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Youth Bilingualism, Identity And Quechua Language Planning And Policy In The Urban Peruvian Andes

Frances Julia Kvietok Dueñas
University of Pennsylvania, franceswat@gmail.com

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Youth Bilingualism, Identity And Quechua Language Planning And Policy In The Urban Peruvian Andes

Abstract

Quechua language education and research has long been relegated to rural areas and elementary schools of the Andes. Nonetheless, current language policy in the southern Peruvian region of Cusco has opened new opportunities for Quechua, a minoritized Indigenous language, to be taught in cities and towns and in high schools. In this sociolinguistic context, this dissertation explores what it means for youth in the contemporary urban Andes to be speakers and learners of Quechua, as well as how youth influence the maintenance of Quechua in contexts of ongoing language shift to Spanish. Through a 20-month long ethnographic and participatory study in Urubamba, a provincial capital of the region of Cusco, and its surrounding areas, I examine youth bilingualism and identity positionings spanning school and out-of-school experiences. Using a sociolinguistic and linguistic anthropological framework, this study contributes to educational research and practice on language planning and policy (LPP) in the Andes and other Indigenous contexts.

Throughout the dissertation, I describe youth Quechua language learning trajectories and repertoires, highlighting similarities and differences among three groups of youth: altura, valley and non-Quechua speaker youth. Youth repertoires are heterogeneous and dynamic and their language trajectories are intimately linked to social relationships, identity positionings, racialized trajectories, language ideologies and institutions. Varying access to language learning opportunities, raciolinguistic hierarchies, and ideologies which question and invisibilize youth proficiency and interest in Quechua, as evidenced in school and family practices, are some of the forces which youth at times reproduce, question and above all negotiate on an everyday basis. How youth understand themselves as learners and/or speakers of Quechua is characterized by complexity and ambivalence, grounded in a context of (growing) Quechua LPP activities, symbolic and utilitarian recognition of Quechua, as well as ongoing inequality and discrimination.

There are, and will probably continue to be, many painful and deep-seated societal and local forces which work against many of youth's interests in Quechua language maintenance. Considering youth perspectives reminds us of the importance of continuing to imagine and create better conditions for current and future Indigenous language speakers and learners to pursue their dreams, hopes and aspirations.

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YOUTH BILINGUALISM, IDENTITY AND QUECHUA LANGUAGE PLANNING AND POLICY IN
THE URBAN PERUVIAN ANDES

Frances Julia Kvietok Dueñas

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Supervisor of Dissertation

Nancy H. Hornberger, Professor of Education

Graduate Group Chairperson

J. Matthew Hartley, Professor of Education

Dissertation Committee

Nelson Flores, Associate Professor of Education

Sharon Ravitch, Professor of Practice

Virginia Zavala, Professor of Linguistics, Pontificia Universidad Católica del Perú

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Dedication

Dedico este trabajo con mucho cariño a todas y a todos los jóvenes que conocí en los colegios de Urubamba, a sus familias y a sus profesores

Tukuy sonqoywanmi llapan Urubamba yachay wasikunapi reqsisqaykunaman, wayna sipaskunaman, familiankunamanpas, yachachiqninkunamanpas kay llank'asqayta, hamut'ayusqaytapas qoni

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ABSTRACT

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Frances Julia Kvietok Dueñas

Nancy H. Hornberger

Quechua language education and research has long been relegated to rural areas and elementary schools of the Andes. Nonetheless, current language policy in the southern Peruvian region of Cusco has opened new opportunities for Quechua, a minoritized Indigenous language, to be taught in cities and towns and in high schools. In this sociolinguistic context, this dissertation explores what it means for youth in the contemporary urban Andes to be speakers and learners of Quechua, as well as how youth influence the maintenance of Quechua in contexts of ongoing language shift to Spanish. Through a 20-month long ethnographic and participatory study in Urubamba, a provincial capital of the region of Cusco, and its surrounding areas, I examine youth bilingualism and identity positionings spanning school and out-of-school experiences. Using a sociolinguistic and linguistic anthropological framework, this study contributes to educational research and practice on language planning and policy (LPP) in the Andes and other Indigenous contexts.

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Transcription Conventions

Languages

Spanish – italics

Quechua - bold

English - underlined

My decision to mark named languages in transcriptions was guided by a concern to visibilize the bilingual practices participants engaged in which many times drew from resources enregistered as belonging to these three languages. This concern was particularly pressing as not all readers would be familiar with Spanish, Quechua and English. I am aware of the limitations of this representation of bilingual speech, as it reifies bounded codes, and it inaccurately represents forms which could easily belong to multiple named languages. While I take up and extend the critique of rigid representations of language within the dissertation, my analytical gaze also makes up for the transcription limitations. Throughout the ethnography, I examine the emic meanings of linguistic resources and the social action accomplished by their users, placing social action and individual's voice at the center of the study rather than language forms alone.

I largely use the transcription conventions for conversation analysis first developed by Gail Jefferson¹. The conventions I have used to represent speech are guided by a concern to balance the detailed representation of speech and ease of reading.

¹ Available on: <http://www.sscnet.ucla.edu/soc/faculty/schegloff/TranscriptionProject/index.html>

Convention	Description
TEXT	emphasis
-	self-interruption or cut-off speech
=	latched speech
...	omitted transcribed segment (for clarity)
:	elongated speech
?	rising intonation
(.)	untimed pause
(#)	timed pause, number between parenthesis indicates length in seconds
(h), (hh), (hhh)	laughter (number of h's signal intensity of laughter)
[]	overlapping speech
<u>text</u>	exaggerated pronunciation
text	very exaggerated pronunciation
[text]	transcriber addition
(xxx)	unidentified speech
(text)	transcriber comments describing co-occurring gestures and activities, as well as speech characteristics

Across transcripts, I have not modified verb tenses, pronouns, stress or other linguistic features that might not correspond to standard language varieties, all speech has been transcribed as heard. While I considered using a notation such as [sic] in cases where readers not familiar with local speech registers might read errors in the transcription, I decided not to, as it contributed to marking these practices as ‘incorrect’

or ‘deviant’, and in most cases, these practices did not get in the way of the meaning conveyed. I have modified verb tense and pronoun concordances in the English translations for ease of reading.

For transcriptions that include video screen shots, yellow arrows to signal movement and gaze.

Names of participants

FKD: Frances Kvietok Dueñas

Y: Youth

Ys: multiple youth, non-identifiable

Transcriptions of Quechua

Quechua transcriptions were done following the five-vowel writing system (a, e, i, o u) and using the consonant graphemes officialized in the 1985 Quechua alphabet. Following an ethnographic stance, the main deciding factor was using an alphabet which the majority of the participants featured in this dissertation would be able to read, were familiar with, and/or reflected their writing preferences. Decisions about how to write Quechua have been a matter of longstanding and heated debate, at the Peruvian national and regional level, as well as in other parts of the Andes (Coronel-Molina, 2015; Hornberger, 1995; Hornberger & Coronel-Molina, 2004; Howard, 2007). In 1985, the Peruvian Ministry of Education officialized the Quechua alphabet which included 3 vowels (a, i, u) (MINEDU, 1985). While not without resistance, this is the alphabet that continues to be used in educational materials produced by the government. This is also the alphabet that individuals from the IBE community (schools, teacher trainers, institute

teachers, activists, members of NGOs) usually employ. In contemporary Cusco, there continues to be a strong discourse that the three-vowel writing system presents the imposition of a norm from the outside, specifically from the capital city of Lima, while also an attempt to ‘distort’ the Cusco variety of Quechua and approximate it to other varieties. This discourse is even more evident regarding the use of standardized writing features like ‘chk-’ for ‘sh-’, ‘-ptin’ for ‘-qtin’, and verb ending ‘-chik’ for ‘-chis’ present in materials produced by the Ministry of Education and also utilized by many members of the IBE community of writers. As an Urubamba high school teacher learned about these standardized features at a training workshop, he vividly exclaimed to the trainer leader, “*nos quieren chankanizar*” (‘*they want to make us chanka*’ – latter term used to refer to people from Ayacucho and in this case, to the Quechua variety they speak), a comment which speaks to the ongoing centrality of issues of regional identity, autonomy and authority in processes of language planning effort, as described by Hornberger and King (1998).

While I acknowledge and respect the longtime efforts of Quechua standardization agents, and the centrality of the three-vowels in their endeavor, as well as its predominate use in the IEB circle, I did not observe any of the Urubamba teachers who welcomed me into their classrooms teach with this alphabet, nor youth in class or outside of it write, or learn to write, with the three-vowel alphabet, much less the standardized features. What is more, many Quechua speakers from Urubamba, such as teachers and parents, expressed strong feelings against the three-vowel alphabet, a topic which merits its own exploration.

For the names of places and personal nouns, I use the way locals write it or are used to seeing written, in ways which might or might not correspond with the consonant

graphemes of the 1985 Quechua alphabet.

English translations

All original transcripts are translated into English, and italics, bold and underlined fonts are also used to mark language use of the original transcript.

Data annotations

I – interviews

FN – fieldnotes

A – audio recording

V – video recording

SS – sociolinguistic survey, followed by school name

LAP – linguistic autobiography project

Date – year.month.day

Acronyms

IC School – *Inmaculado Corazón* School

IBE – Intercultural Bilingual Education

ILE – Indigenous language education

DREC - Dirección Regional de Educación del Cusco (‘Regional Educational Office of Cusco’)

UGEL - *Unidad de Gestión Educativa Local* (‘Local Unit of Educational Management’)

DIGEIBIR - *Dirección General de Educación Intercultural Bilingüe y Rural* (‘General Directorate of Intercultural Bilingual Education and Rural Education’)

DIGEIBIRA - *Dirección General de Educación Alternativa, Intercultural Bilingüe y de Servicios Alternativos en el Ámbito Rural* (‘General Directorate of Alternative Education, Intercultural Bilingual Education and Alternative Services in Rural Areas’)

CHAPTER 1 : Introduction

“Most young people don’t want to speak Quechua or pretend they don’t know Quechua”. Throughout my fieldwork in Urubamba, a provincial capital of Cusco, Perú, I repeatedly heard comments like the one above from adults, sharing that youth were not interested in Quechua, the most widely spoken Indigenous language in Peru and the Andean region. High school teachers and principals often reprimanded their students telling them that they were “killing your own culture” by not speaking the language. Mothers and fathers, in turn, reported that youth struggled with speaking in Quechua, using Quechua terms such as “**k’uri k’urita**” (with difficulty) or “**hanku hankuta**” (misspoken or crudely spoken) to refer to youth’s mixed abilities, Spanish terms such as “*extranjeros*” (*foreigners*), and bilingual Quechua-Spanish terms such as “**waqcha pitucos**” (a snobbish poor person) to refer to youth’s perceived inability or lack of interest in speaking Quechua. At the same time, I was advised by educators and townspeople that my field site was not the ideal place for me to study issues related to Quechua, as the true speakers live in the high-altitude communities above the valley town of Urubamba. Together, these comments pointed to circulating discourses in my field site and in Peruvian Andean society that the current generation of youth did not care much about Quechua, at the same time, reinforcing ideologies which invisibilized Quechua speakerhood among non-rural residents.

In a current era of grassroots demands for Indigenous rights and increased official multicultural policies across Latin America, one matter that has not received enough attention is the teaching and maintenance of Indigenous languages in urban areas like

Urubamba. In Peru, intercultural bilingual education (IBE), a national policy since 1991 (and pursued through regional and experimental projects since the 1960s), seeks to incorporate Indigenous languages and cultures in schooling but has remained targeted to rural-dwelling monolingual students, ignoring the needs of urban-based, bilingual Indigenous students (López, 2008). Yet, just as Indigenous language speakers across Latin America have increasingly migrated and taken up residence in urban centers over the past several decades, close to half of Peru's Quechua speaking population now lives in cities and towns (López, 2010). Presently, Quechua is an endangered language given the historical discrimination faced by its speakers and its weakened transmission across generations (Hornberger & Coronel-Molina, 2004), patterns particularly heightened in urban spaces (Escobar, 2011).

Current education language policy in the southern Peruvian region of Cusco, however, has opened a space for potentially strengthening the status and use of Quechua in cities and towns. Since 2007, following a regional government mandate, the teaching of Quechua in schools expanded from rural to urban areas, from the primary to the secondary educational level, and students are no longer only monolingual Quechua youth but also bilingual and second language Quechua speakers. In this scenario, my research examines youth bilingualism and identity in the provincial capital of Urubamba. How do youth take up the roles of Quechua learners and speakers in a context of Quechua language instruction? How do they negotiate discourses of linguistic shame and pride, as well as ongoing marginalization of Indigenous language speakers in a context of Quechua language shift to Spanish? By exploring how youth come to embrace, reject and ultimately make sense of their bilingualism and their identities as Indigenous language

learners and speakers, I also seek to understand how youth influence the prospects of Quechua maintenance in the urban Peruvian Andes.

Drawing on 20 months of ethnographic and participatory research, this study attends to youth language practices and identity positionings, which are embedded in and interact with the regional language policy context and youth's language learning trajectories, spanning school and out-of-school experiences, and occur amidst processes of Quechua language shift to, and contact with, Spanish as well as ongoing coloniality and discrimination. Four research questions guided my dissertation study:

- 1) What are youth Quechua language trajectories across time?
- 2) How do youth currently use and learn Quechua in high schools and homes?
- 3) What does being a Quechua speaker mean to youth? and
- 4) What does knowing Quechua mean to youth?

1.1 Arriving to my research questions

As in many ethnographic projects, the questions that ended up guiding my dissertation research underwent changes and transformations along the way. Up to my first years of graduate school, I had planned to conduct a study on the experiences of intercultural bilingual teachers in the Peruvian Andes. My own experiences as a language educator in Mexico and South Korea, as well as my previous research and collaborations with intercultural bilingual language educators in Andean and Amazonian rural schools in Peru, as well as Maya language educators in a community museum fueled this interest.

With time, my dissertation project began to transform and include youth as

another group of research participants, and ultimately researching youth bilingualism and identity became the main research focus. The inspirations for this focus of inquiry are without doubt multiple. Past fieldwork with kindergarten students in a dual Spanish-English language classroom in Philadelphia had brought to my attention student discourse taking place during classroom time, which particularly stood out when teaching practices were not the sole focus of research. Besides learning how funny young children could be, this experience made me consider how there is much to learn about students' language use and circulating language ideologies by paying attention to these interactions. Getting to know many Maya bilingual teenage rappers during collaboration visits to Quintana Roo, Mexico during 2013-2016 also informed how I came to think of youth, and not only teachers, as interested and passionate about using their languages in creative ways and supporting the wellbeing of their communities. My collaborative work with Maya museum educators outside of schools also encouraged me to consider the affordances of expanding my research gaze beyond classrooms and consider the multiple and overlapping language socialization processes influencing children and youth's Indigenous language use and learning experiences.

During my many visits to Peru and the Andes before beginning dissertation fieldwork, I also learned much from my IBE teacher friends who were parents, specially the ways in which they negotiated teaching Quechua to their children growing up in urban contexts. In conversations about my research ideas with one such friend back in 2015, she suggested I visit her son's high school in the city of Calca (about thirty minutes away from Urubamba), where they had recently started offering Quechua lessons. It was only an hour-long class, she mentioned, but reminded me that it constituted an

opportunity to extend Quechua language education outside rural IBE schools. Ever since we had met, when she was a teacher at one such rural school and I was a college student first learning about IBE for my undergraduate research project, the worrying lack of IBE education outside rural communities had been a recurring theme in our conversation, not unlike conversations I had shared with other IBE activists and educators.

Despite the strong grammar-centered approach I observed in her son's school, most classrooms were loud and lively – and not because of students' love of Quechua grammar per se. Students talked with one another and with their teachers, making jokes as they played with the meanings and sounds of Spanish, Quechua and even English words, as they made fun of each other, and like many teenagers, as they challenged their teachers. As I began familiarizing myself with high schools in the Sacred Valley which taught Quechua and meeting some parents and students, I also realized there was much that we cannot learn when we remain focused only on students' lives inside the classroom. I learned about youth who helped their parents sell at the market to bilingual customers, or participated in pilgrimages and festivities where knowledge about Andean worldviews and productive and receptive skills in Quechua were valued, yet who didn't participate much in class.

Paralleling my growing ethnographic understanding of urban Quechua language education experiences in Cusco, national and regional language policy developments in Peru also seemed to point to increased attention and potentially new opportunities for Indigenous language education outside the traditional realm of IBE, at least on paper (for more see Chapter 3). Some of these developments included the expansion of IBE educational models to three new sociolinguistic scenarios where Indigenous languages

were no longer assumed to be the first languages of students, the incorporation of revitalization language models alongside maintenance models, and mention of urban IBE models. Trying to understand the ways in which these policy developments came to matter, or didn't, for youth's experiences using and learning Quechua inside and outside of high schools became another motivation for embarking on this research project.

1.2 Dissertation organization

The following three chapters situate my study within various academic disciplines that inform it, in relation to the concepts, frameworks and cumulative research findings (Chapter 2), multidisciplinary sociolinguistic research in the Andes (Chapter 3) and qualitative methodologies (Chapter 4) guiding this inquiry. Chapters 3 and 4 also situate my ethnographic and participatory study in the sociolinguistic context of the urban Peruvian Andes, Cusco and Urubamba sites more specifically.

The continuing chapters draw on ethnographic and participatory data collected during my 20 months of fieldwork, beginning with a longitudinal view of youth repertoires and language learning experiences across time and moving on to examine youth experiences at the time of research in their homes and then high schools. Chapter 5 draws largely from youth interviews to describe youth Quechua language learning trajectories, highlighting similarities and differences among the three groups of youth featured throughout this dissertation: *altura* youth, bilingual valley youth and non-Quechua speaker youth. In Chapter 6, I explore home language socialization experiences drawing on observational, audio recording and interview data. I focus on the experiences of *altura* and bilingual valley youth, examining the various home socialization practices,

(language) ideologies and interlocutor roles youth encountered and co-constructed in their homes.

Chapter 7 takes us into two Urubamba high schools and several Quechua classrooms to examine the multiple spaces for Quechua use and learning which teacher-students and youth-youth classroom practices created, considering their effects on youth's Quechua learning experiences. Chapter 8 takes up the question of the meanings of Quechua proficiency by exploring what it meant for youth to be identified and identify others as proud *cusqueños*, foreigners and deniers of Quechua knowledge, specifically focusing on how youth made sense of discourses which positioned them as non-speakers. Looking at the social identification trajectory of T'ika, I examine how being a Quechua 'denier' was a social identity which emerged across several school events throughout one school year, an identity which came to bear on youth educational experiences, though not in fixed ways. Similarly, in Chapter 9, I consider how youth made sense of another figure of Quechua speakerhood, the rural and native-speaker *quechua hablante*. This chapter examines how youth affiliate towards and distance themselves away from this perceived community of rural Quechua speakers and youth's roles in maintaining processes of linguistic racialization. Chapter 10 features the experiences of two rural students, Yeny and Yesenia, and their high school trajectories of racialization, considering the personal burdens and consequences of being read and heard as particular kinds of Quechua speakers. The chapter includes a critique of the ways in which schools constitute inadvertent sites which sustain the linguistic othering and discrimination of rural students, even as educators and youth engage in initiatives to tackle these processes.

Chapter 11 is the closing chapter of this dissertation and includes an overview of the main research findings and contributions to the field of bilingual education and language planning and policy in the Andes, also in relation to Indigenous language education and LPP more broadly. The chapter also presents youth-centered implications to contribute to the maintenance and development of Indigenous language education initiatives, as well as future lines of inquiry.

CHAPTER 2: Conceptual Framework

In this ethnography, I draw on sociolinguistic and linguistic anthropological concepts, lenses, frameworks and findings to inform my exploration of youth bilingualism and identity in the Peruvian Andes. The first part of this chapter introduces how I approach the study of bilingualism and language ideologies, as well as the understanding of youth as social actors at the core of this dissertation. I also introduce the discursive lens by which I analyze youth identity and social identification. Given that I frame this project within a larger tradition of ethnographic language planning and policy research, the second part of the chapter details how my study builds on three interrelated areas of academic inquiry: the study of language-in-education policies and minoritized language education, family language policy and socialization, and Indigenous language maintenance and revitalization. Across this section, I also identify key findings from related studies conducted in the Andes, taken up in more detail in Chapter 3.

2.1 Bilingualism as social practice, language ideologies and youth social identification

The present research draws on a longstanding tradition of sociolinguistic scholarship which views language as a social practice (Hymes, 1972a, b). I follow an understanding of bilingualism as a social practice to understand how actors draw on a variety of linguistic resources to communicate, make sense of and negotiate their worlds (Blackledge & Creese, 2010; García, 2009; Heller, 2007). Moving away from notions of bounded and separate languages attached to equally bounded communities and identities

as the building blocks of bilingualism, Heller (2007) instead emphasizes the “sets of resources called into play by social actors, under social and historical conditions which both constrain and make possible the social reproduction of existing conventions and relations, as well as the production of new ones” (p. 15). Heller’s social and critical conceptualization of language helps to illuminate the socially/ideologically constructed meanings of linguistic resources, their uneven distribution across social networks, as well as the potential of language practices to reproduce and transform the social order.

Such a view of language in society, at the core of early and contemporary sociolinguistic inquiries, allows us to look “at linguistic phenomena from within the social, cultural, political and historical context of which they are part” (Blommaert, 2010, p. 3). Increasingly, educational research on bilingualism and bilingual education is drawing on and contributing to this social understanding of language practices, placing focus on what speakers do in specific contexts rather than on discrete languages as departing points of analysis. García (2009) uses the concept of translinguaging to account for the “multiple discursive practices in which bilinguals engage in order to make sense of their bilingual worlds” (p. 45), taking bilingualism as the norm rather than monolingualism. Blackledge and Creese (2010) introduced the notion of flexible bilingualism, which shifts attention from languages or codes, and rather focuses on the agency of individuals, at the heart of interactions, in using, creating and interpreting signs to communicate in different contexts (p. 109). Focusing on communicative resources and observable semiotic practices (Blommaert, 2010) rather than on idealized representations of what ‘language’ ought to be, throughout this study I attend to the various resources youth draw on to communicate and make sense of interactions, from linguistic codes (be

they varieties of Quechua, Spanish, and English), to bits of language (such as accents and registers of language) and non-linguistic signs (like facial gestures, hand movements and clothing).

In addition, a focus on language ideologies allows for an exploration of how the meanings behind language practices and identities emerge across time and space in often multiple, overlapping and contentious ways. Language ideologies are understood as the “representations, whether explicit or implicit, that construe the intersection of language and human beings in a social world” (Woolard, 1998, p. 3). According to Irvine and Gal (2000), ideologies frame individuals’ understanding of linguistic varieties and map them into social positions, which are “suffused with the political and moral issues pervading the particular sociolinguistic field and are subject to the interests of the bearers’ social position” (p. 35). Relatedly, Kroskrity (2000) has posited that multiple power-laden ideologies of language mediate social structures and forms of talk, and Jaffe (1999) notes that these linkages are not necessarily evident given that ideologies are hegemonic to the point they appear natural or normal.

Moving beyond a description of sociocultural beliefs about languages, Woolard (1998) argues that the study of language ideologies allows us to attend to how and when representation schemes that bind people and diverse cultural and social categories together are constructed and to consider “their efficacy, the way they transform the material reality they comment on” (p. 11) as well as their role in sustaining relations of power. In this line, Irvine and Gal’s (2000) concepts of iconization, fractal recursivity and erasure are helpful analytical tools to study the various and simultaneous ways in which language ideologies work to create and sustain notions of linguistic differences, concepts

I draw on in my analysis of the racialization of Quechua speaking youth in Chapters 9 and 10. Processes of iconization point to the ways in which linguistic features are taken to be indexical or iconic of particular social groups in ways that appear to be inherent and essential. The differences that are made iconic of certain groups can then be used in the creation of a contrasting ‘other’. The process of fractal recursivity involves “the projection of an opposition, salient at some level of relationship, onto some other level” (p. 38), through dichotomizing, contrasting and partitioning classifications. Finally, processes of erasure highlight the ways in which sociolinguistic complexity is simplified or ignored, as “facts that are inconsistent with the ideological scheme tend to go unnoticed or get explained away” (p. 38).

In addition, inspired by the anthropology of youth (Bucholtz, 2002), and more recent scholarship on humanizing stances to youth research (McCarty, Wyman, & Nicholas, 2013; Paris & Winn, 2013), I view youth not as mere recipients of language policies or as caught in the flow of language shift and discrimination, but as social actors who negotiate relationships between language, culture and identity. Bucholtz (2002) strongly advocates for a study of youth that shifts viewing youth as not-yet-adults, and rather, emphasizes “the here-and-now of young people’s experience, the social and cultural practices through which they shape their worlds” (p. 532), stressing the ways in which youth construct and negotiate their identities through interactions in agentive, and ever-changing, though not unconstrained ways (see for example, Mendoza-Denton, 2008; Rampton, 2006).

Relatedly, Tuck (2009) makes a call for refusing damage-centered research in minoritized communities. Tuck argues that in order to move away from (only) viewing

disenfranchised communities as broken, hurting, and damaged, we ought to make use of frameworks concerned with understanding “complexity, contradiction, and the self-determination of lived lives” (p. 416). Based on the recognition of the complex personhood (Gordon, 1997) of all participants, Tuck’s desire-based framework pushes us to make room for “the contradictions and the mis/re/cognitions” (p. 421) as individuals engage in “neither/both/and” practices of resistance and reproduction (p. 419-420). Throughout this dissertation, I keep in mind an understanding of the complex language practices and identity positionings of youth, attempting to understand the emic meanings of those practices instead of favoring a priori categories, as well as attending to youth practices within the ideological formations and norms they make sense of, reproduce and/or push against.

2.1.1 Analytical tools for the study of youth language practices and language ideologies

I make use of several related concepts, heuristics and lenses to approach the examination of youth’s language practices across scales of time and space. My analysis draws on Blommaert and Backus’ (2013) conceptualization of repertoires², or “biographically assembled patchworks of functionally distributed communicative resources, constantly exhibiting variation and change” (p. 23) as indexical biographies. Moving away from a sociolinguistics of immobile languages and bounded groups, Blommaert (2010) proposes the study of mobile resources and individuals’ trajectories in our increasingly globalized world. An understanding of repertoires as biographically

² With origins in Gumperz’s (1964) concept of verbal repertoires and related to Rymes’ (2010) work on communicative repertoires.

organized foregrounds how individual language learning trajectories are neither linear nor predictable, but instead act as records of mobility, “of movement of people, language resources, social arenas, technologies of learning and learning environments” (Blommaert & Backus, 2013, p. 22) and as traces of power given the unequal access to resources and learning opportunities as well as the differing indexical values of communicative resources. Additionally, Blommaert and Backus (2013) highlight the identity work accomplished across individuals’ trajectories, as the indexical resources that make up one’s repertoire carry the potential for one to “perform certain social roles, inhabit certain identities, be seen in a particular way by others” (p. 22).

This longitudinal view of individual repertoires is complemented and enriched by Hornberger’s (2002, 2003) work on the continua of biliteracy (COB), which highlights the multiple, dynamic and interrelated ways in which biliteracy development occurs across various contexts, media and content. While Hornberger and Blommaert and Backus’ focus on repertoires and the media of biliteracy largely parallel each other, the COB heuristic allows for an increased analytical attention to the study of the contexts and content through which biliteracy develops, or the many ways in which youth’s language and literacy repertoires are constituted and gain meaning across time and space. Attention to contexts of biliteracy development can further illuminate the spatiotemporal scales in which youth repertoires come to be and are negotiated. In addition, a focus on development trajectories can account for how communicative repertoires develop in dynamic and non-predictable ways across reception-production, oral-written and L1-L2 continua of biliteracy practices. Finally, considering the content of biliteracy can help recognize the importance of what youth read, write and communicate about as they

develop and make use of their linguistic repertoires (Hornberger & Link, 2012). Recognizing the power weightings assigned to resources and practices positioned at different points of the continua, also allows for an exploration of the language ideological work at play in youth's language learning trajectories. Making use of the analytical concepts proposed by Blommaert, Backus and Hornberger, in Chapter 5, I track the different ways in which youth narrate and remember their Quechua language trajectories, evidencing how youth repertoires and biographies are far more complex than often described by adults and represented in dominant Peruvian bilingual education discourses.

My analysis of youth language practices in home and school settings (Chapters 6 & 7), draws on Goffman's (1979) notion of production formats and participation frameworks to examine the various interlocutor roles youth take up, construct and reject across interactions as they deploy various communicative resources. Goffman argued that production formats and participant status in interactions are far more complex than the notion of speaker and hearer can convey. He proposed analysts consider the various production formats a speaker could take, differentiating between animators, authors and principals, roles which could be shared across actors or held by one and the same individual. The animator refers to the physical producer of utterances, the author encompasses those who encode or select the content and form of utterances, and the principal refers to those who have a stake in the utterance, usually as they occupy a particular social identity or role. With regards to the role of hearers, Goffman described participation frameworks consisting of addressees, ratified and unratified overhearers and bystanders.

