

DEATH, MAINTENANCE AND REVITALIZATION OF THE QUECHUA LANGUAGE IN  
PERU: A CASE STUDY WITH A FOCUS ON SAN PEDRO DE CAJAS

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A thesis presented in partial fulfillment of the requirements for completion  
Of the Bachelor of Arts degree in International Studies  
Croft Institute for International Studies  
Sally McDonnell Barksdale Honors College  
The University of Mississippi

University, Mississippi  
May 2015

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## Acknowledgements

I would like to express my gratitude to several individuals who continuously supported me throughout the process of my thesis research and writing. I am very grateful to my advisor, Dr. Maria Fionda, whose constructive criticism helped challenge and develop my critical thinking and writing skills. A special thanks goes to my second reader, Dr. William Schenck, and my third reader, Dr. Felice Coles, who gave me useful feedback regarding how to incorporate my qualitative findings in my thesis to support my main arguments.

I would also like to thank Maria Teresa Alvarado for her help with numerous Spanish translations of interviews and government documents. I am grateful to Irma Laínez Lozada Vargas and the staff at the Embassy of Peru in Washington, DC for providing me with government records to support my arguments and other interview conclusions. Lastly, thank you to my loving parents who have supported me unconditionally throughout my undergraduate career and academic endeavors at the University of Mississippi.

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## Chapter 1: Introduction

### 1.1. Current Status of the Quechua Language in Peru and Purpose of Study

Quechua has been spoken in Peru since the start of the Inca Empire and remains the second most spoken official language in the country after Spanish, the language of prestige and power. The number of Quechua speakers in Latin America totals about 10 million<sup>1</sup>, and Peru is estimated to have 3,361,750 speakers, approximately 13 percent of the total population (See Figure 1) (Censos Nacionales, 2007). However, the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization (UNESCO)(2010) has declared Quechua a vulnerable<sup>2</sup> language in Peru, and even an endangered language in some areas of the country. Quechua speakers face constant shame from rural and urban society due to the language's negative association with indigenous identity, *campesino* origin, poverty, marginalization and social exclusion (UNESCO, 2014). The increased discrimination over time has made many Quechua speakers decide not to teach their future generations the language for fear they will be scorned and rejected by society (Howard, 2004, p. 100; Harrison, 2007, p. 9).

In the spring of 2014, I conducted an investigation to discover the value placed on Quechua learning and usage in the schools and households in San Pedro de Cajas, a rural Peruvian town located in the northern Andean region, Junín. San Pedro de Cajas is home to 5,808 inhabitants, of which 20% speak Quechua I (QI). The small town thrives on an active economy focused 45% on agriculture, 30% craftsmanship, and 12% on services (Censos Nacionales, 2007). The objective of my study was to discover if the schools and family households fostered and integrated Quechua learning and usage, or if they isolated themselves

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<sup>1</sup> Quechua is also spoken in Ecuador, Bolivia, Colombia Brazil, and Chile (Ethnologue: Languages of the World, 2015).

<sup>2</sup> Vulnerable language: most children speak the language, but it may be restricted to certain domains (UNESCO, 2010).

from the language and its negative cultural stigmatization. Through numerous surveys, interviews and observations I concluded that the use of Quechua is minimum in San Pedro de Cajas.

Quechua learning does not take place in the school, nor are there resources available to learn the language. In the household, the recent migration trends from rural to urban settings have played a significant role in stressing the importance of learning Spanish and English. Rural migrants face prejudices and negative stereotyping when they speak Quechua, not only in Spanish urban settings but also in San Pedro de Cajas. After speaking with three different generations of San Pedro de Cajas inhabitants, I concluded that majority of younger generations only want to learn Quechua as a means to speak with their elders. For easier access to economic and social mobility, the youth and their parents prefer the learning of languages connected with the globalized world, including English, Spanish, Chinese and French. The results of my investigation hint at the drastic decline of Quechua value and use in San Pedro de Cajas over time if resilient efforts to maintain the language cease to exist.

The Peruvian government is faced with the pressing dilemma of how to recognize the important historical and cultural significance of Quechua and how to encourage its continued use in modern society. However, involvement of the indigenous communities themselves in language maintenance and revitalization initiatives is equally crucial in language planning efforts. My study aims to analyze the collaborative roles different levels of governments play in preserving and promoting Quechua in minority speech communities, or lack thereof, and the attitudes of minority groups toward Quechua language use and culture. I hope this investigation will encourage the Peruvian government and language planning institutions to rethink language

maintenance and policy planning, not only to incorporate local needs and participation, but also to politically and legally acknowledge Quechua as a vital identity of the Peruvian nation.

## **1.2. History of Spanish-Quechua Contact in Peru**

The negative association with Quechua language use and identity is deeply rooted in Peru's colonial and republican history and its oppression and exclusion of indigenous communities from society. According to Klee (2001), the spread of Quechua throughout the Andes began only a century before the arrival of the Spaniards in 1531 (p. 168). The Incas had established Quechua as the official language of their Empire. As a result of the Conquest, Spanish replaced Quechua as the official language. However, the Spaniards exploited the general use of Quechua, utilizing the language for religious conversion purposes and autonomous rule over the natives, to eventually achieve full 'linguistic homogenization' (García, 2004, p. 349).

During the 17<sup>th</sup> and 18<sup>th</sup> centuries, the Spaniards feared the risk of losing power over the native colony if they allowed them to practice their language and maintain their Quechuan cultural identity. Therefore, the Spanish Crown established official language laws to speed up the process of Castilianization, assimilation of Peruvian indigenous communities to Spanish culture. García (2004) argues that "the most drastic change in policy toward Castilianization occurred in 1770, when it was explicitly declared that Castilianization should be compulsory and should be used to suppress indigenous languages, and by extension, indigenous culture" (p. 350). The project, which called for the creation of rural schools where indigenous children were obliged to study Spanish, imposed the belief that in order to become a functioning member of civilized society, one must speak Spanish. However, in heavily- populated Quechua-speaking regions, including Cusco, urban elite landowners (*encomenderos*) learned Quechua instead of forcing their rural peasant workers to learn Spanish. The landowners believed "Indigenous workers who

spoke Spanish would threaten the *encomendero* position of social economic privilege” (Klee, 2001, p. 170). As a result, a two-tier society was born, an urban Spanish-speaking class, and a rural Quechua-speaking class.

The Spaniards slowly managed to instill their own negative opinion of the Quechua language in native speakers, thus achieving the lowering of the language’s status to the point where many speakers are ashamed to use it (Cerrón-Palomino, 1989, p. 27). When Peruvian-born elite gained independence from the Spanish in 1824, Peruvian *latifundistas*, owners of large land estates, gained control over the indigenous population and proceeded to keep the colonial-based social structures impermeable. Economic modernization, the development of better communication channels and rapid migratory movements to the coast and urban areas during the republican period (beginning in 1824), not only contributed to the gradual subordination of Quechua to Spanish but, even worse, to the displacement of some varieties and the extinction of entire languages in Peru (Cerrón-Palomino, 1989, p. 23). At the end of the 19<sup>th</sup> century, mistreatment of the Quechua workers gave rise to indigenous movements around the country, which appeared not only in the political sphere, but also in artistic spheres of influence, creating channels of support and mobilization for indigenous groups to share their complaints about the state and social hierarchy. These indigenous demands and ideas influenced the Constitution of 1920, “a document that for the first time gave legal recognition to indigenous communities” (García, 2004, p. 353).

Social unrest and the rise of guerrilla warfare movements in the 1950s and 60s forced Peruvian President Velasco to establish three major initiatives with the hope to counter instability and future insurgency in Peru. His first initiative was the Education Reform of 1972, which sought to extend increasing control over educational policies and resources to all



Peruvians, especially indigenous groups. Second, the National Policy of Bilingual Education promoted the implementation of bilingual education in all regions of Peru where languages other than Spanish were spoken. Third, a law was passed in 1975 recognizing Quechua as a national language equal to Spanish. Furthermore, the law stated that “after April 1976, the teaching of Quechua would be obligatory at all educational levels and all legal proceedings involving monolingual Quechua speakers would be conducted in Quechua” (García, 2004, p. 354). This law not only emphasized the cultural importance of Quechua but also its functional domains of influence in institutions and classrooms. However, Velasco’s 1970 initiatives were not enough to give Quechua enough support to withstand opposing views of congress and social change in the coming years.

The government’s lack of financial resources and poor efficacy in language planning in the mid to late 20<sup>th</sup> century allowed for the strong continuity of colonial social structures. The constitution change in 1979 limited the areas in which Quechua could be officially used. According to Pozzi-Escot (1981), the law that would mandate where and how Quechua could be considered an official language was never passed (p. 118). The bloody civil war between *Sendero Luminoso*, a violent Maoist insurgency group, and government forces in 1980s further suppressed Quechua language maintenance and revitalization initiatives in Peru. The nationwide political and economic chaos affected the entire country, especially the indigenous populations in the highland and lowland regions. The decline of Quechua language use is extremely noticeable in social, political and economic spheres, and is likely to continue in the 21<sup>st</sup> century with the Peruvian society’s increased association with modernity, educational advancement and economic opportunities. Unless steps are taken to preserve the Quechua language, the real possibility exists

that it will decline in importance to the point that it is no longer used with any frequency, as has been the fate of minority languages in many countries (Saroli, 2001).

### **1.3. Importance of Quechua Maintenance and Revitalization**

Quechua language planning is vital for the survival and development of the language. To understand the importance of the loss of Quechua use and value we must comprehend what purpose the endangered language plays within the indigenous community. Since the beginning of the Incan Empire, Quechua has developed and stored knowledge and culture within its language functions. In this sense, language is the vehicle of expression continuously shaping the culture of those who use it. The language also serves as a speaker's ability to constitute their sense of cultural identity and position within society. According to the UNESCO's "Endangered Languages Archive", every time a language is lost so is a perspective of the world. In regards to Quechua, loss of the diversity of the language could result in loss of words to classify a specific emotion, historical process or part of the biodiversity system. For Example, in a recent study, Howard (2004) found that some young students, while consciously avoiding Quechua in the presence of the researcher, showed impressive knowledge of their natural environment through Quechuan words for specific plant types that do not translate into other languages (wallmi wallmi 'white flower with many heads'; chillka 'low bush with leaves green one side white the other') (2004, p. 113).

Quechua speakers live a marginalized existence in their national society due to lack of opportunities associated with the use of their language. The linguistic division of Quechua into two dialectal families, Central Peruvian highland Quechua (QI) and peripheral Quechua (QII) further marginalizes speakers within the indigenous community.<sup>3</sup> Howard (2004) notes the main

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<sup>3</sup> The total number of Quechua speakers in Peru is 3,500,000-4,400,000 including 750,000 QI and 2,680,000 QII. (Ethnologue: Languages of the World, 2015).

feature that distinguishes QI and QII varieties “on all accounts is the morphonemic feature of vowel length to mark first person subject and possessive” (p. 96). QII thought of as “pure” Quechua of the Incan ancestry, consists of 29 varieties, and is officially recognized by the Peruvian government. According to Hornberger and Coronel-Molina (2004), “the Cuzco and Ayacucho varieties of QII received far greater attention from linguists and language planners because they are more widely spoken than QI” (p. 11). QI, stigmatized as the dialect of the backwoods and peasants, consists of 17 language varieties, which are found in the central region of present-day Peru, in the departments of Ancash, Huánuco, Pasco and Junín. It is important to note that QI varieties are often considered to be separate languages, and therefore most in danger of extinction due to lack of mutual intelligibility (Cerrón-Palomino, 1997, p. 62). It is for this reason that language-planning efforts, such as standardization of the QI alphabet or a congress of Quechua activists, are important to prevent further loss of the Quechua language and create possible bridges between its varieties.

The creation of bilingual and bicultural education projects in primary schools and universities, Quechua awareness campaigns in schools and public areas and municipal offices in which citizens can seek assistance in Quechua are some of the numerous initiatives taking place to enable maintenance of the endangered language. However, the Peruvian government has always been prone to implementing “top-down” policies, language-planning efforts established by official government institutions, that may be misunderstood and resisted by those who should benefit from them (Saroli, 2001). Although the Peruvian government plays a significant role in the distribution of funds, educational initiatives and legal efforts to raise the profile of Quechua, language shift cannot occur without the support and active participation of the speakers of the endangered language (Hornberger, 1997, p. 357). Therefore, the Peruvian government and

Quechua-speaking communities must work together to determine a realistic and achievable method for maintaining and revitalizing the Quechua language. The goal of my study is to discover the interconnected dynamic between government actions taken to preserve and promote Quechua, and the views and attitudes of minority groups toward the importance of Quechua language use in today's Peruvian society.

#### **1.4. Methodology**

The main questions guiding my thesis research are: First, what are Peru's national and Junín's regional directives and initiatives for the maintenance and revitalization of Quechua? Second, how does the current sociolinguistic reality in San Pedro de Cajas compare with these initiatives in the value its people place on Quechua?

In the following chapters I share some qualitative material and my own case study, which highlight the current status of Quechua in Peru. Both types of research will help explain the current statistics of the use of Quechua language and the status of its speakers in today's society. Furthermore, reflection of both the Quechua reality and historical trends in Peru will help to critique the language planning initiatives created by the Peruvian government in order to maintain and revitalize the endangered language.

In chapter two I place the language shift, maintenance and revitalization theories and models from leading scholars in the field in context with the current attitudes toward Quechua in Peru. In addition, I discuss language-planning policy and why it must adhere to various need areas to achieve the greatest results. In chapter three I present the research I conducted on Peru's national and Junín's regional governmental, educational and cultural websites concerning the institutional preservation and promotion of Quechua. All findings are categorized into pertinent categories: i. status planning; ii. corpus planning; and iii. acquisition planning. I incorporate my

administrative findings to compare the level of regional implementation of language initiatives and mandates with the number of initiatives and mandates suggested by the Peruvian government.

In chapter four I detail my San Pedro de Cajas case study, including personal observations, surveys and interviews, to show the current sociolinguistic reality of the use and status of QI, a language variety which is both less studied in academia and under-appreciated in society compared to the more prestigious QII language variety. I also share discovered connections between language maintenance directives and revitalization initiatives and the rural community (San Pedro de Cajas) attitudes toward Quechua. Lastly, in chapter five, I critique the efficacy of Peru's language planning efforts and offer a personal proposal for Quechua maintenance and revitalization in Peru. I believe the past and current statuses of Quechua are linked to larger, political, economic and attitudinal forces. I also believe that recognition of this undeniable relationship will encourage more sensitive governmental action and active indigenous community cooperation in the development of a more pluralistic and united Peruvian society.

