DIGLOSSIA: THE CASE OF QUECHUA LANGUAGES & SPANISH

by

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A Senior Honors Thesis Submitted to the Faculty of
The University of Utah
In Partial Fulfillment of the Requirements for the
Honors Degree in Bachelor of Arts

In
Languages and Literature

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July 2015
ABSTRACT

Individuals who grow up speaking an indigenous language in Peru, have historically struggled between maintaining their native mother tongue as a means of constructing their identity and connecting to their cultural heritage; versus, being pressured to linguistically shift to Spanish, as this language dominates most of the linguistic spheres of the country. The current constitution indicates that the official languages of the country are Spanish, Quechua, Aymara and other indigenous languages in the areas where they predominate. Nevertheless, this declaration of intention by the government has not done enough to reverse the language shift and loss of the indigenous languages of Peru.

The objective of this study is to investigate the diglossic relationship between Spanish and Quechua, one of the major indigenous language families of Peru. Examining the diglossic situation between Spanish and Quechua languages provides us with the opportunity to understand how these languages with diverse statuses coexist in a shared space. Additionally, this study also seeks to be beneficial and informative in the future development of language revitalization and maintenance initiatives. The diglossic case study of Spanish and Quechua languages conducted in this piece utilizes Joshua Fishman’s latter modified definition of diglossia as a foundation; additionally, the following diglossic characteristics delineated by Charles Ferguson will also be discussed: prestige, function, stability, acquisition, standardization & literary heritage.
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INTRODUCTION

Languages around the world face endangerment like never before. Stephen May (2005) indicates that “of the estimated 6,800 languages spoken in the world today, it is predicted on present trends that between 20 percent and 50 percent will ‘die’ by the end of the twenty-first century” (p. 257). Linguists consider that one of the main contributing factors towards this worldwide language epidemic was the emergent belief that countries should have a national language to represent them. Thomas Ricento (2005) argues “The ideal of one nation-state with one national language is a relatively recent phenomenon, arising from the French Revolution of 1789 and the advent of European nationalism . . . If anything, multilingualism . . . is the norm. Just as the choice and construction of a particular language variety as the national language were a deliberate political act, ‘so too was the process by which other language varieties were subsequently ‘minoritized’ or ‘dialectalized’ by and within these same nation-states’” (p. 233).

The language homogenization of countries has placed linguistic minorities at a disadvantage as these communities are hindered to partake in the spaces dominated by the national language. Hence, language minorities are pressured to shift to the dominant “national” language in order to have fair and equal access to social opportunities. Thomas Ricento (2005) explains that “[b]eyond the loss of languages, are the social, economic, and political consequences for minority-language speakers of such shift and loss. The groups most affected (variously estimated at between 5,000 and 8,000, including 250 million to 300 million members of the world’s indigenous peoples) tend to be those already marginalized and/or subordinated” (p. 233).

Therefore, linguistic policies that invalidate the usage of minority languages in diverse spheres alienate these communities from the rest of society and intensify the social inequality panorama of countries with high percentages of indigenous speakers.
In the case of Peru, the current constitution states that the official languages of the country are Spanish, Quechua, Aymara and other indigenous languages in the areas where they predominate. Nevertheless, this declaration of intention by the government has not done enough to reverse the trend of language shift and loss of indigenous languages in Peru. Individuals who grow up speaking an indigenous language have historically struggled between maintaining their native mother tongue as a means of constructing their cultural identity; versus, being pressured to linguistically shift to Spanish, as this is the language that dominates most of the linguistic spheres in the country.

The minority status of indigenous languages in Peru places them in a disadvantaged diglossic situation. Diglossia is a linguistic concept that describes how two languages with different statuses coexist in a shared space. The purpose of this investigation is to study the diglossic relationship between Spanish and Quechua, one of the major indigenous language families in Peru. Understanding the diglossic situation between Spanish and Quechua languages would enable us to have a holistic picture of their relationship as languages in contact. Further on, this study could be utilized to inform the development of future language revitalization and maintenance initiatives.

**DIGLOSSIA**

Charles A. Ferguson gave life to the term *diglossia* in his now famous article titled “Diglossia” in 1959. He developed the following definition to describe the concept:

“a relatively stable language situation in which, in addition to the primary dialects of the language (which may include a standard or regional standards), there is a very divergent, highly codified (often grammatically more complex) superposed variety, the vehicle of a large and respected body of written literature, either of an earlier period or in another speech community, which is learned largely by formal education and is used for most written and formal spoken purposes but is not used by any sector of the community for ordinary conversation” (p. 245). 

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This canonical work intended to highlight the complementary relationship between two varieties of the same language, a situation in which the language varieties are considered to have either a high (H) or low (L) status. Ferguson explains that the H language variety is usually accessible to a limited segment in society; hence, no one actually utilizes this language variety for conversational purposes. Angela Miriam Helmer (2010) clarifies that since the publication of the initial definition of diglossia “hundreds of studies have emerged about diglossia with the purpose of re-examining, transforming and expanding on the original concept formulated by Ferguson” (p. 13). Of all the contributions made to this field, one of the most significant was led by the linguist Joshua Fishman.

Fishman (2000) explains that the focus of his inquiry “attempted to relate diglossia to psychologically pertinent considerations such as compound and co-ordinate bilingualism” (p. 82). The examination developed by this author added a different dimension to the original definition established by Ferguson since he proposed that diglossia could also exist in multilingual societies. Fishman (1972a) asserts that, “Bilingualism is essentially a characterization of individual linguistic versatility while diglossia is a characterization of the societal allocation of functions to different languages or varieties” (p. 145). Here the author illustrates that diglossia could be utilized to describe the linguistic relationship between two distinct languages. A situation in which, each of the languages would have different roles and perceived prestige in the common space shared by them. One of the examples utilized by Fishman (2000) to further solidify his view of diglossia was the case of Paraguay, “where almost the entire population speaks both Spanish and Guarani” (p. 83). Hence, demonstrating that a linguistic community could be engaged in diglossia and bilingualism.

Scholars have not been able to come to a solid agreement on what constitutes diglossia
since not all of the linguistic situations fit the described definitions of Ferguson, Fishman and others. Nonetheless, as Helmer (2010) explains, “this result is not surprising if you take into consideration that diglossia is intimately linked to subtle perceptions such as attitudes, behaviors and political events” (p. 13). Henceforth, this situation is a reflection of the diversity and complexity of nature of language usage.

Ferguson describes diglossia by depicting the following nine characteristics: function, prestige, literary heritage, acquisition, standardization, stability, grammar, lexicon and phonology. The diglossic case study of Spanish and Quechua languages conducted in this piece will utilize Fishman’s latter modified definition of diglossia as a foundation. However, the original features outlined by Ferguson will also be employed.

