

Quechua Language Revitalization Policies and Planning in Peru, Bolivia, and Ecuador

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The Quechua language, spoken by indigenous Quechuans, faced endangerment due to the widespread use of Spanish. This paper explored the language revitalization policies for Quechua language in South American countries, particularly Peru, Bolivia, and Ecuador. The paper began by presenting a concise overview of Quechua and the Quechuan community, elucidating the factors contributing to Quechua's endangered status and the prevalence of Spanish monolingualism. Subsequently, it delved into an exploration of language revitalization policies and challenges within each country, framed by corpus planning, status planning, acquisition planning, and prestige planning. The paper concluded with a discussion on the outcomes of Quechua revitalization efforts. This paper offered valuable insights for countries adopting a 'language as a resource approach,' and particularly those endeavoring to implement additive policies for their extinct, endangered, or threatened languages.

Keywords: Language planning, language revitalization, Quechua, language policies

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Introduction

Language revitalization refers to “the development of programs that result in re-establishing a language which has ceased being the language of communication in speech community and bringing it back into full use in all walks of life” (Hinton & Hale, 2013, p.5). In other words, it is the effort of bringing a language back in use which has disappeared or been threatened by the widespread use of another language. Several South American countries have legislated new policies to revitalize Quechua in recent decades since Quechua heritage people settle in various regions of these countries. This paper discusses the different Quechua revitalization policies in Peru, Bolivia, and Ecuador.

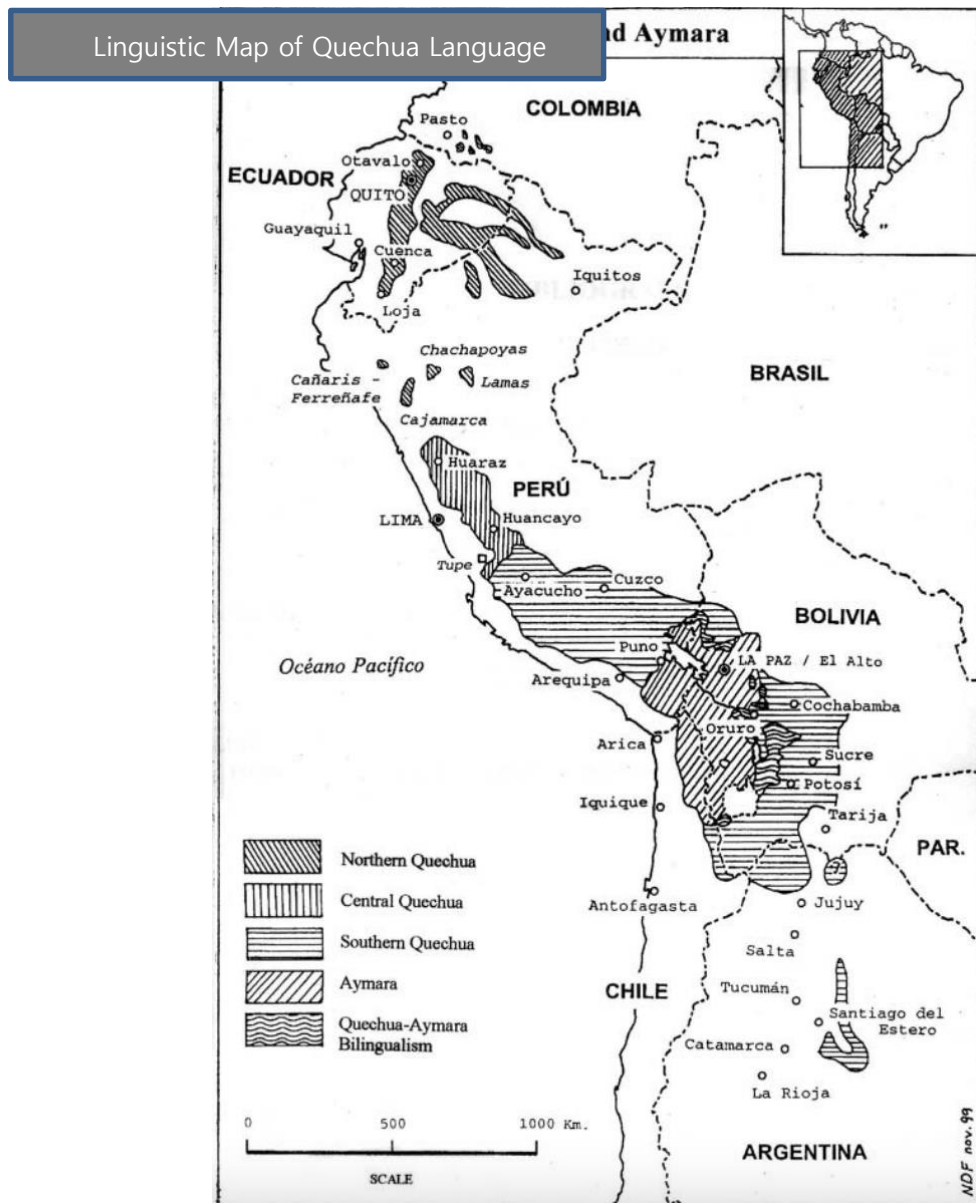
The paper firstly provided brief background information about Quechua and Quechuans and explained the factors provoking endangered situation of Quechua and monolingualism in Spanish. Then, the language revitalization policies and challenges were discussed in each country in the frame of corpus planning, status planning, acquisition planning and prestige planning. The paper ended with a discussion about the outcomes of Quechua revitalization acts. This paper provided important insights about the challenges of language revitalizing process for countries that take on a ‘language as a resource approach’ and plan to make additive policies for their extinct, endangered or threatened languages (Ruiz, 1984).

