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Increasing Quechuan Identification Through Language Acquisition

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Departmental Honors Thesis

The University of Tennessee at Chattanooga
Spanish Department

Examination Date: 3/28/2019

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Abstract

A language spoken by 3.7 million people in Peru and by several thousands more in the surrounding countries in the Andean region, Quechua as an indigenous language plays an important role not only in the rich history of the area but also the modern society. Through a history of colonization and racial injustice against indigenous groups, Quechua has survived as one of the strongest language groups in Latin America. Peru has been leading the way in bilingual education focused around acquisition, but does this focus on the key aspects of language acquisition for Quechua function in order to improve cultural identification? In this paper, I will build a framework for how to best understand learning Quechua in a Spanish dominated society and use this framework to offer a better solution than bilingual education to increase self-identification among indigenous Peruvians.

Keywords: Quechua, majority-minority languages, language acquisition, cultural identification

Note on Spelling

I have taken on a similar mindset to Paul Heggarty and Adrian J Pearce when it comes to the editing of their project *History and Language in the Andes* in regards to spelling. While the spelling of certain words, even Quechua/Kichwa, proves to be highly controversial, in this paper, I will attempt to choose consistency over somewhat accurate traditional spellings of the word. It is naive and eurocentric to assume that the simple change of a 'c' to a 'k' in a word like Inca will profoundly change the way that an English or Spanish speaker will pronounce the word in their understanding of what a 'k' sounds like. In the same sense, if an author used a 'non-traditional' spelling, I attempted to keep their spelling to maintain the integrity of their research.

Acknowledgments

I would first and foremost like to thank the indigenous people and families that shared their experiences with me along the way in Chile and Peru. Thank you sharing your food and your dances as well as your current perspective on the modern world. As an American researcher and student, I wanted to capture the sentiments that these communities were feeling and your insights gave me direction on how to best project my research.

I want to then thank my thesis committee, Dr. Purkey and Dr. Murillo. Thank you for taking the time to read through the paper from its beginning as an abstract idea all the way until it was a complete paper still full of citation errors. The UTC Spanish Department and Honors College have equipped me with the tools to explore topics that

I have always been curious about, and I appreciate their patience and support throughout this process.

I lastly want to thank my friends and family who have supplied me with coffee and kinds words throughout this time. Without your support, I would still be on page 1.

My Language

If I forget my native speech
And the songs that my people sing
What use are my eyes and ears?
What use is my mouth?

If I forget the smell of the earth
And do not serve it well
What use are my hands?
Why am I living in the world?

How can I believe the foolish idea
That my language is weak and poor
If my mother's last words
Were in Evenki?
-Alitet Nemtushkin (19)

Introduction

Quechua, the language of the indigenous people of the Andean Plateau of South America, has been suppressed by the dominant Spanish-speaking population and government since the early Colonial period. Indigenous people groups have still survived in these areas, yet throughout the centuries, their cultures and languages have seen a steady decline. While in the first century after colonization, the bilingualism of the oppressor language and the oppressed language offered social benefits and was often seen as necessary for survival, bilingualism slowly declined as parents began to no longer teach their children their language. The decline was furthered by systematic "whitening" and liberalization of Latin American culture, making indigenous language an easily suppressed proxy for indigenous ways of life. Together these trends produced a dominant culture hostile to an alien language, leaving Quechua's cultural power as nothing more than a symbol of resistance against the cultural norm. Although Quechua is not on its deathbed, it certainly is at risk for a slow extinction, as it exists as a separate and not as a complementary language.

Research has been done on the decline of the language's use and its effects on those who still identity as indigenous and speak their language. This research has shown that the government policies that have restricted language use in Peru and Chile (see Manheim) have eroded the use of minority languages overtime. While these policies no longer exist, these countries are left with a culture that values one identity over another, leaving the question of how Quechua survives in the 21st century. And more importantly, how can Peru and similar nations create spaces where learning the indigenous language is both accessible and valuable to their indigenous communities?

While the current push for increasing Quechua acquisition is in bilingual education, I propose an alternative. I will do this specifically by looking at the current movement of the translation of Spanish masterpieces to Quechua as a way to pinpoint this shared cultural identity. By looking at the intersection of intentional culturally-formed bilingualism and modern society, a foundation can be developed on how to preserve Quechua as a language and a culture for generations to come, while encouraging research into other indigenous languages in the future.

Literature Review of Cultural Identification

Sigmund Freud defined identity as simply, “the earliest expression of an emotional tie with another person” (Freud 110). Since humans as a species began to interact with one another, we have been trying to define who we are as individuals and how we are as related to others which help form our identities. While our understanding of identity has become more complex and nuanced since Freud, the hovering question still remains: what makes someone’s identity? In this literature review, I will present modern theories and studies from the past fifty years to build a context of how the sociolinguistic field understands language acquisition as it relates to cultural identity in order to show the gap in research that exists particularly for the indigenous language and culture group of Quechua.

The way in which specific cultural identification has already been studied in monolingual populations for some time shows this connection. For example in one study in the isolated community of Martha’s vineyard in Massachusetts, U.S.A., the pronunciation of the specific diphthongs of /ay/ and /aw/ could reveal the cultural

identification of the speaker. That is to say, the way the speakers pronounced different words could express the way the individual speaker subconsciously perceived their place and affiliation to the community (Labov). Expanding this research to bidialectal populations, Charles Debose's research in the 90's explores identification related to language use through his interest in African American populations that spoke two dialects or variations of English, claiming that the speaker's identification with his specific subculture can be directly correlated with his dialect. With the increased frequency and more complex use of a specific dialect associated with a subculture, the speaker had higher affiliation with the cultural group (Debose). As this research has proven the link been linguistic style and cultural identification, the gap then existed for bilingual communities and their relationship between two languages and two cultural groups. This revealed more difficult questions in bilingual communities as compared to bidialectal communities; acquisition, the act of acquiring a language, was generally more varied across speakers' experiences and therefore could have more factors that influenced said acquisition.

