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Institute of Political Studies

Department of International Relations

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**QUECHUA LANGUAGE EDUCATION AND POLICIES: A COMPARATIVE
ANALYSIS OF COUNTRIES**

Master's Thesis

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Declaration

1. I hereby declare that I have compiled this thesis using the listed literature and resources only.
2. I hereby declare that my thesis has not been used to gain any other academic title.
3. I fully agree to my work being used for study and scientific purposes.

In Prague on
29.04.2024

Prathamesh Deshpande

References

(APA Style)

Howard R., (2009) – *Education Reform, Indigenous Politics, and Decolonisation in the Bolivia of Evo Morales* – *International Journal of Educational Development*

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Abstract

The Quechua language, spoken in the Andes region, is the most widely spoken indigenous language. Across Argentina, Bolivia, Colombia, Ecuador and Peru, the varieties of the language are spoken in varying amounts. However, across space and time, it has faced endangerment due to external and internal factors. As a result, it has been imperative to take measures to revive and revitalise the language. Language planning is the key in laying out a plan for the future, in terms of how Quechua would plan to make a comeback. The objective was to study the governmental policies and the work of educational institutions, which have all been necessary to implement the plans for language revitalisation. It was found that the nature of the implementation varied from country to country, owing to their national backgrounds, the history of social classes in the given countries, as well as how the respective policies have worked. Additionally, within the countries, case studies were examined, as they were either successful cases of revitalisation, or provided insights as to what could be done better in the future. An interview with a native speaker was also conducted. The advent of globalisation, and also digitalisation had a key role in reviving Quechua. However, coordinated efforts from the governments, non-governmental actors and the people are necessary for sustaining the progress achieved.

Abstrakt

Kečuánština, kterou se mluví v Andách, je nejrozšířenějším domorodým jazykem. V Argentině, Bolívii, Kolumbii, Ekvádoru a Peru se mluví různými varietami tohoto jazyka. Napříč prostorem i časem však čelí ohrožení v důsledku vnějších i vnitřních faktorů. V důsledku toho bylo nezbytné přijmout opatření k oživení a revitalizaci jazyka. Jazykové plánování je klíčem ke stanovení plánu do budoucna, pokud jde o to, jak by se kečuánština měla plánovat, aby se vrátila zpět. Cílem bylo prostudovat vládní politiku a práci vzdělávacích institucí, které byly nezbytné pro realizaci plánů na oživení jazyka. Bylo zjištěno, že povaha realizace se v jednotlivých zemích liší, a to díky jejich národnímu zázemí, historii společenských vrstev v daných zemích a také tomu, jak příslušné politiky fungovaly. Kromě toho byly v rámci jednotlivých zemí zkoumány případové studie, protože se jednalo buď o úspěšné případy revitalizace, nebo o poznatky, co by se dalo v budoucnu dělat lépe. Byl také proveden rozhovor s rodilým mluvčím. Klíčovou roli v oživení kečuánštiny sehrál nástup globalizace a také digitalizace. Pro udržení dosaženého pokroku je však nutné koordinované úsilí vlád, nevládních subjektů a obyvatel.

Translated with DeepL.com (free version)

Key words: Quechua, language, policies, education, indigenous, history

Klicova slova: Kečuánština, jazyk, vzdělávání, politika, domorodé obyvatelstvo, historie

Czech Title: Vzdělávání v kečuánském jazyce a politika: Srovnávací analýza zemí

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I. INTRODUCTION

Quechua language is spoken by around 10 million people across the Andes, depending on the sources. Sources like WorldData.info would mention 8.5 million, while Indiana University Bloomington's Center for Latin American and Caribbean Studies states the number to be over 13 million. It is largely spoken in nations such as Ecuador, Perú and Bolivia, as well as parts of Colombia, Chile and Argentina. In each of these countries, different varieties of the language are spoken, which can sometimes be mutually unintelligible to one another. Given the background of the respective countries, the status of Quechua as a language differs, also owing to the different political and social systems of the countries. While in Perú and Bolivia, it is an official language, its status is semi-official in Ecuador, which is why they have been the most researched countries in this context.

However, below the surface, the subtleties indicate that its situation is quite different from what one would find in other languages of the same type. Even for a language with millions of speakers Quechua is still an endangered language, owing to cross-generational language shifts happening within the Andean nations (Adelaar W., 2014). The researchers of the situation have analysed the reasons pertaining to low usage of Quechua, and have proposed strategies to make it better in the future.

There are several ways of looking at the topic, given its complex nature. Therefore, an interdisciplinary method is necessary, with which we can understand the historical, sociopolitical, socioeconomic and sociolinguistic and other contexts of the areas where the language is spoken. It is both a societal and political matter regarding the language, therefore the sociopolitical and sociolinguistic factors are the most important while examining the state of the language in the given countries. For example, in the realm of international politics, it is also important to recognise the political context of the Latin American region in the 20th century, and eventually, the turn of the century. In this case, it is more about the politics of the Andean region. In all the cases, it is one thing to formulate a policy, another thing to implement them and also to see the public attitudes towards the same.

Therefore, it is not enough to study the politics in isolation. It is also important to examine how things are on the ground, with respect to impartation of education. This allows us to examine the attitudes towards the indigenous languages and the broader issues associated with it.

II. RESEARCH QUESTIONS/RESEARCH TARGET:

The aim of this study is to highlight the situation of the Quechua language from a cross-disciplinary and comparative study of the regions where it is spoken.

Given the situation, what efforts are being taken in order to revive and revitalise the Quechua language in the respective countries?

To what extent are the governments responsible in Quechua language education?

What is the role of non-governmental actors and factors like creating awareness and digitalisation in reversing language shift?

III. DEFINING TERMINOLOGY

By **Quechua**, the intention is to include what are also called as the “Quechuan languages”. With their existence dating back to thousands of years, Quechuan include the variants spoken across the Andes, whether it refers to the Inga in Colombia, or Quichua/Kichwa in Ecuador, or the one spoken in the heart of the Peruvian Andes, the Runasimi, spoken by the common people. During the historical part, it includes Classical Quechua, spoken in Cuzco, the capital of the former Inca Empire.

In terms of **education**, it includes not only formal education, but also awareness campaigns and classes outside the education system created for revitalisation, documentation and digitalisation of the Quechua language for their specific purposes. This includes bilingual education, mostly spoken in the contexts of Quechua and Spanish in schools within all these countries. This is extremely crucial in order to examine the impact of policies within the system and common life. In present day, awareness of the language is spread through new actors like social media and the influencers, who promote the language. While that cannot be the only factor to examine education, it plays a crucial role in calling attention to the contemporary issues with respect to the language and the indigenous peoples of South America. Apart from that, academics and intellectuals are a crucial part of language planning, which makes their views crucial when analysing the policies in a comparative manner.

Attitudes towards the language range from how the language is viewed in terms of indigeneity, as well as remarking the state of attitudes about the language over a period of time. It is about the general mindset of various people towards themselves while speaking the language, or viewing others who speak it. Attitudes differ from nation to nation, given their different backgrounds in all fields. In some cases, like this one, attitudes can also change over time, and policies can play a role in it.

Language shift means the social phenomenon where the speakers of Quechua have shifted towards Spanish due to social and political reasons. This has mostly occurred across generations, and due to other respective reasons like for example urbanisation and migration to those areas, where Spanish is more common.

Policies include not only the politics of the named countries, but also about what the details of the laws look like. The course of action is implemented on a governmental level, or in a broader view, on the level of international organisations, as reflected in the case of organisations that work for the cause of indigenous peoples. In those cases, it is noteworthy how policies look like, in comparison to the respective laws in international fora. It is also to mention how the situation is on the ground according to, or in contrast to the policies thereof.

IV. LITERATURE REVIEW

The given sources mention about the situation of the language in the regions with difference in the attention given to details. While a few give a general overview, others back up the overview with the help of case studies of either one country, two or three or even can include all countries where Quechua language is spoken.

Earlier in 1996, a paper on language revitalisation in the Andes was published. There the authors highlight the similarities as well as differences between language maintenance,

language revival, language revitalisation and reversal of language shifts. While, they have discussed each of their respective definitions, they have used the latter two words almost interchangeably. Here, two case studies of Bolivian 1994 Constitutional Reform and the Intercultural Bilingual Education in the Ecuadorian Highlands were included. The latter is a prime example of a “cross-generational shift from Quichua monolingualism to Spanish monolingualism”, that occurred in the second half of the twentieth century. This has been well illustrated with the example of how in Saraguro, there has been a rapid urbanisation and a subsequent education of children in Spanish. A shift across generations was observed, from Quichua dominant elders, to young adults and young children being monolingual in Spanish. They further mention the efforts to reverse this trend by the alternative schools like Inti Raimi, where students are taught more hands-on based activities. Their critical analysis concludes that while improvements could be made in certain areas, the usage of Quichua and the methods of teaching have led to favourable attitudes among young students towards the language. Quichua has been taught in schools, but differences have risen as a result of teaching “Unified Quichua”, which differs from the speech of the elders. This has created a situation of diglossia, where there is difference between written and spoken variety of the language. The authors state that more immersion efforts would be needed in this case. It’s an example of illustration of how things on the ground differ, despite introducing policies friendly to the natives. However, this case along with the other help in understanding the efforts of reversing language shift. In the case of Bolivia, the authors admit that despite the reforms, decisions can still be made in urban parts of Bolivia, where monolingual as well as bilingual students of different languages like Spanish, Quechua and Aymara undergo language shifts due to the education received. There is also a great mention of teachers as one of the main stakeholders in this reform, given that many of the policies were implemented on a governmental level. (Hornberger & King, 1996)

Later on, a similar paper on language revitalisation was published in 2004, this one focusing more on language planning. Hornberger and Coronel-Molina state how Quechua is an endangered language, despite having millions of speakers, demonstrating the need for language reversal, language revitalisation and the relevant language planning. Compared to the previous work of literature, this one goes into further details of why language shifts happen in the first place. One fine instance is that of Fishman’s dislocation in physical/demographic, cultural and social contexts. As seen in the previous paper, policies themselves may not suffice in language revitalisation efforts. Therefore, apart from constitutional planning, the authors have also included mass media and literary works into the equation of planning. In addition to the ‘status planning’, corpus planning like orthographic, grammatical and lexical standardisation are also represented in order to note efforts towards reclaiming an identity. While describing these factors pertaining to the Quechua language, countries like Colombia and Argentina are also included, while difficulties in obtaining data about the situation in Chile are noted. Therefore, apart from the constitution of Bolivia, provisions regarding bilingual education and indigenous rights are also written for the other three countries, where Quechua speakers are a relatively tiny minority. Governmental efforts are mentioned, but their limitations are also highlighted accordingly, given that the implementation of policies is also crucial. Accordingly, the names of Quechua language-based organisations working in several sectors are all given, right from governmental to international UN-based organisations and NGOs. (Hornberger & Molina, 2004)

The specificities of initiatives are mentioned in Kvietok and Hornberger's paper, which talks about the establishment of several organisations and institutions pertaining to Quechua within the countries, like Quechua Para Todos (QPT) in Lima, Perú and Oralidad Modernidad in Ecuador, which pertains to revitalisation and documentation of Kichwa language. Other examples include those which are outside of the Andean region, located especially in the United States. The authors cite the examples of Quechua Collective of New York, the Kichwa language radio program Kichwa Hatari and the May Sumak Kichwa Film Showcase. This has been largely attributed to the Quechua diaspora, which has been taking the language's revitalisation efforts abroad. Their research also talks about history being made by Roxana Quispe-Collantes from Perú, who in 2019 completed and then defended her doctoral dissertation in Quechua, the first ever dissertation in the language. (Kvietok and Hornberger, 2022)