Background Information about Quechua and Quechuans

Quechua is a family of languages with its significant number of dialects (Yatako, 2010). It was once the official language of Inca Empire (1438-1533) that covered a big part of South America, and it served as a lingua franca in the region for a long time even after the collapse of the Inca Empire (Cerron-Palomino, 2015). Quechua is also called as runa simi, that is language of the people (Adelaar & Muysken, 2004). Today, it is identified as the indigenous language which has the largest speaker population in South America. The current estimated population of Quechua speakers, who are also called Quechuans, is between eight to fourteen million in six different South American countries: Argentina, Bolivia, Chile, Colombia, Ecuador, and Peru (Rindstedt & Aronsson, 2002) (See Figure I). Each region is known with its unique dialect (Adelaar & Muysken, 2004).

Figure I. Linguistic map of Quechua in South America.

Source: Cerron-Palomino (2000, p.379) (translations by Hornberger & Coronel-Molina, 2004).



Although it has significant number of speakers, Quechua is still classified as an “endangered” language for three main reasons. First, Quechua has a relentless contact with Spanish language over 500 years and the hegemony of Spanish influenced Quechua’s purity and status. Secondly, the languaging practices of the older and younger speakers of Quechua varied because the Quechua dialect, offered to young people at

public schools in rural Quechuan areas, is different from the Quechua dialect that older indigenous Quechuans speak (Hornberger & Coronel-Molina, 2004). Finally, as the number of old Quechua speakers decrease due to the deaths, the number of young Quechua speakers does not increase as much due to the hegemony of Spanish over Quechua and young Quechua speakers' unwillingness to learn the language and transmit it to the next generations (Fishman, 1991).

Factors threatening the status of Quechua and reinforcing the hegemony of Spanish

Economic, social, and religious power of Spanish had an important impact on the loss of Quechua and promotion of Spanish monolingualism (Funegra, 2013; Hornberger & Coronel-Molina, 2004; Velasco & Dolores-Paris, 2012). This section specifically discussed three factors that threatened Quechua's status: 1) Top-down institutionalized subtractive policies towards Quechua language, 2) Spanish-only medium of Instruction and monoglossic language ideologies in educational areas (Hornberger & Coronel-Molina, 2004), and 3) The incompatibility between the standard(ized) Quechua and indigenous dialects of Quechua. Top-down institutionalized subtractive policies towards Quechua language

The marginalization of Quechua and Quechuans through top-down institutionalized subtractive policies traces back to the 16th century Spanish conquest of the Inca Empire (Lee, 2008). These subtractive policies, implemented from the top down, involved socially, physically/demographically, and culturally displacing Quechuans, leading to the gradual decline of Quechua's standing and the legitimization and privileging of Spanish monolingualism. The term "physical/demographic dislocation" referred to migrations either voluntary due to natural disasters or involuntary due to human interventions like warfare, genocide, or resource pollution (Fishman, 1991). Studies suggested that native Quechuans were forcibly relocated to isolated regions after the Spanish Conquest and forced to farm for Spanish-speaking invaders. Those who remained in cities were subjected to labor in industries such as silver mining, akin to enslavement. Quechuans expressing rebellion were often met with fatal consequences. The physical/demographic dislocation of Quechua speakers contributed to a decrease in their numbers in specific regions, leading to the extinction of several Quechua dialects.

Secondly, social dislocation pertained to the restriction of social opportunities for marginalized groups, such as limited access to quality education or opportunities for social and economic development (Fumi, 2015). Fishman (1991) identified social dislocation as one of the most catastrophic policies due to its

enduring and harmful consequences. In the Andes, Quechuans were recognized as economically disadvantaged communities facing poor health conditions. Additionally, many Quechuan schools suffered from limited resources and provided subpar training. Seeking improved job prospects and a higher standard of living, young Quechuans often migrated, resulting in weakened social bonds across generations and the erosion of Quechua language and culture (Hornberger, 2006). Consequently, due to social dislocation, Quechua speakers found themselves subtly pressured to predominantly use Spanish in social settings, leading to the gradual abandonment of the Quechua language (King & Hornberger, 2004).