In 1973, John H. Schumann, a sociolinguist from the University of California Los Angeles, ran a research project looking at the factors in language acquisition for a person new to gaining the language to understand better the reason for second language acquisition (L2) and pidginization of proposed L2[1]. The study included six native Spanish speakers, two children, two adolescents, and two adults. In this study, the subjects each attempted to learn Spanish, untutored by the research team. Each

[1] L1- native language of the subject, L2- language learned other than the native language as defined by Schumann.

subject did have a connection in their lives with English speakers, either through their work, neighborhood, or school. During the ten-month study, one of the adult subjects, Alberto, demonstrated little development of English. Instead of understanding and using the rules and grammar of standard English, he created a Pidgin language that mixed standard English with grammar rules of Spanish. Researchers hypothesized that this lack of development was a result of his social and psychological distance from the non-native culture (C2[2]).

Schumann lays out what he believes are the factors of psychological distance to be: "resolution of language shock, culture shock and culture stress, integrative versus instrumental motivation, and ego-permeability" (7). His proposed factors of social distance are: "domination versus subordination, assimilation versus acculturation versus preservation, enclosure, size, congruence, and attitude" (Schumann 7). The third factor that may have affected Alberto's ability in his L2 acquisition was his age. Alberto was 33 and therefore identified in the adult category. Schumann, however, did not believe that age was an independent factor that affected Alberto's ability to learn English, as his age could be considered a psychological distance. As one ages, he will feel more culture shock and stress compared to his experience as a child; therefore, age does not behave differently from the already existing psychological distance factors. In summation, Schumann believes that one can predict how well a subject can learn a new language solely based on his psychological and social distance from the language (2). When looking at cultural identity, a person may already feel heavily associated with the

[2] In the same manner of thinking of L1 and L2, C1 is the culture associated with your native language and C2 is the culture associated with the second language as defined by Schumann.

C2 through his ancestral background or upbringing; therefore, the acquisition of the second language should not be as difficult. Reversely, as one gains a better understanding of second language, he should feel more comfortable with C2 and feel less social distance, continuing to break down the gap between C1 and C2. This results in greater ease in the subject acquiring L2 and identifying with C2.

While Schumann's research laid out a framework to understand bilingual populations' cultural identification, it lacked a full understanding and thorough exploration of aspects that could influence the identification. One significant inadequacy of Schumann's research is that it only looked at six subjects. Although the subjects were diverse in age, they otherwise were too similar and too few to make a large statement about language acquisition other than Spanish and English speakers, and perhaps not even that. While the results might tell a more qualitative narrative, the limitations of its scope are troubling.

Decades later in 2015, Scott Shroeder, Tuan Q. Lam, and and Corcia Marian conducted a larger investigation on the relationship between linguistic backgrounds as they related to cultural self-identifications that sought to answer similar questions to Schumann's study, while using a more quantitative approach. The research was also more focused on the organic acquisition of L2 and explored subjects' experiences after they had acquired the language, whereas Schumann's research constructed situations in which subjects were attempting to acquire the language because of the experiment itself.

The hypothesis of the second study was that there existed a three part framework for understanding cultural identification in bilinguals: “cultural learning and participation through language account,” “self-reflection of language use account,” and “stylistic language use account” (Shroeder et al 465). This investigation surveyed 209 bilinguals who lived in the U.S. with a first or second language of English with varying second languages and factors of acquisition. The study’s intent was to transcend cultural and linguistic differences with a diverse subject pool. The participants of the study filled out the English version of the *Language Experience and Proficiency Questionnaire*, a survey that looked at traits like current exposure and the aspects surrounding the subject’s language acquisition. They also participated in guided interviews conducted by the research team.

Using regression analysis on the quantitative results from the survey, the researchers concluded that the C1 identification was associated with the factors of: “proficiency, current exposure contexts, and immersion contexts” (476). Whereas, the C2 identification was more linked with: “accent, age of acquisition, and immersion contexts” (476). Through the interviews, this research told the story of a Serbian-American who often fought with this “hyphenated identity.” In her interview, she told a story of her coworkers talking about their favorite American childhood shows. As she herself did not grow up in the U.S. not speaking English, her L2, until she was a young adult, she could not share in this and therefore was an outsider to this aspect of American culture. Because of these events, the subject felt less identification with

American culture, her C2. In this situation, the aspects of age of acquisition proved to affect the subject's identification as well as her culture learning and participation (479).

While this investigation looks at a large population and provides analysis to understand potential factors that affect language and cultural acquisition, it still makes the assumption that each language is directly related with only one cultural background and that the L1 and L2 are in harmony. What happens when the L2 is a colonized language of L1- when a person's ethnicity and native culture do not match his native tongue? This is a particularly important question in the the research looking at indigenous identification in South America, particularly for groups like the Quechuan community whose first language in the majority of cases is Spanish, yet their C1 is in question. Are people Quechuan first and then Peruvian/ Chilean/ Bolivian/ Ecuadoran; or does it matter whether one identity is the primary identity?

Stuart Hall strives to answer this question in, "Who Needs Identity?" In this article he develops the idea of identity as inherently contradictory, and "often intersecting and antagonistic" in modern times (4). The idea of identification for Hall is a fight between abandonment and sustainment; for each part of one's identity in which one identifies more, another part of the alternative identity must be lessened. Thus, the cultural identity is changing; it is not fixed by nature. Because of this tactic, the idea of self-identification is inherently strategic and simultaneously more superficial. One's identification does not signify an essential identity, but rather the perspective of the subject on what is valued by his society and community. Hall claims that one's identity represents one's power and position in the world; therefore using self-identification, a

person may choose parts of his identity that give them more power in his current situation. When overlaying this on the context of language acquisition, the latter is not based on the factors of age or psychological stressors as Schumann or Shroeder might claim; it is based on the degree of power that the speaker may gain from acquiring that language and cultural identification.