Haboud and Limerick discuss the evolution of the respective indigenous movements, especially with regards to intercultural bilingual education. Their focus is on Bolivia, Ecuador and Perú in the Central Andes, and the steps taken in terms of policies, as well as education of Quechua language. In the examples of Bolivia and Ecuador the principles behind the respective political plans have been explained in Quechua itself - Suma Qamaña in Bolivia for the Plurilingual Intercultural Intracultural Education (EIIP) institutionalised by the 1994 Bolivian Constitution. Moreover, Sumak Kawsay (good living) in Ecuador by President Rafael Correa has been an example of Ecuador's own constitutional reforms. Apart from that, role of political leaders in Bolivia and Perú is also highlighted, with President Siles and recently, Evo Morales in the former, and General Velasco Alvarado and Alberto Fujimori in the latter. This has allowed the authors to make a smooth transition to the laws introduced during the respective eras, right from 1975 to 2011. An overview is also given to the fact how the periods of respective leaders led to reform or even mobilisation among the given countries' populations. However, despite this, the conclusion is that problems persist, and more could be done for an intercultural education, which is characterised as very relevant to go beyond official recognition. (Haboud & Limerick, 2017)

A similar comparative analysis of Ecuador, Perú and Bolivia is made by Howard, as she starts off with statistics, explaining the contemporary situation of the language in the given nations. It is an important analysis of factors like the number of Quechua speakers, while also a comparison of them with the respective political situations, for example, reforms in countries like Bolivia, explained with the help of Bolivian Census of 2001. Other aspects like the geographical, historical and the socio-economic ones are also discussed, as Howard also talks about Quechua monolingualism and Quechua-Spanish bilingualism, that varied from countries and socio-economic classes. Furthermore, she goes on to underline why Bolivia faced less stigmatisation to indigenous language, back in decade of nineties, even if urbanisation increased like the two other countries. Like other previous papers, this paper also highlights the role of the state in policymaking and their implementation, as well as how the situation shapes up in daily life of the natives. The state makes use of legal instruments and education policy, but on a societal level, it is shaped by education as well as the attitudes of people towards the language. (Howard, 2011)

Following is a set of the literature, which focuses on an individual country, and addresses some gaps in terms of details. This is done by providing more insights into the individual

countries, as well as weighing on the debates on the respective issues, like in the case of Bolivia.

The research on the aforementioned Saraguro has also been done by King and Haboud, especially in the context of globalisation and the international migrations of Ecuadorians, and their effects on the indigenous languages, especially Quichua in this case. The migration to the United States and Spain is discussed, as especially the latter had not been a barrier in terms of language. The authors also discuss the possibilities, which make language acquisition more likely and give the example of children living with their Quichua speaking grandparents, therefore socialising them into speaking the language, and therefore, the associated values as well. There are also mentions of policies and laws pertaining to intercultural bilingual education. In terms of language, the authors also mention the rise of English as another language that is learnt due to its association with future opportunities. (King and Haboud, 2011)

In a paper published in 1997, Coronel-Molina also focused on Quechua in Perú in the field of language policy, more specifically on status planning as compared to corpus planning. While writing the review, he describes how the other authors talk about status planning, as well as the historical/colonial aspect in the decline in usage of Quechua, and the instilling of Spanish as the dominant language of communication, therefore leading to a situation of diglossia. Moreover, the shame of being an indigenous person, as well as Quechua being associated with this identity leads to further linguistic asphyxia/shame. Further examples are written about authors who talk about a similar reality in the broader Latin American context. This all is particularly important while considering the attitudes towards daily usage of an indigenous language like Quechua. In the sociopolitical context, he highlights some functions that Peruvian Quechua serves while some functions that it doesn't, on which Coronel-Molina gives a detailed analysis. He concludes by stating both sides of the story, of how on one hand, Quechua is endangered, and possibly headed for worse given its condition. On the other hand, he also points out the reasons for optimism for Quechua given its group and provincial status. He also puts forth solutions to current problems to boost the status of the language, also mentioning however the drawbacks that prevent such things from happening presently. (Coronel-Molina, 1997)

Rousseau and Dargent, while beginning their essay make a noteworthy comparison between Bolivia and Perú. Bolivia is said to be an example of bottom-up ethnic mobilisation, while Perú, despite having a larger indigenous, and in turn Quechua population, had a fragile movement. Later on, it is noted how different approaches, e.g., rational choice approach can be a perspective towards language policy choices made by state authorities. Meanwhile the authors adopt a historical institutionalist approach to explain the link between language, ethnicity, polity and history. Therefore, they give an evolution of the situation of the language under different regimes in Perú, right from the colonial times to the present day. The crucial role of institutions is also given, in order to explain the role of the system, and the connected policies in the overall development. Later, the process of legislation, and the subsequent new laws coming into effect are described. The laws were implemented on a subnational level, which is attributed to decentralisation of policy implementation. As a result, they explain the role of governments at a national and regional level, as well as international and non-governmental institutions in terms of linguistic rights. (Rousseau & Dargent, 2019)

Ajacopa gives an overview of the language, and therefore sheds light on the linguistics in the Bolivian context. In the initial part, he describes the social roles of language, which gives an insight into how the Bolivian social mindset has been made up with regards to Quechua. It is noted how language in general shapes up one's perspective from childhood. Accordingly, it becomes a means of communication, and later, a source for one's identity, and thus, one makes a decision on its usage in real life. This point becomes particularly relevant in the case of Bolivia, where the identities range from monolingual to trilingual. This connection is further made by Ajacopa while explaining the three stages of language perspective, namely monolingualist, bilingualist and trilingualist stages. From only Spanish to including other languages like Quechua and Aymara, there is a mention of Intercultural Bilingual Education, which was also adopted in other countries. But it is mentioned how the Bolivian case was unique, with indigenous President Evo Morales at the helm, as a whole decolonisation process began to take place. Despite the mention of trilingual stage, the author talks about the 36 official indigenous languages, that were included during the era of Morales. Later on, a precedent to language maintenance, revitalisation and planning is provided in the form of plurilingualism, referring to the Plurinational nature of Bolivia. Normalisation, normatisation and standardisation are three words used to summarise what the results of these policies can lead to. (Ajacopa, 2013)

Decolonisation in Bolivia has been analysed in detail by Paul Hilborn, starting with laying foundation of the concept itself. He then goes on to describe the global context of the term, where he notes the effect of the broader term in the context of Bolivia as well. The cultural and linguistic aspects are mentioned to be important in the case of Bolivia, as he cites the example of African nations. In this context, the new education laws introduced from 2009 are seen as a part of decolonial education, as the author cites other literature to explain the decolonisation process. Quechua and Aymara are referred in the context of struggles of indigenous peoples especially in the rural settings. A brief mention is also made of Suma Qamaña (good living), as it is sacrificed in favour of economic growth through means of market, especially in areas like urban settings. The paper mentions Quechua mostly in the context of the Quechua ethnic group, more than the policies and education that centre around the language. This becomes interesting given that the Quechuas are described as a group that are improving economically, while their language is not necessarily in a similar situation. (Hilborn, 2014)

Finally, a point is also made by Luykx on the future of Quechua. She starts off with a question in context of Hornberger and Molina's work, which talks of testing the validity of assumptions made about Quechua language planning. Therefore, she elucidates and deals with those assumptions one by one. First is about the link between standardisation and the revitalisation of the language. There she gives the example of the Inca Empire, when the language flourished as the lingua franca despite the absence of standardisation. This highlights not only the oral nature of Quechua, but also the limitations of the approach to bring it on par with Spanish through written means. Additionally, the limitations of standardisation are highlighted when the standard language may not reflect the spoken varieties, thereby raising orthographic challenges in this case. Further, she questions about the full effectiveness of education and media in promoting the language. A conclusion is made that a coherent language policy promoting Quechua is currently not present, Quechua

resistance is ignored, therefore more can be worked out in several fields, which are interconnected. (Luykx, 2004)

V. CONCEPTUAL FRAMEWORK

Quechua language and its varieties have been included into the study as an indigenous South American language. Languages like Spanish and Aymara have been included as per relevance, but their mentions in the scope of this paper are minimal. The Quechua language has been apparently thriving as compared to the other indigenous languages in Latin America, and therefore sets up an example of an indigenous language. On the other hand, it is also important to study how the language differs in its usage, and how the situations on paper and on the ground coincide or differ. Therefore, this paper will focus on the interrelation between language shift, education, policies and politics with respect to the Quechua language in the respective countries.

The paper will primarily focus on the policies regarding the Quechua language, as well as its state of education. This would include the politics that centred around not only the mentioned Andean countries, but also broadly the Latin American region. For example, in Perú, the government of Velazquez Alvarado was crucial in making Quechua a recognised official language in Perú. Later, the policies of Alberto Fujimori also led to the promotion of indigeneity, which further promoted the language. Therefore, other aspects like culture and lifestyle of the Quechua speaking peoples in the respective countries will find brief mentions whenever necessary. Linguistic concepts like Fishman's dislocations and language shift are necessary to get to know more about the reduction of use of Quechua, and the role of society and politics in it. All of this will be necessary to consider in the context of the events happening around the world, namely globalisation, and the increased involvement of private, non-state actors.

The dawn of the digital age is crucial in analysing the differences between the status of Quechua language before and after globalisation. In addition, it is important to clear the correlation between globalisation and the adoption of changes in the countries to be mentioned in the paper. After all, international events have played an important role in making the information of indigenous cultures and languages available in the mainstream, and accessible to anyone.

The mentions regarding countries will mostly revolve around the main Quechua speaking ones in the Central Andes, namely Ecuador, Perú and Bolívia, with short mentions of the other countries as deemed necessary. The number of Quechua speakers has been declining, given the declining usage in daily situations. Given this situation, measures have been taken to revitalise the language within all the countries. In countries like Perú, this has been happening despite there being policies in place. Therefore, there is a need to also study the measures taken by relevant persons to bring the language back in daily life.

Due to the efforts of the natives and outsiders, Quechua centres have also been established, and records in Quechua language have become more evident. Therefore, given the amount of available Quechua material, several established organisations and the will of the natives who made this happen, the language is thriving in terms of the literature.

VI. EMPIRICAL DATA AND ANALYTICAL TECHNIQUE

The data has largely been from research papers and articles, including news articles on the topic. This includes literature right from the end of the twentieth century to the present day. This has helped in shedding light on the fact that the research done on the topic can be compared with the help of timeframes to look for any trend over a period of time. Apart from the governmental policies, the role of and the data from non-governmental organisations has also been examined.

On a general scale, all the methods employed in this research paper are qualitative methods given the contextual scope of the paper, which involves minimal use of numerical data. These methods specifically concern referring to secondary sources and analysing the respective texts. One of them is qualitative text analysis, which includes a critical overview of the articles on Quechua language, especially with respect to scope of this paper. Accordingly, various papers and news articles were examined and interpreted. The articles examined include those which concern various topics. As a result, the interpretation of those topics is based on the subjects themselves, due to which the paper gets an interdisciplinary nature. Despite of this, there are a few recurring patterns, which help in understanding the gist of the thesis. Therefore, 'policies', 'education', 'revitalisation', 'language' and the respective Quechua speaking countries are the key words.

The data was derived from online searches, where articles were available on websites like JSTOR, Academia and ResearchGate. Some of the articles were accessed using the Charles University Login. Apart from that, information was also sourced from other relevant websites. Most of the articles were in English, while a couple of them were in Spanish language.

Case studies have been made regarding several topics pertaining to Quechua language, with examples from the three main countries, viz. Ecuador, Peru and Bolivia. These case studies have helped in analysing the ground situation of the language, and the effects of policies, as well as the practise of intercultural education. Moreover, case studies from different cities across countries made up for a better comparative analysis.

Another method was that of an interview. The interview was conducted with a native speaker for Quechua with relevant consent. This was done for data collection, in order to back-up the case studies with the help of a primary source material. The speaker's words were translated from Spanish to English. A handful of life stories have been briefly included, to present the state of the language and its revitalisation efforts. This has been done with the help of citing news articles, where native speakers have shared their experiences.

All these sources have been used to answer the research questions. Several sources from various fields have helped in establishing the interconnection across disciplines. Having views on the topic from different sides have been crucial to get an idea as to how the debate shapes up regarding the status of Quechua language on a policy level and in daily life.