Lastly, cultural dislocation encompassed the "disruption of traditional practices through legal prohibitions or destruction of cultural areas" (Fishman, 1991, p. 62). These subtractive cultural policies contributed to identity shifts among Quechuans or the decline of the Quechua language, (King & Hornberger, 2004; Manley, 2008). In the Andean region following the Spanish conquest, certain cultural policies aimed to marginalize Quechuans' cultural practices by dehumanizing them and associating them with perceived threats to the country's unity (Manley, 2008). Albó (2004) noted that the Quechua language was stigmatized, and those unfamiliar with Spanish were deemed disloyal to their countries. Additionally, non-indigenous residents in Saraguro, Ecuador, labeled Quechua as an "animal language" (King, 2004). Consequently, Quechua speakers often refrained from practicing their cultural heritage to avoid the attached stigma, a behavior referred to as "cultural shame" (Hornberger & Coronel-Molina, 2004, p.14). These institutionalized marginalizing policies not only led to the devaluation of Quechua culture among Quechuans, with some even denying their Quechuan identity, but also supported the dominance of Spanish culture and identity (King, 2004; Manley, 2008; Marr, 2011).

To sum up, the implementation of top-down subtractive policies led to three types of dislocations, ultimately establishing Spanish as the predominant, esteemed, and official language in the primary regions where Quechua speakers resided. In response to this linguistic landscape, Quechuans increasingly adopted Spanish, recognizing the advantages it provided and seeking to avoid the negative connotations associated with Quechua. Given these circumstances, a transition from Quechua to Spanish became unavoidable, as Spanish culture and language became synonymous with elevated social and economic status in the Andean regions.

Spanish-only medium of instruction and monoglossic language ideologies

While monoglossic language ideologies and the imposition of Spanish-only instruction as a top-down subtractive linguistic policy can be viewed as components of cultural dislocations, this study treated them as distinct factors due to their significant impact on Quechuans' linguistic and identity transformations or the erosion of the Quechua language (King & Hornberger, 2004; Manley, 2008). The language policies and practices of Quechuan parents at home, as well as their beliefs regarding whether Quechua or Spanish should serve as the language of instruction in schools, also wielded considerable influence over the status of the Quechua language. According to Rindstedt and Aronsson (2002), parental practices contributed to the language shift from Quechua to Spanish and the prevalence of Spanish monolingualism among the younger generation in the Andes region. This shift was often observed as parents communicated with their children in Spanish at home and enrolled them in schools where only Spanish was used. Carpenter (1983) discovered that in Otavalo, Ecuador, particularly among the rural poor, parents preferred Spanish education for their children, fearing that bilingual education would impede their access to social mobility and essential resources. They held the belief that Spanish, associated with better-paying jobs, literacy, progress, education, and government, was a superior language (Kalt, 2012; Manley, 2008; Meyerhoff, 2011).

Furthermore, Hornberger and King (1996) brought to light that in Lagunas, one of Saraguro's approximately 60 communities in Ecuador, parents found themselves either incapable or unwilling to engage regularly in Quechua conversations with their children. Despite openly acknowledging the beauty, importance, and value of Quechua in shaping their indigenous identity, the use of Quechua was restricted to specific contexts. These included humor, vulgarisms, 'secret communication' conveying information deemed unsuitable for children, intentional practices, and overt expressions of ethnicity during ritualistic activities (such as drinking 'toasts') in the privacy of homes or intimate domains away from public view (Hornberger & Coronel-Molina, 2004). Educational language policies further compounded this situation, mandating that Quechuan children attained a high level of proficiency in Spanish. This was due to the prevalence of Spanish as the language of instruction in many schools, the language of most academic resources, and the language used in standardized tests. Despite Quechua being taught as a second language in some schools in the Andean region, students were compelled to be proficient in Spanish to complete their degrees. Consequently, there was a decline in the number of Quechua speakers due to the language choices made by parents for their children and the language policies implemented by respective countries in the Andean region.

Lastly, the standardization of Quechua in public spheres had adverse effects on the number of Quechua speakers. With over 25 dialects of Quechua existing across various parts of the Andes region, the language, being non-written for many years, led each Quechua community, isolated and geographically separated by

Spanish invaders, to develop its unique variety (Hornberger & Coronel-Molina, 2004; Yataco, 2010). As part of efforts to revitalize the Quechua language and increase its usage in public spaces, language policymakers in Andean countries standardized Quechua, published resources in the language, and introduced it as a subject in schools. While this had a positive impact given resource constraints and a limited number of teachers, Hornberger and King (1996) pointed out some negative consequences. The standardization created a communication gap between older members of the Lagunos community, who spoke Authentic Quechua, and younger members, who spoke the unified or standardized version. Some older members of the community stated that “they do not like, understand, nor wish to speak Unified Quechua while younger members claim that authentic Quechua is mixed with Spanish, and therefore, impure and lacking a good structure” (King & Hornberger, 2006, p. 433).

