training Program for Teachers of the Peruvian Amazon (Programa de Formación de Maestros de la Amazonía Peruana - FORMABIAP) which started in 1988 and marked a milestone in the teacher training in Intercultural Bilingual Education (IBE) because, for the first time, this program was conceived from the initiatives of the indigenous federations that took part in education committees to advocate and demand their right for education respectful of their language and their culture. As a result, the Public Pedagogic School of Loreto (Instituto Superior Pedagógico Público Loreto - ISPPL) and the Interethnic Association for the Development of the Peruvian Jungle (Asociación Interétnica de Desarrollo de la Selva Peruana - AIDSESP) signed an agreement. With it, the indigenous federation and the public institution became co executives of the Teacher Training Program of IBE. Unfortunately, an important experience like the FORMABIAP has not had graduate students for three years due to the government’s directives hindering the enrollment of indigenous youngsters

to the teaching training by establishing 14 as a requisite mark to enter a teacher training school. This makes it impossible the enrolment of indigenous youngsters, victims of a bad school education “who end up being double victims and excluded of the educational system” (FORMABIAP, 2000).

The third chapter is named “The Spanish languages in Peru” and it was written by Jorge Pérez. Its objective is to destroy the prejudice that the non standard varieties of Spanish are inferior and to advocate for the recognition and respect of the varieties of spoken Spanish in the country. It is important now to offer a definition of linguistic prejudice by Tusón (2003):

“ A “linguistic prejudice” is a deviation of rationale which, almost always, has the form of judgment of value or good of a language or any of its characteristics, or over the speakers of a language. And it is a prejudice led by ignorance or malevolence” (27).

Thus, to destroy the prejudice that the non standard varieties are inferior, Pérez explains that the idea has no scientific support and discriminating social varieties of Spanish is a way to domination by powerful groups, which assume that the variety that they use is the only one valid and legitimate. This idea is also reinforced by the school that:

“ [...] teaches explicitly that there is a correct way of Spanish, the standard variety, and that other varieties are incorrect forms of expression. In this way, people are made believed that their spontaneous speaking is a “bad Spanish”, which reflects “lack of culture” and that the only way to “speak well” is handling the linguistic characteristics of the standard variety”.

This chapter is divided in four parts we refer briefly.

The first part explains that all languages of the world change, that its variability is a characteristic of all languages. Therefore, we can observe, for example, that the Spanish spoken in Argentina has similar characteristics with the Spanish spoken in Peru or Mexico, but also some differences in vocabulary, pronunciation and grammar.

In the second part, there is an explanation of the origins of Spanish: where the Spanish spoken in Peru comes from:

“ [...] the origin of the various Spanish in Peru comes from Latin. This language was taken by Romans to the Iberia peninsula where it diversified in different varieties, one of which, the Spanish Romance or, simply Spanish was brought to America. Once in this continent, it continued its normal process of diversification, in the different linguistic levels, producing the different varieties of American



The Spanish languages in Peru. Lima: Proeduca-GTZ, 2004.

This video presents the diversity of Spanish languages in Peru and shows that linguistic prejudice is a way –built ideologically as legitimate– to discriminate people socially and culturally.

Can we imagine a nation where all speakers pronounced in the same way, used the same grammar and the same vocabulary? This would be not only impossible nor desirable. The linguistic diversity is a type of cultural diversity that we have to respect and also learn how to know it. School —as an agent that reproduces linguistic discrimination— is precisely the one with a challenging task ahead.

This documentary is available in Internet: <<http://videos.pucp.edu.pe/videos/ver/379d6a04643e9f94f6c80beafa2fe9a4>>.

Spanish, which present linguistic characteristics resulted of the contact with native American languages" (92).

The third part deals with the varieties of Spanish in Peru. In this, it is claimed that diverse geographical, social and acquired varieties are spoken, presenting many examples of geographic varieties. For the social variant, it is explained that they are in the different social groups (sex, age, class, etc). The acquiring variety has to do with the situation of Spanish as a second language:

“ There are many people that have learnt Spanish being adults and they speak it in a particular way, in which we can find unique characteristics of various Spanish, but also characteristics of their own mother tongue and other as a result of creative processes of the speakers" (97).

This acquiring variety, which was produced when indigenous speakers of Quechua and Aimara were forced to learn Spanish, became the mother tongue of a large group of Peruvians "who learnt it with the particular features of the origin of the variety of contact" (100). Due to immigration, this variety has extended through all Peru and has an influence on the majority of Peruvians that use these forms without knowing that they belong to Andean Spanish.