Goffman's conceptualization of participation frameworks allows analysts to

explore the changes in footing taking place across and within interactions. According to Goffman (1979), “a change in footing implies a change in the alignments we take up to ourselves and the others present as expressed in the way we manage the production or reception of an utterance” (p. 5). Breaking away from the speaker-hearer analytical dyad, in Chapters 5 and 6, I consider how, in a context of language shift, youth were assigned and took up particular participant roles in Quechua and bilingual interactions, which reflected and constructed language ideologies about youth speakership and learner qualities and influenced home and school language socialization practices. Moreover, across the various data chapters, I consider how youth positioned themselves and were positioned by others in interaction, be it as embarrassed teens, competent Quechua speakers, rural dwellers, proud *cusqueños* and foreigners. These positioning practices, often evidenced by changes in footing, shed light on processes of youth social identification, which I now turn to examine.

2.1.2 The discursive study of youth social identification

One of the larger questions this dissertation seeks to explore is what it means for youth to be speakers and learners of Quechua. As mentioned above, an understanding of bilingualism as a social practice includes attention to the ways in which individuals deploy particular communicative resources in positioning acts through which they not only communicate, but also make sense of their world, their images of self and of others. Developments in the fields of interactional sociolinguistics and linguistic anthropology provide relevant lenses for the study of identity not as something individuals ‘have’ but rather, as something which is continuously constructed through social practices, and

specifically, through discourse. Rather than focusing on how language variation reflects membership to already established and largely fixed social groups, interactional sociolinguists have explored the sociocultural meaning of (linguistic) variation and how individuals mobilize these resources to sustain and create new meanings, ways of being and ways of relating in the world (Bucholtz & Hall 2005; Eckert, 2008; Irvine, 2001; Jaspers, 2010). This scholarship has helped us to understand not just how individuals speak about identity, but how individuals speak their identities or construct their identities through discourse.

Within the field of linguistic anthropology, work on registers and processes of enregisterment offers relevant conceptual tools to understand identity as a relational endeavor of positioning the self vis a vis others. As described by Agha (2007), registers refer to the “cultural models of action that link diverse behavioral signs to enactable effects, including persona, interpersonal relationship, and type of conduct” (p. 145). The study of register formations attends to the semiotic repertoires that make up registers, their social range or the stereotypes they index, and the social domains of those who understand and make use of particular registers. Registers, seen as living social formations, are best understood as spatiotemporal fragments of wider processes of enregisterment (Agha, 2005) and as such their maintenance and transformation occurs across everyday communicative events.

A semiotic understanding of identity urges us to move beyond ‘things’ or ‘persona’ alone, to focus “on acts on performance and construal through which the two are linked, and the conditions under which these links become determinate for actors” (Agha, 2007, p. 235). The study of registers allows us to examine identity practices not

only by considering how particular signs become tied to figures of personhood, but also how individuals maintain, make sense of, and question these ideological linkages. In this sense, Agha (2005) argues that:

Encounters with registers are not merely encounters with characterological figures indexed by speech but events in which interlocutors establish some footing or alignment with figures performed through speech, and hence with each other. (p. 40)

An exploration of the social life of registers in everyday interactions can thus shed light on acts of identity as relational practices of positioning and alignment vis a vis one self and others. Of analytical interest are instances where individuals deploy registers in conventionally established ways, as well as instances when they don't, such as the case of voicing practices, when there is a contrast between performed and presupposed identities.

Linguistic anthropological research has made use of this analytical lens to explore minoritized language policy appropriation as well as youth's identity practices. Based on an ethnographic study of Paraguayan language in education policy, Mortimer (2013) shows how contrasting models of Guaraní language speaker identity, or figures of personhood, including positive and negative associations between speaking the language and speakers of the language (*paraguayo* and *guarango*), come to bear on how an educational policy promoting the teaching of Guaraní is implemented in schools. In addition, these figures of personhood influence individual students' identities as Indigenous language speakers, enabling and limiting opportunities for self-identification, language use and learning (Mortimer & Wortham, 2015). Reyes (2004), in turn, has considered Asian American stereotypes as an interactional resource youth invoke, orient

towards, and re-appropriate to perform social action, reproducing, critiquing, and/or celebrating various representations of Asian American identities, often in simultaneous ways. Building on this research, in Chapters 8 and 9, I examine the figures of Quechua speakerhood - or local figures of personhood - youth orient to and comment on in interactions and in interviews. In my analysis, I consider how youth align towards and/or away from figures of Quechua (non)speakers and how these figures come to bear on their current and imagined Quechua language use and learning as well as on wider processes of enregisterment.

This dissertation also explores the role of educational institutions in constructing and defining language learner identities, which is particularly the focus of Chapter 8. My analysis of how particular youth come to be identified as Quechua speakers, non-speakers, or deniers in schools builds on educational research on the discursive construction of learner identities, which rather than innate individual attributes are understood as identity labels that emerge through interaction. In an early study on the designation of a child as “learning disabled” (LD), McDermott (1996) argued that disability does not ‘belong’ to an individual, as much as the individual participates in a context “well organized for the institutional designation of someone as LD” (p. 274). McDermott’s work positions student identity labels as classroom interactional possibilities, leading him to claim that “LD is a context that acquires children” (p. 275). Focusing on the foreign language education classroom, Pomerantz (2008) has described how the ‘good language learner’ identity is constructed and negotiated in interaction drawing on local ideologies of language and language learning. More recently, drawing on ethnographic research in a dual language school setting in the United States, Martin-

Beltrán (2010) introduced the concept of perceived proficiency, or the “discursive construction and evaluation of interlocutors’ communicative competence” (p. 204) to highlight how language learners’ proficiencies were “enacted, ascribed and discussed” (p. 212) in interaction among children and school teachers. What is more, she describes how these discursive constructs become consequential for the language learning affordances and constraints learners encounter or fail to encounter.

Processes of social identification link individuals and groups to social categories of people, unfolding across speech events, and resources from several timescales come to be relevant to individuals’ trajectories. In Chapter 8, I make use of Wortham’s (2005) concept of trajectories of socialization to examine how individual youth come to be recognized by their school teachers as Quechua deniers, while in Chapter 10, I explore the racialized socialization trajectories of youth identified as Quechua speakers.

According to Wortham (2005), trajectories of social identification entail “the series of events-across which an individual participates, becomes socialized, and thereby develops a social identity” (p. 97) and their study involves attending to how signs of identity come to have meaning in interaction. Looking ethnographically across events allows us to examine how social identification rarely happens in one specific event, but rather, across a trajectory of events where “subsequent events come increasingly to presuppose identities signaled in earlier ones” (p. 98). Because of the indeterminacy of what counts as relevant context for interpreting a sign, Wortham (2005) suggests we focus on the patterns of mutually presupposing signs through which social identities come to have more determinate meaning. Relatedly, Mortimer and Wortham (2015) propose attending to how processes and resources from heterogeneous timescales operate together to

“establish and change social identities” (p. 160). This analysis entails attention to the various timescales – such as sociohistorical, ontogenic, local and microgenetic ones – and resources - like models, artifacts, stances and behaviors – which come together in processes of social identification.

Analytical attention to the discursive construction of identities and trajectories of social identification is further enriched by a focus on the interrelated ways in which race and language work together to constitute hierarchized differences which impact language learners’ educational trajectories and life experiences. As such, an important process which becomes meaningful in the social identification of language learners are processes of racialization (Chun & Lo, 2016; Zavala & Back, 2017). Categories of difference such as race, class and ethnicity, among others, are drawn upon, contested and re-constituted in interrelated ways in youth classrooms and peer culture discourse, and come to bear on youth identity formation (Blackledge & Creese, 2010; Mendoza-Denton, 2008; Rampton, 1990). As most recently explained by Alim (2016), language plays a central role in the construction of ethnoracial identities, in as much as the latter also influences the former. In this sense, Alim highlights the importance of research which theorizes language and race together, attending to how “both social processes mediate and mutually constitute each other” (p. 3; see also Alim, Rickford, & Ball, 2016). In other words, he makes a call for “racing language” and “linguaging race” in our scholarship (Alim, 2016, p. 1). Relatedly, Flores and Rosa’s (2015) work on raciolinguistic ideologies argues for the need to consider how a subject’s racialized position comes to bear on how their language practices are perceived and evaluated (see also Rosa and Flores, 2017). Drawing on ethnographic research in a dual language school in the U.S., Chaparro (2019) has

introduced the concept of raciolinguistic socialization to describe the myriad ways in which race in conjunction with class influences the ways in which children are socialized and positioned through classroom interactions. In Chapters 9 and 10, I merge this focus on the interrelationships between language and race in language education with an analysis of social identification socialization to explore the ideological configuration of Quechua language proficiency in urban high schools, as well as the material and everyday impact experienced by youth affected by processes of language racialization.

2.2 Youth bilingualism and identity within the study of language planning and policy

I situate my study of youth bilingualism and identity within a larger tradition of research under the umbrella of language planning and policy studies. The field of language planning and policy (LPP) has, since its origins, been concerned with understanding efforts to influence the forms, uses and users of languages, a tripartite focus referred to as corpus, status and acquisition planning (Cooper, 1989; Kloss, 1969). While recognizing the value of distinguishing diverse types of language planning, Fishman (1980) sensibly noted that planning activities are best undertaken hand in hand. LPP ethnographic work since has shown how acquisition planning, such as the teaching of Indigenous languages at school or home language socialization practices, often occurs alongside status and corpus planning and/or carries implications for status and corpus planning (Hornberger, 1988; Jaffe, 2011). In this vein, my study of youth bilingualism and identity engages with existing bodies of literature which explore language practices and ideologies in minoritized language education and language education policies, family

language policy and socialization, and Indigenous language maintenance and revitalization.

2.2.1 Minoritized language education and language policies

Within the field of educational LPP, ethnographic approaches to the study of language education policies have provided rich understandings of the interplay between official multilingual policies and the schools where they are instantiated. Critical language policy research has largely focused on the ideological nature of LPP activities, particularly highlighting the role of policies as instruments of power responsible for overtly and inadvertently creating and sustaining social inequalities, as well as serving the interests of dominant groups (Pennycook, 2002, 2006; Shohamy, 2006; Tollefson, 1991). Ethnographic perspectives have also shown how language policies and LPP activities can both open and up and close down ideological and implementation spaces in support of Indigenous and minoritized languages, literacies, identities and practices (Canagarajah, 2005, 2006; Davis, 1999; Hornberger, 1988, 2002; Hornberger, Tapia, Kvietok Dueñas, & Lee, 2018; Ricento & Hornberger, 1996). Much of this latter research has examined and theorized the roles of teachers as arbiters, policymakers, and ultimate interpreters and implementers of language policies (Brown, 2010; Lo Bianco, 2010; Menken & Garcia, 2010; Ricento & Hornberger, 1996; Valdiviezo, 2009).

The study of language acquisition planning overlaps with the field of bilingual education. Scholarship on bilingual education in Indigenous and minoritized language contexts has long been concerned with understanding how schools can validate and promote language diversity in education as well as the types of language practices and

ideologies co-existing in language teaching and learning. Bilingual education typologies and ethnographic research have identified different models and structures in support of the development of minoritized languages, the strengthening of cultural identities and the promotion of intercultural citizenship (Baker, 2006; Freeman, 1998; Hornberger, 1991). Hornberger (1991) describes the potential of maintenance and enrichment models of bilingual education, the former informed by the goals of minority language maintenance and cultural identity affirmation, while the latter's goals are to maintain and extend minoritized languages and promote cultural pluralism. Bilingual education models can be implemented through a variety of types, defined in terms of the contextual and structural characteristics of programs. Common among Indigenous language education are immersion structures (such as the case of Hawaiian and Maori education) as well as maintenance structures of bilingual education (such as the proposed model of intercultural bilingual education across Latin America).

Given the variety of ways in which bilingual education models and structures are implemented in classrooms, attending to teaching practices and interactions is useful to understand classroom dynamics and language ideologies at play. A robust body of literature has attended to the role of classroom participatory structures (teacher to student-centered, IRE to IRF patterns, third space linguistic practices, safe-talk practices) (Gutierrez, Baquedano-López, & Tejada, 1999; Hornberger & Chick, 2001; Philips, 1972; Rymes, 2010), teacher talk (Lo Bianco, 2010), pedagogies of language awareness (Hélot & Young, 2005) and critical language awareness (Zavala, 2015), biliteracy practices (Hornberger, 2003) and the role of texts (Hornberger, 1990; Rickford & Rickford, 1995) as influencing and shaping language use and language ideologies in

language education.

Recent work on monoglossic and heteroglossic approaches to language education further sheds light on essentialist and fluid framings of language and identity to be found in language education. García (2009) and Flores (2013) argue that additive bilingual education models, such as maintenance and enrichment models, are often based on monoglossic ideologies that rigidly separate languages, reflect essentializing understandings of language and identity and can further marginalize learners. Flores (2013) has historicized how these monoglossic ideologies emerged hand in hand with nation-state building and colonial projects which also produced ‘monoglossic languaging subjects’, understood as a ‘coordinated bilingual’ having equal mastery of two bounded languages, as being able to engage in the literacy practices of standard and unified languages, and as someone whose language practices inherently represent their true identities. Pedagogies with monoglossic orientations have been described as contributing to the exclusion and devaluing of vernacular forms and linguistic borrowings in French-Ontarian schools (Heller, 1995), the erasure of fluid bilingual practices in dual language models (Fitts, 2006), as well as favoring notions of heritage that are at odds with the syncretic identities of heritage language learners (Blackledge & Creese, 2010).

In contrast, Blackledge and Creese (2010) discuss the promises of flexible bilingual pedagogies with a focus on student voice and agency as individuals draw on all available language and literacy practices in the business of language learning and teaching. Instructional strategies include bilingual label quests, repetition and translation across languages, among others (p. 213-14). Flores and Beardsmore (2015) highlight the potential of Content and Language Integrated Learning (CLIL) programs as examples of

bilingual education models guided by heteroglossic understandings of bilingualism. Despite the promises of heteroglossic practices to promote more inclusive language education, Flores (2013) cautions that heteroglossic ideologies can be complicit with sustaining neoliberal relations of power, which could further marginalize minoritized language speakers. Valdés (2015), in turn, calls for heteroglossic understandings of language that validate flexible bilingualism to be accompanied by pedagogies that can also support the development of powerful language practices across the many contexts heritage language learners find themselves across time.

In addition, sociolinguistic and linguistic anthropological work has underscored how minority language education is not simply an attempt to create more speakers or uses of a language but rather, “plays an active role in *defining* both linguistic and sociolinguistic identities, creating new communities of practice and meaning” (Jaffe, 2011, p. 206). Addressing Indigenous language revitalization initiatives in Ecuador, King (2001) states that such initiatives “are not simply ‘undoing’ the processes of language loss, but rather are fundamentally altering patterns of language use” (p. 197). Not uncommon among minoritized language education initiatives are debates concerning the variety of language to be taught. Hornberger and King (1998), writing about the “thorny issue of authenticity” (p. 403) in Quechua corpus and acquisition planning, consider how more rigid and uncompromising orientations to authenticity and legitimacy run the danger of stalling language use and maintenance, outcomes which are counter to the goals of heritage and minority language education programs. Nevertheless, as others have also noted, notions of legitimacy and authority are neither “unilateral nor unchanging” (p. 407), and are actively negotiated in contexts of minority language education and

revitalization (Jaffe, 2011) with different effects (for more on the implications of authenticity, purism and standard language ideologies in minoritized language education see Costa, 2015; Guerrettaz, 2015; Sichra, 2006).

Finally, reflecting on the state of U.S. language education, Valdés (2015) cautions about the challenges inherent in the process of curricularizing language, or making languages teachable in institutionalized educational settings. For Valdés (2015), curricularization involves the selection and teaching of particular language forms, “as if they could be arranged into a finite, agreed-upon set of structures, skills, tasks, or functions” (p. 262). This process not only reflects and constructs ideologies of languages as neatly bounded structures, but also produces categories of language learners which, Valdés cautions, seriously impact students’ lives.

Following Hornberger, Jaffe, King and Valdés, I understand acquisition planning activities, such as the teaching of Quechua across high schools in Cusco, as inherently ideological practices, which are active in shaping particular views about language, language use and language learners’ identities, with implications for learners and for Indigenous language maintenance. In Chapter 8, I explore the various language ideological orientations co-existing in Quechua language education classrooms and consider the opportunities, and lack of opportunities, these create for meaningful language learning and for bringing Quechua forward in a way that is respectful and responsive to how learners and communities use, and aspire to use, their languages (Hinton & Hale, 2001; Hornberger, 2008; Hornberger & King, 1996; Lee, 2007; López, 2008; McCarty, 2008; Romero-Little, 2006; Warner, 1999). The timely need to engage the ideological orientations behind Indigenous language education in a constructive

manner, specially the work and effects of monoglossic and heteroglossic language ideologies, has been clearly articulated by Gilmore (2011), who explains:

While this [one language, one people] ideological position is essentializing and is often used as a rationalization for harsh assimilationist policies and linguistic genocide, the very same ideology, ironically, is at the heart of most Indigenous and minority language revitalization movements. The paradox, while thought-provoking, does not diminish the dangers of linguistic oppression, or the hope and resilience of the undaunted and valiantly successful language reversal projects in diverse communities around the globe. (p. 125)

2.2.1.1 Youth and minoritized language education

Scholarship focusing on youth experiences in contexts of minoritized language education has highlighted the ways in which learners encounter and respond to ascribed identities and dominant language practices and ideologies in school settings, constructing alternative identity positionings or employing alternative linguistic resources at times, and aligning with those favored by schools, at other times. Much of this ethnographic and discourse analytic research has been conducted in European countries and the U.S. and examines the emic meanings behind youth language practices identified as crossing (Rampton & Charalambous, 2012), carnivalesque language (Blackledge & Creese, 2010), linguistic sabotage (Jaspers, 2015), faux (Link, Gallo, & Wortham, 2014), mock (Talmy, 2010) and inverted registers (Rosa, 2016).

Based on a multi sited ethnography of complementary schools in England, Blackledge and Creese (2010) describe how students mobilize different linguistic and youth culture resources to create alternative worlds to those favored by teachers. In these second-life spaces, students challenge the ‘official’ agenda of language and heritage

learning, mocking tradition and authority, as well as reified and essentialized notions of language, heritage and identity through the use of stylizations, repetitions, exaggerations and grotesque language. Based on ethnographic findings from elementary schools in the U.S., Link et al. (2014) propose the concept of *faux Spanish* to describe the language practices of non-Spanish speaking students, or “nonsense syllables which sound like Spanish in their phonology and intonation” (p. 256) and utterances strung together in what sound like conversational-turns. Faux Spanish practices, in fact, are mobilized by children to build co-membership with their Latino and Spanish-speaking classmates. Throughout Chapters 7, 8 and 9, I examine instances of youth language play, creativity and exploration which shed light on how youth made sense of circulating language ideologies about Quechua, language learning and about their roles as (non)speakers.

Additionally, research on mock registers of language has highlighted the ways in which youth stylizations draw on, and many times sustain, racializing language practices. Hill’s (1998) work on Mock Spanish in the U.S. stands as a founding concept in this line of research. Mock Spanish was coined to refer to a covert racist discourse which elevates Whiteness while it accomplishes the “racialization of its subordinate-group targets through indirect indexicality” (Hill, 1998, p. 455). That is, through Mock Spanish speakers directly index a “congenial persona” while indirectly indexing and reproducing racist images of Spanish-speakers. According to Hill, practices of Mock Spanish, or the mixing of Spanish and English in a jocular key by Whites, include semantic pejoration of Spanish loans, euphemisms, so-called Spanish morphology, and hyperanglicized and parodic pronunciations and orthographic representations. As pointed out by Rosa and Flores (2017), subsequent work on mock registers of language in the U.S. has

documented how registers such as ‘Mock Asian’ (Chun, 2004) and ‘Hollywood Injun English’ (Meek, 2006) have become enregistered to index racialized models of speakerhood which reproduce Orientalist and deficit images of Asian and Native Americans.

In the context of language education, Talmy (2010) has described Mock ESL as a linguistic style and a practice through which local ESL students in a Hawai‘i public school performed “displays of distinction from their lower-L2-expert and newcomer classmates” (p. 229). Mock ESL practices were socio-historically grounded on a nationalist language ideology which converged with racism, nativism, exclusionism, assimilationism, and xenophobia. Talmy (2010) describes how local ESL students reproduced the ‘ESL student’ or ‘FOB’ (Fresh off the boat) category through their mock practices, figures which indexed attributes of “rudimentary L2 English expertise, interactional incompetence, and pragmatic ineptitude”, “incomprehensibility and awkwardness”, “low mental capacity, infantilism and befuddlement”, “and naiveté and novicehood” (p. 239). Nevertheless, studies also document how heritage language learners simultaneously draw on mock registers to take up postures of resistance against school authorities or essentialist understandings of language and heritage (Blackledge and Creese, 2010) or how US Latina/o youth appropriate mock registers and call into question negative views of their bilingual proficiencies (Rosa, 2016). In Chapter 9, I draw on this literature to explore how youth engaged in stylized practices of Mock Mote in their Quechua classrooms and high schools and their role in ongoing processes of racialization of Quechua speakers.

Indigenous language education research in the U.S. has shown the advantages of bilingual/heritage language education for students' identity development, school performance and language learning (for a review see McCarty & Nicholas, 2014; see also McCarty, 2002; Wilson & Kamana, 2014), although few studies offer in-depth ethnographic accounts of youth' experiences within these programs or examine the language ideologies and identity positionings constructed, questioned and reimagined through interactions. As part of a broader study Wyman (2012), however, offers a telling account of how Yup'ik youth mobilized Yup'ik for different purposes within an English-dominant schooling environment, highlighting how youth used Yup'ik as an "in-group code for negotiating racialized dynamics of schooling" (p. 118). Wyman describes how youth drew on Yup'ik to help each other achieve schoolwork, protect local knowledge systems from outsiders, joke, and resist and critique school authority.

Drawing on mostly questionnaire and interview data with Native youth, McCarty, Romero-Little, Warhol and Zepeda (2009) describe how teachers might have different language expectations of students than students themselves, and schools are often places where students' heteroglossic repertoires and language abilities are evaluated in negative terms. In cases where Navajo was offered as a language subject, Lee (2007) documents how some students expressed concern for schools to provide better language learning instruction, and demanded classes that were more challenging and offered opportunities to learn new things about their language and culture. Although Indigenous language education classrooms are not the primary site of the research, several studies have found that Indigenous students critique the bad quality, or lack of, Indigenous language and culturally-relevant education, while at the same time, youth identify schools as important

sites to offer them these opportunities (Kroupa, 2014; Lee, 2014; McCarty et al., 2009; Tulloch, 2014).

Lee's (2007) study also found that peers greatly determined Navajo students' language choice and use in school settings (English-Navajo), even more than school language use and norms. According to Lee, many students with the ability to speak Navajo chose to speak English to conform to English-speaking peers, speak the 'cool' language, and be like others. In order to speak Navajo at school, Lee (2007) explains, "they must find secret, safe places to speak Navajo" (p. 24). Lee does not attribute this choice to students' shame of Navajo, but rather, to the fear of being ridiculed by their peers. Through questionnaires, McCarty et al. (2009) found that in addition to classrooms, Native languages are heard and/or spoken by youth in the cafeteria, hallways and school bus.

Research conducted in the Andes has produced a small yet growing body of literature in heritage and urban Quechua language education (King, 2001; Sichra, 2006; Zavala, 2015) (see Chapter 3 for a review). However, little is still known about how youth themselves experience these programs and how they negotiate notions of bilingualism and their identities as learners and speakers in their interactions with teachers and peers, themes I take up in Chapters 7, 8 and 9.

2.2.2 Family language policy and language socialization

Family language policy (FLP) studies is a relatively new sub-field of LPP scholarship concerned with understanding "explicit (Shohamy 2006) and overt (Schiffman 1996) planning in relation to language use within the home among family members" (King,

Fogle, & Logan-Terry, 2008, p. 907). FLP has roots in language planning and policy and child language acquisition studies, and attends to LPP activities in relation to language choice and use within the home and among family members. According to King et al. (2008), studies on family language policy complement LPP scholarship which has mostly focused on institutional contexts, and can also help shed light on the “dynamic, muddled and nuanced process” (p. 917) of intergenerational transmission, long concerning scholars interested in processes of language maintenance and revitalization.

LPP scholarship attends to “the language ideologies of family members (what family members believe about language), language practices (what they do with language), and language management (what efforts they make to maintain language)” (Curdt-Christiansen, 2013, p. 2; see also King & Fogle, 2013; Spolsky, 2012), illuminating how families maintain or lose their languages and the relationships between private domains and public spheres. Since its origins, FLP research has highlighted the ideologies behind parenting and language practices that guide FLP as well as the sources of authority parents draw on to inform their language management choices (Armstrong, 2014; Curdt-Christiansen, 2009; King & Fogle, 2006; Lytra, 2012), the multifaceted role of grandparents in heritage language and linguistic/cultural identity maintenance (King & Haboud, 2011; Ruby, 2012; Sichra, 2016), the interplay of FLP and literacy practices (Patrick, Budach, & Muckpaloo, 2012; Stavans, 2012) and the value of out-of-school initiatives in supporting Aboriginal FLP in urban contexts (Hermes & King, 2013; Patrick et al., 2012). While highlighting the deliberate nature of establishing minority language use, most of these studies also highlight the dynamic and organic nature of FLP.

Family language policy, similar to educational language policies, does not evolve in linear or organized ways but is in constant flux and negotiation (Armstrong, 2014).

In a recent review, King and Fogle (2013) note some of the significant shifts and future trajectories of this developing field. Specifically, they note and welcome an increased attention to a diverse range of family types, languages and social contexts, including non-traditional families, minority languages and transnational and diasporic contexts. Despite the predominance of research focused on the ideologies and practices behind parental child rearing language practices, King and Fogle also emphasize the field's needed attention to children agency, as children are not only recipients of policies but shape and influence those policies (Gallo & Hornberger, 2017; Kheirkhah & Cekaite, 2018; Luykx, 2005).

The field of language socialization studies shares an attention to looking at language use and child language acquisition from an ethnographic perspective, though has different origins, emerging as a direct branch of ethnography of communication studies. Since its origins, this field has examined “socialization *through* language and socialization *into* language” (Ochs & Schieffelin, 2008, p. 5) in homes, but also in communities, schools and society more largely (see also Garrett & Baquedano-López, 2002; Ochs and Schieffelin, 1984). I specifically draw on work in this field to understand how youth bilingualism is informed by, and interacts with, local notions and ideologies of language, youthhood, personhood, teaching and learning in dynamic ways (Howard, 2008), as well as the varying “social networks, pressures and opportunities” (Luykx, 2003, p. 40-41) for language development youth encounter and co-construct as they are socialized into different communities of practice.

Combining analytical tools and findings from these complementary fields of research, I too focus on the experiences and participation roles of youth and family members from similar and different generations, the sociocultural norms and values reflected in family interactions and the ideologies about language, learning and youth which are constructed and maintained across family interactions (see Chapters 5 and 6). My study of family language policy and socialization practices across urban and rural contexts of the Peruvian Andes seeks to contribute to our growing understanding of the roles and experiences of youth who are speakers and learners of an Indigenous language.

2.2.2.1 Youth and family Indigenous language policy and socialization

Recent anthropological and educational research offers compelling ethnographic accounts of the roles and effects of adult and youth Indigenous language practices and beliefs in home and family domains in urbanizing and/or globalizing contexts of language shift. Wyman's (2012) nuanced account of Yup'ik family language socialization shows the diversity of trajectories present even within small rural communities. Within the Yup'ik community of study, parents make different language choices in order to accommodate to and respond to their children's changing proficiencies in Yup'ik. What is more, Wyman finds that siblings can also have powerful roles in socializing, or not, their similar and differently aged siblings into Indigenous language practices.

Home and community spaces have been described as spaces where youth encounter multiple ideological stances which they "take up [...] in diverse ways—resisting, accommodating, and sometimes feeling compelled to "forsake who they are." (McCarty et al., 2009, p. 303). In the North American context, Nicholas (2014) recounts how Hopi

elders often describe youth as immature or not Hopi enough since they don't participate in cultural practices viewed as appropriate by elders. Wyman (2012) also describes how Yup'ik adults explained the cause of Yup'ik language shift based on the argument that youth no longer wanted to speak the language or just wanted to act White, though causes are more complex than youth individual decisions. In fact, Yup'ik youth viewed Yup'ik maintenance and endangerment as tied to "local relationships, practices, knowledge systems and geographical spaces" (p. 364). These mixed ideological messages often cause Indigenous youth to develop linguistic insecurities, feeling ashamed for not speaking how they or their elders want them to; this can result in the cloaking of their productive and receptive language abilities and their learning interest as heritage language learners (McCarty et al, 2009). What is more, language socialization research has shed light on how children engage in ideological transformations, giving meaning to Indigenous language practices and naturalizing language shift in different ways than adults (Meek, 2007); while ethnographic research has demonstrated how Pueblo and Navajo youth find ways to create ties to their heritage languages and encourage language use within their families (Lee, 2014), as well as develop relationships with elders and connections to local knowledge systems through participation in subsistence, agricultural and ceremonial practices (Nicholas, 2014; Wyman, 2012).

In the case of research conducted in the Andes, Luykx (2005) highlights how Aymara children can often act as language socializers of parents in contexts of Indigenous language shift. Children's futures shape parents' linguistic aspirations and also bring families into contact with new language varieties, due to rural-urban migration and also because children bring new language varieties to the home which parents can pick up and

start to use (p. 1410-1411). Finally, King and Haboud (2011) study grandparent-grandchildren relationships in rural Ecuador and caution that intergenerational Quichua transmission cannot be taken for granted. Changing conceptions of childhood and parenthood, shaped by parental international migration, influence family language choices and result in limited opportunities to pass Quichua to young learners (see also Sichra, 2016). In Chapters 5 and 6, I too explore the practices and ideologies shared by family members of various generations, as well as those that differed, offering insights on the strong socializing roles of siblings and how particular family relationships helped pull youth towards, and away from, Quechua.