## Figures



Figure 1. Map of Quechua and its Language Varieties in Peru. Reprinted from *Ethnologue.com*, by Lewis, M. P., Simons, G.F. & Fening, C.D., 2015, Retrieved from <http://www.ethnologue.com/map/PE>. Copyright 2015 by SIL International, Reprinted with permission.

## **Chapter 2: Quechua as an Endangered Language**

The number of languages being spoken around the world is gradually diminishing, with many vernacular languages and their minimal number of speakers dying. This shift allows more dominant languages, such as English, Spanish, French, and other major languages of the developed world, to take their place (Crystal, 2000). This phenomenon is not going unnoticed. Government officials, linguists, language planners and speakers of the vernacular languages in many countries are trying to find ways to maintain and preserve these dying languages.

Why should Peru try to maintain and revitalize Quechua if its use and value are continuously disappearing from all spheres of Peruvian society? To answer this question, we must examine the importance of the Quechua language in Peru's past, present and future. Language is constantly evolving and adapting along with its surrounding environment. Quechua, Peru's native language embodies a rich history, culture and its speakers' intellectual diversity. When the language dies so will the inherent qualities associated with the language. In this chapter, I use Fishman's (1991) dislocations theory to briefly illustrate the Quechua language shift process that has taken place in Peru in recent decades and explain why language death is detrimental to a community and should be cause for concern. Next, I review the purpose and different types of language planning efforts, whose goals seek to ensure the maintenance and revitalization of an endangered language. Lastly, I introduce Stewart's (1972) language function model as my primary method used in the following chapters to depict the current status of Quechua in Peru.

### **2.1. Language Shift and Ethnic Discrimination**

According to UNESCO's (2010) "Atlas of the World's Languages in Danger," Quechua is classified as vulnerable language, and "severely endangered" in the region of Junín (See

Figure 2).<sup>4</sup> Detrimental factors, including warfare, ethnic genocide, natural disasters or illness, have the potential to wipe out entire populations. Consequently, when speakers of a language die, their language dies with them. However, Crystal (2000) argues that gradual language death is more common through cultural change, language replacement and assimilation to the dominant culture. In Peru, the status of the indigenous language mirrors the status of its speakers. Quechua's historical association with low economic status, low social prestige, political exclusion and social discrimination increases the risk of language death in Quechua-speaking communities.

**2.1.1. Fishman's dislocations (physical, social and cultural).** Language is seen as a vehicle for an index of the way speakers position themselves in society and constitute their sense of cultural identity. However, negative attitudes related to the perception of a language's usefulness in society prevent younger generations from learning the language for fear of the attached stigma. Fishman (1991) defines language shift as a domino effect in which "speech communities' native languages are threatened because their intergenerational continuity is proceeding negatively, with fewer and fewer users or uses with every generation" (p. 1). He refers to these sociocultural conditions as physical/demographic, social and cultural "dislocations" that contribute to language shift process. Physical/demographic dislocation refers to trends of out-migration, driven by natural disasters or illness, or human intervention, such as warfare or overexploitation of resources within the speech community. Social dislocation depicts the status of the minority speech group, and the social, economic and political disadvantages they encounter due to their position. Cultural dislocation includes the disruption of traditional cultural practices within the minority-speech community, explicitly or implicitly. All of these

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<sup>4</sup> For further information about UNESCO's "Atlas of the World's Languages in Danger" visit <http://www.unesco.org/new/en/culture/themes/endangered-languages/atlas-of-languages-in-danger/>



dislocations can function separately or concurrently at any time to speed up the language shift process.

**2.1.1.1. Physical dislocation.** Physical and demographic dislocation plays a major role in Quechua language shift due to modernization processes of economic opportunity and migration. According to Hornberger and Coronel-Molina (2004), at “the time of the Conquest, there was a dramatic reduction in numbers of Quechua speakers due to war, illness, slavery/peonage, and consequent famine brought by the invaders” (p. 19). Colonial rule continued to diminish Quechua value and use, especially in heavily-populated Spanish metropolitan areas. These historical processes involved in Quechua reduction are evident in past and current census data and geographic boundaries of the indigenous language and its speakers. In 1981, Peru’s national census recorded 22% of population spoke Quechua; in 1993, 16.6% of Peru’s population spoke Quechua; in 2007, 13.2% of Peru’s overall population spoke Quechua (Censos Nacionales, 1981,1993, 2007). While national censuses do not always provide accurate statistics of Quechua use and speakers due to poor inclusion methods, training and language barriers, the census numbers suggest that the use of Quechua is declining.

Quechua speakers have “long faced difficulties in supporting themselves through their traditional agrarian and pastoral (subsistence) lifestyles; as populations continue to grow, the land can no longer support all, and some move elsewhere” (p. 25). In Peru, Quechua migrants have flocked urban areas within the last 60 years in order to seek more economic and educational opportunities or escape sociopolitical conflict and illness. This significant rural to urban shift is revealed in Peru’s census figures: in 1940, 35% of the population resided in urban zones, 65% in rural sectors; by 1982 these numbers were reversed, with 65% of the country identified as urban residents and 35% as rural residents (Von Gleich, 1992, p. 59). Currently, the migration trend is

still evident with 78% of Peru's population residing in urban zones and only 22% residing in rural zones (The World Bank Databank, 2013). The mass migration from the Andean region has accelerated the Quechua language shift process due greater opportunities associated with Spanish use in the cities.

Another major influence on physical dislocation of Quechua in Peru is the recent warfare that took place in both rural and urban regions in the 1980s and 1990s. Rosaleen Howard (2011) argues that the Peruvian terrorist organization *Sendero Luminoso*<sup>5</sup> (Shining Path) caused extreme physical dislocation across the country and increased dangerous government intervention in remote areas. The Shining Path movement intended to alleviate a sharply unequal distribution of wealth, especially in impoverished rural areas of Peru. Instead, the poor and indigenous suffered the most from the lack of government protection during the violent political conflict. In response to *Sendero*, the government sent out army and police patrols, which in their zeal killed or jailed many innocent people (Hornberger & Coronel-Molina, 2004, p. 24). There was not only increased poverty in some of the poorest Quechua-speaking regions, such as Ayacucho and Junín, but also increased migration and family displacement outside the areas. The guerilla warfare tactics and actions of national forces posed a serious threat to indigenous community cohesion and preservation of the native language.

In addition to violent uprisings, natural disasters also assume great danger to Andean populations and their dying languages. Quechua people live a marginalized existence in their societies, “deriving a subsistence existence from their agricultural and livestock production” (Hornberger, 2007, p. 221). In her study highlighting Quechua literacy in Peru, Hornberger (2007) argues that Quechua speakers identify their language with the physical territory of their

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<sup>5</sup> Shining Path is a Peruvian Maoist revolutionary movement and terrorist organization, founded in 1970. At first the movement operated in rural areas, but in the 1980s it began to launch terrorist attacks in Peruvian towns and cities (Starn, 1995).

community. Natural disasters, such as earthquakes<sup>6</sup> and periodic droughts produced by the shifting *El Nino*<sup>7</sup> current along the Peruvian coast, contribute dramatically to migration. Rural Quechua-speaking groups leave their community's ruins in search of new land, better agricultural resources and abundant livestock. Concurrently, these migration groups face the challenges of cultural assimilation in order to thrive in their new habitat.

**2.1.1.2. Social dislocation.** Social dislocation is congruent with physical dislocation due to increased migration to regions that promise educational opportunities and economic prosperity. According to Fishman (1991), consequences of social dislocations, ongoing oppressive social, political and economic conditions, which characterize many endangered language communities, can be equally or more devastating than other types of dislocations, due to their long-term nature. The Quechua-speaking population, still very much in line with colonial times, makes up some of the poorest sectors of society. These indigenous people are more susceptible to poor health, illness and malnutrition and lack the resources and facilities to aid vulnerabilities. Thus, marginalization pervades Quechua existence in social, economic and political realms.

Education plays a critical role for the future advancements of indigenous people. Unfortunately, many Peruvian rural schools lack Spanish and Quechua resources and training to offer the same quality of education on par with urban schools. Recently, educational policies have served to repress Quechua use in the process of "Hispanicization". In addition, indigenous children are reprimanded by some teachers for speaking Quechua in a Spanish directed classroom and are academically behind their Spanish-speaking peers (Godenzzi, 1997). Many

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<sup>6</sup> For example: the 1970 earthquake that buried the town of Huaraz in the department of Ancash. (Peruvian Times, 2009)

<sup>7</sup> Unusual rainfall in Southern California and in Peru and Chile are commonly tied to a climatic condition that involves the entire Pacific and is referred to as "El Nino." El Nino occurs every three to four years or so, and is devastating to the fishing economies in Peru (National Geographic, 2015).

indigenous people believe the greatest barrier to their economic progress is the lack of opportunity to receive an adequate education. Thus, Quechua-speaking parents “make a conscious or unconscious decision not to transmit the ancestral language to their children” because they have aspirations for their children to prosper academically in the dominant Spanish-speaking society (Grenoble & Whaley, 1996, p. 3). In this sense, the parents can serve as an obstacle to ensure Quechua language survival.

Spanish is not only viewed as a linguistic necessity to access jobs, it is also the way for Quechua immigrants disassociate with their native language and the negative perception of its importance in modern society. Hornberger (2007) argues that many young Quechua migrants “lose contact with their home community causing them to lose their previous support systems and networks of people with whom they spoke Quechua” (p. 26). The young migrants will stop speaking their native language if its status and use prohibits economic prosperity and social mobility. Rapid migration, especially permanent migration, has disrupted the traditional rural community and weakened social generational ties in Peru. These recent trends seem to have strong correlations with language maintenance and shift. In Peru, the continual marginalization of the Quechua language poses a threat to the linguistic diversity of the country and the social mobility of its speakers.

**2.1.1.3. Cultural dislocation.** Physical and social dislocation of Quechua erodes its cultural domain and limits its importance and use in modern Peruvian society. Since the migration from rural to urban areas, Quechua speakers’ shift to Spanish and bilingualism has evolved. In her study, “Quechua language attitudes and maintenance in Cusco, Peru,” Manley (2008) presents conclusions of Quechua speakers’ attitudes toward their mother tongue and Spanish. She notes, “Quechua speakers claimed Spanish was a superior language associated with

work, literacy, progress, education and government. In contrast, they associated Quechua with oral communication, the home community and informal, private or humorous domains” (Manley, 2008, p. 327). Marr (1998) has recognized “a strong tendency on the part of migrant Quechua speakers in Lima to hide the fact they know Quechua to restrict its use to jokes, vulgarisms, and intimate domains out of the public sphere” (p. 71). The two case studies depict Spanish as the literary or prestige language while Quechua is common and restricted to domestic realms of practice.

Languages have developed over time to shape our perspectives of the world; our knowledge of nature, concepts and our creativity are viewed through our practiced language structure. For example, Quechua language is sometimes used to describe specific plants and species, as noted in the previous chapter (Howard, 2004). Not only does language shift slow the transfer of minority languages, it also causes a massive disruption of the transfer of traditional knowledge across generations. Harrison (2007) declares, “Traditional knowledge is not always easily transferred from small, endangered languages to large global ones” because of the difficult translation of specific ideas and biological names rooted in the language (p. 16). Therefore, when a language dies the precise descriptions and expressions that reflect the speakers’ culture, environment and perceptions, and which cannot be substituted by another language, die with it. For this reason, the loss of an endangered language is irreversible.

Predominately oral languages, such as Quechua, face the largest threat of cultural dislocation because their use relies primarily on the memory of its speakers. Quechua speakers substitute writing for memorization of stories, teachings, lists and common ideas. Graff (1994) notes that the public does not consider oral cultures equally valuable to literate ones because they believe certain kinds of modes and thought cannot be developed in oral culture, thereby making

literate cultures superior. However, every language gives insight “into how humans fine-tune memory to preserve and transmit information” (Harrison, 2007, p. 159). Memorization is as powerful a tool as writing because both provide a means to store and transmit information. Our speech conveys our thoughts; therefore our cultural perceptions and ideologies about the world around us are at risk when language shift occurs.

## **2.2. Language Maintenance and Revitalization**

As stated above, language shift is the gradual loss of a language over time within a community, which can ultimately lead to language death. In contrast, language maintenance refers to the relative stability of a language in domains of its use, distribution, numbers and proficiency of speakers in a speech community. Furthermore, language revitalization, or reversing language shift, “implies recuperating and reconstructing features of a language or its use which are at least partially lost” (Hornberger & Coronel-Molina, 2004, p. 13). Various factors influence the reverse of language shift, from government mandated laws to grass-root community movements to obtain language rights. In his book *Language Policy*, Spools (2004) highlights key factors that influence the success or failure of a language: the number of speakers, the level of fluency of the speakers and their descendants, the attitudes toward the language, and government policy. He also argues that it is “language managers or people who influence a language situation, who are the primary actors within governments, special interest groups, or even families” (p. 8).

In order to reverse language shift, language managers must work diligently in all spheres of influence to promote the continuity of a language. Language managers must first interpret and prioritize the goals of endangered speech communities. Each language is distinct, thus language-planning agents must diagnose and prescribe different methods of protection for each individual

language instead of implementing a “one size fits all” solution. Peru, a country with territory as diverse as its ethnic groups who reside there, must undertake multilingual and multidimensional language efforts to successfully preserve Quechua. In addition, a combination of government power and ideological strength are equally needed to combat the negative view of Quechua that has evolved over time in Peru’s colonial society and is now entrenched in the mentality of the people.

**2.2.1. Language planning efforts: status, corpus and acquisition.** There are various methods used to maintain and revitalize a language, each with its own strengths, weaknesses and end goals. However, all language-planning efforts are meant to increase the transmission of the mother tongue from one generation to the next. Grenoble (1996) argues that low prestige of a language encourages its own “speakers to prefer to distance themselves from it and adopt some other language” (p. 3). For this reason it is important for Peru to implement policies and establish programs to raise the status of Quechua. It is also imperative to create safe outlets for Quechua speakers to practice their mother tongue without fear of discrimination or oppression. According to Cooper (1989), language planning traditionally encompasses “status planning (which is about the uses of the language), corpus planning (about the language itself), and acquisition planning (about the users of the language)” (p. 24). In chapter three I place Peru’s national and Junín’s regional language planning efforts within the three categories to compare and contrast policies and programs. However, in the remainder of this section I give more in depth examples to help distinguish the functions each planning effort seeks to fulfill and convey the necessity of their collective actions.