During the time Ferguson (1959) conceptualized the term diglossia, he sought, as previously mentioned, to describe the relationship between two languages that shared the same linguistic origins. Consequently, when analyzing grammar, lexicon and phonology, his aim was to demonstrate that the H prestige language was more complex and/or sophisticated than the L prestige language in these areas. Correspondingly, even though Quechua languages and Spanish do not share a common origin; their relationship fits most of the essential characteristic of diglossia. Nevertheless, the vast linguistic differences between these languages makes it problematic to argue that one of the languages is more sophisticated or complex than the other without a detailed description of their respective linguistic structures. Therefore, I have decided to omit the discussion of these sections in this piece. Consequently, this study of Spanish and Quechua languages will exclusively focus on prestige, function, stability, acquisition, standardization & literary heritage.
QUECHUA LANGUAGES

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Region</th>
<th>Region</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Quechua I</td>
<td>Huaylas, Yaru, Jauja, Huangáscar</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Quechua II A</td>
<td>Ferreñafe, Cajamarca, Lincha</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Quechua II B</td>
<td>Ecuadorian Quechua [Quichua], Chachapoyas, San Martín</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Quechua IIC</td>
<td>Ayacucho, Cuzco, Puno, Northern Bolivian</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Most Peruvians that live outside of the Andean region don’t have knowledge of its linguistics reality. For example, the term “Quechua” is commonly utilized to refer to the different languages that exist in the Andes, meaning that the majority of Peruvians believe that Quechua is one language with different varieties or dialects. Nonetheless, linguists have categorized Quechua/Runa Simi as the main language family of the Andean region. Willem Adelaar (2007) explains that the “Speakers of different Quechua dialects often have a difficult time understanding each other. If the dialects are not closely related, there may be no mutual comprehension at all . . . [that is why] many linguists now prefer to speak of ‘Quechuan languages’, rather than of ‘Quechua dialects’” (p. 168). Consequently, scholars have classified Quechua languages into two main sections: Quechua I or Central Quechua which can be found in the central highland states of Ancash, Huánuco, Junín and Pasco & Quechua II which covers all of the remaining varieties of Quechua situated either north or south of the central mountain region (Adelaar, 2007, p. 185). The last census conducted by the Peruvian National Institute of Statistics and Information Technologies (NISIT) in 2007 indicates that the states with the highest concentration of Quechua speakers are: Apurímac, Ayacucho, Cusco, Puno and Arequipa.

DEMOGRAPHICS

The Quechua language family is emblematic of the Andean region of South America. This territory includes the countries of Colombia, Ecuador, Peru, Chile, Bolivia, and Argentina; however, Peru has the largest population of Quechua speakers. According to Adelaar (2007) Quechua languages have “an estimated number of speakers ranging between 8.5 million and 10 million” (p. 168). The data collected by the NISIT postulates a more specific linguistic representation of Peru. The following chart depicts the firsts language distribution among Peruvian citizens in the last three decades. The information below was obtained from the last
three censuses conducted by the Peruvian government.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Spanish</th>
<th>Quechua</th>
<th>Aymara</th>
<th>Other Indigenous Languages</th>
<th>Foreign Language</th>
<th>Not Specified</th>
<th>Total Population that Participated in the Census</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>2007</td>
<td>21,713,165</td>
<td>3,360,331</td>
<td>443,248</td>
<td>242,134</td>
<td>21,434</td>
<td>N/A</td>
<td>25,780,312</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1993</td>
<td>15,405,014</td>
<td>3,177,937</td>
<td>440,380</td>
<td>132,174</td>
<td>35,118</td>
<td>117,980</td>
<td>19,308,603</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1981</td>
<td>10,012,758</td>
<td>2,917,870</td>
<td>395,058</td>
<td>79,869</td>
<td>235,190</td>
<td>17,929</td>
<td>13,658,674</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Mother Tongue - Census 1981**

- Spanish: 73%
- Quechua: 21%
- Aymara: 3%
- Other Indigenous Languages: 1%
- Foreign Languages: 0%
- Not Specified: 2%
The data demonstrates that 21% of the population that participated in the census of 1981 indicated their mother tongue as being a Quechua language. Continuously, this percentage decreased to 13% by 2007 even though the population growth of the country augmented by 89%.

Adeelar (2007) explains how the language shift to Spanish manifested differently in certain areas of the country by clarifying that for instance, “[in] 1940 the percentage of Quechua speakers in the highland sector of the department of Junin was still calculated at 75 per cent of the total population [continuously this rate] had fallen to less than 10 percent in 1993” (p. 258). These observations give us a numerical glimpse on the dramatic linguistic changes certain regions of the country have underdone in recent times.

Ferguson indicates in his classic diglossic model that the majority of the population typically speaks the L status language while H status language is only accessible to a select sector of society. The case of Quechua languages and Spanish does not follow this inclination since the majority of the Peruvian population speaks Spanish whereas only minority Andean communities speak Quechua languages. Consequently, the bilingual speakers of a Quechua
language and Spanish compose the population that is truly involved in a diglossic situation since they are able to utilize either language according to the context in which they may be involved.

The census conducted in 1981 was the latest to provide statistics regarding bilingualism as it asked the participating population to specify their second language. The following chart portrays this information.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>SECOND LANGUAGE – Census 1981</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Does not speak a second Language</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>---------------------------------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11,167,940</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The statistics above indicate that most of the Peruvian population is not bilingual. Conversely, we can observe that the population that is engaged in bilingualism totals 2,432,079 people. This figure is composed by individuals that speak an indigenous language or a foreign
language as their mother tongue and Spanish as their second language; making Spanish the main second language among bilingual speakers in Peru. Although the census fails to identify the total population that specifically speaks Spanish and a Quechua language, we can deduce that Quechua language speakers comprise the great majority of this figure, since this is the major indigenous language family of the country.

**PRESTIGE**

Ferguson describes the prestige dynamics encountered in diglossic situations by explaining that “the speakers regard H as superior to L [. . .] there is usually a belief that H is somehow more beautiful, more logical, better able to express important thoughts” (1959, p. 69).

In Peru, Spanish is considered to be the language of High (H) status and all of the indigenous languages, including the Quechua language family, are regarded to be of Low (L) status. The subsequent sections will examine the major historic language policy proceedings that have influenced the prestige allocation of these languages in Peru.

**Colonial Period**

The Spanish conquest of the Incan Empire during the 16th century altered the reality of Andean native communities radically, as the indigenous population became oppressed by a system that sustained itself with the sole goal of exploiting the resources of the region. Helmer (2010) further describes the linguistic circumstance during this period of transition:

> The Spanish military conquest brought the appropriation of political, administrative, religious power and the imposition of the Spanish language. Although the Quechua and Aymara were elevated [to be considered] general languages to facilitate communication within a highly multilingual indigenous society, these general languages were subordinated to the new administrative language of prestige: Spanish (p. 77).

