

Quechua language shift, maintenance, and revitalization in the Andes: the case for language planning*

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Abstract

Although Quechua is spoken by eight to twelve million people across six South American countries, by most measures, Quechua is an endangered language. This article provides an overview of the current situation of Quechua language shift, maintenance, and revitalization, and makes a case for the importance of language planning for the survival and development of the language. We use Fishman's notion of physical/demographic, social, and cultural dislocations as an organizing rubric for discussing Quechua's current situation (Fishman 1991: 55–65), and the typology of status, corpus, and acquisition planning to discuss the role of language planning in Quechua's position, both current and future. We take into account the role of linguistic ideologies and language attitudes in language shift, maintenance, and revitalization and in the language-planning process, working from the assumption that language is a critical element of ethnic identity for many Quechua speakers in the Andes.

1. Introduction

According to the Foundation for Endangered Languages, there are approximately 6,500 living languages today. Of these, ten major languages constitute the native tongues of almost half of the world's population. While not all of the remaining 6,490 languages can be considered endangered, well over half of them are (Crystal 2000: 9; Foundation for Endangered Languages 2000). Factors such as the vitality of the language (number of speakers and number of domains); societal and cultural trends including migration and intermarriage; and language status and attitudes toward the language, among others, potentially contribute to the endangerment of a language (Grenoble and Whaley 1998: viii–ix; see also the Endangered Languages and International Clearing House for Endangered Languages websites).

Quechua is one of these endangered languages. However, in contrast to many endangered languages, Quechua has a substantial population base, currently estimated to be between eight to twelve million speakers. This population of Quechua speakers is spread across six South American countries: Argentina, Bolivia, Chile, Colombia, Ecuador, and Peru. One might wonder how a language which is so widely spoken could be endangered. In this regard, it is important to understand not only the historical situation of contact that Quechua has endured for more than 500 years, but also the linguistic diversity within the language that is disguised by the use of one name to refer to multiple varieties. Aside from the social, cultural, economic, and political factors which often contribute to the endangered status of a language, Quechua also contends with logistical, communicative, and ideological obstacles due to its purportedly mutually unintelligible varieties. Because different varieties are spoken across a large number of diverse communities and because every Quechua community exists within its own particular local, regional and national context, each variety presents unique challenges for language planners. And although there are some sociolinguistic commonalities across regions, the diverse mosaic of sociocultural contexts and experiences makes it difficult to generalize regarding a single, monolithic “Quechua situation.”

In this essay, we provide an overview of the current situation of Quechua language shift, maintenance, and revitalization, and make a case for the importance of language planning for the survival and development of the language. We use Fishman’s notion of physical/demographic, social, and cultural dislocations as an organizing rubric for discussing Quechua’s current situation (Fishman 1991: 55–65), and the typology of status, corpus, and acquisition planning to discuss the role of language planning in Quechua’s position, both current and future. We take into account the role of linguistic ideologies and language attitudes in language shift, maintenance, and revitalization and in the language-planning process, working from the assumption that language is a critical element of ethnic identity for many Quechua speakers in the Andes. We begin with a short discussion of the linguistic classification of Quechua and conclude with a brief prognosis on the future of Quechua in the Andes.

1.1. *Linguistic classification*

While many areas of Quechua scholarship remain open to debate, one aspect of the language on which there is general agreement is the division of Quechua into dialectal families (Parker 1963, 1969–1971; Torero 1964, 1974; see Figure 1).

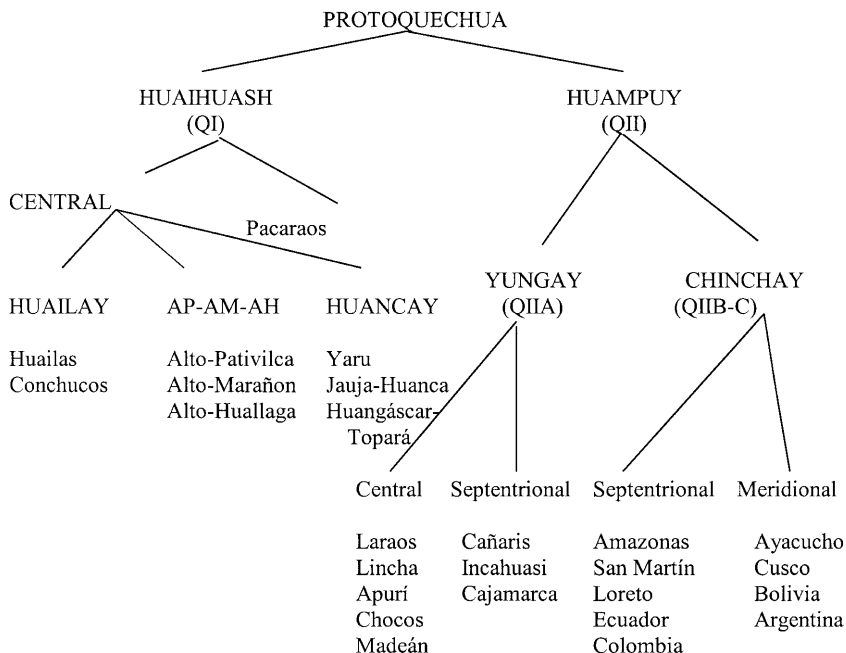


Figure 1. *Linguistic classification of Quechua dialects, based on classification scheme of Torero (1974).*

Source: Cerrón-Palomino 1987: 247. Reprinted with permission of CBC Centro de Estudios Andinos “Bartolomé de las Casas.”

Historically, the Cusco, Bolivia, Ayacucho, and Ecuadorian varieties of Quechua II received far greater attention from linguists and language planners, largely because these varieties are much more widely spoken than those of QI, especially in the pre-Hispanic centers of power and areas first colonized by the Spanish. However, QI, which is less studied, is the branch with the dialects most in danger of extinction (Cerrón-Palomino 1997: 62).¹ QI varieties (also known as Central Quechua) are found in the central region of present-day Peru, in the departments of Ancash, Huánuco, Pasco, Junín, and northeastern areas of the department of Lima (see Figure 2). QII varieties (also referred to as Southern and Northern Quechua) extend from the QI regions as far north as southeastern Colombia and as far south as northern Chile and Argentina. This is not a continuous Quechua region however; for instance, Quechua is spoken only in pockets of northern Peru and in isolated communities in Colombia. In Ecuador, however, there is a more continuous, extended territory of Quechua speakers along the Andes mountains and in part of

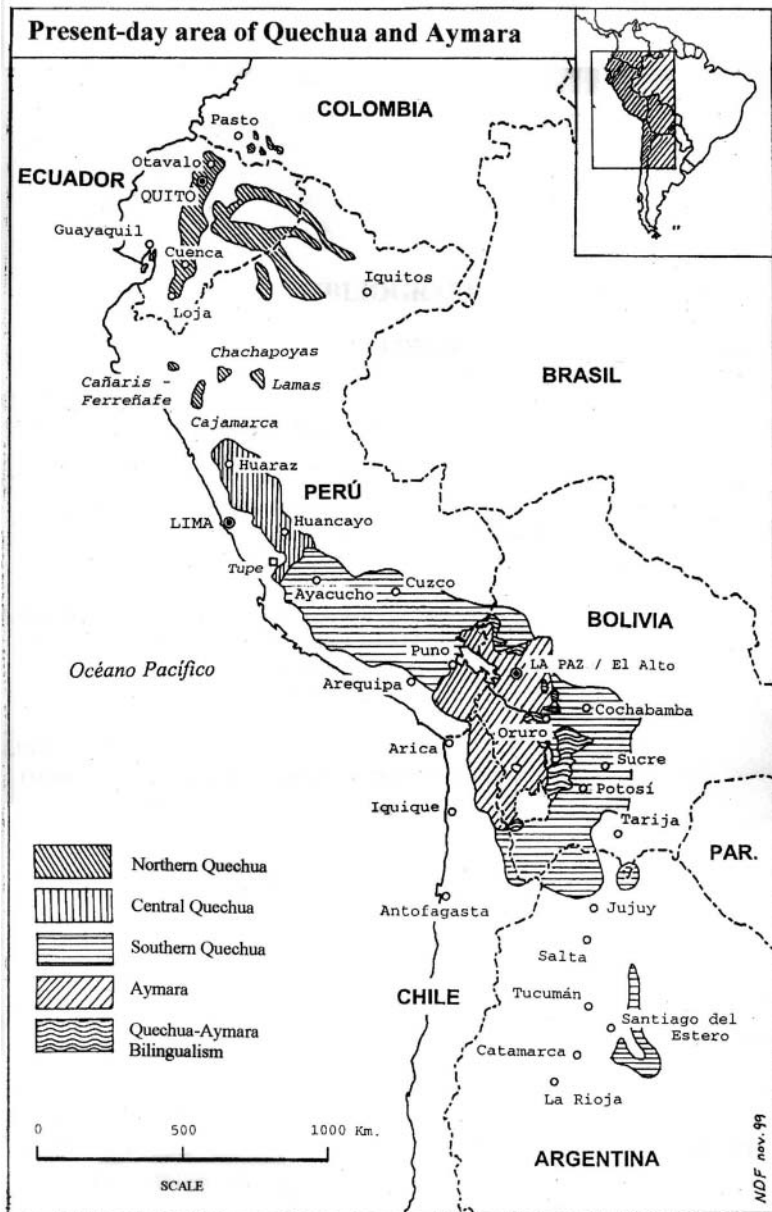


Figure 2. Linguistic map of Quechua and Aymara in South America.

Source: Cerrón-Palmino (2000: 379) (translations by authors). Reprinted with permission of CBC Centro de Estudios Andinos "Bartolomé de Las Casas."

the Amazon basin. QII dialects also extend to the south of the QI region, from the northeastern and southeastern parts of Yauyos province (department of Lima), through Bolivia to northwestern Argentina and northeastern Chile (Cerrón-Palomino 1987: 227–228).

The greatest numbers of Quechua speakers are found in the highland Andean regions of Peru, Bolivia, and Ecuador, in that order. However, Quechua is not the only indigenous language spoken in these countries; as Figure 2 suggests, Aymara is the second most widely spoken indigenous language in South America, and there are many other indigenous languages with smaller numbers of speakers in use throughout the region as well. Spanish has exercised considerable influence over the fortunes of Quechua, and indeed, over all indigenous languages on the continent. In previous centuries, larger numbers of indigenous languages existed in the Andean regions. As Adelaar has observed (1991: 45), South America is presently home to a comparatively small number of languages which exhibit “unsurpassed genetic variety,” a fact that suggests that many languages have already been lost. A major contention of this paper is that, with careful planning, Quechua need not suffer the same fate.

2. Quechua language shift, maintenance, and revitalization

Language shift is generally defined as the gradual loss of a language within a community, which can ultimately lead to language death (Dorian 1981; Fasold 1992). Language maintenance, in contrast, refers to relative stability in domains of use, and number, distribution, and proficiency of speakers in a speech community. Language revitalization, renewal, or reversing language shift, in turn, imply recuperating and reconstructing features of a language or its use which are at least partially lost. One notable distinction is that language shift and death, in contrast to language revitalization, are often considered to be processes that “just happen” to the speakers, community, or language; that is, the speech community in question makes no conscious, explicit decisions on the matter (Hornberger and King 1996, 1998, 2001), although individual speakers may do so.

Factors contributing to language shift, maintenance, or revitalization are diverse and complex, making the science of prediction elusive if not impossible, though scholars have proposed numerous models and typologies of relevant factors. These models have included demographic, sociological, linguistic, psychological, historical, political, geographic, educational, cultural, religious, economic, and media influences on the speakers, their language, and the setting (Conklin and Lourie 1983: 174–175; Edwards 1992; Giles et al. 1977). While these models shed some light

on the forces which may come into play in contexts of shift, all suffer from limitations and “none allows us to predict a shift *a priori*” (King 2000: 15). Addressing such shortcomings, Gal and others have argued that a satisfactory understanding of language shift will not be gained by building increasingly complex models, but rather by placing language shift “within a broader framework of expressive and symbolically used linguistic variation” (Gal 1979: 3). Given the great importance of linguistic ideologies, language attitudes, and issues of identity in influencing language-use patterns and language-planning efforts, we address these forces at the outset. The body of this section then considers the physical, social, and cultural dislocations (Fishman 1991: 55–65) affecting Quechua language shift, maintenance, and revitalization.

2.1. *Linguistic ideologies and language attitudes*

Since the time of the Spanish Conquest, Spanish has reigned as the dominant, high-status, and official language in the Andean region, while indigenous languages generally have been both stigmatized and stigmatizing. The language attitudes of Spanish speakers and of speakers of indigenous languages reflect this hierarchical relationship. And accordingly, indigenous language speakers frequently opt not to use their language in many situations in order to avoid the stigma attached to speaking it (Cerrón-Palomino 1989a: 27), a tendency referred to as linguistic shame (Hornberger 1988a: 82) or linguistic asphyxia (López 1989: 105). Albó (1999: 67) discusses this manifestation of linguistic ideology in terms of Fishman’s concept of language loyalty (Fishman 1966), noting that very often in Bolivia, bilingual speakers who can speak two or more languages nevertheless opt for the dominant language, Spanish, over their mother tongue, even if they are not fully proficient in Spanish, thus demonstrating a lack of loyalty to their own language.