Hall also claims that self-identification is often more a strategic position rather than a metaphysical, essentialist decision (2). Hilary N. Weaver, an indigenous researcher, would disagree with Hall's Western view that emphasizes the individual over the collective society, theorizing that identification for indigenous people is often much more complex. In her own experience as an indigenous woman, community identification and acceptance are prioritized over self-identification. Hall might say that an individual chooses his own identity in a way that is personally advantageous in his current situation, to which Weaver would argue that identity from the perspective of indigenous communities does not follow this pattern, as they often have a more communal and less individual understanding of this concept than the Western world. Weaver, however, points out that because of the destruction and disappearance of these large cohesive indigenous groups, their external identification is often more theoretical than practical at this point. External identification is no longer possible because that identification would have to come from larger institutions like the government, that would not fully understand the complex identities of such subjects. Moreover, external identification of indigenous groups by the government then leads to issues of isolation, heightened institutional racism, and ghettoization. Therefore, Weaver

proposes, self-identification may be the only appropriate identification for indigenous people as they exist today (246-48).

As already noted, Shroeder's research attempts to transcend cultural and linguistic differentiations, but with over 6,500 different languages spoken around the world, does generalized research help the indigenous languages and communities that are dying today? In reality, the 60-70 languages that have been used in acquisition studies over and over again represent less than one percent of the world's languages (Bornstein 143). While there are great research gaps in the study of linguistic identity as it relates specifically to South American indigenous groups' identification there is a movement in the sociolinguistic field to step outside of a western context and look at indigenous language acquisition in groups that have been omitted from this research for so long. From an Australian context, O'Shannessey shows that indigenous children in Northern Australia are able to differentiate between the pidgin languages created after the evolution of the indigenous language Warlpiri. The children in this multilingual context are able to acquire the new pidgin language and easily understand when it should be used in different communal situations versus the other languages in the community. What this really demonstrates, according to O'Shannessey, is the children's ability to adapt their identity and affiliation as part of the multilingual community (310) .

According to the research that is available today, a clear connection exists between language acquisition and cultural identification. One can see a number of factors that affect the acquisition of both a second language and culture, including psychological distance, social distance, age of acquisition, and language environment.

However, because this research uses a Western lense, many indigenous communities are left out of this conversation and research. There is clear evidence that in the globalized world, many languages are dying; yet there is a lack of research considering the linguistic and cultural acquisition of these groups to answer the difficult questions of preservation and sustainability. Thus, there remains important gaps in how research into linguistic identity, especially in regards to indigenous language like Quechua. Given this situation and the prominence of Quechua as an indigenous language spoken by 3.7 million people, further research in this area is critical.

Modern Situation of Quechua

Modern Situation of Quechua as a Language

Quechuan folklore about the history of the Quechuan language has been misinterpreted by Western civilization since colonization:

> The Inkas didn't know anything about paper or writing, and when the good Lord wanted to give them paper, they refused it. That's because they didn't get their news by paper but by small, thick threads made of vicuña wool; they used black wool cords for bad news and for the good news, white cords. These cords were like books, but the Spaniards didn't want them around; so they gave the Inka a piece of paper. ''This paper talks,'' they said. ''Where is it talking? That's silly; you're trying to trick me.'' And he flung the paper to the ground. The Inka didn't know anything about writing. And how could the paper talk if he didn't know how to read? And so they had our Inka killed. (Mamani)

Although obviously the Incas were not killed because they could not read Spanish, this story gives us the contextual relationship of the colonization of Quechua by the Spanish in both the cultural context and the tangible aspects of the languages like writing.

In order to establish the modern status of the language, it is important to define the language, give a brief contextual history, and speak of the aspects that make it unique. First, Quechua is better understood as a language group than a specific language- more like to Romance languages rather than Italian. The regional languages of Quechua used to be unique enough to be defined as independent languages, that is Quechua is really the base from which different regional languages were formed. From proto-Quechua, there are four major dialects: runasimi, chanka/wanka, huaylo, and ancash. The dialects of Quechua can also be understood geographically with runasimi being associated with the region of Cuzco, chanka/wanka with the region of Ayacucho, huayla with the region of Huancayo, and ancash with its namesake (Gorska 34-42). As shown in Figure 1, Quechuan influence can be found all along the Pacific coast of South America from Colombia to Chile and as far inland as Argentina, thus making it by far the most important indigenous linguistic variant in South America.

Figure 1. Map of Andean Languages. From *History and Language of the Andes* (pp.16)

Seeing the large geographic range of the language family across Western South America raises of the question of how was Quechua distributed. The rulers Pachacútec, Huayna Cápac and Túpac Yupanqui spread Quechua as the lengua franca throughout the Incan Empire, creating one of the strongest unified empires with a common language at the time. From this point, the regional Quechua languages lost their own identities and became dialects, rather than independent languages. However, when the Spanish colonizers invaded, this dissemination was abruptly halted, as Spanish became the dominant language (Gorska 32).

Many linguists call Quechua a strictly oral language due to the fact that there seemed to not exist a written complement with an alphabet that corresponded to sounds or words. However, during the height of the Incan Empire, Quechua used a complex recording technique called Quipu (Gorska 34). When the narrator in the folk story talks of “thick threads made of vicuña wool,” he is speaking of Q’aytu, the wool cords that were used in Quechuan culture to tell stories, function as a calendar, and carry out basic accounting. Salomon explains that this type of recording system was most likely, semasiographic, meaning that while it was not traditional writing like phonetic alphabets or pictographs, it used a visual representation without words to tell stories (26). Quechuan expert Father José de Acosta, described the recording tool’s specific aspects such as the color or the combination of knots as signifiers of things, rather than letters corresponding to sounds, as one might think of in a traditional Western written language. Once the Spanish began to colonize, they suppressed the Quipu system as as part of a push for the evolution of a written language (Salomon 25).

The adoption of a written language was one of the largest changes to Quechua that can still be seen today. Kilku Warak'a, also known by his Spanish name Andrés Alencastre Gutiérrez, is one the most famous Quechuan poets of 20th century. His works have been translated from Quechua into Spanish, French, Russian, and have been presented worldwide. In his poetry, the effects of this transition and catechismal change to Quechua can be seen. Kilku Warak’a began his career performing *huaynos*, a traditional form of Andean music and dance. He then wrote poetry and folklore in Quechua, transforming what had been oral stories passed down through generations

into a written text that produced great poetic innovations. The largest tangible changes that can be seen include a transition from free verse to a more fixed verse, an ownership of authorship, and new themes with a linear timeline. Traditionally the creators and authors of creative works in Quechua were not cited individually, yet now Kilku was receiving credit and some might even say fame from his works in a way that had never been seen before for such literature. While the transition to a written form of Quechua offered the opportunity for the long-term survival of the language and culture associated with the stories, the change brought with it a larger impact on the culture as a whole.