Consequently, it is from this moment on that Spanish becomes the superposed language variety described by Ferguson. Moreover, the establishment of the Peruvian Viceroyalty promoted the
creation of colonial social organizations that became linguistically accessible to a select few. As Helmer elucidates in her work, all communication with the Spanish Crown, scholastic works and clerical practices & rituals of the era were conducted utilizing either Spanish or Latin. Accordingly, fluency in these languages was one of the requirements that enabled an individual to participate in and navigate through these prominent spaces. Consequently, the proficiency in these languages became a symbolic indicator of elitism and power during the colonial period (Helmer, 2010, p.70). Nonetheless, the imposing mandates on the usage of Quechua languages shifted towards the second half of the 16th century. The modifications were triggered as a result of a resolution dictated by the leadership of the Catholic Church that ordered the utilization of Quechua languages for the purposes of religious indoctrination. Cerron-Palomino (1989) further expounds this decree by stating that during “the First Council of Lima (1552), it was established that the language of the conquered must be used for the purposes of catechization” (p. 20). Serafín Coronel-Molina (2011) mentions further proclamations on this matter by explaining that the Second Council of 1567 ordered members of the clergy to learn indigenous languages. Subsequently, the Third Council of 1583 commanded the translation of religious texts into Quechua and Aymara (p.127). These ordinances were the first to allow the usage of Quechua Languages within the colonial context. Even though the usage of Quechua languages was limited to the religious sector, these orders enabled them to thrive within the limits established by the crown until the 17th century.

Nonetheless, this period of semi-linguistic tolerance was interrupted in 1643 when “the Spanish Crown reversed its previous position and mandated Castilianization of the entire population, intending to eliminate native languages and consolidate all Spanish subjects under a single language” (Coronel-Molina, 2011, p.128). This decree was later reinforced in drastic
manner during the second half of the 18th century when Charles III ordered Spanish to be “compulsory” for all the inhabitants of the colonial territories occupied by Spain (Cerron Palomino, 1989, p. 21). Accordingly, the instability of Quechua languages (starting from its linguistic management to its status in colonial society) placed these languages in a disadvantaged position in the midst of the imminent presence of Spanish.

**Republic of Peru**

Although Peru declared its independence from Spain in 1821, the dogma of European superiority never ceased to influence the national scheme. Cerron-Palomino (1989) argues that obtaining independence from Spain “far from being a real liberation, was only a transfer of power among those who were at the apex of the social pyramid” (p. 22). The new sovereignty obtained from independence, as suggested by Cerron-Palomino, was appropriated by the criollo population (Spanish born in the New World), the new beneficiaries of the Peruvian territory. Far from constructing an inclusive, democratic and just republic, the new leadership of the country continued following agendas that furthered the enrichment of this sector of society. Hence, the indigenous population was merely viewed as a beast-of-burden useful in the midst of the industrial revolution and the establishment of the republic. Therefore, the political policies and the organization of the country were developed in a centralistic manner favoring the oligarchy of Lima and leaving the rural populations in a state of oblivion. Likewise, no substantial linguistic policies were developed during the country’s formative period; reflecting the lack of urgency & importance fomenting the usage of Quechua languages had in the early the governmental plans of the country. Further reflections and criticism about the nature of Peruvian society and the place of its indigenous population during the 20th century can be found in the literary works of the following authors:
Nonetheless, the beginning of the 20th century gave birth to new political projects and artistic movements that questioned these conceptions. Starn, Degregori & Kirk (2005) explain how the emergent indigenist movement led by “apostles like the historian Luis Varcárcel and lawyer Hildebrando Castro Pozo attacked racist assumptions of Indian inferiority and degradation. They contended that the path to national renewal lay in ‘indigenous’ principles of reciprocity and cooperation” (p. 228). Furthermore, the prospects of indigenous communities advanced with the formation of the Tawantinsuyo Committee for Pro-Indigenous Rights during the administration of president Augusto Leguía (1919-1931). This organization unified and mobilized national indigenous leaders with the aim of promoting the political, economic and social rights of indigenous people. In essence, their goal was to defend the interest of indigenous communities by educating them about their civil rights and by encouraging them to denounce abuses committed by the governmental offices or citizens. Although, their efforts did not reach the language policy arena, they were one of the earliest organizations that began to advocate for the rights of the indigenous population of Peru. This association sought to address the needs of indigenous communities by becoming a connection point between the Andean communities and dominant society. Unfortunately, the momentum of the indigenous movement decreased during the subsequent decades. The deterioration of indigenous movement gave room to the reemergence of the integrationist discourse that encouraged indigenous people to abandon indigenous languages in order to incorporate to mainstream society. Therefore, it’s not surprising that the first bilingual education programs created during the mid 1940s focused on teaching
Spanish and only employed Quechua languages as a linguistic bridge that enabled the acquisition of Spanish as a second language (Coronel Molina, 2011, p. 130).

After this, the most important breakthrough in language policy was the declaration of Quechua languages as official languages of Peru. This event took place in 1975 during the presidency of Velasco Alvarado. During this governmental declaration the administration of the time indicated their goal of implementing these languages at “all levels of education” starting from 1976. Furthermore, these laws led to the creation of the office of Intercultural, Bilingual and Rural Education (IBRE) as a branch of the Ministry of Education with the purpose of creating curricula and exposing teachers to the BIE model. Nevertheless, all of this was altered by the coup lead by Francisco Morales Bermudez. The gubernatorial agenda of Bermudez greatly differed from the progressive political views of Velasco Alvarado; therefore, it was not surprising that the previous legislation set in place to favor the status of indigenous languages was retracted in 1979 under his administration. The new modification of the constitution designated Spanish as the only official language, with Quechua and Aymara having “official use zones” (Coronel Molina, 1997, p. 38). In essence, this adaptation relegated the official status of Quechua languages to be confined to the Andean states of Peru. While in the long run, the vision of Velasco Alvarado was not fulfilled, the change of the constitution was step forward; this decision placed the issue of indigenous language recognition at a national level, giving a political voice to the neglected indigenous population.

1980-Present

One of the most substantial victories for Quechua languages occurred in 1985, since it was under the first administration of Alan Garcia that a Quechua alphabet became standardized and officially recognized by the Peruvian legal code. Before this historic precedent took place,
numerous Quechua alphabets had been created to promote literacy among the Quechua speaking population. Nevertheless, the discrepancy between the alphabets caused disagreements between the parties involved.¹ Hence, the official recognition of a single Pan-Quechua alphabet allowed the creation of more structured language revitalization initiatives through the collaboration of numerous NGOs and the Peruvian ministry of education. Two of the most prominent of enterprises were the Ayacucho & the Puno Experimental Bilingual Education Projects (Coronel Molina, 2011, p. 132). Nancy H. (1998) further clarifies the nature of Puno educational program by explaining that it provided services to “approximately 4% of school-aged Quechua- and Aymara-speaking population of the Department of Puno throughout the 1980s; it developed the first complete set of bilingual primary education materials in an indigenous language in Latin America” (p. 443). Although this educational approach began to take off in the highland department of Puno, its progress and expansion became hindered by the revolutionary guerrilla insurgencies and the political turmoil that arose in the 1980s. Every section of the governmental organization of Peru became strained and absorbed by the instability instigated by the civil war against Shining Path and the hyperinflation crisis of the 1980s. Peru only managed to recuperate from these issues until the beginning of the new millennium.

After this harsh period, there were significant advances in the language policy arena during the presidency of Alejandro Toledo (2001-2006). Laws were established that advocated for the linguistic rights of students’ to receive an education in their native languages. Subsequently, teachers were required to speak the native language of the region in which they exercised their profession (Coronel Molina, 2011, pg. 132).

¹ More information about this matter will be discussed in the standardization section of this study.
The long battle over the officialization and the inclusion of Quechua languages into the educational system allows us to observe that Peruvian society has long regarded these languages to be inferior and to have a lower prestige than Spanish.