**2.2.1.1. Status planning.** The status of a language strongly correlates to the functional domains it fills within a society i.e. political, social, economic use etc. Status planning efforts

attempt to promote the minority language to a level of equal prestige with the majority language by targeting government domains, mass media outlets and literacy functions (Hornberger & Coronel-Molina, 2004, p. 31). Domestic policy has been vital in establishing and sustaining programs of maintenance within language communities. However, increased globalization has transmitted degrees of power from individual nation states to international organizations. International organizations dedicated to language policy and minority rights include the International Labor Organization (ILO), UNESCO and the UNICEF. The globalization phenomenon has opened world language barriers to allow minority languages to seek protection and participate in prosperous markets beyond state borders. Today, domestic governments are not only pressured to respond to the demands of minority language groups, they also must comply with demands fueled by reform from international lending institutions (Howard, 2011, p. 199).

Domestic policy can give status to a language in order to change stereotypes and decrease discrimination towards a minority language and its speech community. Constitutional planning can help achieve this goal by making the minority language official or granting it equal recognition with the majority language used within the country. For example, Peru's 1993 Constitution grants all citizens the right to their ethnic identity and recognizes ethnic cultural plurality. More symbolic methods to increase the status of Quechua in Peru include translation of official documents and informational pamphlets from Spanish, the use of the minority language in governmental public service offices, and political speeches made by presidential candidates in Quechua.

Domestic policy is also crucial for manifesting a solid and sustainable infrastructure to help maintain the minority language. Governments can utilize mass media campaigns, such as



radio and television broadcasts, to shift the use and status of minority languages in public domains. In the Andean region the Quechua language has been promoted through newspapers and radio stations. Film production is another effort to reach the public and potentially influence opinion. Although there is not a thriving Quechua film industry, numerous films have been produced in both Spanish and Quechua. The most significant development in Quechua in mass media is its increasing presence on the Web. There are hundreds of Quechua websites and translated documents available for public viewing. Hornberger (2007) argues that although Quechua people's access to such websites is extremely limited, access to technology is expanding and has the potential to promote the status of Quechua within Quechua communities and around the globe.

Finally, the existence of a minority language literacy is a key factor in the current status of a language. However, minority literary traditions often tend to be oral rather than written. According to Hornberger (2007), South American cases provide evidence that the development of indigenous literacies combat the low prestige and negative attitudes attached to indigenous languages. Governments and international institutions, with more power and resources than minority-language speech communities, have a responsibility to transcribe versions of minority language communities' oral traditions and produce academic material to maintain the continuity of the endangered language. Political and educational efforts of the national government can only accomplish one part of the task of maintaining and revitalizing a language, as status planning efforts tend to be symbolic in nature. While symbolic efforts are significant, "top-down" and "bottom-up" efforts must work in tandem to extend the use of Quechua in public domains.

**2.2.1.2. Corpus planning.** Corpus planning is important in the establishment of Quechua literacy and its standardization. In present-day Peru, multilingualism prejudices can influence the

thoughts and actions of many politicians, educators and parents who assume the correct route to individual progress and successful nation building requires the use of a common language, even at the risk of losing one's own cultural and linguistic identity. Thus, corpus planning goals promote multilingualism and tend to include standardization, graphization, modernization, and renovation of the endangered language (Cooper, 1989). Peru and its local minority language communities must work together to create a standardized alphabet adequate enough to represent all the sounds present in the minority language. Also, the establishment of a unified writing system is key to the development of Quechua literacy.

Another corpus planning effort includes the documentation of minority languages with literary materials. Documentation acts to preserve the dying language, but cannot replace the knowledge acquired through language transmission from older generations to younger generations. Documentation can only compliment other language planning efforts to successfully revitalize a language. These complimentary materials can include books, videos and CDs, which aid in language teaching or provide extra assistance for teachers. However, a priority focus should be placed on massive implementation of reading and writing of a minority language at every level and in all aspects of social life. According to Hornberger and Coronel-Molina (2004), some examples of contemporary efforts to codify the grammar and lexicon of the Quechua language can be found in nearly all of its speaking territories of the Andean region. Some Andean governments have even enlisted indigenous communities in order to train them and utilize their talents to produce literary works in their traditional language.

Negative attitudes toward the revitalization of a minority language are common due to the misconception that the culture and its traditional thought patterns will be revived in the process. For example, some critics believe Quechua revitalization would increase the outside

perception of the entire Peruvian society as rural, agricultural and indigenous (Hornberger & King, 1998, p. 394). On the contrary, language revitalization seeks to add new words and concepts to a minority language to adapt it for modern day use and ensure its future survival. Modernization and renovation efforts in Quechua corpus planning, which will be discussed in chapter three, include specialized dictionaries for mathematics and unification of minority language terminology with present day political, economic and social vocabulary. The expansion of the Quechua language into new and modern domains implies that one can practice their language in the social realm and be modern at the same time. These corpus-planning efforts further increase the status of Quechua and serve as aids in acquisition planning efforts discussed in the next section.

**2.2.1.3. Acquisition planning.** Acquisition planning is typically more concerned with the users of the language and includes a range of goals from maintenance, reacquisition, shift, and foreign/second language acquisition by language users (Hornberger, 1994, p. 74). Although Andean countries have begun to officially recognize the importance of a bilingual/intercultural education, which incorporates both Spanish and Quechua, mandates have not always transitioned into successful practice. Therefore, it is vital to manifest other sources of support for implementation of acquisition planning, including the participation of international organizations and the active participation of speech communities themselves through local movements and efforts.

One method to revitalize a language is through school-based programs, which can develop different teaching and learning practices in order to address language needs. The endangered language can be taught as a school subject within the minority-speech community not only to increase its number of speakers, but also to instill in its learners respect and value for

the language. This educational approach is especially important for young speakers, who decide not to practice their mother tongue due to fear of negative stereotypes and shame associated with the language. Bilingual education does not aim to fully revitalize a minority language, but it does promote the maintenance of the language “within a dominant culture that speaks another language” (Hinton, 2001, p. 8). A Quechua-Spanish bilingual society in Peru will allow Quechua to survive without threatening its speakers’ ability to progress economically and socially. However, bilingual education in Peru has historically practiced its own goals of transitioning Quechua speakers to conform to the practices of the Spanish-speaking society, evidently deterring from Quechua maintenance efforts.

Intercultural education seems to represent a better method to adhere to the revitalization of a Quechua. Bilingual education tends to be focused on a one-way interculturality; minority language speakers learn the majority language, but not in reverse. In contrast, a two-way interculturality-learning scheme encourages native Spanish speakers to learn Quechua. An intercultural perspective will permeate all levels of Peru’s national education system and promote open and respectful attitudes of all citizens concerning linguistic, cultural and ethnic diversity. These intercultural methods can be implemented through immersion programs, where classes are fully taught in a minority language and students are forced to converse and discuss topics in the language over extended periods of time. After school programs and summer programs also aid in language revitalization as they both mix recreation with language to develop and encourage use of the minority language in new realms.

Other acquisition planning methods include language revitalization through adult language programs, which could be complimentary to school-based programs and provide a family component to language learning. Adult or family language learning classes can range

from learning the language through cooking or playing trivia games. In chapter four I describe the types of family and youth language programs established in San Pedro de Cajas to convey the cultural and historical importance of Quechua and encourage its use daily life. Successful acquisition-planning efforts can increase the chances of maintenance and revitalization among language users, while enhancing the status of a language and creating a greater demand for corpus planning. In San Pedro de Cajas, the current acquisition planning efforts initiated by the state can lead to greater recognition of QI practiced in the region.

**2.2.2. Implications involved in language planning efforts.** The current status of a language in society determines whether the speech community will continue to value and use the language or adopt the majority language, which promises more economic opportunity. If an individual's native language does not offer economic or social benefits they will find it necessary to learn the language that does provide opportunity. According to Hinton (2001), language shift "will need to be carried out primarily by the minorities themselves, rather than by any of the 'big brothers' or international integrative frameworks that exist today" (p. 3). Speech communities must define how they value their native language before influential institutions seek to aid in its revitalization. Unfortunately, minority groups are typically more impoverished and less educated; thus, they are limited in political power and resources. Therefore, governments with imminent influence and available resources are important agents for allowing minority voices to be heard and assisting them in developing efforts to assess their language needs.

### **2.3. Examining the Current Status of an Endangered Language**

There is no absolute method or answer to determine the status of an endangered language. Nevertheless, Peru's local communities and the global community have noted the rapid decline of Quechua use as well as the numerous factors that have led to this situation, and

have realized the dire need to utilize various language maintenance and revitalization efforts, within various social sectors, to aid the specific needs of an endangered language community. Fishman (1991), for example, argues that a good measure to determine a language's level of endangerment is the youngest generation because it represents the current social barometer of a language. He developed GIDS, the "Graded Intergenerational Disruption Scale" to measure the severity of stages of language loss and provide remedies for each stage. The scale has eight levels and functions similar to the Richter scale, where stage eight represents the most disruption with minimal transmission of a language to the youngest generation. However, it is difficult to place some communities such as San Pedro de Cajas in any stage due to recent historical trends of democratization, migration and modernization that give the community a multifaceted profile that fits into two or more GIDS stages.

In order to examine the status of the Quechua language in a speech community in Peru it is vital to evaluate the functional domains Quechua fulfills in social, economical and political realms. Therefore, I use linguist William Stewart's (1972) specification of language functions as my framework in chapter three and four to depict the reality of Quechua use and value in Peru, specifically in San Pedro de Cajas. He lists ten functions that a language or variety may serve in a society. I evaluate the status of Quechua, in both a national and regional context, with the following seven functions (Stewart, 1972, 540-541):

- The *official* function refers to political or administrative domain, which is often specified constitutionally and is recognized nationwide.
- The *provincial* function is applicable to the official languages of a province or region within a country.

- The *capital function* refers to the primary language or variety used in the national economy.
- The *group* (community) function pertains to the main language of communication of a single cultural or ethnic group.
- The *educational* function relates to the language used for primary and secondary (but specifically not university) education in all school subjects, either regionally or nationally.
- The *school subject* function differs from educational in that the language is taught only as a subject of study, but is not necessarily used as a means of communication in teaching it.
- The *literary function* refers to the language's use for either literary or scholarly

I believe Stewart's (1972) language functions model is the best tool to measure Quechua use and value because it does not solely focus on one entity, but rather views government, education, literacy, media and the family setting as potential factors that can limit or improve language use and attitudes.

In conclusion, we have now seen the historical shift of Quechua use and prestige through Fishman's (1991) physical, social and cultural dislocation model. In chapter three I introduce and compare Peru's national and regional level governments' language planning efforts (status, corpus, and acquisition) to assess which functional domains they seek to fulfill. In chapter four, I apply Stewart's (1972) language functions model in context with interviews and observations to determine the current sociolinguistic reality of Quechua in San Pedro de Cajas.

## Figures






Degree of endangerment	Intergenerational Language Transmission
safe	language is spoken by all generations; intergenerational transmission is uninterrupted >> not included in the Atlas
 vulnerable	most children speak the language, but it may be restricted to certain domains (e.g., home)
 definitely endangered	children no longer learn the language as mother tongue in the home
 severely endangered	language is spoken by grandparents and older generations; while the parent generation may understand it, they do not speak it to children or among themselves
 critically endangered	the youngest speakers are grandparents and older, and they speak the language partially and infrequently
 extinct	there are no speakers left >> included in the Atlas if presumably extinct since the 1950s

Figure 2. UNESCO Atlas of the World's Language in Danger Classification Chart. Reprinted from *UNESCO*, by C. Moseley, 2010, Retrieved from <http://www.unesco.org/new/en/culture/themes/endangered-languages/atlas-of-languages-in-danger/>. Copyright 2010 by UNESCO Publishing, Reprinted with permission.



### Chapter 3: Peru's National and Regional Language Planning Efforts

My first research question sought to find and compare Peru's national and Junín's regional directives and initiatives for the maintenance and revitalization of Quechua. Today, Quechua speakers account for a little over 13% of Peru's population. However, Quechua-speaking communities face great inequalities in close correlation with their ethnic origin. Although Peru has made significant achievements in reducing infant mortality, maternal mortality and chronic malnutrition for the entire population, the 2010 UNICEF study shows that significant gaps remain between the general population and the indigenous population. According to the Instituto Nacional de Estadística e Informática (INEI) less than 50% of the rural population have access to some form of healthcare, compared to 90% in urban areas. These disproportionate figures between social groups show that indigenous populations, especially indigenous children, have less access to social services than non-indigenous children.

The interrelatedness of ethnic origin with inequality is further confirmed by case studies conducted in Quechua-speaking regions. Howard (2011) discovered that in the "ten provinces of Peru with the highest poverty index and lowest childhood development index, 83% of the population are speakers of an indigenous mother tongue" (p. 196). She continues to argue that poverty is directly associated with speaking Quechua, therefore leaving the language behind is seen as a means to step out of poverty. In terms of illiteracy, Godenzzi (1997) found that "the departments with a higher number of Quechua speakers have very high percentages of illiteracy" (p. 239). Although the national illiteracy rate is 12.8%, in provinces where the percentage of Quechua mother tongue speakers reaches high amounts, such as Ayacucho, Apurímac and Chumbivilcas, illiteracy rates reach up to 40% (Howard, 2011, p. 197). Furthermore, it is vital to acknowledge that during Peru's civil war with *Sendero Luminoso* during the 1980s until the start

of the 1990s, the departments most affected were those with the highest poverty rates and speakers of indigenous languages. Unfortunately, 75% of those who were murdered or disappeared during the conflict between the state and the insurgency group were indigenous language speakers (Howard, 2011, p. 197).

In sum, recognition of language and culture as inseparable entities is important in understanding why language maintenance and revitalization initiatives are necessary to ensure the survival of endangered languages. Since the 1990s, the Peruvian state has been more proactive in creating and promoting language-planning initiatives aimed at raising the status of the indigenous languages in the minds of speakers and non-speakers. In the following sections of this chapter I categorize some of Peru's national and Junín's regional language planning efforts in the three language planning areas discussed in chapter two: status, corpus and acquisition. To answer my first research question in its entirety, I evaluate Peru's national mandates and initiatives with Junín's regional Quechua language planning efforts determine which functions they seek to fulfill.