Eventually Kilku was assassinated by a group of Quechuans in a struggle to reclaim their land. Kilku was part of the landowning class in Peru that had gained property through taking advantage of indigenous collective land owning. While Kilku was himself Quechuan, he also was part of society that oppressed indigenous people. He may have brought Quechua into the modern century, but he also represented a larger focus of “modern” Quechua that seemed so distinct from the precolonial language and culture (Gorska 36).

At the end of the 20th century, after a rocky history of racism and scapegoating, the Peruvian government finally made an official stance of supporting its indigenous people. In May of 1975, Peru announced Quechua as an official language. This meant that it would receive official recognition on an institutional level with official documents in Spanish and Quechua which would particularly impact courts and schools. This policy also began a wider cultural acceptance of the language. However, this reform was

unfortunately of short duration. In 1979, the wording in the constitution was changed to be a language of official use which is legally just as vague as it sounds (Powers 152). The law was never specified nor clarified and has therefore remained dormant just like Peru’s efforts to support indigenous people.

Current status of Quechua Speakers

Peru census data can provide an image of what Quechuan identification looks like in the at the present time and possibly forecast what the Quechuan world could look like for Peru in decades to come. The INEI, Censos Nacionales de Poblaciones y Vivienda, conducted and published their findings in the *Peru: Perfil Sociodemográfico Informe Nacional*. The INEI studied the usual census question like gender, age, weath, job, etc, but also gathered data on the language respondent's mother tongue . What is really interesting to look at in this study is the percentage of the Peruvian population whose mother language is Quechua. In 2017, 3.7 million Peruvians listed Quechua as their first language, that is 13.9 percent of the population. Both the general population of Peruvians and Quechuan speakers is growing in comparison with the growth of Spanish speakers with respective rates of 0.9 percent and 1.4 percent from the 1997 Census to the most recent census of 2017.

CUADRO N° 2.60
PERÚ: POBLACIÓN CENSADA DE 5 Y MÁS AÑOS DE EDAD, SEGÚN LENGUA MATERNA APRENDIDA EN LA NIÑEZ, 1993, 2007 Y 2017
(Absoluto y porcentaje)

Lengua materna aprendida en la niñez	Censo 1993		Censo 2007		Censo 2017		Variación intercensal 2007- 2017		Tasa de crecimiento promedio anual
	Absoluto	%	Absoluto	%	Absoluto	%	Absoluto	%	
Total	**19 190 624**	**100,0**	**24 687 537**	**100,0**	**26 887 584**	**100,0**	**2 200 047**	**8,9**	**0,9**
Castellano	15 405 014	80,3	20 718 227	83,9	22 209 686	82,6	1 491 459	7,2	0,7
Quechua	3 177 938	16,6	3 261 750	13,2	3 735 682	13,9	473 932	14,5	1,4
Aimara	440 380	2,3	434 370	1,8	444 389	1,7	10 019	2,3	0,2
Otra Lengua Nativa 1/	132 174	0,7	223 194	0,9	210 017	0,8	- 13 177	-5,9	-0,6
Idioma extranjero	35 118	0,2	21 097	0,1	48 910	0,2	27 813	131,8	8,8
No escucha/ Ni habla	-	-	28 899	0,1	24 624	0,1	- 4 275	-14,8	-1,6
Lengua de señas peruanas	-	-	-	-	10 447	0,0	-	-	-
No sabe/No responde	-	-	-	-	203 829	0,8	-	-	-

1/ Incluye: Ashaninka, Awajún / Aguaruna y Shipibo - Konibo, entre otra lengua nativa u originaria.
Fuente: INEI - Censos Nacionales de Población y Vivienda 1993, 2007 y 2017.

Figure 2. Chart showing percentage of population compared to their mother language. From *Peru: Perfil Sociodemográfico Informe Nacional*. (INEI, 2017)

While it can already be seen how language is directly related to cultural identification, it has to be asked if there are parts of the Peruvian population that are falling through the cracks in this ethnic identification due to their lack of language ability or acquisition. In fact, the INEI did ask themselves this for the first time in their 2017 census. The question looked at the population age of 12 and above and allowed them to self-identify their ethnicity. Looking at the responses, 60.2 percent of the respondents self-identifies as mestizo, or racially mixed, 22.3 percent of the population as Quechuan, 5.9 percent as white and so on. When comparing this data to that of maternal language, it shows that at least 8.4 percent[3] of the Quechuan population self-identifies as Quechuan, but does not speak the language. That is, they may be left out of indigenous

[3] 22.3% (percentage of self-identifying Quechuans) - 13.9% (percentage of population that has mother tongue of Quechua)= 8.4%.

demographics, when the research looks at language rather than self-identification. Furthermore, this 8.4 percent ignores the 60.2 percent of the population that identifies as Mestizo. While there is no way to clarify whether the subjects of the questions meant to identify as mestizo with Quechuan backgrounds, it is safe to assume that a large population of Peruvians have a Quechuan mixed background. Therefore, the estimated population that is not being statistically represented in questions like the first on whether someone speaks an indigenous language is undoubtedly higher. While there is currently no historical data to compare this to, the INEI will continue this self-identification question in the censuses to come, giving researchers the ability to see the change over time of self-identification particularly as it relates to larger statistical shifts or increases in indigenous group identification.