VII. EMPIRICAL-ANALYTICAL SECTION (BODY)

Figure 1 - Map showing the distribution of Quechua speaking peoples



Source: https://upload.wikimedia.org/wikipedia/commons/f/fa/Quechuan_distribution.svg

The data for Quechua speakers in Brazil is not available, hence was not covered.

A) BACKGROUND

Quechua is not a single language, but a set of varieties of the same language across the Andes. The language has existed several years before the arrival of the Incas. Therefore, even when we talk of Quechua as the lingua franca of the Inca Empire, we are talking about Classical Quechua. The distribution of the Quechuan language speakers in various countries can be found in Figure 1.

The Inca Empire helped in the spread of Quechua language, through policies which were designed to not only help expand the language's influence, but also to manage the rebels within the respective territories. The Quechua speakers of today are considered as descendants of the same Incas. Therefore, the variety spoken in Cuzco is still considered as the purest form of the language by some sections. Later, the Spanish introduced the Roman script, which made the first written forms of Quechua available to the Quechua speaking people, as the language was transmitted orally throughout centuries, a trend which continued in the modern day, especially in the times and regions, where Quechua education was unavailable. (Domingo Z., 2022)

Regardless, the language, in all its forms had continued to be one of the symbols of resistance against the Spanish conquistadors, during the time of colonisation. The fact that it has managed to survive in the millions until today is reflected in the ongoing resistance, despite the imposition of Spanish several centuries ago. Since then, the language has undergone transition from Latin alphabet introduction during pre-independence to standardisation post-independence in the nineteenth century. (Tarjeta SIM de Perú, 2023)

Today, it falls in the category of a vulnerable or endangered language while still having millions of speakers. We can see this pattern in several of the world's indigenous languages. Such is the case applicable for countries like Perú, where the language is spoken by around 14 percent or 4.5 million people. Furthermore, it has the status of an official language within the country. However, as we will see, there are reasons for why it is still a language which is not immune to the obstacles that come in the way of other indigenous languages. In the process, the phenomenon of language shift is highlighted, for which Adelaar (2014) uses the word "intergenerational rupture" to refer to the fact that a particular younger generation may refuse "to learn the language any longer or is discouraged from doing so". All of this is referred to as an internal turmoil within the indigenous populations by the author, given the fact that language shifts are happening within families. Migration is cited as another issue by the author, as he refers to the case of Perú, where Quechua speakers are no exception to migration to urban areas. It is important to note that despite the significant numbers of migrants to large cities like Lima and Callao, it is the triumph of percentage of Spanish speakers and the social perception of Quechua language that are some of the factors that are decisive in giving Quechua the minority and endangered status. Furthermore, there is also the 'shame' associated with speaking the language from generation to generation, which further exacerbates the issue. Another issue is reflected within the map of the several Quechuan languages. Not only is there a difference between the different variants of the language, but the speakers of the languages are scattered in varying amounts across the countries, which creates a discontinuity between the language speakers. It is interesting to note that in addition to this discontinuity, there is a possible disunity, given that the question of linguistic purism (of Quechua belonging to Cuzco being the pure and standard one) persists. Therefore, there

are several reasons of why the language remains in a crisis state, despite having millions of speakers. Adelaar goes on to highlight the problem of having numbers by one's side, by saying that "large speaker numbers seem to reduce the sense of urgency." Furthermore, the language is not as documented as one would expect it to be, despite the initiatives taken to spread awareness. This is along with the missing internal motivation to take the relevant measures to conserve the unique heritage of the language, since the expectations of the people are mostly on the outside factors, mostly political, as observed in the case of Peru. (Adelaar W., 2014)

On the other hand, if we take the broader view of indigenous languages, unlike other ones within South America, Quechua appears to be thriving. Therefore, it presents a great case study, as a result of the contrasts between endangered and thriving. On one hand, it is an endangered language, while on the other hand, the language continues to be spoken across the main countries. Quechua is also being learnt at the University of Pennsylvania in the US, which contributes to its spread among non-Quechua speaking people. Additionally, despite of Spanish colonisation, to quote Stunell, "the Quechua language and traditions still flourish today" (Stunell L., 2023).

Among the given countries, particularly Ecuador, Perú and Bolivia, Quechua speaking peoples become one of the "common points". Quechua language becomes relevant in the context of indigenous languages, and more broadly, in the context of indigenous peoples' rights in South America. Therefore, indigenous issues need to be taken along with the other disciplines like those of language and cultural practices. Accordingly, it helps in understanding the society and the associated politics regarding the common people, who may or may not be given the necessary attention. When we look at the legal context, protection is provided to these indigenous peoples through the United Nations Declarations on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples (UNDRIP). Adopted by the UN General Assembly on 13th September 2007, the declaration has so far been approved by all Quechua speaking states except for Colombia, which has abstained on it. (United Nations)

The most relevant in this case is the Article 1, which states, "Indigenous peoples have the right to the full enjoyment, as a collective or as individuals, of all human rights and fundamental freedoms as recognized in the Charter of the United Nations, the Universal Declaration of Human Rights and International Human Rights Law." (OHCHR).

In the context of the United Nations, it is also important to note that 2019 was the "International Year of Indigenous Languages". In the same year, the Resolution A/74/396 was passed in the UN on the recommendation of the Permanent Forum on Indigenous Issues. Moreover, today in 2024, this matter is more important than ever, given that in the UN in 2019, 2022-2032 was then recognised as the International Decade of Indigenous Languages. As a result, it also becomes relevant to pay attention to languages like Quechua, which on one hand lie in the same endangered category, but on the other hand are also providers of a good example of survival throughout centuries of troubled times (United Nations Department of Economic and Social Affairs).

As in the case of the countries, it's not only the national and regional governments, but also the international and non-governmental institutions which are important in the formulation, implementation and protection of linguistic rights. Linguistic rights have rarely been on the

agenda in terms of political will, and “have not been the central issue” in the Latin American context (Rousseau & Dargent, 2019).

B) IN THE ANDES: AN OVERVIEW

In the context of Andes, the Quechuas become a relevant group, being demographically the largest indigenous community in the entire region. They practise several occupations and culture in general, depending on the region they are in. With the help of their mother tongue, they portray a rather unique indigenous perspective, whether it was reflected in their Quipu tradition, or with the chewing of coca leaves, which helps in higher altitudes in the Andes mountains.

Their indigenous worldview was represented during the times before and during the Incas, as they practised the local traditions, whether it was about worshipping the deities in nature or their ancestors. Even after the arrival of Catholic Christianity through the Spanish, the reverence of Christian beliefs is done in the form of maintaining the elements of their old beliefs, and practising syncretism of a kind that probably has a few parallels in the world, as seen in the examples of several regions in Europe and elsewhere retaining their pre-Christian traditions in their festivities. In other fields like arts, the original indigenous culture can still be seen, e.g., in architecture and fields like handicraft, dressing and other customs passed down from their ancestors (Rojas A., Johnson B., Ross K., Laux Borba M., McKenzie F. & Machado Borba T., 2018)

However, as seen earlier, the situation was and is dire enough to take a look at what the issues facing the countries were. The aforementioned elements of indigenous culture were not exactly taken in a way that reflects the diversity of the respective countries, which will be discussed in their individual examples. In this case, the language becomes a key part of the verbal expression of what indigeneity consists. Therefore, a few linguistic terminologies also need to be taken into account.

The most important of them is language shift. One of the famous examples used in the context of language shift is Fishman’s intergenerational shift, measured through Joshua Fishman’s 8-Level Graded Intergenerational Disruption Scale (GIDS). The shift is applicable here in the case of whether parents speak to their children in the family’s mother tongue, here Quechua, or not. Furthermore, it is also a reflection on individual choices as well as ‘societal’ and ‘institutional’ factors, which contribute to whether languages are passed down. Paul Lewis and Simons (2010) contrast this scale to UNESCO’s Language Endangerment Framework and state that while the latter provides a “richer set of categories at the weaker end of the scale”, the former provides a more detailed insight on languages not deemed as endangered by the latter. Further, they shed light on Ethnologue, which has another way of classifying languages that shed light on language endangerment and revitalisation”. Later, they expand Fishman’s GIDS into what is called as EGIDS, where we can look at what stage a particular language is at (Paul Lewis M. & Simons G., 2010). In the case of Quechua, we can observe that currently depending on several factors, the language is present at several levels - National, Regional, Educational, Written, Vigorous, Threatened and Shifting. This is what constitutes a complex situation to decipher. Depending on the nation, region, times and in terms of difference between policies and on-ground situation, the status of Quechua varies

greatly. In the case of Bolivia and Peru, we can see that the language is official on a national level. In the case of Ecuador and Colombia, the language is official in the regions where it is spoken. It is learnt through education in countries like Bolivia, especially in the regions where it is spoken. Similarly, it is also found in the written format, and can make a difference in countries like Bolivia in the upcoming generations, if Quechua education continues. The Vigorous, Threatened and Shifting levels can be found as per situation in countries like Peru, where the people may choose not to speak the language, due to the embarrassment associated with it. Similar phenomena can be found in Ecuador, to some extent Bolivia in the past, as we will further see. Moreover, the impact is also important, given that only understanding the language is not enough. Therefore, whenever generational comparisons are made, it is important to note how much the speakers know and speak Quechua, through formal or informal education.

When we discuss intergenerational shifts, some of the reasons for include: opportunities that the new language offers, the problems/stigma associated with the previous one, and the overarching events like globalisation and modernisation, which draw migration towards urban areas, in this case, predominantly Spanish-speaking areas. In order to reverse intergenerational language shifts, several measures can be taken, one of which is called “language planning”, as a roadmap is made to bring the language back to life (Hornberger and Molina, 2004).

Language revitalisation efforts are spread right across the Andes in all countries, and the ways of handling the problem may differ. For example, top-down approaches are reflected in national educational policies, as seen in Bolivia. Meanwhile, bottom-up approaches are seen in the case study involving Ecuador made by Hornberger N. & King K. (1996)

It is relevant to note that the revival of Quechua is a part of reviving ancient indigenous worldviews. An example of that is “Buen vivir”, called as Sumak Kawsay in Quechua in Ecuador and Suma Qamaña in Aymara in Bolivia, meaning “good life” in the local variants of Quechua. As evident, it is not only language which is part of indigenous mindset, but language itself can shape the indigenous mindset. In this particular instance, even if the translation to English and Spanish is so, the connotation in the original language carries the original ideal. The ideal is not only about a good life, but a life close and one with nature, and honouring the collective society and its ancestral roots. Therefore, in a material and consumerist world, it hopes to provide a different view towards lifestyle in general, as well as towards concrete issues like economics and politics of a nation (Coral-Guerrero C., García-Quero F. & Guardiola J., 2021).

C) ECUADOR

Introduction

An event pertaining to the Kichwa people in the area of Sarayaku was highlighted in the media, when the case against the state of Ecuador was taken in the Inter-American Court of Human Rights. Submitted on April 26th 2010, the specifics of the case concerned the grant of permission to a private oil company by the Ecuadorian State “to carry out oil exploration and exploitation activities in the territory of the Kichwa Indigenous People of Sarayaku in the 1990s, without previously consulting them and without obtaining their consent”. Research

was also made to establish the facts about the communities of the Kichwa group in various regions like the Amazon Basin, where testimonies were collected from the locals to confirm them as the victims of the state policy. The Court also stated the facts about the Kichwa community, which in this case belongs to the Canelos-Kichwa group in the province of Pastaza. This came along with information that the place was ‘sacred’, where if someone else could enter, it was the “Yachaks” (shamans). Therefore, there was no basis for carrying out any other activities by other outsiders, in this case, the state, when the people were already “recognized as the Original Kichwa People of Sarayaku through a statute. In the end, the Sarayaku people were identified as the “injured party” and relevant reparations in several forms were asked by the Court to be paid to them, and accordingly, such things were not to be repeated again. Therefore, this case can be said as one of the landmark events in terms of the Kichwa people of Ecuador (Inter-American Court of Human Rights, 2012).