### **3.1. National Status Language Planning Efforts**

As previously discussed, status planning can include domestic and international policy and promotion of a language through domains such as mass media outlets and literacy campaigns. In the case of Peru, the 1993 Peruvian Constitution grants all citizens the right to their ethnic identity, and specifically recognizes and protects ethnic cultural plurality in Article 2. Bilingual intercultural education and literacy is guaranteed, "according to the characteristics of each zone," in the last paragraph of Article 17. Lastly, Article 48 establishes Spanish as the national language, with indigenous languages as official in the areas where they become numerically dominant. This constitutional reform was viewed as a symbolic contribution to raise

the status of Quechua in Peru. It encouraged the production of Peru's constitution in Quechua and promotion of Quechua use and translators in cases where a monolingual Quechua speaker must communicate with government administration or the judicial system.

In July of 2011, Peru's Congress passed Law 29735, for the preservation, development, revitalization, and use of indigenous languages for future generations (Ortiz, 2013). The law recognized Quechua, along with 46 other native languages still used in the country, as official languages of Peru. Minister of Education Patricia Salas announced that before adding the languages into school curriculum, the Ministry of Education (MINEDU) must standardize the alphabets of the 47 languages (Ortiz, 2013). Once the alphabets are officially recognized, the Peruvian government can include them in government communications and textbooks within bilingual communities. Thus, Article 8 requires the MINEDU and the INEI to perform a more specific inventory of native people and their languages and update Peru's ethnolinguistic map (Ortiz, 2013). Lastly, the law also authorizes the government to train functioning translators to serve as intermediaries for the community, and "to translate the Peruvian constitution, rules on sustainable forestry, and Peruvian rights about inventions and new technologies into Quechua" (Ortiz, 2013). These measures will not only prevent the extinction of the Quechua language, they will also help Peru retain its cultural integrity and collective identity.

In May 2013, a law was presented to the Republican Congress of Peru that would declare public interest in the teaching of Quechua and Aymara in Peru, principally in the departments of Cuzco, Puno, Arequipa, Apurimac, Ayacucho, Huancavelica, Junín, Huánuco, Cerro de Pasco, Ancash and Cajamarca, and its use in state entities (Proyecto de Ley N. 2236/2012-CR, 2013). The law will guarantee, promote and emphasize the cultural value of Peru's historical languages and protect minority-speech communities from discrimination. The official document expresses

its awareness that in today's society it is common for people not to value Peru's native languages, a view which should be avoided.

In Article 5 of Law 2236, congress states that workers and officers of the governmental departments ought to have an adequate and sufficient level of familiarity of Quechua, as much written as oral (Proyecto de Ley N. 2236/2012-CR, 2013). In addition, administrative proceedings and judicial hearings can be translated to Quechua or Aymara for native monolingual speakers, without cost. It is important to note that the final sentence in Article 5 permits the use of these native languages in governmental domains, notwithstanding the prevalence of Spanish as the official language in administrative and judicial proceedings. In Article 6 of Law 2236, applicants who wish to obtain local government employment in the departments mentioned above must prove their knowledge of oral and written Quechua or Aymara, depending on the department the language dominates. Article 7 states that general information including signs, posters, notices and news, directed to the public in the local departments should be written in Quechua and Aymara, notwithstanding the use of Spanish as the official language (Proyecto de Ley N. 2236/2012-CR, 2013).

It is interesting to note contradictory statements of purpose in the proposed law. Although the law acknowledges that currently no legal standards of constitutional development or implementation exist for the preservation of Quechua and Aymara, it mentions multiple times that Spanish is still to be used first in all contexts if all parties are capable. Law 2236 expresses the historic and cultural importance of Quechua and Aymara declaring that its use is historic, an instrument of communication, integration and ought to be a factor of social inclusion (Proyecto de Ley N. 2236/2012-CR, 2013). The cost benefit analysis is very one-sided and ambiguous. It guarantees language minority groups in the mentioned departments their right to use their

language in socio-economic activities with endorsement from the constitution and funds provided by the state; however, the proposal never mentions how the Peruvian state and population can benefit from the inclusion of Quechua and Aymara groups in present day society. This law is extremely symbolic in nature, allowing Quechua to serve an *official* and *provincial* function. However, when put into practice the law could face setbacks due to the recognition of Spanish as the dominant language in governmental and public affairs.

While Peru's current constitution and new laws grant Quechua the prestige to fulfill Stewart's (1972) *official* language function, Quechua does not serve the *capital* function, which results in the negative impact on its status. In today's modernized world, political power, social prestige and economic activity are centered on economic capitalism, i.e., owning land, businesses, factories, etc. The language that is associated with the economy tends to be the preferred language of society. In Peru, Spanish is dominant in the economic markets, and is spreading outward from urban centers to remote territories. If Peru's society fails to recognize the abundant and resourceful information ingrained in the Quechua language, including geographic knowledge and harvesting techniques, Peru's production of premier agricultural and mineral exports will deteriorate along with the native language.

An important factor in the status of a language is its fulfillment of Stewart's (1972) *literary* function. The most interesting development of Quechua status planning is through the widespread use of mass-media such as newspapers, radio, the Internet and television. In Peru, there is no regular newspaper publication in Quechua, but there is a bilingual column published every Sunday in Lima's well-known newspaper, *El Comercio*. Coronel-Molina (2010) discusses the benefits of a new high-tech radio program, *Nuqanchik*, developed by Red Científica Peruana (RCP; Peruvian Scientific Network), Centro Peruano de Estudios Sociales (CEPES: Peruvian

Center for Social Studies) and receives support from UNESCO (p. 172). This program not only airs on the radio throughout the Andean region, but it is also distributed via email and maintains presence on the World Wide Web. Coronel-Molina (2010) also notes, “RCP is installing and promoting the use of public Internet booths throughout Peru”, which will provide access to the programming for regional radio stations that do not have Internet access. *Nuqanchik* will have a huge impact on raising the status of Quechua, as it is accessible both by regional Peruvian communities who normally can’t afford to use high technology, and to a global audience, which high-tech developments tend to attract. *Takiyninchik* (Our Songs) and *Tierra Fecunda* (Fertile Earth) are two other radio programs based in Peru and produced by CEPES, that offer news, folklore and musical programming in Quechua (Hornberger & Coronel-Molina, 2004, p. 35).

In addition to the radio, Quechua’s presence is growing greater on the World Wide Web. One development for greater access to the Internet came in 2001 when President Alejandro Toledo instituted the Huascarán Project in collaboration with the Bill Gates and Melinda Gates Foundation to bring Internet-based education (via satellite) to indigenous communities throughout Peru (Hornberger & Coronel-Molina, 2004, p. 38). Bill Gates also created Microsoft Office in Quechua. All of these advancements have aimed at increasing the official status of Quechua and incorporating both native speakers and non-speakers in the Quechua literacy process.

If Peruvians, both native Quechua speakers and non-speakers, acknowledged the widespread promotion of Quechua being spoken and studied around the world, it could raise the status of Quechua use in their minds, and make both groups more willing to learn and practice the language. However, Coronel-Molina (2010) declares two drawbacks with achieving this Quechua literacy. First, “before the invasion of the Spaniards, Quechua was an oral language,

with no writing system; second, the Quechua speaking population still has an alarmingly low literacy rate, in either Quechua or Spanish” (p. 174). We now turn our focus toward corpus planning to evaluate how the Peruvian government is aiding Quechua literacy in its achievement of Stewart’s (1972) *literary* and *educational* functions.

### **3.2. National Corpus Language Planning Efforts**

Corpus planning is necessary in the establishment of a language literacy and standardization. Unfortunately, most detrimental factor affecting the current status of Quechua is the low literacy rate of its population. Any advancement in Quechua literature is inaccessible for the majority of Quechua speakers in Peru. Furthermore, because Quechua has been a predominately oral language, attempts at the graphization and creation and of a standardized Quechua alphabet have been controversial and unorganized.

Presently, there are numerous productions of well-known Quechua stories, myths, poetry and music. Numerous texts, such as the *Huarachiri* manuscript and *Ollantay*, have been transcribed from oral traditions and translated to various other languages to be read around the world. In addition, the MINEDU is active in producing educational materials in Quechua on their websites. Instituto de Estudios Peruanos (Institute of Peruvian Studies) and Centro de Estudios Regionales Andinos ‘Bartolomé de las Casas’ (The ‘Bartolomé de las Casas’ Center for Regional Andean Studies) are two well-known and highly respected publishing houses in Peru that promote publications in Quechua. The Peruvian Academy of the Quechua Language is another government institute founded specifically to establish Quechua as a literary language. However, most of the public holds negative views of the Academia due to their perceived ownership of Quechua, as belonging to the Incan elite who practice “pure” QII, instead of the monolingual native-speaker of the countryside who tends to speak QI. The exclusive use of QII in the

Academia and Peru's official publishing houses prevent Quechua from successfully achieving its *literary* function.

Peru has established a standardized orthography for QII, but many language managers are not in accordance with the result. The First Workshop on Quechua and Aymara Writing convened in Lima in 1983 with the intention to represent major sound distinction in all Quechua dialects. The Pan Quechua Alphabet officialized the three-vowel (a,i,u) use. However, the Peruvian Academy of Quechua Language held its own conference in 1987 to mandate the use of the five-vowel system instead of the three-vowel system. The ongoing debate continued with the First World Congress on the Quechua Language convention in Cuzco in 2000 (Hornberger, 1995, p. 40). This congress aimed to support Quechua maintenance, "but many members took a Cusco-centric (QII) position, and hence failed to take into account dialectal variations in their orthographic suggestions" (p. 40). Although the Peruvian government has tried to establish an alphabet to help Quechua fill its *literary* function, they have failed to incorporate all communities that the Quechua language encompasses. The tension over how to represent different Quechua dialects will contribute more to language extinction than language maintenance.

Another corpus planning effort put forth by the MINEDU and Institute of Peruvian Studies includes the creation of grammars and dictionaries in the six most common QI and QII: Ancash-Huila's, Ayacucho-Chanca, Cajamarca-Canaris, Cuzco-Collao, Junín-Huanca and San Martín (Hornberger & Coronel-Molina, 2004, p. 42). In addition, recent trilingual dictionaries in Quechua, Spanish and English have been produced and distributed in Peru. These initiatives provide a foundation of tools for Quechua literacy and education to develop. Hornberger (1997) argues that increasing numbers of Quechua readers and writers would "inevitably lead to more



Quechua writing, but more importantly, the promotion of Quechua literacy increases the potential for full literate development and fuller social participation of these marginalized sectors of Peruvian society” (p. 215). With the creation of an extensive alphabet and grammar, Quechua can fulfill its *literary* and *educational* function, which further improves its value in society.

### **3.3. National Acquisition Language Planning Efforts**

As defined in the previous chapter, acquisition planning focuses on Quechua speakers and usually involves the national education system, and its implementation of school-based programs to maintain and revitalize Quechua within indigenous. Successful acquisition planning allows the minority language to serve both *educational* and *school-subject* functions. In 1993, bilingualism and interculturality became recognized through official policy in Peru. Peru’s 1993 Constitution “supports bilingual, intercultural education and since 1997, the MINEDU has undertaken a major initiative to retrain all teachers in indigenous regions” (Hornberger & Coronel-Molina, 2004, p. 46). Valdiviezo (2013) explains that bilingual education is defined as the provision of education in more than one language, while interculturality is understood as the existence, equal rights, and recognition of all cultures (p. 31). In the past, Peru has excluded indigenous peoples and languages from the public domain. However, the implementation of Intercultural Bilingual Education (IBE) constitutes a major change in government efforts with inclusion of the indigenous population.

IBE focuses on the process of identity affirmation linked to the recovery of cultural practices and empowerment promoting awareness about discrimination and racism. According to Valdiviezo (2013), Article 20 of the General Law of Education, dedicated to IBE, declares that IBE is offered in the whole education system to promote respect of cultural diversity, it guarantees learning in the student’s mother tongue as well as Spanish and requires all IBE

teachers to be fluent in student's native tongue as well as Spanish. In addition, IBE ensures the participation of the indigenous community in the planning and execution of education programs (p. 33). It is still unclear whether this effort will be implemented in such a way that not only Quechua speakers, but Spanish speakers as well, will be required to study the language. Nevertheless, Peru's MINEDU declares that it is actively involved in Quechua acquisition planning through its efforts to produce and distribute a variety of bilingual textbooks and teaching aids in indigenous languages for use throughout Peru.

In October 2011, President of Peru Ollanta Humala enacted Law Number 29792, which created the Ministry of Development and Social Inclusion (MIDIS). This was the first time the state created an agency to oversee national social policy and implement measures to help close the poverty gap and lack of access to resources. According to the MIDIS webpage,

MIDIS' aim is for all Peruvians, wherever they live or wherever they were born, regardless of the language and culture of the parents, or their social condition or level of education, to receive high-quality services and have the same opportunities to benefit from economic growth and to contribute to the welfare of their families, their community and the country (MIDIS Website, 2011).<sup>8</sup>

MIDIS policy and social welfare programs are implemented and observed in all levels and sectors of government where poverty is evident. The direct provision of services is provided through five regional programs including, "Pension 65, FONCODES, Qali Warma, Juntos and Cuna Mas, which are based on the Wawa Wasi and Gratitude Programs", which promote Quechua culture and knowledge with the participation of all Quechua-speaking generations. (MIDIS, 2011 website). For example, Qali Warma (strong child in Quechua) is an initiative with the goal to

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<sup>8</sup> For further information on MIDIS policy and services refer to [http://www.midis.gob.pe/files/doc/midis\\_politicas\\_desarrollo\\_en.pdf](http://www.midis.gob.pe/files/doc/midis_politicas_desarrollo_en.pdf)

provide over two million children in numerous Peruvian departments with nutritional foods, health and hygiene education (Qali Warma, 2013). The program delivers nourishment to initial and primary school children with the cooperation of regional governments authorities, civil society organizations, teachers and families. Not only is Qali Warma providing nourishment to millions of children in rural impoverished departments, it is also providing educational information in Quechua. This acquisition planning effort allows Quechua to serve an *educational* and *group* function, improving intergenerational continuity of the minority language.