CUADRO Nº 2.69
PERÚ: POBLACIÓN CENSADA DE 12 Y MÁS AÑOS DE EDAD POR SEXO, SEGÚN AUTOPERCEPCIÓN ÉTNICA, 2017
(Absoluto y porcentaje)

Autopercepción étnica	Total		Hombre		Mujer	
	Absoluto	%	Absoluto	%	Absoluto	%
Total	23 196 391	100,0	11 306 670	100,0	11 889 721	100,0
Mestizo	13 965 254	60,2	6 820 691	60,3	7 144 563	60,1
Quechua	5 176 809	22,3	2 507 480	22,2	2 669 329	22,5
Blanco	1 366 931	5,9	619 402	5,5	747 529	6,3
Afrodescendiente	828 841	3,6	449 224	4,0	379 617	3,2
Aimara	548 292	2,4	269 848	2,4	278 444	2,3
Nativo o indígena de la amazonía	79 266	0,3	39 524	0,3	39 742	0,3
Asháninka	55 489	0,2	27 266	0,2	28 223	0,2
Parte de otro pueblo indígena u originario	49 838	0,2	25 419	0,2	24 419	0,2
Awajún	37 690	0,2	18 559	0,2	19 131	0,2
Shipibo Konibo	25 222	0,1	12 440	0,1	12 782	0,1
Nikkei	22 534	0,1	10 309	0,1	12 225	0,1
Tusan	14 307	0,1	7 161	0,1	7 146	0,1
Otro	254 892	1,1	130 448	1,2	124 444	1,0
No sabe / No responde	771 026	3,3	368 899	3,3	402 127	3,4

Fuente: INEI - Censos Nacionales 2017: XII de Población y VII de Vivienda.

Figure 3. Chart showing percentage of population as compared to their

ethnic self-identification. From *Peru: Perfil Sociodemográfico Informe Nacional*. (INEI, 2017)

Applying current theories to Quechua

After understanding the current status of the language and the people, back to the question at hand: how can language acquisition be used to increase cultural identification among Quechuans? Looking at the previous literature review, many theorists predict factors that affect this relationship among Western languages. However, what specific aspects are crucial to the indigenous Latin American languages that would help build framework to enhance preservation and growth for these communities in the future? Based on my research as an outsider of this community, I have concluded that the age of the subject attempting to learn the language and the modern societal relationship of the language to its colonizer language are the two most important factors that will allow researchers to continue this type of research and work in the future.

As previously seen with Schumann's investigation, age has proven to be a vital factor in language learning and culture identification. It particularly proves to be an important factor in the context of Quechua culture as well. Gina Maldonado, world-renowned Quechua teacher and academic, talks of her migratory youth as it relates to her indigenous identification. Maldonado migrated with her family from the *campo*, the countryside, to the mountains at a young age. During this time at the age of eight she went to a boarding school with her sister. Two years later, she moved back to the countryside as her older sister had gotten a job at a local school. Because of this, she had gaps in her formal education, but she nonetheless continued to learn with her

family, however completely in Quechua. It is not until she moved to the cosmopolitan city of Cuzco with her brother, who was learning Spanish, that she began her relationship and education with Spanish.

Attending school in the 1960s in Peru meant assimilation to a Eurocentric, Spanish-speaking Peru. For Maldonado, a native Quechua speaker, this created feelings of silence and isolation. Although she was learning Spanish, she did not want her accent or her errors to reveal her true indigenous identity, which was not accepted at the time. After finishing secondary school, she attended the Universidad San Antonio Abad del Cusco to study chemistry, but did not have enough money to finish the degree. As a young adult, she would eventually become a secretary at the Oficina Regional de Educación Católica, where she improved her Spanish. This experience, paired with her completion of University, gave her more social capital but at a cost. Maldonado comments that this experience made her feel less Quechua and more mestiza. When she finished her degree, she returned to the campo, but was often rejected for not being
"indigenous enough."

Maldonado, as many indigenous professionals do, found herself caught in between identities, never enough of one, nor the other (Hill 384). What is extremely important to this research in Maldonado's case is her migratory youth experience, when her indigenous identity began to be altered. For many young Quechuans, there is large child migration that dictates their education or lack thereof. Children often move in with

godparents or relatives to perform work. Michael Hill describes this mobilization as a way of:

> [B]ecoming educated, speaking Spanish instead of Quechua, dressing in store-bought “Western” clothing instead of woven skirts or felt hats or rubber-tire sandals, eating noodles instead of potatoes and drinking beer instead of trago, living in the city instead of in the campo. In other words, to overcome means to become white and to shed an Indian way of life. (386)

During this critical stage of life, particularly for Quechuans, the choice needs to be made on what ‘type’ of Peruvian one is. It is critical that there are more choices than just Spanish Peruvian and Quechuan Peruvian.

Looking at a wider perspective on the importance of youth as a factor that affects identity and language learning, this generation of Peruvian youth is unlike the previous generations. There are currently 8.4 million Peruvians between the ages of 15 and 29 living in Peru; that is one third of the population. In the past twenty years, this generation has seen harsh inequities and violence. However, they simultaneously feel a stronger sense of identity to their community than past generations (Valdiviezo 240). Huaman comments on the tangible actions that prove this generation is identifying at a younger age and has stronger personal feelings regarding this issue; this Peruvian youth generation is volunteering more than any previous generation and is also volunteering with causes with which they feel personally connected (Huaman 242).

On the other hand, many Peruvian youths decide to leave school because of its poor quality and high inequity. Looking at the opportunity cost, youth decide to to

dropout of school when they feel it is not providing them with any benefits in order to support their family. This disproportionately affects impoverished and indigenous communities (UNESCO). As of 2007, the high school education dropout rate for public schools in Peru was 28 percent (Giugale 676). This speaks to Maldonado's narrative of feeling silenced and isolated as an indigenous student in a predominantly non-indigenous school setting. Because of her experience and those of others, it is integral to create a space to learn, preserve, and celebrate the native language at a young age because this is the time that the Quechuan identity is formed and when larger perceptions around future identification are created.

The second factor that is important to understanding this relationship is the acknowledgement of the colonizer language as the dominant language of society. Indigenous languages and speakers cannot simply be grouped into existing research that looks at speakers attempting to learn a second language that has no cultural significance for them or their families. Due to the history of silencing indigenous languages and colonial prejudice against them, language acquisition among indigenous Quechuans often proves to be more complex than just learning a foreign language.