2.2.3 Indigenous language maintenance and revitalization

This dissertation is also concerned with understanding youth's roles in the maintenance of Indigenous languages such as Quechua. The study of language maintenance dates back to early sociolinguistic and LPP scholarship and is often described in relation to processes of language shift. Within LPP studies, Nahir (1984) identified language maintenance as one of the many possible goals of LPP, defining it as:

the preservation of the use of a group's native language, as a first or even as a second language, where political, social, economic, educational, or other pressures threaten or cause (or are perceived to threaten or cause) a decline in the status of the language as a means of communication, a cultural medium, or a symbol of group or national identity. (p. 315)

In a review of the term and related literature, Hornberger (2010) identifies an implicit assertion across definitions, highlighting that language maintenance connotes "a contact situation and power differentials between two or more speech communities" (p. 1).

Within scholarship on Indigenous languages and language shift, language revitalization is another related term and refers to “the attempt to add new linguistic forms or social functions to an embattled minority language with the aim of increasing its uses or users” (p. 23). In contrast to reversing language shift (Fishman, 1991), language revitalization does not primarily revolve around the reinstatement of intergenerational transmission of a particular language, but entails the expansion of forms, users and domains of use, including schools. According to Hornberger (2010), what distinguishes language revitalization from language maintenance is that revitalization entails “recuperating and reconstructing something that is at least partially lost” (p. 2) as well as the deliberate nature of revitalization efforts that often originate from the speech community itself.

In response to the rapid loss of minoritized languages around the world (Hinton & Hale, 2001), my project joins scholarship that moves away from primarily documenting dying languages to researching activities that contribute to countering Indigenous language shift (McCarty & Nicholas, 2014; Moore, Pietikäinen, & Blommaert, 2010). By simultaneously focusing on how Quechua is used both in home and school domains, I merge longstanding concerns in the field for studying the transmission of the threatened language within the family (Fishman, 1991), as well as more current concerns for creating new language users, uses and forms (King, 2001), a task often assigned to educational institutions.

I employ the term Quechua maintenance to include both my analytical interests in exploring how Quechua continues to be used by some youth in ‘old’ or traditional domains as well as how Quechua is simultaneously being brought forward through its expanded usage in schools and through the potential creation of new speakers. In

addition, my focus on language maintenance seeks to make room for understanding how youth negotiate and engage in both deliberate and non-deliberate efforts to use and promote Quechua. Finally, my use of the term maintenance relates to the fact that revitalization is not a stated goal of current Cusco language policy or Quechua language education, nor a common term I heard in my conversations with youth, teachers and parents, a fact which stands in contrast to the bottom-up characteristic of most revitalization efforts.

2.2.3.1 Youth and Indigenous language maintenance

My study also engages with recent anthropological literature which positions youth at the center of language revitalization efforts, and which is to date largely centered on Native American experiences (Wyman et al., 2014; for a review of Andean research, see Chapter 3). This work has particularly emphasized how Indigenous youth navigate ideological currents across diverse sociolinguistic environments, encountering and contesting discourses of authenticity based on dichotomies that try to define and delimit what constitutes acting, speaking and being a member of Indigenous communities. In this spirit, Wyman (2012) introduced the concept of linguistic survivance to illuminate how “youth negotiate challenging positions vis a vis their heritage languages” (p. 2) in contexts of Indigenous language endangerment. Linguistic survivance, Wyman explains, encompasses:

the ways that individuals and communities use specific languages, but also second languages, language varieties and linguistic features, as well as bilingualism and translanguaging – the moving across or intermixing of languages and language varieties (García, 2009) – as they shape collective identities, practices and knowledge

systems in challenging or hostile circumstances, and through participation in translocal, as well as local, spheres of influence. (p. 14)

In addition, McCarty et al. (2009) refer to Indigenous youth as language policy makers, arguing that decision-making processes - including which language they want to use, in which domains and with whom – are “de facto manifestations of implicit language policies” (p. 292). Engaging with work on humanizing youth research (Paris, 2011), McCarty et al. (2013) have also advocated for continued humanizing research which can include, and is not limited to, listening ‘with ears to hear’ youth narratives and counternarratives, affirming strength amid loss, and humanizing insider and outsider language use and researcher positionalities. What is more, these authors make a call for triple vision in Indigenous youth language research that “recognizes and forwards academic, youth, and broader community projects” (p. 99), a vision that is close to the goals of this dissertation and which I take up in the conclusion chapter (Chapter 11).

CHAPTER 3: Setting the context: Andean sociolinguistic ecologies and Peruvian language planning and policy

This research of youth bilingualism and identity intersects with several fields of academic research and is also situated within a larger tradition of sociolinguistic research in the Andes. This chapter grounds my study in time and space, providing an overview of sociolinguistic trends and research in the Andes, with a focus on research carried out in urban contexts and on youth experiences. Given the study's focus on the roles of schools as sites for Indigenous teaching and learning as well as on youth educational experiences, the second section of this chapter begins by offering a brief account of historical and contemporary Peruvian language in education planning and policy efforts. Finally, the chapter ends by considering contemporary LPP activities taking place beyond the domain of official policies and schools, activities which are also contributing in shaping contemporary Quechua language practices and ideologies.

3.1 A brief look into Andean sociolinguistic ecologies

This section provides a general overview of Andean sociolinguistics, drawing on quantitative trends as well as linguistic, sociolinguistic and anthropological work concerning the status of Quechua, language practices and ideologies, and the role of language in processes of social identification.

3.1.1 A demographic view of language diversity

Indigenous languages across the Americas have long been characterized as situated in contexts of dynamic and complex language ecologies (Hornberger, 2000; Mannheim,

1991; McCarty et al., 2009). In regards to Quechua, Hornberger and Coronel-Molina (2004) note that there is no “single, monolithic ‘Quechua situation’ ” (p. 10) but instead a mosaic of sociolinguistic contexts that characterize it. At the same time, they identify Quechua as an endangered language, given the historical oppression and discrimination experienced by its speakers (Albó, 1977). In addition, Escobar (2011) highlights Quechua’s ongoing and growing contact with, and shift to, Spanish and Howard (2007) emphasizes the unequal diglossic relationship between Spanish and Quechua in the Andes, where Spanish long remained the *de jure* and *de facto* language of power. Quechua is considered a language family of more than 8 million speakers across the Andes and includes many varieties that have different degrees of mutual intelligibility (SIL International, 2015; UNICEF & FUNPROEIB, 2009, p. 529).

In the Peruvian context, Quechua is currently spoken by over 3 million people³ (INEI, 2017) and co-exists with 46 more Indigenous languages and Spanish (DIGEIBIR, 2013). In the region of Cusco, 55.2% of its residents, or 609 655 people, identify having Quechua as their first language, while this is the case for 48.98% of the residents of the province of Urubamba (INEI, 2017). Interestingly, the countrywide reported number of Quechua speakers in the 2017 national census represents an increase by 14,5% compared to the 2007 census; that is, in the span of ten years, there has been a reported increase of 473 932 Quechua speakers. Despite the limitations of census data and survey

³ 3,735,682 people, which represents 13.9% of Peru’s population. This figure is an estimate, and represents responses to the census question: “¿cuál es el idioma o lengua materna con el que aprendió a hablar en su niñez?” (“what is the language or mother tongue with which you learned to speak in your childhood?”). Besides the issue of underreporting, the framing of the question leaves out the opportunity for Quechua-Spanish bilinguals (including those who understand but don’t speak the language) and those who learned Quechua after their childhood to be included.

methodologies, these results contrast with popular discourses of Indigenous language endangerment which emphasize the inevitability of language loss and beg for more studies to explore and explain contemporary Quechua language use and language ideologies from multiple disciplines and methodologies. In order to better characterize and examine youth Indigenous language use from a quantitative perspective, this census data will also need to be interpreted around age cohorts, an analysis unavailable at the moment. However, an INEI and UNICEF study on the state of Indigenous childhood in Peru using data from the 2007 census found intergenerational differences for all Indigenous languages in terms of reported speakers who learned the Indigenous language as their first language. In the case of Quechua, 30% of individuals aged 66 and above identified the language as their maternal language, while this was the case for 13% of individuals between the ages of 18-35 and for 12% of individuals from the ages 3-17 (Benavides, Mena, & Ponce, 2010).

Heightened patterns of rural-urban migration in the last half century in Peru, like in many Andean countries, have led to an increase in the urban-dwelling Indigenous language speaking population. Factors include the search for better employment and educational opportunities in the context of a centralized government and profound inequality, as well as fleeing the consequences of the internal armed conflict, which hit rural and Indigenous communities at a larger scale. According to López (2010), at the beginning of this decade, “44.4% of Peruvian Quechua speakers live in cities and towns as well as 43.6% of their Aymara peers” (p. 4). The most recent census data indicates that 9.7% of individuals residing in urban areas reported having Quechua as their first language (INEI, 2017). This represents more than 2 million speakers, as well as an

increase from the previous census, when only 7.1% of the population identified in this way.

At the regional level, recent measures of vitality emphasize the threatened status of Quechua in the provincial and departmental capitals of Cusco, considered semi-urban and urban areas, where it is described as endangered in the former and severely endangered in the latter (DIGEIBIR, 2013). In the city of Urubamba, Quechua is considered severely endangered, as it is “*hablado por núcleos familiares o personas dispersas y no se transmite a los niños*” (‘spoken by family units or scattered people and it is not transmitted to children’) (DIGEIBIR, 2013, p. 303). Although these classifications provide a general source of linguistic information, they cannot account for the sociolinguistic variation within communities, the use and ongoing spread of Spanish in rural communities, and most importantly, they overlook the rural-urban continuum characterizing sociolinguistic trajectories in the Andes. We now turn to examine scholarly literature which sheds light on some of these Quechua sociolinguistic ecologies, attending to the multiple and at times overlapping language practices and ideologies at play.

3.1.2 Quechua sociolinguistic ecologies

Sociolinguistic research on Quechua use and status in rural communities has documented the stronghold for the language *ayllu*-domains represent (Hornberger, 1988), the influence of situations of interactions and individual language abilities on Quechua language use (Sichra, 2003), and processes of language shift and the weakening of intergenerational transmission of Quechua (King, 2001; Rindstedt & Aronsson, 2002;

Santisteban, Vasquez, Moya, & Cáceres, 2008). Drawing on extensive interview data, Howard (2007) has documented how across the Andean countries of Ecuador, Peru and Bolivia, respect for and interest in Quechua co-exist with longstanding ideologies which associate Quechua to ruralness, backwardness, humiliation and prohibition. Such ideologies are often accompanied by experiences of discrimination and teasing, by both Quechua and non-Quechua speakers, which contribute to individuals' development of attitudes of shame and linguistic insecurity. Nevertheless, studies have also identified Quechua speakers' positive ethnic identifications and strong language loyalty, though this does not necessarily result in language maintenance or use or support for Quechua language education (Hornberger, 1988; King, 2001).

In a review of Quechua language shift, maintenance and revitalization, Hornberger and Coronel-Molina (2004) observe that new urban generations are crafting identities in which languages other than Quechua, such as Spanish and English, are more prominent, and are indicative of processes of language shift to, and contact with, Spanish. In contrast to research in rural contexts, a smaller body of literature has taken up the vitality, uses and language ideologies around Quechua within urban spaces as the focus of inquiry. In one of these studies, Marr (2011) describes how Quechua-speaking migrants to the capital city of Lima view the Quechua language as obsolete, antimodern, and incompatible with their economic and self-betterment aspirations, influencing Quechua's decreased use and transmission. Sociolinguistic studies drawing on quantitative and qualitative methods have also shed light on young adult and youth's positive stances towards Quechua. Based on a mixed methods study of language attitudes and maintenance practices in the city of Cusco, Manley (2008) found that non-

governmental agencies for migrant workers provided safe havens where Quechua was valued and used, suggesting the creation of Quechua communities within urban areas “may be an effective addition or alternative to other current Quechua revitalization efforts” (p. 341). Reporting on quantitative survey results carried out in a large public university in the city of Cusco, Kenfield, Huayllani Mercado and Huillca Quishua (2018) also identified college students’ positive attitudes towards Quechua, in terms of valuing the language at the personal, institutional and instrumental levels, both inside and outside the university. Zavala and Córdova’s (2010) study on the experiences of Quechua speaking college students in the cities of Cusco and Huamanga further remind us of the multiplicity of meanings using Quechua and being a Quechua speaker has in an urban and university setting, where the use of Quechua as a resource mobilized in contexts of confianza co-existed with the discrimination speakers experienced in this environment.

An emerging body of ethnographic literature is also exploring how youth and young adults in urban Andean contexts negotiate their identities as members of Indigenous communities and/or as speakers of Indigenous languages. Researching Aymara youth’s blogging practices in La Paz, Bolivia, Jimenez Quispe (2013) highlights the multiple literacies and multimodal practices, in Spanish and Aymara, youth engage with as they construct local and global identities. Hornberger and Swinehart (2012) describe how Bolivian youth frame their engagement in multilingual hip hop practices in “terms of intergenerational language shift and the cultural denigration propelling it” (p. 511), and in this sense actively open spaces for Indigenous languages to be heard and valued. Alongside with PROEIB masters students who claim Indigenous language expertise and identity, gaining access to resources and prestige within a higher education transnational

domain, these Indigenous Andeans engage in shifting the “linguistic market in favor of multilingualism rather than conceding to Spanish language hegemony” (p. 522).

Documenting the personal and professional trajectory of one particular intercultural bilingual educator, Hornberger (2014b) has also documented how Andean adults co-construct and consciously craft Indigenous identities that challenge dominant social and language categorizations and inequalities. Most recently, Firestone’s (2017) ethnographic work in the Peruvian cities of Huamanga and Arequipa shows that some first-generation youth are invested in maintaining and revitalizing Quechua and other cultural traditions, especially those whose parents have strong connections to rural areas and engage in economic practices tied to rural areas, which they also participate in or have exposure to. First-generation youth’s language practices are described as consisting of degrees of Spanish and Quechua mixing or *combinado*. Firestone argues that first generation migrant youth decide how they make use of their linguistic and cultural heritage for social and employment opportunities.

Firestone’s attention to the rural-urban continuum of Quechua and Spanish language use among youth who lead mobile lives further challenges studies which approach the study of language and cultural practices in Peruvian Andean cities guided by a rural and urban space dichotomy (see also May, 2014). Similarly, in a review of urban Indigenous Latin America, Bengoa (2007) argues that many Indigenous people “simultaneously live in the city and the *campo*” while families might also be spread across these spaces (p. 52). These observations fall in line with findings from migration studies in the Andes, which describe how individuals who migrate to nearby urban centers, such as provincial capitals or regional capitals, maintain rural-urban social networks through ongoing

physical contact with non-migrant relatives and through regular experiences of return (Malengreau, 2007). In this study, I keep in mind an understanding of urban and rural spaces as a negotiated and fluid continuum, while at the same time I use the terms ‘urban’ and ‘rural’ to highlight the emic meanings they have for participants. As examined throughout the various data analysis chapters, the rural-urban continuum is experienced in unique ways by different youth and with varied consequences for their language use and for what it means to be a Quechua learner and speaker.

A large body of linguistic research has also examined the characteristics and social status of Andean Spanish, a variety of Spanish that is the product of the ongoing contact between Spanish and Quechua and which is spoken across the Andes (Cerrón-Palomino, 1981, 2003; Escobar, 2011). While some authors propose typologies to organize varieties of Andean Spanish according to the first language of a speaker or by kinds of individual bilingualism (Escobar, 2011), Cerrón-Palomino (1981) fruitfully conceptualizes Andean Spanish as a continuum of practices that fall between Quechua and Spanish and which represent the range of contact and variety observed in language practices. One of the features of Andean Spanish of interest in this dissertation is the vowel alternation phenomenon known as “*motoseo*”, which characterizes the replacement of Spanish phonemes (a, e, i, o, u) with Quechua ones (a, i, u). For example, producing “*pirro*” instead of “*perro*” (‘dog’), or “*dispues*” instead of “*después*” (‘after’).

Across the Andes and in my field sites, those perceived as producing *mote* or engaging in *motoseo* are referred to as “*motosos*”. *Motoseo* has been widely enregistered as indexing the Spanish talk of mostly rural speakers with Quechua as their first language, and linguistic and sociolinguistic work has long pointed out and critiqued its

social stigmatization (Cerrón-Palomino, 2003; Hornberger, 1988; Howard, 2007; Pérez-Silva, Acurio Palma, & Benedezú Araujo, 2008). As most recently theorized by Zavala (2011), *motoseo* can be understood as a linguistic feature used to racialize speakers, particularly rural speakers with Quechua as a first language, on the grounds of cultural and intellectual inferiority. Drawing on ethnographic research in the context of higher education in two cities of the Southern Peruvian Andes, she argues that a process of racialized verbal hygiene (Cameron, 1995) around *motoseo* is practiced and naturalized in university settings, symbolizing an unjust social order, as well as local social and racial conflicts. In Chapter 9, I follow this line of work, using a lens informed by raciolinguistics and trajectories of socialization to examine how diverse practices around *mote* were mobilized in the racialization of rural Quechua speakers in Urubamba high schools.

3.1.3 Quechua and social identification in the Andes

Relevant to describing the Andean and Cusco sociolinguistic context is an understanding of circulating identity labels. In the Peruvian Andes, anthropological research has described how multiple identities from *runa* (community member, literally human being), *campesino* (peasants), to *mestizo* (mixed heritage), *cholo* (mestizo with Indigenous heritage) and Indigenous circulate in different domains and are used to varying effects by diverse actors (see García, 2004). For example, de la Cadena (2000) employs the term indigenous mestizos to describe working class urban identities in the city of Cusco. De la Cadena highlights how the rejection of the term Indigenous for self-identification, a mostly pejorative term constructed by dominant ethnic and racial

discourses, does not entail the total rejection of Indigenous cultural practices, including Quechua language practices. In fact, she argues that urban cuzqueños present themselves as Indigenous mestizos in order to distance themselves away from the social conditions of peasants they deem undesirable (such as lack of formal education and low socio-economic status), while also embracing and re-defining valued Indigenous cultural practices. At the same time, ethnographic research with a focus on the study of language has shown how despite the utility of ethnic and racial identities as analytical categories, these do not necessarily map onto how individuals identify themselves nor do individuals oriented to them as meaningful referents in interaction (Firestone, 2017; Hornberger, 2014b; Huayhua, 2014).

Despite the predominant focus on ethnicity in the study of inequality in the Andes, Weismantel and Eiseman (1998) have long reminded us of the social centrality of race, arguing that “despite the absence of strict phenotypical segregation or narrowly color-based hierarchies, the Andean region is host to not one but a multiplicity of racisms” (p. 122). De la Cadena (2000) offers a useful overview of how scientific racism became intertwined with notions of cultural racism in Peru, particularly in the early 20th century, which resulted in the production and organization of difference not just on grounds of biological inferiority but increasingly on grounds of cultural inferiority as well. Ongoing anthropological and ethnographic scholarship has shed more light on how social categories such as ethnicity, gender and language interact in the production of racial difference and inequality, how racist ideologies draw on varying signifiers like hygiene, education and clothing, and on the everyday lived effects of race and racism (Babel, 2018; Huayhua, 2014; Swinehart, 2018; Weismantel & Eiseman, 1998). Most recently,

Zavala and Back's (2017) edited volume on language and racialization offers an illuminating entry into understanding the interrelationships between race and language in the Peruvian context, considering language both as an important resource mobilized in processes of racialization, as well as the medium through which racialization is produced, maintained and questioned.

In my research sites, terms like '*runa*', '*mestizo*' or '*indígena*' commonly described in anthropological literature on the Andes were not used by youth to identify themselves or others. Nevertheless, coming to terms with what it meant to be a learner or a speaker of Quechua was indeed bundled up with processes of racialization, an issue I explore in depth in Chapters 9 and 10. In this sense, my analysis seeks to contribute to the above mentioned anthropological literature by offering an educational account of how Indigenous language classrooms and schools are also sites where processes of racialization that produce and sort difference unfold in face-to-face interactions among teachers and learners.

3.2 Peruvian language planning and policy

This section presents and discusses the various actors, practices and ideologies at play in language planning and policy in Peru, with a focus on the Quechua language and experiences in the Andes. The review focuses on official LPP activities taking place inside and outside of schools, as well as LPP actions spearheaded by various members of civil society.

3.2.1 Educational LPP

The experiences of urban Quechua language education I study in this dissertation are situated within a broader history of Indigenous language educational policy and practice. This section offers a brief historical and contemporary overview of relevant language policies and planning activities in Peru, attending to the actors, practices and language ideologies coexisting around the inclusion of linguistic diversity in schooling.

3.2.1.1 *Bilingual education for national integration*

Mannheim (1984) has identified two positions that define the orientation of language policies and language use in Peru since colonial times: a liberal position and a Hispanist assimilation position. Both positions, promoted by Spanish colonizers, Jesuit missionaries, and leaders of the new independent republic, had as their goal the *castellanización* of Indigenous people in order to accommodate them into the viceroyalty, and later on, the republic. Although the two positions differed in the degree of usage of Indigenous languages to achieve this goal, they both reflected an Indigenous languages and cultures-as-problem orientation.

After independence from Spain, the different republican governments largely ignored or repressed the multilingual reality of Peru (Cerrón-Palomino, 1989). The early 20th century, however, saw an increased interest in the ‘Indian problem’, that is, in how to incorporate Indigenous people in the national society. The *indigenista* movement, a “liberal urban-based movement that emphasized the liberation and ‘uplifting’ of the Indian” (García, 2004, p. 352) promoted the use of a transitional model of bilingual education that would help transition peasants into national society by giving them access

to Spanish. Given the lack of governmental attention and support for the education of Indigenous people, bilingual education initiatives were carried out in an experimental fashion. As a whole, these initiatives remained transitional and encouraged the “linguistic and cultural desertion” of Indigenous peoples (Cerrón-Palomino, 1989, p. 25).

The revolutionary leftist government of Velasco Alvarado (1968-1975) brought with it a shifting political scenario aimed at changing the country’s social structure through agrarian, social and educational reforms (Balarin, 2006). In doing so, it sought to improve the living standard of the marginalized, integrate peasants into national society, and fortify national identity (Alberti, Escobar, & Matos Mar, 1975). A set of reforms – including the 1970 Educational Reform, the 1972 National Bilingual Education Policy and the 1975 Officialization of Quechua - produced a major shift in the language policy landscape, as they mandated the use of Indigenous languages in schooling, for both the Indigenous and non-Indigenous population, and the right to use Quechua in public spaces such as courts (Alberti et al., 1975). Despite the ground-breaking legal gains and ideological spaces these policies began to pry open, Hornberger (1987) notes that the policy context in fact reflected multiple orientations to language and its speakers. The incorporation of bilingual education in the reforms was meant to integrate Indigenous citizens into the society as efficiently as possible and with respect to their culture, and thus perpetuated the use of transitional models of education that reflected a language-as-a problem orientation (Ruiz, 1984). At the same time, the policies were couched in a language-as-a-right discourse, recognizing the right of speakers to use their mother tongue in school and courts, and a language-as-a- resource orientation, given the

stipulations for teaching Quechua to Spanish speakers, a case of enrichment bilingual education, which however was not implemented and remained just rhetoric.

Although important bottom-up IBE experiences emerged in the Andean and Amazonian regions of Peru during the 1970s and crafted different and new spaces for indigenous languages in schooling -- in particular the Experimental Bilingual Education Project of Puno (PEEB) and the Program for Bilingual and Intercultural Education of the Alto Napo (PEBIAN) (for studies see Fernández, 1983; Hornberger, 1988; López, 1991; Mercier, 1983; for a comparison of both see Kvietok Dueñas, 2015) -- the overall goal of bilingual education was one of *castellanización* and the reigning educational model for educating speakers of Indigenous languages was a transitional bilingual education model (Valdiviezo, 2013). During this time period, bilingual education programs and experiences responded to, and also recreated, subtractive forms of monolingual and monoglossic language ideologies.

3.2.1.2 The rise of Intercultural Bilingual Education

Intercultural and bilingual educational policies in Latin America arose within a wider context of mobilization for Indigenous rights—re-emerging during the 1970s—as well as international agendas of education for all and Indigenous and linguistic rights which defined social and educational policies during the 1980s and 90s. The emergence of IBE policy, and the recognition for Indigenous rights and the pluricultural nature of Peruvian society occurred alongside neoliberal educational (and country-wide) reforms starting in the 1990s, as well as alongside grassroots Indigenous movements and demands, and the work of advocacy groups (Gustafson, 2014; Trapnell & Zavala, 2013).

In 1991, Peru introduced the Law of Intercultural Bilingual Education (IBE), which mandates bilingual education for students who speak Indigenous languages as home languages, as well as an intercultural schooling model that validates local ways of being and fosters intercultural relations among ethnic groups in Peru. IBE policy marked a shift from assimilationist to pluralist discourses about linguistic and cultural diversity and currently enjoys ample legal backing in the 1993 Constitution, the 2003 General Law of Education and the 2002 Law for Bilingual Intercultural Education (for more details see Kvietok Dueñas, 2015).

Multiple ethnographic studies have shown the diverse ways in which IBE has been implemented and appropriated across Peru⁴, evidencing how pluralist discourses about diversity reflected in policy documents fall somewhere between rethoric and reality. Hornberger's (1988) early study of bilingual education in Puno described the academic achievement and affective gains for students under this model, while also highlighting parental opposition to the program, findings which have been similar to those in other studies (García, 2004; King, 2004). The bilingual education models arising from these policies have been described as transitional and one-way and are limited to the primary years of schooling (Hornberger, 2000). Within the targeted Indigenous population, bilingual education has failed to meet the wide range of needs of Indigenous multilingualism, as it has remained focused on serving rural dwelling students with an Indigenous language as their home language (López & Küper, 1999). Scholars of IBE have also begun to problematize the ideological orientation of the monoglossic bilingual

⁴ While this review focuses mostly on language-related research, ethnographic research has also explored how the intercultural component of IBE has been developed in schools (Aikman, 1999; Maurial Mac Kee, 2011; Trapnell, Calderon, & Flores, 2008; Villavicencio Ubillús, 2011).

education model long promoted. López (2006) and Zavala (2015) have argued that the IBE model favors the separation of languages and sanctions linguistic transference, borrowing and codeswitching, which stand in contrast to teachers and students' language practices.

Similarly, the teaching and successful learning of Spanish remains a pressing demand from community members and Indigenous organizations, while professional development that offers pedagogical support in this area is a constant source of concern (Aikman, 1999; Hornberger & Kvietok Dueñas, 2019; López, 2003, López & Jung, 2003). With regards to literacy practices, Zavala (2002) found that the teaching of Indigenous language literacy appears to act as a bridge for dominant Spanish and school literacy, rather than treated as worth learning in its own right and as a social practice. What is more, the guiding focus of Interculturality in IBE, even if targeted for all students, does not acknowledge the systems of oppression and inequalities that underlie relations between different ethnic groups, and has remained an elusive concept with few guidelines for its implementation (Trapnell, Calderón, & Flores, 2008; Valdiviezo, 2009; Walsh, 2012). Given the co-emergence of IBE policy and recognition for indigenous rights and the pluricultural nature of Peruvian and Latin American societies alongside processes of neoliberalist reforms of the 1990s, some have cautioned the need to distinguish between intercultural approaches in education that align more closely with neoliberal agendas and those which can encompass the decolonizing and transformatory goals of grassroots Indigenous movements and other advocacy groups (Gustafson, 2014; Trapnell & Zavala, 2013; Tubino, 2004).

Despite policy that includes the rights of Indigenous communities to participate in the design and implementation of IBE, ethnographic work has shed light on the ideological gap between policymakers, implementers and those living with the everyday consequences of IBE (García, 2004). In addition, policy has not always been met with top-level support to build on its promises and on-the-ground gains, evident in the lack of funding, school infrastructure, adequate teaching materials, and trained teachers. Teacher education for EIB is insufficient for the number of teachers needed and struggles to overcome serious limitations including purist, monolingual and monoglossic ideologies reflected in admission processes, media of instruction and misrecognition of students' bilingualism and cultural diversity, as well as limited and depoliticized approaches to literacy (Zavala, 2008, 2018). Nevertheless, research has also emphasized teachers' sense-making and appropriation of IBE policy in classrooms, considering how educators open spaces for bilingualism and quality education through their everyday practices, while at times also reproducing the inequalities faced by their students (Kvietok Dueñas, 2011; Valdiviezo, 2009, 2010).

3.2.1.3 Recent policy advancements: ongoing tensions and new opportunities

The last several years have witnessed an increase in the creation and implementation of national and regional policy that seeks to promote the use of Indigenous languages in education and society. At the national level, since 2011, the General Directorate of Alternative Education, Intercultural Bilingual Education and Alternative Services in Rural Areas (DIGEIBIRA) has engaged in language-in-education

policy development and implementation surpassing any activities in the last two decades (SERVINDI, 2013). Activities include the development of a national system to quantify provision of and demand for IBE schools and teachers, the production of an ethnolinguistic map of Peru, the elaboration of a national IBE curricular proposal, provision of previously unavailable in-service professional development to schools, strengthening IBE teacher education, the ongoing standardization of multiple languages and the production of educational materials in such languages (Burga, 2013; DIGEIBIR, 2013; Edugestores, 2016). Nevertheless, budgetary cuts since 2018 have put into jeopardy the implementation of all of these activities.