This linguistic ideology is also reflected in ambiguous support or outright rejection of bilingual education among indigenous parents (Albó 1999: 66–68; Cotacachi 1997; Hornberger 1988a). Carpenter (1983), for instance, found that in Otavalo, Ecuador — especially among the rural poor — parents wanted their children to be educated in Spanish, believing that bilingual education would deny students access to social mobility. Likewise, a longitudinal study — from 1979 to 1993 in Ayacucho, Peru — found generational differences in parents’ reasons for not transmitting Quechua to their children. Older parents felt their children already knew how to speak Quechua from childhood contact with grandparents; younger parents, in contrast, believed that Spanish was a more important

language for their children, and that “Quechua spoils Spanish” (von Gleich and Wöck 1994: 40).

The attitudes of Spanish speakers both reflect and reinforce the ideology of Spanish as a superior language. For instance, among Ecuadorian Spanish-speaking elementary school teachers and principals who opposed bilingual intercultural education, some of the most revealing reasons they gave were that Quichua is a “backward” language, useless in daily life, and with no grammar or an inadequate lexicon (Cotacachi 1997). Haboud (1998) similarly offers evidence of this prevalent linguistic ideology, and in particular, of resistance on the part of Spanish-speaking *mestizos* (see glossary in introduction, this issue) in Ecuador to accepting Quichua as part of their cultural heritage. In her survey, 100% of the *mestizos* interviewed identified Spanish as the language spoken in Ecuador. Although 68% also mentioned Quichua, these same respondents characterized Quichua and other indigenous languages as “dialects without grammar.” Such attitudes are also reflected in the comments of Spanish speakers in Peru (Marr 1998: 156) and Bolivia (Albó 1999: 64). Significantly, Haboud’s Ecuadorian study also found that many *mestizos* did not consider indigenous languages or communities to be part of contemporary Ecuadorian identity, but rather a symbol of the past (1998: 175).

Although Quechua is generally stigmatized and accorded low status throughout the Andean nations, there are important variations in linguistic ideology across regions and contexts. For instance, in metropolitan areas such as Lima, where the numbers of Quechua speakers have traditionally been low in proportion to the total population (Cerrón-Palomino 1990: 339–340, 1997: 56), Quechua is overtly devalued by both the dominant society and by Quechua speakers themselves. Marr (1998: 71–77), as an example, has documented a strong tendency on the part of migrant Quechua speakers in Lima to hide the fact that they know Quechua and to restrict its use to jokes, vulgarisms, and intimate domains out of the public sphere. In a similar vein, Luykx notes the case of Bolivian Quechua-speaking migrants in Argentina who attend special Argentinian language schools with the express aim of losing their Quechua accent (personal communication, 6/27/01). In other nonurban regions, however, the stigma of the language seems to be much less. For instance, Quichua speakers of highland Ecuador tend to value their language as part of their ethnic identity and as a means of communication among themselves (Haboud 1998).

King’s recent work in two highland Ecuadorian communities in turn suggests that awareness of Quechua’s status, as well as attitudes toward the language, potentially vary from one community to the next (2000). She also found that younger, economically secure community members

were far more likely to overtly value Quichua for practical or symbolic reasons and to support the use and revitalization of the language. Hornberger, in contrast, based on her work in the Puno highlands in the 1980s, suggests that Quechua speakers in these areas may pay more attention to acquiring Spanish or becoming bilingual than to maintaining their own language, not because they do not value Quechua, but “rather because there is not a high level of consciousness about [the need to preserve Quechua] nor the slightest suspicion that it might be threatened” (1988a: 81).

Despite the historical weight of these entrenched ideologies, there is also some evidence of symbolic acceptance of Quechua in the Andean countries, even by those who do not speak it. For instance, as part of the uprising to oust the Ecuadorian president in 2000, the indigenous leader Antonio Vargas gave his speech declaring the overthrow in Quichua. While not all present understood his words, they surely grasped his intent, and the fact that he spoke in Quichua with no negative feedback from the crowd indicates a level of acceptance of the language, at least as a symbolic tool. This symbolic acceptance is also reflected in the celebration of a special mass in Quechua attended by a huge multitude of Peruvians in the cathedral of Lima in 1996 (Cerrón-Palomino 1997: 64).

While there is some evidence of linguistic ideologies which place value on Quechua despite the hegemony of Spanish, an additional level of complexity is that certain varieties of Quechua are perceived to be more prestigious than others (Mannheim 1991: 78). Marr notes that “given the historically rooted glottocentrism of Quechua speakers, speakers have a marked tendency to view other dialects of the language — even geographically contiguous and linguistically similar ones — as being alien, amusing, incomprehensible, ugly and so on” (1998: 148; cf. King 2000). This local dialectal chauvinism is distinct from the concept of a supralocal hierarchy which may set one dialect as superior to all the others, as in the case of the so-called Quechua “purists” who insist that the Cusco dialect is the only “real” Quechua since they believe it to have been the dialect spoken by the Incas (Itier 1992; Marr 1998, 1999; Niño-Murcia 1997). In either case, local or supralocal, such attitudes are an indication of a rejection of dialectal variation, are common to many other endangered language situations, and potentially pose serious challenges to language revitalization efforts (Dorian 1981).

2.2. *Ethnic identity and language use*

For many Andean Quechua-speaking groups in rural regions where Quechua remains stronger than Spanish, and especially in Peru, Bolivia,

and Ecuador, where the Quechua-speaking peoples have gained greater linguistic recognition at the national level, language is a key marker of ethnicity: for many, being Quechua means speaking Quechua (Haboud 1998; Hornberger 1988a, 1988d). Indeed, Quechua-speaking people often self-identify as Quechua speakers, rather than as “Quechuas” *per se*. Quechua speakers are also likely to self-identify according to their geographical region and local cultural traditions, such as *otavaleño*, *saragureño*, *paceño*, *santiagueño*, *cochabambino*, *cusqueño*, or *ayacuchano*. As Albó notes, “it is increasingly common for individuals to simultaneously belong to more than one cultural context One can belong to the Aymara culture in some respects, and to the Bolivian in others” (1999: 75, translation ours). For instance, in cases of international migration, Quechua speakers may only identify according to their country of origin.

Albó also indicates that, at least in Bolivia, the fluidity of ethnic identity is further complicated by numerous contextual factors. Often when speakers self-identify, they locate themselves in one category, while someone else might place them in another. In addition, many self-identify as indigenous even if they now live in the city and no longer speak the language nor teach it to their children (Albó 1999: 20–21; see also Chirinos 1997 and Coronel-Molina 1999b on Peru; Cotacachi 1997 and King 2000 on Ecuador).

King’s findings underline how lines of ethnic identity potentially vary by circumstance. In her Ecuadorian study, the self-identifying indigenous Saraguros of the more urban community, Lagunas, consider language to be an essential marker of their ethnic identity, even while they are hard-pressed to speak it (2000: 103–104). For Lagunas members, who increasingly spend their days engaged in urban (and typically nonindigenous) educational and occupational domains, language — in conjunction with dress — serves as an important demarcation of ethnic identity. In contrast, the self-identifying Saraguros of the more rural community, Tambopamba, view their rural lifestyle and agricultural endeavors, rather than language, as key to their indigenous ethnic identity, even though most of them are bilingual to at least some extent (2000: 126–135). Like Albó (1999: 73, 77–80), King suggests that as traditional markers of identity such as a rural lifestyle or subsistence farming dissipate, language potentially takes on greater importance for ethnic identity.

Other aspects of identity, such as gender and age, also come into play in shaping ethnicity and language-use patterns. In many rural areas, for instance, women, small children, and older generations continue to use Quechua, while other community members shift toward Spanish. Chirinos notes that in rural areas of southern Peru, as well as in Bolivia, there

is still a high degree of indigenous language monolingualism among women (2001: 20). Young children, too, are often monolingual Quechua speakers, although as they mature, they begin to learn Andean Spanish in school, and the Quechua cultural and linguistic influence in their lives may decrease. These youth — especially those residing in urban Andean settings — often prefer not to speak Quechua with their friends, or even with their family members when in public (Gugenberger 1990: 187–188; also see Haboud 1998; Marr 1998: 182–185; von Gleich 1999 for discussions of age-related Quechua use). Many urban youth opt to speak Spanish and listen to rock and roll, techno-cumbia, and other typically nonindigenous music. These tendencies might be interpreted as indications that this new urban generation is in the process of constructing a new identity in which Spanish and English, as well as other foreign languages, are more prominent than Quechua.

In contrast, the oldest generations often continue to use Quechua, regardless of domain. Even after migration to urban centers, groups of Quechua speakers — especially of the older generation — may gather for festivities and simply to reminisce. Quechua is commonly used in domestic and intimate domains in the urban environment and these festivities are apparently considered part of the domestic sphere (or what Marr refers to as a “semi-public domain”) (Marr 1998: 68; cf. Cohen 1984; King 2000: 121–122).

Related to these shifts in language and identity are important changes in authority structures and intergenerational relationships within the community. As younger community members become more educated, literate and fluent in Spanish, traditional authorities within the community give way to them, ceding to their apparently greater knowledge of the world beyond the community’s boundaries. This shift in recognition of authority can disrupt traditional indigenous age and status hierarchies (A. Luykx, personal communication, 6/27/01) and the language choices that go along with these.

2.3. *Fishman’s dislocations*

The linguistic ideologies and shifting identities outlined above are rooted in sociocultural conditions, or “dislocations,” that contribute to language shift (Fishman 1991: 55–65; see also Fishman 1964). The principal dislocations that Fishman describes are *physical/demographic*, *social*, and *cultural*. Physical/demographic dislocations refer to trends such as population transfer and out-migration, be they voluntary or involuntary, driven by natural disasters such as famines, floods, or earthquakes, or by

human intervention such as warfare, genocide, or pollution of resources (Fishman 1991: 57).

Social dislocation refers to the subaltern status of a minority ethnolinguistic group, and the resultant social, economic and political disadvantages that accrue to those in that position. These groups have fewer opportunities to receive a good education or to advance economically or socially. In an attempt to overcome this social powerlessness, they may try to assimilate to the dominant culture, often migrating out of their own subsistence-based communities in search of employment in the wage-earning sector. Members of an indigenous minority “who seek social mobility become dependent on [the majority] society and are not only co-opted into that society, but try to make sure that their own children gain entry into it at as early an age as possible” (Fishman 1991: 60).

Finally, cultural dislocation involves the disruption of traditional cultural practices, be it through extreme measures such as genocide or legal prohibition, or more indirect but equally drastic means such as removal of the group from its customary areas, thus robbing members of “control of the natural resources that could constitute the economic bases of a more self-regulatory collective life and, therefore . . . of a possible avenue of cultural viability as well” (Fishman 1991: 62). All of these dislocations may be at work concurrently, and can function synergistically to compound the language-shift process.

2.3.1. *Physical/demographic dislocations: numbers and geographic distribution of Quechua speakers.* Physical and demographic dislocations have been an omnipresent feature of Quechua life. At the time of the Conquest, there was a dramatic reduction in numbers of Quechua speakers due to war, illness, slavery/peonage, and consequent famine brought by the invaders. In early colonial times, Quechua served as a *lingua franca* among indigenous peoples and Spaniards, and may have initially spread relative to other indigenous languages, but that advantage was soon lost as Spanish began displacing Quechua during the seventeenth century. Toward the end of the colonial period, Quechua was already disappearing from metropolitan centers where *criollos* (see glossary in introduction, this issue) had established their seats of power (Cerrón-Palomino 1989a: 28) and, as reflected in current census data, the geographic boundaries of Quechua have continued to shrink overall since then.

Statistics on the current number of speakers based on national census data are presented in Table 1. These figures show nearly six million Quechua speakers rather than the eight to twelve million estimated Quechua speakers mentioned above. There are several reasons why national census data tend to underestimate numbers of Quechua speakers. Some-

Table 1. *Quechua-speaking populations by country. Dates listed are the year of the most recent national censuses.*

	Argentina (1999)	Bolivia (1992)	Chile (1992)	Colombia (1993)	Ecuador (1990)	Peru (1993)
Total population	36,600,000	6,420,792	13,348,401	33,109,840	9,648,189	19,308,603
Quechua speakers ²	300,000	1,805,843	NA	20,000	362,525	3,177,938

times, because of the homogenizing ideologies of most Latin American governments (cf. Stavenhagen 1992; Urban 1991), linguistic data on languages other than Spanish are not included in the national censuses (e.g. Argentina). Alternatively, even if language information is available, it is often based on self-reports, which can be skewed by speakers' linguistic attitudes toward Spanish and Quechua. Additional political factors can also come into play; for instance, in 1990 there was an indigenous boycott of the Ecuadorian national census and approximately 30 to 40% of the indigenous population did not participate (Knapp 1991). This fact partly explains the extremely low figure presented here for Ecuador in contrast to the more widely accepted estimate of two million Quichua speakers (Haboud 1998). In addition, census takers may be poorly trained in terms of eliciting language-use data, or census questions relating to language may not be very detailed, excluding, for example, information on bilingualism and multilingualism. Given the problematic nature of census data, much of the information below on the current geographic distribution of Quechua is based on academic and nongovernmental sources.