In describing how played a role on language shifts during the Spanish colonization of the new world, Shirley Brice Heath comments that the Spanish Catholic royalty saw "language as the perfect instrument of empire" (121). Just as Quechua had been used as a lengua franca by the Incas, so too was Spanish as the legal language of the empire, and therefore a legitimizing power. But how does that affect modern Peru, now that is is no longer under the Spanish crown? More importantly, how does that

affect the languages that still exist? Quechua speakers have spread to both rural and urban areas, as nothing creates a physical restriction or independence from the former ruling power or upper class. Quechuans were unique in this experience in moving to urban areas and maintaining their language as additory to the Spanish language. This may be traced to the fact that under Spanish rule, the church began allowing many indigenous people to keep their language as a means of supplementing their acquisition of the new Spanish culture and Catholic religion. Instead of fully erasing the original language, as many colonziers did at the time, the Spanish church saw the power in allowing Quechua to stay. This dynamic of additive languages still exists and is unique to Peru and Quechua culture today (Heath 136).

With this, as more and more people become fluent in Quechua, it becomes more advantageous to learn and use it (Heath 138). Yet many Quechuans and other indigenous groups still find themselves caught in between two worlds, not being fully accepted by either. The fear for many is that they will become the “linguistic brokers in minority-majority relations…[which] threaten individuals’ membership in their own groups” (Heath 142).

The relationship between a majority and minority language has been an emerging theme in sociolinguistic research. Ingrid Piller in her recent book *Linguistic Diversity and Social Justice: An Introduction to Applied Sociolinguistics*, describes the importance of acknowledging this relationship on a governmental or at least societal level:

> The language[s] on a parking ticket may seem banal, mundane, and not worth of further attention. However language choice on such mundane texts is important because it is not only an expression of what is 'normal'- conforms to the norm- but also shapes our expectations of normalcy...In each case, there is a mismatch between the norm and actual multilingual realities. In each case, the effect is to devalue the actual local language (17).

A Peruvian can learn Quechua today. He or she can take classes easily; so why is there not a visible increase in the percentage of the population that identifies as Quechuan? Why does Peru only see a slight increase of indigenous people attempting to preserve their language? It is because of the lack of acknowledgment in society. In order to not continue the slow death of the language, planners, educators, and anyone interested in the future of the Quechuan community need to acknowledge the key factor of cultural acceptance and the validity of the minority language in a Spanish dominated society.

Current ways to increase acquisition and cultural identification

Bilingual education

Albeit a rough history regarding its relationship with governmental support for Quechua, recently Peru has attempted to support the language and its populations particularly in the realm of education. In 2006, Peru began the language planning model termed the Intercultural Bilingual Education. The Intercultural Bilingual Education Plan states that everyone has a right to an education that represents their culture. This means that in public schools throughout Peru, classes would be offered in Spanish and Quechua, particularly among rural communities with larger indigenous populations. The

Dirección Nacional de Educación Bilingüe Intercultural (DINEBI) was in charge of making sure this policy was implemented throughout Peru. Luis López heavily criticizes this type of language planning as the only way to increase indigenous language and cultural identification in saying this policy only affects education (7-9). The effects and creation of space for indigenous communities are not seen anywhere else in society.

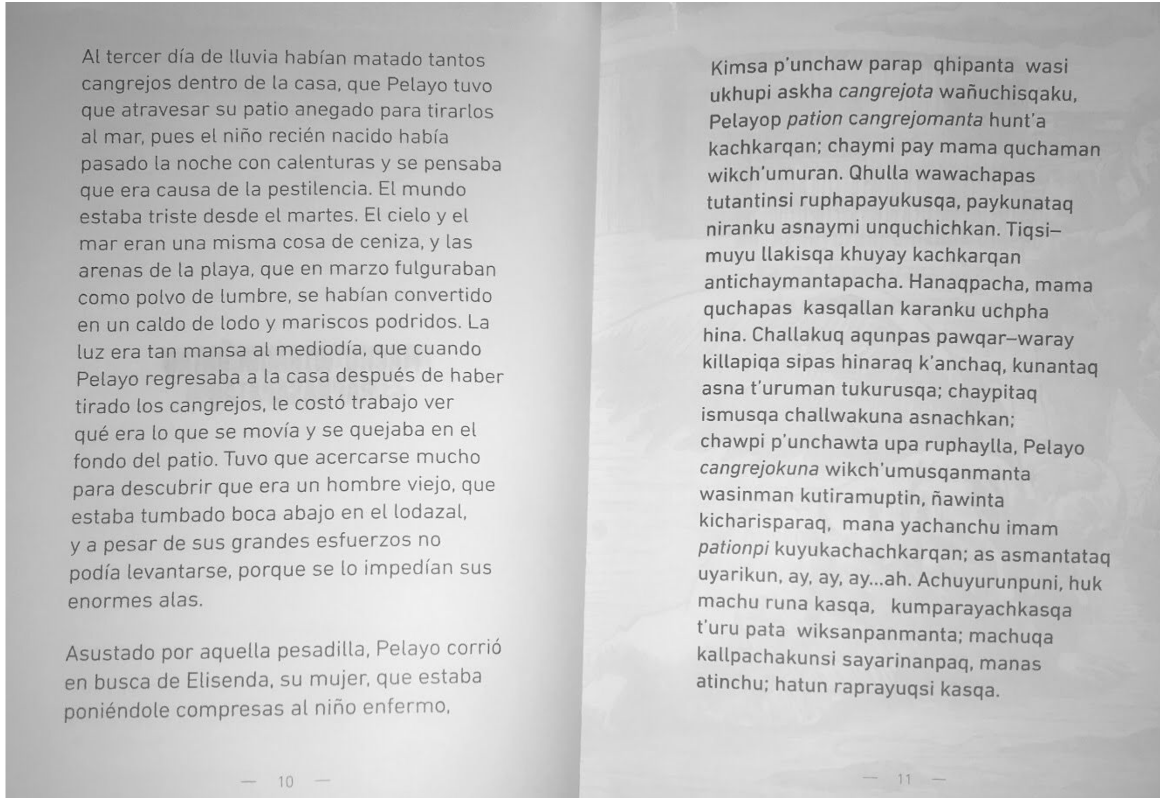
Maria Elena García says that many rural communities actually reject this indigenous language education "requirement," as it does not allow for societal progress for individuals of the Quechuan community in a Spanish-language dominated Peru, which leads to the questions of whether bilingual education is really helpful to the indigenous communities or is it for show (110)? While the non-indigenous population may be learning English or another Western language that increases their job opportunities, the indigenous population is required to learn a language that may serve them no purpose other than in their own suppressed community. This perpetuates a colonial relationship in forcing indigenous people to learn their ancestral language, which may not afford them more social capital. This is why the understanding of the colonized language relationship is important in the acquisition of a language as a tool to increase cultural identification. In this situation, it is also key to include researchers who are part of these populations, so as to better fully understand the impacts of bilingual education in these communities beyond the theoretical. Although Peru has been called a 'vanguard' of bilingual education, no research or empirical data exists today on whether the bilingual education has been successful in increasing fluency among indigenous people or increasing their social status (Hornberger 166).