Furthermore, although Bilingual Intercultural Education (BIE) has begun to address the educational needs of indigenous children, there is a lot more to be done in order to foster the revitalization of indigenous languages & to expand the access to this type of educational programs. Currently, the debate over BIE education has sparked different reactions among indigenous communities. There are sectors that have been receptive of this emergent enterprise (Coronel Molina, 2011, pg. 132). On the contrary, there are still segments of the population who believe that providing an education in an indigenous language is a useless gesture if Peruvian society does not promote the usage of these languages outside the household domain.

Some experts have discouraging views about the future of these languages. For instance, the linguist Cerron Palomino, once a leading advocate of the revitalization of indigenous languages, recently shared his observations in a personal communication:

My current view is completely negative. Despite all the attempts that have been made for the maintenance and the vindication of our indigenous languages, particularly Quechua, everything remains on the level of discourse and in the field of good intentions. What happens in the country is that, because of the nature of Peruvian society, there is simply no room for our native languages. We have been discussing this topic for more than 50 years already and the only concrete aspect is that native languages are becoming extinct (October 17, 2014) (translated from the original).

The unfortunate reality is that colonialist ideologies of European superiority and the dismissal of indigenous cultures have been so ingrained into the consciousness of the populace that their destructive effects are still widespread today. The discrimination faced by these communities for most of their history has continuously pushed them to abandon their connections to their cultures and languages in order to socially survive and assimilate to the dominant system. This is why it
is not surprising to observe the prevalent rejection towards Quechua languages in most sectors of Peruvian society, even in some indigenous communities themselves.

Even though defenders of indigenous languages have continuously advocated for their revitalization, their arguments have been based on the cultural importance of these languages; nonetheless, there has been a limited effort to counter the popular belief that indigenous languages are not sophisticated enough to convey important information in this day and age. If Quechua represents illiteracy, ignorance and backwardness; then Spanish embodies intelligence, literacy, modernity and progress (Garcia, 1999, p. 230).

Consequently, the case of Spanish and Quechua languages fits the prestige description of the classic diglossic model established by Ferguson (1959) since Spanish has a substantial higher prestige than Quechua languages in Peru.

**FUNCTION**

The Peruvian constitution indicates that Quechua languages have official status in the regions with high number of speakers (Const. title II, chap. I, art. 48) (Translated from the original). However, the Peruvian linguistic reality does not reflect a widespread of bilingualism. In fact, it would be more accurate to describe the “national linguistic condition” as being diglossic instead of bilingual—speakers of Spanish and an indigenous language are not free to utilize indigenous languages in all contexts. On the contrary, these individuals are required to choose between one language and the other and adapt their speech according to the language setting in which they find themselves.

With regards to the functional distribution of languages, Ferguson explains that, “[o]ne of the most important features of diglossia is the specialization of function for H and L. In one set of situations only H is appropriate and in another only L, with the two sets overlapping only very
slightly” (1959, p. 68). The classic model suggests that the H status language is usually utilized in formal settings, while the L status language is mostly employed in informal scenarios. Some examples of formal spheres are: religion, government, education and mass media. On the other hand, casual social interactions would be considered an informal setting. The diglossic interaction between these languages is visible in bilingual Spanish-Quechua language speaking communities. In this context, Quechua languages are usually only utilized in social informal scenarios. On the other hand, the rest of the country experiences a different linguistic reality, as Spanish is commonly employed in formal and informal situations. Moreover, in the case of Peru, the distribution of functional domains varies greatly according to the geographic location of a bilingual speaker. For instance, Peruvian states like Apurimac that have a high percentage of Quechua speakers would encounter linguistic allocations that would favor the usage of Quechua languages in more linguistic domains compared to the state of Lima where the presence of Spanish is highly dominant.

When discussing aspects of language domain and function, Ferguson (1959) provided an illustration depicting possible linguistic situations. According to his model, a person engaged in a diglossic setting would have to choose between employing the language of H or L prestige depending on the linguistic situation they may encounter. The table examined below is a condensed version of the original chart created by Ferguson. Subsequently, each section will be

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>DOMAIN</th>
<th>H</th>
<th>L</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Spanish</td>
<td>Quechua Languages</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Government</td>
<td>X</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Informal (Social Interactions)</td>
<td>X</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Education</td>
<td>X</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Religion</td>
<td>X</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Media: TV, Radio &amp; Internet</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>X</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Printed Media</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>X</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
discussed in general terms within the context of Quechua languages & Spanish.

**Governmental**

The Peruvian constitution legally grants Quechua languages official status in the regions where high concentrations of Quechua speaking communities can be found (Const. title II, chap. I, art. 48) (Translated from the original). Nevertheless, this declaration “was little more than a useless gesture, made without much thought or planning as to means of implementation of the law” (Coronel-Molina, 1997, p. 39). Presently, all administrative operations & services by the different governmental branches of the country are conducted through the usage of Spanish. This means that although indigenous languages have legal recognition in the Andean region of Peru, a Quechua speaking person does not have access to governmental services or legislative reading material in his/her native language. This is one of the reasons why indigenous citizens of the Republic of Peru have limited access to the political gubernatorial sphere.

**Informal**

Quechua languages are predominantly utilized in social informal scenarios. Nonetheless the usage of these languages in the informal sector will vary depending on the geographic location of the person. For example, indigenous people will have more social opportunities to employ this language in the Andean region since most of the Quechua speaking population resides in this geographic area. Nevertheless, this scenario is threatened with the migration to the urban areas of Peru. Inhabitants in urban areas typically employ Spanish when communicating informally; consequently, speaking an indigenous language within this context is viewed as a negative practice because of its low status. Therefore, Quechua speaking immigrants residing in urban areas like Lima will generally only use these languages in their households or with other immigrants with the same ethnolinguistic background (Coronel-Molina, 1997, p. 38).
Educational

Peruvian primary, secondary, and higher educational instruction is generally provided in Spanish. However, public schools designated as Bilingual and Intercultural (BIE) are an exception to this general educational rule. According to the Peruvian National Institute of Statistics and Information Technologies (NISIT) there were a total of 104,467 educational establishments (primary, secondary, public community colleges) in 2013. Moreover, the first statistical report on BIE instruction titled the “National document of the native languages of Peru” released by the Peruvian Ministry of Education (PME) in 2013 specified that a total of 20,017 schools were categorized as BIE. In essence, 19% of the public educational institutions of Peru utilized Spanish and an indigenous language as part of their instruction in 2013. Furthermore, the PME also highlighted that the states with the highest percentages of BIE schools were: Apurimac, Ayacucho, Puno, Cusco, and Huancavelica. On the other hand, the coastal states, including Lima, were reported to have the lowest rates of BIE schools in the country. Therefore, the linguistic function of Quechua languages in the educational sector is limited because of the emerging nature of BIE schools.