Moving away from a one-bilingual-education-model-fits-all approach, on September of 2018, DIGEIBIRA officialized the three educational models that will guide IBE: “*EIB de fortalecimiento*” (‘maintenance/strengthening IBE’), “*EIB de revitalización*” (‘revitalization IBE’) and “*EIB urbana*” (‘urban IBE’). The first model corresponds to rural areas where most students are either monolingual in the Indigenous language, Indigenous-language dominant bilinguals or balanced bilinguals. The second model corresponds to rural areas where most students have limited understanding of their Indigenous language or where it is no longer used in the community, and where all students have Spanish as their first or dominant language. Finally, the third model corresponds to all urban schools with Indigenous students who speak different languages and with different types of bilingualism (MINEDU, 2018).

These three IBE models represent a loosening of the rigid language model that guided IBE for decades, that of a maintenance model of bilingual education, which reflected and produced an additive and monoglossic view of bilingualism, targeted for

students in rural contexts and with the Indigenous language as first language. The use of terms like “*lengua de herencia*” (‘heritage language’), “*multilinguismo*” (‘multilingualism’) and “*revitalización*” (‘revitalization’) throughout the document also evidences a growing awareness of the dynamic and shifting sociolinguistic context IBE is inserted in. Through a textual analysis of an earlier pedagogical proposal document where these models were first introduced and discussed, I identified the IBE subject positions produced in the document (‘Hacia una educación intercultural bilingüe de calidad- Propuesta Pedagógica’ (DIGEIBIR, 2013); see Kvietok Dueñas, 2014). In sum, I argued how despite the changes in terminologies and models, the document continued to sustain a nation-state/colonial regime of language, which relied on the identification of separate first and second languages, essentialist understandings of language and identity, alongside the uncritical upholding of diglossic understandings of languages and literacies in society. Future research will be crucial in examining the ways in which advancements in IBE policy tackle, or not, the ongoing challenges and tensions reviewed in this section.

Paralleling national-level developments in the expansion of IBE schools across Peru, contemporary processes of political decentralization have also led to the emergence of several regional-level language policies that seek to include indigenous languages in regional level language planning. Since the late 2000s, eight of Peru’s 24 regions across the Andes and Amazon, including Cusco, have created policies introducing the teaching of Quechua and other Indigenous languages in urban schools, officializing Indigenous languages in their regions, and promoting and requiring the use of Indigenous languages in administrative positions. Although little is known about the creation, interpretation and appropriation of these policies, Zavala, Mujica, Córdova and Ardito’s (2014) study of

Apurimac regional policy highlights the ongoing gap between rhetoric and practice, as well as the simultaneous opening and closing down of spaces for Indigenous languages inside and outside of schools.

Of interest to this study, regional LPP developments have attempted to open spaces for the teaching of Indigenous languages in urban schools in the Andes. Drawing on ethnographic research in urban primary schools in Apurimac, Zavala (2015) has shed light on how teachers both challenge and produce monoglossic and heteroglossic understandings of bilingualism. On the one hand, some teachers relied on grammar translation and audio-lingual pedagogies, and given their strong beliefs against mixing Spanish and Quechua, their pedagogies did not validate the dynamic and flexible language practices of their heritage language learners nor used them as resources to facilitate learning and meaning-making. These findings echo similar observations made by Sichra (2006), who also conducted an ethnographic study of urban Quechua language, though in Bolivia. Sichra describes how societal discourses which position Quechua as ‘rural’ or ‘agricultural’ are common, and are reproduced, in Quechua education, as are pedagogies that stress the rigid separation of Spanish and Quechua or privilege the teaching of grammar. At the same time, Zavala (2015) notes how teachers can construct alternative ideologies challenging monoglossic perspectives that separate languages. In this vein, Zavala describes how one teacher engaged in translanguaging and critical language awareness pedagogies that transformed power relations which disenfranchise students’ language practices and identities, although not without challenges and only through great personal commitment and little institutional support.

My study contributes to this small yet growing scholarship on urban Quechua language education. In Chapter 7, I take up how monoglossic and heteroglossic understandings of language co-existed in Urubamba Quechua classrooms, and the opportunities and lack of opportunities for language use and learning these enabled. In Chapters 9 and 10, I complement Sichra's (2006) focus on the ruralization of the Quechua language by considering how Quechua language classrooms were also sites for the raciolinguistic enregisterment of Quechua and the racialization of rural-born and dwelling Quechua speakers. Throughout the mentioned chapters, I shed light on how youth with different repertoires and language learning trajectories experienced Quechua language education.

3.2.2 Beyond schools and beyond official LPP

While treatment of language diversity in Peru has long been the domain of the educational sector of the government, we are currently witnessing an expansion of the scope of official LPP. As will be described in this section, the region of Cusco has been and continues to be a site where multiple civil society actors engage in a variety of everyday LPP activities.

3.2.2.1 State initiatives: seizing spaces beyond schools

The introduction of the Law of Indigenous Languages (*Ley de Lenguas Indígenas*⁵) in 2011 marked a shift in language policy in Peru, which expanded beyond the traditional scope of language- in-education policies. The law provides an elaboration

⁵ Official full name: "*Ley que regula el uso, preservación, desarrollo, recuperación, fomento y difusión de las lenguas originarias del Perú*" ('Law that regulates the use, preservation, development, recovery, promotion and dissemination of Indigenous languages of Peru')

of Peruvian linguistic rights (Article 4), expands the domains of official use of Indigenous languages (Articles 15 and 20), and reinforces support for maintenance models of IBE, including those for languages in the process of revitalization (Article 22). The expansion of the domains, where Indigenous languages have official status brought about by the law, constitutes a case of status planning. The first-ever Office of Indigenous Languages (*'Dirección de Lenguas Indígenas'*) housed within the Ministry of Culture, oversees the promotion and implementation of the Law of Indigenous Languages⁶. Besides developing the ethnolinguistic map of Peru, one of their main activities includes the development of a Training Program for interpreters and translators of Indigenous languages. The Training Program was established in 2012 with the goal of training a body of interpreters of Indigenous languages who could support the processes of prior consultation underway⁷ (Bariola, personal communication, February 2015). As of 2018, the program has trained 307 interpreters and translators in 36 Indigenous languages, who currently work in different governmental domains.

Andrade Ciudad, Howard and de Pedro Ricoy's (2018) recent study on the implementation of the program has documented graduates' emergent identification with Indigenous rights advocacy, which extends beyond the realm of linguistic rights. In addition, Andrade et al. (2018) describe how interpreters and translators maintain and make sense of ideologies of language purism and authenticity in their discourse and practice, offering a word of caution through their analysis of the exclusionary potential

⁶ The Office has also started the "Semana de la Diversidad Cultural y Linguística", which in 2015 included a media challenge for artists, politicians, community leaders, among others, to speak one of Peru's many Indigenous languages, including Quechua.

⁷ "*Ley de Consulta Previa*" (Ley 29785) ('Law of Prior Consultation')

entailed in the exotification and folklorization of Indigenous languages and cultures at play. These findings parallel longstanding observations in IBE research and minoritized language advocacy and politics more largely.

Relatedly, in late 2016, the state television channel TV Perú, launched “*Ñuqanchik*” (‘Us’), the first TV show to be entirely in Quechua and broadcasted in national TV in the history of the country. Since, the same channel has launched a similar news shows in Aimara (“*Jiwasanaka*”) and Ashaninka (“*Ashi ññae*”), other Indigenous languages of Peru. All three programs are also broadcasted through ‘Radio Nacional’, the national radio. These activities represent another attempt of a largely monolingual state to incorporate Indigenous languages into its services, in this case, in the domain of media, which in fact reaches 90% and 70% of the Peruvian population in terms of TV and radio outreach respectively (Villar, 2018), though an examination of the language practices and ideologies co-constructed in these activities remains to be carried out.

3.2.2.2 Parallel Cusco LPP activities

These contemporary national policy activities are accompanied by a growing number of grassroots and civil society activities that are also shaping the uses and discourses about Indigenous languages in the Peruvian landscape. Though LPP activities beyond the scope of national policies and government-related activities have taken place throughout history in the Andes (Coronel-Molina, 2015; Mannheim, 1991), this section offers a brief review of present day initiatives taking place in the region of Cusco.

The region of Cusco has long been a stimulating hub of language planning activities, and some long time actors which have influenced discourses and practices around Indigenous languages include the *Academia de la Lengua Quechua* (High Academy of the Quechua Language) and the large number of IBE professionals working as school teachers, monitors, NGO staff and policymakers (Coronel-Molina, 2015; Howard, 2007). While both sets of actors have engaged in status, corpus and acquisition activities, they have often engaged in heated ideological battles around defining who decides how to write in Quechua, evidenced in the 3 vs. 5 vowels debate discussed earlier in this dissertation⁸ (Hornberger, 1993, 1995). In the Urubamba high school contexts, I observed pamphlets and teaching material produced by the High Academy used by Quechua teachers to a much higher degree than materials produced by the Ministry of Education or IBE groups. One teacher also mentioned attending a workshop organized by the High Academy, and some students brought small dictionaries and vocabulary booklets produced by members of the High Academy to class.

Several religious organizations have also engaged in multiple LPP activities using and promoting Quechua. Some of these organizations include Centro Bartolomé de las Casas, the Peruvian Evangelical Church, United Bible Societies and Instituto Pastoral Andino, active since the 1970s. LPP activities have included, bible translation, production of Quechua dictionaries and grammars, Quechua language teaching and production of teaching materials, Andean LPP-related workshops and courses and academic publishing of Quechua-related research across academic disciplines⁹.

⁸ See p.xv

⁹ Thanks to Nancy Hornberger for bringing this to my attention.

The city of Cusco houses several civil society groups working on IBE, which in 2016 coalesced in the group ‘*Mesa Técnica de Educación Intercultural Bilingüe*’ (Technical Roundtable for Intercultural Bilingual Education), in partnership with the Regional Directorate of Education of Cusco. Some of the LPP activities of members of this group have included conducting a region-wide sociolinguistic assessment to determine the sociolinguistic characteristics of schools which fell under the IBE label. This diagnosis complemented and surpassed the characterization carried out by the national Ministry of Education. In addition, the IBE teachers of the region of Cusco have also organized themselves as a teaching trainer group, and offer free professional development workshops on IBE to colleagues during the summer holidays, workshops I participated in during 2016 and 2017. Through these workshops, Cusco educators are addressing the lack of qualified IBE teachers in their region, as well as contributing to the development of IBE practices around language education and intercultural pedagogies in ways not necessarily planned nor imagined by the national IBE policies.

Finally, the region of Cusco continues to house several IBE teacher training institutes. With the creation of state-sponsored scholarships to study IBE at the higher education level since 2012, there has been an increase in enrollment in these programs, which merit the attention of future research. As a whole, the activities of Cusco educational actors continue to be largely centered around the rural and Quechua as L1-speaking populations which have been the traditional focus of IBE programs. Some of the few exceptions include the work of the NGO TAREA, which conducted an action-research study on the teaching and learning of Quechua as a second and heritage language in the province of Quillabamba (Guzmán, 2018), as well as the educational

experience of Pukllasunchis, an intercultural and bilingual school in the city of Cusco (UNICEF & FUNPROEIB, 2009).

Paralleling the increase of national-level activities led by the Ministry of Culture, regional offices of the same division have also spearhead LPP activities. For example, staff from the Regional Directorate of Culture of Cusco (*Dirección Regional de Cultura del Cusco*) are engaged in the development and implementation of linguistic rights workshops across the provinces of Cusco, working with provincial authorities and grassroots organizations (personal communication, July 2015, Rosa Qquelcca), in the implementation of the interpreter and translator workshops, and in corpus planning activities like the production of dictionaries for Amazon languages spoken in the region¹⁰, and the certification program for training bilingual state functionaries.

Different professionals and academics have also come together to develop platforms for the study and promotion of Quechua, though the sustainability of these initiatives is precarious. Prior to my arrival for fieldwork, UNSAAC (Universidad Nacional de San Antonio Abad del Cusco) had finished offering coursework for its first masters program on language planning and policy, and graduates had gathered to create a civil society platform to inform language planning and policy for the Cusco region (personal communication, July 2015, Dr. Jaime Pantigozo). In addition, Hinantin, a group of linguists housed in UNSAAC, worked on the elaboration of translation and transcription software in different Indigenous languages, including Quechua (personal communication, July 2014, Richard Castro Mamani).

¹⁰ The Yine online dictionary can be accessed at <http://yine.cultura.gob.pe/>. Currently, the Directorate is working on the Wachiperi dictionary.

Outside the academic, governmental and NGO landscape, the mediatized activities of some young adults and youth promoting the use of Quechua constitute an alternative set of Quechua discourses and practices. In mid 2016, Fernando Valencia Saire, a Cusco based artist, began to release a series of popular movie clips dubbed into Quechua in Youtube. His clips include bits of movies and TV shows like *The Lion King*, *Coco*, *Ben Hur* and *El Chavo del Ocho*. A bottom-up LPP initiative, these efforts positioned Quechua as a language of entertainment, popular culture and the digital media, questioning and extending the predominant representation of Quechua as a language of rural areas, used in remedial educational and governmental services. Alongside the media activities of Fernando Valencia, youth around the Andes and Peru have also increasingly engaged in mediatized practices which bring Quechua forward through diverse music and multimodal practices. Such is the case of Quechua rapper Liberatokani and multilingual singer Renata Flores, who famously dubbed popular English hits into Quechua. In her most recent work, Zavala (2019) has analyzed some of the new forms of activism these singers and other youth engage in, arguing that they are putting forth more inclusive and politicized ways to conceive Indigenous language practices in Peru.

An exploration of youth language practices and social identification benefits from an understanding of the multiple practices and social meanings of Quechua and Indigenous languages in Peru across scales of time and space. Sociolinguistic research in the Andes helps to situate the study of youth bilingualism and identity within ongoing processes of language contact and shift, linguistic othering and racialization, as well as amidst lives lived across rural-urban continua and amidst ideological forces which mean that many times languages are “abandoned, forgotten, dreamt, recuperated and

rediscovered” (Howard, 2007, p. 166, my translation) across individual lives or across generations. Similarly, a historical and contemporary understanding of Peruvian LPP situates the study of youth bilingualism and identity in relation to longstanding struggles and efforts to define what language diversity means and looks like within the domain of educational institutions, governmental services, language academies and activist practices, among others. The following chapters take up many of the tensions, themes and issues identified in this overview by exploring youth’s on the ground negotiations, explorations, contestations, questionings and above all, lived experiences with and through language.

CHAPTER 4: Research Methodology

This chapter details the methodological choices I made in the design and implementation of my research project. I describe the ethnographic and participatory methodologies that inform this project, which align with my motivations to conduct research that can illuminate the interplay of youth bilingualism, identity, language policies and Quechua maintenance in the contemporary urban Andes, as well as research that takes action in the sites I participate in. I then introduce Urubamba, the research setting where most of my fieldwork took place, as well as the various data collection sites and some of the key participants of this study. As in all ethnographies, my identities and how I was viewed by others shaped the relationships I developed with participants and the data I collected, which I reflect on in more detail. I conclude this chapter by describing the methods of data collection, organization and analysis I employed.

4.1 Methodology

Within qualitative research, ethnography is “predicated on a view of social life as continuously created through people’s efforts to find and confer meaning on their own and others’ actions” (Emerson, Fretz, & Shaw, 2011, p. 14). It aims to develop partial truths (Clifford, 1986) that are detailed and context-sensitive, which honor insider perspectives and recurring patterns, while also looking for what is left out. Ethnography, which moves away from a priori assumptions and strives to understand how people make sense of their own lives, is a well-suited methodology for my study, allowing me to complexify, rather than simplify youth experiences and meanings (McCarty, 2015;

Wolcott, 1987). Attention to reflexivity, “directing one’s gaze at one’s own experience” (Foley, 2002, p. 473), means that as ethnographers we also consider how our personal and academic selves shape what and how we research, as well as the contingent and power-wrought nature of field relations, interpretation and representation practices (Abu Lughod, 1991; Agar, 1980; Fabian, 1983; Stacey, 1988).

Ethnography has a long and rich tradition in the fields of educational linguistics, sociolinguistics and linguistic anthropology not only as a set of research methods, but, also as a democratic and counter-hegemonic theoretical paradigm (Blommaert, 2009; Hymes, 1980). Since its origins, ethnography enabled the study of language as inextricably linked to social life, a view at the heart of this study. The ethnography of language policy (Hornberger & Johnson, 2007, 2011), with origins in this earlier sociolinguistic ethnographic research, is one of the methodologies that informs my research. In brief, the ethnography of language policy seeks to inform and illustrate the various types of planning and policy processes, illuminate the various links across layers of LPP activities, and reveal “covert motivations, embedded ideologies, invisible instances or unintended consequences of LPP” (Hornberger & Johnson, 2011, p. 275). The multilayered and locally-grounded orientation of the ethnography of language policy is well suited to inform my exploration of language practices and ideologies across high schools, homes, and various other sites and scales. The ethnography of language policy further marries a critical exploration of the interrelationships between social practices and structures that maintain inequalities and their effects, as well as a concern for illuminating and informing LPP activities that can “pry open implementational and ideological spaces for multilingual language education” (Hornberger & Johnson, 2007, p. 511).

During my fieldwork, I became inspired by the work of youth ethnographers concerned with challenging inequities faced by disenfranchised youth and dominant representations through research findings and the research process itself. Paris (2011) argues for the importance of humanizing research, one based on “dialogic consciousness-raising and the building of relationships of care and dignity for both researchers and participants” (p. 139-140) (see also discussion of McCarty, Wyman and Nicholas (2013) and Tuck (2009) on Chapter 2). Thinking alongside this body of youth research pushed me to consider the types of relationship I developed with youth, based on care and respect, and kept me wary of reproducing inequalities and stigmatizations I witnessed in everyday interactions (especially hurtful youth discourses, more on that later). I carried these reflections with me as I began analyzing and writing, aiming to respect the multiplicity of youth experiences and heterogeneity of voices, though this was not always an easy task as I navigated vast amounts of data.

Additionally, my readings of culturally-responsive and decolonizing methodologies (Berryman, SooHoo, & Nevin, 2013; Chilisa, 2012; Smith, 2012) also pushed me to seriously consider the relational endeavor ethnography is, or can be. I aimed to develop caring relationships not only from the position of participants and ethnographer, but as people relating to one another. Caring about the wellbeing of those who participated in my project beyond their direct involvement in my research project was one of my ways to do so, as well as sharing many aspects of my personal self, not only my professional self, and breaking the boundaries of distance and neutrality sometimes assumed to be necessary for ‘rigorous’ scientific research (Glynn, 2013).

Ethnographic monitoring (De Korne & Hornberger, 2017; Hornberger, 2014a; Hymes, 1980; Van der Aa & Blommaert, 2011), community based action research (McCarty et al., 2009), practitioner research (Cochran-Smith & Lytle, 2009) and participatory action research (Chataway, 2001; Cooke & Kothari, 2009), are some other methodologies that inform my understanding of researchers as social actors who can address inequalities and of research as an endeavor that has the potential to engage with participant needs and goals as well as include participants in the research processes. Aware that not all participants might want to engage in this way with me, nor wanting to impose this style of participation, I kept a loose participatory stance during my preliminary research and first months of fieldwork. With time, as I describe below, the main participatory component of my research focused on collaborative actions with one high school teacher, though I also included youth in some aspects of data collection and analysis.

While there are deep-seated and longstanding structural inequalities at the root of Indigenous language education that escape any one solution or that can be understood by any single study, through my research I aim to illuminate the inequalities and possibilities involved in the social processes I describe and promote research-based implications supportive of both youth's aspirations and the maintenance of Quechua. Regarding the dissemination of research-based implications, I have shared preliminary findings and recommendations with the high school teachers and principals who participated in this study. I also continue to share my work in academic and some non-academic spaces in Peru and more broadly, Latin America. While there is still a lot to do, I will continue to

disseminate the findings of this research in my teaching, service, and presentations, and aim to publish parts of my work in Spanish to make it accessible to a wider audience.

Engaging in this ethnographic and participatory project involved dealing with uncertainty and embracing unexpected changes as the project developed. As mentioned by Creswell (2013), ethnography is an inductive and iterative endeavor. As such, being attentive to learning from participants and about the contexts I participated in meant day to day methodological decision-making, some of which happened on the spot, following my gut, and some which I pondered over writing memos, and in conversations and email exchanges with my advisor, committee members and fellow ethnographer friends. Finally, my research involved many of the strains and stresses of fieldwork well known to ethnographers (Hammersley & Atkinson, 2007), as well as many gratifications, which made my dissertation fieldwork one of the most enjoyable stages of pursuing a PhD.

4.2 Research settings and sites of data collection

My ethnographic and participatory study is multi-sited in order to offer a multilayered account of youth bilingualism and identity, Quechua language policy and maintenance. In addition to describing my research setting and data collection sites, I also tell how I negotiated access across these sites and introduce some of my research participants.

4.2.1 The research setting: Urubamba

The bulk of my fieldwork took place in the city of Urubamba and its neighboring valley towns and communities, as well as in some high-altitude communities. The city of Urubamba (2850 m.a.s.l.) is located in the Sacred Valley of the Incas, about 63 km away

from the city of Cusco (about 90 minutes away in the local *colectivos* ('small buses')). As one approaches Urubamba, traveling down the windy road from the high plains of Maras, the beautiful mountain surroundings quickly capture one's attention, as well as the urban sprawl, as it is the biggest city in the Valley (see Figure 1). The district of Urubamba, which includes the city center and its surrounding areas, has an estimated population of 20 082 (INEI, 2017). Urubamba is the capital of the province of the same name, which is divided in 7 districts, Urubamba being one of them (see Figure 2). As capital, Urubamba serves as a commercial hub for neighboring valley towns and high altitude communities, as well as a center of governmental services.



Figure 1- Image of the view of the center of Urubamba taken during the descent from Maras



Figure 2- Map of the Province and districts of Urubamba

Since colonial and republican times, Urubamba has been a center of agricultural activity and commerce, serving as a connecting trading point between the city of Cusco, valley towns, and the neighboring province of La Convención (Zans, 2007). To this day, agricultural activity, as well as commerce of agricultural products, remains one of the main sources of its economy (Municipalidad Provincial de Urubamba, 2002). Among the main produce grown in Urubamba are corn, herbs and vegetables, and some valley fruits. In the last twenty years, tourism has become another one of the main sources of employment and economic activity in the region (Zans, 2007). Declared *Provincia Arqueológica del Perú* ('Archeological Province of Peru') in 1962, the province houses most of the Inca archeological sites visited by national and foreign tourists every year, including Machu Picchu. The city of Urubamba itself is a passing point for tourists

travelling between Machu Picchu and Cusco city, or touring the Sacred Valley, and it houses many high-end hotels in its surrounding areas and buffet-style restaurants located alongside the main highway. Many *urubambinos* (people from Urubamba) work in various tourism-related jobs in the city and the neighboring towns. I met youth's parents and relatives who worked as tour bus drivers, train employees, hotel and restaurant staff, or sold *artesanías* ('craftwork'). Many youth also aspired to work as tour guides or chefs after graduating from high school, and some had after-school jobs in local restaurants and cafes geared towards tourists.

Urubamba is a bilingual Spanish-Quechua city, although Quechua language shift is observed across generations and pointed out by local residents. Quechua maintains a stronghold in the neighboring valley towns and high altitude communities. Sitting down on one of the benches of the main plaza, one can also hear English and other languages spoken mostly by tourists and foreign residents. Urubamba is also a city of migrants, due to provincial, regional and transnational migration. In the past 20-30 years, residents describe the growth of neighborhoods located in the outskirts of the cities, like Qotowincho and Tarapata, fueled by migrants coming from high altitude and valley communities and towns from neighboring districts (like Maras and Chinchero), provinces (like La Convención and Calca), as well as from other regions (like Apurímac and Puno). Residents also point out the recent growth in the presence of *limeños* (ethnonym for someone from Lima), *extranjeros* ('foreigners') and *gringos* (another term used for foreigners, see Chapter 8), who have begun buying land and building houses in the less urbanized outskirts of the city. The confluence and flow of people in Urubamba was one of the main reasons I decided to conduct my research in this setting, as I expected I would

meet youth with diverse family histories and Quechua language socialization trajectories studying in the city's high schools.

During my first months living in Urubamba, I began to familiarize myself with the physical layout of the city and its surrounding areas. Local terms such as *la ciudad* ('the city'), *el centro* ('downtown') or **llaqta** ('city'), refer to the blocks surrounding the plaza, market, and cathedral, which are paved and have commercial as well as residential buildings, made mostly of concrete, but also some of adobe. Urubamba is then split up into adjacent *urbanizaciones* ('neighborhoods')¹¹ and *centros poblados*¹², which include urban and rural areas in the valley and high altitude *comunidades* ('rural communities'). Apart from the consensus on the urban status of the city center, referring to a "rural" versus "urban" side of the city was contingent on who you asked. As perceptively pointed out by Pedro, a student from Inmaculado Corazón School, if you asked someone coming from the city of Cusco, all of Urubamba would be considered "*el campo*" ('the countryside'), but for Urubamba residents, nuances were more evident. I also realized that the main distinction highlighted by youth and adults was the difference between Urubamba and other towns and communities located in the *piso de valle* ('valley-floor') versus the *comunidades de altura* ('high altitude communities') located in the mountains surrounding the valley. I followed an understanding of urban and rural spaces as a negotiated and fluid continuum, while I also paid attention to how participants made sense of terms such as "*del campo*" ('from the countryside') and "*citadino*" ('urbanite'),

¹¹ All of this area has a population of 13 942 (INEI, 2017)

¹² According to the INEI (2017), a "*centro poblado*" ('populated center'), is any territory in rural or urban areas that belongs to a district, within a province. Urban centers have more than 100 housing units, while rural areas less than 100 housing units (or 100 units which are semi- or completely dispersed). Urubamba has 31 *centros poblados*, with population from 2 to 943.

employed as much to refer to spaces as people (More in Chapter 9). My observational and analytical focus was on youth language practices as they traversed various spaces along an urban-rural continuum in their everyday lives rather than pre-determining my observations or analysis along a rural : urban dichotomy which did not represent the reality I observed.

4.2.2 Data collection sites

4.2.2.1 High schools

High schools¹³, known as *secundarias*, were an important space to observe youth language practices, not only because this is where youth spend most of their time¹⁴, but also because of the Quechua course that was part of the official curriculum. During the summers of 2014 and 2015, I spent several weeks visiting public high schools in the Sacred Valley. My connections with colleagues in the area helped me when first contacting school principals and teachers. During these initial visits, I would introduce myself as a Peruvian PhD student studying in the U.S, explain my research interests in Quechua language education, my prior experience supporting Indigenous language education projects, and my interest in collaborating with Quechua teachers. The two schools I selected had Quechua teachers who expressed interest in collaborating with me. I also purposefully selected schools that allowed me to represent some of the diversity of

¹³ The Peruvian educational system is divided into early childhood education, primary and secondary schooling. Primary school corresponds to U.S. grades 1-6, and secondary schooling corresponds to US grades 7-11. I use the terms high school and *secundaria* interchangeably, to refer to secondary schooling, and I refer to the different grades as Year 1, 2, 3, 4, and 5.

¹⁴ During 2017, the school schedule ran from 7:45 am to 4:00 pm approximately. During the 2016 school year, Inmaculado Corazón School had a shorter schedule, but students were expected to attend several after-school workshops, and often remained in school until 4:30 pm.

public schooling contexts, teacher and student population of Urubamba, which I explain below.

*Inmaculado Corazón*¹⁵ School - Inmaculado Corazón School¹⁶ is a public Catholic high school traditionally run by nuns, located 2 blocks away from the main street in Urubamba, and totaling a student population of 519 (ESCALE, 2017). IC School had the reputation of being one of the best high schools in the city. As youth and parents of this school commented, some of the reasons they chose this high school included the school's focus on "*la enseñanza de valores*" ('*the teaching of values*'), its disciplinary code, and its focus on art and music-related extracurricular activities.

During my preliminary visits, teachers described the student body as "*más citadinos*" ('*more urbanite*') and as speakers of "*quechuañol*" ('*mixed Spanish and Quechua*'), or youth who did not speak much Quechua, or only understood some. These initial descriptions illuminate the circulating image of Inmaculado Corazón School students in Urubamba, that of mostly city-dwelling youth with limited productive Quechua skills.

In fact, though, as I learned throughout fieldwork, the population was more diverse. As the school principal explained to me, many Urubamba residents still had the misguided understanding that the school was mostly attended by "*chicos de la ciudad, los chicos de profesionales*" ('*kids from the city, children of professionals*'), when in fact the population had diversified since its origins (I, 2016.06.30). As examples, she recounted that she communicated with some parents "*del campo*" ('*from the countryside*') in

¹⁵ Pseudonym.

¹⁶ Also referred to as IC School throughout this dissertation.