Translated works

In 2014, the DDCC, Dirección Desconcentrada de Cultura de Cultura, paired up with the publishing company Estruendomudo in order to begin an unimaginable translation project that would change the way the world saw the future of the endangered language. The project sought to translate five major Latin American pieces into Quechua. These pieces were *Un señor muy viejo con alas enormes* by Gabriel García Márquez, *El desafío* by Mario Vargas Llosa, *Bienvenido Bob* by Juan Carlos Onetti, *En memoria de Paulina* by Adolfo Bioy Casares, and *Mejor que arder* by Clarice Lispector or respectively in Quechua *Machu wiraquchataq raprasapataq, Qanchu ñuqachu wañusunchis, Qhalilla sumaqlla Bob, Paulinapa yuyayninpi,* and *Kañakuymantaqa chayqa allichkanmi* (Rodríguez).

I had the opportunity to travel to Peru and while in Cusco look at these resources as they were being disseminated into Peruvian society. After a few failed attempts at finding bookstores[4], I came across a bookstore that had all 5 copies of these translated works for sale. For 15 sol, I bought a copy of Gabriel García Márquez's short story, "Un señor muy viejo con unas alas enormes," a story I had read in my Spanish literature classes. The book has García Márquez's story in both Spanish and Quechua. Figure 4 demonstrates that when the book is opened, the reader can see both stories and both languages side by side and equal. I would be remiss if I did not acknowledge that the translation to Quechua had been completed by Gina Maldonado.

[4] More often than not, the google shop search for "librería en cusco" would lead me to a stationary shop that sold more pens and papers than what I was looking for. After a few entertaining and frustrating hours, I finally gave in and asked my friend where I could find the "libreria que vende libros de verdad." After some confusing definitions of "libros de verdad," I finally got directions to an actual bookstore that did in fact sell books.



Al tercer día de lluvia habían matado tantos cangrejos dentro de la casa, que Pelayo tuvo que atravesar su patio anegado para tirarlos al mar, pues el niño recién nacido había pasado la noche con calenturas y se pensaba que era causa de la pestilencia. El mundo estaba triste desde el martes. El cielo y el mar eran una misma cosa de ceniza, y las arenas de la playa, que en marzo fulguraban como polvo de lumbre, se habían convertido en un caldo de lodo y mariscos podridos. La luz era tan mansa al mediodía, que cuando Pelayo regresaba a la casa después de haber tirado los cangrejos, le costó trabajo ver qué era lo que se movía y se quejaba en el fondo del patio. Tuvo que acercarse mucho para descubrir que era un hombre viejo, que estaba tumbado boca abajo en el lodazal, y a pesar de sus grandes esfuerzos no podía levantarse, porque se lo impedían sus enormes alas.

Asustado por aquella pesadilla, Pelayo corrió en busca de Elisenda, su mujer, que estaba poniéndole compresas al niño enfermo,