In May 2013, Peru's Commission of Education of the Republican Congress was presented with a "Proyecto de Ley de numero 2472/2012-CR" (Law Proposal). This law tried to establish Quechua or Aymara as obligatory languages to learn in public and private universities in order to obtain a professional degree (Bendezú, 2013). While some academic leaders welcomed the initiative, viewing it as a method of nation building and inclusion, others were hostile and did not agree with being forced to learn Quechua over English. Legislator Yohny Lescano argued that no one should be obliged to speak a language that they would not want to speak, especially one which has more cultural than practical use (Bendezú, 2013). These hostile emotions and stigmatized views toward major government mandates to preserve Quechua could consequentially increase the negative views of non-speakers toward Quechua use, which further marginalizes the status of Quechua speakers and restricts the language's use in society.

In Peru, much of the struggle over institutionalization and implementation of language maintenance and revitalization programs, such as ensuring that constitutional clauses are respected, has taken place at the state level. Furthermore, despite government efforts and recognition of the importance of providing an education in Quechua as well as Spanish, there is resistance from the Quechua community itself due to poor planning or conflicting ideologies.

The success of these “top-down” language initiatives can only be determined with the observation of the attitudes and ideologies of Quechua-speaking communities and non-Quechua speaking communities where language-planning efforts are implemented. In the following section I discuss Junín’s Quechua language planning efforts to further reveal the correlations between national and regional policy and program implementation.

### **3.4. Regional Status Planning Efforts in Junín, Peru**

In 2008, the regional government of Junín passed an ordinance in which it recognized six official languages: Spanish, Quechua, Ashaninka, Nomastiguenga, Kakinte and Yanesha (Law Number: 089-2008-GRJ/CR, 2008). The decree, in coordination with the Regional Direction of Education, also established courses of intercultural-bilingual teaching among various levels and methods of education in Junín in the languages mentioned, and invited the university community to consider intercultural-bilingual courses in their curriculum. The governmental ordinance recommended the implementation of its initiative within the jurisdictions and functions of provincial and local (district) governments. Junín’s regional management sector, Desarrollo Social (Social Development), also promised personnel training in the health sector by providing intercultural-bilingual teaching to public workers, according to their locality, with the goal to better service the population (Law Number: 089-2008-GRJ/CR).

In 2010, Jaime Bravo, a reporter for the Peruvian National newspaper *Diario Correo*, reported that Quechua use and status has continued to decline in Andean cities where it held prominence. Compared to the 1993 census, the population of Junín that learned Spanish as a child rose 25.6% from its previous value, which equals 193,861 people. At the same time, the 2007 census depicted a 6.2% decrease in Quechua learning (Bravo, 2010). In 2015, *Diario Correo* reporter Daniel Mitma interviewed various language communities in Junín to reveal the

social reality of language minority groups. Although Junín recognizes six official languages, Spanish is viewed as the primary language and the language in which the government provides the most resources. On the other hand, there are only 200 Junín citizens who speak Kakinte, a language in extinction (Mitma, 2015). Although Peru's Ministry of Culture is developing a campaign, the challenge to encompass the diverse varieties of languages and dialects in Junín is difficult due to lack of funds and geographic distances between communities. Junín official Gabriela la Rosa assures citizens that efforts acknowledging the use of Quechua in the judicial, health and regional government institutions are improving slowly, but surely (Mitma, 2015).

In June 2013, the Strategic Development of Natural Resources of the Peruvian Ministry of Environment implemented a program in central Junín with economic incentives for indigenous groups to conserve the Amazon forests in order to counteract the effects of climate change. The initiative allows the government to give 10 soles (\$3.70) for each hectare of land to native communities with the promise that they will watch over and conserve the forest where they live, take responsibility for reforesting it and make good use of the products of the land (CHIRAPAQ, 2013). This program is part of the National Program of Conservation of Forests for the Mitigation of Climate Change. Gabriela Quijandria, vice minister of the program, stated that the incentive would permit the indigenous people of Junín to have more economic resources to allocate to the production of agriculture, education, and health (CHIRIPAQ, 2015). More importantly, the vice minister acknowledged the value Quechua language plays in the conservation of the environment. Quechua language and culture encompass vital knowledge and specific words pertaining to the history of Peruvian geography and its natural resources. Therefore, the Peruvian government should recognize how environmental knowledge stored

within the Quechua language can serve as a *capital* function, granting economic prosperity for the minority group and the state.

Significant status planning efforts have also taken place through media campaigns and community organization in Junín, serving both *group* and *provincial* functions. The “Red de Comunicadores Indígenas del Perú”, a radio program of Sapinchikmanta, is a system of indigenous communication that discusses national and local news, indigenous rights, and community events in Quechua. The program has received the support of national media outlets including, *El Comercio* newspaper and Coordinadora Nacional de Radio (CNR). In San Pedro de Cajas, Radio Patamarca FM, and its complimentary website, also provides local news updates, music and talk shows in Quechua. In addition to media campaigns, Quechua community involvement amongst all generations has recently taken place in Junín. In 2009, the National Organization of Andean and Amazonian Indigenous Women (ONMIAAP) formed with the participation of 180 leaders of 14 regions of the country. Their mission is to propose policy agendas to the government to improve indigenous education, environmental problems and indigenous citizenship. In 2013, La Red de Organizaciones de Jóvenes Indígenas del Perú (REOJIP) formed to provide youth with a platform to preserve their cultural identity, to construct proposals for favorable public policy toward indigenous youth and their respectful villages, and to have influence in the decision making of local, regional and national communities (CHIRAPAQ, 2013).

Lastly, in 2014 the First Congress of Quechua Indigenous People took place with the participation of 30 Quechua communities, including various communities from Junín. The group established its constitution of goals, member duties and cooperation with the state help indigenous youth gain admission to Peru’s National Scholarship Program. Overall, it appears that

various levels of community and governmental action to improve the status of Quechua in Junín have taken place. Furthermore, it is evident numerous generations of Quechua speakers are involved in language planning efforts. However, many of these programs and initiatives have been carried out in the center of Junín's cities, with less attention to the rural zones. Also, many of the language planning efforts focus on symbolic (i.e., official laws and constitutions) meaning, and rely on corpus and acquisition planning to carry out established policies and programs.

### **3.5. Regional Corpus Planning Efforts in Junín, Peru**

There are four dialectal variations of Quechua in Junín; the principal dialect is Quechua of north Junín, Tarma Quechua (QI).<sup>9</sup> San Pedro de Cajas is located within the province of Tarma. In 2010, the MINEDU produced a National Document of Original Languages of Peru, which states, "Quechua speakers of north Junín are bilingual, but illiterate; and, given that adults are the primary users of the language and many youth are not learning it, it is in danger" (p. 129). The three other forms of QI present in Junín include: Quechua Shausha Wanka, spoken in the province of Juaja, Quechua Waylla Wanka, spoken in the provinces of Huancayo and Concepción, and Quechua Waycha Wanka, spoken by dispersed families and communities in remote areas of Junín.<sup>10</sup>

In 2010, the Peru's MINEDU trained teachers in the regions of Junín and Pasco, in a regional workshop on the production of educational materials, in order to implement intercultural and bilingual educational institutions. The Ministry stressed the importance that teachers be familiar with literary production in the Quechua language, including the elaboration of riddles, cartoons, films, stories etc. that signify the rescuing of the cultures in each region (Cuela, 2010).

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<sup>9</sup> The population of people who spoke Quechua of North Junín (QI) was 60,000 in 1998; 7, 000 monolinguals were documented in the 1972 census. (Ethnologue: Languages of the World, 2015)

<sup>10</sup> For further information regarding the status and revitalization efforts of the three other Quechua dialects in Junín visit <http://www.digeibir.gob.pe/lenguas/descargas/junin.pdf>

Some of the products and materials culminated at the workshop included software Kichwastsita Yachaqushun (primary school), history and communication workbooks, animated cartoons, six technical specification lexical cards and a screenplay for an animated tale. The elaboration of educational materials in Quechua is beneficial for an increase in IBE participation and successful teaching methods. Various regional governments in Junín have also partnered with the Center for Indigenous Peoples' Cultures (CHIRAPAQ), to systemize and validate the narrations of older Quechua speaking generations to use as teaching materials and audio in their educational curriculum (CHIRAPAQ, 2012). It is evident that corpus planning for the maintenance and revitalization of native languages is not abundant in Junín. However, this seems to be the most challenging planning sector for Junín because it recognizes six official languages, many of which have various dialects spoken in distinct provinces.

### **3.6. Regional Acquisition Planning Efforts in Junín, Peru**

Peru's General Direction of Intercultural Education, Bilingual and Rural (DIGEIBIR) reported the presence of 835 IBE and intercultural education of linguistic revitalization institutions (IIEE) in Junín (DIGEIBIR, 2014). Quechua was reported to have the greatest quantity of resources and speakers within the institutions, but the Ashinka, Nomatigenga and Kakinte language teachings are also present within the institutions. The total number of intercultural-bilingual teachers in Junín in both IBE and EIRL (Empresa Individual de Responsabilidad Limitada) institutions is 2,482. In addition, 39,867 students throughout the department participate in IBE or EIRL institutions (DIGEIBIR, 2014).

Law 2236 also calls for further training and implementation of IBE in Junín. Article 3, which talks about teaching of Quechua and Aymara in basic regular education, declares in the public interest the mandatory teaching of Quechua in both primary and secondary levels, in



accordance to the national curriculum determined by the MINEDU. Furthermore, the law insists that professors within majority Quechua-speaking departments in all levels of education (primary to university) should know a sufficient amount of Quechua in order to teach lessons confidently and assign and grade Quechua written and oral homework. Lastly, Article 4 encourages the teaching of Quechua and Aymara in public language institutes. The state also guarantees and promotes Quechua and Aymara teaching to public workers, university staff, and judicial offices in the zones and departments where the native languages predominate (Proyecto de Ley N. 2236/2012-CR, 2013). It is important to note the language used in the official document. The use of the terms “promote”, “encourage”, and “insists” is very different than “obligatory” and “mandatory”. While Quechua teaching in basic public education is “obligatory”, Quechua use in language institutions and universities is only suggested and encouraged. Official governmental language can play a huge role in regional implementation of language planning efforts. Without standards and consequences it seems very unlikely that policies and initiatives mentioned in the proposal will actually allow Quechua to fully serve *educational* and *school-subject* functions.

Acquisition planning efforts for the maintenance and revitalization of Quechua in Junín have also taken place via national health and agricultural initiatives. In 2013, under the supervision of MIDIS, the Saberes Productivos initiative began in San Pedro de Cajas, with the involvement of the local government and Pension 65,<sup>11</sup> consisting of 319 members in San Pedro de Cajas. The initiative has permitted citizens to revalue, effectively, the roles of elderly adults as carriers of language knowledge and practices that can be incorporated as local development strategies (MIDIS, 2014). In addition, the intervention also shows the importance of community elders in economic development. Various activities took place in August 2013 to promote the

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<sup>11</sup> Pension 65 is a Peruvian national welfare program that provides resources to the elderly. For more information visit <http://www.pension65.gob.pe/>

importance of Quechua knowledge and the older generation of Quechua speakers in San Pedro de Cajas. Government officials, local elders, teachers and children participated in drawing classes, traditional medical teachings, identification workshops, Qali Warma health lessons, and cooking dialogues. The different activities of Saberes Productivos demonstrated the intergenerational transfer of Quechua culture and language from the eldest generation to the youngest generation. The continuance of this program holds promises for increasing the value of QI in San Pedro de Cajas and bridging the generational gap of Quechua speakers.

### **3.7. Comparison of National Mandates and Initiatives with Regional Implementation**

In summary, the research shows collaborative efforts between Peru's national and Junín's regional Quechua language maintenance and revitalization policies and initiatives. However, it is also apparent that there are differences and disconnects in "top-down" and "bottom-up" approaches taken to ensure the protection and value of Quechua in present day Peruvian society.

Peru's national status planning efforts serve more symbolic than practical purposes. The 1993 Peruvian Constitution declared Quechua and Aymara indigenous languages official, but only in regions where the native regions are predominately spoken. Furthermore, the constitution guarantees the right to literacy to all citizens and encourages IBE implementation. However, it does not state a specific agenda or timeline for carrying out its mandates. Lastly, the constitution also proclaims that all Peruvian citizens have a right to their ethnic and cultural identity, which includes the practice of their native language. However, if a Peruvian citizen knows Spanish, it automatically takes precedence over Quechua. Similar political goals and language planning efforts enacted at the national level are reflected in Junín's 2008 official recognition of the six languages, existent and used within its territory. However, Junín's regional government also uses ambiguous language about the restricted use of Quechua when a bilingual speaker knows

Spanish. Both national and regional laws use ambiguous ‘soft’ language (i.e., “encourage,” “promote”) when outlining the importance of Quechua use and its benefits of social inclusion. Thus, *official* and *provincial* functions of Quechua are significant, but fluctuate depending on the views of the national government in power and regional interpretation of a specific policy.

Peru’s 2011 “Law of Preservation and Use of Languages” seems more equipped to tackle language-planning efforts. It not only provides a timeline of tasks that need to be completed, but also acknowledges the challenges it expects to face with carrying out efforts such as IBE and alphabetization of 47 remaining indigenous languages still used in Peru. In regards to the officialization of languages, it is interesting to note that Junín already declared its six native languages official within its territory three years before this law was enacted. In the last decade Peru has seen successful media campaigns to increase awareness of Quechua culture and value in society. The radio and Internet have been especially fundamental in the increase production of Quechua music, history and dialogue. In addition, media campaigns have served as mobilization techniques for increased indigenous *group* participation in grassroots activism, especially amongst youth. Regional Quechua indigenous groups have channeled technology so that their voices are heard and the national government is pressured to respond. Unfortunately, economic efforts and incentives to improve the status of Quechua speakers are still lacking. Peruvian society revolves around economic opportunities, thus lack policy and programs to promote economic benefits of Quechua could have a major influence on its value and *capital* function.

Both national and regional corpus-planning efforts currently face challenges regarding the standardization of indigenous language alphabets as well as production of materials. At the national level, controversial scholastic debate is still ongoing regarding the standardization of QI and QII, and their respective dialects. The debate further deepens the negative cultural stigmas

attached to QI speakers, including the idea that the group is illiterate, poor, and works in the countryside. In Junín, an effort has been made to conduct educator workshops to discuss and propose various methods for creating and producing educational textbooks, software and lexical diagrams. These efforts reveal that Junín, a regional government, is constructing its own plans and initiatives to provide for the needs of its QI community. Meanwhile, the national government continues to neglect the use and standardization of QI, especially the Academia in Cuzco.

