

little contact with the Spanish-dominated world (Cerrón-Palomino 1987: 53).

Secondly, and this is the more interesting occurrence, Quechua has achieved an international prestige that it certainly lacks at home in Peru. Indigenous languages in general have experienced an incredible upsurge of popularity as a topic of study by linguists, and Quechua is no exception. In conjunction with the increasing interest in studying it, a concurrent availability of Quechua as an academic subject in universities and institutes has developed worldwide, from the United States (13) to Britain (4) to Japan (1).² The Rheinische Friedrich-Wilhelms-Universität in Bonn, Germany recently held a conference commemorating sixty years of Quechua language instruction (Rheinische brochure, 1996), and the University of Hamburg also has a program. Additionally, there are numerous Quechua webpages on the internet. It is more likely that Quechua speakers, given the proper technology, could communicate with foreigners from around the globe than with the majority of their own countrymen. This is an intriguing — and in my opinion, shameful — paradox. However, since most native speakers of the language will never have such an opportunity, this interesting paradox does little to help enhance the status of Quechua for the speakers at home in Peru. On the other hand, perhaps if more Peruvians — both Spanish and Quechua speakers — were made aware of just how widely Quechua is becoming spoken around the world, that would be a possible tool to enhance its prestige in their eyes, and make more of them willing to learn it or to continue speaking it.

Of course, there are also some universities in Peru, Bolivia, and Ecuador that offer courses in Quechua as a second language, but one would expect to see that, since it is a native language of those countries. It is certainly more impressive to learn of the many international institutions which want to promote the Quechua language. In this case, Quechua is fulfilling the functions of both *international language* and *school subject* (at the secondary and college levels). Incidentally, in his discussion of the function of school language, Cooper (1989: 112) offers the opinion that this category should be broadened to include language instruction at the primary grade levels, as well as secondary and university, since second languages are routinely taught at primary schools in many countries. Despite bilingual education programs in Peru, Quechua is currently not one of these languages taught as a school subject in the primary grades, except in some few bilingual schools in the Andes sponsored by international non-governmental

² The American universities are: UCLA, UC-Santa Cruz, Stanford University, University of Texas-Austin, University of New Mexico, University of Pittsburgh, University of Maryland, Cornell University, Indiana University, University of Wisconsin, University of Illinois, and Georgetown University. In Great Britain, they are: University of Manchester, London School of Economics, University of Liverpool, and University of St. Andrew's. In Tokyo, Japan, it is the Academy of the Quechua Language. There are also other universities scattered across France, Holland and other countries which offer Quechua language courses.

organizations. It is certainly not a national phenomenon.

On the subject of the Peruvian bilingual education programs, *education* is another linguistic function which Stewart discusses. As mentioned above, this domain refers to content education in the language under discussion, not to teaching students how to speak that language. Bilingual education is yet another Peruvian issue with a colorful history. It has had sporadic support, once again depending on who is in power. The 1975 reform discussed above called for bilingual education in both Quechua and Spanish, and provided the governmental financial support to implement it. With the rewriting of the 1979 constitution, bilingual education was reduced to programs offered only in the official use zones, and financial support was withdrawn (Pozzi-Escot 1988: 56-59). As a result, such support had to come from private groups and researchers. Fortunately, there are various groups of linguists working on Quechua language maintenance and bilingual education, and through their efforts, regional programs have been established (cf., Hornberger 1995). According to López Quiroz, there are currently 18 different bilingual education projects ongoing in Peru, either through the efforts of non-governmental organizations, or through private organizations (Hornberger, personal communication, April 30, 1996).

The most notable of these bilingual education programs are the Experimental Quechua-Spanish Bilingual Education Program of Ayacucho, and the Experimental Bilingual Education Project of Puno (Hornberger 1995: 192). Unfortunately, in 1994, the bilingual education programs which had been organized and maintained once again at the federal level were terminated due to the government's changing priorities (R. Cerrón-Palomino, personal communication, April 27, 1996). Bilingual education was no longer a government priority, and any such programs that were still in effect were not linked in any systematic way either to each other or to the government. It was only recently, in 1996, that the government reinstated a national bilingual education program, which it is still in the process of implementing (H. Rosales Alvarado, personal communication, September 2, 1996).³ It remains to be seen whether this effort will turn out to have more thoughtful planning efforts devoted to it, and be implemented in such a way that not only Quechua speakers, but Spanish speakers as well will be required to study the language; and if so, whether this will have any effect on public perceptions of its status.