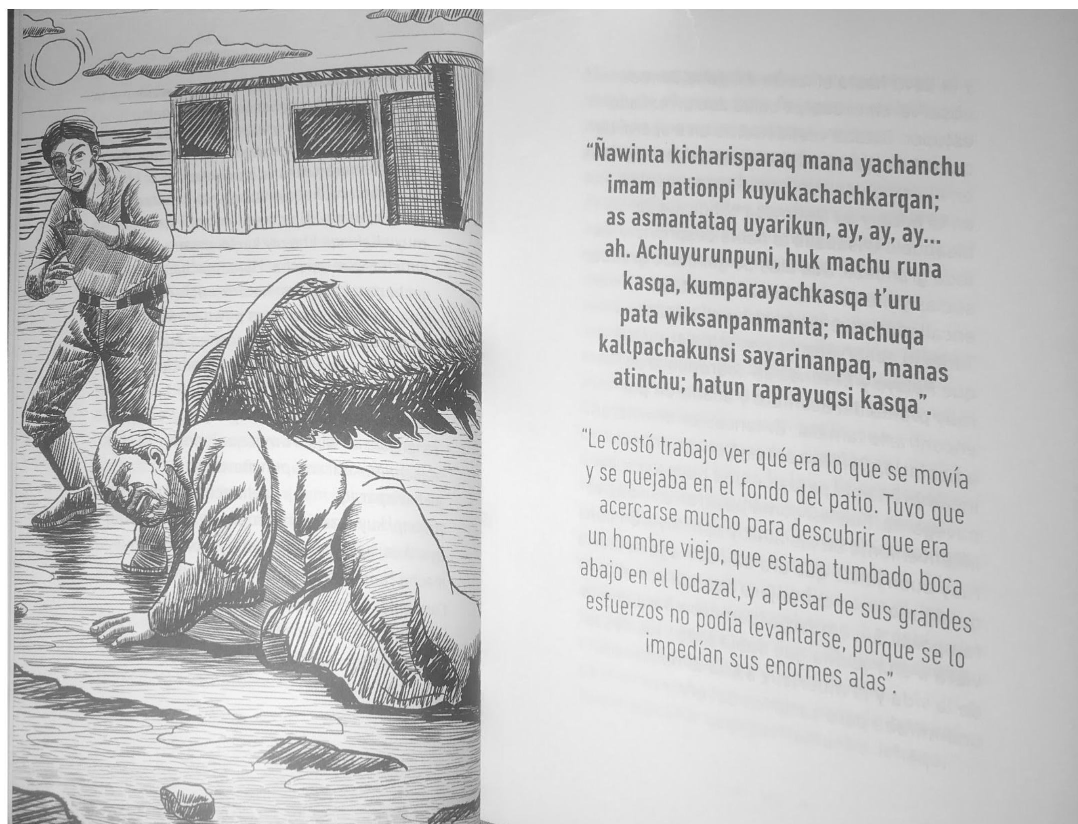
— 10 —

Kimsa p'unchaw parap qhipanta wasi ukhupi askha *cangrejota* wañuchisqaku, Pelayop *pation cangrejomanta* hunt'a kachkarqan; chaymi pay mama quchaman wikch'umuran. Qhulla wawachapas tutantinsi ruphapayukusqa, paykunataq niranku asnaymi unquchichkan. Tiqsi–muyu llakisqa khuyay kachkarqan antichaymantapacha. Hanaqpacha, mama quchapas kasqallan karanku uchpha hina. Challakuq aqunpas pawqar–waray killapiqa sipas hinaraq k'anchaq, kunantaq asna t'uruman tukurusqa; chaypitaq ismusqa challwakuna asnachkan; chawpi p'unchawta upa ruphaylla, Pelayo *cangrejokuna* wikch'umusqanmanta wasinman kutiramuptin, ñawinta kicharisparaq, mana yachanchu imam *pationpi* kuyukachachkarqan; as asmantataq uyarikun, ay, ay, ay...ah. Achuyurunpuni, huk machu runa kasqa, kumparayachkasqa t'uru pata wiksanpanmanta; machuqa kallpachakunsi sayarinanpaq, manas atinchu; hatun raprayuqsi kasqa.

— 11 —

Figure 4. Pages with both Spanish and Quechua story from a personal copy of *Macha Wiraquchataq raprasapataq / un señor muy viejo con unas alas enormes* (2019)

The book also has illustrations throughout, as seen in Figure 5. At the end of the story, there are a series of activities or questions in both Spanish and Quechua, in which the reader can use in his classrooms or as the student themselves.


"Ñawinta kicharisparaq mana yachanchu
imam pationpi kuyukachachkarqan;
as asmantataq uyarikun, ay, ay, ay...
ah. Achuyurunpuni, huk machu runa
kasqa, kumparayachkasqa t'uru
pata wiksanpanmanta; machuqa
kallpachakunsi sayarinanpaq, manas
atinchu; hatun raprayuqsi kasqa".

"Le costó trabajo ver qué era lo que se movía
y se quejaba en el fondo del patio. Tuvo que
acercarse mucho para descubrir que era
un hombre viejo, que estaba tumbado boca
abajo en el lodazal, y a pesar de sus grandes
esfuerzos no podía levantarse, porque se lo
impedían sus enormes alas".

Figure 5. Pages with illustration from personal copy of *Macha Wiraquchataq raprasapataq / un señor muy viejo con unas alas enormes* (2019)

What makes these books important to Quechua? According to my theory, these books will directly help with the self-identification of Quechans as they 1) offer access to the Quechuan language to a younger audience and 2) acknowledge the relationship between Quechua and Spanish in modern society.

While the books are available to everyone, clearly these books will have the greatest impact upon their target group, school-aged children. They are beginning to explore for the the beauties of magic realism and other themes in Latin American literature. While they may be reading these stories for the first time in Spanish in their schools, they now have the opportunity to see these stories in Spanish and Quechua

simultaneously, valorizing Quechua as not only the language that may be spoken at home but also the language that can be used to educate them and learn from. With the activity questions at the end, any teacher can easily implement these books in his or her curriculum, whether it be to a majority indigenous student group or not.

These books place the two languages, Spanish and Quechua, on the same playing field both physically by laying the texts side by side and on a more symbolic level. While Gabriel García Márquez was a native Colombian and did not speak Quechua nor any other indigenous language, the translation of the book takes back the credit of classical Latin American literature, literature that was inspired by the rich history of the land and the people but that never had a chance to be written in the native language. There is importance in having to write in a language that stripped your ancestors of their culture and their lives because it too is the only language that you can use to tell your own story. These translated books offer an authentic image of accepting the reality of what modern day indigenous people face, while simultaneously valuing and offering space to the cultural aspects that still remain important.

Conclusion

In 2006, Hilaria Supa Huaman became the first congresswoman in Peru to take her oath of service in Quechua. As she gave her promise to the citizens of Peru that she would serve and protect them; she did this in her mother tongue, the mother tongue of 3.7 million other Peruvians. This action not only serves the tangible effect of creating more accessibility and representation on an institutional level, but also as a symbolic acknowledgment of the necessary space and time created for the Quechuan population.

While I have established that age and the colonizing language relationship are the two most important factors in acquisition and identification when looking at Quechuan speakers, I have also explored how one can identify and analyze the successes and failure in language planning when looking past theory and using real data and research to build institutional changes.

More research needs to be done in this area. Questions remain on how to fully use this information in the future to create a more equitable multilingual society. There are two critical aspects that need to be remembered when conducting research. The first aspect is that research should be done on a more individualized basis with a focus on the factors that make the indigenous language unique itself. While I have established a framework to be used to study Quechua acquisition and identification, this framework cannot and should not be used for other indigenous languages. Each language deserves research that is specific to the characteristics and needs of that community. Instead of more studies on how Westerners may gain another language and better identify with that foreign culture, I call for specific research on Aymara, Mapuche, and Arawakan. The list goes on and on. The second specific task is that that researchers need to include indigenous researchers. While I have tried to involve the perspectives of Quechuans, I will always fail in some part as an American non-indigenous researcher. I hope to have opened the doors to more research, but this research needs to be done by indigenous researchers taking into account the specific needs of their community.

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