In Argentina, Quechua is limited to three areas of the northwestern provinces: one is contiguous with the Quechua-speaking territory in Bolivia and there is a second small pocket to the east. These regions are La Puna and Quebrada de Humahuaca in the province of Jujuy, where what Alderetes (1998) calls the northern dialect of Argentine Quichua is spoken. This variety is currently believed to be in the process of extinction. The third area is located in the north and central regions of the province of Santiago del Estero, where Quichua Santiagueño is spoken. The departments of Atamisquí, Avellaneda, Figueroa, Loreto, Salavina, San Martín, Sarmiento and Silípica are considered to fall within this Quichua zone, while Capital, General Taboada, Ibarra and Robles are partially in this zone, and seven more, Aguirre, Alberdi, Copo, Jiménez, Ojo de Agua, Pellegrini and Quebrachos, are on its fringe (Alderetes 1998; Cerrón-Palomino 1987: 71). There is also anecdotal evidence of

a fairly large population of Quichua speakers in the region of Gran Buenos Aires, due to migration from rural to urban areas (Albarricín et al. 1999: 1).

In Bolivia, according to the 1992 census by the *Instituto Nacional de Estadística* (Bolivia, INE 2001), Quechua is spoken throughout the nine departments of the nation. The departments with the highest populations of Quechua speakers are Cochabamba, Potosí, Chuquisaca, Santa Cruz, La Paz and Oruro, while the language is spoken in some areas in Tarija, Beni, and Pando. Albó cautions, however, that the 1992 census is flawed as it does not take into account children under six years of age and was not diligently carried out in indigenous rural areas. He estimates that including children under six would increase the absolute number of speakers by 21.5%, and that perhaps as many as 15% of the rural population went uncounted (1999: 19).

In Chile, the largest community of Quechua speakers, numbering a few thousand, is in the northwest of the department of Lauca (Cerrón-Palomino 1987: 72), in the areas of Cupo-Turi, Toconce, and Estación San Pedro (Lehnert 1981–1982: 31, cited in Sánchez 1993). Sánchez further notes that there are very likely some speakers, although of very advanced ages, in Arica and Iquique, who migrated to Chile from Bolivia to work in the mines and nitrate fields of the north in the early 1900s (1993). However, migration has taken place in other parts of the country as well, and for instance, one can now find Quechua speakers in the Plaza de Armas in the capital city of Santiago (R. Howard, personal communication, 7/2/01). Given that the Quechua-speaking population is relatively small, it is very difficult to find official or unofficial statistics on this language group.

In Colombia, Quechua is limited to villages and communities within the departments and *comisarias* (counties) of Caquetá, Cauca, Huila, Nariño, and Putumayo. These include Aponte in Nariño, Santa Rosa de Caquetá in Cauca, Descanse and Alto Caquetá in Caquetá, and the towns of Santiago, San Andrés, Colón, Mocoa Limón, Guarango, and Puerto Asís in Putumayo. Cerrón-Palomino opines that Quechua is most actively spoken in the *comisaría* of Putumayo, while it is dying out in Cauca and Caquetá, although he urges caution in relying on these data, given their extreme antiquity (Cerrón-Palomino 1987: 57; Landaburu 2000: 11). According to *Ethnologue: Colombia* (1996), Highland Inga (Quechua) is spoken in the Sibundoy Valley, San Andrés, and Colón (department of Putumayo) and in Aponte (department of Nariño). There are also a small number of Ingano (Quechua) speakers in Bogotá, the capital, as well as in Venezuela. Lowland Inga is spoken in the jungle regions and has fewer speakers than Highland Inga. It is found along the

Upper Caquetá and Putumayo Rivers. Napeño, which *Ethnologue* also denotes as lowland Quechua, is spoken along the Putumayo River, and has an unknown number of speakers in Colombia. Napeño also has some speakers in Ecuador and Peru, although *Ethnologue* is the only source that indicates this.

In Ecuador, Quichua is most prevalent in the provinces of Azuay, Bolívar, Cañar, Chimborazo, Cotopaxi, Imbabura, Loja (in the northern areas), Napo, Pastaza, Pichincha (except the western forests), and Tungurahua, fully half of the nation's twenty-two provinces. The majority of these provinces are located in the Andes, but two of them, Napo and Pastaza, lie to the east in the Amazon basin. Here, Quichua is spoken only in some areas: Puyo, Arajuno and along the rivers Bobonaza, Conambo, and Curaray in Pastaza; and in Napo, it is found in Tena, Archidona, around the Bajo Napo River to Yurallpa, from Loreto to Aquila along the banks of the Payamino and Coca Rivers, and from their confluence with the Napo to Rocafuerte (Cerrón-Palomino 1987: 53–55).

Quechua is also widespread in Peru. Previously it was not spoken in the far northern or southern reaches of Peru, but due to internal migration, it can now be found in very irregular patterns across all twenty-four departments. Quechua is present across the Andean range, on its eastern flanks and down into the Amazon basin. Quechua speakers are most concentrated in the southern Andean region of Peru, including the departments of Huancavelica (66.6% of total population), Ayacucho (70.6%), Apurímac (76.6%), Cusco (63.2%), Ancash (36%), Huánuco (31.1%), and Puno (43.2%). In the departments of Madre de Dios (24.1%), Arequipa (17.1%), Moquegua (10.9%), Pasco (11.3%), and Junín (13%), there is a lower concentration, but still a fair number of speakers. In the remaining departments where Quechua is found, less than 10% of the population speaks Quechua as a mother tongue (Chirinos 2001: 41–42; INEI 1993). In the departments of Amazonas, Cajamarca, La Libertad, Lambayeque, Loreto, Piura, San Martín, Tacna, Tumbes, and Ucayali, less than 5% of the population has Quechua as its mother tongue; this number is less than 1% in Amazonas, La Libertad, Piura, and Tumbes, although Quechua is nevertheless present in these areas. More interestingly still, all of the Quechua speakers in the province of Callao, as well as the departments of Tacna and Tumbes, are migrants to these areas where formerly there were no Quechua speakers. Piura and Ucayali are similar cases, except that there were previously small communities of speakers.

Lastly, in Brazil, there are some reports of isolated groups of Quechua speakers in western areas. However, there is very little published research confirming or detailing this (cf. Parker 1969–1971, errata: 161, in Cerrón-

Palomino 1987: 72). For this reason, we have not included Brazil in our discussion here.

In terms of recent demographic shifts, Bolivia and Ecuador maintain relatively stable numbers of speakers and in some areas the number of speakers may even have slightly increased over time (Cerrón-Palomino 1997: 62). Indeed, Howard-Malverde (1995) cites cases where shift has occurred from Spanish to Quechua, as well as some very stable bilingual communities in urban areas in Bolivia (R. Howard, personal communication, 7/2/01). In recent years, however, the overall number of Quechua speakers throughout the Andean region continues to decrease, especially in metropolitan areas and despite strong monolingual pockets and small areas undergoing language revitalization (Albó 1995, 1999: 19; Cerrón-Palomino 1997: 62; Chirinos 1998; Hornberger and King 2001: 167–168). Although the reasons for such shifts are varied, many of them, especially those related to physical/demographic dislocations such as illness and warfare, persist through the centuries, albeit to varying degrees of severity.

As in colonial times, today illness remains a contributing factor to Quechua population decline. Since many Quechua-speaking people belong to the poorer sectors of society, they are more vulnerable to malnutrition and susceptible to illnesses and poor health in general. This leads to higher than average mortality rates within these communities relative to the population at large (Blondet Montero 1993: 69–81; INEI 1993) and hence contributes to the shrinking percentage of Quechua speakers within each country.

Likewise, warfare and genocide remain very real factors in the physical dislocation of indigenous communities. In recent decades, actions of radical groups employing guerrilla tactics, and the reactions of national armies and police forces against these radical guerrillas, have posed a serious threat to such communities, forcing physical dislocation and putting the cohesiveness of the community and the maintenance of its language in danger. In Colombia, with its long history of drug-trafficking and related violence, the government has at times accused, tried, and executed members of indigenous groups — often without just cause — for involvement in guerrilla activities. Overall, when guerrilla activities arise in indigenous zones, the indigenous peoples in those areas are severely repressed by the government (Albó 1991: 304, 309). Further examples are found in the prime coca-growing regions of Bolivia and Peru. Albó notes that in Bolivia many migrant workers have turned to these areas, either temporarily or permanently, as one of the few alternatives for work in a critically depressed economy (1991: 305), facing severe punishment and repression as a result.

Extreme physical dislocation — via the wholesale migration of rural Andean communities in Peru in an attempt to escape the guerrilla warfare rampant in the countryside — occurred during the campaign of *Sendero Luminoso* (“Shining Path”). *Sendero Luminoso* was a revolutionary guerrilla movement which was powerful from the early 1980s through the mid-1990s, and primarily active in highland communities. In response to *Sendero*, the government sent out army and police patrols, who in their zeal often killed or jailed many innocent people. Many community members were massacred as a result of *Sendero* activities and the government’s retaliation, while thousands of others fled to the cities to escape the danger.

In addition to warfare and illness, Andean populations are subject to natural disasters, such as earthquakes (for example, the 1970 earthquake that buried the town of Huaráz in the department of Ancash) and periodic droughts produced by the shifting *El Niño* current along the Peruvian coast. These cataclysmic events contribute dramatically to migration of Quechua-speaking populations in search of a new home or better prospects for their animals and crops.

2.3.2. *Social dislocations: seeking economic and social mobility through migration and education.* Though less cataclysmic than the physical dislocations resulting from illness, natural disasters or warfare, social dislocations resulting from the ongoing oppressive social, political, and economic conditions which characterize many endangered language communities are perhaps equally or more devastating, due to their insidious and long-term nature. Fishman notes that members of minority ethnolinguistic groups are frequently less educationally and economically fortunate than the average population surrounding them, and that they therefore may seek economic and social mobility to improve their own and their children’s lots in life, abandoning their own distinctive practices and traditions in the process (Fishman 1991: 59–60). In the Andean context, this trend is clearly visible in migration trends and educational aspirations, as well as in patterns of language shift.

Social dislocation is often accompanied by physical dislocation, notably migration in pursuit of economic and social mobility. As Dorian observes, “pursuit of economic advancement has often been a factor favoring assimilation, but more information about the outside world has made it a still more potent factor in recent times” (2001: 3). Throughout the Andes, migration has steadily increased from the rural highlands to major metropolitan areas such as Lima, Quito, La Paz, and Santiago de Chile (Grebe Vicuña 1997). Indeed, massive migration over the last fifty years has transformed all Andean countries, to a greater or lesser extent, from

largely rural nations to primarily urban ones. Official census figures for Peru, for example, reveal how pronounced this shift has been: in 1940, 35% of the population resided in urban areas, 65% in rural sectors; by 1982 these numbers were reversed, with 65% of the country counting as urban and 35% as rural (von Gleich 1992: 59).

The most immediate and obvious reason for such large-scale migration is economic. Quechua speakers have long faced difficulties in supporting themselves through their traditional agrarian and pastoral (subsistence) lifestyles; as populations continue to grow, the land can no longer support all, and some must move elsewhere. Hence, many migrate to the industrialized urban areas where there is the possibility of finding salaried positions. However, the ever-increasing forces of globalization and communication also come into play in this process: “just as members of highly industrialized societies are more aware these days of the pressures on small peoples, previously isolated groups are more aware nowadays that others are leading more prosperous and comfortable lives than they are themselves” (Dorian 2001: 3), and hence have greater motivation to seek out more secure and prosperous positions outside their communities.

While Quechua migration has brought Quechua back into the city (R. Howard, personal communication, 7/2/01), the language has not flourished; and Quechua does not appear to be making as strong a comeback in the large cities as one might expect considering the large number of Quechua immigrants. Linguistic shame (as mentioned above) may prevent these Quechua speakers from using their language outside of their homes or their immediate communities. Quechua speakers often find that they are actively discriminated against and made to feel ashamed if they cannot communicate in Spanish (authors’ personal experience and observation; see also Albó 1999: 42; Marr 1998: 103–131; Cerrón-Palomino 1989a: 24, 27).

Another factor influencing language shift in these cases of migration to Spanish-speaking metropolitan areas is that of linguistic necessity; that is, Spanish is required to access many jobs (cf. Carpenter 1983; Chirinos 1997: 255; Cotacachi 1997; Hornberger 1988a). Also, as highland cities grow in size and importance, so too grow the concentrations of Spanish speakers there, increasing the opportunity and necessity for the Quechua-speaking populations to learn Spanish. This has happened in Peru, for example in Cusco, Arequipa, and Huancayo; even in smaller Peruvian cities where Quechua was formerly heard, such as Huaraz, Cajamarca, and Huancayo, Spanish seems to be rapidly displacing Quechua (R. Cerrón-Palomino, personal communication, 1999; see also Chirinos 2001).