The variant of Quechua, known as Kichwa or Quichua in Ecuador has a semi-official language status in the country. In some regions of central and southern Ecuador, it is still described as Inga, especially by the elder generations (King K.& Haboud M., 2002). Nonetheless, it is comparatively a less known, and less spoken variety of the language, as compared to Bolivia and Peru. Kichwa and Shuar were established as official languages of intercultural relations, as mentioned in the article 2 of the Constitution of Ecuador. (Haboud M. and Limerick N., 2017)

When it comes to the on-ground situation, Kichwa-speaking populations and Kichwa as an ethnic group may not always mean the same, since not all of the Kichwa people speak the language. (Knapp G., 2019) The notion around being an indigenous person carries some negative connotations, as illustrated by Haboud (2002), in his example of the word ‘runa’, whose connotation in society has been that of referring to ‘poor’ people. This is despite the fact that in Quechua, the word ‘runa’'s denotation is used to refer to ‘people’ in the normal sense of the word.

Case study: Saraguro

With the town being very close to the Pan-American highway, Saraguro also formed a case in terms of socioeconomic interpretation of what language goes through, and the impact of language shift. There was a clear shift observed between the generations, as the eldest generations had been found to have spoken both Kichwa and Spanish, while the younger generations could only speak the latter, and yet, were part of the same community, for which language is one of the main identifiers. With this happening, the Inti Raimi school was established, and the effort was seen as the one trying to revitalise the language. This is evidence that the schools were present, and there was no lack of educational will which contributed to language shift. However, the case of the students needed to be examined, as they were found speaking Spanish rather than Kichwa amongst themselves. The reason lied with the parents, whose attitudes towards the language were favourable, but they could not pass it on to their next generations as one would wish. Then there was a bit of uncertainty on what is known as “Unified Quechua”, which was taught in schools as the standard variety of the language was mixed with Spanish. It was a matter of concern, given that it differs from how the Saraguro variety of the language is spoken. This again raises the topic of the ‘purity’ of a language, as well as what languages the governments need to introduce in order to make

learning comfortable. However, the efforts of the community were lauded by the authors, given that they took the efforts to revive the language in one way or the other. The younger generation, despite of their differences with the elder ones in terms of the language, can speak it, and that is a marker of success (Hornberger N. & King K, 1996).

King and Haboud (2011) also studied Saraguro in their paper, also mentioning the case of Unified Quichua and the differences between generations. Additionally, the town is described in the context of its closeness to the largest commercial centre in the region. Therefore, the closeness to the town is a determinant of how much Spanish or Kichwa is spoken, with the latter reducing as a result of language shifts. As for the situation within the families, a trend of using Spanish words is observed frequently, and while Kichwa/Quichua is also used, there are some gaps between the older and younger generations on what is known as. This has created a situation of diglossia, where a difference between written and spoken variety of the language was observed. Furthermore, there were internal factors like strife within the country at the time of the 1990s. Similarly, there were external factors like new opportunities outside the country, which resulted in emigration to nations like Spain and United States. Similar to the earlier instance, the authors accept the ongoing sense of self-identity among the community (King & Haboud, 2011)

Education and policy planning

In the Ecuadorian state, initial efforts towards the wider recognition of indigenous languages were made in the 1980s, as the nation was on the way to taking steps towards transition in its policy towards the indigenous peoples. Article 27, which was put in 1983, mentions imparting bilingual education in indigenous languages like Quechua, whose essence is mentioned as “the use of native languages as first languages of education and the use of Spanish as a second language of intercultural communication” (Hornberger N. & King K, 1996).

The Confederation of Indigenous Nationalities of Ecuador (CONAIE) established the National Directorate of Intercultural Bilingual Education (DINEIB) in 1988. In it, contributions were made by the Center of Research for Indigenous Education (CIEI) at Pontifical Catholic University of Ecuador in Quito (Haboud M. and Limerick N., 2017).

While in the constitution of 2008, specifically in Section Five Article 27, the words such as ‘intercultural’, ‘democratic’, ‘diverse’ and ‘inclusive’ are mentioned. The specification of this is further mentioned in Article 29, where it is given that anyone is free to “learn in their own language and cultural environment.” (Republic of Ecuador – Constitution of 2008)

On a final note, it is important to note that bilingualism in Spanish and Kichwa is present, but it may not be the same for all generations. The generational differences also need to be taken into account, in order to realise why there are obstacles in having a unified view on what the ‘problems’ of Kichwa speakers are. Rindstedt and Aronsson (2002) highlighted this in the case of San Antonio, where the bilingualism is also about mixing the two languages in common speech. During the analysis of languages spoken across generations, a loss of purity in Kichwa, and a shift towards bilingualism with ‘mixture’, as well as Spanish monolingualism was observed. This is despite the measures taken for the revitalisation of

Kichwa, which signals that some changes may still be desired in the direction of maintaining the language in local interactions (Rindstedt C. & Aronsson K., 2002).

Changes

Physical changes are one point, in the context of Quechua speakers. Knapp (2019) has illustrated this with the help of several maps. In those maps, the status of Kichwa speakers has been highlighted as per the conditions of those times. This ranges from the minor indigenous movements in the 1950s and 1960s to major one in the 1980s. An eastward shift in the language speakers, towards the lowlands was observed. (Knapp G., 2019)

However, we can also find other changes. As the indigenous movement was gaining pace since the 1980s, more changes were to come in the coming decades. The CONAIE was an instrumental organisation in the process, which involved the indigenous people. The struggle of the indigenous communities aimed for a higher goal than just getting bilingual education. It was about more autonomy to the lands of the indigenous peoples, and demands concerned the creation of a “Plurinational State”, given the amount of diversity of indigenous peoples within the country. Several references have been made to former President Rafael Correa, whose mentions start from his time as the Minister of the Economy of Ecuador, where his positions on issues converged with indigenous interests (Jameson K., 2011).

Later with him at the helm, his Presidency was characterised by the adoption of measures to bring more reforms to the country. Those reforms were not only in economics, but also in the field of education, as one of the public universities *Yachay* (knowledge) was named in the Kichwa language (Haboud M. and Limerick N., 2017)

Moreover, ‘Sumak Kawsay’ was the adopted as the policy by President Correa, and as steps towards decolonisation were taken, this perspective was supposed to be crucial. However, Altmann (2017) doesn’t actually see it only in the political sense, since the concept carries more to it. Therefore, the policies pertaining to it from the top, need to be seen as a result of the indigenous movements from the bottom (Altmann P., 2017)

Opinions on the socio-political changes in Ecuador may be varied, but from the side of the community, there are more examples apart from the highlighted Saraguro case, which prove that the governments aren’t the lone actors in the process of revitalisation and revival of the language.

Awareness

The aforementioned instance of Saraguro states that education and the efforts taken to preserve the linguistic identity constitute an important part of creating awareness of what the language is about.

Kvietok and Hornberger (2022), noted a few initiatives based on Quechua, as well as Kichwa, which have been based out of Ecuador, as well as abroad. These locations have been are the physical part of the broader term “implementation spaces”. Some of them include Oralidad Modernidad and Kichwa Hatari has been a radio programme run in the Quechua language (Kvietok & Hornberger, 2022).

The outreach of Kichwa to New York was through the Cornell University itself, where a native speaker named Soledad Chango teaches the language to her students, despite the initial challenges she faced. Along with that, the openness from the side of the university, and the promotion of Kichwa are noteworthy. (Kumar P., Yuan I., Maslova S., 2021)

D) PERÚ: AN INTRIGUING EXAMPLE

Introduction

The Quechua language has the greatest number of variants in the nation of Perú. The Quechuan people are spread across the Andes Mountain regions. The Quechuas also form the largest indigenous group in Perú, whose existence predates the Incan Empire itself. (Aracari Travel, 2019)

There are plenty of phenomena that are not easy to grasp at first glance, such as the instance of owning the Incan culture, but not the “Indian” or indigenous one. Cecilia Mendez G. (1996) wrote this in the *Journal of Latin American Studies*, stating the historical connotations associated with the indigenous peoples. The incidents she refers to date back to the Confederation times (1836-1839), as the ‘Indian’ identity became a matter of stigma with respect to the leader Marshal Andrés de Santa Cruz, whose mother was of Aymara descent. This contrasts to history, where empires made by the indigenous, like those of the Incas are seen as symbols of a ‘glorious past’, while the indigenous of those times were not viewed so. As a result, the race-based class system introduced by the Spaniards was furthered while referring to the indigenous peoples’ position in the system, with respect to the “creoles”. This happened while the indigenous connection with the Incas was severed in discourse and politics. The term Mendez also refers to the usage of the word Andean or ‘andino’, also mentioned as a concept, which is rather ambiguous, given the differing individual definitions on it. Therefore, it is difficult to state what an Andean point of view would look like, whenever it comes to discourse or policies (Mendez C., 1996).

Perú makes up for an intriguing case study in terms of Quechua language/Quechuan languages. Even if Quechua is among the official languages of the country as said in the constitution, the attitudes towards the language vary from unfavourable to slightly acceptable. The same can be said about the Quechua speaking peoples spread across Perú. Similar to the situation in Ecuador, the people identifying themselves as Quechua need not necessarily speak the language. Around 8 million identify as Quechua, while 4.5 million speak the language, according to 2007 estimates, which itself indicates the distancing of the community from the spoken language (UNHCR, 2007).

Status, policies and planning

Mass immigration happened into the urban areas and in the process, a few observations have to be made in the case of how migration and social integration plays a role within the communities. An example is that of land. Social classes still constitute a major part of the society, as socio-economic inequality also remains an issue. Therefore, the continuation of the Spanish introduced class-system was not limited to the post-independence era, but remains a question until today, even in the times of globalisation.

(Rojas A., Johnson B., Ross K., Laux Borba M., McKenzie F. & Machado Borba T., 2018)

Another case can be made of the former Peruvian Prime Minister Guido Bellido, who gave a speech in Quechua on August 26th 2021 with the words, “We have suffered for 500 years. We walked through hills and snowy peaks to arrive here in Congress, and have our voice heard”. During this speech, Bellido was asked to stop and translate, to which there were no translators available (Brinceño F., 2021). This reflects how Quechua is not exactly favoured within the Peruvian structures, as compared to within the constitution, where it has been given the same status as Spanish, as an official language. This example is relevant, because even at the level of Prime Minister, the position of Quechua is not accepted. Therefore, in the case of Peru, problems if not start, definitely end at the top.

However, the government is just one part of the mechanism, as new actors have surfaced in keeping the language relevant, especially in literature. There are several people who have ensured that Quechua has remained an active part of the literature emanating from Perú, some of whom include Sonia Luz Carrillo, Reynaldo Flores, Teófilo Ruiz and others (Tarjeta SIM de Perú, 2023).

Moreover, in 2019, it was Roxana Quispe-Collantes from Perú who became the first person to defend her thesis in the Quechua language itself. This was at the National University of San Marcos, where she completed her doctoral degree in Peruvian and Latin American Literature. Given this incident's international reach, it fully gave Quechua a place in the academia, because earlier, all of the dissertations about Quechua were in other languages. This was a first to be written on the language in the language itself. Equally incredible was her achievement to get 20 as grade, the highest from the examiners, which shows the commitment to quality content in an indigenous language, and making it known. (García Calderón G., 2019)

This was also a great precedent for those looking for primary sources pertaining to Quechua language, and Roxana could not have found a better place to initiate than in the heart of the Andes and Quechua speaking world, in Southern Cusco.

Policies of governments differed according to the situation at hand. Most relevant in this case is General Juan Velasco Alvarado, who initiated agrarian reforms in the late 1960s and later the 1970s as well. In 1975, under President Alvarado passed the Decree Law 21156 was passed, where Quechua was declared official language. However, the situation did not remain the same after his removal from power. Later, internal conflicts between the government and the Sendero Luminoso (Shining Path) guerrillas took place in the 1980s, in what was the height of the Cold War. Under President Alberto Fujimori, recognition was provided to Quechua and Aymara under the Constitution of 1993. At that time, there was a beginning of globalisation, along with the decline of Communism with the fall of the Soviet Union. Therefore, it allowed neoliberal theories to flourish and be implemented across the world. Foreign investments saw an increase during this period. Later on, in 2011, under President Ollanta Humala, the Prior Consultation Law was approved, relating to indigenous communities, whose consent would be required in case of land. 2011 was also the year of the introduction of “Law of Preservation and Use of Languages” or Law 29735 (Haboud M. and Limerick N., 2017)

Education

The Decree Law 21156 in 1975 was a significant step towards the recognition of Quechua language in Peru in the first place (Haboud M. and Limerick N., 2017).