Religious

The Peruvian National Institute of Statistics and Information Technologies (NISIT) notes that 81.3% of the total participating population in the 2007 census identified themselves as being Catholic. Catholic practices and instructive materials are usually offered in Spanish. Nonetheless, it is not uncommon to find Catholic services being presented in Quechua languages to Andean indigenous communities. A possible reason is that the linguistic practices of some regions of the country reflect the religious syncretism that formed Andean Catholicism. The religious practices of these regions are a true fusion between native spiritual beliefs and Christian theology.
Consequently, this cultural context allows highland communities to continue practicing ancient rituals, while professing their Catholic faith. Moreover, it should be noted that Andean religious rituals are usually performed utilizing a linguistic mixture between Spanish and Quechua languages. Although the religious domain is mostly conducted through the usage of Spanish in Peru, Quechua languages have still managed to occupy certain linguistic functions in the Andean region (Coronel-Molina, 1997, p. 44).

**Media: TV, Radio, Internet**

As Ferguson (1959) suggests, mass media communication outlets may use an informal (Low prestige) or a formal (High prestige) language depending on the content of the programming being offered. For example, news broadcasting is usually done employing an H prestige language, while entertainment type shows commonly utilize an L prestige language. In the case of Peru, mass media outlets predominantly utilize Spanish to convey either formal or informal content. Although the presence of indigenous languages in TV is nonexistent, it is worth noting that these Quechua languages do have a notable space in the radio and an emergent presence in the Internet communication sector.

One of the factors that may have influenced the language preference of Peruvian communication mediums is the size of the audience that typically consumes their content. The following chart depicts statistics gathered by the NISIT on the condition of the “Information and Communication Technologies” of Peru from 2001-20013. The media portrayed in this overview are: radio, TV and Internet. The aim is to illustrate the percentage of the rural population that either owns or utilizes these types of media.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Rural Areas of Peru</th>
<th>2001</th>
<th>2013</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Radio Ownership</td>
<td>73.7%</td>
<td>81.8%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
As we can observe, the radio is the most available method of communication in the rural areas of Peru compared to the TV and the Internet. The accessibility and portability of the radio could be aspects that may have influenced its popularity in the Andean region of Peru. A substantial portion of rural areas in Peru lack access to electricity; therefore, owning a battery-operated radio enables people living in these remote areas to access this type of media. Most of the radio stations from the Andean region offer content that is slightly different from the programing of traditional radio stations, since the radio in this context is employed to communicate local personal messages. In other words, individuals will commonly pay radio stations to distribute particular messages. Therefore, the types of messages that are popular in this medium are usually announcements of personal or communal interest like deaths, birthdays, and governmental messages. Other types of programing will usually include content that is religious or educational in form; nowadays, a broader range of program content in Quechua languages is diversifying the media available in the radio communication sector.

With the emergence of the World Wide Web, hundreds of webpages portraying content in Quechua languages can be found across the Internet. It’s worth noting that Andean radio stations compose a considerable amount of these webpages. With the development of technology many of these radios have opted to create webpages for their stations as means of providing live streaming access to a wider audience. In other words, they have created virtual spaces in which Quechua speaking audiences from all over the world can gather and communicate. On the other hand, as we have previously displayed, currently only a low percentage of Andean rural communities have access to the Internet and therefore access to this type of material.
Nonetheless, initiatives like the Huascaran Project are facilitating the transformation of this reality. This project was established in collaboration with the Bill and Melinda Gates foundation with the aim of providing Internet via satellite to various indigenous communities across Peru (Coronel-Molina, Hornberger, 2004, p. 34). Overall, it is clear that Spanish is the dominant language utilized by the different types of mass media; nonetheless, radio is the exception to this trend because of the availability of Quechua radio programming in the Andean region.

Printed Media

In most classic diglossic situations, as indicated by Ferguson (1959), it is more appropriate to express written content by employing the H prestige language; however, less formal content like folk literature could be written using an L language. In the case of Peru, most printed media is written in Spanish. In contrast, Quechua languages have a limited literary heritage in part because they are originally oral languages and their written material production has a relatively recent history. As briefly mentioned before, the alphabet created for Quechua languages did not become universally accepted & normalized until 1985. Therefore, these languages never quite developed a concrete body of written literature. Most of the Quechua literature that exists (for example portions of Andean mythology, history and oral traditions) has been translated into Spanish; meanwhile, there is simply very little literary material printed in Quechua. One of the reasons why this might be the case is the fact that the targeted audience for these types of printed media has a historical low literacy rate in either a Quechua language or Spanish (Coronel- Molina, 1997, p. 43). For instance, the information provided by the NISIT shows that the illiteracy rate in the state of Ayacucho was 44.8% in 1981; however, this rate decreased to 20% by 2007. Consequently, all of these factors contributed to the scarce production of printed media materials in Quechua languages. Therefore, these are some of the
reasons why Spanish has such a dominant presence in the printed linguistic domain.

In sum, the functional relationship between Quechua languages and Spanish greatly fit the diglossic description established by Ferguson (1959): Spanish and Quechua languages play specific roles in the linguistic repertoire of bilingual speakers. Additionally, this section has shown how the L prestige languages (Quechua languages) have limited linguistic functions outside the household domain in which they can be utilized while the H language (Spanish) predominantly occupies the most important linguistic domains.

**STABILITY**

In his initial description of diglossia, Ferguson postulates that the relationship between languages engaged in this type of condition is reasonably stable since “[d]iglossia typically persists at least several centuries”. Moreover, studies have described cases in which this linguistic phenomenon has lasted for over a millennium. (1959, p. 240).

The relationship between Quechua languages and Spanish is not different in this regard since these languages first came in contact with each other in the 16th century; their diglossic relationship has been occurring for more than four centuries until the present date.

The reason why diglossic languages manage to coexist for extended periods of time is because their relation is complimentary in nature, as each language has a clear distinct role to play in the linguistic repertoire of speakers (Fishman, 2000, p. 81). Agnieszka Stepkowska (2012) clarifies that “a lack of power symmetry between two languages or varieties results as unstable diglossia, and lead[s] to ‘language shift’” (p. 205). Hence, diglossia becomes unstable when one of the languages gains further power & functional domain spheres, which in turn fosters the displacement of the other language in question.

With regards to the state of Quechua languages, previous statistics displayed in this thesis
have indicated how the percentage of Quechua speakers has decreased in Peru, regardless of the considerable population growth of the last decades. The low prestige of indigenous languages in Peru, the increasing immigration pattern of the Andean population to urban settings, the greater contact with Spanish media content promoted by the advancement of communication technology, and the persistent push of indigenous parents to educate their children in Spanish are all elements that are contributing to the abandonment of Quechua language and the language shift to Spanish. Hence, the diglossic relationship between Quechua languages and Spanish is no longer stable in Peru. Nowadays, we can observe how Spanish is gaining terrain in the informal linguistic/household domain; Quechua languages are losing grasp of the main linguistic domain in which they were employed. This trend can be observed by the 11% increase of the acquisition of Spanish as a mother tongue in the last three decades. Therefore, promoting the usage of Quechua language in formal & informal linguistic domains is the main instrument with the capacity to reverse the extinction of these languages. This would validate the utility of these languages and enable these communities to participate in diverse linguistic settings without feeling alienated from the dominant system.