Migration disrupts and diffracts the community, scattering it across vast regions that can be difficult to traverse, and typically weakening tra-

ditional languages and lifeways (Dorian 2001: 2). While some manage to maintain contact with their home communities, many do not, causing them to lose their previous support systems and the networks of people with whom they spoke Quechua. On the other hand, new communities often form in the areas of immigration, which may counterbalance the diffraction of the original community to some extent. Even so, in cases where Quechua speakers migrate into a Quechua-speaking community on the outskirts of a large city, they often experience changes in the dynamics of their social networks. For instance, intermarriage (Baker 1996: 54) between Quechua speakers and Spanish speakers is often related to migration and can also lead to language shift, as it is common for the Quechua partner to speak Spanish and for the couple not to pass Quechua on to their children (Myers 1973: 119).

In many cases, the reasons for or the permanency of migration has strong implications for maintenance or shift. Sometimes, for instance, migration from rural to urban settings is permanent, which generally involves significant career and lifestyle changes (Grebe Vicuña 1997: 1–2). In the case of urban migrants fleeing *Sendero Luminoso*, many had firmly established themselves and their families in the cities by the time the threat had passed, and chose to stay there. In other instances, migration follows seasonal patterns, with a concomitantly greater likelihood of maintaining Quechua language and ethnic identification. As an example, figures obtained from *Ethnologue: Argentina* indicate that there are about 200,000 temporary laborers in Argentina who speak Southern Bolivian Quechua and who are apparently immigrants from Bolivia, but these numbers too will vary in response to Argentina's own economic situation. In addition, *Ethnologue* notes that there are about 5,000 speakers of Northwest Jujuy Quechua near the Bolivian border, and that this is a migratory population. Certainly many speakers of Quichua Santiagueño migrate seasonally, following the sugar cane and cotton harvests and the carbon-making industry. Recent studies of language shift and migration include that of Marr (1998), who documents cases of language shift among migrants from the highlands to Lima; Gugenberger (1990), who follows the progress of Puno immigrants to Arequipa, also in Peru; and Grebe Vicuña (1997), who provides a brief overview of migrations throughout the Andean region.

Migration occurs internationally as well, as noted from the examples given above. In addition, North Bolivian Quechua has been documented as far north as Sandia, Peru (*Ethnologue: Bolivia*). Also, there is a significant amount of crossing between Peru and Bolivia among the Quechua and Aymara populations in the border region, for reasons ranging from familial relationships to business to migration in search of work, although

this migration tends to be more prevalent among Aymaras than among Quechuas.

More complicated still is migration to a different continent. While emigrating to the US, Europe, and beyond is not within the economic reach of most Quechua peoples, many still find ways to travel to and reside in countries around the world, as students, musicians, agricultural workers, or business people. In the state of Utah in the United States, for instance, there are large agricultural companies that financially assist Andean shepherds in immigrating to the United States to work on their farms. In California, Quechuas are brought in under a federal guest worker program, and there is presently a community of approximately 5,000 Quechua speakers from the Huancavelica and Ayacucho regions of Peru who work on company farms raising domestic animals (cf. Rural Migration News 2000; Tamaki 2000).

The Ecuadorian Otavaleños are an exceptional case of international migration (cf. Carpenter 1983: 97). Despite migration out of the country, and

despite having assimilated and accepted diverse Western cultural traits, they have succeeded in maintaining their own culture and identity. These reinforced ideological and behavioral patterns are externalized in their language and indigenous dress as well as in their beliefs, values, and artistic expressions. Through their artisanship, they have successfully maintained and fortified their ethnic identity. (Sánchez Enríquez 1994: 332–333, in Grebe Vicuña 1997: 2, translation ours)

Cotacachi similarly notes that members of the Ecuadorian community of Pucará de San Roque frequently migrate to national and international urban centers, but maintain Quichua language and cultural practices (1997: 289). These cases provide compelling evidence that the dislocation of migration does not necessarily entail abandonment of Quechua language and culture.

In a similar vein, Zevallos (1999) describes the situation of many Andean indigenous people who out-migrate internationally — to the United States, for example — for economic reasons, and find once they become acclimated to the new culture, that they can express their Andean identities more fully than they ever could within their home countries (see also Martínez and Gelles 1992 for one of the cases that Zevallos studies). Both this case and those described by Cotacachi and Carpenter are fascinating — although perhaps atypical — examples of migration strengthening rather than weakening cultural and linguistic ties.

In some cases, migration is spurred by the desire for better education and opportunities for social mobility. Rural schools generally do not have

the capacity to offer the same quality of education that can be obtained in the cities; and many rural communities offer no secondary schooling at all (Coronel-Molina 1999b: 66). Once students migrate and enroll in such schools they tend to adopt local language-use patterns and local values. Von Gleich, for instance, documents the shifts in language and attitude that take place among transplants from the Peruvian highlands to Lima schools, noting that “the higher levels of education mean greater pressure for students to forget the language of their parents and to speak ‘good’ Spanish” (1999: 696, translation ours).

Whereas education is an important avenue for social mobility and advancement, educational policies have long served to repress Quechua and Quechua speakers. Spanish has typically been the official language of schooling, and Quechua-speaking children face great disadvantages for speaking Quechua in school, a circumstance seemingly contributing to linguistic shame and language shift. King asserts that “the introduction of education into the lives of community members” was an important, if indirect, historical factor in the shift to Spanish in the highland Ecuadorian communities she studied; many families reported that they switched to Spanish in the home soon after the introduction of formal schooling in the area so that their children would not be punished for speaking Quichua (2000: 73). While such practices may not exist to the same extent today, neither have these trends been completely reversed. Cotacachi, for instance, found that Ecuadorian children who attended nonbilingual schools were less communicative and less enthusiastic about schooling in general than were their counterparts in bilingual schools. After interviewing students at these schools, she concluded that this was because the students were punished and repressed, and the teachers neither spoke nor encouraged the students to speak Quichua (1997: 294; cf. Hornberger 1988a: 190–220 on similar findings in Peru).

In historical perspective, the desire for social mobility seems a relatively recent change in the value systems of many indigenous communities; certainly the possibility of social mobility for a greater percentage of ethnic communities is. Education plays a critical role in this process; and it is increasingly common for indigenous people to achieve social mobility through education. In recent decades, Quechuas have made some progress in entering professional fields such as medicine, business, the sciences, and politics. Still, the greatest barrier to indigenous peoples’ economic advancement — as opposed to economic opportunities for the population as a whole — is the lack of opportunity to receive a good education. As access to education and social mobility continue to increase, what effect this might have on the status of Quechua, and thus its maintenance in these newly professional populations, remains to be seen.

2.3.3. *Cultural dislocations: maintaining Quechua practices in the face of modernization.* Modernization and democratization constitute cultural dislocation risks in that they erode cultural and religious differences and lead to universal dependence on the endemic and omnipresent majority culture (Fishman 1991: 63). Yet this need not be so, Fishman argues, if cultural democracy — that is, the protection and cultivation of the cultural rights of minorities — is recognized as a component and responsibility of the general democratic promise (1991: 65). Concomitantly, modernization, coupled with globalization, has “also made it easier for small and previously isolated peoples to forge new extra-national links, most notably with global political movements dedicated to human rights or environmental protection,” hence providing new venues for political activity in defense of those cultural rights (Dorian 2001: 6). Yet despite these important advances, this intensified contact still threatens to impinge on the cultural systems of many minority groups, and in particular, on cultural transmission to the youngest generation.

Traditionally, informal socialization received at the hands of family and community members is the means by which an older generation passes on its linguistic and cultural wisdom and practices to the younger generation. However, in the case of Quechua (and other endangered languages), this transmission is interrupted. Fishman (1991, 1998) insists that such inter-generational transmission is the most important determinant in language maintenance and language shift. In isolated monolingual highland regions of Peru, Ecuador, and Bolivia, Quechua is still passed from one generation to the next in many communities. Elsewhere, however, due in large degree to the effects of modernization, democratization, and globalization, Quechua cultural practices are ceding to Western ones, and the Quechua language is gradually being replaced by Spanish. An example of a domain in which both shift and maintenance are occurring — interwoven with the forces of modernization and democratization — is that of religion.

The effect of religion on Quechua language use has a varied and complicated history, and the history of Quechua’s rise and fall in religious domains has been well documented (for example, see Cerrón-Palomino 1989a: 18–22; E. Hornberger 1979; Mannheim 1991: 63–71). In brief, very early in the colonial period, Quechua was used as a *lingua franca* to aid in the evangelization of the indigenous populations (see, for example, Dedenbach-Salazar and Crickmay 1999). However, by the mid-eighteenth century, Spanish was designated as the official language of evangelization and Quechua began to be suppressed in the religious domain. Nevertheless, today Quechua is still used in small rural communities and in cities such as Cusco in the practice of the Catholic

faith; numerous prayers to the Catholic saints, for example, exist in Quechua.

Albó discusses religious ideologies and how they influence individual or group identity, emphasizing how the “ethnic-religious discrimination” practiced by the dominant society against the beliefs of subordinate groups can lead members to hide their true beliefs, either out of shame or fear of persecution (1999: 52–53). Alternatively, the subordinate group may genuinely convert to the dominant religious belief system, which clearly alters their perceptions of their individual or group identities, as well as their linguistic practices. Thus, although Quechua is still used in religious practice in some areas, the net effect of conversion of the indigenous masses to Catholicism and other religions or sects has been to reduce the use of Quechua in this domain throughout the Andes (see also Albó 1990: 436–437).

Nevertheless, religion has never been completely successful at eliminating and replacing Quechua belief systems or Quechua language use. In many regions there is a syncretism or blending of beliefs, with Catholic paradigms layered over Andean ideologies (E. Hornberger 1979; Marzal 1995). Some very isolated villages throughout the Andean monolingual zones, and even many mining communities in Bolivia (A. Luykx, personal communication, 6/27/01) still practice their traditional religious rites and ceremonies, either with or without syncretism with Catholicism. These traditions are performed in Quechua, mixed with Spanish to varying degrees depending on the community (Howard-Malverde 1998; Platt 1997). The tenacity of Quechua religious (and other cultural) practices in the face of centuries of Westernization, modernization, and democratization suggests that complete cultural dislocation is by no means a foregone conclusion within this domain.

In this section, we have briefly reviewed some of the factors influencing language shift in Quechua language communities, as captured in Fishman’s notions of physical, social, and cultural dislocation, with particular attention to the ways in which linguistic ideologies and ethnic identities come into play. We have highlighted the complexity of factors influencing and interacting with language-use patterns, and also underlined the variability of these patterns across Andean contexts. Taken together, the data clearly reflect the threatened and precarious status of Quechua; overall, the picture is one of a slowly contracting language, which displays many of the telltale signs of a language on the road to extinction (cf. Dorian 1981). As suggested in the introduction, it is our position that informed and locally sensitive language-planning efforts are critical to preventing the eventual disappearance of the language. We now turn to a consideration of some of these efforts.

3. Language-planning efforts and their implications for shift, maintenance, or revitalization

Language planning traditionally encompasses status planning (which is about the uses of language), acquisition planning (about the users of languages), and corpus planning (about the language itself) (Cooper 1989). The following section takes up each of these three language-planning types with respect to Quechua language-planning activities, followed by a discussion of some of the agents of Quechua language planning. We outline a number of the language policies that are currently in effect, some of the planning efforts that have been made over the years in Andean nations, and the impact they have had on Quechua status, corpus, and acquisition.

3.1. Status planning

Status planning encompasses all planning efforts targeted at establishing or changing the status of a language in its societal context, potentially including explicit government policy, as well as promotion (or demotion) of the language by extending (or restricting) its use into new domains such as the mass media and literary production, via both top-down and bottom-up means. The following subsections take up these aspects in relation to Quechua.

3.1.1. Official and constitutional planning. Recent decades have seen dramatic shifts in language and education policy in Andean countries, generally characterized by greater recognition of the languages and cultures of indigenous minority groups (Hornberger 2000). Luykx (2000) argues that “while responding in part to demands from indigenous organizations, these reforms are fueled even more powerfully by pressures from international lending institutions. As a result, they are ‘cut from the same cloth’ in terms of their general outlines, though with significant variations from country to country”. This trend is apparent in the brief overview below of the recognition granted to Quechua in four of the six countries’ constitutions.

Bolivia’s 1994 constitution recognizes the multiethnic and pluricultural nature of the country in Article 1, and Article 171 “recognizes, respects and protects” the diverse sociocultural, economic, and linguistic rights, traditions, and institutions of indigenous groups; but the constitution specifies no national or official language, and does not mention indigenous languages in education. Similarly, Colombia’s most recent constitu-

tion of 1997 recognizes and protects the country's ethnic and cultural diversity in Article 7. Article 10 establishes Spanish as the official language of Colombia, whereas the languages of the various ethnic groups are official in their respective territories. Education is mandated to be bilingual in Spanish and the community's language. Ecuador's constitution of 1996 establishes, in Article 1, the multiethnic and pluricultural nature of the country. Article 40 establishes the right to education in the maternal language of indigenous groups, while Spanish is the language of intercultural relations. Finally, Peru's 1993 constitution grants all citizens the right to their ethnic identity, and specifically recognizes and protects ethnic and cultural plurality in Article 2. Bilingual intercultural education is guaranteed, "according to the characteristics of each zone," in the last paragraph of Article 17. Article 48 establishes Spanish as the national official language, with indigenous languages as official in the areas where they are numerically dominant.