On a policy and education level, language planning is very essential in order to map out the future for the given language. In the case of Quechua, the only aim is not to revive the language, but to maintain and preserve it in daily settings. Since many varieties of Quechua can be found in Peru, the issue of standardisation, written and spoken forms, and implementation of existing regulations are some of the relevant factors.

On one hand, we have corpus planning, which is a work of individuals with experts on linguistics, and is better suitable for matters like standardisation. As discussed before, the linguistic purism of Quechua being standard in the city of Cuzco is currently debated. However, this matter is also a part of status, since it discusses the status of a language with respect to varieties it consists. Status planning is also a part of governmental policies, as it deals with whether or not legitimation is given to a language within the society, e.g., making the language official, as seen initially in Peru in 1975 under Gen. Alvarado with Quechua. On a fundamental level, it is necessary to realise the functions of language in several domains, for which Coronel-Molina (1997) states 10 of language's functions, and does state that Peruvian Quechua "clearly doesn't serve all of these functions, although it does fulfil some of them". This basically concludes with the fact that while the status of Quechua may be limited in some areas, the fields where it possesses the status keeps it going (Coronel-Molina, 1997).

Other suggestions are made by Brisson (2009), who mentions how Quechua education will benefit the whole country in terms of not only feeling proud of its roots, but also to be informed and skilled in their work for the country. During the course of the paper, it is mentioned how more freedom to Quechua speaking communities could actually be beneficial. As he lays down the point, he uses examples of other countries, like Spain and India, where varying levels of autonomy have been given to the regions which have their own languages. In general, the proposal is a combination of several fields to create a whole system around Quechua language promotion for the advancement of the nation itself (Brisson D., 2009) -

For that, it is essential to address the distance/gap between the indigenous and their non-indigenous peers in terms of education, where the latter may currently have an advantage. In this context, it is important to examine the policies from the side of the government, like the impact of programs pertaining to intercultural bilingual education. A report was published on the bilingual education in Perú in the journal called "Economics of Educational Review". The findings state the difference between indigenous students studying in Quechua versus Spanish medium schools. In this case, it was found that those in Quechua medium had higher standard deviation score in subjects like mathematics. However, the issue is that of materials supplied to such programs, which has apparently stalled the necessary progress (Hynsjö D. & Damon A., 2017).

This highlights the fact that while programs have already been in place, there are more suggestions than compliments on the current measures, indicating that Quechua-based education in Peru may still have a long way to go.

Figure 2 – A map of Peru and its cities



Source: https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Peru_Base_Map.png

A comparative analysis of cities and towns

An analysis of these Peruvian cities and towns is needed in order to compare the attitudes of people towards Quechua language. Following comparisons are based on the respective papers that have been published on each of the individual places. The map of cities is given in Figure 2 for reference.

1. The case of Lima

Back in the days, even the movements and discourses against Marshal Andrés de Santa Cruz were from Lima, given that the “commercial elites” were from the capital city. The defeat of the Confederation also emerged from the alliance of Chile and the same elites, as a result of

which it does occupy an important place when studying indigenous issues of the past and present (Mendez C., 1996)

Given the rise of urbanisation, a migration pattern is observed from the highlands to the big city, and during the process, a loss of Quechua language is found. Therefore, even if in terms the numbers may look high, the percentage is found to be one of the least at 5.5% (Howard R., 2011).

A sample population of Lima becomes an important example, given Lima's status as the capital of Perú. Therefore, a study of attitudes towards the languages Spanish and Quechua was made among native Quechua speakers in Lima, who originally also came from other cities. Therefore, there's more to the backgrounds and their local variants of Quechua. These reports were published in the year 2010 (Holliday N., 2010).

In it, comparisons are made between how the people of different ages view the language in three fields: in the society, in business and in the family. These three constitute very important factors of the society. Moreover, an average person is likely to have different language-based attitudes to the places given the different atmospheres in the given places, e.g., language used towards family members versus language spoken to other people, and to people at work will differ. In all fairness, as much as the study talks about the social aspect, it also discusses the individual attitudes towards the language. After all, social influence is just one part of what shapes personal attitudes.

To quote the author Holliday (2010), "The participants who noted that their parents encouraged them to speak Spanish in the home as children have the highest rate of use of Quechua in the home as adults". This observation makes the matter interesting, given that *a priori* assumptions could be opposite, given what we discussed in the part of Peru in terms of policies. However, the graphs make it clear that as generations passed by, more and more people thought that their children would and should speak the language. Similarly, the attitude towards Quechua in business was mixed in the younger generations, as compared to the older ones, but they aren't less favourable either. On a general level, it is also important to note that attitudes don't necessarily equate to usage of Quechua. In conclusion, language shift may still be an issue, but it is not to that extent, thanks to the relatively positive attitudes of younger generations. (Holliday N., 2010)

2. The case of Puno

In contrast to Lima, Puno is located more in the interior. But similar to the case of Lima before, the question of attitudes towards Quechua is highlighted in the case of Puno, by Back (2004). Quechua has been found to be spoken in informal contexts, as a result of the negative attitudes of speaking it in institutions, as well as publicly in general. Hesitation and reluctance can be found from the parents' side when enrolling their children into schools where bilingual educational programmes are common. Apart from Intercultural Bilingual Education, another known case in Peru was the Experimental Bilingual Education Project (PEEB), whose implementation continued for 11 years. However, a formal education, which also involves being literate in Quechua is not seen as favourably in the community. This is despite the fact that the young students are more likely to speak Quechua back at home. However, Bilingual Education programmes may have slightly changed the unfavourable views of Quechua language in the public (Back M., 2004)

3. The case of Cusco

As the former capital of the Inca Empire, the case of Cuzco is necessary to examine. The city is also home to the Academia Mayor de la Lengua Quechua del Qosqo (AMLQQ) or the Higher Academy of the Quechua Language of Cusco, whose purpose was to preserve the Quechua language in its standard form (Runasimi Inka), along with the “development of literature in the language and linguistic research”. The academy was founded under the Law No. 25260 of 6th June 1990, in order to be the centre of promotion of Quechua, different from other language academies, which were based in their regional settings. However, the academy has had to come a long way since this law in order to get the status of today, as it finally got the desired legal status long demanded for more than a decade (Academia Mayor de la Lengua Quechua).

Lieutenant Mayor Silvia Uscamaita Otárola, as of 2017, was trying to set up new programmes and initiatives, which would revolve around the promotion of Quechua language (Kuoda Authors, 2017). More organisations in the city include the Asociación Pukllasunchis. Another example is that of CADEP or Centro Andino de Educación y Promoción (Hornberger & Molina, 2004).

An analysis of the Quechua peoples of Cuzco was made by Mark Schneider (2019) for his thesis. In that paper, an interesting mention is of the use of Quechua for the purposes of communication in daily life, but also for tourism, given that the city is traditionally famous within the region. The detailed study involved several parameters like ethnicity, religion, gender, age, class, family background and so on, and with the help of surveys, a lot of data was collected regarding the same. Out of those, background, ethnicity, lower class had correlations with speaking or not speaking the language (Schneider M., 2019). This indicates the importance of passing on Quechua to the future generations, and also shows how classes are still relevant in the Peruvian society, when it comes to studying the indigenous languages and their status.

On a final note, it is interesting that modern day academic revival of Quechua has begun from the same former Incan capital Cuzco, as not only the Quechua-based organisations, but even the aforementioned Roxana Quispe-Collantes, who defended her thesis in Quechua language, hails from the city itself. With a Quechua majority, the major city has more advantage in this regard as compared to the others, where Quechua speakers are a minority, and lack the institutional presence.

4. The case of Huamanga, Ayacucho

Firestone (2007) made research focusing specifically on the town of Huamanga in Ayacucho province. The numbers indicate that the percentage of Quechua speakers may vary according to whether we are talking about the province, a particular town, or its district region (pg.2). Ayacucho is significant, being the first place overall where bilingual programs took place. However, they had to be shut down as a result of the activities of the guerrilla group Sendero Luminoso (Shining Path). In the recent times, new initiatives have come up in order to promote Quechua, and they are based out of Ayacucho. The promotion of Quechua is carried out through governmental and non-governmental programmes, designed to handle not only in the language field, but also technical fields and social issues in the region.

In terms of impact of all these events, it can be seen that positive and negative. Similar to the case in Puno, the language seen appropriate for formal situations is Spanish, while Quechua is perceived better suited for informal and private situations. All in all, while shifts can be observed in some cases, according to the author, the situation is not as dire as one would expect (Firestone A., 2007).

5. The case of Tantamayo, Huanaco

Another important location, Tantamayo, is discussed in the context of the centrally located. Huanaco region. Rosaleen Howard (2004) begins the case by explaining the unique features of the variant of Quechua spoken in Tantamayo, as she visited the place back in 1982. The aim was to highlight the situation from similar perspectives, in terms of language attitudes, shift and planning. The huge impact of Sendero Luminoso on the conditions is once again seen, prompting emigrations from the place. Following the era of the guerrillas, the implementation of Intercultural Bilingual Education programs needed to be taken into account. Similar to Puno, the parents showed reluctance to their younger children learning Quechua. A trend of discouragement to learn the language came from their side. Furthermore, Quechua use had declined the second time the author visited the town. Spanish was more widespread, and education in Spanish was one of the reasons. Another reason was the speakers' earlier migration towards bigger cities like Lima, which are predominantly Spanish-speaking. In general, the efforts of planning for the future of the language were missing in the region, to which Howard has given her recommendations towards the end (Howard R., 2004).

6. The case of San Pedro de Cajas, Junín

San Pedro de Cajas is located in the region of Junín, whose regional government recognises six official languages in total: Spanish, Quechua, Yanesha, Ashanika, Nomatsiguenga and Kakinte. Despite the official status of these languages, language shifts can be observed towards Spanish, and the number of Quechua speakers was quite few, especially among the younger generations. This is reflected in the survey of students conducted by Fumi (2015), where more students are likely not understand and speak it than the ones who do, to a small or large extent. In the case of schooling, Quechua is not seen much in the teachings either. Moving up the social ladder is considered the reason for learning other languages, be it Spanish or English.

This is fundamentally the mindset, given that Quechua is thought to be spoken by people of a class lower than the others. This is reflected not only in the occupations practised by Quechua speakers, e.g., artistry in the case of San Pedro de Cajas; but also, the stigma associated with the language itself. This can be attributed to the fact that several Quechua speakers have migrated to new areas, especially those where Spanish spoken by a large majority, and speaking Quechua is considered to be "lower class, illiterate, indigenous". Here, the word indigenous is quite important to note. Generally, it may have a seemingly neutral connotation. But as we saw before, despite the legacy of the Incas, which were indigenous to the land, the connotation around the word indigenous is not positive. As a consequence, speaking Quechua can be found more in the regions in the countryside in the speakers' homes, where they are free from judgment.

The author Fumi (2015) takes up a couple of examples to illustrate the on-ground state. In them, the speakers from generations highlighted the situation in their respective times, which

affected the way they felt about the language. For example, against the backdrop of violence in the 1980s, the particular generation whose childhood went through that phase was likely to have a more sceptical attitude towards speaking the language. Moreover, the atmosphere in San Pedro de Cajas was found to be less tolerant to Quechua speakers than places which do not have a “history of state intervention and heavy migration”.

Just like on the national level, measures have also been taken at the regional level by to plan ahead the policy for the language. For this, the number of dialectal variations even within one province needed to be taken into consideration. Accordingly, the intercultural bilingual education can be imparted in the region (Fumi M., 2015).