The standardization of Quechua also contributed to the suppression and marginalization of other Quechua dialects. Given that bilingual education programs primarily focused on the standardized dialect (Hornberger & King, 1996), other dialects were relegated to a subordinate position (Luykx, 2004, p. 151). In response to this subtractive and oppressive policy, speakers of non-standardized Quechua dialects began favoring Spanish over the standardized Quechua, opting for Spanish-only schools instead of Spanish-Quechua bilingual schools. In summary, communities whose dialects were deemed less prestigious and illegitimate shifted towards Spanish, perceived as superior and more prestigious than standardized Quechua (Howard, 2004; Luykx, 2004).

In conclusion, the implementation of top-down subtractive policies directed at Quechua led to a decline in the number of Quechua speakers, creating a significant obstacle for the revitalization of this marginalized language. The standardization of Quechua, intended as a revitalization effort, failed to bring about the planned impact due to negative attitudes held by both the dominant and dominated cultures towards Quechua. As Manatowa-Bailey (2007) suggested, the essential element for successful revitalization lied in creating an environment where the language was consistently spoken, valued, nurtured, and protected. Additionally, the preference of Quechuan parents for Spanish over Quechua and their choice of Spanish-only schools over Quechua-Spanish bilingual schools had detrimental effects on the transmission of Quechua to younger generations. Lastly, the standardization of Quechua excluded numerous Quechua dialects, leading to conflicts among speakers of different dialects and influencing interactions between Quechuan generations. To alter the language attitudes and practices of Quechua heritage individuals and extend revitalization efforts from the individual to the community level, it was crucial to reinforce Quechua in family and community settings—a concept referred to as 'micro-language planning' by Baldouf (2008).

Language Revitalization Actions

Several language planning initiatives were undertaken to rejuvenate, preserve, and enhance Quechua in Peru, Ecuador, and Bolivia. Some initiatives included new language policies to stop Quechua's death, revitalize it, and increase the status of Quechua in communities by opening bilingual education programs in Spanish-only schools and unifying Quechuans around Quechua. These endeavors were explored within the categories of status planning, corpus planning, acquisition planning and prestige planning in this section.

Status Planning

Status planning encompassed any initiative designed to alter the standing of a language within its societal framework, with the goal of promoting the language by expanding its usage across various domains through both top-down and bottom-up policies. These domains included places like temples, mass media outlets, or educational institutions (Hornberger & Coronel-Molina, 2004; Kvietok & Hornberger, 2023). The sections that follow delved into different aspects of Quechua language planning within the status planning framework, specifically focusing on Official and Constitutional planning, as well as Mass Media and Literary Works. The inclusion of Mass Media and Literary Works in status planning was justified by the efforts of language planners to elevate the status of Quechua by integrating it into social life and education and by providing Quechua alternatives to resources available in Spanish.

Official and constitutional planning

In recent decades, there have been significant shifts in language and education policies within Andean countries. Starting in the 1970s and 1980s, indigenous groups from various regions began organizing politically to advocate for their political and cultural rights and communicate their needs to state authorities in Peru. During this period, there was a notable demand from indigenous people for linguistically appropriate and culturally relevant education for their children. They initiated language education projects and presented them to official institutions (Cossío, 1991). Consequently, there was a swift response with the recognition of an educational law emphasizing bilingual education. Experimental bilingual education programs were then implemented, focusing on Spanish as a second language for vernacular-speaking populations in the 1970s and 1980s in Puno (Hornberger, 1988).

Within a decade, both Peru and Bolivia officially acknowledged Quechua and some other indigenous languages, but only in the regions where they were actively spoken (Firestone, 2006). Ecuador officially recognized Quechua as a regional language in 1996 (Hornberger & Coronel-Molina, 2004). Moreover, in all three countries, constitutional amendments were made to 'recognize, respect, and protect' the diverse socio-cultural, economic, and linguistic rights, traditions, and institutions of indigenous groups. While in some countries, this constitutional recognition remained symbolic, particularly in urban areas where Spanish is still the national official language, other countries went further, requiring government officials to learn Quechua to meet the needs of Quechuans in their own language (Pinedo, 2013). Additionally, some diplomats in Bolivian and Peruvian parliaments occasionally used Quechua for political reasons. This openness from officials allowed Quechua to be used in public protests by Quechuans advocating for their rights, as demonstrated in Huamanga, Peru (Firestone, 2006). Other efforts in official status planning included the translation of certain official documents and informational pamphlets into Quechua, such as the Declaration of Human Rights, although the primary initiatives in this regard came from non-governmental organizations (Hornberger & Coronel-Molina, 2004).