Although this sort of constitutional recognition is not inconsequential, it is often largely symbolic. For instance, since the official language, *de facto* if not *de jure*, of all six Andean countries is Spanish, any dealings with the government administration are in this language. Some documents, such as individual constitutions, have been translated into Quechua (e.g. Chirinos' [1999] translation of the 1993 Peruvian constitution), but are not regularly used within administrative offices. In cases where a monolingual Quechua speaker must deal with government administration, for instance in the courts, these speakers are provided with interpreters; thus, the primary language in such proceedings is still Spanish.

Nevertheless, examples of exceptions to this general tendency can be found in the three primary Andean countries. In Ecuador, Quichua is used within the Ministry of Education offices (von Gleich 1994: 98), especially after the establishment of the *Dirección Nacional de Educación Intercultural Indígena Bilingüe* (National Directorate of Indigenous, Intercultural Bilingual Education, or DINEIIB) in 1988. The Ecuadorian Ministry of Public Health publishes a dictionary of health-related terms in Quichua for use by personnel (Sacoto and Tapuy n.d.). In a similar vein, Haboud indicates that although Spanish continues to be the language of formality, Quichua is slowly gaining ground "in the external *mestizo* world" (1998: 118; translation ours). She cites the example of former president Jaime Roldós, who gave his inaugural address in Quichua in 1978, despite his coastal, non-Quichua origins. In addition, there is the perception among many younger Quichua-speaking professionals, such as bilingual teachers and indigenous leaders, that Quichua is becoming more widely accepted within official contexts.

Similarly, in Peru and Bolivia, Quechua is used at local medical posts in rural communities. These stations are established and maintained by the Ministry of Health, and often staffed by local community members trained as health promoters (Andersen and Daza 1989; Hornberger and King 2001: 182). While this is not direct contact with governmental officials, these health stations can be considered extensions of the administration. More symbolically interesting than officially significant, during the recent (2000) presidential campaigns in Peru, Eliane Karp, the Belgian wife of successful presidential hopeful Alejandro Toledo, gave a number of speeches in Quechua; and there is the occasional symbolic use of Quechua by diplomats in the Bolivian and Peruvian Parliaments.

It would be a significant “vote of confidence” if mainstream officials were to accept the use of Quechua (or any indigenous language) within the halls of government. Such an action would signal that Quechua is a legitimate language and could, over time, influence the attitudes of the mass of the population, both Spanish-speaking and Quichua-speaking. This would not necessarily mean that all Spanish-speaking legislators speak Quechua among themselves, but rather, for instance, that some official intergroup communication could begin to be produced in both Spanish and Quechua. In fact, some official documents and informational pamphlets have already been translated into Quechua (albeit by nongovernment organizations); for example, the Declaration of Human Rights (see website of the United Nations High Commission for Human Rights). Such examples remain exceptions to the rule: for Quechua to be regularly used in official settings, it would need to be taught to and acquired by not only indigenous people, but also the Spanish-speaking majorities. We will take this up further below, in the section on acquisition planning.

3.1.2. *Mass media.* The widespread use of mass media such as radio and television produced predominantly or exclusively in the society’s dominant language have brought previously Quechua-dominant communities into greater contact with the Spanish-speaking world (Cerrón-Palomino 1997: 62; Hornberger 1988a: 164–174). Although mass media in Spanish are generally much more widely available than in Quechua, there have been significant shifts toward the use of Quechua in these domains in recent years, and mass media now serve as a significant domain of status enhancement for Quechua. Indeed, digging beneath the surface, one sees that Quechua in mass media has an established, if not prolific, history in the Andean region, with newspapers and radio being the most common forms.

For instance, Quechua newspapers existed in Cochabamba, Bolivia in the 1970s; and in 2000, the La Paz daily, *Presencia*, initiated inclusion of

a Quechua and Aymara centerfold page in every edition. In Peru, for several months immediately following the officialization of Quechua in 1975, there was a daily newspaper in Quechua, *Cronicawan*. Although today there is no regular newspaper publication in Quechua in Peru, a bilingual column occasionally appears in the Sunday edition of *El Comercio*, a well-known Lima newspaper. *El Comercio* of Ecuador also includes Quichua at least occasionally, judging from a copy of a special bilingual edition of the Sunday supplement entitled, *Dolarización/Dolarwan Aylluyarinamanta* ('Dollarization') from this newspaper (2000).

Haboud indicates that radio transmissions in Quichua have generally been more successful in Ecuador than print publications, due to the infrequency of Quechua literacy and the difficulty of distributing Quichua periodicals in indigenous regions (1998: 119–120), a point echoed by Albó concerning Bolivia (1998: 147). Radio programming has been available in Quechua throughout the Andes for decades. Indeed, at one point in the 1970s, La Paz had twenty Quechua radio stations, and Cochabamba had eleven (von Gleich 1994: 93). Often the Quechua programming has been limited to certain hours, such as around daybreak and in late afternoon, to coincide with the typical schedules of rural, agricultural communities (Hornberger 1988a: 173). Typically the programming is of a religious or educational nature, although in recent years a wider variety of themes and topics has become available. Luykx's (2001) analysis suggests that radio programming has been underutilized and underfunded as an area of language planning, while showing potential to forge a broader (international) Quechua language awareness and to stimulate language revitalization in other domains. Below we provide a sampling of some of the diverse Quechua radio programs.

HCJB World Radio has a long-standing radio transmission in Quechua (dating back to 1932) with an evangelical mission (see URL in bibliography; Albó 1998: 132). They currently broadcast in multiple dialects of Quechua I and Quechua II, throughout Ecuador, Bolivia, and Peru. They produce their programs in both Quito and the United States, and broadcast using shortwave from the Voice of the Andes in Ecuador. Their transmissions can be heard and understood — despite some dialectal variations — all the way from southern Colombia through Ecuador, Peru and Bolivia, down to Santiago del Estero in Argentina (Albó 1998: 136). Other religious broadcasters include *Radio Colta*, a local station in Ecuador, and *Radio La Cruz del Sur*, *Radio Televisión Caranavi*, and *Radio Runasimi-SIM* (the newest out of Cochabamba, Bolivia), all in Bolivia.

Catholic stations have also been broadcasting in indigenous languages for several decades, primarily in rural regions of the Andes. Albó notes

that the Protestant stations tend to have a more proselytizing function, while the Catholic ones take a more educational direction. As an example, several local Catholic efforts scattered throughout rural areas in the Andean countries began what they called *escuelas radiofónicas* ('radio broadcast schools'), which eventually combined to form the *Asociación Latinoamericana de Educación Radiofónica* (ALER), Latin American Association of Radio Broadcast Education, based in Quito. Then, in 1983, the *Asociación Mundial de Radios Comunitarias* (AMARC), World Association for Community Radio, was established, and by 1990, at least eighty of the 201 member stations transmitted in indigenous languages with an educational purpose.

Radio Fides is a station in La Paz with a primarily entertainment function, and although it transmits principally in Spanish, it does include commercials and public service announcements in Quechua and Aymara. Its most popular program, *La hora del país* ('Hour of the nation'), routinely includes brief segments in five or six indigenous languages. *Radio ACLO* is another station with an essentially entertainment function, based in southern Bolivia but affiliated with a network of stations that covers the entire country. They are planning programs which use multiple varieties of Quechua for transmission to the entire network via satellite.

Finally, *Ñuqanchik* ('Ourselves'), a very recent programming effort, incorporates not only radio but also the World Wide Web in its broadcast. This program is a joint project between the *Agencia Informativa Pulsar*, or Pulsar Information Agency, based in Ecuador, the *Red Científica Peruana* (RCP), or Peruvian Scientific Network, and the *Centro Peruano de Estudios Sociales* (CEPES), or Peruvian Center for Social Studies. The program receives support from UNESCO and is distributed via electronic mail and the internet to radio stations throughout the Andean region. *Takiyninchik* ('Our Songs') and *Tierra Fecunda* ('Fertile Earth') are two other radio programs, based in Peru and produced by CEPES, that offer news, folklore and musical programming in Quechua. *Tierra Fecunda* has attracted a wide following throughout the Andean region of Peru with its incisive and sophisticated programming, including musical contests, a legal consulting hotline, and a network of more than 700 correspondents, all in Cusco and Ayacucho Quechua (Albó 1998: 136; Coronel-Molina 1999a: 172).

While films are not generally classified as part of the mass media, they can certainly be a significant means of reaching the public, and thus potentially influencing public opinion. There is not a thriving Quechua film tradition, but some movies have been produced in both Quechua and Spanish in Bolivia by indigenous groups with the support of farmers' and miners' organizations and some regional clubs. Two such movies are *Ha-*

tun Awqa ('Big Enemy'), in Peruvian Quechua (B. Mannheim, personal communication, 10/15/99), and *Llujsiy Caimanta* ('Get Out of Here'), in Ecuadorian Quichua, both directed by Bolivian Jorge Sanjinés, who also directed *Ukhamaw*, in Aymara (X. Albó, personal communication, 7/6/01; A. Luykx, personal communication, 2/25/02). Peruvian artist Fausto Espinoza Farfán, perhaps best known for his Pacha Kutiq and Kuntur sculptures in Cusco and San Sebastián respectively, always included Quechua dialogue and narration in his films, for example *Qosqo* and *José Gabriel* (F. Espinoza Farfán, personal communication, 7/16/87).

The most novel development in Quechua in the mass media is its ever-greater presence on the World Wide Web. There are hundreds of Quechua websites, although the number actually in Quechua is much less. One site entirely in Quechua, featuring photos of the Andes, is Esteban Hornberger's (2001, see references for URL). Some Quechua websites offer self-study courses, many including multimedia elements such as video and audio clips. The Bolivian Educational and Cultural Network, *Llajta* ('The People'), has a website that facilitates the exchange of cultural and educational information throughout the world (see reference section); it also offers Andean music online in Quechua and Spanish. The *Red Científica Peruana* website features various literary works and historical and cultural information translated into Quechua. The United Nations High Commission for Human Rights website offers translations into Quechua of important documents of the United Nations. Other sites collect stories, myths, folktales, jokes, songs and music, art, and original poetry: for example Culture of the Andes, Quechua en Cochabamba (1997), *Promudeh* (2001), *Shumupailla Mashikuna* (n.d.), and Coronel-Molina's CyberQuechua (2001).

Quechua people's access to such websites is generally extremely limited, calling into question the extent to which such technology can serve to promote the status of Quechua within Quechua communities. However, there are signs that access to such technology may be expanding. For instance, President Alejandro Toledo of Peru recently instituted the Huascarán Project in collaboration with the Bill and Melinda Gates Foundation to bring internet-based education (via satellite) to indigenous communities throughout Peru (Peruvian Ministry of Education 2001). While laudable, such projects will provide greater access to English and Spanish websites as well as to Quechua ones, hence introducing an additional domain for Quechua use but also a new domain in which Quechua will be forced to compete.

3.1.3. *Literary works.* Existence of a literary tradition is often regarded as an important factor in a language's status (cf. Stewart 1968 on

the literary function as one of ten language functions). The literary tradition in Quechua dates back to colonial times and includes not only original works written in Quechua by Quechua-speaking authors, such as poetry and drama, but also oral histories, stories, myths, and legends that have been collected and transcribed either by native Quechua speakers or by others with an interest in Quechua. Translations of other works into Quechua are not strictly part of a Quechua literary tradition, but do contribute to the body of literature available in Quechua, and are thus briefly noted here.

One of the best-known colonial documents is the Huarochirí manuscript, produced at the turn of the seventeenth century. This document has received considerable attention in recent decades (e.g. Dedenbach-Salazar 1994, 1997), having been reproduced and translated for several bilingual editions. Perhaps the earliest of these was José María Arguedas and Duviols' (1966) version, *Dioses y hombres de Huarochirí* ('Gods and men of Huarochirí'). Gerald Taylor has produced three versions, one in French and two in Spanish (1980, 1987, 1999); Willem Adelaar edited a bilingual version in Dutch (1983); George Urioste wrote a Spanish translation in two volumes (1983), and then collaborated with Frank Salomon to produce an English edition (1991).

Texts such as the Huarochirí manuscript and shorter works such as the eighteenth-century anonymous dramas *Uska Pawqar* (Carrillo 1967), *Isicha Puytu* (Lira 1974), and *Ollantay* (see Calvo Pérez 1998; Hornberger 1977) are essentially transcribed versions of oral Quechua traditions. Other written renditions of oral tradition include *huaynos*, which represent a musical form unique to the Andes (Montoya et al. 1987), and bilingual compilations of Quechua tales, histories, and myths such as Chuquimamani's *Unay pachas* ('Once upon a time') (1983, 1984); Escalante and Valderrama's *La doncella sacrificada: Mitos del Valle del Colca* ('The sacrificed virgin: Myths of the Colca valley') (1997); Chirinos and Maque Capira's *Eros Andinos* ('Andean Eros') (1996); Payne's *Cuentos Cusqueños* ('Cusco Stories') (1999); and Itier (ed.), *Tradición oral y mitología Andinas* ('Andean oral tradition and mythology') (1997), among many others.