- **An additional case: The Q’eros**

The Q’eros community, who speak the Qusqu-Qullaw variant of Quechua, deserve a special mention in this series. They have been considered as the “last living direct descendants of the Incas, practise Inca traditions to this day, and hold beliefs of the revival of the Inca Empire. They speak their own version of Quechua language and practise occupations like weaving, growing potatoes, herding alpacas and so on (Sacred Andean Tradition). They have been living their lives in the remote locations of the Cuzco, in the Paucartambo province. Quechua language is used in their daily practices, like offerings to Pachamama (Mother Earth), and other Shamanic rituals (Travel & Healing).

Awareness

Quechua revival in Perú has been a mixed experience. Despite the stigmas, the government and people still maintain pride in the Incan structures, as witnessed in the tourism sector. In addition, there are several initiatives within and outside the country which promote the language and aim to revive it. In case of the latter, this is especially witnessed in like-minded people of the Peruvian diaspora, who wish to create awareness about the language outside the country, and eventually perhaps in their own country.

The New York Quechua Initiative, also known as Quechua Collective of New York (Wakinchakuy Runasimipaq Nueva Yorkpi) was implemented by a team of Quechua speakers, notably Ms. Elva Ambia. Activities within the organisation include events, performances, Quechua language courses and discussions about issues, all in a major city like New York (Kuoda Authors, 2017).

Another reason for optimism within the language speakers is that Peru was the first country to recognise the language as official in the first place. As a result, there is scope for initiatives to take place, for instance, the Quechua based program Nuqanchik, or Aqupampa, which was a novel entirely written in Quechua by Pablo Landeo. Similarly, singers and influencers are also making their mark on the awareness efforts. As a result, the relative status of Quechua language in Peru, although it still has a long way to go, is by no means a hopeless situation! (Lane A., 2024).

E) BOLÍVIA: A RELATIVELY SUCCESSFUL EXAMPLE

Introduction

The issue of rights of indigenous peoples has been a relatively older one in Bolivia, as compared to other countries mentioned. It has been a process through which Bolivia has gone, until its transition to a Plurinational state. New education reforms were introduced in 1994, while a new constitution was adopted in 2009, in what was intended as a beginning of the decolonisation process. It has been hailed as a “bottom-up” indigenous movement (Rousseau and Dargent, 2019)

In the month of November 2010, Pachakutip K’anchaynin (New times of prosperity and change are illuminating us) took place in Cochabamba, which was the fourth World Congress of Quechua (Academia Mayor de la Lengua Quechua).

Decolonisation

Independence from the Spanish Empire’s yoke was only one of the first events in the reclamation of self-identity in Bolivia. From there, it has been a story of crests and troughs, as waves of changes have been witnessed over the years.

The decolonisation and “refoundation” of Bolivia were parts of a process, whose aim was to include the ignored communities in the mainstream state mechanism, namely the campesinos and indigenous peoples of the country. This happened largely during the time of Evo Morales, who was elected the first indigenous President of the country, and whose presidency lasted for almost 14 years. Within his term, one of the major actions taken were the “constitutional referendum” of 2009. (teleSUR, 2020)

The reforms of 2009 now place Bolivia under the Social Unitary State of Plurinational Communitarian Law. The laws entail the several ways in which the Bolivian state planned to decolonise itself.

Currently along with Spanish, the other 36 recognised and official languages are indigenous ones, as mentioned in the *Article 5 I* of the constitution, while *Article 5 II* mentions that the central as well as departmental governments “must use at least two official languages”, one of them being Spanish, while the other depends on the respective “use, convenience, circumstances, necessities and preferences”. The autonomous territories are to use Spanish and other languages “characteristic of their territory”. (The Constitution of Bolivia (Plurinational State, 2009). Among these Aymara, Quechua and Guarani are the main indigenous languages spoken, which makes it imperative to study them in Bolivia along with Spanish. This is according to Law no. 269, which confirms the official status of as many as 37 languages, if we include Spanish (Ajacopa T., 2013, pg. 4)

‘Suma Qamaña’ is considered one of the fundamentals of indigenous lifestyle, and it is essentially the same as Sumak Kawsay we saw in the case of Ecuador. This concept, despite being Aymara is still necessary to include because of its use in the political context, as witnessed when we described Ecuador.

It is highly relevant, because it provides not only a way of living, but also an alternative to the system that the world lived under, especially after the arrival of globalisation, and the

subsequent consumerism. In other words, the link between the Movement Towards Socialism (Movimiento al Socialismo) and the concept was to “move Bolivia beyond capitalism and neoliberalism”. Therefore, it is a process which aims to restore Bolivia to the times of prosperity, modelled on the two systems of the past, namely the Inca Tawatinsuyu and alternatively, ALBA (Bolivarian Alliance for the Peoples of Our America). However, in essence, it is about the prioritisation of the philosophy of collectivism as a part of indigenous identity. The obstacles to this are about defining the concept of good living in present-day Bolivia, and applying it across space and time. Therefore, the roadmap to it, will be most essential part in the future (Artaraz K. & Calestani M., 2014).

However, Suma Qamaña need not exactly be the moral alternative to capitalism, and not necessarily separate from it. It is however something in the process of making, and just like other theories, it will take time to be implemented in its entirety, given the nature of a nation’s complex workings (Kokotsakis C., 2021).

In the recent times, indigenous politics in Bolivia, and even Latin America, are incomplete without the mention of Evo Morales. Bolivia’s first indigenous President elected in 2005 is one of the key components in the implementation of reforms in the nation. Law 1565 of the 1994 Constitution discussed Intercultural Bilingual Education. (Howard R., 2009) Its first article states, “Bolivian education is intercultural and bilingual, because it assumes the cultural diversity of the country in an atmosphere of respect among all Bolivians, men and women” (Article 1., Inc. 5). A new form of education was to be laid during the time of Evo Morales. Howard (2009) talks about the lead up to the “new draft Education Reform Bill”. The new unprecedented assertion was that of ‘liberation’ and ‘decolonisation’, which was something original in the direction of reclaiming the indigenous identity (Howard R., 2009).

Hilborn’s (2014) analysis talks about decolonisation of Bolivia with respect to other nations. The author does a comparative analysis, with a mention of other decolonial efforts, like those in Africa. The message out of these efforts is that decolonisation is not just the fight against colonisation, but also undoing the makings of the colonial mindset, which generally percolates to almost all sections of the society. It is also about challenging the Eurocentrism and Western-centrism in world politics. Decolonisation, just like policies works top-down as well as from bottom-up, where the role of the Vice-Ministry of Decolonisation is illustrated in the top-down sector. However, the main question is about how the implementation of the decolonisation program under Morales has worked. For the author, it still had quite some way to go before it meets the strong words of its promises. Similarly, a constructive criticism can also made about the environmental policies, in rhetoric and in practice, as extraction of necessary resources is deemed essential (Hilborn P., 2014).

Policy and education

A roadmap to language policies was necessary in Bolivia due to the presence of several languages within the country. “Normatisation” and “standardisation” was done as a part of corpus planning, given that Bolivian Quechua also has its variants, that needed to be part of the education as per region. On the other hand, “normalisation” was part of status planning, as the language needed to have its place in daily life across the nation. Apart from language planning, more concepts have been given by Ajacopa (2013) from sociolinguistic and

sociopolitical angles, like how 'language maintenance' relates to pluralism. Therefore, Bolivia's Plurinational identity may have been a positive step, rather than continuing with assimilationist measures, as seen with Spanish language-based education (Ajacopa T., 2013).

A comparative perspective was made by Conteras (2003), as he highlighted the example of Bolivian Revolution (1952-1964), in comparison to the Mexican Revolution (1910-1940) and Cuban Revolution (1959-1970). Even despite the differences in the nature and impact of these revolutions in these countries, it was necessary to note the impact on educational reforms from these revolutions. Education of different types, including basic primary education, secondary education and education to women was mentioned earlier in the Bolivian constitution, before the revolution happened. During the revolution, the most important part in this instance is the reforms of 1955. When comparing the reforms of 1955 with those of 1994, the most important factor is the benefit of indigenous people. Even though 1955 reforms were the beginning of education to indigenous peoples in rural areas, it was Spanish language education that ultimately was used. Even if the purpose was to incorporate the people into the system, the system was rooted in being based on classes, as reflected in the "Education Code". Its repeal occurred in 1994, as concerns were indeed expressed in the 1970s and 1980s regarding the previous education system (Conteras M., 2003).

When the education reforms started taking place since 1994, the author of several papers on Quechua, Nancy Hornberger was one of the international specialists involved in the process. The process had a lot of obstacles in between, given that the speakers of Spanish, Aymara and Quechua came with different permutations and combinations, of being monolingual and bilingual, varying from person to person. What further complicated the situation further was against the backdrop of language shifts happening between indigenous languages. However, experts on indigenous languages were available along with pedagogical advisors, and were accordingly chosen to train and teach an upcoming generation of teachers, who were to shape a new Bolivian education system (Hornberger N. & King K, 1996).

On one hand, the Bolivian Constitution of 1994 was a beginning of the recognition of pluricultural nature of the state, as mentioned in the Article 1 and Article 171. On the other hand, official languages were not included in this particular context. (Hornberger N. & Coronel-Molina, 2004). However, a foundation was surely laid towards bilingual intercultural education, not just through the state mechanism, but also through external actors such as UNICEF, whose initiative was the Bilingual Intercultural Education Program (PEIB). The initiative's studies were similar to those we saw in the case of Peru, where people taught in their mother tongue had not only a better grip of subjects, but also were mentally prepared for what laid ahead of them. However, looking at the numbers, the amount of people knowing Quechua was still in decline in the late 1990s and the 2000s (Sichra Regalsky I.).

Therefore, it is essential to still examine some problems while considering education. Luykx (2004) supports the direction of interdisciplinary measures in some ways, given that she talks about the connection between social and political problems. Therefore, the issues related to Quechua language can't be dealt in a reductionist manner, and all sides need to be taken into consideration when it comes to language planning. Additionally, Quechua language planning for the future is highlighted as being focused on spheres, where Spanish is dominant. While it is true that Quechua language formal education is important, it is also important to ensure that

families pass on the language from one generation to the other. We already saw how that is not the case in Peru, and the same has been true for Bolivia in the past (Luykx, 2004).

Case study: Cochabamba department

Language identity in Cochabamba is crucial to examine, given that it is one of the most important regions in Bolivia in terms of Quechua. When looking back now, the case study by Sichra (2005) was done before the reforms by Evo Morales. However, it is important to know the data analysis to get an idea of the region's position with respect to Quechua. In the 2001 census, around half of the population identified as Quechua. Rural Cochabamba had more people who could speak Quechua, than who could speak Spanish. Also, the number of monolingual Spanish speakers was also less. A similar pattern could also be observed with Aymara in the La Paz department. Naturally, most people in Cochabamba were bilingual, however, intercultural bilingual education programs weren't that widespread. However, interestingly, the language had been used in daily life situations such as "weekly fairs" (Sichra I., 2005). Due to lack of data, further information on the city could not be accessed.

However, after taking a look at information across Bolivia from different articles, it is also important to note what people from the regions themselves have to say about it, in order to give more insight on the issue. Therefore, similar to Sichra (2005), an interview of a native speaker was taken in this case.

Interview with a Bolivian speaker of Quechua: An Analysis

An interview was conducted on the 30th of March 2024 with Mrs. Elena Alvarado, a Bolivian speaker of Quechua, who currently lives in Belgium. She confirmed the differences that exist between Bolivian cities in terms of Quechua variants, namely the aforementioned example of Cochabamba and in the region of Potosi. The frequency of Quechua is naturally more in Cochabamba. This reflects the big and diverse nature of the Bolivian state. Also historically, she talked about how people felt embarrassed to speak Quechua, even within their own homes. However, this has changed, especially since Bolivia became a Plurinational State, and since the beginning of more and more educational institutions. The changes that have happened are reflected in the communities, as people are proud of speaking not only Quechua, but also other indigenous languages. If we compare to the situation before in the country to the current one, it is clear that it had dodged a bullet and avoided language shifts from Quechua to Spanish. As a result, the country has now embraced a bilingual or even a multilingual nature, as Spanish is accompanied by Quechua or other indigenous languages. Through this interview more on-ground insights were gained into the specific family, and in general people, and their attitudes towards the language.