**ACQUISITION**

The acquisition of H & L prestige languages is influenced by the linguistic functions assigned to them. Ferguson (1959) illustrates the acquisition of languages in a diglossic situation by explaining that, “L is learned by children in what may be regarded as the ‘normal’ way of learning one’s mother tongue. H may be heard by children from time to time, but the actual learning of H is chiefly accomplished by the means of formal education” (p. 70). This situation can be observed taking place in Andean communities where Quechua languages are still being transmitted to younger generations. It is in this circumstance that the new speakers of Quechua
language are being taught these languages in a natural manner. Furthermore, it is when these monolingual speakers enter the education system that they begin to acquire Spanish as a second language. However, it should be noted that this scenario does not describe the predominant linguistic landscape of Peru as Spanish is commonly taught to children at the home and then is later reinforced in schools.

Nonetheless, a previously noted, schools categorized as Bilingual and Intercultural (BIE) are starting to address the unique linguistic needs of indigenous students. These schools are a response to one of the biggest obstacles in the educational development of Quechua-speaking children: receiving an education that utilizes a language that is tremendously different to the one they know. The documentary titled “Quechua-Education in the RunaSimi language of Peru” created by Bernardo Cáceres (2012) explores the theme of Bilingual and Intercultural Education (BIE). The testimonials depicted in the documentary portray how BIE teachers believe that it is fundamental for Quechua speaking children to first learn how to read and write in Quechua; this previous knowledge becomes a linguistic foundation that then supports the acquisition of Spanish. The conclusions of BIE teachers coincide with the “common underlying proficiency” theory developed by Dr. Jim Cummins in 1981. This language acquisition theory recommends language learners to be exposed to instruction in their first language since it has been demonstrated that this practice is effective in promoting proficiency in their second language. Cummins (2000) explains that the “effective development of primary language literacy skills can provide a conceptual foundation for long-term growth” of second language literacy skills (p. 39). Therefore, providing and generating bilingual education programs for speakers of Quechua languages goes beyond language maintenance; it’s an approach that assures indigenous multilingual children receive an adequate education.
Gavina Cordova, one of the BIE teachers that was part of Cáceres’ documentary, expands on this issue by arguing that it is irrational to have curriculum materials and an educational system that are not reflective of the immediate linguistic environment of students. Furthermore, she stresses how the city of Andahuaylas (located in the state of Apurimac) has managed to maintain its multicultural and multilingual heritage despite the substantial linguistic dominance of Spanish. She rejects educational programs that focus on fostering the abandonment of indigenous languages and cultures. Additionally, Cordova explains that her aim as a BIE teacher is to instruct indigenous students so that no child grows up feeling ashamed of their parents. She explicates how painful it is for her to hear parents say that they don’t want their children to be like them when they grow up:

If my mother would tell me that she didn’t want me to be like her. I would tell her that, on the contrary—I want to be like her. I see a lot of worth in my mother. She has a lot of enthusiasm, strength and other values that I wouldn’t be able to acquire through the educational system alone (Quechua-Education in the Runasimi Language of Peru, 2012)(Translated From the Original).

The current governmental institution in charge of addressing educational and linguistic needs of indigenous communities is the office of Intercultural, Bilingual and Rural Education (IBRE). One of the main roles of the IBRE is to identify the public schools that fulfill the bilingual intercultural educational criteria. Public schools need to fall under either of the following categories to be identified as BIE (“Documento Nacional de Lenguas Originarias del Perú”, 2013).

1. Students’ mother tongue is an indigenous language. Students are bilingual in an indigenous language & Spanish.
2. Students are members of an indigenous community. Students’ mother tongue is Spanish and their second language is an indigenous language (p. 134) (Translated from the original).

Furthermore, IBRE employs teachers proficient in an indigenous language in order to provide
children with an education that utilizes their cultural and linguistic knowledge as part of the curricula. All twenty-four states of the Peruvian Republic were portrayed in the IBRE “National Register of Educational Institutions of Intercultural and Bilingual Education” released in 2013. This register provides data portraying the number of students registered in a BIE institution. Additionally, it also portrays the number of students whose mother tongue is a Quechua language and who are acquiring Spanish as a second language or vice versa. The table below illustrates the BIE statistics of the four states with the highest percentages of Quechua speakers.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>First Language</th>
<th>Second Language</th>
<th>Students</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>APURIMAC</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Quechua Collao</td>
<td>Spanish</td>
<td>72,270</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Spanish</td>
<td>Quechua Collao</td>
<td>31,855</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>AYACUCHO</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Quechua Chanka</td>
<td>Spanish</td>
<td>87,881</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Spanish</td>
<td>Quechua Chanka</td>
<td>64,376</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CUSCO</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Quechua Collao</td>
<td>Spanish</td>
<td>109,007</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Spanish</td>
<td>Quechua Collao</td>
<td>55,867</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PUNO</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Quechua Collao</td>
<td>Spanish</td>
<td>60,015</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Spanish</td>
<td>Quechua Collao</td>
<td>63,930</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>AREQUIPA</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Quechua Collao</td>
<td>Spanish</td>
<td>5,739</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Spanish</td>
<td>Quechua Collao</td>
<td>13,877</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

According to the information above, the state of Cuzco has the highest number of Quechua speaking students taking advantage of the Bilingual Intercultural Education (BIE) model. Although BIE programs are beginning to meet the educational needs of indigenous children, its reach is still limited; a significant percentage of Quechua speaking children are not enrolled a BIE schools. This is demonstrated by the reports published by the National Institute of Statistics and Information Technologies (NISIT). For instance, the report titled “The state of the
indigenous childhood of Peru” released in 2010, indicates that in year 2008 only 34.1% of Quechua speaking children were matriculated in a BIE school. Moreover, the studies illustrate that this situation is worse in the urban areas of Peru. For example, the same report indicates that 75.8% of indigenous children living in urban areas were not enrolled in schools considered to be BIE. The great majority of this percentage is composed by a total of 77,739 students who speak a Quechua language and reside in an urban area of the country. Consequently, the figures above demonstrate that the BIE initiative is in its own insufficient in the process of reversing the language shift to Spanish.

In essence, the efforts and resources dedicated to bilingual education, although valuable and necessary, are not enough if they are not coupled with other measures to reverse the current situation in which indigenous languages play a secondary and less prestigious role compared to Spanish. Coronel Molina (1996) explains some of the reasons why indigenous communities are linguistically shifting to Spanish. He considers that, although Andean communities value Quechua languages, parents firmly consider that the only way towards upward mobility is through the acquisition of Spanish. Thus, these communities acknowledge that the dominant society is inaccessible without Spanish. Correspondingly, they feel that educating their children in an indigenous language is useless, as Peruvian society does not accept the usage of these languages outside the household domain (p. 42). These attitudes reflect how the language shift to Spanish is furthering the unstable diglossic relationship of Quechua languages and Spanish. Therefore, if these indigenous languages continue to have the same conditions, the language shift trend will only increase. This will lead to the eventual displacement of Quechua languages all together since their usage in the informal domain will be completely taken over by Spanish.
STANDARDIZATION

Ferguson (1959) specifies how languages engaged in a diglossic relationship usually have significant differences in standardization. For instance, the usage & form of the H prestige language regularly become highly standardized compared to the L prestige language.