Written genres other than transcriptions of oral tradition also exist in Quechua, including drama that has a history running from seventeenth- and eighteenth-century Cusco to the twentieth century. Nemesio Zúñiga Cazorla (see Itier 1995) is an example of a twentieth century playwright. The genre of autobiography is represented in Quechua literary tradition by authors such as Valderrama and Escalante, who helped produce the Quechua *testimonio* ('testimony') of Gregorio Condori Mamani (1982).

Original Quechua poets include Peruvian William Hurtado de Mendoza who has published several bilingual Quechua-Spanish collections (1977, 1992); Ecuadorian Ariruma Kowii (1996); and five Quechua poets in a volume edited by Julio Noriega Bernuy (1998) that presents their work in English and Spanish as well as in the original Quechua. Fausto Jara (1982, 1994) and María Sisapacari Bacacela (2000) each produced bilingual compilations of stories in Spanish and Ecuadorian Quichua.

Argentinian examples include an original pamphlet of political satire from 1940 written originally in Quichua santiagueño with a nonstandard alphabet, then rewritten in “modernized” Quichua and finally translated into Spanish (also see the *Institución Cultural Alero Quichua Santiagueño* website). Other Quechua material in print, although quite rare, consists of academic texts, for example, recent articles written in Quechua by Coronel-Molina (2000) on corpus planning for Peruvian Quechua, and by Itier (2000) on the recent development of Quechua literature. Popular literature translated into Quechua includes the Ecuadorian Quichua versions of García Márquez’ (1981) *Crónica de una muerte anunciada* (‘Chronicle of a death foretold’), and Saint-Exupéry’s classic, *Le petit prince* (‘The little prince’) (1989; Albó 1998: 147, note 27).

The Peruvian Ministry of Education and the Bolivian National Education Reform, among others, are active in producing educational materials in Quechua (see the websites of PROEIB Andes and of the Peruvian Ministry of Education for details). José Chasoy Sijindioy (1981, 1982a, 1982b, 1983) has produced a number of elementary primers in Colombian Quechua (Ingano).

There are also several private publishing houses that produce works both in and about Quechua. Some of these concentrate primarily on Quechua, for example, the *Fondo Editorial del Centro de Estudios Regionales Andinos “Bartolomé de las Casas”* based in Cusco, Peru; Abya-Yala, based in Quito, Ecuador; and the *Centro de Investigación y Promoción del Campesinado* in La Paz, Bolivia. The *Wiraqocha Biblioteca* series, initiated in Sicuani, Peru in the 1970s, focuses exclusively on works in Quechua — both traditional and original (e.g. Espinoza 1979; Hornberger 1977); while the *Instituto de Estudios Peruanos*, based in Lima, Peru, publishes a significant number of works both in and about Quechua. In addition, there are also a number of international publications with an Andean focus, such as journals or newsletters that frequently offer information on new publications in Quechua, although the journals themselves tend not to appear in Quechua. Four prominent examples are the *Revista Andina*, published in Cusco; *Indiana*, published by the *Ibero-Amerikanisches Institut* in Berlin; *Amerindia*, produced by the *Association d’Ethnolinguistique Amérindienne* in Paris; and the *Correo de Lingüística*

Andina (1992–2002), a newsletter dating back to the 1970s and currently published by the Center for Latin American and Caribbean Studies at the University of Illinois, Urbana-Champaign.

In the long run, the political and educational efforts of the national governments can only accomplish (at best) part of the task of maintaining and revitalizing Quechua; as noted above, these shifts tend to be largely symbolic ones. While symbolic efforts are significant, it is the top-down and bottom-up efforts to extend the use of Quechua into new domains, such as mass media and literary production, which will have more far-reaching impact on raising the status of Quechua. This elaboration of function of course requires simultaneous codification of form (Haugen 1983), to which we turn next.

3.2. *Corpus planning*

Common corpus-planning goals include standardization, graphization, modernization, and renovation of the language in question (Hornberger 1994a, following Cooper 1989). All of these have been undertaken in the case of Quechua.

3.2.1. *Graphization (orthographic standardization)*. Quechua graphization (and orthographic standardization) has been a work-in-progress ever since the Spanish Conquest. Since the Spanish alphabet was not adequate to represent all the sounds present in Quechua, colonial Spanish efforts at writing Quechua varied from author to author. Attempts to create a standardized alphabet have continued since then, with reasons for failures ranging from not taking the Quechua phonological system into account to attempting overly complex alphabets. Presently, of the six Andean countries discussed in this article, only Ecuador, Bolivia, and Peru have standardized orthographies, although there are still dissenting voices heard against these (cf. Coronel-Molina 1996; Hornberger 1995). The process is still ongoing in Argentina and Colombia. Data on orthographic standardization is not available from Chile.

One of the first deliberate contemporary efforts to establish a unified writing system was that of the *III Congreso Indigenista Interamericano* convened in La Paz, Bolivia in 1954, which attempted to develop an alphabet that would express both Quechua and Aymara phonemes, known as the *Sistema Único de Escritura para las Lenguas Quechua y Aymara* ('Unified Writing System for Quechua and Aymara'). The Pan-Quechua Alphabet, a later attempt to standardize the Quechua writing system, was approved in 1983 by the First Workshop on Quechua and Aymara Writ-

ing convened in Lima, Peru. It was developed with the intention of representing the major sound variants in all Quechua dialects. Results of this workshop included establishment of general orthographic rules, as well as guidelines concerning the incorporation of Spanish loan words into the Quechua orthographic system and the use of only three vowels (a, i, u) in both the Quechua and Aymara official alphabets (Hornberger 1993).

Despite the existence of the Pan-Quechua Alphabet, there are some groups that continue to debate the issue of an effective orthography and to use their own preferred orthographic systems for political, ideological or linguistic reasons (Coronel-Molina 1996). For instance, very shortly after the Pan-Quechua alphabet was approved, the Peruvian Academy of the Quechua Language convened its own First National and International Congress of the Quechua and Aymara Academies in 1987 in Cusco with the ultimate outcome of approving a five-vowel system instead of the three vowels proposed by the Pan-Quechua alphabet. Many of the participants of the Congress were in disagreement with both the process and the outcome of the Congress, and so even this approval was not unanimous (Hornberger 1995). The most recent in a long line of venues for the ongoing debate over an effective alphabet was the First World Congress on the Quechua Language “Inka Faustino Espinoza Navarro,” convened in 2000 in Cusco by the Quechua Language Academy and the National University of San Antonio Abad. This congress aimed to support Quechua maintenance, but many members took a Cusco-centric position, and hence failed to take into account dialectal variations in their orthographic suggestions (Primer Congreso Mundial 2000).

All of these workshops and congresses have sought to promote a standardized alphabet for all dialects of Quechua; and in fact, in the First World Congress, representatives came from many of the Quechua-speaking territories of Bolivia, Peru, and Argentina. However, generally the results fall short of intended aims. In contrast, Ecuador has experienced slightly more success independently; for instance, long before the First World Congress was convened, representatives of speakers of the various Quichua varieties of Ecuador had united to develop their own unified alphabet and lexicon (known as *Quichua Unificado* or Unified Quichua), and Ecuadorian indigenous organizations in conjunction with government offices and university departments have worked since then to codify it in dictionaries, grammars, and other printed materials (King 2000: 41–42).

3.2.2. *Grammatication and lexication (grammatical and lexical standardization)*. The above attempts at orthographic standardization (graphization) are fairly contemporary, dating primarily from the mid-

twentieth century to the present. In colonial times, the Spaniards were less concerned with how to write the language than with documenting its grammar and lexicon in written form, in other words, with grammatication and lexication, in Haugen's (1983) terms. Their initial efforts, in addition to transcribing Quechua myths, legends, and religious practices, and producing Catholic doctrine in Quechua for purposes of evangelization, concentrated on codifying the language through dictionaries and grammars.

Some of the earliest and best-known of the dictionaries and grammars are Fray Domingo de Santo Tomás (1947 [1560], 1992 [1560]) and Diego González Holguín (1607, 1608). Guaman Poma's *El primer nueva corónica y buen gobierno* ('The first new chronicle and good government') (1980 [1604]) was written in a mix of Spanish and Quechua; this is considered a literary work, although that was clearly not the author's intention at the time. One example of religious doctrine is Diego de Molina's *Sermones de la quaresma en lengua Quechua* ('Lenten sermons in Quechua') (1649). In addition, numerous other grammars, dictionaries, and catechisms exist from colonial times. In sharp contrast to this great production in the early colonial period, production of Quechua language and literary materials declined drastically from about the mid-seventeenth century until after independence in the nineteenth century, due to the implementation of a policy of Castilianization during King Philip IV's reign (Cerrón-Palomino 1989a: 21–22).

Some examples of contemporary efforts to codify the grammar and lexicon of the language can be found in nearly all of the Quechua-speaking territories. Herbas Sandoval (1998) is one of the most complete bilingual dictionaries of Bolivian Quechua; an older Bolivian Quechua dictionary and grammar is Urioste and Herrero (1955). There are also numerous dictionaries and grammars written by Louisa Stark (and collaborators), not only on Bolivian Quechua (Stark 1969; Stark et al. 1971) but also on Ecuadorian Quichua (Stark et al. 1973; Stark 1975; Stark and Muysken 1977). For the Ingano dialect of Quechua spoken in Colombia, Levinsohn and coauthors have produced a pedagogical grammar (Levinsohn 1974), a grammar (Tandioy et al. 1978), and a dictionary (Tandioy et al. 1997).

The codification of Argentine Quichua of Santiago de Estero provides an interesting case in that this Quichua-speaking population is quite small, but has a devoted following of linguists working to document, promote, and preserve it. Also unusual is that two of the most complete resources on this dialect are online: the homepage of Jorge R. Alderetes and the website of the *Centro de Investigaciones Lingüísticas* "Ricardo L. J. Nardi," which houses a collection of articles on Argentine Quichua.

In addition, there is a pair of bilingual dictionaries: one is a Quichua Santiagueño–Spanish dictionary, the other, Spanish–Quichua Santiagueño (Bravo 1975, 1977).

Two Ecuadorian resources written entirely in Quichua (though not in Unified Quichua) are a dictionary (Montaluisa et al. 1982) and a grammar (Cotacachi 1994). Also significant are dictionaries and grammars by Torres Fernandez de Cordoba (1982), Cole (1982), Catta (1994), and Lema Guanolema (1997).

Grammars and dictionaries on Quechua in Peru include the 1976 series of six dictionary-grammar sets in the six most common Quechua dialects, published jointly by the *Ministerio de Educación* and the *Instituto de Estudios Peruanos*: Ancash-Huailas (Parker 1976; Parker and Chávez 1976), Ayacucho-Chanca (Soto Ruiz 1976a and 1976b), Cajamarca-Cañaris (Quesada 1976a and 1976b), Cuzco-Collao (Cusihuamán 1976a and 1976b), Junín-Huanca (Cerrón-Palomino 1976a and 1976b), and San Martín (Coombs et al. 1976; Park et al. 1976). Other recent examples are E. Hornberger and N. Hornberger's trilingual Quechua-Spanish-English dictionary of Cusco Quechua (first published in 1977 and 1978 in Sicuani, Peru and republished in 1983 in La Paz, Bolivia, with a third edition forthcoming from the *Centro Bartolomé de Las Casas* in Cusco); and Calvo Pérez's (1993) study of Cusco Quechua grammar and pragmatics.

3.2.3. *Modernization and renovation.* Modernization and renovation efforts in Quechua corpus planning include the numerous specialized dictionaries dealing with specific aspects of Peruvian Andean life. On the renovation side, that is, codifying and unifying Quechua terminology for existing functions, there are volumes on agricultural lexicon by Ballón Aguirre et al. (1992); Beyersdorff (1984); and Brack Egg (1999). On the modernization side, that is extending Quechua lexicon into new domains, there is a dictionary of mathematical terms in Quechua by Villavicencio Ubillús and Saavedra Salas (1991). Perhaps the most ambitious of all these dictionaries is the *Vocabulario políglota Incaico* ('Inca polyglot dictionary'), originally published in 1905 by the missionaries of the *Colegios de propaganda Fide del Perú*, and revised, augmented, modernized and standardized in 1998 by Cerrón-Palomino and a group of native speaker-linguists (Cerrón-Palomino et al. 1998 [1905]). This dictionary displays entries in Spanish, Aymara and four different dialects of Quechua side by side.

While many of the modern grammars and dictionaries mentioned above treat specific dialects of Quechua, at least three works attempt to deal with all of the Quechua varieties as a unified whole. These are Wölck's (1987) *Pequeño breviario quechua* ('Brief Quechua compendium'),

Cerrón-Palomino's (1987) *Lingüística quechua* ('Quechua linguistics'), and his more recent work (1994) *Quechumara: Estructuras paralelas de las lenguas quechua y aymara* ('Quechumara: Parallel structures of the Quechua and Aymara languages').

The preceding paragraphs offer a sampling of the many works that have been produced in or about Quechua in colonial and modern times. As noted, their combined efforts contribute to the graphization, standardization, modernization, and renovation of Quechua. While far from complete, these corpus-planning efforts are a necessary adjunct to both status planning as discussed above and acquisition planning, to be discussed next.