F) COLOMBIA

Colombia enacted its constitution of 1991, which mentioned Human Rights and the recognition of indigenous peoples, as well as providing bilingual education. The Quechuas, known as Ingas in Colombia were also included in this. The Ingano are located in mostly

rural areas, and the data on them is rather old. However, it is established that bilingual education is given in the areas where another language apart from Spanish is spoken, as mentioned in Article 10 of the constitution. Another involvement of the government with respect to the indigenous groups is also to be taken in the context of measures taken to control the spread of violence, which is primarily linked to drug trafficking. The measures have been a matter of controversy, which adds to the issues faced by the indigenous communities (Hornberger & Molina, 2004).

The Inga language, spoken by the Inga communities is spoken mainly in the rural areas. One such instance is that of Putumayo department, present on the border with Ecuador. The case of Putumayo is about the measures taken to revitalise Quechua, in the face of language shift, as seen in the examples of other countries. The reasons include not only migration, but the existent schooling in Spanish, which is leading to a gradual loss of Spanish-Quechua/Inga bilingualism among the Inga speakers. Along with language, it also leads to distancing from other aspects of culture, including dressing. Similar to other countries, there were efforts of implementing intercultural bilingual education, as new laws were implemented in the 1990s, around the same time as other countries with Quechua speakers. This led to the establishment of new schools, providing education in both languages to the new students (Cross V. & Coronel-Molina S., 2012)

Quechua communities are also found in other regions, as well as in major cities like Bogotá and Cali. The key issues remain reversing language shift, and avoiding situations like diglossia within the communities (Etxebarria M., 2018).

As for awareness, one indigenous organisation which has played a major part is “Musu Runakuna” (New People). It had raised the issue of education in Inga language, back when it was not the case, by promoting the cause of their respective indigenous group (Cross V. & Coronel-Molina S., 2012). Today, it is a part of what is known as “Global Ecovillage Network”, which aims for a sustainable future and conservation of the environment (Global Ecovillage Network).

G) ARGENTINA

The expansion of the Quechua language to the southern frontier is where Argentina comes into the picture. The most notable region in terms of Quechua language in Argentina is the one spoken in Santiago del Estero. This region, along with those on the frontiers of Bolivia and Chile were also part of the Inca Empire, and small Quechua communities can still be found there (DeMarrais E., 2013).

Apart from a few towns, the big country has a relatively very low amount of Quechua speakers. Quechuan variety spoken Santiago del Estero is called “Quichua Santigueño” with its distinct identity. On the other hand, Southern Bolivian Quechua is spoken in the northern border with Bolivia, as there is the case of “temporary labours” who arrive from Bolivia into Argentina as economic migrants (Hornberger & Molina, 2004).

Even in Argentina, like we saw in some other examples, the reforms in the constitution were in the 1990s, in this case in 1994. In the Argentine constitution, Article 75, paragraph 17 mentions the Congress’ responsibility to “recognise the ethnic and cultural pre-existence of Argentina’s indigenous peoples”. Furthermore, the reference of ‘recognition’ and ‘respect’ in

this paragraph of the article also extends to identity, and the further factors associated with it, e.g., ownership & possession of their native lands (InfoLEG, Información Legislativa).

Hornberger and Molina (2004) cite that in October 1999, a step was taken in intercultural bilingual education in indigenous regions in the form of the “Accord of the Federal Council of Ministers of Culture and Education” (Hornberger & Molina, 2004).

Despite the small number of Quechua speakers, there have been some efforts to give due attention to the language. In 2004, the Yuyayaku Wawakuna or the Third World Congress of Quechua was held in Argentina, in the town of Salta, where a small local Quechua community exists (Academia Mayor de la Lengua Quechua).

Furthermore, there are some organisations in Argentina like Asociación Tucumana de Investigadores en Lengua Quichua and Centro de Investigaciones Lingüísticas, which are concerned with “policy issues” in terms of language (Hornberger & Molina, 2004). As a result, the efforts in terms of linguistics are not only within the narrow field of language, but also towards social issues.

H) THE DAWN OF GLOBALISATION: AN INCREASE IN DOCUMENTATION AND DIGITALISATION

Quechua was documented during the times of Spanish colonisation, and was spread through the churches to several parts of the former Incan Empire, as new technologies of the time like printing presses were used to make Quechua available across the respective regions

After independence, there were efforts to standardise the language, with scholars coming up again with Classical Quechua to refer to the ‘pure’ Quechua spoken in Cuzco. It has naturally been a matter of controversy, including in the case of Academia Mayor de la Lengua Quechua, as the argument against ‘linguistic purism’ is often brought up. Regardless, it’s true that now the language is available in documented form.

Similarly, there is much to note about the current times of globalisation, where economies are more interconnected, and interdependent. However, as theories have been established, the model of globalisation cannot be seen in a reductionist way, ignoring the continuation of a wide gap between the developed and developing countries. Among the nations, the indigenous peoples of the developing countries become relevant in this case. Their issues are taken mostly in the case of their closeness to nature, and their role in protecting it. (Viader J.). It is also true though, that as a result of the consumerist approach, and a one-sided view of happiness and development, some are also discouraged often indirectly to move for a ‘better life’, as seen in the cases of ‘development’ of new infrastructure, or ‘expansion’ of urban areas. Furthermore, use of resources to exploit the native lands has been seen under the ‘neoliberal’ framework, due to which Quechuas ‘have had’ to emigrate, as mentioned by Rojas (2018)

Despite of this, it also true that a new age dawned with globalisation, as it was supplemented with new advancements in technology. Computerisation, rise in private companies and more opportunities for innovation were some of the main factors that contributed in giving attention to indigenous languages, including making the Quechua language known. Therefore,

it furthered, and sometimes even addressed the limitations of the governmental policies in the respective countries.

A review of the respective government policies suggests that several of the ‘main’ reforms in the constitutions have come up after the age of globalisation during the 1990s. This is not exactly applicable to the case of Bolivia, where the Education Act was passed in 1955. Neither does it hold true in the case of Perú, where the Decree Law 21156 was passed in 1975 under General Alvarado.

Documentation and digitalisation were a great way to make more education materials available in the language. This is done through finding sources among the Quechua speakers themselves, given the oral nature of passing over the language. In the previous example, we looked at how Roxana Quispe-Collantes collected material for her own thesis. Similar to how Quechua was standardised in its written form several centuries ago, the efforts to document the literature in the language continue to this day. This has been possible as more and more institutions are set up to learn the language, with teachers and students to add to it. Furthermore, there are more ways to make the information available to the public, through the use of digital media, as the world becomes more and more connected, supplemented by the policies of digital platforms along with the audiences, which ensure that their openness sustains to the content creators.

Knox College Professor Julio Noriega made an anthology of Quechua poetry, working 20 years on this task. This has been a great contribution towards the documentation in modern day, through the support of educational institutions imparting Quechua, supplemented by the passion of teachers and students alike. Noriega was plenty clear on what it meant to preserve the literature and the composite indigenous culture of the region of Ibero-America. According to him, “It must be clarified, however, that in this case preserving does not mean archiving or enclosing cultural products in native languages in libraries, museums or reservations, but promoting the use of the same languages in our daily communication, in all possible spaces of public and private life, formal and informal, socially and individually”. His birth in such an atmosphere makes it relevant to see it from an indigenous perspective itself. More incredible is that even despite being born as a Peruvian, his work is also about Bolivian Quechua, titled *Poesía Quechua en Bolivia* (Quechua Poetry in Bolivia). Furthermore, translation of these works into Spanish and involving his students in these activities meant that more and more attention was garnered towards the Quechua, and broadly the Andean perspective and cause (Cruz G., 2017)

Since the dawn of the digital age, the language has been brought to digital platforms, where the common people are free to add information from their side in the respective websites created by big companies. There are certain challenges in having a Quechua-based Wikipedia, as not only the number of articles is much lesser, and less visited than Spanish, but there is also a lesser number of “words and edits”, and therefore, there were lower number of users, who gained information through the Quechua Wikipedia. However, there are writers on the Quechua page, who do not have any page in Spanish, which makes it rather interesting to note down. This shows that the purpose is not to seek to do it for the ultimate goal of translation into Spanish, given that some of the perspectives on the literature are unique to Quechua itself. The broader issue is not unique to Quechua, but as Daniel Carrillo-Jara (2023)

puts it, “focuses the gap between the Global North and Global South”, in terms of “inequality of digital representation” (Carillo-Jara, 2023)

Websites such as aprenderquechua.com, along with applications such as “Curso de Quechua Gratis” and “Curso de Quechua” are examples of Quechua being learnt online as a language, especially through Spanish as a medium. Additionally, forums like Duolingo forum are useful to get information about the language, as well as links to access learning materials of the language. As of 2024, Duolingo has yet to make Quechua language available on its platform, but since the addition of an indigenous language, namely Navajo, there has been hope of addition of other languages as well.

Kusqalla Abya Yala is an organisation based out of Toronto, which dedicates itself to promoting Andean culture, as well as indigenous ways of life to the world by collaborating in projects with “other tribes and native communities in North and South America, as well as organisations, universities and institutions.” In the process, it focuses on Quechua as the main language, and its members belong to Quechua and non-Quechua communities, who interest themselves with the cause of the organisation. Adding Abya Yala to the name makes it interesting, given that it is the indigenous name for the American continents as a whole (Kusqalla Abya Yala).

Universities outside of the Quechua speaking countries are also offering courses pertaining to it, often in their centres of Latin American and Caribbean Studies. This has facilitated the learning of Quechua from a local level. Some of these include the University of Pennsylvania, University of Michigan, Columbia University, The University of Kansas, The Ohio State University in the United States, University of London in the United Kingdom as well as Universiteit Leiden in The Netherlands.

Apart from that individuals can create their own content, which can not only act as a medium to make the Quechua language known to the world, but also to teach the interested people across the world phrases in the language, that the people can use whenever they visit the given countries.

Examples include several blogs and YouTube channels, which are offering some lessons in Quechua for all in addition to giving information on the respective country. This includes YouTubers such as Bolivian youngster Wilfitu Yachachiq (10.6K subscribers), who teaches Quechua not only through videos, but also offers courses in the language on the beginner’s level.

The Quechua Alliance is an example of the promotion of Quechua in the United States, bringing the Quechua community together. This is done by organising annual meetings every year since 2015, in locations across the United States, about various topics that bring Quechua speakers together to share their ideas and experiences. The information of the Quechua Alliance Annual Meetings is convened in English, Spanish and Quechua itself (Quechua Alliance, 2018)

In addition, influencers are also making their mark in the language through songs, dances and their shows. Music has had a profound impact in connecting people across the world. An example of this is the music group Alborada, which was founded in Ocobamba in Perú. It consists of both Spanish and Quechua, ancient and modern types of songs, mixtures of which

appeal large audiences, and draw them to the music. The tune of “Ponchito” song “Ananau” turned out to be a worldwide sensation. (BUENAMUSICA, 2024)

It is through the advent of internet and social media that networks could reach the depths of valleys, like those in Cusco, where the Q’eros live. Through international travel, people from across the world can watch and experience the Shamanic rituals of the Quechua peoples, which are held in the Quechua language itself. As a result of unique experiences, the curiosity to learn about the indigenous cultures has risen.