Mass Media

Following the acknowledgment of Quechua by governmental institutions, there was a brief period during which some newspapers in Bolivia and Peru were published in Quechua. However, the majority ceased publication after a while. In Ecuador, radio programming in Quechua, both in standard form and various dialects, became accessible. Most of these radio programs centered around religious and educational themes, distinguishing them from their more entertaining Spanish-language counterparts (Ludena, 2022; Luykx, 2001). Notably, the rock and roll music group Uchpa also significantly contributed to the revitalization of Quechua among teenagers in Peru through their Quechua-language songs (Firestone, 2006). The same source noted that even Spanish college students expressed an interest in learning Quechua to comprehend the songs of this group. Additionally, a few films were produced in both Quechua and Spanish, supporting farmers' and miners' organizations, as well as regional clubs, in Peru, Ecuador, and Bolivia. Most notably, a considerable number of websites are now available in different Quechua varieties, pioneering various projects in internet-based education in Peru (Hornberger & Coronel-Molina, 2004).

Literary Works

Quechua-speaking authors transcribed oral histories, stories, myths, and legends into written form, alongside creating original works in Quechua, including poetry and drama. Numerous private publishing houses emerged to produce literary works both in Quechua and about Quechua culture. While some journals or newsletters began publishing articles in Quechua, the majority were published in Spanish (Hornberger & Coronel-Molina, 2004; Kvietok & Hornberger, 2023). Finally, certain storybooks or novels were translated into Quechua for educational purposes.

Corpus Planning

Corpus planning involves linguistic innovations associated with the modernization, graphization, and standardization of vocabulary, language structures, spelling, and pronunciation. The subsequent sections delved into the corpus planning aspect of Quechua.

Graphization (Orthographic standardization)

The initial endeavors to establish a unified writing system for Quechua began in Bolivia in 1954. However, it faced rejection as the Spanish alphabet proved inadequate to represent all the sounds inherent in Quechua. The debates surrounding graphization included discussions on the number of vowels in Quechua. Some linguists argued for only three vowels (a, I, u), while others asserted the presence of five vowels. Presently, Bolivia and Peru employ a standardized writing system with five vowels, a consensus reached during the First World Congress. This congress included representatives from various Quechua-speaking territories in Bolivia, Peru, and Argentina. In contrast, Ecuador devised its own alphabet with the collaboration of speakers of diverse Quichua varieties in the country (Hornberger & Coronel-Molina, 2004). The establishment of a standardized alphabet spurred efforts to codify it in dictionaries, grammars, and other printed materials (King, 2000).

Grammatical and Lexical standardization

In Peru, Bolivia, and Ecuador, the initiation of a standardized writing system gave rise to the need for dictionaries and grammars. Each country, after extensive studies, published grammar books and dictionaries that represented the particular Quechua variety used in its respective territories. While the standardization

of grammar and lexicon significantly contributed to the revitalization of Quechua, it also introduced a significant issue: the discrimination of Quechua varieties different from standard Quechua (Luykx, 2004). Luykx (2004) asserted that the process of standardization and the development of literacy led to individuals using different Quechua varieties being labeled as uneducated or incapable Quechua speakers. Coronel-Molina (2008) placed the responsibility on the High Academy of Quechua Speakers in Peru. According to her, Academy members, perceiving themselves as the custodians of Quechua language and culture, elevated the Inca variety of Quechua (which served as the standardized Quechua in Peru) to the status of an elite-class language. They contended that individuals speaking other dialects lacked proper language skills, and the proposed solution was to teach them Inca Quechua.

Modernization and renovation

Following the establishment of a standardized grammar and lexicon, efforts in revitalization shifted towards modernizing Quechuan communities by providing them with vocabulary books on agriculture or mathematics for practical use in their daily lives. Numerous publications were produced to support this objective (Hornberger & Coronel-Molina, 2004; Kosloski, 2023). Examples of such efforts included vocabulary books on agriculture lexicon (Ballón-Aguirre & Cerrón-Palomino, 1992; Beyersdorff, 1986), and dictionaries of mathematical terms (Villavicencio-Ubillus & Saavedra-Salas, 1991), all aimed at modernizing and updating Quechua (Hornberger & Coronel-Molina, 2004,)

Acquisition Planning

Acquisition planning involves endeavors to facilitate language learning by offering learners opportunities and incentives to acquire the language. In the context of Quechua revitalization, language planners aimed for "maintenance and reacquisition for indigenous children, and second language acquisition for their Spanish-speaking compatriots" (Hornberger & Coronel-Molina, 2004, p. 43). The central initiative for the acquisition planning of Quechua was the implementation of bilingual education programs in Peru, Bolivia, and Ecuador.