Finally, both national and regional acquisition-planning efforts seemed to have developed in coordination with each other and the social needs of indigenous groups over the past decade to fulfill *educational* and *school-subject* functions. At a national level, there has been a greater demand for IBE implementation within all regions of Peru. Within Junín's department, there are currently 835 operating IBE institutions. Unfortunately, IBE curriculum is not present in the district of San Pedro de Cajas. However, with new law proposals including Law N. 2472 and Law 2236, there will be a greater push for a two-way IBE program in which Quechua-speaking students learn their native language first and Spanish second, and Spanish-speaking students learn the Quechua language and its historical importance in society. This two-sided effort and education reform could create the presence of IBE curriculum in more regions of Peru. The national establishment of MIDIS has already produced social improvement results within specific departments. MIDIS' policies and programs, including elderly welfare programs, youth nutrition programs, and cultural development programs, have already been recommended and implemented in Junín, and more specifically, in San Pedro de Cajas.

In summary, it is evident that both Peru's national and Junín's regional language-planning goals and initiatives work in tandem. Although some Quechua maintenance and revitalization progress has been made, there is still a need for stronger, clearer, and more

specialized policies and programs. As previously mentioned, language shift is strongly correlated with views held toward languages and the perception of their functional use in society. Quechua has lost many of its functional domains to Spanish over the course of the history of contact between the two languages. Thus, coordination of “top-down” and “bottom-up” approaches is equally crucial to the improvement of Quechua status and its language functions. In chapter four I analyze the current attitudes toward Quechua in San Pedro de Cajas to show whether the current national and regional language planning efforts, or lack of, have impacted the use of Quechua within specific sociopolitical functions and speaker attitudes towards its value in San Pedro de Cajas. I also discuss what impact the San Pedro de Cajas study can have on regional and national language maintenance and revitalization incentives in the value the Quechua-speakers place on preserving their own language.

## **Chapter 4: The Current Status of Quechua in San Pedro de Cajas**

### **4.1. The Context: Junín and San Pedro de Cajas**

My second research question sought to compare the current sociolinguistic reality of San Pedro de Cajas with the various governmental initiatives discussed in chapter three, to uncover how much value the is placed on Quechua learning and use. The department of Junín is located between the sierra and Amazon rainforest in central Peru. It has nine provinces, which include: Concepción, Chanchamayo, Chupaca, Huancayo, Jauja, Junín, Satipo, Tarma and Yauli. The department of Junín has a population of 1,225,474 inhabitants; 33% of the population of Junín is rural and 67% is urban (INEI, 2007). In the region 86.4% of the population learned Spanish as their native tongue during their childhood while 9.6% learned Quechua, 0.1% Aymara, 3.1% Ashaninka and 0.6% learned a different native tongue. Currently, the regional government of Junín recognizes six official languages: Spanish, Quechua, Ashanika, Kakinte, Nomatsiguenga and Yanasha. In Junín, 7.6% of the population that is 15 years and older is illiterate; rural regions and women contribute the most to the illiteracy rates. At least 30.4% of Spanish speakers obtained superior education, 43.5% just secondary education, and 26.1% only primary education. On the other hand, amongst non-Spanish speakers only 6.4% obtained a higher education, 22.4% secondary education and 71.2% only completed primary education (Foro Nacional Internacional, 2008).

The national census also states that less than 30% of citizens in Junín have access to health coverage, a number much lower than the national rate of 40%. The results of the 2007 census show that 3.2% of the population of Junín does not own a national document of identity (DNI); in the province of Tarma 5.5% of the population lack basic governmental identification documents (INEI, 2007). Those that do not have basic documents face disadvantages because

they cannot exercise their legal rights as citizens of Peru. Furthermore, 43% of Junín's residents experience poverty, with higher percentages in its rural provinces. The department's economy revolves primarily around agricultural production, especially during harvest seasons. Other forms of work available to inhabitants include mining, construction, handicraft artwork and public works. Since the arrival of the Spaniards in 1550, many Quechua speakers in Junín had to learn Spanish in order to work in the mining zones and *haciendas* (large estates/plantations). Currently, youth in more accessible communities in Junín are speaking Spanish because most radio, television and education programs are provided in the dominant language. In 2007, 32.6% of Junín's population migrated to other departments; meanwhile, 15.2% of the people born in other Peruvian departments immigrated to Junín, leaving a population deficit of 17.4% in the region (Foro Nacional Internacional, 2008). Youth account for the majority of migrants who leave for main cities in search of education or employment.

Between the 1983 and 1992, the *Sendero Luminoso* guerrilla movement had a devastating effect on the life of people in Junín, especially those who resided in the rural regions. In "remote towns and villages, mayors were murdered, uncooperative villagers were massacred, police stations and power plants bombed and government and church-sponsored aid projects destroyed" (*Lonely Planet Publication, Peru's Internal Conflict*). On August 15, 1991, *ABC Madrid* reported in the town of San Pedro de Cajas, *Sendero Luminoso* continued their massacres and killed three candidates for complementary municipal elections (Chávez, 1991). The Peruvian government responded by sending in armed forces, which were often equally brutal. In total, 70,000 people died or disappeared during the decade-long civil war; most were civilians in the central Andes (Starn, 1995).

San Pedro de Cajas is a rural district of the province Tarma, located in Junín's northern Andean region. It is home to 5,808 inhabitants, of which 20% speak QI. The small town thrives on an active economy focused 45% on agriculture, 30% on craftsmanship, and 12% on services (Censos Nacionales, 2007). The census also mentions that the rate of illiteracy in the town is 15%, of which women comprise the majority. The amount of citizens between the ages of six and twenty-four that are receiving a regular education is 74%, and of this percentage, 11% have received a higher education. INEI recorded that 59.7% of San Pedro de Cajas citizens experience poverty; within this percentage 19.7% live in extreme poverty (INEI, 2009).

#### **4.2. Language Attitudes, Language Use and Perspectives for Language Maintenance**

In the spring of 2014, I conducted a sociolinguistic investigation to discover the value placed on Quechua use and status in the schools and households in San Pedro de Cajas. The objective of my study was to discover if the schools and family households fostered and integrated Quechua learning and usage, or if they isolated themselves from the language and its negative cultural stigmatization. In brief, I found evidence that the status of the language has deteriorated over time due to lack of opportunities associated with its functional use; children are discouraged from speaking it by their parents and some teachers and there seem to be no formal educational or language maintenance initiatives in place in the town that might help to reverse an evident trend toward Castilianization.

During my investigation, I surveyed 50 students and interviewed two teachers, two school directors, 12 secondary school students, two elderly vendors and two Quechua-speaking families. I wanted to understand how they viewed the use and learning of Quechua in modern day Peru, and how attitudes varied by person. When I arrived to San Pedro de Cajas, officials told me that only some students spoke Quechua, all the students spoke Spanish and the schools

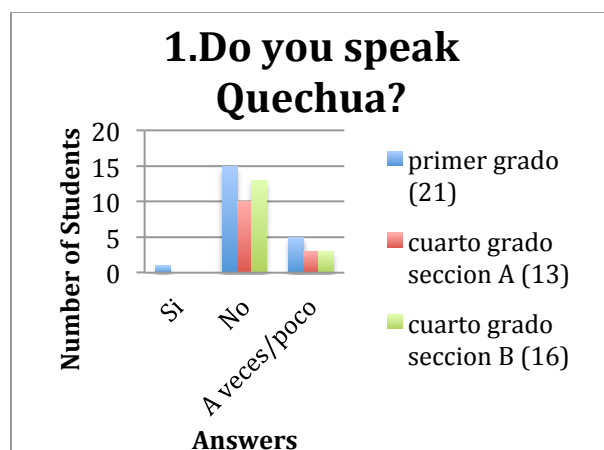


conducted classes in Spanish. Furthermore, I learned that only one secondary school communications class provided a few resources and books written in Quechua in the classroom environment. Therefore, I sought to investigate when the decline of Quechua learning and usage was noticeable in the community, who or what factors were responsible for the decline of Quechua, and whether the families currently foster the development of Quechua or alienate its use in the household and community. Using an ethnographic approach, I looked at the social context of the Quechua language in San Pedro de Cajas, giving special attention to language attitudes, language functions and perspectives for language maintenance.

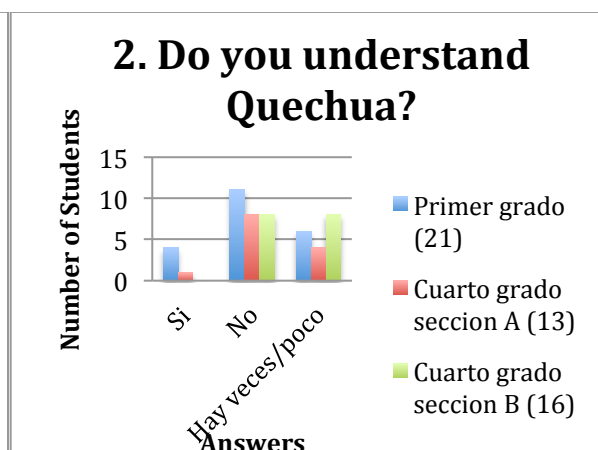
**4.2.1. Language use in the educational setting.** San Pedro de Cajas has two secondary schools, one daytime and one nighttime, and four primary schools, one of which is a nighttime school. I visited three different schools within my weeklong investigation: Virgen de Rosaría (primary school), Víctor Andrés Belaunde (secondary school) and Escuela Alternativa (night school). Virgen de Rosaría had one professor and 12 students (ages 5-15 years old) whose families work on the outskirts of the town harvesting crops and caring for livestock. The primary school was 25 minutes walking distance from the central plaza. Víctor Andrés Belaunde secondary school was located five minutes from the plaza, and served 210 students ages 12-17 years old. There were 23 professors who taught at the school, and of these professors, only one, Luis Mendoza, incorporated Quechua in his communications class curriculum. Many of these professors were not originally from San Pedro de Cajas, and received their teaching training from surrounding cities. Escuela Alternativa had seven temporary professors and 13 students, children and adults, who worked during the day in restaurants, artistry shops, construction and the countryside. The alternative school was five minutes walking distance from the plaza and operated from five o'clock in the afternoon until eleven o'clock at night. I decided to survey and

interview students at the Víctor Andrés Belaunde public secondary school due to their maturity levels and formal school setting.

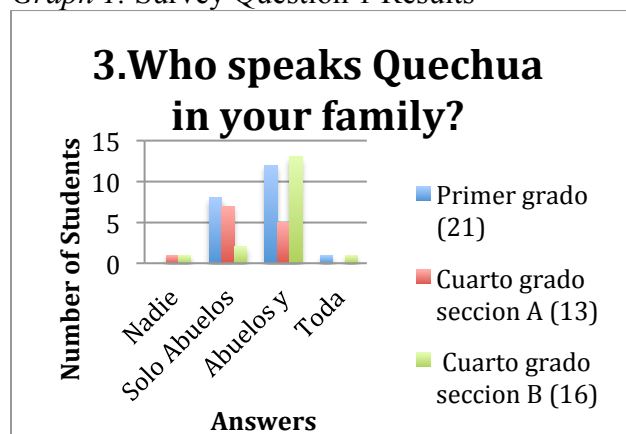
I spent three days in Víctor Andrés Belaunde secondary school with professor Mendoza and his three communications classes, in which students ages 12-17 years old were enrolled. During the three days, I observed his lessons and classroom interactions, distributed a five-question survey to 50 students and interviewed 12 students, as well as professor Mendoza and the school director. When professor Mendoza introduced me to the class on the first day he told the students they should not be ashamed to speak Quechua. Although Mendoza offered a safe environment for his students to practice Quechua, he still had to remind them not to be afraid to discuss the topic.



Graph 1. Survey Question 1 Results



Graph 2. Survey Question 2 Results



Graph 3. Survey Question 3 Results

*Graph 1* indicates that out of 50 students surveyed, only one stated that he spoke Quechua. Placed in context of the 2007 census, which claimed that 80% of San Pedro de Cajas spoke Spanish, and 20% spoke Quechua, these results showed that there is a smaller number of speakers of Quechua in this group than would be expected. The 2007 statistics suggested that there would be at least 10 Quechua-speaking students out of 50 surveyed. The presence of only one Quechua speaker could hint at the increased decline of Quechua within the past seven years. This low rate of speaking proficiency was not reflected in comprehension proficiency, where *Graph 2* shows that almost half (22) of the students said they understood all/or at least some of the Quechua language. Furthermore, *Graph 3* highlights that 30 of the students reported to have parents, aunts, uncles and grandparents who spoke Quechua. The fourth survey question asked the students if they wanted to learn Quechua and for what reason. All of the students answered yes to the question, because it was their ancestral culture and they wanted to speak with their grandparents. These findings mirror the results found in several case studies (Zavala, 2013; Howard, 2004; Manley, 2008) that found the status of Quechua in Peru as restricted to the private domains of the culture and household. Another striking survey observation was the fact that only three students believed there was an overall negative view of Quechua in San Pedro de Cajas; of those three students one of them was the only fluent Quechua speaker.

I chose a diverse range of 12 students to interview one-on-one based on of their survey responses and classified each student in one of the following categories:

1. Students who spoke Quechua (there was only one)
2. Students who spoke some Quechua and could understand it, and
3. Students who did not speak Quechua at all and could understand little to none

Student 1 immigrated to San Pedro de Cajas with his family in 2008. His family is originally from Chupan, a remote community outside of the town. Student 1 said all of the community in Chupan spoke Quechua, mainly because it is part of the countryside and the majority of the people worked in the fields with agriculture and livestock (Personal Communication, May 2014). Student 1 learned Quechua first and began learning Spanish at the age of 15 years old. His mother was a store vender and his father worked with agriculture in the countryside. When asked if he thought the view of Quechua was positive in the town Student 1 replied, “No, porque la mayoría de la gente habla castellano y pocos hablan quechua” (No because most people speak Spanish and few speak Quechua) (Personal Communication, May 2014). While Student 1 spoke Quechua in the household with his family, he explained that he preferred to speak Spanish in school and the community. Furthermore, he shared that he wanted to learn English to become an engineer and move to a different country. Student 1 expressed value of Quechua when he proclaimed, “Son bonitas, las palabras en quechua” (They are beautiful, words in Quechua) but, he also expressed value toward learning other languages to improve his social mobility.