It would seem, then, that for the moment, the government recognizes the importance of offering education in a speaker's native language as well as the dominant language. However, there is often resistance to bilingual education from an unexpected source: the community itself. As Rubin (1972: 521) points out in her discussion of Guaraní in Paraguay, because of incredible pressure on both students and teachers to use Spanish in the

³ This sudden about-face in policy is one more manifestation of how rapidly situations can change in Latin American politics.

schools, teachers try to insist on Spanish in the classroom, regardless of the rural or urban status of the school. Hornberger (1988: 174-182) emphasizes the community's role in enforcing this preference for Spanish in her study of several Quechua communities. She has found that although these communities still value Quechua for very specific home and community domains, the parents firmly believe that the only way their children will be able to improve their lots is to be able to speak Spanish, and to receive their education in Spanish. They recognize that the dominant society does not value their native language, and thus feel that it is pointless to be educated in a language that they know to be worthless for social advancement. This is a valid point, if only in relation to the present. What needs to happen is for researchers and linguists to find a way to convince them that unless they maintain their Quechua in as many domains as possible, it will never even have the opportunity to grow in strength and status. This quickly degenerates into a circular argument with the native speakers, and therein lies the difficulty of increasing the domains of a language and attempting to plan an improvement in its status.

Hence, even the educational function of Quechua is currently somewhat debatable. Between vacillating government support and the grassroots opposition in some communities, it is hard to decide whether or not to assert that Quechua serves such a function, and even if it does, whether teaching it to everyone will improve its status. As Schiffman (personal communication, December 8, 1996) points out, the mere fact that a language receives an increase in legal status (e.g., by mandating bilingual education) does not automatically mean that its perceived status at the popular level will also increase.

A function about which there is little argument is the *literary* domain. There simply is not a strong Quechua literary tradition, due in part to the long oral history of the language. There are examples of oral Quechua tales and histories, translated and written in Spanish; but these stories are not printed in Quechua. Additionally, there is some limited production in Quechua in the present time. One example is William Hurtado Mendoza, a well-known Quechua poet, who has published several bilingual Quechua-Spanish collections of his poetry. Rufino Chuquimamani is another native Quechua speaker, who earned his master's degree in Andean linguistics and education and wrote his master's thesis entirely in Quechua. He has also compiled two volumes each of short stories and folk wisdom gathered from oral storytellers and local elders, all produced bilingually in Quechua and Spanish. The Instituto de Estudios Peruanos (Institute of Peruvian Studies) and the Centro de Estudios Regionales Andinos "Bartolomé de las Casas" (The "Bartolomé de las Casas" Center for Regional Andean Studies) are two well-known and highly respected publishing houses who promote publications in Quechua — although, of course, the vast majority of what they publish is actually in Spanish. However, such examples as these have clearly limited and specialized audiences, and

would probably not achieve wide dissemination. Perhaps the work produced in Quechua which is most likely to reach a wide audience is the Bible, which has been translated by the Summer Institute of Linguistics (SIL) into various Quechua dialects. The main objective of the SIL is to attempt to convert the native populations to the Christian faith.

Another group contributing to the literary function of Quechua is the Peruvian Academy of the Quechua Language. This is an organization founded specifically to establish and disseminate Quechua not just as a vernacular, but also as a literary and intellectual language. The founder, Faustino Espinoza Navarro, has contributed greatly to Quechua's use as a literary language, both by producing literature in Quechua, and by establishing the National Cuzco Prize for a Quechua Novel, Poem, Story and Drama (Hornberger 1995: 193).