Quechua, and that the school boarding house, which had been active for many years before my arrival but closed after my first year of fieldwork, was created with the purpose of providing housing for girls from far away communities. According to our sociolinguistic survey (discussed below), more than three quarters of students (77%) reported they lived in the district of Urubamba, and the rest in neighboring communities and towns, mostly in the districts of Yucay, Huayllabamba and Maras. According to school registration data, most parents (54%) had completed some level of high school, while 29% had also completed some post-high school studies and 18% had only completed some primary schooling¹⁷. About a quarter of students' parents were teachers, and 10% were *comerciantes* ('merchants'). Almost 10% of fathers had professional careers, and the rest worked as drivers (moto/buses), in agriculture, construction, and in various vocational jobs (electrician, security guard, carpenter, hotel staff). About 70% of mothers reported they were *amas de casa* ('housewives'), though most likely they also participated in other family activities. Students' bilingualism was also diverse. Approximately 58% students reported they spoke Quechua, or some/more-or-less/sometimes Quechua, while 78% reported the same answer regarding whether they understood Quechua (SS Inmaculado Corazón School, 2016).

*Sembrar*¹⁸ School – Sembrar School is located two blocks away from the city's bus terminal alongside the highway. One of the city's oldest schools, it is an *escuela técnica* ('technical school'), with an emphasis on agricultural and livestock studies and

¹⁷ I use the phrase 'had completed some' because in the student registration data, parents report whether or not they attended primaria or secundaria, though not whether they completed these studies.

¹⁸ Pseudonym.

training, which is the focus of the 5-hour per week block “*Educación para el trabajo*” (‘*Education for work*’) course taught across all years. As of 2017, the school had an enrollment of 499 students (ESCALE, 2017). The school building, impressive in size, faces the school farms and fields, which extend towards the Vilcanota River. Some youth perceived Sembrar School as the ‘last resort’ option (with Inmaculado Corazón School being the first), because of the lower exam entrance grade needed to enroll, compared to the other two public high schools. Other youth also highlighted the low academic quality and the lack of disciplinary norms and control, which were also reasons why some were considering changing schools.

In my conversations with youth, schoolteachers and Urubamba residents, the student population from Sembrar School was largely described as *alumnos del campo* (‘*students from the countryside*’). During school events attended by parents, like the first and last day of classes, I observed many more mothers wearing *sombreros* (felt hats), *monteras* (wide brimmed headdress primarily used in high altitude communities), *ojotas* (sandals made from tires) and *polleras* (wide Andean wool skirts with embroidered decorations widely used in rural communities) , and parents wearing *ojotas*, *ponchos* and *ch’ullos* (wool Andean cap) - clothes often worn by individuals who live in rural communities - than in Inmaculado Corazón School, and also heard more Quechua spoken by them. According to our sociolinguistic survey, 71% of students lived in Urubamba, and the rest in the districts of Ollantaytambo, Maras and Huayllabamba respectively. As I later found out, these results did not necessarily represent where students came from. While many of the students’ families came from rural areas of Urubamba, many also came from high altitude communities, and had relocated to the valley area or rented

rooms for their children to live in during the school week. I also met students who could not afford to live in Urubamba and walked several hours a day to attend school.

Regarding student language use, 70% of surveyed students reported they spoke Quechua, or spoke some/more or less/sometimes Quechua, while 87% reported the same answer regarding Quechua comprehension (SS Sembrar School, 2016).

The Quechua course and Quechua teachers - When I began fieldwork in Inmaculado Corazón School, Quechua had been taught as a school subject area for the past 14 years, long before the creation of the regional policy for Quechua language teaching. The Quechua course was created under the leadership of a nun-principal, who aimed to promote the Quechua language and culture among students, and Teacher Mónica¹⁹ had always taught the course. Teacher Mónica was a seasoned teacher who was very passionate about the course and who had many years of experience teaching Quechua grammar and writing at the *Instituto Pastoral Andino* ('Andean Pastoral Institute') prior to becoming a schoolteacher. She also taught some hours of the EPT course, which was her official *especialidad*²⁰ and an after-school Quechua workshop²¹, geared towards students that needed extra support in her course.

Sembrar School incorporated Quechua as a school subject after it was introduced as a regional policy. Although the principal and teachers I talked to did not recall the exact year when this took place, they estimated it had started in 2011, about 5 years

¹⁹ With the exception of 2015, when another teacher taught 4 sets of classes.

²⁰ Unlike primary school teachers, high school teachers across Peru have an *especialidad*, a subject area they have been formed to teach.

²¹ Each trimester, teachers at Inmaculado Corazón School offered an after-school course for students who needed extra tutoring in their area. When IC School joined the *Jornada Escolar Completa* in 2017, many extra-curricular activities, including the course workshops, were suspended.

before I began my study and about 4 years after the regional ordinance was made official. Unlike Inmaculado Corazón School, there was no one teacher in charge of the course, but instead, the course was assigned to different teachers with placements occurring just before the start of classes and continuing throughout the school year. During the 2016 year, there were 7 Quechua teachers and during the 2017 school year there were 8 (with only 1 continuing across years). All the Quechua teachers had a different *especialidad* and most were *contratados*. *Contratado* teachers rotate schools every year, and have very little leverage when selecting their course load or schedule. In addition, Quechua teachers often taught subject areas which did not have large-hour blocs --like *Comunicación* (Spanish Language Arts) and Math, with 5 hours each-- and were thus assigned the Quechua class “*para rellenar*” (‘to fill in’) the missing hours they needed to complete their full schedule. Quechua teachers from Sembrar School had not received formal training nor participated in teacher professional developments in the Quechua subject area, and drew on different resources to plan and teach the course. Only 3 out of the 12 teachers I talked to had prior experience teaching the Quechua course.

During the 2016 academic year, Quechua teachers at both schools visited the different year classrooms. In the second year, schools assigned a room for the Quechua course, which was also shared with another subject area, and which students rotated in and out of. Although the classrooms had students’ work displayed on the walls, I never saw any from the Quechua course in either school. Groups averaged 30 students, and teachers usually stood or sat in the front, while student desks were organized by lines, and changed into groups when teachers instructed them to.

Initially, I chose to observe six Quechua classes from each school, each representing different years. In the case of Sembrar School, I chose classes taught by different teachers to study the range of classroom practices. However, it wasn't until the fourth month of classes at Sembrar School that I had a final list of classes I would visit. During the two school-wide class re-schedulings that took place during this time, teachers and schedules assigned to the Quechua classes changed drastically. Though at the time, the changes felt like a setback, these incidents revealed much about the status of the Quechua class in the school, which was given the least priority when re-scheduling, and about Quechua teachers' appointment processes. At the start of my second year of fieldwork, I chose to observe the Quechua classes of focal youth, as well as other youth of interest. Having often felt torn for sharing my time between both schools during the previous year, I focused my observations on Inmaculado Corazón School during the March-June period, and returned to conduct observations at Sembrar School during the September-December period. During the second year, I regularly observed a total of seven classes across both schools. Resuming observations in IC School flowed easily; however in Sembrar School, because Quechua teachers changed every year, I had to develop new relationships with the new teachers.

In the table below I list some basic information on the Quechua teachers who are frequently referenced in the various chapters of this dissertation as a useful reference for readers:

Table 1 – Some characteristics of Quechua school teachers

	School	High school year taught	<i>Especialidad</i>
Teacher Mónica	Inmaculado Corazón School	1-5	Education for Work
Teacher Jacob	Sembrar School	3-5	Education for Work
Teacher Diana	Sembrar School	1	Art
Teacher Esmeralda	Sembrar School	5	Social Sciences
Teacher Janet	Sembrar School	2	Social Sciences
Teacher Carmen	Sembrar School	3	Social Sciences

4.2.2.2 Homes and hometowns of youth

Another set of important data collection sites were the homes and hometowns of focal and non-focal youth, where I documented youth language practices outside the classroom and within and across generations. Figure 3 below shows the sites I visited.

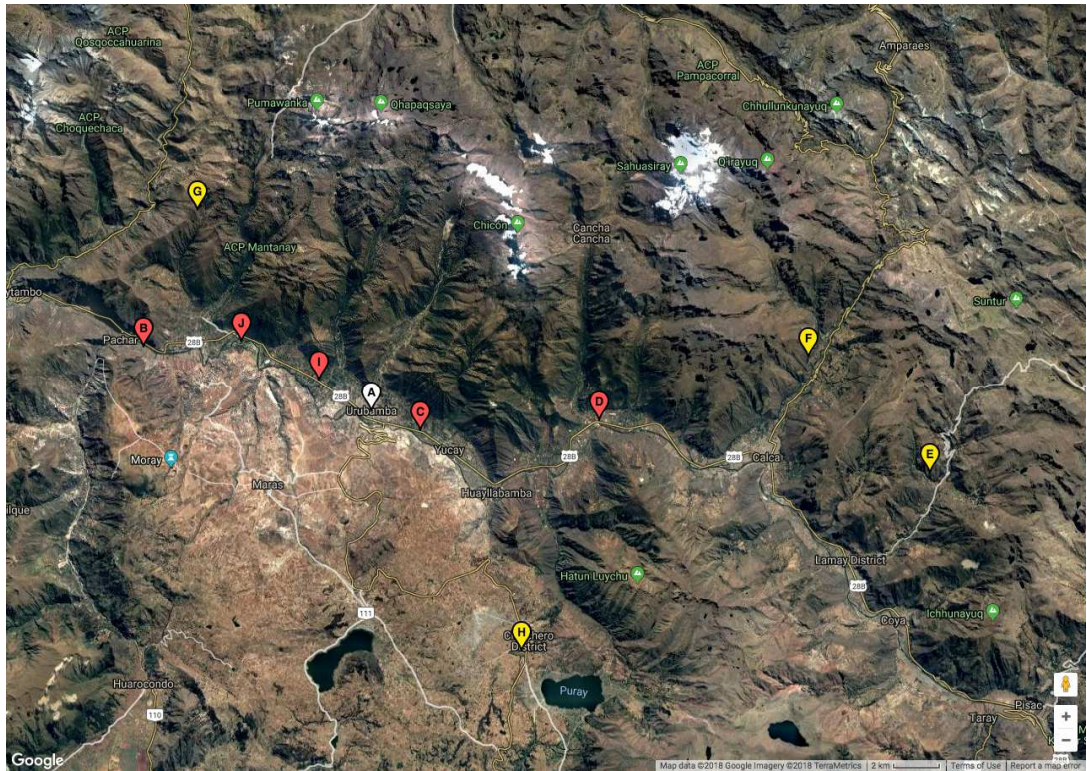


Figure 3 - Map of youth's homes and hometowns visited²²

4.2.2.3 Around Urubamba and the Sacred Valley

As I spent more time in schools and homes, I was often invited by teachers, parents and youth to join them on activities taking place in Urubamba and its surrounding areas. For example, I conducted observations in the workplace of one of my focal youth on repeated occasions. I also joined youth in day trips and excursions in the surrounding areas of Urubamba and the neighboring province of Calca, as part of school trips and activities organized by youth and their friends. With families, I attended soccer games in neighboring towns, visited local fairs and sanctuaries. Additionally, I often ran into youth

²² White pinpoint A is Urubamba, the red pins are valley towns and communities, and the yellow pins are high altitude towns and communities. Map made using the website mapfling.com

and their families in the city plaza, the market or walking around the city center or many of the other neighborhoods of Urubamba. Figure 4 shows the overall location of the many sites I visited.

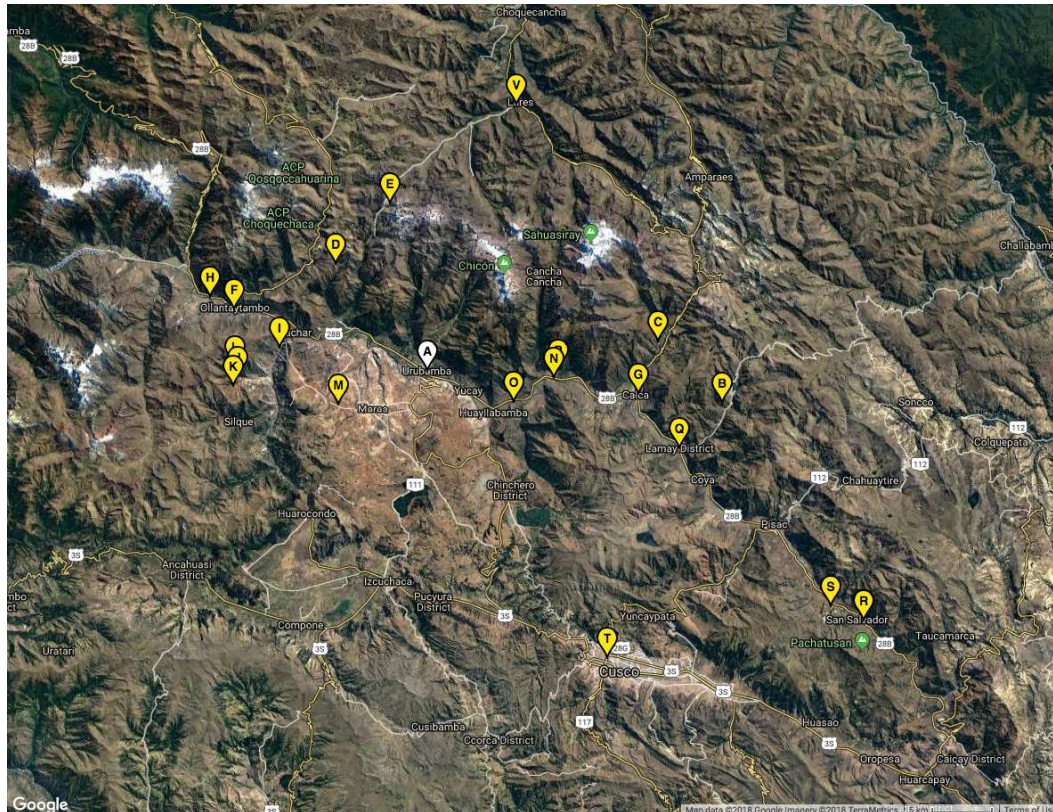


Figure 4 - Map of the sites I visited with youth and families²³

4.2.2.4 Cusco City

Although most of my fieldwork took place in Urubamba and its surrounding areas, I also participated in activities organized by members of different educational institutions located in Cusco. As I later describe, this included participating in meetings, teacher

²³ White Pinpoint A is Urubamba, the yellow pins are the other cities, towns and communities I visited. Map made using the website mapfling.com

workshops and other events organized by governmental and non-governmental organizations around the city.

4.2.3 Youth participants

I kept both a broad and narrow focus on youth language practices and experiences, selecting four focal youth, but also observing a larger number of youth across spaces. During my first months of fieldwork, I paid attention to the diverse ways students participated in the Quechua class, noticing both active and more reserved participants, those with diverse attitudes towards the course and teacher, as well as with different social standings within the peer group. With time, I ended up focusing my observations on 2-4 youth per classroom, both in whole-class and small-group activities. Once I began recordings, these were often the youth I requested to record. I also spent time outside of school with some of them, either individually or with their friends or families, and also interviewed most of these youth. Although I do not introduce them individually in this chapter, I introduce some of them in the various data chapters.

4.2.3.1 Focal youth and families

I also chose four focal youth to observe inside and outside of schools, particularly in their homes, in order to collect more in-depth data on youth language practices and languaging experiences to complement the data collected in Quechua classes. I chose two female and two male youth with different Quechua abilities, different places of residence and who attended different years. I was interested in observing how gender, age, place of residence, and family language use dynamics came to bear on youth language practices,

as well as how the number of years they had taken the Quechua course influenced what they thought of the course and how they participated in it. Through my selection criteria, I wanted the focal youth to be representative of the diversity of youth who attended the two high schools. Although I had my selection criteria in mind early on during fieldwork, it took me a couple of months to get to know youth and learn about their personal backgrounds to consider potential candidates. While I had expected I would run into parents at school and could approach them directly to ask permission to visit them, I instead had to rely on asking youth to put me in contact with their parents, which was a slow process. By the first half of my first school year, I had met two of my focal youth and their families who agreed to participate in my project, and I got approval from my other two focal youth and their families during my second year of fieldwork. Below, I include a table with some of the main characteristics of the focal youth, followed by a brief description of each one of them.

Table 2– Some characteristics of focal youth

	T'ika	Raúl	Daniel	Yesenia
Sex	F	M	M	F
School	A	A	V	V
Age & Year of high school at start of study	12 yrs old, Year 1	12 yrs old, Year 1	13 yrs old, Year 2	16 yrs old, Year 4
Age & Year of high school at end of	14 yrs old, Year 2	14 yrs old, Year 2	15 yrs old, Year 3	18 yrs old, Year 5

study				
Place of residence during study (town/community, district and province)	Palccaraqui, Urubamba, Urubamba	Pachar, Ollantaytambo ²⁴ , Urubamba	Torrechayoc, Urubamba, Urubamba	Tarapata, Urubamba, Urubamba
Hometown (town/community, district and province)	Palccaraqui, Urubamba, Urubamba	Pachar, Ollantaytambo, Urubamba	Accha Alta, community of Lares, Calca ²⁵	Janac Chuquibamba, community of Lamay, Calca ²⁶
L1²⁷	Spanish	Spanish	Quechua	Quechua

T'ika - In her first year of secondary school, T'ika stood out in her class because of her height, being one of the tallest students in the group, and her energetic personality. She would often leave her seat to chitchat with other youth and would not hold back when responding to teachers or classmates. While teachers often read her behavior as disruptive, some gave her leadership responsibilities to help manage her rowdy classmates, which she was good at. Though her participation in Quechua class fluctuated throughout the years, she was an avid participant in the EPT class and a talented soccer player on her school's team.

²⁴ Pinpoint B on Figure 3.

²⁵ Pinpoint F on Figure 3.

²⁶ Pinpoint E on Figure 3.

²⁷ Here, I include the language youth reported they learned to speak first, though this does not represent the different language practices they engaged in, their multiple bilingual abilities, nor their language socialization trajectories, which I describe at length in Chapter 5.

T'ika lived in the Palccaraqui area of Urubamba, about a 10 minute walk from her school and 15 min from the city center. Her father and mother worked in agriculture and completed some years of high school and post-secondary studies respectively. When we met, T'ika's parents had separated, and she lived with her mother and siblings. Her brother was two years older than her and her younger sister was a year and a half old. The three siblings helped their parents in the *chacra*²⁸ most days after school and during the weekends, weeding the chacra, harvesting, and helping to water the plants. The family grew *asnapas*²⁹ (parsley, *huacatay*), herbs (chamomile), flowers, and organic produce (arugula, mushrooms). T'ika also helped with household chores, such as cooking, cleaning, feeding animals, washing clothes, and taking care of her little sister, as well as running errands in the city's market. T'ika lived right next door to her maternal grandparents and close to her maternal great-grandparents, whom she'd often see on her way to the chacra, and whom the family helped during bigger agricultural activities.

Raúl – Raúl had a good-humored personality, often joking around with classmates in class and during recess, but was also respectful of teachers, which made him well liked by them. He liked to participate during Quechua class, and was identified by his classmates as someone who knew Quechua. Raúl lived in Pachar, a valley community about twenty minutes away from Urubamba by bus, from which he commuted throughout his primary years and then, for high school. Both of his parents had been born and raised in Pachar, as had his uncles and grandparents. His mother was a lively and outspoken woman, who worked different jobs during the time we met (census reporter, cook, early-

²⁸ Land worked for agricultural purposes.

²⁹ Local term for various herbs used to prepare meals.

years educator) and was a soccer player in the local women's team. His father worked as a driver of tourist buses, and spent most of his time in Cusco, though he also helped in agricultural work in the family's *chacras*. Raúl had an older sister, who lived and studied in Cusco, as well as a brother who the family adopted at a young age, from a high-altitude community, who also worked in Cusco. During the weekends and holidays, the family would come back together in Pachar with uncles, aunts, grandparents and cousins. Raúl would join in family agricultural activities, but did not participate much in the activity itself, nor was expected to do so, and would often entertain himself gunning down birds, playing with his dog and his cousins, or watching TV inside his house.

Daniel - I first met Daniel in his second year Quechua class, and quickly noticed he was one of the most active participants. Daniel hung out with a small but close group of boys during recess, and had an easy-going personality. He was well behaved in class and respectful to teachers, who, once they heard him speak Quechua, noted he was one of the best speakers in his class. His classmates also recognized him as a Quechua speaker, and as someone who was not embarrassed to show he knew Quechua. Daniel was born in a small high altitude community in the neighboring province of Calca, about an hour and a half away by bus and *colectivo* from Urubamba. His parents both worked their *chacra* (mainly growing potatoes) and tended their different animals (sheep, guinea pig). His mother was a very talented weaver, a skill she passed on to some of her six children. His dad alternated his agricultural work with working as a *cargador* or *portero* (carrier who transports bundles on their back by foot) on the Inca Trail, which he described as a physically demanding job with poor working conditions, but one of the few ways to earn cash for the family. Daniel attended primary school in the neighboring community, since

his did not have a school. When he began high school, he moved in with his older sister and her family, who rented a room in Urubamba. His sister, in her late twenties, worked in a bakery shop oriented towards a mostly non-local clientele. Daniel's brother-in-law was from the region of Junín, identified as Ashaninka, and worked as a *mototaxi* (three wheeled moto transport with a back seat) driver in town. The couple had a 3-year-old daughter, who had a vibrant personality and a deep liking for princess-like dresses.

When we first met, Daniel usually returned home during the weekends to visit his parents and younger sister, who attended the 4th grade of primary school. As time went by, Daniel started working part-time jobs, most of the time at the bakery shop where his sister worked but also as a door-to-door beauty product salesperson with his brother-in-law. After his second year of high school, Daniel left Sembrar School and enrolled in Urubamba's night school, as he explained, so he could work more hours. His former teachers and family were worried about this change, as the night school had a reputation for taking 'drop outs' and kids expelled from school and they feared Daniel would stop attending school altogether. Daniel also had three older brothers and sisters living in the city of Lima, Arequipa and Puerto Maldonado, the last two of which he visited during summer holidays.

Yesenia - Yesenia was the oldest child of six, and was born in a high-altitude community of the province of Calca, about an hour and a half away from Urubamba by bus and taxi. Yesenia was soft spoken and shy, and did not often participate in Quechua class or other classes, though when she did she showed her fluent Quechua skills, standing out among most of her classmates. Yesenia kept to a close group of friends, with whom she was a bit more outgoing. During her last year of school, when we met, Yesenia

attended an after-school municipal university prep academy and worked at a tourist restaurant. She would often arrive home late at night, spent most weekends working, and did not have much time left to return to her hometown during the weekends. Yesenia lived in Tarapata, a new neighborhood of Urubamba, where many migrant families from neighboring valley and high altitude communities lived. When we met, it had been five years since Yesenia's family had bought the plot of land and built a two-floor adobe house and two years since water service was installed, although there was still no sewage. Access to her home, about a 15-minute walk from the highway entrance to Urubamba, was a bit difficult, as one had to climb up a steep dirt trail. The area was also known as **Jaboncilloniyoc** ('soapy'), a name I understood well when I slipped and fell on the dark trail one night as I returned home.

Yesenia's parents were both in their late-30s and came from the same hometown. Her father, who had completed three years of primary school, worked various construction jobs in different parts of the valley. Her mother, who mostly spoke Quechua and had a similar schooling background, previously worked selling *artesanías* ('craftwork'). When we met, she was taking care of her youngest daughter, a couple of months old, and traveling back and forth to her chacra in her hometown, where the family grew various products. Yesenia and her next oldest sister helped around in household chores, preparing food, cooking, tending to their baby sister, and helping others do homework. Yesenia had many aunts, uncles and cousins who lived in Urubamba and Cusco, and would often meet up with them when she returned to their hometown, as well as with their grandmothers. As I spent time with Yesenia, I witnessed her contagious laughter and saw more of her cheerful personality, which wasn't as evident in school.

In the table below I list the pseudonyms of focal youth's relatives, which are frequently referenced in the various chapters of this dissertation as a useful reference for readers:

Table 3 - Pseudonyms of focal youth's family relatives

Focal youth	Focal youth relatives	Pseudonyms
T'ika	Mother	Magdalena
	Father	Jeremías
	Older brother	Martin
	Younger sister	Illariy
Raúl	Mother	Esther
	Father	Rafael
	Older sister	Katy
	Older brother	Juan
	Paternal grandmother	María
Daniel	Father	Sr. Ernestino
	Mother	Sra. Justina
	Older sister	Rosa
	Second-oldest sister	Julia
	Younger sister	Nery
Yesenia	Mother	Sra. Ana
	Father	Sr. Celestino
	Second to oldest sister	Lucy
	Third to oldest sister	Aurelia

4.3 Relationships and Positionality

Early on in my fieldwork, it was clear that I looked and sounded like an outsider. Even after introducing myself as someone who grew up in the capital city of Lima, it was common for some youth and their parents to ask me questions related to customs and traditions “*en tu país*” (*‘in your country’*), and by this they did not mean Peru. Curious, I often asked youth why I didn’t look Peruvian, and they frequently giggled and explained a combination of reasons: I was tall, my clothes looked like the ones travelers would wear and my Spanish was also different than the one spoken in Urubamba. Given the presence of tourists and foreign residents in Urubamba, it was not surprising I, too, was perceived closer to this group of people at first.

Though I remained seen as a non-*urubambina*, participants’ perceptions of me and our relationships developed in multidimensional ways, as I became a member of their school community and part of their home dynamics. One initial concern, which I negotiated throughout my fieldwork, was how my age and adult identity would come to bear on the types of relationships I developed with youth, the types of access I would have to their worlds and the data I could collect. I also knew I wanted to develop mutually collaborative relationships with teachers and for them to feel comfortable with me in their classrooms. Additionally, my interest in Quechua and my Quechua speaking abilities became an important aspect of how I was viewed by others. In what follows, I describe the relationships I developed with different participants throughout my study, and how these shaped my participation and the data I had access to.

4.3.1 Secundaria youth, teachers and staff: from volunteer to Frances and *Profe* Frances

Youth, teachers and staff, upon meeting me, often told me they thought I was one of the English volunteers that came to both schools (most of whom I met were from the U.S. and European countries), and were surprised when I told them that I'd be volunteering at the Quechua classes while doing research. Teachers and staff appreciated I was doing this research and often praised me for my Quechua speaking abilities. My outsider status and interest in Quechua was in fact one of the reasons one principal granted me permission to conduct research in her school. As she later explained to me, it was equally important for students to see foreign volunteers interested in Quechua as in English classes.

Among teachers at Inmaculado Corazón School, my primary relationship was with Teacher Mónica. Despite her countless more years of teaching experience, her deeper knowledge of Quechua grammar, and our age difference, she made me feel welcomed and valued from the beginning of the school year. Teacher Mónica and I would often talk about lesson planning and the ups and downs of the course, more than with any other teacher in both schools. As our relationship evolved, we began collaborating on video-based projects in some of her classes (more below). Teacher Mónica would always invite me to join teachers' meetings and activities, and saved me a seat right next to her in the teachers' room, which became my spot.

Teachers and staff from Sembrar School had an active teacher community life, and both Quechua and non-Quechua teachers quickly incorporated me to their group. I always had someone who would invite me to join them for lunch or with whom to

chitchat during free periods, and I participated in many teacher activities and celebrations. During the school's anniversary celebrations, for example, I was invited to march with teachers in the plaza of Urubamba, which reflected their acceptance of me as well as my enjoyment in being a part of their community. While I expressed my interest in collaborating with the Quechua teachers in a project of their choice on several occasions, I did not develop this type of relationships with them. This could have been due to the many responsibilities they had as part of the *JEC (Jornada Escolar Completa*³⁰) program and different personal interests. However, I think their relation to the course, which was imposed on them and out of their area of specialty, was also a key factor.

Across schools, my roles within the Quechua classes were closely linked to the expectations teachers had for me. Many teachers would present me as a volunteer who would accompany the group throughout the year. I felt content fitting into this role in class, which allowed me to observe class interactions and help when I was asked to, especially during individual work or group work. I also enjoyed this role as I could relate to the youth in different ways than a teacher would, after all, I did not have to keep class order or give them grades.

³⁰ The *Jornada Escolar Completa* ('Full School Day') is an educational service model implemented by the Ministry of Education since 2015, which increases the school schedule from 35 to 45 pedagogical weekly hours in high schools. The ten additional hours are to be distributed among the subject areas of Spanish Language Arts, Math, English and Education for Work, which each had 5 hours a week. Once selected to join this program, schools had little choice to opt out. During fieldwork, I witnessed mostly critiques from teachers, students and parents towards this new model, as there was little support to implement the mandated changes and as most teachers claimed, little academic improvement to justify the changes.

Since most classes in Sembrar School were teacher-centered and there was almost no room for group activities, I would mostly take on an observer role. At times, this was frustrating, as I witnessed students being rude to their teachers as well as openly complaining about the course, most of the time with reason, in situations that were often left unaddressed. Not passing judgment on student behavior, however, helped me create some complicity with youth and also made them feel more at ease sharing their view of the course with me during the interviews. Nonetheless, there was one class in Sembrar School where I had more of a teacher-like role - the Year 1 class of Teacher Diana. During the second class we shared together, she asked me to lead a discussion about Quechua consonant sounds with her students, which helped cement my identity as *Profe Frances* ('Teacher Frances') with the group from the beginning. Throughout the year, I continued to help in the activities she asked me to, especially when she taught Quechua grammar and writing, and these students continued to refer to me as *Profe Frances* even when I stopped actively participating in their class during my second year of fieldwork.