Student 2a shared that her parents and grandparents spoke Quechua first at home and Spanish second (Personal Communication, May 2014). Student 2a was interested in learning Quechua because it is an official language of San Pedro de Cajas, but she stated that her parents wanted her to focus on Spanish learning. Student 2a also declared that she doesn't pay much attention to her parents and grandparents when they speak Quechua; her grandparents do not live in the same household as she does and her parents work during most of the day. All of these factors may have an influence on Quechua learning and comprehension within the household. Student 2a also revealed a cultural stigma attached to the Quechua language in the town:

“Cuando los borrachos hablan quechua es negativo porque conecta la lengua con la clase baja” (When drunk townspeople speak Quechua it is viewed negatively because it connects the language to a low social class) (Personal Communication, May 2014). Student 2b’s father spoke the Quechua regularly while working in the countryside; when Student 2b worked with his father he would try to speak the language as well. However, he stated, “Quiero aprender quechua sólo para hablar con mi familia, pero quiero aprender otras lenguas para viajar y obtener un trabajo” (I only want to learn Quechua to interact with my family, but I want to learn other languages to travel and obtain a job) (Personal Communication, May 2014). Student 2b hopes to move to Huancayo (Capitol of Junín) after graduation, and study business. Both of these students were surrounded by older generations of Quechua speakers, but did not learn the language for reasons concerning negative cultural stigmas and lack of educational and economic opportunity.

Student 3a’s parents knew Quechua, but did not speak it in the house or the streets because it did not have useful importance (Personal Communication, May 2014). It is important to note that Student 3a’s parents both worked in artistry shops in the town. San Pedro de Cajas is famous for its handicraft artwork and attracts tourists from around the world, mostly Spanish speakers. Student 3a said her parents believed it was more beneficial to learn Spanish and English instead of Quechua. She wanted to study aviation in a main city and learn other languages including French, English and Mandarin Chinese. Student 3b’s parents worked in construction and community shops. He claimed, “Sólo la gente de las afueras de la ciudad habla quechua por razones de cosecha y ganadería” (Only the people in the outskirts of town speak Quechua in harvesting and cattle raising) (Personal Communication, May 2014). He also expressed no interest in learning Quechua because it is not a recognizable language in other

places. Both students express little value towards QI learning because of its further restricted other Quechua-speaking regions and its cultural association rural farmers and peasants.

During the week I also interviewed two school directors and two teachers, all of whom provided historical context and opinions regarding the value of Quechua in San Pedro de Cajas. Estella Condor, age 59, the only professor at Virgen de Rosara, taught 12 students who resided outside of the town. The students' ages ranged from five to fifteen years old. Condor stated that none of the students spoke Quechua, but she continued to incorporate some Quechua words in her lesson plans and recreational activities. She shared, "Me encanta el quechua, es bonito y estoy orgullosa de mi vida chola"(I love Quechua, it is beautiful and I am proud of my 'chola'<sup>12</sup>, life) (Personal Communication, May 2014). When Condor spoke Quechua to her students they did not understand her and often asked her to speak Spanish instead. Condor believed that because the students didn't understand Quechua, they did not value it. When asked why she thinks the parents do not teach their children Quechua, she explained that when the parents traveled or migrated to surrounding cities in search of work or homes, the city residents did not understand Quechua and stereotyped its speakers as lower class, illiterate and indigenous.

Jorge Espinoza Ricalde, director of Escuela Alternativa (night school), provided further insight about historical events in San Pedro de Cajas that led to the decline of Quechua use and value. According to Espinoza Ricalde, the entire town became a battleground for the *Sendero Luminoso* insurgency group and the Peruvian army throughout the 1980s and early 1990s; it was a time of intense military intervention in the town to control the violence and terrorist acts. He believed the transition of authority influenced the influx of migrations to and from the district. When San Pedro de Cajas workers migrated to surrounding cities for increased protection, those

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<sup>12</sup> Spanish word meaning people of indigenous heritage who in many cases have some Spanish blood or at least who have adopted elements of Spanish dress, language, or culture (Dear, 2014).

who did not understand Quechua treated them poorly. Espinoza Ricalde remembered, “La noticia de hostilidad y tratamiento injusto viajó a San Pedro a través de cartas y visitas y encendió el miedo entre la comunidad de quechuahablantes” (Word of unfair treatment and hostility traveled back to San Pedro de Cajas via letters and visits and ignited fear amongst the Quechua speaking community) (Personal Communication, May 2014). He firmly believed there was a link between the decades of terrorism and migration and the decline of Quechua use in the town. In addition, state intervention during the time implemented a stricter governmental and educational system in the town.

The director of Víctor Andrés Belaunde Colegio, Norma Villegas Aviles, offered a different perspective of Quechua value than the previous teachers. As soon as I asked her if any of the students spoke Quechua she immediately responded “no”, but added that most students understood the language. She said both Quechua-speaking parents and the state are responsible for the decline in Quechua learning, because there are no materials or textbooks in the schools and the children do not practice Quechua at home (Personal Communication, May 2014). All of the classes in the secondary school were taught in Spanish or English, a result of globalization and migration to obtain employment (Personal Communication, May 2014). According to the director, the new trend was for youth, upon graduation, to move to surrounding cities to attend university or find employment. She further implied that today’s youth do not seek careers in agriculture, artistry, or livestock, but rather dream of becoming engineers, entrepreneurs, or lawyers. For this reason, she deemed it crucial to learn other world languages such as English and French. Villegas Aviles argued, “En esta época, los padres están contentos que sus hijos quieran aprender otros idiomas en lugar de Quechua...es importante para su futuro” (In this time

period parents are content that their children want to learn other languages instead of Quechua...it is important for their future) (Personal Communication, May 2014).

Professor Mendoza, the communications teacher at Víctor Andrés Belaunde Colegio, explained that in the local area, the young generation has stopped using their mother tongue and there is a shortage of 3<sup>rd</sup> generation speakers, who are slowly dying away. Mendoza argued that the government is responsible for the diminishing rates of Quechua use in society. Although the department of Junín promotes and implements IBE in various provinces, there was no Quechua such learning curriculum present in San Pedro de Cajas. Thus, “Ellos no sienten una conexión con el quechua” (The young generation does not feel a sense of connection with Quechua). Mendoza wanted to motivate his students to learn the language and expressed its importance beyond the household. He contended, “Un quechuahablante necesita más acceso al gobierno”(A Quechua speaker needs more access to government)(Personal Communication, May 2014).

All of the teachers and directors attributed the language shift process to historical contexts and globalization trends. Some even acknowledged the language planning efforts performed by the MINEDU to revitalize Quechua. Condor recounted the efforts of “Sabores Productivos”, the cultural program that sought to transfer Quechua knowledge from the older generation to younger generation through activities such as traditional medicine classes, cooking lessons and art workshops, to change the current views of Quechua. However, Mendoza hoped the Peruvian government would implement more programs that do not only fill traditional household and cultural functions, but also promote Quechua in economic and literacy functions. Villegas Aviles agreed that in today’s globalized society, Quechua language maintenance and revitalization initiatives must take place on all levels and in various sectors in order to increase its status(Personal Communication, May 2014).



**4.2.2. Language use in the family and rural community.** The central plaza had a very important role in my investigation of the value of Quechua because it was a place of many interactions between local citizens, especially merchants of various generations. Small grocery and artistry stores outlined the plaza. Every Wednesday, there was a food market in the plaza, where many people traveled from outside the town to sell and buy agriculture and poultry. It was common for many men, and an entire family at times, to travel to the rural ends of town during harvest and livestock season. Thus, San Pedro de Cajas is a place of constant immigration and migration. When youth graduated secondary school many traveled to the surrounding cities to obtain a better education or job. Within the town, Quechua was primarily used amongst the older generation, especially the women venders, who use the language to speak with each other and their customers from rural regions. Mendoza explained that it is common for men and their families to use Quechua in the countryside during *cosecha*, harvesting season. Quechua seemed valued in context with communication between generations of its speakers in the household and in the countryside. I interviewed two different families:

1. A multigenerational family (grandmother, mother and daughter), where the value of Quechua varied by age
2. A Quechua-speaking family that migrated to San Pedro de Cajas from the countryside

Family 1 included three generations of women: Louisa, the grandmother, Elsa, the mother, and Jessica Pamela, the daughter. Elsa, age 36, owned a small grocery shop in the plaza. She understood Quechua perfectly but only spoke it with her mother, siblings and customers. When I asked Elsa why she did not teach Quechua to her daughter, she answered, “Por la discriminación” (Because of discrimination) (Personal Communication, May 2014). Jessica Pamela, age 16, did not understand Quechua, but only expressed interest in learning the language

to speak with her grandma. Jessica Pamela also believed there was a negative view of Quechua; when people speak it, others judge them (Personal Communication, May 2014). Elsa said the first time she noticed a negative perception of Quechua use was, “En 1985, cuando yo era una niña en la escuela y había terrorismo y violencia en la ciudad” (In 1985, when I was a young girl in school and there was terrorism and violence in San Pedro de Cajas) (Personal Communication, May 2014). Elsa was part of the second generation who felt ashamed to speak their native language in fear of poor treatment by government officials and Spanish speakers. Elsa said she was at ease with the fact that her daughter did not know how to speak Quechua.

Although mother and daughter preferred not to speak Quechua, Louisa, age 60, loved speaking the language and proclaimed that she was proud of her culture. I observed her speaking Quechua in the market while interacting with her customers from the countryside. Louisa spoke her mother tongue freely in public and did not show signs of embarrassment or fear. All of Louisa’s five children could speak Quechua, but none of her grandchildren spoke the language. When asked why she hasn’t tried to speak Quechua with her grandchildren so that they would learn the language, she responded, “Porque sus amigos no lo hablan y sus profesores tampoco” (Because their friends do not speak it and neither do their professors) (Personal Communication, May 2014). She further explained that it is common for vendors to speak Quechua in the store with customers, or families to speak Quechua in the household. However, Quechua was valued less in the school and governmental functions. Louisa believed, “La única manera de conservar la lengua es si los mayores la practican con los jóvenes” (The only way to conserve the language is if the elderly generation to practice it with the young generation) (Personal Communication, May 2014).

All the members of Family 2 spoke Quechua daily. They migrated to San Pedro de Cajas in 2012, but regularly traveled to the countryside during the weekends and harvest season. The family was originally from Chupan, the same area where Student 1 and his family resided before moving to San Pedro de Cajas. I interviewed Carmen, age 32, the mother, and her two daughters, Natalia, age 9, and Alyssa, age 7. Unfortunately, the father was working in the countryside and was not available to interview. The two girls attended a primary school in the town, which taught handicraft trade skills. Carmen and her daughters' had strong Quechua accents when they spoke Spanish, which at times made it difficult to understand them. In addition the family's verbal interactions during the open interview revealed an interesting linguistic characteristic: the young girls often code-switched between speaking Quechua and Spanish. These unconscious actions suggested that Quechua was both valued and practiced daily within the family household.

All the family members learned Quechua first and Spanish second, but they preferred to speak Quechua. However, the young girls were restricted from speaking Quechua in school and had problems learning class subjects through Spanish instruction. For Natalia, it was difficult to learn Spanish in a formal school setting. She explained, "No entiendo todo...hablo quechua con mis amigos en la escuela cuando estoy cansada y ellos me ayudan a traducir mi tarea de castellano a quechua para que yo la entienda" (I don't understand everything...I speak Quechua with my friends in the school when I am tired and they help translate my homework from Spanish to Quechua so I understand it) (Personal Communication, May 2014). Natalia stated that she had eight friends in the town who speak Quechua, all of whom immigrated to San Pedro de Cajas from remote communities. Both Natalia and her sister, Alyssa, recounted numerous times when bystanders would give them hostile looks for speaking Quechua in the streets. Natalia mentioned, "A veces me dicen palabras discriminatorias. No les gusta mucho el quechua en la

comunidad” (At times they say discriminating words to me. The community does not like Quechua much) (Personal Communication, May 2014). When the family members spoke their mother tongue in Chupan they were not persecuted for their actions by others. However, in San Pedro de Cajas, a town with a history of state intervention and heavy migration, Family 2 has experienced sentiments of discrimination and prejudice from community members. Although the girls are forced to speak Spanish in the formal school setting, Family 2 still continued to speak Quechua freely in the household and community.

Lastly, I interviewed Rosa, age 83, and Gloria, age 78, in order to better understand the importance of Quechua use in the past and hear their opinions toward the current status of Quechua. Rosa’s first recollection of Quechua status change happened, in 1937, when the government authorities came from the center of Lima and mandated that San Pedro de Cajas citizens learn to speak, read and write in Spanish (Personal Communication, May 2014). Rosa, six years old at the time, only spoke Quechua. She had memories of MINEDU’s initiative to send foreign professors, who received their teacher training in nearby cities, to teach in the town via official Spanish instruction. Rosa shared, “La primera vez que me sentí avergonzada de mi lengua nativa y cultura fue cuando no comprendía a mis profesores que hablaban castellano en la escuela” (The first time I felt ashamed of my native language and culture was when I could not understand my Spanish-speaking teachers in school) (Personal Communication, May 2014). She admitted that in present day society she only speaks Quechua with other town elders and her family.

Gloria learned Quechua and Spanish at the same time during her childhood. She believed the meaningful value a person has of Quechua is vital for its conservation and indicated, the problem today is the lack of interest our youth have in learning the language...they prefer to

learn other languages (Personal Communication, May 2014). Gloria also expressed that she was saddened when she spoke Quechua to her grandchildren and they did not understand her. When asked why her grandchildren did not want to learn the language she answered, “Porque los profesores no permiten el aprendizaje ni la práctica del quechua en la escuela, entonces, los niños no entienden su impacto en la sociedad ni el conocimiento cultural histórico empaquetado dentro de la lengua” (Because the professors do not allow the teaching or practice of Quechua in the school, so the children do not understand its impact on society nor the historic cultural knowledge packaged within the language) (Personal Communication, May 2014). Gloria further explained that it is difficult to translate specific Quechua words to other languages because it was a very detailed language. Therefore, language planning efforts to preserve Quechua use may also aid in the conservation of Peru’s natural resources and the historical knowledge of traditional medicinal practices, harvesting methods, and nourishment techniques.