These are all impressive achievements in themselves, but they are still only individual achievements. There is no coherent, recognizable, widely disseminated body of written literature in Quechua. This is due in part to the fact that Quechua has always been an oral language, and it has only been since the Conquest that any attempt has been made to reproduce it in writing. It is also significant that the population who is the target audience of such publications still has an alarmingly low literacy rate, in either Quechua or Spanish. Hornberger (1988: 231), for instance, cites statistics for the department of Puno: as of the 1981 census, 32% of the population over 15 years old was illiterate. Therefore, any written literature in their own language is inaccessible to a great majority of Quechua speakers. Native Spanish speakers can easily read the Spanish translation that accompanies many of the works, so again the Quechua is superfluous. Until such a major obstacle as this access to the printed word can be addressed, seeking to spread Quechua to a literary function in an effort to increase its status is not a very practical move.

Perhaps a more practical effort would be to restore to Quechua a function that it served previously and subsequently lost: the *religious* domain. As happened with the function of wider communication, it was necessary for the Spaniards to use Quechua for religious purposes during colonial times, simply because the indigenous people did not understand Spanish. Using Quechua was the only way the missionaries could hope to convert the Indians to Christianity (Cerrón-Palomino 1989: 20). However, as time passed and contact with Spanish increased, Quechua lost the majority of its applicability in this domain. Cerrón-Palomino (1989: 21) indicates that this was not necessarily a subtle process; many Spaniards felt that the policy of evangelizing in the indigenous languages was not in the crown's ultimate best interest, an opinion which helped to accelerate the shift to Spanish.

However, it is somewhat simplistic to say that Quechua today plays no role whatsoever in religion. The Andean Catholicism is often touted as a syncretism of Spanish Catholicism and Andean beliefs. As such, the

Quechua people's religious practices are a mixture of native and Christian beliefs. For example, on All Saints' Day, when the families go to the church for Mass, and then afterwards spread a feast in the church graveyard, to feed the deceased family members whom it is believed will return in spirit to spend that day with their families.⁴ Also, as mentioned previously, the Summer Institute of Linguistics has published the Bible in various dialects of Quechua. This is a modern effort, not a colonial one, and those Bibles can currently be found in the communities, presumably still in use by those who can read. Finally, there are a few Catholic prayers in Quechua that are still uttered by some individuals.

Also important is the fact that some Quechua communities in the Andean highlands still follow many ancient rituals, even while professing the Catholic faith. These rituals are considered to be somehow separate from Catholicism, perhaps in some sense not "religion," and thus the Quechuas do not feel they are being contradictory in following both belief systems. These ancient rituals, often performed by *los curanderos*, or folk healers, are always conducted in Quechua (cf., Bastien 1978; Gow 1976).

In short, Quechua fulfills a religious function, but only in very limited territories. This being the case, it cannot really act to increase the status of the language, especially in light of the fact that such local religions by definition have lower status than the national Roman Catholic faith. So again there exists a situation in which the language fulfills the function under discussion to some degree, but not perhaps in a widespread enough area to consider that it does so for the Peruvian society as a whole. This seems to be the most common thread running through nearly all of these functions: almost but not quite good enough.

Conclusions

Cerrón-Palomino (1989: 28) states unequivocally that Quechua is headed for extinction, because of its marginal position in the culture: "As the dominating culture extends its influence further into the zones where these languages have taken refuge, their role will disappear and Spanish will be placed on the throne forever." Additionally, Cooper makes a very important point regarding one factor in the success or failure of status planning efforts:

Status planning... is usually invoked when changes in the functional allocation of a community's language is seen as desirable. But elites and counterelites may be slow to alter the *status quo* precisely because they may share, with the community at large, the evaluations which they ultimately seek to change. ... Planners must change their own

⁴ This has been an annual tradition for the author and his family in Peru for many years. His family continues this practice to the present day

evaluations before they can change the public's. (1989: 120-121)

Cerrón-Palomino's (1989) assertion of the ultimate demise of Quechua is a very strong stand to take, but he has some compelling reasons for stating it. As I have illustrated throughout the paper, Quechua has gradually lost many of the prestigious domains it once had, and this has had a very negative impact on its status. It is no longer an official language, nor even a lingua franca, and far less is it recognized in the capital domain. It is only sporadically that it serves an educational function, although it does continue to be a school subject.