Regarding how I was positioned as a Quechua speaker, I often felt uneasy when teachers would point out I knew more Quechua than youth or was less embarrassed to speak it (which was many times not the case). Not wanting to correct teachers in front of their students, I tried to remind students I, too, was learning Quechua and had much to learn from them during the year, which was easier to do during introductory class remarks, and much harder to do as teachers developed their lessons. In my interactions with youth, I tried to position them as legitimate speakers and learners, by encouraging them to ask their peers in the group for help before me, sharing when I wasn't sure of the meaning or translation of a word, praising them for their participation and attempts to

speak, and highlighting to many of them that they should be the ones teaching me instead. Teacher evaluations of my Quechua speaking abilities, which many times contrasted with the more critical and negative evaluations offered to their students, helped me reflect on the different criteria teachers used to evaluate youth Quechua proficiency, and how it led to some proficiencies being heard or not heard in Quechua classes (more in Chapter 8).

On one occasion, my Quechua speaking abilities led to a new Quechua teacher initially seeing me as an intimidating figure and someone she did not feel comfortable having in her classroom. Although at the time I was very disappointed, her response was illustrative of the pressure new Quechua teachers face under less than favorable conditions. Many teachers at Sembrar School were worried they did not know how to write in Quechua, acknowledged that many of their students were better speakers than they were, and pointed out the lack of course material.

My foreignness and young-adult age were some aspects of my identity that interested youth the most, influencing the ways they saw me and the relationships we developed. The first couple of times I walked into the classrooms, students would greet me with a 'hello' or a 'how are you?', before I was introduced as the Quechua volunteer, and they would be surprised when they heard me speak in Quechua. At the beginning, youth often asked me questions about studying and living in the United States, about learning English and if I liked life in Urubamba, which I happily talked about with them. Joining the town festivity as a dancer, at the beginning of my first year, also helped to spark more conversations with youth about my experiences as an Urubamba resident. My interest in getting to know the region was another way I connected with youth, as they

described the many places I should visit, sometimes leading to invitations to hang out with them outside of school. The clothes I wore to school, mostly pants, sneakers, a colorful T-shirt and sweater, and a hat and a backpack, also played a role in me coming across as a youngish adult, which in fact I was in comparison to the rest of the teachers. During one of my first classes, a student asked me if I wanted to marry a Quechua speaker, which besides being the highlight of the day, made me realize early on how youth viewed me as a young adult, not yet married, and as someone interested in Quechua.

At school, I did not interact much with students in Quechua. Youth, however, did use Quechua especially at the beginning of the school years to catch my attention. Many used Quechua greetings with me throughout the year; younger students, often in groups, would yell out “**Allillanchu Frances?**” (“**how are you Frances?**”) or “**imaynallam kashanki?**” (“**how are you doing?**”) during recess or the change of classes, and I would stop by to chat with them, with the conversation eventually turning into mostly Spanish. While I addressed youth in Quechua during Quechua class, especially when their teachers did so too, and I encouraged youth to speak in Quechua during in-class activities, I tried to respect youth’s choice of language during our conversations. Becoming more aware of the dominant discourses that positioned youth as not speakers or not good speakers, as well as youth insecurities about using the language in school spaces guided this decision.

4.3.2 Focal youth and their families: Frances, *Profe* Frances and *Madrina*

The ways in which youth saw me at school, where we first met, often was reflected in how families first came to know me. During my first visits, I was often

introduced by youth as the Quechua teacher or volunteer from school, and addressed as “*Profe Frances*” (‘*Teacher Frances*’) or “*Señorita Frances*” (‘*Miss Frances*’) by family members. While my first visits often consisted of interview-like conversations in the kitchen, the patio, or *chacra* while families took a break from work, I soon became a participant in different family activities. Early on during my visits, youth’s mothers would ask me about my marital status and my cooking, washing and home-keeping abilities. I replied I could take care of myself, but wasn’t that great of a cook or home keeper. Once, a father jokingly called me a **waylaka**, a Quechua term for a woman who is not good at household chores³¹. From then on, I often identified myself as a **waylaka**, which caused laughter and a cheerful mood among those of us present, and most importantly, allowed me to express my interest in participating in everyday home and agricultural events in order to learn from youth and their families. Many parents and youth took on teacher-like roles with me and I spent many afternoons working in the *chacra* with T’ika’s family, cooking with Raúl’s mom, and also learned to harvest potatoes with Yesenia’s family. At the same time, I never quite shook off the ‘teacher’ identity with some youth and family members, even after I repeatedly explained I was not a real teacher at school. Youth and family members fluctuated addressing me with the “*tú*” and “*usted*” pronouns³², with more using *tú* as we developed more *confianza* (‘trust’), while others kept using the more formal *usted*, which I think was representative of them wanting to show respect towards me.

³¹ Although the term can also be interpreted as an insult, the way it was addressed to me, and which I often heard men and women call other women was in the context of friendly teasing.

³² Second person singular Spanish pronouns, *usted* is considered an honorific pronoun.

With time, I became seen as a family friend and in some cases, a *madrina* ('godmother') and a *comadre*³³. Through the invitation of focal youth and/or their parents, I became *madrina* for one youth's younger sibling's end-of-year school Christmas party, one youth's dad's soccer team, and for T'ika's baptism, while also turning down other requests. Accepting to be a *madrina*, which often involved a gift and, in the case of a baptism *madrina*, a life-long commitment to the youth and their family, was one way in which I could give back to the families for helping me with my research. Other ways included helping with school homework (often English homework), helping explain school activities to parents, mentoring youth about post-high school opportunities, bringing food to share when I visited families, bringing back agricultural products from my trips to the U.S. for my *comadre*, and sharing printed copies of the pictures I took. It was also important for me that youth and their families got to know about my personal life given the highly relational nature of my fieldwork with them. Many of them met my parents and sister, my partner, and friends, including my dissertation advisor, who came to visit, and I invited them to visit me at my home where I took on the role of host. I also kept in touch with focal youth and their families through phone calls and social media while away from Urubamba. With time, I felt fieldwork visits were not clearly differentiated from regular visits, and, as I mention below in my data collection methods, asking for permission to audio record activities was a good way to remind youth and their families of the research intentions of my visits.

³³ Term used between the godmother and the mother of the godchild, who become *comadres* when the child is baptized.

My relationship with focal youth was closely mediated by my relationship with their families as well as the initial relationships we developed at schools. T'ika and Raúl, for example, had first met me in their Quechua class, where I was seen as *Profe* Frances. Given their younger age (12 years old), and the fact that they spent most of their time at home after school, I ended up spending most time together with them and their families. In the case of T'ika, our gender helped us become closer, and we spent more time having individual conversations about crushes, our personal lives, and school in general, than I did with Raúl. This was even more so after I became T'ika's *madrina*. And, since we lived about three blocks away from each other, she would also come over to my house after school to chat or to get help with her English homework. My relationship with Daniel and Yesenia was a bit different. On the one hand, they called me by my name, which reflected the volunteer-like role I took in their classes. Since Daniel spent most of his days working and studied in the evenings, we ended up spending time together during the day at his work place. In the case of Yesenia, the fact that she went to an after-school academy meant that I'd often arrive to her home before she did, and would first spend time with her siblings and her mother. Both Daniel and Yesenia invited me on overnight trips to their hometowns, which were great opportunities for us to get to know each other more. They also had cellphones, so Yesenia and I would directly communicate via her cellphone to plan my visits, while Daniel and I often chatted through WhatsApp and Facebook messenger.

My Quechua speakerhood was not read quite the same way by focal youth and their families as by teachers at school. On the one hand, most of my interactions with youth were in Spanish. In the case of T'ika and Raúl, I tried to be careful not to reproduce

discourses of them not knowing or not speaking Quechua well enough, as I sometimes heard their teachers and family relatives mention. Although they could hear me speak in Quechua with their parents and older relatives, I did not push them to do so with me. I would also reach out for their help when I didn't quite catch what someone had said or wasn't sure about the meaning of a word. In the case of Daniel and Yesenia, we usually spoke in Quechua when their parents were around, using some Quechua but mostly Spanish with their siblings and when alone. I usually followed the language of conversation youth and their families preferred. This was specially the case when we were outside the home. Given their stories of teasing and discrimination, and my growing understanding of Quechua as spoken with those in *confianza*, I was wary lest I force them to speak Quechua in situations where they might not feel comfortable. Family members, on the other hand, especially adults, often taught me new words and corrected my pronunciation. Not only did they help improve my Quechua, but I also felt it was a small way in which to redress power dynamics of being positioned as a 'teacher' figure.

While my ethnographic project seeks to understand youth language practices and languaging experiences, I did so from an adult positionality, and as such also became interested in and had access to consider how youth experiences intersected with teachers' and older family members' practices and discourses. And, while I aimed to privilege youth voices in my data design and collection process, I recognize the data I have does not represent the totality of youth experiences and social networks.

4.4 Data collection

My methods of data collection include participant observation, semi-structured interviews, sociolinguistic surveys, artifact collection, audio and video recording and collaborative research. Below, I describe in detail these methods and their sequencing throughout fieldwork, as well as the range of participant and observer roles I took. In total, I conducted 20 months of fieldwork during the 2016-2017 years, though I also conducted follow up interviews with select youth during 2018.

4.4.1 Participant observation

With regards to schools, I conducted almost daily observations during the first school year and observed two or three times per week during my second year. Overall, I observed 227 Quechua classes across both schools, which lasted forty five minutes each. My observations focused on teachers' and students' language practices and metacommentary on language, speakers and language learning. Though I was particularly interested in participants' use of Quechua and metacommentary related to Quechua, I documented the wide range of language practices and metacommentary that occurred. During most whole-class dynamics, I sat or stood in the back of the class, where youth would often save me a seat if available. On a few occasions, I was invited to sit next to a student if their partner was absent, which provided an interesting insider perspective to youth's experience in the class. During group work, I walked around youth's desks and approached those who asked for my help. I focused my observations on youth with a range of language backgrounds and classroom participation patterns, including the focal

youth and the youth participants I previously mentioned. The evolution of my observational focus was reflected in my fieldnotes. While my first-year fieldnotes included more descriptions of classroom routines and teacher-student dynamics, my second-year fieldnotes included more in-depth notes on individual youth across time or further exploration of themes and patterns I had identified.

I took a small notebook to classes, and, in my second year, I used my phone, where I wrote down jottings and naturally-occurring discourse of interest. Sometimes youth would ask me what I wrote about, and I showed them my notes, though my note taking did not cause much interest overall. I tried to write detailed fieldnotes on my computer when I returned home, though sometimes I was too tired and would get to them on the next day. I began fieldnote writing going over my initial jottings (Emerson et al., 2011) and used a two-column table to write fieldnotes, on one side keeping my description of events, and on the other, questions/reflections/thoughts that emerged related to the research design, my positionality, and my research questions. This was a helpful practice to engage in self-reflexivity throughout the fieldnote writing process (Hammersley & Atkinson, 2007). I followed Emerson et al.'s (2011) understanding of fieldnotes, not as attempts to capture objective realities, but as “Active processes of interpretation and sense-making that frame or structure not only what is written but also how it is written” (p. 9). Many of these initial side comments I wrote led to later memos and reflections.

In the second half of my first year of fieldwork, I broadened the focus of my observations to include non-Quechua classes to better understand youth language practices across a wider range of classroom settings. I selected language-related subject

areas like English and Spanish Language Arts, other subject areas like Education for Work and Art, and the classes of the students I had already observed during Quechua time. I observed at least two different types of classes per year, totaling 25 classes. Some teachers allowed me to continue individual youth's recordings during class and record some video as well. During non-Quechua courses, I took on a more observational role, as teachers rarely asked me to get involved. With English classes, however, this was different. Teachers would often ask me for my help to practice pronunciation, such as reading texts or lists of vocabulary words and having students repeat after me. Participating in English-related events became a small way to contribute to the school, and I helped train students for the province-wide spelling bee contest, acted as a judge for English school contests, or helped teachers translate or clarify the meaning of certain words. Though I was at first worried I would be expected to volunteer in more English-related events, taking time away from my fieldwork in Quechua classes, this never happened. What is more, making my English-speaking self-audible to youth was perhaps one way to challenge discourses that framed youth's interest in English as representative of their lack of interest in Quechua, as if learning and speaking both languages could not go hand in hand. During classes, when assisting individual youth, I tried to make metalinguistic connections between Quechua and English, and highlighted youth's knowledge of Quechua as a helpful resource for English learning, though I am not sure if youth saw it the same way.

Through my observations and participation in a wide range of school activities - plays, sport tournaments, anniversary and school day ceremonies, parades, fieldtrips, service trips, and graduation parties (totaling 91 events), I observed youth's language

practices and languaging experiences beyond their classroom walls. While in these events I often participated as a volunteer or chaperone, negotiating how to relate to youth during recess was trickier, as teachers and students kept markedly separated spaces. With time, I found different ways to join youth during recess, such as offering to help with their homework, joining the crowds that watched the recess volleyball matches, and, in some cases, hanging out outside their classrooms, especially when Quechua class ended right before recess. Nevertheless, during recess, I spent more time with teachers. Lunchtime conversations were apt moments to observe teachers' own language practices, which often included Quechua and contrasted with the lack or limited use of Quechua in their interactions with students. I also talked with many non-Quechua teachers and staff about their views of the course and youth's Quechua proficiency.

Besides classroom observations and daily conversations, I participated in teacher meetings and Quechua teacher-training workshops, which allowed me to observe how teachers and staff talked about (or didn't talk about) the Quechua language course and its implementation. Participating in impromptu teacher meetings and conversations were also informative, such as conversations in the principal's office or in the teachers' room where many planned and graded while on their free periods. I also participated in three workshops for Quechua teachers hosted by members of the *DREC*³⁴ office, and one workshop led by the *UGEL*³⁵ IBE specialist, both attended by teachers of both schools.

During my first year of fieldwork, I participated in various activities developed by Cusco-based educational organizations, such as the weeklong regional *IBE* teacher

³⁴ Acronym for “*Dirección Regional de Educación del Cusco*” (‘Regional Educational Office of Cusco’).

³⁵ Acronym for “*Unidad de Gestión Educativa Local*” (‘Local Unit of Educational Management’)

workshop. As a participant, I met the IBE specialist of the *DREC*, who invited me to join the regional *Mesa Técnica de Educación Intercultural Bilingüe* (‘Technical Group for Intercultural Bilingual Education’), a group formed by individuals from various governmental and civil society organizations working in the field of IBE. Throughout 2016, I participated in most of their monthly meetings, helped organize and run some of their events, and participated in meetings with representatives of the Ministry of Education, broadening my understanding of how Cusco educational actors made sense of Quechua and Quechua language education. I also developed a working relationship with the IBE specialist of the Regional Directorate of Education of Cusco (*DREC*) and a bilingual education consultant working in the Directorate. Together, we developed and implemented three teacher-training workshops for Quechua teachers of all the public high school of Urubamba (more in upcoming sub-section on collaborations). I also attended a two-day workshop run by the *DIGEIBIRA*³⁶ office of the Ministry of Education in Cusco, with the purpose of training a group of teachers that would implement a pilot IBE model in rural high schools. In 2017, the IBE specialist changed, leading to a decrease in the activities organized by their office and by the Technical Group for IBE. In part due to these changes, but also because of the little connection between activities taking place in schools of Urubamba and those of educational actors in Cusco, my involvement with these groups decreased in 2017. Up to this date, I continue to collaborate with IBE teacher-training workshops in Cusco, though not with the purpose of data collection.

³⁶ Acronym for “*Dirección General de Educación Alternativa, Intercultural Bilingüe y de Servicios Alternativos en el Ámbito Rural*” (‘General Directorate of Alternative Education, Intercultural Bilingual Education and Alternative Services in Rural Areas’).

In addition to schools and educational activities, my participant observations took place in the homes of youth as well as in the various spaces where we hung out. Besides focal youth, I visited the homes of 12 other youth, who fell within a spectrum of bilingual proficiencies and affiliations to Quechua, school years, and places of residence. In most cases, I conducted one-time visits to interview youth's parents, and, sometimes, I was invited to return to visit and participate in town festivities and family agricultural activities. I also spent time with other youth without the presence of other adults, mostly upper-year students. I volunteered to help youth from Inmaculado Corazón School edit their video projects, and spent many afternoons working with them. I also hung out with some youth at a café in town, was invited on a hiking trip, and joined a group of youth on a town pilgrimage. All of these youth called me by my first name and saw me closer to the young volunteer figure than the teacher figure. Spending time alone with them allowed me the rare opportunity to peek into youth-youth interactions, where I quickly noticed Quechua was not a main communicative resource. During these events, I also had informal conversations with youth about their opinions on the Quechua course and about Quechua in general.

In the case of focal youth, described in more detail above, I conducted a total of 57 observations, a higher proportion of which were with T'ika and Raúl, whom I met earlier on the project and with whom it was easier to schedule home visits. During my participative observations, I focused on the language practices of youth, as they interacted with members of older and younger generations, as well as with their similarly-aged siblings and cousins. I also paid attention to metacommentaries about language and discourses about youth in relation to Quechua. Parents, including Quechua monolinguals

and bilinguals, often spoke to me in Quechua and I would reply in the language they addressed me in. When parents and other adults would approach me to engage in conversation, youth, following local interactional dynamics, would participate mostly as listeners. Nevertheless, there were plenty of other opportunities to interact with youth and younger family members, and I often found a time during visits to strike up conversations with youth or play with the younger children. Participating in family celebrations (baptisms, **chukcha rutukuy** ‘hair cut ceremonies’, birthdays, wakes), holidays like *Día de Todos los Santos* (‘All Saints Day’) and *Semana Santa* (‘Easter’), and family-wide agricultural activities (planting and harvest) allowed me to meet focal youth’s extended family, grandparents, uncles, aunts and cousins, and observe inter and intra generational language practices. I did not take notes during my observations with focal youth and families, except to write down new Quechua words or phrases, as I did not feel it was appropriate and it got in the way of my active participation. On my way back home I rushed to write down jottings and later wrote detailed fieldnotes.

During all of my participant observations, I took photos and videos when appropriate, which served to complement my fieldnotes and were especially helpful to contextualize fieldnotes and audio recording data during later analysis.

4.4.2 Audio and video recording

I collected many hours of audio recordings of classroom activities, school events and home interactions, with the purpose of documenting youth discourse across spaces for later analysis. I experimented using different devices, and ended up using my cellphone, an iPod and a Zoom H1 audio recorder, which provided the best quality audio

and with which youth felt the most comfortable. Once I received consent from all teachers, students and their parents, I began whole-class recordings, at times, placing the recording device in the teachers' desk at the front of the room, or close to me in the back. Once I identified youth I was interested in recording and received their approval, I began recordings of youth and group-work interactions. At first, youth often told me they didn't speak Quechua or asked if they had to speak Quechua during the recordings. Youth with limited Quechua abilities would also suggest I record peers who they viewed as more proficient. I explained I was interested in documenting how they participated in class in general, regardless of the languages they used.

Many of the first recordings were amusing to listen to, as youth giggled as they introduced themselves to the recorder, carried out interview-like Quechua conversations and worried over not touching or damaging the "*metalcito*" (*'little metal'*) (as they referred to the microphones on my recorder). With time, youth became more used to the recordings, reflected in their language use (which included more slang and curse words), their talk about non-classroom related topics, and their request to be recorded. Before recordings, I reminded youth I would not show these audios to their teachers. I did not comment on the content as the recording took place, which I think also made youth more comfortable with them. During my second year of fieldwork, I conducted multiple simultaneous audio recordings during classes, which allowed me to pay attention to the manifold and different ways in which youth participate in class.

It took me a longer time to begin audio recordings in youth's homes. I was cautious in my approach to conducting fieldwork with families, and aimed for developing a personal relationship as well as a research relationship with them before beginning

interviews and recordings. It was important for me to remind parents that my visits, as much as I enjoyed hanging out with families, also served the purpose of collecting data. In this sense, asking for permission to record every time I took out my recorder was a good reminder. Youth and their family members did not seem concerned by the recording device, younger siblings in particular were interested in the strange-looking audio recorder, and, in one case, spoke into it as one would into a cellphone, causing laughter among all of us present. Youth would also recommend I turn on my recorder when their relatives spoke in Quechua, and they and their parents would often suggest other people in town or in the neighborhood they thought spoke ‘good Quechua’ and I should record. Only on a few times did I audio record out of school events with non-focal youth, mainly because I did not feel comfortable enough asking them for this.

Audio recordings were not meant to replace, but rather complemented, my observations. In many cases, they allowed me to document language practices I could not directly listen to (like during student individual or group work), and to take on more participant roles without missing out documenting interactions (like when I was more actively involved in Quechua classes or participated in family activities). While writing fieldnotes, I included where I had placed my recording devices during observations, and in the case of Quechua classrooms, I began making rough maps of the classroom space, including focal students’ seating and the location of devices, which came in handy during analysis and the elaboration of vignettes. I aimed to transcribe my audio recordings within 2 days of collection, though I often spent my weekends doing this. I produced rough transcripts of most Quechua classes and home recordings, noting interesting parts that needed more transcribing and bits to analyze with youth. I produced simultaneous

transcripts for the events where I conducted multiple recordings, placing the transcribed discourse on side to side columns, and highlighting with the same color classroom talk that was audible to all, and in different colors, group talk only audible to those near the speakers. Listening and transcribing the audios throughout fieldwork informed my growing ethnographic understanding and informed my thinking for Chapters 7 and 9. Transcription conventions are included on p. xv.

I began video recordings in Quechua classes during my second year of fieldwork, as I became familiar with classroom routines, and as I felt ready to ask for permission to use my video camera. I decided to use video recording as I became interested in documenting the many ways in which students participated in class, including facial and bodily gestures. As I video recorded, I felt like a more detached participant, and it took some time to decide whom and what to focus on. Though I have left most video recordings for later analysis due to the volume of the collected data, I used some of them to complement my analysis of audio recordings of similar events and to help me contextualize some of my fieldnotes. I did not conduct video recordings with families, as I did not want to take on a more detached role and I sensed I had enough data for my research purposes.

4.4.3 Interviews and conversations

I conducted a total of 50 interviews with 70 youth interviewees. Youth interviews were largely structured around four sections, starting with youth's growing up and home language use experiences, primary school, followed by high school experiences, and ending with questions related to Quechua use and valorizations in Urubamba. Interviews

lasted between 30 and 90 minutes. I began interviews about 5 months after starting observations in schools, and often a couple more months after I had first met youth, which allowed me to tailor my interview questions to inquire about youth's classroom participation and home interactions I had observed.

Interviews were conducted individually and in groups, and I interviewed youth with their friends, which helped to create a relaxed interview dynamic. About half the interviews were carried out during school hours, in the library or sometimes elsewhere on the school grounds. The other half of the interviews were conducted after school, either in the school patio or library, at a local coffee shop, youth's homes or in my home. I selected spaces with no or few overhearers, as I wanted youth to feel comfortable sharing their thoughts and opinions outside the reach of adults and schoolmates. On a few occasions during home visits, I conducted group interviews with youth and their parents or other family members.

Similar to the recording process, several would tell me they didn't know Quechua or asked in what language they would have to speak when I requested to interview them. After I reassured them I was interested in learning about their experiences regardless of their Quechua proficiency, most youth looked relieved. I always let youth choose the language of the interview, and in a few cases, some decided to do parts of the interview in Quechua. I aimed to let youth do most of the talking, though depending on the flow of the conversation, if they were a bit more shy or seemed more nervous at the beginning, I talked more than I later realized I should have.

Learning to ask questions about personal experiences of discrimination was not easy. As I reflected on my interview data after my first year of fieldwork, I noticed I was missing more first-hand accounts on this topic. I began asking about this during my second year, and with youth I felt close to, always trying not to bring back hurtful memories if they looked uncomfortable. At the end of interviews, when I asked youth if they had any other comments or questions for me, many asked me about my motivation to embark on this project, my own personal experience learning languages, studying and living abroad, and my future life plans.

On several occasions, I asked youth about specific events I had observed to inquire about how they themselves had experienced them. I also played excerpts of classroom audio recordings to youth, which would often cause laughter when they heard themselves out loud, and would ask them specific questions about the excerpts. I then shared with them my interpretation and asked clarification questions. I used a similar approach when incorporating survey results during interviews. This style of interviewing was useful to collect youth metacommentary on discourse, and to make youth participants in the data interpretation process.

I also decided to ask younger students (1st years) to draw language maps to spark deeper conversations, which I felt were lacking in my first interviews with them. I asked interviewees to draw the school, their home, and all the other places they travelled through during the day, writing down the languages they heard or spoke in each space. I began the interview asking them to give me a tour of their daily travels and to explain what they had drawn and written. This dynamic worked well to spark conversation about language use across domains and youth took on more authoritative positions than before.

I also gave some youth cameras and asked them to take pictures and videos of events, things and people related to Quechua. We then went over this media and talked about what was going on, why they had taken that video/photo and other themes that would come up. Although I was inspired by photovoice and participatory image-based research methodologies (Gubrium et al., 2015; Luttrell, 2010), I did not reach the level of systematicity this approach often employs. Nevertheless, by drawing on youth-produced media to spark conversations, I gained insights into aspects of youth's worlds I did not observe nor participate in.

I conducted 18 interviews with focal and non-focal youth family members, mostly with mothers but also some fathers and a few grandparents. Interviews were largely organized around four sections: family members' early language socialization and schooling experiences, their own family's language socialization experiences, their views on their child's education and language learning at school, and views on Quechua use and valorizations in Urubamba. Interviews lasted between 30 and 90 minutes, and were conducted in the language of choice of parents, which included both Quechua and Spanish. In the case of family members who primarily spoke Quechua, I asked them to kindly speak more slowly than usual to make sure I understood all they said. Most interviews were conducted in youth's homes, although a few were at a café or in my home. I interviewed relatives of non-focal youth whom I had also interviewed and/or who stood out in my fieldnotes. During the few interviews I conducted with couples, I noticed fathers spoke more than the mothers, who often agreed with their husbands' response and would rarely differ in opinion. If possible, I requested to interview or talk to mothers separately.

In the case of school staff, I interviewed 8 Quechua teachers, as well as the principals of both schools. Additionally, I interviewed 4 teachers who taught a range of other courses I had observed, 1 of the schools' psychologist who had a close relationship with students, and 1 school auxiliary, who frequently interacted with youth during recess and before/after school. I developed a list of questions for Quechua teachers, although I also added many more questions to ask their views of specific events I had observed in their classes. Through my interviews with other school staff, I aimed to learn about the schools' history, staff's views on the Quechua course, on youth's Quechua abilities as well as their overall opinions on the role and future of Quechua in schools and in Urubamba. Most interviews took place in schools during teachers' and school staff's free periods, though one took place in a teacher's home and another one in mine. Interviews lasted between 25 minutes and 60 minutes and most were conducted in Spanish. I interviewed most school staff once, though I conducted more than one interview with two Quechua teachers with whom I spent more time in their classrooms.

Lastly, I conducted 4 interviews with other educational actors -- two from the national offices of Education, one from the local UGEL and an independent worker. I also had multiple conversations with members of the regional and local offices of education of Cusco, Urubamba and Calca. Through these conversations, I aimed to get a better sense of the Cusco and Urubamba language educational policy context as well as actors' views on urban Quechua education. These interviewees were the hardest to contact and to schedule.

In general, everyday conversations I had with participants were as important as the recorded interviews I conducted, and I was able to ask about their views on different

topics and share my interpretations. In the case of some parents, they shared less rosy responses than in initial interviews. In the case of all recorded interviews, I never took notes during interviews as I did not want to interrupt the flow of the conversation, but often jotted down notes on my way back home with my first impressions. In my interview fieldnotes, I reflected on the co-constructed nature of these speech events, which served to inform my analysis and future interviewing.

4.4.4Artifact collection

I collected different artifacts to complement my fieldnotes and interview data. In order to better understand the language education policy context of my field sites, I searched online and accessed different language education policy documents, ranging from national laws to curriculum and regional ordinances, and saved relevant online newspaper articles related to Quechua. Some Quechua teachers shared digital copies of their curriculum with me, textbooks they used to plan their lessons as well as other teaching materials like handouts and exams. I saved digital copies and took pictures of these artifacts, which I later used to map the curriculum of the course. IC School granted me access to registration files of some classrooms I observed (totaling 157 students), which included information on students' home location, first and second language, parental occupation and schooling level, as reported by parents. I also collected Quechua teaching books and materials I found in book fairs or libraries of Cusco, and copies of materials used during the teacher training workshops and regional group meetings I attended.

In classrooms, I took pictures of students' notebooks, exams and the Quechua booklets and dictionaries they often brought from home. I also saved copies of the Quechua class video projects of students from IC School, totaling 57 files, and was given a copy of the video footage produced by the documentary crew who visited us during my second year of fieldwork, which included interviews with some youth and the Quechua teacher. My artifact collection also includes the language maps interviewees drew (totaling 17), and the media produced by youth who I gave cameras to (totaling 84 files). In homes, I took pictures of written text in Quechua, like youth's lyric sheets, books and Quechua bibles. Throughout fieldwork I also collected a vast number of photographs documenting the linguistic landscape of schools and Urubamba. Many of the artifacts collected helped to contextualize interactions I observed and recorded.

4.4.5 Sociolinguistic survey

During the first months of fieldwork, teachers of both schools and I carried out a sociolinguistic survey with 39% of the student body of IC School and 30% of students of Sembrar School (including students from the classes I observed). The goal was to provide larger-scale quantitative trends of youth language use, choice and attitudes. Teachers and principals were interested in conducting this survey, especially when I explained I would analyze the results, which they agreed would take too much of their time to do.