#### **4.3. Evaluation of Language Planning Efforts and Attitudes in San Pedro de Cajas**

The previous sections in the present chapter illustrate the current sociolinguistic reality of San Pedro de Cajas. As discussed in Chapter two, Fishman (1991) argues that physical, social and cultural dislocations within the historical context of a minority speech community contribute to the decline or improved status of the native language. Physical dislocation occurred in the town through violent actions of both *Sendero Luminoso* and the Peruvian armed forces, which killed many civilians and left many others displaced. State intervention in the town instilled negative ideologies toward Quechua use in the public domain. The Peruvian government imposed stricter regulations in the school system and municipal offices. During the 1980s and 1990s, residents of remote communities migrated to San Pedro de Cajas to seek protection, while San Pedro de Cajas citizens migrated to cities in search of greater opportunities. The violent

events contributed to the physical dislocation of Quechua in the decline of population and governmental actions to impose Spanish use in formal and informal settings.

Social dislocations of Quechua use have been the most prominent in the region mainly because over half the population lives in poverty. As discussed in interviews with teachers and community members, the first wave of migrants from San Pedro de Cajas experienced hostile treatment and discrimination for speaking Quechua in urban cities. Migrants who continued to practice their native language instead of Spanish were less likely to receive educational and employment opportunities. Presently, not only do younger generations want to learn Spanish, they also want to learn other global languages including English, French and Chinese. As previously mentioned in interviews, the majority of today's youth leaves San Pedro de Cajas after completion of high school to travel to surrounding cities to seek individual prosperity. Parents of the second generation do not force their children to practice Quechua because of the minimal functions they perceive it to serve in Peruvian society.

According to Fishman (1991), modernization and democratization constitute cultural dislocation risks in that they erode cultural differences and lead to universal dependence on the dominant majority culture (p. 63). Since the start of migration from San Pedro de Cajas to surrounding urban cities, Quechua speakers' shift to Spanish-Quechua bilingualism has evolved. Now, children learn Spanish as their first language, and the majority does not learn Quechua as a second language at all. Since Spanish is viewed as the superior language associated with work, progress, education and politics, even Quechua-Spanish bilingual speakers opt to speak Spanish rather than their native tongue. All of the students interviewed expressed hopes to become engineers, lawyers, entrepreneurs or fashion designers. We must acknowledge two implications of these answers: first, all of these professions require further education, which is not available in

San Pedro de Cajas, and second, none of the professions match those of the parents' occupations (agriculture, handicraft work, pastoring). Quechua was used and deeply rooted within the lifestyles of the parents and grandparents because it stored descriptive knowledge about the fertile lands, harvesting techniques and artistry. Not only are today's youth seeking more technical careers in urban city centers, they are also assimilating to cultures that currently provide more opportunities than Quechua.

After comparing Peru's national and Junín's regional language maintenance and revitalization efforts in chapter three, and analyzing the sociolinguistic reality of Quechua in San Pedro de Cajas in the present chapter, we can now evaluate current status of Quechua through the Stewart's (1972) language functions model. First, Quechua serves an *official function* due to the enactment of both the 1993 Constitution and Law 29735. The 1993 Constitution declared Quechua an official language, but only in zones where the language was predominately spoken. Law 29735, for the preservation, development and revitalization of indigenous languages, recognized Quechua as an official language but only allowed official use of it in government entities when monolingual speakers are not capable to communicate in Spanish. Junín's 2008 ordinance legally recognized Quechua as one of six official languages in the department, serving a *provincial function*. Although both *official* and *provincial* functions are necessary for the success of Quechua maintenance and revitalization in Peru, they contribute more to symbolic status than practical measures. Despite these legal acknowledgments of Quechua, the majority of citizens in San Pedro de Cajas prefer to speak Spanish, and youth also prefer to learn global languages, such as English. Therefore, language-planning agents must be cautious about the Quechua maintenance methods they seek to implement; if indigenous youth prefer to learn and

speak Spanish to gain advantages in society, language planners must work to promote the value of the Quechua language and mainstream its common use in society.

Presently, Quechua does not serve a *capital* function in San Pedro de Cajas, because it is restricted to home and cultural domains. This results in a negative impact on its status. Although MIDIS' development initiatives and the Peruvian Ministry of Economic Development have started to increase awareness of the value of Quechua culture and language in the economy, few policies and initiatives have been implemented in Junín, and even fewer in San Pedro de Cajas. The current attitudes of first and second generations toward Quechua learning reflect the government's neglect of the use of minority languages in the country's economic agenda. In addition, Quechua's *literary* function seems almost non-existent in San Pedro de Cajas, with the exception of the book *Ollantay* used in Mendoza's communication class. Although production of Quechua learning material and software have increased at a national and regional (Junín) level, none of the schools in San Pedro de Cajas were supplied such resources, nor do they possess the funds to purchase them. Quechua speakers in the town speak QI, which makes it more difficult to access literary materials due to academic and government support of QII.

Quechua serves a partial *group* function in San Pedro de Cajas and its surrounding communities. For the moment, speaking Quechua remains mostly a regional issue, and it is primarily spoken in the rural Andes. Many interview subjects discussed their use of Quechua in the household or countryside, both informal settings. Both Family 1 and Student 1 came from a periphery community of San Pedro de Cajas, where Quechua was the primary language. However, the shift towards Spanish is affecting many regions today because Quechua speakers and their offspring are congregating and settling in urban city centers. As mentioned in chapter three, mobilization and participation in indigenous grassroots activism has increased awareness



about Quechua identity and preservation throughout all regions and levels of government. In San Pedro de Cajas, the use of Quechua to fill the *group* function is the first step necessary to maintaining and revitalizing the language. Without the awareness of Quechua's positive impacts on society and the benefits for learning the language, Quechua-speaking groups will continue to slowly decline in transmitting the language to future generations.

Lastly, Quechua fulfills both *school subject* and *education* functions on a national and regional scale. As discussed in Chapter three, the state has proposed it mandatory for public and private university students to take a Quechua language class in order to obtain their professional degree. In addition, reforms to IBE content and curriculum has been made in order to provide service to native Quechua speakers and Spanish speakers. The department of Junín currently has IBE institutions and MIDIS educational programs in place to increase awareness of Quechua history and culture. Unfortunately, IBE has not been implemented in San Pedro de Cajas, but MIDIS has developed and funded educational initiatives to promote the importance of Quechua knowledge and value of the older Quechua-speaking community. Although the programs created positive community feedback, some interview participants expressed the need to implement more permanent Quechua programs, which focus on Quechua's value in educational and economic domains.

Peru's national and Junín's regional governments have implemented some Quechua maintenance and revitalization policies and programs; however, the current sociolinguistic reality of San Pedro de Cajas represents the failure of the state to support all of its rural districts. San Pedro de Cajas citizens are still experiencing the aftermath of the violent civil war and hostile state intervention, which halted the development of social programs. Today, very few social, economic or political programs implemented on the national and regional level are

executed in San Pedro de Cajas. For this reason, many young citizens view learning Spanish and other foreign languages fundamental for social mobility. Although the majority of the young interview subjects do not hold a negative view of Quechua, they do not actively value it by learning or speaking the language. Furthermore, the disconnect between generations' attitudes of Quechua make it difficult for the community to mobilize and fight for increased preservation of the language. Social, governmental and economic factors have led to the decline of Quechua status over the years. Therefore, governmental initiatives alone cannot revitalize the Quechua language; local indigenous communities, global markets, and educators also play a role in the maintenance and revitalization of Quechua.

In conclusion, the present chapter illustrated the current sociolinguistic reality of Quechua in San Pedro de Cajas, which seems mostly unaffected by Peru's national and Junín's regional language planning efforts. Although both governmental levels established and implemented Quechua maintenance policies and programs over the past decade, progress in the preservation of Quechua is being made slowly. Rural Quechua-speaking regions seem to be the most difficult to reach due to their location and priority needs. As previously discussed, the past and current statuses of Quechua are linked to larger, political, economic and attitudinal forces. Thus, the destigmatization of Quechua must be brought on by both "top-down" and bottom-up" language planning efforts. Therefore, to increase the status of Quechua in San Pedro de Cajas, the state must improve social conditions for the indigenous community and encourage coexistence of Spanish-Quechua learning in the academic setting; it is up to San Pedro de Cajas citizens to not only speak Quechua, but speak out on behalf of Quechua to convey its functional importance in Peruvian society.

## Chapter 5: Conclusion

Since the beginning of the Incan Empire, Quechua has developed and stored knowledge and culture within its language functions. These language functions include, but are not limited to, extensive knowledge about Andean geography and its natural resources, handicraft and technical skills, agricultural and gastronomy techniques, and mythical and historic accounts. Furthermore, the language also serves as a speaker's ability to constitute their sense of cultural identity. As a result of the colonial and republican mechanisms of domination, Peruvian society has stigmatized Quechua, an impoverished language, and restricted it to domestic and informal use. Therefore, the subordination of Quechua speakers to the dominating Spanish culture is the fundamental cause of their impoverishment. For this reason, Quechua language planning efforts are vital for the survival and development of the language and its people.

My first research question sought to find and compare Peru's national and Junín's regional directives and initiatives for the maintenance and revitalization of Quechua. I then drew upon my interviews, observations and surveys conducted in San Pedro de Cajas to answer my second research question regarding the current sociolinguistic reality of the value of Quechua in context with these policies and initiatives. All of the language planning efforts discussed in the previous chapters show the existence of governmental entities at national and regional levels, which are engaged in the development and implementation of language policy. Some conclusions about the current value of Quechua in Peru may be drawn regarding the status, corpus and acquisition planning efforts created and implemented by the governmental institutions. Peruvian society in general places enormous prestige on literacy, academic and economic endeavors. Peru's national and regional governments have established extensive legislature and media campaigns to improve the status of Quechua, but place less emphasis on

literary initiatives. Thus, a stronger message must be conveyed that Quechua is a language worth knowing and using, matched with a growing literary output. Although many Quechua speakers themselves cannot read or do not have access to resources, a literary tradition in Quechua would improve its status and availability among a dominant Spanish society and its own speakers. It could also increase its use in governmental and academic realms.

In order to increase Quechua literary functions, corpus planning is necessary to assess debates over written standards for the development of educational and publishing purposes, and with respect to the potential impact on language attitudes. As discussed in chapter three, Quechua speakers themselves discriminate against other Quechua dialects that are not their own. The controversy between the national government's standardization of QII instead of QI, in alphabet and learning material, has left many QI speakers further marginalized. However, Junín's regional government focused on QI corpus planning efforts to fit the needs of its citizens; it has held workshops for educators to propose various methods for creating and distribution academic textbooks and software. At the national level, providing a common means of communication across Quechua varieties could help reinforce the similarities of the speech community and construct a stronger social unity among the presently divided population. According to Cerrón- Palomino (1996), the first priority must be extending and developing written Quechua in every domain of use, rather than on regulating its writing to such a degree that it impedes use (p.53). Therefore, an all-encompassing standard of QI and QII should be established at the national level, while the practice of a distinctive dialect of Quechua should be permitted within the regional departments.

Acquisition planning is a key component in the success of both corpus and status planning because it seeks to increase the number of users of the language, through various

educational and social programs. Peru's national acquisition planning efforts have focused on both intercultural-bilingual education and intergenerational transmission programs. However, these programs and initiatives have only focused on promoting positive attitudes toward the use of Quechua within the Quechua community and not among the dominant Spanish-speaking community. In addition, following the "top-down" approach, these programs and funds are slowly moving outward from city centers to rural department capitals and districts. In San Pedro de Cajas, IBE curriculum and funds are not available, and only recently have language revitalization programs been implemented to increase Quechua's domains of use. Only time will tell whether all the recent efforts and initiatives to maintain or revitalize Quechua intergenerational transmission, education, codification, expansion of domains of use, etc. will be successful.

As a result of my San Pedro de Cajas case study, I determined that in order to reverse language shift, a combination of both government power and resources along with the support of the speakers of the minority group affected is imperative. The lack of Quechua educational, social and economic programs implemented in the town reflects the endangered language's scarce domain of influence, which in turn impacts speakers' negative attitudes towards its daily use. It is apparent that the town is still experiencing the aftermath of terrorism and state intervention, and the recent accelerated migration trend of youth to urban city centers. It is Peru's national and Junín's regional responsibility to provide an infrastructure of policies and programs to support the Quechua-speaking community. However, government support alone cannot aid in the maintenance and revitalization of a Quechua. The attitudes and actions of local government officials, elders, professors and families alike in San Pedro de Cajas contribute to the collective effort to preserve Quechua. As we have noticed in chapter three, the efforts of regional

governments and grassroots indigenous activism groups have pressured Peru's national government into enacting laws and providing a stage for Quechua youth and older generations to have their voices heard. These language-planning agents seek to co-exist with Spanish-dominant governmental institutions and modify, not destroy, current language policies and initiatives.

In conclusion, qualitative research and case study hint at the three possible courses of action the government can take in order to maintain or revitalize the Quechua language. The simplest and more realistic method for Quechua preservation is that it becomes a "ritual language", like Hebrew for American Jews. This method would allow indigenous people, whose ancestors spoke Quechua, to learn it in school, but its use would be restricted to certain functions such as listening to oral traditions or reading texts, or utilized as a tourist attraction. Therefore, Quechua won't be a living language. Another method seeks to establish the mainstream practice of bilingual Spanish-Quechua education in Peru, so that even Spanish speakers start learning and speaking the minority language. However, this method can be both expensive and time consuming; it is also unlikely because Spanish has been recognized as Peru's official language since the Conquest.

Finally, the third method calls for central and regional governments, along with international organizations, to make significant investments in the social and economic development of the areas where Quechua is spoken, so that residents in those areas could continue to individually progress and work with other Quechua speakers, preserving the language as a living language. Quechua-speaking areas with a thriving economy and stable infrastructure have the most potential to produce Quechua-speaking lawyers, doctors, engineers, businesspeople, teachers, etc. This third method is most effective and desirable route for preserving the language and culture. However, it presents difficult challenges because Peru does

not have infinite funds and resources to massively invest in all Quechua-speaking regions.

Therefore, efforts (method 1) to preserve Quechua as a “ritual” language can provide the first steps for maintaining the language within domestic or cultural domains, and can later develop to achieve Quechua presence in other domains of influence. Regardless, the Peruvian government and language planners must remember that language and culture are inseparable entities.

Therefore, in the same manner that language-planning efforts can raise the social status of a minority-speech community, tangible benefits (economic, educational, political, etc.) that improve the overall livelihoods of the Quechua community, can improve the status of the minority language.

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