History of Bilingual Education in Peru, Bolivia and Ecuador

Period I

Period I encompasses the time span from the initial introduction of bilingual programs to the emergence of the first challenges, a timeline that varies across different countries. The inception of bilingual education movements was first documented in Peru during the 1970s. In 1972, during the presidency of Juan Velasco Alvarado, a bilingual education unit was established within the Peruvian Ministry of Education. The implementation of bilingual education programs in Peru commenced in 1975. However, by 1981, Ministry of Education statistics indicated that only 3.7% of the non-Spanish-speaking population received bilingual education (Von Gleich & Wölck, 1994), prompting an increase in the number of bilingual programs.

In Ecuador, legislative support for indigenous language use in education was first introduced in 1981. Following the inclusion of Quechua in education, “schools in predominantly indigenous zones were officially required to offer bilingual education” (King & Haboud, 2002, p. 379). Additionally, in 1983, an article was added to the constitution stipulating that Quechua should serve as the medium of instruction and the language of intercultural relations in schools, particularly in indigenous zones (King & Haboud, 2002).

Lastly, between 1990 and 1995, Bolivia initiated bilingual intercultural education programs in 130 pilot schools. This program involved 396 teachers and 8,600 students residing in rural areas, implementing one of three indigenous languages—Quechua, Aymara, Guarani (depending on the region)—alongside Spanish. The study outcomes revealed that “indigenous students taught in the mother tongue were more proficient in language and mathematics (already after second grade) than students from control schools, and similar results were obtained in social and natural sciences” (Regalsky, 2008, p.1). Following the study, the number of bilingual schools increased, and bilingual intercultural education was officially recognized in Bolivia.

Period II

Period II encompasses the time span from the 1980s to the present day. While the three countries initiated bilingual education programs at varying times, they encountered similar practical challenges after a few years. Issues such as a lack of resources, standard language variety, and teacher training led to a decline in the quality of education within bilingual programs. To address these challenges, unified or standard Quechua was introduced, and the first dictionaries and grammar sets were published (Firestone, 2006). Additionally, schools were tasked with responsibilities such as developing pedagogical materials, promoting the unified standard of various indigenous languages, coordinating regional directorates in each of the country’s 22 provinces, implementing and evaluating health, environmental, and community education programs, and providing all in-service and pre-service teacher training (King & Haboud, 2002).

Over the past few decades, bilingual programs experienced significant development. King (2004)

characterizes the latest iteration of bilingual education as "a descendant of the enrichment model" (p.3). Through a case study, he found that recent bilingual education programs, supported by shifts in national policy and ideology, resulted in the preservation of linguistic diversity in specific regions (such as Saraguro, Ecuador). These programs seemed to increase the value of Quechua and raise awareness of the need to preserve it for the protection of indigenous identity and culture (Lozada, 2022).

Challenges in Bilingual Education

Despite the significant advancements in recent years, King (2004) argued that three challenges persisted, significantly influencing the impact of bilingual education programs on Quechua revitalization. The first challenge was related to the development of appropriate pedagogical approaches and academic materials. King (2004) contended that there was a need to enhance the quality of curricula and materials used in bilingual schools, along with improving language teaching methodology beyond traditional, teacher-centered pedagogy. He underscored the importance of addressing both emotional aspects (connecting the language with students' heritage) and linguistic needs (having teachers recognize and build on students' prior knowledge of the language) to maintain bilingualism and biliteracy in these programs.

The second challenge was moving beyond controversy concerning the dialect and variety to be used in instruction. Recent bilingual programs prioritized promoting the nationally standardized variety of Quechua, neglecting the existence of other varieties spoken by elderly and rural dwellers. The discrepancy between the standard variety (Unified Quechua) and rural varieties (Authentic Quechua) resulted in communication breakdowns between younger and older generations, leading to discrimination and social divisions. In sum, these programs did not address the entire Quechuan population living in these countries.

The last challenge proposed by King (2004) was addressing conflicting language ideologies within the community and gaining widespread, committed support from parents, students, teachers, and other community members. This challenge was primarily related to the language attitudes of Quechua speakers towards their own language. It underscored the necessity of corpus and status planning to effect a change in the language attitudes and behaviors of community members. If community members valued various varieties of Quechua and acknowledged Quechua's vital role in preserving their indigenous identity and culture, they would understand the importance of additive bilingualism for their future, leading them to prefer bilingual schools over Spanish monolingual schools.

Prestige Planning: Non-Governmental Organizations' Efforts for Revitalization of Quechua

Prestige planning was introduced by Haarmann (1984, 1990) “to differentiate activities aimed at promoting a positive view of a language from those concerned with political status or functions: ‘Not only the content of planning activities is important but also the acceptance or rejection of planning efforts’” (p. 105). There were many non-governmental organizations contributing to the revitalization of Quechua. While some of them contributed by making translations of official documents, some of them provided resources for Bilingual Education programs. In this part, only two organizations were discussed: 1) Gregorio Condori Mamani’ Proyecto Casa del Cargador (CdC) (Gregorio Condori Mamani Civil Association, House of the Carrier Project) and 2) El Centro de Apoyo Integral a la Trabajadora del Hogar, Worker’ (CAITH) (Center for Integral Support of the Home).