3.3. *Acquisition planning*

Acquisition planning is generally concerned with the users of the language (Cooper 1989), and potentially encompasses a range of goals including reacquisition, maintenance, shift, and foreign-/second-language acquisition by language users (Hornberger 1994a). In the case of acquisition planning for Quechua, goals potentially include maintenance and reacquisition for indigenous children, and second language acquisition for their Spanish-speaking compatriots. Acquisition planning often involves the national educational system and the case of Quechua is no exception. In recent years, all of the Andean countries have officially recognized the importance of bilingual intercultural education (EBI or EIB) which incorporates the indigenous mother tongue of the students. Laws requiring bilingual education have been enacted, but like the official recognition of indigenous languages, this has not always translated into immediate changes in practice. Other significant sources of support for bilingual education are international nongovernmental organizations and the communities themselves through a wide variety of local efforts.

Quechua is currently used to at least some degree in primary level education in the Andean countries. Although in each country, the introduction of bilingual education took a unique path (see Albó 1995; ETARE 1993; Hornberger 1988a, 2000; Krainer 1996; López 1996 for specifics), one shared tendency early on was that despite official, legislative or constitutional support for bilingual education, resources were not made widely or adequately available for implementation. In most cases, bilingual education was first implemented experimentally in certain communities, often with the assistance of outside nongovernmental organizations. It has only been within the last decade or so that Andean governments have begun to provide greater economic and technical support

as well as the full legal recognition needed to implement bilingual education at a national level. Even so, indicators seem to point to the existence of a positive change in attitude across the Andean region toward bilingual intercultural education, with a concomitant improvement in the situation regarding its implementation. The following country-by-country review highlights efforts from the 1990s to the present. For a more complete look at the history of Andean bilingual education from the 1950s, see Hornberger 1988a, 1989, 1992, 1997, 2000; Hornberger and López 1998; López 1988, 1996; Mejía and Tovar 1999; Pozzi-Escot 1988, 1989, 1998; and von Gleich 1994.

The Argentine government has not traditionally appeared overly concerned with bilingual education for indigenous citizens. The Ministry has produced numerous resolutions and decrees through the years, dating back to the 1950s, but Albarracín et al. (1999) document the failure of each of these resolutions in terms of impacting educational practice. Under the recommendations of the *Programa de Formación en Educación Intercultural Bilingüe para los Países Andinos* ('Training Program in Bilingual Intercultural Education for the Andean Countries') in October of 1999, all of the provinces of Argentina signed an Accord of the Federal Council of Ministers of Culture and Education legally recognizing intercultural, bilingual education as an important element of the national educational system, specifically in indigenous regions (PROEIB Andes 2000). The Ministry produced a resolution relative to this accord which describes the current situation, the importance of intercultural bilingual education, and the goals of the program they hope to establish (Argentina, *Ministerio de Cultura y Educación* 1999). However, as these official steps are quite recent, it remains to be seen whether and to what degree educational practice will be altered as a result.

In Bolivia, the Education Act of 1955 stipulated the necessity of mother-tongue education. Nevertheless, subsequent educational reforms in 1968 and 1973 made no mention of linguistic pluralism; and it was not until 1984 that bilingual education was officially incorporated into educational policy and national law, but only for adult literacy education programs, under the influence of the "Major Project for Education in Latin America and the Caribbean" established by UNESCO (von Gleich 1994: 91–93). However, with the 1994 National Education Reform, Bolivia embarked on the most far-reaching implementation of bilingual intercultural education of any of the Andean countries to date. This reform seeks to introduce all of Bolivia's indigenous languages, beginning with Quechua, Aymara, and Guaraní, as subjects and media of instruction in Bolivia's primary schools in indigenous-language-speaking areas (Hornberger and López 1998: 221).

While Chile recognizes the right to bilingual education for all indigenous citizens, it only mentions Aymara, Atacameño, and Mapuche. Furthermore, as in most cases of bilingual intercultural education in South America, it only proposes such programs for the indigenous populations, not for the entire Chilean citizenry (Chile, Ministerio de Educación, 2001).

Colombia's Constitution of 1991 recognizes the obligation to provide bilingual education for the language minority communities (Mejía and Tovar 1999: 11). The Ministry of Education appears to take this obligation quite seriously, promoting what they call "ethnoeducation," defined as:

A permanent social process, where part of the culture itself consists of the acquisition of knowledge and development of values and aptitudes that prepare individuals to exercise their intellects and capacities for decision making, according to the needs and expectations of their communities. (Bodnar 1990: 52, translation ours)

The curriculum for each ethnic group must be based on its own cultural norms and traditions (see Colombia, *Ministerio de Educación Nacional*, 1990). In order to facilitate this process, the *Universidad de la Amazonia* since 1992 has had a program in linguistics and indigenous education for indigenous educators (Bríñez Pérez 2000). In addition, institutions of higher learning in Colombia have become heavily involved in the process of nationally disseminating what they have learned thus far about ethnoeducation. For instance, in 1998, the *Universidad de Guajira* hosted the first *Congreso Universitario de Etnoeducación*, inviting representatives from around the country, and two years later, in 2000, the University of Cauca hosted the second (PROEIB Andes 2000).

Ecuador's Constitution of 1985 (Article 27) guarantees bilingual education in areas with significant indigenous populations, specifying Quichua as the principal language of instruction and Spanish as the language of intercultural communication (von Gleich 1994). Ecuadorian policy is also shaped by the *Dirección Nacional de Educación Intercultural Bilingüe* ('National Directorate of Bilingual Intercultural Education'), which, together with the national indigenous organization, CONAIE, organizes and administers schools in areas in which the population is more than half indigenous. In 1998, the Ministry of Education and Culture proposed an addition to the constitution, which would codify bilingual intercultural education as a constitutional right (PROEIB Andes 1998). As recent work by Cotacachi (1997), Haboud (1998), and King (2000) attests, bilingual intercultural education is practiced in Ecuador, but not always consistently or effectively.

Building on a three-decade record of experimental Quechua-Spanish bilingual education projects in the departments of Ayacucho, Cusco, and Puno, the 1993 Peruvian constitution supports bilingual, intercultural education (Chapter II, Article 17) and since 1997, the Ministry of Education has undertaken a major initiative to (re)train all teachers in indigenous regions (Peru, UNEBI 1998: 4, 2000: 3; see also Zúñiga et al. 2000). The Ministry of Education is actively involved and has elaborated a broad variety of bilingual educational materials, including textbooks and teaching aids in indigenous languages for use throughout Peru. In addition, the Ministry is committed to improving the status of vernacular languages, having incorporated three significant goals into their statement of objectives: (1) to educate the majority of vernacular-speaking children in the elementary grades in rural areas; (2) to promote additive, coordinate bilingualism instead of subtractive, transitional bilingualism; and (3) to contribute to overcoming linguistic prejudice and discriminatory behavior at all levels of the educational system (Peru, UNEBI 2000).

While these are significant efforts and initiatives, most assessments of the status of bilingual intercultural education in the Andes recognize that there is still a long way to go in providing equitable treatment for indigenous languages and their speakers (e.g. López 1996). Given the well-known gulf between policy and practice, Hornberger cites the need to look closely to see whether the change in recent decades “in societal discourse with respect to these indigenous languages and groups, away from the openly racist ideology of the past and toward a more inclusive, intercultural one . . . is . . . a truly substantive shift or a merely rhetorical one” (2000: 177). Luykx, for one, opines that “while ‘universal’ bilingual education may be the ‘mandate,’ it is certainly not the reality, nor is it likely to become so, especially given the growing number of children in private schools” (personal communication, 6/27/01).

One key aspect of the effort to overcome prejudice against and oppression of Quechua speakers is captured in the word “intercultural,” which forms an integral part of the name for bilingual (intercultural) education in the Andes. In early bilingual education efforts in the Andes, attention was focused on what could be called a one-way interculturality, where indigenous language speakers learned Spanish, but not the reverse. In fact, when the Peruvian officialization of Quechua in 1975 mandated that Spanish-speaking children be taught Quechua in school, the outcry of *limeños* was such that the provision was quickly abandoned. To offer only one-way interculturality, however, ultimately emphasizes the lower status of Quechua and indigenous languages in general.

In this vein, four newly-elected legislative representatives in Peru have proposed a new bill, Number 247, to create a *Plan Nacional de Enseñanza*

de las Lenguas Quechua y Aymará ('National Plan for the Teaching of Quechua and Aymara') and a new office within the Ministry of Education to administer it. If passed, this law would not only make bilingual education obligatory in the areas where there is a high proportion of Quechua or Aymara speakers, but also include Quechua or Aymara as a subject of study for school-age children in Spanish-speaking regions of the country (resistencia@resistencia.org, electronic communication, 8/19/01).

In the intervening years between Peru's 1975 Quechua officialization and this most recent legislative initiative, policies in Ecuador and Bolivia in the 1980s and 1990s increasingly emphasized the importance of a two-way interculturality grounded in strengthened indigenous identity and aiming toward a strengthened national identity based on respect among all citizens and discrimination against none (Hornberger 2000: 181–182). Similarly, Argentina's recent resolution specifically mentions the importance of an intercultural focus which "permeates all levels of the national education system with the aim of developing open and respectful attitudes concerning the ethnic, cultural, and linguistic diversity which characterizes the country" (Argentina, *Ministerio de Cultura y Educación* [1999], section 2, translation ours). Such acquisition-planning measures undoubtedly increase the possibilities for maintenance, reacquisition, and acquisition of Quechua among language users; they also contribute to the status of the language, while putting to use and creating continuing demand for corpus planning.

3.4. *Language-planning agents*

All of this language-planning work presupposes the existence of entities at various levels which are engaged in the planning and implementation of language policy. Some of these organizations are specific to their respective countries, and others have a regional or international focus. Some are explicitly involved in Quechua language planning and some more indirectly so. As all of them are important in the process, below we devote some attention specifically to these agents of planning and change.

In each of the six Andean countries, the Ministries of Education have significant influence on language planning and policy through their efforts, which have increased in recent years, on behalf of bilingual education. Also, in Bolivia, Ecuador, Peru, and Colombia, the federal governments are more recently supporting these efforts through legislation and increased financial support. However, as von Gleich indicates, despite a great deal of federal legislation designed to protect and promote "the ethnic and cultural diversity of the nation, this very favorable legal frame-

work still lacks the regulations needed for implementation in the public, administrative, and legal sectors, as well as explanation of imprecise terms such as ‘zone’ and ‘predominantly’” (1999: 686, translation ours). Regardless of their specificity or strength, top-down, governmental efforts alone are insufficient to maintain and revitalize Quechua; in the following paragraphs, we consider the contributions of regional, international, non-governmental, religious, and bottom-up organizations.

PROEIB Andes is perhaps the most broad-based of the regional organizations involved in Quechua language planning. It offers a regional interdisciplinary master’s program in bilingual intercultural education, with international support, based at the *Universidad Mayor de San Simón* in Cochabamba, Bolivia. Some of its major international collaborators include the German Agency for Technical Cooperation (GTZ), which is active in a number of indigenous projects in the Andes; the German Foundation for International Development (DSE); UNICEF Bolivia; OREALC-UNESCO; *LinguaPax*, a program of UNESCO; and the *Instituto de Cooperación Iberoamericana*.

PROEIB’s primary purpose is to create a network of universities, indigenous organizations and ministries of education in the Andean countries to establish academic exchange and mutual support in the effort to develop and maintain bilingual intercultural education (EIB) for indigenous populations. It also provides graduate training in EIB. One notable aspect of *PROEIB* is the extent of indigenous participation. Along similar lines, the *Instituto Científico de Culturas Indígenas* “*Amauta Runacunapac Yachai*” has proposed the formation of the *Universidad Intercultural de las Nacionalidades y Pueblos Indígenas del Ecuador Amautai Wasi*, with the purpose of educating future professionals who will understand how to work in harmony with nature and with other cultures in such areas as indigenous medicine, indigenous law, education, economics, and alternative development (*PROEIB Andes* 2001).

The *Grupo Permanente para el Estudio de las Lenguas de Áreas Lingüísticas de América Latina* (ALAL) is another regional organization with international reach. One of its purposes is to create a database of linguistic research projects on indigenous languages of Latin America and to disseminate their own linguistic research. Through its web page and e-mail discussion listserv, it attempts to promote indigenous languages. All of these activities lead to the generation of information which potentially impacts planning and policy issues.

International aid organizations have also played an important role in language planning. Goals of these efforts have turned increasingly toward maintenance and revitalization rather than transitional bilingualism. One such well-known and influential bilingual-education effort was the

Experimental Bilingual Education Project (PEEB) of Puno, Peru (Hornberger 1988a, 1988b, 1988c, 1988e, 1989; Rockwell et al. 1989), which operated under a bilateral agreement between the Peruvian government and the German Society for Technical Cooperation (GTZ). Although the program was experimental and is no longer operational, it was a significant force in demonstrating the viability of bilingual education in the region, as well as providing broad technical, material and human resource development support for the practice of bilingual education (Hornberger 1988a: 270–272; Hornberger and López 1998).