We used an instrument developed by the Regional IBE team, and, in the interest of making the results the most relevant to teachers, teachers and I went over the instrument, and deciding what questions to add and remove. As a result of this process, open-ended questions on youth's experiences with the Quechua course were added.

Surveys were anonymous and were completed by 353 students, 202 from Inmaculado Corazón School and 151 from Sembrar School, who studied their first to their last year of high school. Surveys were handed out and completed during Quechua class, and filled out individually. Carrying out the survey brought about interesting reflections on the challenges of measuring Quechua proficiency among youth through multiple choice, close-ended questions, reflections I noted down on my fieldnotes and which inform some of my analysis in Chapter 8.

I organized the survey information, and with the help of an assistant, produced the statistical results using the Excel program. I then presented the survey results back to the principals and Quechua teachers, shown as percentage-based responses to all survey questions, as graphic representation of a smaller set of questions identified as important by teachers, and as word clouds for open-ended questions. I held individual conversations with interested teachers about the results, which I recorded in my fieldnotes. In the case of Teacher Mónica, we presented and discussed the results with her Year 3, 4 and 5 students. These discussions allowed us to complement statistical trends with youth's commentaries about them, which contextualized, explained, and sometimes challenged the results. Carrying out the surveys was the first collaboration Teacher Mónica and I engaged in, and led to deeper reflections about the purpose of the Quechua course as well as motivation to try out different classroom methodologies that would respond to youth concerns and interests as expressed in the survey. Finally, as already discussed, I incorporated some survey trends into my interview guidelines.

4.4.6 Collaborations with educational actors

The collaborations I developed with high school Quechua teachers were largely shaped by their interests as well as by my interest in curriculum and teaching material development, which I explained when I first introduced my project to them. Though I discussed curriculum and material development topics with some teachers in Sembrar School, my role for the most part did not surpass that of a bouncer of ideas and classroom assistant when invited to participate in that manner. My main collaborative partner throughout fieldwork was Teacher Mónica, with whom we developed two video-based projects for her 4th and 5th year classes, and experimented with the use of videos and board games for teaching. Most of the planning for both projects took place during conversations Teacher Mónica and I would have before and after her classes, as well as during her free periods. Sometimes, our planning would be reflected in her lesson plans and curriculum, which I saved copies of. I tried to keep fieldnotes of these events as I best could, though many times they were not as detailed as my classroom fieldnotes.

The first video project we developed with Teacher Mónica was inspired by the work of Fernando Valencia, a Cusco artist who dubs clips of popular movies into Quechua. In this project, students had to produce their own dubbed video clip. This collaboration led to two visits by Fernando Valencia, who first produced a short news story on our experience (which included interviews with Teacher Mónica, students and myself) and during the second visit, invited a group of students to participate in a documentary being made about his work.

In the second video project, inspired by digital storytelling methodologies (Gubrium et al., 2015), students created their linguistic autobiography. After completing this project, Teacher Mónica and I decided to submit our work to the annual '*Buenas*

Prácticas Docentes ('Best Teaching Practices') contest organized by the Ministry of Education. To this end, we completed a detailed written application and a short video, which included student and parental testimonies of their experience working on these projects (Teacher Mónica and I conducted video recorded interviews with 6 youth and 2 parents). Though we did not win, the many afternoons we worked together on our application led to important reflections on our collaboration, documented in our application material and in my fieldnotes.

As I mentioned above, in the second half of the 2016 school year, I collaborated with members of the Regional Directorate to plan and implement three teacher development workshops for Quechua teachers of the public high schools of Urubamba. Topics included Quechua language policy and standardization, language teaching methods and Andean cosmovision. I participated in the planning meetings and coordinating the logistics of the workshop³⁷, and did not participate as a workshop leader but rather as an additional attendant, though teachers knew of my direct involvement in organizing the workshops, which they appreciated. Given the large amounts of data collected and my primary focus on youth language practices and experiences, I have not analyzed the fieldnotes and audio recording data collected in these workshops for this dissertation.

³⁷ Arranging for food and beverages for workshop leaders and participants, as well as covering the costs of photocopies and printings was a small way to show my reciprocity for their participating in my project.

4.5 Data organization and analysis

4.5.1 Data organization

From the beginning of fieldwork, I kept a log where I wrote down the sites I visited and the activities I participated in daily, as well as the collected data. At the end of my first year of fieldwork, I went over my data and developed a variety of charts to organize what I had collected. I developed tables for youth participants, focal youth and families and Quechua teachers. Tables included the dates of interviews, fieldnotes, audio recordings and artifacts of interest for each participant. In the case of focal youth and youth of interest, I also organized bundles of ethnographic data. That is, I organized key excerpts of fieldnotes and transcripts into individual student files. I began developing my tables inspired by the display matrices and tables suggested by Miles, Huberman and Saldaña (2014), and editing as I saw fit. This exercise was very helpful to get a sense of the data I had collected thus far and what I was missing and wanted to collect during the next months of fieldwork. I also elaborated a general table of collected data, which I updated at the end of my second year of fieldwork, available below.

Table 4 - Organization and quantification of collected data

Events	Collected data
Interviews (Includes recorded and non-recorded events) <i>total</i>	90
Quechua teachers (8 interviewees)	11
Non-Quechua teachers and school staff (6 interviewees)	5
School principals (2 interviewees)	2

Polymakers (local, regional, national) (4 interviewees)	4
Family members (parents, grandparents, siblings) (19 interviewees)	18
Youth (with 70 youth)	50
Sociolinguistic Survey total	353
Inmaculado Corazón School (secondary Years 2-5)	202
Sembrar School (secondary Years 1-5)	151
Classroom participant observation (45 min class periods. Includes audio and video recorded events) <i>total</i>	252
Quechua classes Inmaculado Corazón School	133
Quechua classes Sembrar School	94
Non-Quechua classes Inmaculado Corazón School	14
Non-Quechua classes Sembrar School	11
School observations outside classroom and school grounds (fieldtrips trips, festivals, sport games, after-school workshops, teacher meetings, assemblies. Includes audio and video recorded events) <i>total</i>	91
Inmaculado Corazón School	51
Sembrar School	40
Observations with teachers and Cusco educational actors (Includes audio and video recorded events) <i>total</i>	41
Local and regional teacher development workshops and events	8
Regional organization meetings	8
Teacher collaboration meetings	25
Family participant observation (homes, family outings, agricultural work. Includes audio and video recorded events) <i>total</i>	69
Focal family no. 1 – T'ika	22
Focal family no. 2 – Raúl	20
Focal family no. 3 – Daniel	10
Focal family no. 4 - Yesenia	5
Other families	12

Youth participant observation (without parents and teachers. E.g. outings with the researcher, hanging out sessions, help with homework) <i>total</i>	55
Artifact collection <i>total</i>	183+
Student Quechua class video assignments (film dubbing, autobiographies, theatrical skits)	57
Language maps drawn by youth	17
Videos and photos taken by youth	84
Teacher curriculum documents	10
Policy and official documents	15
Photographs taken during all events	hundreds

4.5.2 Data analysis

My analysis followed open and focused qualitative coding strategies (Emerson et al., 2001; Miles et al., 2014), during and after fieldwork and using the ATLAS.ti software. At the end of my first year of fieldwork I uploaded all the fieldnotes, interview transcripts and audio recording transcripts I had produced into the software and began a close reading of the data set, noting patterns and observations in memos and producing a first set of open codes. I transcribed, at least roughly, all school recordings and most out of school recordings, and hired three assistants to help me transcribe interviews. I then grouped the long list of open codes, which were derived along the lines of emic categories and theoretical categories, into groupings that reflected bigger themes, often moving codes back and forth between groups in the process and sometimes keeping codes in multiple groups. This analytical process helped me refine my original research questions to the ones I finally decided to pursue. At the end of my second year of fieldwork, I uploaded my new data into the software and continued reading through the

set using the pre-existing codes I had originally developed, as well as creating some new ones.

Following Maxwell (2013), categorizing strategies (mainly coding) as a method of analysis run the risk of fracturing and decontextualizing contextual relationships and experiences within the data, and potentially dismissing discrepant data that doesn't fit the codes. In order to engage in holistic analysis, I also used connecting strategies for analysis that allow for the data to be understood "*in context*, using various methods to identify the relationships among the different elements of the text" (p. 112). During my readings of fieldnotes and transcripts I selected interesting bits of fieldnotes for later creation of ethnographic vignettes (Erickson, 1986), and continued to group different types of data in individual student files. I also engaged in discourse analysis of selected interview and audio recording transcripts, re-reading event fieldnotes. Because of the volume of my data set, I left out data not directly relevant to my research questions (such as data pertaining to the activities of Cusco-based educational actors, some of the non-Quechua classes, and some interviews with relatives of non-focal youth).

Much of the analysis presented in this dissertation occurred during the writing process, which involved data selection, reading and interpretation. Throughout writing, I attempted to develop assertions well-grounded on the ethnographic data, consider how my positionality informed my data and interpretation, and make room for discrepant data. I went back and forth between general patterns, individual youth's stories and analytical concepts to respond to my research questions, which was a hefty task. Finally, the different participant roles I took on during this 20 month-long ethnography, the triangulation of different types of methods of data collection and analysis, the variety of

data collected, and participants' involvement in different aspects of the data collection and analysis inform the validity of this study (Maxwell, 2004, 2013).

CHAPTER 5: Youth Quechua language learning trajectories: from early childhood and into the future

5.1 A window into youth indexical biographies

In this chapter, I track the different ways in which youth narrate their Quechua language trajectories, showing how youth repertoires and biographies are far more complex than described by their parents, family relatives and than represented in dominant high school and Peruvian bilingual education discourses. Framing the analysis around the concept of repertoires as indexical biographies (Blommaert & Backus, 2013), this chapter provides an overview of youth's experiences learning and using Quechua across space and time, and introduces the three groups of youth highlighted in this ethnography: *altura* youth who grew up in rural communities with Quechua as their first language, bilingual valley youth with varying proficiencies in Quechua, and youth who claimed to not understand Quechua (Table 5 below lists the youth described in this chapter).

Drawing on conversations and interviews with youth and with some of their relatives, as well as some classroom assignments and fieldnotes, I show when and how Quechua does, or does not, form part of youth's communicative repertoires, as well as how the social meaning and development of this language is not predictable nor linear. I look back in time into youth's childhood and elementary school experiences, focus on some of their high school experiences, and stretch the analytical gaze into the future, exploring youth's views of what roles Quechua will have in their lives and in society more largely. All youth negotiate turning points across various life stages which push

them away from and towards Quechua, and which influence how they view themselves as (non)speakers and learners. At the end of the chapter, I highlight some of the similarities and differences across groups which come to matter for the youth practices and experiences I discuss in the rest of this dissertation.

Table 5 – Youth participants referenced in this chapter

Youth group	Pseudonym (* focal youth)	School	School Year (during study)
<i>Altura youth</i>	Yesenia*	Inmaculado Corazón School	4, 5
	Lucy	Inmaculado Corazón School	3, 4
	Daniel*	Sembrar School	2, 3
	Maribel	Inmaculado Corazón School	3, 4
<i>Valley youth</i>	T'ika*	Sembrar School	1, 2
	Raúl*	Sembrar School	1, 2
	María	Sembrar School	2, 3
	Alonso	Inmaculado Corazón School	3, 4
	Giancarlo	Inmaculado Corazón School	4, 5
	Ricardo	Inmaculado Corazón School	4, 5
<i>Non-Quechua speaker youth</i>	Milagros	Inmaculado Corazón School	3, 4
	Pedro	Inmaculado Corazón School	4, 5
	Fátima	Inmaculado Corazón School	5
	Shirley	Sembrar School	3
	Jonny	Inmaculado Corazón School	4, 5
	Fernando	Sembrar School	5

	Lesly	Inmaculado Corazón School	4, 5
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5.2 “Noqa uñachamantakama kay runasimita rimarani”: growing up with Quechua since birth

This section is about youth who grew up in high altitude rural communities of Cusco speaking and being spoken to mostly in Quechua, which they considered to be “*mi lengua mater*” (*‘my mother tongue’*) and the language they first spoke. This group includes focal youth Yesenia and Daniel, as well as Lucy and Maribel. Having met these youth while they studied and lived in Urubamba as high schoolers, I track how they recall their early years’ upbringing. I then consider the changes and continuities of youth’s repertoires as they entered elementary and high school, changes accompanied by youth’s movements away from their hometowns as well as experiences of return. Finally, I describe youth stances towards the presence of Quechua in their future lives.

5.2.1 The early years: Quechua as L1

Yesenia:	... noqaq, noqaq, noqaykuqa <i>primertaqa</i> runa simita, noqaykuq simiykun runa simi, paqarimusqaymanta mantaypas papaypas chayta rimaqtiinmi... mantay <i>abueloy</i> llapankupas tiyasqaykupiqa rimanku, rimarankupuni quechuatayá mana sasachu	... mine, mine, our <i>first</i> [language] is Quechua, our language is Quechua, given that since I was born my father and my mother spoke it...my mother, my grandfather, everyone where we live speaks [Quechua], well they spoke in Quechua, it wasn’t difficult
FKD:	wawa kaspayki <i>castellanuta</i> uyarirankiñachu?	did you already hear <i>Spanish</i> when you were very young?

Yesenia: ari, uyanin, uyaraykun chaynan eh jardinpi? ... pero pisillataqa yachachiaranku pero mana nishutapunichu o sea, quechuapi mastaq, manataq noqayku castellano simita rimaraykuchu chayqa quechuallapiraq.	yes, I heard it, we heard it in hmm, early years school? ...but they only taught me a little bit, but not a lot really, I mean, more in Quechua, and since we did not speak Spanish, they taught us just in Quechua.
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(I, 2017.06.13)

Like Yesenia, altura youth described Quechua as their language of communication since birth, the language they spoke with their parents, grandparents and everyone else they interacted with, including siblings and other children their own age (note the use of suffixes ‘-lla’ and ‘-puni’ to mark exclusive/dominant Quechua language use). Like Yesenia, all youth were born and spent their early childhood in rural communities in the provinces of Calca and Acomayo, and had parents who spoke mostly, if not only, Quechua. Their parents raised them like they themselves had been raised. Yesenia’s mom, for example, described how she spoke only Quechua to Yesenia and her siblings, and how her children too spoke only Quechua when young, “**RUNASIMITA yacharanku, kay wawachaypas manan atiranchu castellanutaqa, quechuallata yacharan**” (‘**they only knew QUECHUA, my dear daughter too could not [speak] Spanish, she only knew Quechua**’) (I, 2017.11.15). In the case of Daniel, he explained how he grew up speaking Quechua since it was the language spoken by his mother: “*No ve que mis mamá hablaba quechua yo también nací hablando quechua pe*” (‘*You see, my mom spoke Quechua so I was born speaking Quechua too*’) (I, 2018.04.15).

In the above quote, Yesenia describes how she became exposed to Spanish when she entered formal schooling, in her case kindergarten, although it continued to have a very small presence in her life. The case of Daniel was a bit different. Even before entering

school, he recalled how his older siblings, who had migrated to urban areas in search of employment opportunities, spoke some Spanish in addition to Quechua when they returned home to visit. Daniel remembered listening to his older brother speak to him in Spanish, which felt strange at the time, as well as visitors and tourists who came to his community. While he could not understand these Spanish-speaking foreigners, he did recognize they were using another language for communication, beginning to develop an awareness of this new language. Finally, despite his own limited knowledge of Spanish, his father also attempted to expose him to some of the language, though without much frequency nor success. His father recalled:

<p>Sr. Ernestino:</p>	<p>Quechuallapi, castellanupipas entendisqakunata rimayku, pero qonqarapuyku wasiypi manan kanchu rimapayanaykupaq. Chay ratulla yuyarispalla rimapayayku, chaynaqa no sé hinachá costumbrasqa kayku, quechuallamantapuni rimapayaq kay wawakunatapas.</p>	<p>We talk what we <i>understand</i>, just in Quechua and also in Spanish, but we forget to [speak to them Spanish] in my house since there is no one whom to talk with. On the moments we remember we talk to them, so, I don't know, it must be that we are <i>used</i> to speaking to our children just in Quechua.</p>
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(I, 2017.09.10)

In a somewhat similar way, Daniel's father also recognized Spanish as distinct language of high status for his children, yet did not become a strong socializing agent. While for *altura* youth the home and rural community remained a Quechua-dominant space, and Quechua intergenerational transmission was a de facto and unquestioned practice, even in such contexts, and even 16 years prior to the time of this writing, children also began to encounter Spanish in various ways (more on home Spanish language socialization on Chapter 6).

5.2.2 Primary school³⁸: being othered as a Quechua speaker

A turning point in these youth's language socialization trajectories is their entrance to primary school, especially to urban schools, where Spanish became the main language of instruction and of peer communication. Throughout youth's early schooling experience, they continually learned what it meant to speak Quechua and to be a Quechua speaker in this new context, highly ideological processes. A significant turn of events is how youth encounter an ideology of Quechua as a problem or obstacle for Spanish learning and the effects this has on their sense of self and their language learning experiences. When Yesenia was about to enter the 5th grade, her parents decided to move from their rural community to the city of Urubamba. One of the main reasons for this move, as Yesenia's mom explained to me, was to provide their children with a better education, especially with better opportunities to learn to speak Spanish and access to higher education and have better employment opportunities than she did, a clear example of the longstanding discourse of *superación*, or the idea that children can overcome the many socio-economic inequalities their parents faced and become better than them. For the past five years, Yesenia had attended the school in her rural community, where students learned to read and write in Quechua and were taught their courses mostly in this language. When Yesenia arrived to her new Spanish-medium school in Urubamba, she recalled not speaking a single word for the first six months. When she began speaking, this was a difficult process,

³⁸ In the Peruvian educational system, primary school consists of grades 1-6.

*primerninpiqa sasan, sasa, eh más
que todo, pronunciyta mana
allintachu, quechuapiqa ‘i’, ‘o’, ‘u’
anchaykunallan rimaykun
chayraykun confundaq kani, mana
allintachu pronunciarani*

*at first it was difficult, difficult,
mhm, above all, I did not pronounce
correctly, in Quechua we speak
only with the ‘i’, ‘o’, ‘u’, that’s why
I used to get confused, I did not
pronounce well.*

I, 2017.06.13

In the above quote, Yesenia describes the mixing up of her vowels, also known as *motoseo*³⁹, as not speaking correctly, and identifies her Quechua as the source of her confusion or difficulty to speak Spanish properly.

Yesenia also recalled how her teacher helped her learn Spanish. He would give her advice such as “...*no te preocupes Yesenia, solo tú trata de hablar y no tengas miedo porque siempre hay esa dificultad cuando tu primera lengua es el quechua*” (‘...don’t worry Yesenia, just try to speak and don’t be afraid because there is always this difficulty when your first language is Quechua’) when she ‘misspoke’. When her classmates laughed at her for ‘misspeaking’, her teacher would also ask them to be quiet, addressing the class with comments like “*saben que la Yesenia recién está aprendiendo, es una dificultad que está teniendo*” (‘you know that Yesenia is just beginning to learn, it’s a difficulty she is having’) (I, 2017.06.13). Her teachers’ comments, as well intentioned as they could have been meant, reflect an idea of Quechua speakers like Yesenia as inevitably struggling Spanish learners, placing the inability or difficulty to learn Spanish on Yesenia and more specifically, on having Quechua as a first language. That is, the fact that Quechua is her first language is implied as the cause of the ‘problem’. Yesenia’s prior Spanish language learning opportunities and exposure to the language, and

³⁹ See more on *motoseo* on Chapter 3.

particularly those she did not have access to, the mocking she experienced at school, as well as the natural process of learning a second language with its ups and downs are ignored or downplayed in this explanation. This ideology of Quechua as a problem for Spanish learning was not only reproduced through the comments of Yesenia's teacher, but also through the mocking laughter of her peers when she 'misspoke'. In fact, it is an ideology Yesenia herself used to make sense of and narrate her language socialization trajectory to me, "**castellano simita rimayta mana allintachu rimarani pero imanaqtinchus, quechuata primerata rimasqay riki?**" ('I didn't speak Spanish well, but what could you expect? I spoke Quechua first, right?'). Yesenia thus also locates the source of her Spanish language learning difficulties on having Quechua as her first language, an outcome of what it meant to be othered as a Quechua speaker at school.

Primaria was also a space where peers socialized each other into the different values associated with being a Quechua speaker. Teasing practices strengthened the ideology that those who could speak Spanish without mixing Quechua vowels or words were superior to those who didn't. Lucy, for example, described how her classmates, "*los que se creen los más, por el hecho que saben español*" ('those who think more of themselves, because of the fact that they know Spanish'), felt superior to those who spoke Quechua, and would say things to them like "*cuidado que nos contagien su idioma*" ('be careful of infecting us with your language') during recess and play (I, 2017.05.02). Maribel, in turn, described how mixing Quechua words with Spanish was met with her peers' laughter and the effect it had on her own sense of being a Quechua speaker, "...**chayrayku, noqapas nirani, 'mana rimasaqñachu runasimita' nispa pero igual rimashallani**" ('... that is why I also said, 'I won't speak Quechua anymore' but I

am still speaking’). While Maribel continued to speak Quechua, she described classmates who experienced this mocking in different ways. She told me the story of her classmate Norma, a recent rural migrant to the provincial capital of Calca who because of her peers’ bullying became silent, “... *le han vuelto, lo que hablaba era activa, se ha vuelto tímida... porque a veces te choca que te digan cosas*” (*‘they made her, she used to be active when she spoke, she became shy...because sometimes it gets to you when they tell you things’*) (I, 2017.05.12). These youth’s testimonies illustrate how children themselves, as language socializing agents, can have the potential to silence each other’s use of Quechua in schools, and most importantly, each other’s voices (Ruiz, 1997).

The influence of peer socialization regarding linguistic othering and discrimination, as well as of the language ideologies circulating in schools, was also felt by youth’s Quechua-speaking parents. Yesenia’s mother, responding to my question if she believed discrimination against Quechua speakers existed in Urubamba, shared the following anecdote of what Yesenia’s brother had ‘learned’ from his schoolmates:

kanraqmi [discriminación] ... **noqataq** *chicuchayta compañerunkuna chay nimusqa* ‘mantaykiqa quechuallata rimasqa’ *chay chicuchay niwan* ‘*mamá ama claseyta hamunkichu p’eqanki, manan rimayta yachankichu castellanuta, chay p’eqakuni noqa nispa, ‘pero compañeruykuna jodiwan’ nispa ... payllataq willawan, chikuchallaytaq ‘ama rinkichu’, noqa siempre ojotachawan churakuni rápido (rinaypaq), pero ‘uhutawan manan hamunaykichu clasiyta’ niwan pero sintirakurani, waqarani, ‘manan hamunaykichu’ nispa*

[discrimination] **still exists ...and I, my little son’s classmates had told him ‘your mom had just spoken Quechua’, my little son told me, ‘mom, don’t come to my class, you are embarrassing, you don’t know how to speak Spanish, that embarrasses me’, he told me, ‘but my classmates bother me’...he himself tells me, he tells me ‘don’t come’, I always put on my little ojotas in order to walk fast, but ‘you are not coming to my class with ojotas’ he told me, but I felt bad, I cried, ‘you’re not going to come’ he told me.**

(I, 2017.11.15)

Studying primary school in urban areas, an outcome of parents' migratory decisions and socio-economic inequalities which push many rural dwellers to urban centers in search for better employment and educational opportunities, which for these youth meant leaving their hometowns and many times their families behind, entailed the development of Spanish in their repertoires. Yet, entrance to primary school also entailed making sense of ideologies about Quechua and Quechua speakers youth encountered in their interactions with teachers and classmates, and experiencing the effects these interactions had on their language practices, their sense of self and their relationships with others.

5.2.3 High school: expanding Spanish repertoires and the cloaking⁴⁰ and uncloaking of Quechua

Entrance to high school brought about new learning opportunities and challenges for these youth. In the case of Daniel, he had studied all of primary school in a rural school, which was Quechua-medium for his first four years and switched to a Spanish-only medium for his last two years. Daniel then migrated to Urubamba to attend high school and lived with his older sister and her family in town during the week, returning to visit his parents and younger sister in his rural community on the weekends. In secondary school, he realized for the first time that his Spanish, which contained influences from Quechua and which he had used freely with his primary classmates and teachers, was not the norm and was rather seen as a 'deviation' of a norm, especially as he experienced

⁴⁰ McCarty, Romero-Little, Warhol and Zepeda (2009) use the term to refer to how Indigenous youth might hide their language abilities in different interactional contexts.

mockery from his classmates. In other words, as he crossed space scales, Daniel learned about the stratified indexical value his Spanish resources were awarded in the new space of his urban high school (Blommaert, 2010). In addition, as he struggled to comprehend teacher instructions, and realized the predominant role of Spanish for peer communication, it became evident to him that the Spanish he had learned was not sufficient, and secondary school Spanish became something he had to learn. As he explained, “*al llegar tenía que aprender bien castellano pe, más que todo eso es principal ¿no?*” (‘upon arrival [to high school], I had to learn Spanish well, above all that’s what’s important, right?’). For Daniel, his entrance to secondary school paralleled his growing realization of the social meanings of Spanish resources as a Quechua-speaking individual in an urban and predominantly Spanish-dominant educational institution.

During this transition period between primary and secondary school, Daniel’s sister and her husband became strong socializing forces into Spanish. Remembering this period in his life, he expressed:

Pero más que todo me tenían que hablar castellano pe, pa que aprendiera así, ‘los profesores no te van a entender, lee esto, tienes que aprender, no toda la vida vas a hablar quechua también’, así me ha dicho [mi hermana] pero, ‘tengo que aprender pa toda la vida el quechua y castellano pe’, le decía y ya claro, he aprendido así.

They had to talk to me in Spanish, above all, so I would learn, ‘the teachers will not understand you, read this, you have to learn, you won’t be speaking Quechua all of your life’, that’s what [my sister] told me, but ‘I have to learn Quechua for life, Quechua and Spanish’ I told her and well, I learned like that.

(I, 2018.04.15)

In this excerpt, Daniel describes his sister as someone who helped him develop his school

Spanish repertoire, and also as a socializing force away from Quechua. In Daniel's voicing of his sister's reported speech, Quechua (learning) is represented as oppositional to Spanish (learning), as a possible obstacle for Daniel in high school and as something he ought to eventually let go of. Interestingly, Daniel questions this message recognizing the importance of continuing to learn both Quechua and Spanish.

As Daniel adapted to his new high school and expanded the Spanish in his repertoire, he also engaged in cloaking and uncloaking tactics of the Quechua bits of his repertoire with teachers and peers. Ironically, one of the spaces where this cloaking occurred was in his Quechua language class, the only class where Quechua use was promoted by teachers. In contrast to his other courses, during Quechua class, Daniel felt he could understand everything the teachers said. At first however, he was wary to participate, though he describes how this changed through time:

... en esos momentos nadie todavía sabía, yo también como si no habría sabido quechua. Los profesores [preguntaban] '¿qué cosa significa esto?'. No, yo no, sabiendo, yo no les respondía pe, pero ¿qué cosa me dirán mis compañeros? así yo miraba así, les miro, ¿no? No les decía nada. Ya poco a poco así, pasando cuatro meses así, tareas dejan así, ya, me dijeron 'tú eres el único que ha hecho bien' así, un poco a poco, ya, casi la mayoría ya sabe, ¿no? o sea, se van enterando ya pue.

...back then, no one knew yet, I too [acted] as if I did not know Quechua. Teachers [used to ask] 'what does this mean?'. No, I didn't, knowing, I did not answer them, but what could my classmates tell me? I used to look around like that, I look at them, right? I didn't tell them anything. Little by little, after four months went by, [teachers] left homework, they told me, 'you are the only one who did it well', like that, little by little, already, almost most know, right? I mean, they begin to find out.

(I, 2018.04.15)

Fear of what peers would think of his Quechua speaking abilities, understood in the context of peer mockery and teasing, guided Daniel's initial cautious stance. It was

almost halfway through the school year that he began to participate in class and do homework, becoming recognized as a Quechua speaker by the teacher and classmates. With time, he describes how his peers asked for help and he aided them. This process of cloaking his Quechua abilities happened again on his second year of high school, since he had a new Quechua teacher and many classmates had changed. This suggests that cloaking of Indigenous language abilities, a practice for protection against potential or real mockery from peers, can be an ongoing process in youth's trajectories.

A similar process of cloaking and uncloaking his Quechua repertoire took place in interactions with friends. Upon arrival to secondary school, Daniel began to figure out the norms of language use among peers, as Quechua use was rare and what is more, he did not feel it was appropriate to ask others if they too spoke the language. A couple of months into the school year, he became friends with Jonás, a new student in class. Though their friendship became stronger with time, Daniel did not feel the courage to speak to him in Quechua, "*tenía confianza pero no me atrevía*" ('I trusted him but I did not dare'). One day while doing homework together, however, "*se le salió quechua [a Jonás]*" ('Quechua slipped out [of Jonás]'), which continued on different occasions, "*algunas veces me decía... 'apamuy kayta', así me decía, 'ahh él habla' así, ah entonces yo también tenía que seguirle pe*" ('sometimes he used to tell me... **bring this**, like that, 'ahhh he speaks', so I had to keep up with him too'). Although at first a bit hesitant, Daniel began to respond and speak to Jonás in Quechua too. Afterwards, the boys started participating in Quechua class together, as well as using Quechua between themselves in recess and during class breaks, though intentionally out of the sight and ear of their peers, such that "*nosotros hablábamos pe pa que nadie escuchara*" ('we spoke without making

ourselves heard by others'). When chatting with Jonás in Quechua, Daniel felt he was speaking to one of his old elementary school friends. Jonás was the only classmate who he spoke in Quechua with, and even though Daniel changed schools, he kept in touch with Jonás via social media, chatting and sending each other audio messages in Quechua. This example serves to illustrate how the meanings and values associated to youth's repertoires, specially to their Quechua bits, are not a given within peer domains, but they are dynamically negotiated by youth across their various relationships with classmates and friends. Within peer dynamics, relationships of trust can open up a space (Hornberger, 2002) for Quechua to be used for both building and maintaining that trust.