The CdC served as a temporary residence, mainly catering to young males, the majority of whom made a living as 'carriers' involved in transporting agricultural goods between the marketplaces in Cuzco. The primary objectives of CdC were centered around enhancing the carriers' quality of life and providing support for their health, education, and family well-being, as documented by the Public Registry of Cuzco in 1996. CdC marked 'Carriers day' with Quechua singing, poetry reading, speeches, as well as traditional Andean indigenous music, dancing, clothing, and cuisine. Similarly, CAITH functioned as a temporary dwelling, predominantly for young females, the majority of whom are employed as maids. These young women typically engaged in tasks such as cooking, cleaning, and looking after younger children in urban Cuzco households. The principal aim of CAITH was to offer educational support and assistance to young female domestic workers, primarily originating from rural areas (Manley, 2008). CAITH broadcasted its radio program in both Quechua and Spanish (Manley, 2008).

Both the CdC and CAITH encompassed individuals who communicated solely in Quechua (particularly recent arrivals from rural areas unfamiliar with the local communities), individuals proficient in both Quechua and Spanish (constituting the majority), and individuals solely fluent in Spanish (a minority who often had Quechua-speaking relatives and/or a Quechua cultural background). Within both communities, all spoken languages, including Quechua, Spanish, and Aymara, were respected, as emphasized by Manley in 2008. To foster interaction among speakers of different languages and promote unity in the communities, both organizations conducted mandatory group gatherings. Additionally, regular talks, workshops, and activities were organized by both agencies, during which the Quechua language was employed, and the

indigenous Andean identity was explicitly acknowledged. The primary goals of these agencies were to ascribe value to Quechua and foster positive attitudes toward its language and cultural preservation. In this manner, both organizations engaged in prestige planning, considered the fourth element of language planning.

Outcomes of Quechua Revitalization Endeavors

Various factors placed Quechua in an endangered state, prompting diverse language revitalization endeavors to sustain it in the Andes region. While it might be premature to assess concrete and enduring outcomes of these initiatives, some researchers offered predictions regarding the future of Quechua in the Andes. A faction of researchers held the belief that these efforts had significantly contributed to Quechua revitalization and achieved success even in the present phase. Conversely, a substantial number of researchers argued that revitalization endeavors remained insufficient and had yet to fully revitalize, modernize, and enrich Quechua. This section delved into the outcomes of Quechua revitalization initiatives from the perspectives of these two camps.

In her empirical investigation conducted in Ayacucho, Peru, employing ethnographic observation and interviews with two distinct non-governmental agencies and Quechuans residing in the shelters provided by these organizations, Manley (2008) discovered that Quechua enjoyed a sense of security in Cuzco, a predominantly Spanish-speaking city in Peru. The majority of participants spoke Quechua without harboring any apprehension of discrimination. The study revealed positive attitudes among Quechuans toward their own language, showcasing successful practices in the maintenance of Quechua language and culture (Manley, 2008). Additionally, participants acknowledged the significance of Quechua and expressed intentions to utilize the language in their future professional endeavors. Ultimately, they conveyed a sense of pride in their indigenous identity and cultural heritage.

Firestone (2006) documented similar patterns in her research. Conducted in Huamanga (the city of Ayacucho), Peru, her study delved into the attitudes of Quechuans toward Quechua and its use in daily life. This exploration involved interviews with officials and observations in plazas and other urban settings. Despite a tendency among interviewees (officials in NGOs and governmental organizations) to converse exclusively in Spanish, they exhibited a high proficiency in Quechua. Firestone (2006) observed numerous instances of Quechuans freely conversing in their language on the streets. Notably, she witnessed a group of workers protesting against the government in Quechua, a man engaged in a phone conversation, and a mother conversing with her daughter in Quechua. Furthermore, she discovered that a significant number

of teenagers, even those not of Quechua descent, were avid listeners of the songs of the rock music group "Uchpa," which exclusively performed in Quechua.

Lastly, Hornberger and Coronel-Molina (2004) expressed optimism about the prospect of Quechua's survival in specific regions within Bolivia, Ecuador, and Peru. They attributed this optimism to the substantial concentrations of Quechua speakers, combined efforts from both top-down and bottom-up organizations, and apparent support from the respective governments. Despite the persistence of negative attitudes toward Quechua, there appeared to be an increase in awareness of identity and culture, particularly among urban-dwelling Quechuans, as a result of revitalization initiatives.