[T]here is a strong tradition of grammatical study of the H form of the language. There are grammars, dictionaries, treatises on pronunciation, style and so on. There is an established norm for pronunciation, grammar, and vocabulary which allows variation only within certain limits. The orthography is well established and has little variation (p. 239).

Spanish, being the language of H prestige of our analysis, fits the language standardization predictions mentioned by Ferguson. The principal organization that has overseen the standardization of Spanish language since its formation in 1713 is the Royal Spanish Academy (RSA). The main fundamental objective of the RSA is to guard the Spanish language so that its continuous adaptation to the needs of speakers does not break its essential unity. The organization’s main goal during its inception was the creation of a Spanish dictionary; some of the other historical achievements that the RSA has managed to accomplish in the regulatory process of Spanish have been:

- The publication of the first Spanish dictionary titled Dictionary of Authorities (published in six volumes between 1726 & 1739)
- The publication of the first orthography manual titled Orthographía in 1741
- The publication of the first grammar manual titled Gramática in 1771 (“Orígenes”, n.d.).

The RSA’s historic contributions and zealous efforts have substantially supported the overall standardization process of Spanish. Consequently, it can be argued that Spanish has an extensive tradition of grammatical study as the utilization and development of Spanish have been regulated since the 18th century. Hence, even though Spanish proliferated in Latin America in the 16th
century, the regulatory systems in place managed to maintain the linguistic uniformity of the language.

On the other hand, Ferguson emphasized that “the descriptive and normative studies of the L form are either non-existent or relatively recent and slight in quantity . . . There is no settled orthography and there is wide variation in pronunciation, grammar and vocabulary (1959, p. 239). The standardization description of the L prestige language involved in a diglossic relationship parallels the limited and recent efforts that have been set in place to regulate the usage and the evolution of Quechua languages in Peru.

The following paragraphs provide an overview of the most relevant organizations that have been involved in the standardization process of Andean languages. Furthermore, a brief account of the governmental regulatory efforts regarding these languages will also be mentioned.

**Peruvian Linguists (PL)**

Headed by the professors Rodolfo Cerron Palomino and Alfredo Torero Fernandez, most of these linguists were/are part of the two most prestigious universities in the country: San Marcos National University and Pontifical Catholic University of Peru. As scholars their efforts have focused on conducting and promoting the scientific research of Quechua and Aymara languages in order to support the preservation and revitalization of these languages. This group of scholars is nationally recognized for their linguistic studies and efforts to promote the language planning development of Andean Languages (Hornberger & King, 1998, p. 393). Furthermore, among their many endeavors is the creation of bilingual educational projects; the most prominent of these were the Experimental Quechua-Spanish Bilingual Education Programs of Ayacucho, and Puno (Coronel Molina, 1996, p.7).
Summer Institute of Linguistics (SIL)

The primary aim of this entity is to translate the Bible into every possible language, as a means of giving all individuals the opportunity to have contact with this sacred text (Hornberger & King, 1998, p. 393). Continuously, “[b]ecause many of the world’s languages are still unwritten, this also means that SIL has been involved in developing writing systems for these languages” (Coronel Molina, 1996, p.8). Consequently, because of its mission, this entity continuously works with diverse minority communities from around the world on issues related to language.

This religious organization has managed to foster a close association with the Peruvian Ministry of Education since it first came into the country in 1946 as both entities share the goal of promoting literacy among indigenous communities. Even though the SIL’s initial focus was centered on the Amazon languages of northern Peru, this organization is acknowledged for contributing and sponsoring the Ayacucho Experimental Bilingual Project for five years. Additionally, this group has also organized educational projects that focused on fostering literacy among the Quechua speaking population in Ancash, Cajamarca, Cerro de Pasco, Huánuco, Junin, Lambayeque, and San Martin. The SIL linguists are known for their efforts to identify “with the local Quechua ethnicity and ensuring that their work incorporates genuine voices of indigenous Peruvians”; among the different methods they practice in order to achieve this is learning “to speak the local Quechua variety”. ((Hornberger & King, 1998, p. 393-394).

Peruvian Academy of the Quechua Language (PAQL)

Faustino Espinoza Navarro and other Quechua enthusiasts founded this Cuzco based association in 1953. The main purpose of this entity is to encourage the literary and intellectual usage of Quechua languages by instituting the “National Cuzco Prize for a Quechua Novel,
Poem, Story and Drama” and through the production of Quechua literature. (Hornberger & King, 1998, p. 393).

This organization shares fervent the belief that the Quechua spoken in the Cuzco area is the ‘mother’ and thus the most prestigious of all the other Quechua languages spoken in the Andean region. Their view is based on “the political and social history of the Inca Empire”. However, this premise had been refuted by the PL; based on “historical linguistic analysis, archeological evidence, and Andean social history”. In sum, the research directed by the PL has demonstrated that the origin of this linguistic family is located in the central region of Peru; hence, according to their theory, the Quechua spoken in Cuzco is merely one of the many other languages that were formed along the evolution of this linguistic family. (Hornberger & King, 1998, p. 393).

Nonetheless, despite the continuous discussions on this matter, the PAQL has not given budge on their belief concerning the origin of Quechua languages. As Coronel Molina explains, one of the reasons this could be the case is the fact that this association emphasizes the linguistic purity of Quechua. They have demonstrated their concern about this matter through the usage of a specific type Quechua in the literary material they produced. That is to say that their written content is not done through the usage of the Quechua languages spoken in any of the Andean regions of Peru; on the contrary, their pieces are usually written in a Quechua variety that is regarded to be by them as “‘classical’, ‘authentic’, ‘legitimate’ and uncontaminated by the loan words that characterize the ‘mixed’, ‘adulterated’ or ‘vulgar’ Quechua used daily by its speakers””. In other words, their aim is to reinstate the language spoken by the Incas through their literary production. (1996, p. 8).
With regards to the process of standardization of Quechua languages, as previously stated, the first attempt to grant Quechua languages official status in Peru occurred in 1975. The projection at the time was that these languages would be incorporated into the educational & governmental arenas by 1977. Therefore, a commission comprised by the PL was created to begin the standardization process through the creation of dictionaries and grammar guides for each of the Quechua languages. It is worth noting that before this governmental initiative took place, all of the previous attempts to transcribe Quechua languages had been done through the usage of the Spanish alphabet. For example, the SIL and the PAQL had been writing in Quechua languages in this manner for decades. Therefore, it’s not surprising that the first agreed upon Quechua dictionary utilized the five Spanish vowels (a, e, i, o, u). Nevertheless, this first Quechua alphabet was proved to be inaccurate with the progression of the linguistic analysis done by the PL. Consequently, it wasn’t until The First Workshop on Quechua and Aymara Writing (FWQAW) organized in 1983 that the previous alphabet in question was readjusted. Some of the new developments proposed by the PL in charge of the project were the modification to a three vowel (a, i, u) system, the creation of orthographic guidelines and instructions of how to allocate Spanish loan words into the linguistic repertoire of Quechua and Aymara language speakers. However, these modifications were not received optimistically by the SIL & PAQL (Coronel Molina, 1996 p. 10).