The fourth part refers to linguistic discrimination. It says that although it has been proved that all the varieties can satisfy all communication needs equally, they are not valued equally and some forms are discriminated. There is a standard form which belongs to the formal writing and which is not the one acquired spontaneously but learnt at school. This form should be learnt without replacing the spoken variety. However, in schools, by teaching the standard way, there is no difference between the oral and the written forms, and all that is detected as different from the "standard" is considered incorrect. The non standard forms are stigmatized and the standard one

is used as a form of discrimination. The school has a lot of responsibility regarding linguistic discrimination. It is important to remember Tusón: "Education is usually nothing but a transmitter of prejudice and stereotype by which human groups function" (51). Pérez sustains that the school should change radically its role and work not for linguistic discrimination but for recognizing and respecting different forms of Spanish.

In the conclusions the principal lessons taught in the first three chapters are collected and some aspects not seen in the book are deepened. These are six lessons:

1. The Peruvian linguistic diversity is not reduced to the number of languages.
2. Spanish spoken in Peru is not only one and should not be.
3. Discriminating indigenous languages and non standard varieties of Spanish lacks fundament.
4. Indigenous languages are not dialects.
5. Indigenous languages and non standard varieties of Spanish are power sources.
6. Peruvian Indigenous languages are in danger

One of the lessons that has not been developed in the book is that indigenous languages are not dialects. Referring to them as such, in the pejorative sense, is a linguistic prejudice, and, as Tusón mentions, this shows racism towards languages. This perverse distinction among languages and dialects has influenced deeply in speakers who claim that they speak "dialects and not real languages" (p. 113) that is why they reject to be taught those languages at school. These beliefs are fed by perverse uses that some linguists have made (remember, for example, the declarations of Martha Hildebrandt on indigenous languages) that:

“ [...]their prejudices] try to lie on a solid wall of science or, at least, in statistics. However, with frequency, this point of support will be nothing but a breaking wall built with the roughest sophisms” (70).

Fighting against linguistic discrimination is a big task:

“ [...] there are a lot to do to face these discriminatory notions, not only in the relation between indigenous languages and Spanish, taken as blocks, but also among indigenous languages” (113).

Nila Vigil

Bibliography

Calderón Pacheco, Luis; 2000; “Imágenes de otredad y de frontera: Antropología y pueblos amazónicos”. En Carlos Iván Degregori (editor). NO HAY PAÍS MÁS DIVERSO. COMPENDIO DE ANTROPOLOGÍA PERUANA. Lima: Red para el Desarrollo de las Ciencias Sociales en el Perú, pp. 235-277.

FORMABIAP; 2009; PRONUNCIAMIENTO DEL FORMABIAP, 22 de abril del 2009. Disponible en: <<http://www.servindi.org/actualidad/10786>>.

Tusón, Jesús; 2003; LOS PREJUICIOS LINGÜÍSTICOS. Barcelona: Octaedro.



LITERACY AND MULTICULTURALISM. Views from Latin America

Luis Enrique López and Ulrike Hanemann (editors)

- Literacy in young people and adults in Bolivia / Giovanna Carrarini, Fermín Guillermo, Luz Jiménez.
- Report on Differentiated Indigenous, Intercultural and Bilingual Education in Brazil / Lynn Mario T. Menezes de Souza.
- Literacy in indigenous young people and adults in Ecuador / Fernando Yáñez.
- Literacy in young people and adults in Guatemala / Lucía Verdugo y Jorge Raymundo.
- Literacy in indigenous young people and adults in México / Sylvia Schmelkes, Guadalupe Águila y María de los Ángeles Núñez.
- The Nicaragua experience / Mirna Cunningham Kain.
- Literacy in indigenous young people and adults in Peru / Madeleine Zúñiga.
- Education of indigenous young people and adults in Latin America: Best practices / Luis Enrique López.

UIL-UNESCO and Programme to Promote Better Basic Education (Programa de Apoyo a la Calidad Educativa – PACE) of Deutsche Gesellschaft für Technische Zusammenarbeit in Guatemala (PACE-GTZ)

Publication available in Internet:

http://www.unesco.org/uil/en/UILPDF/themareas/AlfabetizacionCapitulos/Alfabetizacion_y_multiculturalidad.pdf