However, there are also reasons for hope, at least for the maintenance of Quechua within specific domains such as provincial or group, and the exotic type of international fame which it has gained. Hornberger (1988: 233-234) points out that while Quechua will never be the dominant language it once was, it is nevertheless still very much valued by the highland communities which continue to speak it. They value it for specific community domains, and feel that they are jealously protecting it from further intrusion by Spanish by not using it in other domains such as the educational one. Hornberger (1988: 234) also proposes that it may be only a matter of time before the Quechua communities come around to accepting bilingual Quechua-Spanish education in the schools.

As discussed previously, Quechua does already have status in some areas, such as the group and provincial domains. However, since these are areas that are easily hidden from the mainstream of society, they don't necessarily help to boost the overall status of the language in the eyes of the general population. One thing that would help greatly is for Quechua to become much more visible in society, for instance, with the publication of a national daily Quechua newspaper, or a weekly or monthly magazine. Such publications would probably not have a wide readership, given the literacy problems discussed above, and the fact that most native Spanish-speakers are monolinguals. However, the longer such a publication were visible, the more likely it would be for people to slowly begin to accept it as normal and permanent. Having become accustomed to seeing it regularly, they might begin to take more of an interest in knowing the language.

Obviously, such a plan has drawbacks. The greatest one is financial: to publish this way, without an appreciable readership, takes a large investment of capital and human resources that few companies would be either willing or able to afford. Also, the low literacy rates in Quechua would seriously limit any potential readership. Finally, it would have to be on the market for quite an extended period before a slow conversion could begin to take place. Perhaps a more practical way to start would be to produce one section of an already existing newspaper or magazine in Quechua consistently.

Another answer might be to start with a medium other than print. There are already a few radio stations that broadcast some programming in

Quechua, although it tends to be limited to very early morning or very late at night. Additionally, these are primarily religious programs, which again might narrow their appeal. A Quechua speaker who wants to hear music or news will not listen for very long to a program that offers neither of those things. But it would at least be a beginning from which to grow. Limited television programming in Quechua might also be an option, although considering the cost involved, one would have to find a very philanthropic television station to produce it.

All of these points can ultimately be condensed to reflect a single goal: the ability of both Quechua and Spanish speakers to expand the Quechua language into new domains to increase its status. Both groups need to develop a recognition and an appreciation for this language and the culture which has enriched Peruvian society, very likely without the conscious awareness of either group. Clearly such a goal is much more difficult to achieve than it is merely to state. There needs to be a combined and continuous effort of top-down support from the government, and bottom-up (grass roots) support from both the Spanish-speaking and Quechua-speaking communities. All three of these groups will be very hard to convince. But Hornberger, for one, continues to find reasons to believe it can be done, and keeps pushing to get it done (cf., 1988: 236-37).

This paper has illustrated the decrease in status that Quechua has suffered over the last four and a half centuries, and offered some possible suggestions for ways to attempt to increase the status. However, it is obvious that all of the proposals put forth in this paper involve resources of both time and money, by groups who either do not have them to spare, or do not want to spare them. This lack of access to resources severely restricts the possibility of implementing such plans.

Ultimately, there is a great deal of work to be done, and a relatively small number of people willing to believe in the need to preserve Quechua in Peru. If the language is maintained, it may only be in isolated pockets that do not have daily contact with Spanish. Alternatively, there would have to be a radical change in Peruvian social structure for true revitalization of Quechua to occur on a wide scale. In any case, if such maintenance of Quechua is to be achieved at all, serious attempts to increase its status must be made. Without raising awareness and appreciation of the language by both speakers and non-speakers, there is little chance that the language will survive in the long run.

I would like to gratefully acknowledge Dr. Harold Schiffman for his thoughtful comments and suggestions on the first draft of this paper. I would also like to thank Dr. Nancy Hornberger and Steve Hornberger for their continued support and suggestions, and Linda Grabner for her feedback and the time she devoted to editing it.

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