The PAQL was dissatisfied with the fact that the final conventions were approved by a majority vote and not through a unanimous decision. Overall, they were not willing to shift to the new written system arguing that Quechua languages had been written utilizing the five vowels of the Spanish alphabet since the colonial period. Furthermore, this group saw their “ability to speak Quechua as fundamental to having the authority to decide on it”. Hence, they were not
hesitant to challenge the authority of the parties involved that did not fluently speak these languages. (Hornberger & King, 1998, p.395-396).

This organization ultimately felt threatened by the involvement of professionals from Lima and claimed that they “perceived the activism of the Lima linguists as nothing more than a ‘new domination [of the elite] under the pretext of science’. (Hornberger & King, 1998, p. 398).

On the other hand, the more moderate opinion of the SIL specialists fell between the arguments presented by the PAQL and the PL. For example, they agreed with the PL premise that Quechua languages only had “three vowel phonemes in the past and that the ideal alphabet for any language follows the phonemic principle”. Nevertheless, they also supported the native speaker preference of utilizing five vowels instead of three when writing in Quechua languages by emphasizing “the evidence for five vowel phonemes in several Quechua varieties”. (Hornberger & King, 1998, p. 395).

Subsequently, “[a]fter many years of discussion and argument by the various groups, finally in 1985, the Pan-Quechua alphabet was proposed by the Peruvian linguists as a fair and accurate representation of the various sounds of the Quechua language”. Henceforth, this is the final version that became officially recognized by the administration of Alan Garcia in 1985. Nowadays, all of the bilingual education programs and government printed material in Quechua languages are done following this orthography. Nevertheless, the SIL & PAQL never quite accepted this decision and still follow their own orthographic conventions. (Coronel Molina, 1996, p. 10-11).

In conclusion, this section portrays the historical processes that occurred in an effort to regulate Spanish and Andean languages. Additionally, it demonstrates that the process of standardization followed by Spanish & Quechua languages match the description suggested by
Ferguson, since the H prestige language (Spanish) has a history of grammatical study and attention to form that far surpasses the standardization development of L prestige language (Quechua languages).

**LITERARY HERITAGE**

When discussing literary heritage within the diglossic context, Ferguson (1959) explains that, “there is a sizable body of written literature in H which is held in high esteem by the speech community” (p. 238). The condition of Spanish and Quechua languages parallels this specification, as the literary heritage of Spanish (H prestige language) drastically surpasses the literary heritage of Quechua languages (L prestige languages) in longevity, quantity & prestige.

“El Cantar de Mío Cid” is the oldest known example of Spanish writing, approximately authored in 1140. Scholars believe that “El Cid” is part of the “Mester of Juglaria”. Minstrels who would usually publically sing popular & anonymous poetry for a reward integrated this “Mester”. Hence, through this process elements were added to the original poem through time. That is to say, that although individuals composed these literary pieces, they were mostly likely passed on from generation to generation, transforming in the process. Hence, the origin of “El Cantar de Mío Cid” is unknown. Nonetheless, this work is recognized to be the literary piece that marks the beginning of Spanish literature (Mújica, 2001, p. 5). Therefore, if we take this into consideration, the literary heritage of Spanish has been in the making for over 800 years. Furthermore, Spanish literature has been significantly expanded by the contribution of Latin American writers in the last five centuries, crafting one of the most robust literatures in the world.

The first written appearance of a Quechua language dates back to 1560. The illustrious Sevillian Fray Domingo de Santos Tomas wrote the first grammar and lexicography of Quechua
languages. This work was titled *Grammatica o arte de la lengua general de los indios de los reynos del Perú* and it was published in Valladolid, Spain. This text also contained the first written texts in Quechua. These languages were described as being the "general language" of the Peruvian viceroyalty. The codified language in question was actually based on the Quechua language (Chinchana) of central Peru. Subsequently, the Jesuit Diego Gonzalez Holguin encoded the Quechua language spoken in the Cuzco area. He published a grammar and a lexicon titled *Gramática y arte de la lengua general del Perú* in 1607 and *Vocabulario de la lengua general de todo el Perú* in 1608 (Cerron Palomino, 2002 p. 533). These early attempts to transfer Quechua languages into the written world complied with the monarchic decrees that mandated the usage of indigenous languages to promulgate Catholicism in the New World during the 16th century. Nevertheless, the targeted audience for these types of texts was constituted by a minor sector of Peruvian society that was bilingual and literate in Spanish and Quechua languages.

Although Andean culture has a rich oral tradition that expounds the complex themes of cosmology, politics, religion & ethics, the literary tradition of Quechua languages was never vigorous. The oral nature of Quechua languages and the limited access of indigenous communities to the educational system are a couple elements that have reinforced low literacy rates and a low literary culture among the indigenous populace. Therefore, an audience that could both produce and consume literature written in Quechua languages never extensively formed.

The chart below illustrates the illiteracy rates of the four states with the greatest numbers of Quechua language speakers in the last decades. The information below was obtained from the Peruvian National Institute of Statistics and Information Technologies (NISIT).

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>1981</th>
<th>Literate</th>
<th>Illiterate</th>
<th>N/A</th>
<th>Total number of Illiteracy</th>
</tr>
</thead>
</table>

38
These figures indicate that the literacy situation has been significantly improving. Nevertheless, this advancement is part of recent history. The literary production in Quechua languages is still sprouting when compared to the long established literary heritage and production in Spanish. Therefore, in the case of Quechua languages and Spanish, we can observe how the prestige, respect, and sizable literary production of Spanish fits the diglossic guidelines specified by Ferguson (1959).

**CONCLUSION**

This study analyzed the linguistic relationship of Quechua languages and Spanish within the framework of *diglossia*; specifically, the prestige, function, stability, acquisition, standardization and literary heritage of these languages. It was demonstrated that the linguistic relationship between these languages closely parallels the diagnosis described by Ferguson (1959). In essence, the high prestige and the dominant linguistic function of Spanish has historically relegated indigenous languages, leading them to have low prestige and limited linguistic utilization. Furthermore, even though these languages in contact have coexisted for
more than four centuries, the statistics indicate that the percentage of Quechua speakers has significantly decreased despite the fact that the population of Peru has doubled in size in the last thirty years. This indicates that the association between these languages is no longer stable; they are in an unstable diglossic situation.

While the general populace values Quechua languages for their cultural significance, the usage of these languages has hardly been encouraged to go beyond that of the household domain. Therefore, monolingual indigenous speakers have been historically required to acquire Spanish in order to access mainstream society and to have an opportunity towards social advancement. However, once indigenous speakers acquire Spanish, their bilingualism becomes a generational step toward a complete language shift to Spanish as depicted by the low percentage of bilingual speakers in Peru. Furthermore, this situation also correlates with information granted by the NISIT that indicates that the percentage of Spanish speakers has increased by 11% in the last three decades.

Despite the governmental efforts to promote the acquisition of Quechua languages through the Bilingual Intercultural Education (BIE) model, these languages will eventually face endangerment if their prestige status and their function limitations are not addressed. Languages with low prestige lose linguistic functions; languages that lose functions ultimately die. Therefore, promoting the use of Quechua languages in more linguistic domains is the main key that could counter their linguistic decline.
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