On the other hand, Haboud (2004), through personal fieldwork and ongoing discussions with Quechua and non-Quechua speakers about the status of Quechua in Ecuador, discovered that Quechuans in Ecuador perceived Quechua as a language with low prestige, and many resisted passing it on to younger generations. Similarly, Funegra (2013), in her study involving three interviews and personal observations in Huallanca, Peru, found that participants concealed their Quechuan identities and bilingualism to shield themselves from peer group pressure and social discrimination. For instance, Ruth, participant 1, denied her ability to speak Quechua in front of friends, and Judith, participant 2, kept her bilingualism hidden until economic benefits were involved in the conversation. Conversely, a group in a meeting about sanitation and hygiene for mothers and babies in the Ututupampa community expressed that they would prefer the community health meetings to be conducted in Quechua (Funegra, 2013). This study implied that Quechuans in Spanish-dominant urban communities felt a sense of shame associated with their indigenous identity and language, whereas those in rural areas were aware of the distinctions between Spanish and Quechua, expressing comfort with their language and identity in their native environments. It revealed a contrast wherein Quechuans in urban cities, dominated by Spanish, preferred to use Spanish and conceal their indigenous identity to avoid discrimination, while those in rural areas felt at ease with their identity and culture.

Hornberger and King (1996) uncovered the restricted use of Quechua among the Lagunos, despite the various innovations and revitalization efforts related to Quechua. The Lagunos, participants in their study, belonged to a community in Ecuador characterized by high status attributed to their education level and economic influence. Their research demonstrated that the Lagunos had confined the use of Quechua to specific situations, predominantly speaking Spanish throughout most of the day, even when interacting with fellow Quechua speakers. Similarly, Firestone (2006) observed analogous outcomes in her study, asserting that "Spanish is perceived as functional for certain formal and official situations, while Quechua is perceived as functional for informal, private, and humorous situations..." (p.7).

Finally, there were divergent opinions among researchers regarding the impact of bilingual schools on

the revitalization of Quechua. According to Haboud (2004), bilingual education programs fell short of effectively revitalizing Quechua among young Quechuans. He contended that "there is still a lack of materials, trained teachers, and programs that can compete with regular monolingual Spanish schools" (p.77), expressing his skepticism about the effectiveness of bilingual intercultural education implemented in Ecuador. Similarly, Luykx (2004) asserted that bilingual education programs were confined to primary schools, and there was still a dearth of programs for sustaining Quechua at the high school or college level. Hornberger and Coronel-Molina (2004) viewed acquisition planning as a pivotal element in language revitalization efforts, emphasizing its significant role in augmenting the number of language speakers. Their study underscored the substantial challenges that persisted in the realm of education, hindering the provision of equitable treatment for indigenous languages and their speakers (p.46).

The Reality of Social Network

The language revitalization initiatives that commenced approximately four decades ago in Peru, Bolivia, and Ecuador played a crucial role in the revitalization, enhancement, and modernization of Quechua. Media outlets significantly contributed to the resurgence of Quechua, particularly among urban Quechuans. The visibility of Quechua in newspapers, websites, and on some TV or radio programs motivated individuals to engage in Quechua conversation. The inclusion of Quechua in school curricula was a powerful driver of revitalization efforts, directly impacting the younger generation and aiming to augment the number of Quechua speakers in the Andean region. However, these reforms did not alter the prevailing preference for Spanish. The perception of Spanish as superior to Quechua persisted, with individuals continuing to learn Spanish to access its economic and social benefits. Additionally, in many urban areas, Quechua speakers concealed their Quechuan identity to evade discrimination. Therefore, while revitalization efforts achieved notable progress, complete success has not yet been attained. It is evident that there is still much work to be done to transform attitudes towards Quechua and to expand both the number of speakers and the domains in which the language is used.

Bilingual education programs emerged as key players in the revitalization efforts for Quechua in Peru, Bolivia, and Ecuador. While not all such programs explicitly aimed to preserve bilingualism and biliteracy, a considerable number made significant contributions to the sustenance and enhancement of Quechua. These initiatives led to an increase in the availability of resources written in Quechua and afforded Quechua speakers the opportunity to receive education in their native language. Nevertheless, the effectiveness of

many bilingual education programs was hindered by challenges such as a shortage of qualified teachers and limited access to resources. Research indicated that these programs fell short of expectations as teachers lacked the necessary proficiency to instruct in unified Quechua, and the use of Quechua within these programs remained largely confined to greetings, instructions, and informal exchanges of information. To sum, while it is premature to draw definitive conclusions regarding the tangible impact of recent initiatives on the revitalization of Quechua, the majority of studies suggested that these efforts remained inadequate to fully revitalize and enrich the language, as well as to promote its widespread adoption among Quechua speakers throughout the Andean region, including urban centers.

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Tuba Yilmaz

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