In Harvard’s Review of Latin America, Mendoza-Mori A. & Becerra Sanchez M (2023) mentioned an exhaustive list of digital media, which are shaping the digital landscape of the Quechua language, whether it is handles on Facebook or Twitter, or YouTube channels promoting Quechua by teaching Quechua lessons to the public, to organisations, where Quechua speakers can get together. The landscape of social media has particularly changed after the Covid-19 pandemic. Not only has it raised awareness of the lifestyle of Quechua speakers, but also about the network and connections of services like internet to the remote regions where they also live, for instance, in the Peruvian Andes. Social media has been used properly also by those who have the power to bring about changes, like in the case of Municipality of Lima, which offered a course in Southern Quechua for free. For that course, the 93000 students had signed up were from all around the world, which indicates the increasing popularity of the language. Indigenous pride is not only reflected in the language, but also costumes, like wearing the pollera more often in public. More such initiatives have to be brought in order to make not only Quechua but indigenous languages and indigenous issues mainstream as well. Like the previous examples, the authors discuss the example of ‘Colectivo Quechua Central’, from the Central Peruvian Andes, along with ‘Atuq Yachachiq’ from Cochabamba, Bolivia (Mendoza-Mori A. & Becerra Sanchez M., 2023).

Right during the year 2019, when the International Year of Indigenous Languages was celebrated, the film “Willaq Pirqa, My Town’s Movie Theater” was produced, whose dialogues were entirely in Quechua language. The place where it was made was none other than Cuzco itself, and the scenes portrayed within the film reflected the rural indigenous life (Andean Lodges, 2019).

VIII. RECOMMENDATIONS

Quechua speakers and non-speakers alike can contribute a great deal in reviving and revitalising the language.

Intercultural bilingual education has been working well in some cases, while improvements have been suggested in many of the writings discussed in this paper. However, a continuation of the model is truly beneficial if people of two communities are to understand one another’s perspectives. The challenges lie in the presence of apparent “classes”, which constitutes an obstacle for Quechua speakers to freely communicate their language. However, it is important to remember that the institutional framework itself guarantees the rights to education on an equal level to ‘upper class’ languages like Spanish or English.

In general, there is an interconnection between education, awareness, language planning, policies and their implementation. Therefore, both top down and bottom up are appropriate

ways of looking at the situation, given that problems like language shift and the solutions like language revitalisation require willingness and efforts from both sides, preferably in coordination with each other.

In terms of top-down approach, the efforts can be taken by the governmental system itself, as government officials, policymakers and civil servants can look into how the policies made on the language actually work on the ground level, and reflect on the status. Being accountable to the public, the efforts from the government can be a matter of hope for the people of their respective nations. Just like Peru and Bolivia, more governmental actions can be taken in other nations. State-based media can give more attention to the awareness programmes of the indigenous languages.

From the people's side, families can ensure that Quechua is spoken in the family and passed down from one generation to the other. This is easier than done, however, it can be possible if awareness is generated about the resources that are available at their disposal. For instance, if the language constitutes a lower status in the society, this status can be questioned publicly.

A teacher support network is extremely important in the impartation of education, since like in the example of Bolivia, it is initiated by the government reforms, while the teachers come from the people themselves. Therefore, the crucial task of forming a link between the top and bottom is in the hands of the teachers. Therefore, more incentives can be given to those teachers who are engaged in the promotion, maintenance and revitalisation of indigenous languages including Quechua. Like in the example of Saraguro, teachers can themselves take efforts to make sure that the language is taught in a way that remains in the minds of students, if their state-based institutions fail to do so (Hornberger N. & King K, 1996)

There are also other important factors involved in the spread of the language. Awareness campaigns and digitalisation have contributed to the spread of the language, not only among the Quechua speaking world, but also to the broader world. International organisations can make use of the International Decade of Indigenous Languages. The media, which has been crucial so far, can contribute more in bringing Quechua closer to the mainstream.

IX. CONCLUSION

Quechua, a language with millions of speakers, is still considered to be an endangered language, as a result of language shifts. Given this situation, there are undoubtedly several measures taken to revitalise the language, and not lose its native speakers. The measures taken have been from Quechua and non-Quechua speakers, within and outside the Quechua-speaking regions.

The embarrassment to speak the language, as well as the resulting quasi-prohibition to speak it in homes have made it an endangered language in some regions. This has been supplemented by a lack of political and institutional efforts in some cases to have the relevant infrastructure and planning needed for the same.

On the other hand, the respective states have also introduced reforms from their side, like introducing measures to make Quechua an official language. This has been of help in at least getting the language under the laws. This facilitates the work when measures are taken, as relevant laws are referred to. There are cases in which institutions and organisations have

managed to bring like-minded people together. Thriving Quechua in some regions can be partially attributed to bottom-up efforts to make the language more accessible in the public domain, with internet as the medium. However, government role is also important, in order to implement changes successfully.

That being said, all the countries make up for unique cases in themselves, as a result of Quechua having a different status within their constitutions, as well as in their societies given the unique nature of the language variants.

In Ecuador, the struggle to make Quechua mainstream faced difficulties due to a relatively smaller population of indigenous as well as Quechua speaking peoples. It can be argued that the struggle goes on until today, especially for making Ecuador a Plurinational state. Policies like Sumak Kawsay were a hope for decolonising the state, especially in a time when urbanisation and reduction of Kichwa speakers went on at the same time.

In Perú, despite Quechua being the official language, there are several things that remain desired on the ground. The history of the language has been that of persecution, slight reforms, feelings of shame and lately, some hope as well. Quispe-Collantes' thesis in Quechua is certainly a major achievement not only for the Quechua language, but for academia as well. As a result of the comparison made between the major cities, not only the temporal, but also the spatial factors were learnt through comparison of attitudes across cities and regions. The attitudes of younger Quechua speakers in Lima were surprisingly positive, in contrast to *a priori* assumptions. Analysis of case studies was helpful in knowing the differences and similarities between the respective regions of the country.

Bolivia is a relatively successful example, owing to factors like the programme of decolonisation, which deals with not only the area of languages, but also to get rid of the colonial influences within the country's institutions. In this instance, it is not just Quechua, but all the indigenous groups, that have fought for their rights.

Colombia and Argentina are physically outliers on the map, and statistically too, have lesser number of Quechua speakers. With low data on Quechua, the information on the language in these countries is not much documented. Furthermore, rights have been given to the indigenous groups in the respective countries, from the time since changes were implemented through the governments in the 1990s. These policies have in turn, also had an effect on Quechua speaking peoples as well, since they too have gone through the same processes of language shifts and language revitalisation in respective time periods.

In all the given examples, it has been remarked that progress can still be made in imparting bilingual education. Privatisation of education has helped, but government policies are also needed, in order to facilitate the top-down approaches when needed. In the case of Bolivia, this has proven to be a great example, although bottom-up willingness and movements from the public have also played a huge role.

The dawn of the 1990s came with its pros and cons. On one hand, the rise of private companies has been a matter of concern in the indigenous lands, as even the people's approaches to nature differ from the rest of the world. On the other hand, the beginning of the new digital age has been a great opportunity for Quechua speakers to connect with the world, as non-governmental actors have also had their chances in contributing to the revival and revitalisation of the language.

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XI. APPENDIX

Original Interview with a Bolivian speaker of Quechua

(Following is a transcription of the same.)

Interviewer: Let me begin by asking you about your background. Did you learn the language in school, and how different was it from the spoken one? Was it given the importance?

Speaker: I was born in Bolivia, in Potosi, in the region of Tupiza in the extreme south of Potosi, near the border with Argentina. Spanish and Quechua are generally spoken in the region where I live. But I could not learn Quechua, although I could understand it when I was there (in Bolivia). But my parents could speak good Quechua among themselves. In those times when I was young, they didn't teach Quechua in the schools. But the parents didn't wish that we learnt Quechua, because in those times, we were not allowed to speak in the language of our origins.

Interviewer: What I heard is that other people do speak it in your family through formal education. Is that so?

Speaker: Yes, yes. Bolivia has now turned into a Plurinational state in the past decade or so. Each region or department speaks their own language, be it Quechua or Aymara. In the region where we live, they speak Quechua and the classes are in Quechua and Spanish. Quechua is official in the country.

I have people in my family in Tupiza who are perfectly bilingual, and speak both Spanish & Quechua. They speak Quechua as they would like to, for example with friends or at a shop if they want to buy something. I understand it well, but don't speak it well.

Interviewer: Can you share an experience with the language? Did you see any initiatives to create awareness of the language?

Speaker: As mentioned, I was born in Tupiza, Potosi, where they speak a different variant of Quechua than a place where I also lived – Cochabamba which is more to the north. There in Cochabamba, they speak more of Quechua, and I think it is different from the Quechua spoken in Potosi. Hence, it was difficult for me to try and understand their version, but I couldn't say it directly. I felt ashamed, because I wanted to learn it, but the problem was that our parents weren't willing to teach it to us.

Today, they do teach it in school, and they are super proud of it, because it's good to continue speaking your native language. But I couldn't do it at the time, a disgrace indeed.

Later, when we lived in Cochabamba as students, my parents lived in Tupiza. Bolivia is a big country, so there were several kilometres to cover to reach home in Tupiza. We also had a small shop, and the people who came to us to buy something spoke in Quechua, but I couldn't respond. But yes, we could contact with these people in Quechua. In Cochabamba, they speak Quechua a lot. In today's times, whether it's in the state-based institutions or in

banks, it's an obligation to speak Quechua. This was not the case before, but right now one is obliged to speak Quechua, or the language of one's origin.

As said before, speaking Quechua was not allowed, and we could not learn it. It was "not allowed" in the sense that our parents had a sense of shame to teach it to us. Right now, it's not the case, as people are rather proud to speak it.

Interviewer: How do people inside and outside the family look at the language? Has the use of the language declined, increased or remained the same over the years?

Speaker: Today, they speak it more than before. This is because, first of all they learn it in school, and secondly, they feel proud to speak the language. My family is perfectly bilingual, and speak whichever language they prefer without any problem.

In my family, I have a brother who is an agronomist in Cochabamba. He needs to go for example in the fields for work, in an area which is rural. He is obliged to speak Quechua, so that the people can understand him. Similarly, they speak in Quechua, through which they feel more intimate. The conversation is more common in Quechua.

Interviewer: And do you see this trend only in the family of yours or overall?

Speaker: It's overall. It can be seen all places throughout the country, with Quechua, with Aymara which is native to La Paz, with Guarani in the east. Bolivia has several languages, that too right now after the reforms in the constitution, which have changed Bolivia quite a lot. In all parts they speak the language that they prefer.

Last year, we were in Bolivia. The people who wanted to speak in Spanish spoke in Spanish, they spoke Quechua or Aymara amongst themselves. The people are freer to talk or do what they wanted. At the same time, when we refer to the politics, if you were to occupy an important post in the state, you could not wear a hat or a pollera (skirt) or speak Quechua. Today, it's different. They have to speak our language.

Interviewer: And especially since Evo Morales, wasn't it?

Speaker: Yes, from Evo Morales' time. He changed the state into a Plurinational one. All the regions have their own administration.

Interviewer: You said before that it was an embarrassment to speak the language. Have you ever been treated differently as a speaker of the language by other people?

Speaker: Yes, yes. Earlier the people who spoke Quechua or wore the pollera were discriminated a lot. Now it is not the case.

My parents too were (discriminated). My mother tried to speak only in Spanish with us. But between them, my parents spoke in Quechua. But my father said that only Spanish is to be spoken with the children. They don't have to learn it (Quechua), because it's, let's say, prohibited to speak it. Not the case now, as Bolivia has changed a lot.

Interviewer: What form of discrimination was it?

Speaker: Being obliged to speak in Spanish. My mother had to compulsorily speak in Spanish. We were not hit for that, but we had to speak in Spanish. However verbally, one was discriminated against.

Interviewer: *But it isn't the case today (?)*

Speaker: No, today it's different, they're super proud. I liked when I saw the changes, and that the people are freer to speak and are proud of everything.

Interviewer: *Quechua is an ancient and indigenous language. One of the things you mentioned is that people feel proud to speak the language. But is there any other feeling that you or any others get right now (while speaking the language?)*

Speaker: When I speak a few words in Quechua with Clara (her daughter) or when I call my son "Changuito", it creates more closeness. I feel proud to speak it. Of course, I would have liked to learn more of it, but I couldn't. Hard luck!

(The interview was taken and translated from Spanish by me in the case of the speaker.)