Organizations such as the GTZ, as well as UNICEF, UNESCO, OREALC, the Maryknoll Fathers, the Swiss Foundation Simón I. Patiño (working in Bolivia), and many others contribute both investigational and financial support for Quechua language-planning efforts. Ted Turner's UN Foundation, as an additional example, funds the development of bilingual Spanish-Quechua literacy among rural women. In addition, other organizations exist throughout the Andes that have as their goal the promotion of both knowledge and use of the language, although they may or may not be directly involved in language policy and planning initiatives; these include universities, research institutes, religious organizations, the Quechua language academies, and other nongovernmental organizations. Universities within the concerned countries are devoting more time and effort to promoting the language, and in fact, numerous programs throughout the Andean countries offer courses in Quechua and Andean linguistics. One of the best-known is the *Colegio Andino de Postgrado*, sponsored by the *Centro "Bartolomé de las Casas"* in Cusco, Peru.

In Argentina, there are two organizations devoted to research with implications for linguistic policy issues. The *Asociación Tucumana de Investigadores en Lengua Quichua* carries out linguistic and sociolinguistic research on Quechua in the Tucumán region (1999). The *Centro de Investigaciones Lingüísticas "Ricardo L. J. Nardi"* performs similar work in all the areas where Quichua is spoken in Argentina. Both of these organizations maintain websites where they publish much of their work (see references).

The *Centro Andino de Educación y Promoción "José María Arguedas"* (CADEP) is a nongovernmental organization headquartered in Cusco, Peru, that promotes grassroots participation in Quechua literacy efforts in monolingual communities in the highland regions of the department of Cusco, with a particular emphasis on women's literacy. This NGO is unique to the extent that it does not directly enter communities and conduct classes, but rather, teaches members of interested communities to be literacy trainers. This ultimately makes the communities themselves responsible for the outcomes, facilitating a stronger sense of ownership of

and commitment to the program. This is an example of a joint bottom-up and top-down collaboration.

The *Asociación Pukllasunchis* is another important NGO based in Cusco and Switzerland. Its primary aim is to organize educational centers for children in and around Cusco, specializing in bilingual and alternative education with an environmental perspective. It also carries out research on childhood development and the effectiveness of primary education in the region (EPF Online [n.d.]; Pukllasunchis Pérou [n.d.]).

A Bolivian indigenous organization known as the *Taller de Historia Oral Andina* (THOA) is comprised of Quechua and Aymara indigenous researchers. They cite as their overarching objective the investigation, diffusion, and revitalization of the culture, history, and identity of indigenous communities, and have political aims as well as literary and educational ones. The *Proyecto "Yuyay Jap'ina"* of the *Fundación Contra el Hambre/Bolivia* (FH/Bolivia, UNICEF) has created yet more bilingual materials for educational purposes (*Centro de Estudios Sociales [CENDES]* 1994: 159–202, 222–228).

Specialized government offices have also been significant language-planning agents. Examples include Bolivia's *Servicio Nacional de Alfabetización y Educación Popular* (SENALEP), a governmental organization which produced a number of bilingual educational materials in Quechua and Aymara as well as in three regional varieties of Spanish (Plaza and Albó 1989). Some of these texts are still in use. In addition, the *Instituto Nacional de Estudios Lingüísticos* (INEL) in La Paz, a branch of the National Institute for Culture, had as its mission the cultivation of national languages. In 1980, INEL published Quechua teaching materials for both foreigners and Bolivians who are non-native speakers of Quechua, which have been used in numerous university courses (von Gleich 1994: 92).

Religious organizations have also played a role in language policy and planning matters. For instance, the *Comisión Episcopal de Educación* in Bolivia concerns itself with the promotion of literacy, especially among the rural indigenous populations, in its development of educational materials (cf. *Comisión Episcopal de Educación* 1988). Similarly, the Summer Institute of Linguistics (SIL) and the Maryknoll Fathers often work directly with indigenous populations in their various educational efforts. In addition, SIL and the interdenominational United Bible Societies have contributed directly to language policy and planning in their efforts at codification of the many indigenous languages, producing grammars and dictionaries of numerous indigenous varieties, as well as translating the Bible into these varieties.

Indeed, Protestant missions hailing from North America, the United Kingdom and Europe, and representing Adventist, Quaker, Baptist, Lu-

theran, Methodist, Mormon, Pentecostal, Presbyterian, and other denominations, have been present in Quechua-speaking areas of the Andes throughout the twentieth century, and several large national Protestant churches date back to the early 1900s (Kessler 1967). Most of these use and encourage the use of Quechua in religious services and religious teaching in Quechua-speaking areas (e.g. La Iglesia Evangélica Peruana). Furthermore, the Lutheran church has translated Luther's Small Catechism into Quechua (E. Hornberger 1975), and the Mormon church has translated selections from the Book of Mormon into Ecuadorian Quichua (cf. *Mormon killkashkamanta llukchishkakuna* [1980]) and Bolivian and Peruvian Quechua (see Book of Mormon [n.d.] in bibliography). Religious texts in Quechua have also been of value from an educational perspective, as many adult Quechua speakers gain their first introduction to literacy through them (Hornberger 1994b: 78–80).

Quechua language academies in Peru and Bolivia promote the use and teaching of the language. There are six academies in Peru, based in Cusco, Apurímac, Ayacucho, San Martín, Cajamarca and Arequipa; and two in Bolivia, one in La Paz and one in Cochabamba. These academies have participated in seminars on orthographic development, and in efforts to develop bilingual textbooks, dictionaries, collections of Quechua stories, etc., in this way contributing to Quechua language planning and to the emerging literary tradition in Quechua (cf. Hornberger 1994b, 1995).

In many areas of Ecuador and Bolivia, explicit efforts aimed at the revitalization of Quechua are underway, due in part to bottom-up indigenous organizations and individual communities in conjunction with numerous nongovernmental organizations that are devoted to the preservation of the language (Hornberger 1997; Indigenous Peoples in Ecuador 1998; King 2000: 36–45; von Gleich 1994: 96, 98; A. Luykx, personal communication, 6/27/01). Ecuador has had perhaps the most sustained success with long-running grassroots efforts in various regions of the country. Many efforts originally begun by individual communities have since been redirected and reorganized under the auspices of the indigenous collective, *Confederación de Nacionalidades Indígenas del Ecuador* (CONAIE). These have increased the visibility of the Quechua language in society as a whole, and have resulted in legislation nationalizing bilingual education (King 2000; Moya 1981). CONAIE is a stellar example of the value of ongoing bottom-up efforts, wherein indigenous groups take a leading role in promoting and preserving their own languages.

Crawford has recently proposed seven hypotheses on language loss (2000: 66–73), all of which address Fishman's notion of "ideological clarification" or "consciousness heightening and reformation" (Fishman 1991: 394). Across each of these, Crawford emphasizes the central role

that the members of a speech community themselves play in the revitalization, maintenance, or decline of their own language.

In this view, reversing language shift cannot be an aim in and of itself, but rather must be part of a larger ethnocultural goal that integrally involves the language community. Both language shift and language revitalization, from Crawford's perspective, are generated primarily by changes internal to language communities themselves, and concomitantly are a reflection of the communities' social and cultural values. Further, language planning must be considered and implemented within a larger sociocultural context that addresses more of the indigenous communities' needs than just the linguistic. While such emphases might be viewed as "blaming the victim" and placing too much burden on those who are already oppressed, in another sense, they point to an affirming strategy, one that places responsibility and some degree of control of the indigenous language situation squarely in the hands of the speakers of the language. This is, we suggest, where it ought to be.

4. Conclusion

As noted at the outset, it is very difficult to summarize the situation of Quechua as if it were a single, monolithic entity, since this would "entail making oversimplified and at least partially inaccurate generalizations" (Hornberger and King 2001: 171; also Albó 1999). On the one hand, there appears to be reason for hope for Quechua's survival in certain areas within Bolivia, Ecuador, and Peru, given the significant concentrations of speakers, the concerted efforts of both top-down and bottom-up organizations, and the apparent support of their respective governments. On the other hand, in light of the apparent lack of interest in the language on the part of administrators and government agencies in regions such as Chile, Colombia and Argentina, it seems fairly certain that Quechua use will continue to diminish in these areas, and in fact, it would not be extreme to suggest that if Quechua were to lose significant ground regionally any time soon, it would disappear in these three nations. Despite the governments' ostensible support — *de jure* if not *de facto* — and the great number of nongovernmental initiatives to maintain the language, the proportion of Quechua speakers continues to decline relative to the general population, according to census statistics.

Some conclusions may be drawn regarding the status-, corpus-, and acquisition-planning efforts described above. Given the prestige placed by society on literacy in general, and on academic and intellectual endeavors in particular, the greater the literary output, the stronger the message that

Quechua is a language worth knowing and using. This is true to a large extent even if the Quechua speakers themselves cannot read it, or do not have access to it, which is likely in many places. In this regard, perhaps continuing to build a literary tradition in Quechua would be one means toward the end of improving the status of Quechua among the dominant society, as well as among its own speakers.

Regarding corpus, it is clearly important to settle questions of written standards for the sake of educational and publishing purposes, but also with respect to the potential impact on language attitudes. Above, we discussed the tendency for Quechua speakers to hold negative attitudes toward other Quechua dialects, and we believe that standardization at the written level could help improve this situation. Providing a common means of communication across Quechua varieties could work to reinforce the similarities, as opposed to emphasizing the differences that many speakers tend to see. In addition, making explicit the linguistic “unity” of the varieties — the many linguistic elements that join them, that are shared — could offer the psychological impetus needed to help construct a social unity for a divided population, thus giving Quechua speakers a stronger, more unified power base from which to work. As Cerrón-Palomino (1996) has pointed out, however, attention to standardization must not come at the cost of use. The first priority must be on extending and developing written Quechua in every domain of use, rather than on regulating its writing to such a degree that it impedes use.

In this regard, acquisition planning is a key component, in that it seeks to augment the number of users of the language, through educational and other initiatives. Effective acquisition planning potentially stems the shift away from intergenerational transmission of Quechua and promotes positive attitudes toward the language among native speakers of Spanish. Given the crucial importance of intergenerational transmission, it is of interest to note the paradoxical role of religious institutions, as both conveyors of a “universal” message and respecters, even promoters, of local linguistic and cultural practices.

It is too soon to predict whether all of these recent efforts and initiatives to maintain or revitalize Quechua — through intergenerational transmission, education, codification, expansion of domains of use, or whatever means are available — will be successful. Such predictions, in any event, are notoriously unreliable (King 2000: 17). Certainly it would benefit the language’s chances of survival if efforts were directed toward increasing its status not only among its native speakers but also among the primarily Spanish-speaking dominant society, an ideological shift that may well bring its own set of identity-related challenges. In the final analysis, however, it will be up to the speakers themselves to determine

the fate of their language. As Crawford points out, “[f]amilies choose to speak it in the home and teach it to their children, or they don’t. Elders remember to speak the language on certain important occasions and insist on its use in certain important domains, or they don’t” (2000: 71).

This is not to say, however, that efforts on the part of others to preserve or revitalize the language are not worth making. If those of us in a position to do so — language planners, linguists, educators, native speakers, and so on — do not make what contributions we can to attempt to preserve Quechua, we also are indirectly contributing to its loss. In this vein, we note Lo Bianco’s recent call for a “post-positivist paradigm for policy making” which would be “multiple in its sources of knowledge and the kinds of processes for determining what problems constitute cause for action, what kinds of knowledge and representation of experience inform action and what kinds of action are warranted” (2001: 226). Such collective efforts, which cross regional and national borders, interest groups, and political ideologies, seem most likely to yield advances in Quechua language maintenance and revitalization.

Equally important and concomitant with such an approach, planners and policy makers must create an environment in which it is clear that Quechua is truly respected by enough people at a high enough level that the general populace, of whatever segment of society, begins to follow suit. Laws, regulations and policies notwithstanding, without the ideological weight of public opinion behind them and the determined strength of will of a self-identified indigenous people united in the struggle to valorize and maintain their language, top-down efforts alone will be useless to prevent the eventual death of Quechua.

Quechua is still widely spoken across a significant portion of the Andean countries, despite a very long history of severe repression and oppression. This in itself is reason for optimism concerning the future of the language. However, its future cannot be left to chance; without deliberate intervention and planning to counteract the legacy of this history, Quechua could still go the way of the many languages already lost.

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Notes

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1. While many of the sociolinguistic studies discussed here address QII, important works on QI include Adelaar on Tarma Quechua (1977, 1981, 1982a, 1982b, 1986); Cerrón-Palomino on Huanca Quechua (1973, 1976a, 1976b, 1977, 1989b); Parker on various dialects of QI (1967, 1969–1971, 1973, 1975, 1976); Swisshelm on Huaraz Quechua (1971); and Weber on Huánuco Quechua (1978, 1980, 1983, 1998).
2. Data on numbers of Quechua speakers for Argentina were obtained from Albarracín et al. (1999), since the national census does not consider language or ethnicity among its data collection criteria. Data for Bolivia, Ecuador, and Peru come from national censuses. Data for Colombia are only approximate and were taken from *Ethnologue*. We used this source because Colombia's census takes into account ethnicity (with 12,312 self-identifying as ethnic Inga; Napeño did not appear on the census) rather than language spoken. No data from Chile were available.

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