5.2.4 Movements from and returns to their hometowns

Altura youth had all experienced growing up in rural areas and leaving their hometowns alone or with their families to migrate to nearby cities like Calca and Urubamba. Yet, this mobility did not entail a disconnect from their hometowns or from the family they left behind, nor a one-way or finite movement. As youth and their relatives moved between their hometowns and their new places of residence, a common practice among Andean individuals who migrate from rural communities to nearby urban regional centers (Malengreau, 2007), youth constantly negotiated the shifting meanings of their linguistic repertoires across space and time. For all youth, communicative practices were embedded in, guided by, and responded to, various social relationships and how they chose to maintain and/or transform them.

For some youth, early movements away from their hometowns meant learning the dominant understandings of Quechua use in urban spaces, as something to be concealed in order to avoid discrimination. In other words, it involved learning how spaces too organize regimes of language that shape what resources and competences are recognizable and desirable (Blommaert, Collins, & Slembrouck, 2005). In the case of Daniel, prior to his move to Urubamba, visiting his older sister who lived in the city of Calca at the time, led to this realization:

... siempre mi hermana me decía, ‘no, acá no debes hablar quechua, castellano’ y ya poco a poco, y ya me sentí mal pe, ¿por qué no quieren que hable quechua? Tendré que aprender a hablar castellano...a veces miro a la gente que está hablando castellano y yo hablo quechua, parece algo diferente y me ha chocado a veces pe.

...my sister always used to tell me, ‘no, you should not speak Quechua here, Spanish’, and little by little, and I felt bad, why don’t they want me to speak Quechua? I’ll have to learn to speak Spanish...sometimes I look at people who are speaking Spanish and I speak Quechua, it seems something different, and it has shocked me.

(I, 2018.04.15)

In this case, we see once more how Daniel’s older sister is a socializing agent pushing Daniel towards Spanish use in urban spaces and away from Quechua, which he describes as a startling experience. While this advice was probably given with the intention to shield Daniel from future discrimination, it reinforces the ideological divide between Quechua and Spanish as one belonging to rural areas and the other to urban areas, and what is more, it has a direct effect on how Daniel feels about being a Quechua speaker. As Daniel started learning more Spanish while still living in his hometown, he became embarrassed to speak Quechua in the streets, “*me daba medio roche hablando*” (‘*I got a bit embarrassed when speaking*’). And, as he used more Spanish in high school, he felt he wanted to leave Quechua behind, “*me parecía que quería dejarle algo así pero, algo*

rochoso me ha dado hablar con la gente”, though he eventually changed his posture, “*ya después ya me di cuenta ya, si he nacido hablando quechua tengo que seguir aprendiendo pe ¿no?*”. Alongside the force of schools, we can observe how socializing forces which can push youth away from Quechua also originate from their own families, and though they don’t determine youth trajectories, they are part of what youth learn to negotiate as they make sense of being a speaker away from one’s rural hometown.

Other youth like Lucy and Maribel migrated to Urubamba to live in a home shelter for orphaned children and children whose parents could no longer take care of them. This shelter, located in a rural community in the outskirts of Urubamba, presented new rules on the uses and values of their linguistic repertoires. The shelter was a space where Spanish was the main language of communication, and where similar to primary schools, their Quechua-Spanish bilingualism became the object of othering, scrutiny and teasing. This was the case even if many of the shelter residents came from similar geographical and family backgrounds as Lucy and Maribel.

Moving away from their families, with whom Quechua was the main medium of communication, also meant less opportunities for these two young women to speak Quechua. In Maribel’s case, life in the shelter brought about a shift in the medium of communication with her siblings, even though they were all in the shelter together. Whereas before she spoke in Quechua with her older brother, he eventually stopped speaking the language because of the teasing he experienced from fellow shelter members and schoolmates. And, given that her two younger siblings arrived at the shelter at a young age and did not have the opportunity to learn much Quechua from their parents, she communicated with them also in Spanish. In her case, maintaining sibling

relationships entailed adapting to changing linguistic preferences. In Lucy's case, with time she felt that she began to forget Quechua, explaining she had no one to talk with. Wanting to redress this, Lucy called her mom and told her what was happening, "**Ma rimaway na eh runasimipi noqa qonqashaniña**' *así, y mi mamá pues me dice así* '**Maypim qonqankiman...ya ya rimapamusayki runasimipi**', *así y hablábamos en quechua*" ('**Mom speak to me in Quechua, I am already forgetting**' *like that, and my mom tells me* '**How will you forget?...OK, OK, I will speak to you in Quechua**'). From that moment of realization, she began texting with her sister in Quechua via Facebook and speaking with her mom in Quechua on her cellphone, constituting her own attempts to maintain the Quechua in her repertoire within a different scaled context than the one she had grown up in.

When returning to their rural hometowns, youth also had to learn to make sense of the meaning of their new language use and choices with regards to their relationships with family members and friends. During Daniel's first year of high school, he described feeling he had once more left Quechua behind. At times, he would speak to his mom in Spanish, which she did not understand, or he felt he did not have the right Quechua words needed to express himself, "*como que no sabría quechua ¿no?*" ('*as if I did not know Quechua, right?*'). On another occasion, he greeted and spoke to a former primary school classmate in Spanish, even though they had always spoken in Quechua. His classmate answered back contemptuously, whom Daniel voiced as telling him "**ya qamqa castellano rimaq kutiramushanki**" ('**you are already coming back speaking Spanish**'). Both circumstances served as wake-up calls. Reflecting back to these moments, Daniel explained he did not want to be like other youth who left for the city

and came back not speaking Quechua anymore:

<i>... ¿Qué me está pasando? ¿Cómo? No voy a ser como los demás, porque [mi prima es así] ... se ha ido, ahorita está en Arequipa, regresa ya no habla quechua pue, ya no habla quechua, CASTELLANO con su mamá, así y hay veces no entiende su mamá pue, ¿no? Y la gente le mira pe.</i>	<i>...what is happening to me? what? I'm not going to be like other people, because [my cousin is like that] ... she has left, she is now in Arequipa, she comes back and no longer speaks Quechua, she doesn't speak Quechua anymore, she speaks SPANISH with her mom, and sometimes her mom doesn't understand, right? And people look at her.</i>
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Daniel realized how the changes in his repertoire were not just changes in his use of one language over the other, but rather, his language choices produced a reconfiguration of his social relationships, including how he was perceived by his family, friends and community members. These experiences led Daniel to reconsider his future language choices, “*me ha chocado pe, me di cuenta ya, entonces acá tengo que hablar en quechua así, y a los que me hablan en castellano tengo que hablarles en castellano*”. As a bilingual individual, he would favor the language preferences of his interlocutors. In doing so, he made sense of how he would deploy his expanding repertoire to maintain social relationships meaningful to him in his hometown as well as his interactions away from his hometown.

5.2.5 Future trajectories: personal convictions

All these youth expressed the conviction that Quechua would always be a part of their lives and they would not forget it. As Daniel described, “*desde chiquito me ha acompañado ya ese idioma ... ya está grabado en mi mente bien*” (*this language has been with me since I was a kid...it's engraved in my mind*). Other youth described they

would always speak Quechua to communicate with their family, especially with their parents and older relatives. Youth also saw Quechua as beneficial for their post-high school plans for study and employment. Maribel, for example, was aware that Quechua was a required course in some universities, and felt she would be at an advantage already knowing Quechua. Additionally, both she and Lucy wanted to become Quechua teachers in addition to pursuing university degrees. They wanted to teach Quechua to children and people who did not know the language, as well as to make some extra income to help them during their university studies. Youth also described could be used as an in-code with co-workers. As Daniel explained, Quechua could be mobilized “*para fastidiarnos, pa jugar, para chistosearnos siempre ¿no?*” (*‘to joke around, to play around, to fool around, always, right?’*).

Youth also expressed an interest in continuing to expand their repertoires. While most youth did not have positive English language learning experiences in secondary school, and were often disengaged in the course, they believed it was an important additional language to learn. Daniel, for example, was not fond of his English class during the first two years of high school but began to become interested in learning English when working in a local café that had many English-speaking foreigners as customers. Not able to communicate with his customers, he used a school handout and did some research on the Internet to come up with some basic questions for service. What is more, in Daniel’s case, moving in with his sister’s family also meant he became aware of a new Indigenous language, since his brother in law spoke Ashaninka. Though he did not develop proficiency in the language, listening to his brother in law talk to his family on the phone, he became aware that this language existed and developed an interest for learning some

words. And while he did not envision taking Ashaninka classes in the future, it was another bit of his widening repertoire which he aspired to continue learning. Building on the experience of Daniel, we see how future Quechua use could go hand in hand with aspirations to learn additional languages.

Thinking about a more distant future, youth also shared that once they had children they would teach them Quechua. As Lucy explained, “*les diría que es mi lengua mater, yo si les enseñaría hablar el quechua*” (‘*I would tell them it’s my mother language, I would teach them to speak Quechua*’) (I, 2017.05.02). Daniel wanted Quechua to keep growing in the future and believed that if parents know Quechua, they need to teach it to their children as well, “*también tienen que saber por lo menos una parte*” (‘*they also need to know at least a bit of it*’), suggesting he might follow his own advice. Though all youth shared a conviction that Quechua would continue to be present in their lives, they did not share the same optimism for the future of Quechua among other youth. Youth noticed how similar aged peers in their hometowns were no longer speaking Quechua when they returned from the cities and towns or started to speak more Spanish. Yesenia explained how in her community, among youth, “*ya no hay esa motivación en quechua*” (‘*there’s no longer that motivation for Quechua*’), and as many returned from urban areas after several years of studies, they did not speak the language anymore (I, 2017.06.13). With regards to even younger generations, Daniel had noticed that parents in urban areas were no longer speaking Quechua to their children, even if they knew the language, but rather socializing their children into Spanish at a young age. Living with his niece, who was rarely spoken to in Quechua by Daniel’s sister, was further evidence of this observation. Yet, many youth shared the conviction that their

rural hometowns would continue to be strongholds for Quechua despite the changes they observed. As explained by Lucy, “*yo creo que siempre puede permanecer en las comunidades campesinas el quechua*” (*I think that Quechua can always persist in rural communities*) (I, 2017.05.02).

5.3 “Mediucha yachani quechua”: into and out of Quechua

I now focus on the stories of a second group of youth who were born and raised in various parts of Urubamba and its neighboring cities, towns and valley communities. For these youth, both Quechua and Spanish were part of their early childhood repertoires. Some considered Quechua their first language and others their second language, some learned Quechua and Spanish sequentially while others simultaneously, and together, they had different types of opportunities to develop productive and comprehensive abilities in Quechua. Unlike the previous group of youth, Quechua was never the main language of communication with their parents and siblings while young children. Their parents were bilingual and largely addressed these youth in Spanish. Many of their encounters and misencounters with Quechua were grounded on their relationships with other family relatives, mostly great-grandparents and grandparents.

5.3.1 The early years: parental anxieties and (great)grandparents’ Quechua

Youth’s early language socialization experiences reveal that while their parents looked to protect them from the social consequences of speaking Quechua and closed opportunities for them to learn the language, they simultaneously learned the language

thanks to other Quechua speaking family relatives who brought Quechua into their repertoires.

T'ika grew up in the outskirts of Urubamba, a largely agricultural area about 15 minutes walking distance from the city center. She remembers she first began speaking Spanish, the language her parents spoke to her from her childhood. Even though both her grandparents and parents were fluent in Quechua, she learned Quechua thanks only to her maternal great grandparents whom she was closer to than to the rest of her older relatives. T'ika recalled hearing great grandparents speak the language when they went to the market, or when she helped them in the *chacra*⁴¹. Learning to understand Quechua was easy, given that “*diario que te hablen te lo grabas*” (‘*you pick it up when they speak it to you on a daily basis*’). In the case of Raúl, who grew up in a neighboring valley town, he too grew up in a bilingual family setting, listening to his grandparents, parents and aunts and uncles speak Quechua, though his parents didn’t address him in the language. In his case, he described how he learned Quechua from his adopted brother, who he called his “*profesor*” (‘*teacher*’) (I, 2016.09.07), and who arrived to his family from a high-altitude community speaking only Quechua. Immersed in a Quechua family context with little direct instruction, he also described he learned Quechua “*escuchando nomás*” (‘*just by listening*’).

Despite the importance of grandparents as early language socializing agents, this role was not necessarily a given and in the case of T'ika, it was short-lived. After Tika’s family moved and she no longer lived with her great-grandparents, she described had fewer people who spoke to her in Quechua and fewer opportunities to use it. There was

⁴¹Land that is farmed.

no one to teach her Quechua nor to encourage her to use the language, “*no [había] así, así, que me decía repite esto no, sino es por mi cuenta*” (‘*there was no one that told me repeat this, no, just on my own*’) (I, 2018.04.14). T’ika did however live at different times with her paternal and maternal grandparents, who spoke Quechua. Yet, they did not address her in the language, and most importantly, she did not have a close relationship with them. T’ika’s case helps to highlight how even though older family members can be agents for Indigenous language transmission, this is not a given. What is more, some parents shared the view that grandparents could be, or should be, de facto socializing agents for their children. As one mother explained, “*vivimos en un hogar quechua hablante lógicamente él iba a aprender ¿no?*” (‘*we live in a Quechua-speaking household, he was logically going to learn, right?*’) (I, 2016.11.24). Implied in her statement is that the way to learn Quechua was through exposure/immersion and the main socializing agents would be her Quechua-speaking parents, though this did not necessarily result in her son widening his Quechua abilities. Though we might often consider members of the older generations as those who can transmit the language to the younger generations, important to consider is the type of relationships and interactional frameworks involved in nurturing this transmission (more on Chapter 6).

Tika’s and Raúl’s childhood repertoires were also influenced by the lack of Quechua learning opportunities caused by their parents decision not to teach them Quechua, instances of family language policy. As we weeded in the family chacra one afternoon, Magdalena, T’ika’s mom, explained:

Cuando eran pequeños mami, teníamos que hablarles pues más en castellano, porque eran ignorados pue de la *When they were younger, honey, we had to talk to them more in Spanish, because they were ignored, the*

*lengua de quechua. En la escuela decían, así siempre marginaban a los que hablaban quechua, que son de la altura, **alqo simillan rimaq yachan**, todo era pues así, todos los profesores se dedicaban a hablar el castellano nomás, quechua no.*

*Quechua speakers. In schools they used to say, they always discriminated against those who spoke Quechua, they're from the high lands, **they only know how to speak the language of dogs**, everything was like that, all the teachers used to speak only Spanish, not Quechua.*

(I, 2016.10.11)

For Magdalena, the elementary school's monolingual education, as well as the discrimination Quechua speaking children experienced influenced her decision not to teach her children the language. Parents own experiences of discrimination when children and teens included being reprimanded by teachers for speaking Quechua at school, sometimes leading to language use prohibitions, as well as getting teased for their *mote*-colored Spanish (FN, 2016.11.01). Based on the ideology that Quechua would 'interfere' with their children's Spanish language development, Raúl's mother, Esther, explained the rationale behind the choice many of the parents of her generation had made: "*pa que no estén tartamudeando los enseñaba puro castellano*" ('we taught them only Spanish so they would not stutter [in Spanish]').

Both mothers also described how some of their few attempts to use Quechua when raising their children were discouraged by other adults and family members. In the case of Magdalena, she experienced disapproval when she wanted to name her older son with a Quechua name. She recalled how the civil servant working in *registros públicos*, vehemently refused to write the name "**Munay Inti**" ('**Beautiful Sun**') she had chosen in his certificate and argued that her child would be discriminated against and excluded with such a name (I, 2016.06.04). Both Magdalena and Esther also expressed how their

spouses were opposed to teaching Quechua to their children, which points to how parental family language policy decisions are not unanimous and perhaps overlap with other spouses' decision-making dynamics regarding childrearing practices.

Looking back, the mothers also expressed regret at their past family language policy decisions, linking these decisions to their children's limited Quechua repertoires. As Magdalena and I continued working in the chacra, she shared how when T'ika and her brother were young and tried to speak in Quechua she wouldn't let them, "*es que no quería que se acostumbren, a lo cual ahora yo me arrepiento, porque dificultan hoy día en hablar el quechua*" ('I didn't want them to get used to it, which I now regret, because now a days they have a hard time speaking Quechua') (I, 2016.10.11). In the case of Esther, she pondered that if schools had taught Quechua in the past, perhaps things would have probably been different:

si hubiese sido desde antes ese curso quechua, yo sé que igual los hubiera enseñado quechua, castellano, así no? ... hay veces cuando no enseñás quechua, ya te arrepientes todavía por no enseñar, porque no puedes ni tú mismo, ni hablar así y no saben pues los chicos y así esta pe, así es, ahora

If that Quechua course had taken place since before, I know I would have taught them Quechua, Spanish, like that right? ... sometimes when you don't teach Quechua, you regret not teaching it, because even you, you can't speak and the children don't know, and well, that is what it's like now

(I, 2016.09.07)

Another group of youth described how early growing up experiences with their grandparents had also resulted in the development of more productive oral abilities in Quechua. Unlike the case of T'ika and Raúl, these youth's Quechua language socialization was largely centered around their everyday interactions with Quechua-

speaking grandparents and little involvement of their parents. In the case of Giancarlo, the following occurred,

... en dos meses aprendí el idioma quechua, porque yo tenía digamos tres años, pero mi mama tenía una operación tuvo que estar en el hospital y yo me quedé donde mi abuela ... y mi abuela hablaba en quechua, tenía- mi entorno era puro quechua, o sea, en ese momento me aprendí, pero me había olvidado el castellano.

... I learned the Quechua language in two months, because I was, let's say, three years old, but my mom had an operation and she had to be at the hospital and I stayed with my grandmother... and my grandmother spoke in Quechua, I had- my surroundings was just Quechua, so, in that moment I learned, but I had forgotten Spanish.

(I, 2017.12.07)

For Giancarlo, being sent away to live with his grandmother and being immersed in a Quechua language environment allowed him to learn Quechua, which occurred alongside him forgetting Spanish, the language he first described speaking as a child. His friend Ricardo, had a similar early years' experience. Raised by his Quechua-speaking grandmother, Ricardo described how “*yo nací hablando quechua*” (‘*I was born speaking Quechua*’), and that Spanish was not yet part of his repertoire, “*yo hablaba dice puro quechua, no, no podía dice nada de (español)*” (‘*they say I spoke all Quechua, I could not, could not speak any (Spanish)*’) (I, 2017.12.07). For Giancarlo and Ricardo, learning Quechua seemed a de facto socialization practice which did not involve a planned move from their parents or grandparents.

The case of María helps to reveal how for some grandparents, passing on the language to their non-Quechua speaking grandchildren was closer to a choice and also involved more direct teaching. When María was three years old, her mom sent her from Urubamba to the neighboring region of Quillabamba, located in Cusco's low-altitude

valleys, to live with her grandmother. When she arrived, she did not know any Quechua, but soon began learning:

... ella me hablaba solo en quechua y antes no podía en quechua y ella me decía ‘yaw chicacha apamuy chayta’ y ella me decía, y que estará hablando yo le decía. Poco a poco ella me enseñaba... cada vez que me decía en quechua una palabra me decía y ella me lo traducía, ‘eso se dice así’, ‘manan es no’, ‘ari es si’, así me decía, me enseñaba y entonces ella así prácticamente como mi profesora... ya en quechua yo todo le hablaba todo, todo ya, ya no era como antes pe, entonces poco a poco, por eso yo le agradezco a mi abuelita así.

... she used to speak to me only in Quechua, before I could not speak Quechua, she used to tell me ‘hey little girl, bring that’, and she used to tell me, and what is she talking about? I used to tell her. Little by little she taught me ... every time she told me a word in Quechua she translated it for me, ‘you say that like this’, ‘no is no’, ‘yes is yes’, she used to tell me like that, she taught me, so she was practically my teacher ... I then spoke to her everything in Quechua, everything, it wasn’t like at the beginning, so little by little, that’s why I thank my dear grandma.

(I, 2018.02.01)

With time, little by little, María began learning Quechua through everyday household and chacra practices. María’s grandmother was a key socializing agent into Quechua, addressing María in the language and providing Spanish explanations for María to understand. For María, her grandmother was like a mother to her, and she felt a strong affiliation to her and to Quechua, the language they both shared. In fact, María was the only grandchild her grandmother had taught Quechua to, which María explained given her own interest in the language and the emotional bond they shared:

... o sea, a mí no más me quería enseñar eso, es que, antes intentaba hablar eso yo, y mis hermanos de ahora, no, ni intentan hablar, yo intentaba, hablaba medio raro, así (laughter) crudamente lo hablaba el quechua y ‘ay yaw mana qhuru

...I mean, she only wanted to teach me this, it’s because, before I tried to speak it and my brothers now, they don’t even try to speak, i tried, i spoke kind of weird, like this (laughter), I spoke Quechua crudely, and ‘oh, hey, I don’t want you to speak ugly

<p>simita munanichu noqa misk'i misk'i simita munani, mana chaytachu munanki, ña yachankiña chicacha' (laughter) <i>me decía</i></p>	<p>Quechua, I want you to speak sweet sweet Quechua, wouldn't you want that? You already now little girl' (laughter) <i>she used to tell me</i></p>
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What is more, during her time in Quillabamba, María also learned to read and write in Quechua thanks to her grandmothers' teaching, a practice most youth reported learning in schools. She also remembers listening to Amazonian Indigenous languages and even learning some words and phrases in some of them, as her grandmother worked a *chacra* near to where other Indigenous language speakers lived. Though María left Urubamba just speaking Spanish, when she returned to visit her mother she realized her repertoire had too once again changed “*hasta me había olvidado del castellano, ya estuve hablando quechua totalmente*” (*I had even forgotten Spanish, I was just speaking Quechua*) and remembers how surprised her mother was at this turn of events, suggesting perhaps how her mom viewed her widening repertoire as an unexpected outcome of the decision she had made to send her away with her grandmother.

Paying attention to the trajectories of T'ika, Raúl, Giancarlo, Ricardo and María reveals the fluidity of individual's repertoires, which can both widen and contract across different stages of one's life through not in unconstrained ways, the dynamic directionality of language learning, since individuals can learn a language and then also forget it, as well as the emotional relationships that many times at the root of their language learning trajectories. What is more, taking into account all of youth's experience, family language policies are far from unanimous nor homogenous, and usually include diverse family agents with various stances to language use and learning which come to bear on youth's Quechua trajectories.

5.3.2 Entering schools: towards and away from Quechua

For these youth, transitions into urban elementary and high school presented opportunities to expand the Quechua in their repertoires but also constraints which led them to forget their Quechua. Schools too represented spaces which could influence parental perceptions of family language policy and language socialization practices with their children.

Many of the youth who grew up with their Quechua-speaking grandmothers experienced a turn away from Quechua as they returned to live with their parents in the city of Urubamba and to households, preschools and primary schools where Spanish was the main language of communication. Giancarlo, who came back to Urubamba *“hablando lindo el quechua”* (*‘speaking Quechua beautifully’*), described he began to forget it after entering preschool. The same was the case for Ricardo, who noted that all levels of schooling favored Spanish use: *“cuando ya vine acá al jardín ya, o sea, empecé a hablar español, luego ya escuela, y luego ya colegio”* (*‘when I came here for kinder, I began speaking Spanish, then in elementary school and then in high school’*) (I, 2017.12.07). In the case of María, moving back to the city of Urubamba midway through elementary school led to less use of Quechua, though she did not forget it. Upon arrival, she began speaking to her classmates in Quechua, though eventually she began using more and more Spanish with her peers, *“un poco ya hablando el castellano, el quechua ya olvidándome ya también- no, no, no me olvidaba así por así, si no me olvidaba de hablarle”* (*‘already speaking Spanish a bit, and forgetting Quechua too – I did not forget it forget it, but I was forgetting to speak it’*) (I, 2018.02.01). The experiences of these

youth shed light on the force of educational institutions and peer dynamics in promoting subtractive bilingualism, which entailed that the growing presence of Spanish in their repertoires happened alongside the diminishing of some of their Quechua abilities. Nevertheless, in contrast to *altura* youth, these youth did not describe experiencing linguistic teasing, linguistic othering or racializing practices, which suggests that not everyone's Quechua-Spanish bilingualism was evaluated in similar ways (more on Chapters 9 and 10).

While schools imposed regimes of Spanish dominance for María, Giancarlo and Ricardo, in contrast, for youth like T'ika and Raúl, entrance to elementary school presented some opportunities to expand their Quechua repertoires and at times influenced parental attitudes regarding the use of the language with their children. T'ika studied in a school in the countryside of Urubamba where several of her classmates were migrants from high altitude communities and spoke Quechua. She recalled how during recess and classroom time, they spoke as they wished, using Quechua and Spanish:

... hablábamos todo pue, por ejemplo calquer es escribir ¿no? qalqer⁴², ah 'allinta qalqey' así le decía, bien escribe así. Y después 'atataw, kaypi kashan cuadernuyki' así (h) ... platanuyki kashan así (h) y decías ari así, todo hablaban en quechua, algunos castellano, o lo que no podías hablabas quechua más que todo...

...we spoke everything, for example to write is to write right? to write, ah 'write well', I used to tell [my classmates] like that. And then 'how ugly! your notebook is here' like that (h) ... here is your banana, like that (h) and you said yes like that, they spoke everything in Quechua, some Spanish or for what you could not say you mostly used Quechua...

⁴² Here, T'ika mispronounced 'qalqer' for 'qelqay', which is indicative of her Quechua productive abilities.

(I, 2017.01.16)

Even though all instruction in her school took place in Spanish, in her experience, *primaria* was a space where her bilingual repertoire and that of her classmates were valued, specially among peers. In contrast to the experiences of Yesenia and Yeny, for example, elementary school was not a space where language mixing was regimented, hierarchized and ridiculed, but where dynamic language practices were the norm among peers. By the time T'ika reached high school, however, her use of Quechua at school almost disappeared. High school, for her, was a different space with different rules of what it meant to speak Quechua, “*porque eres niña y hablas como tú quieres, y en secundaria ya te dicen ‘ay habías hecho esto’ así, en primaria no, todo lo toman juego*” (‘*because you are a child and you speak as you wish, and in high school they tell you ‘you had done this’, like that, but not in elementary school, it’s not taken seriously*’). By the time she entered high school, peers became a social control mechanism (more on Chapter 9) which led her to stop speaking the language with those her age, “*no tenía con quien hablar, o sea tenía, pero no me respondían pe, entonces ya empezamos hablar castellano, castellano todo el año y me he olvidado*” (‘*I did not have with whom to speak, I mean I had, but they did not answer me back, so we began to speak Spanish, all year Spanish and I forgot [Quechua]*’).

Raúl was one of the few youth who mentioned being taught Quechua in elementary school, an exception to the largely monolingual elementary school system and curriculum. According to his mother Esther, Raúl would come back from school asking her the meanings of different words and phrases they had learned. Esther had decided to send her children to study elementary and high school in Urubamba because of the better

quality of schools. By sending her children to these urban schools, she also learned Quechua was a school subject. In the case of her daughter, about seven years older than Raúl, the Quechua class was a real challenge as she could not speak Quechua. Seeing her daughter's struggles, Raúl's mom decided to teach Raúl some Quechua while still in elementary school so he wouldn't have such a hard time as his sister once he reached high school. Interestingly, we see how in the case of Raúl, though his mother originally did not teach him Quechua, in order to protect him from discrimination in a Spanish-mostly school setting, changes in language policies which opened up a small space for Quechua in the curricula (Hornberger, 2002), are also what propelled her to teach him the language. In addition, during Raúl's time in elementary school, his sister traveled to the region of La Libertad, located in the north of Peru, where she finished high school at the school where their aunt taught Quechua; Raúl's sister, who before struggled in the course, became one of the best students. Raúl's mother would help their aunt over the phone, sharing songs and riddles she could teach her students. Even though Raúl did not travel to La Libertad with his sister, he grew aware of the importance Quechua had even in places far away from Cusco (re-scaling of Quechua), and had positive role models in his family of adults who taught and supported Quechua language education in schools.

5.3.3 Returning to Quechua: personal efforts and family turning points

Focusing on the trajectories of these youth also sheds light on their own efforts to return to Quechua as well as how changing family dynamics came to bear on the development of their repertoires, in unintended and planned ways, and in more visible and less visible ways. Regarding youth's own initiatives, efforts to reclaim Quechua were

tied to feelings of discomfort and insecurity with their own language abilities and their relationships with family members. Some youth described feeling strange as the only members of their families who could not speak. In the case of Alonso, he described feeling “*como de estorbo*” (‘*as a nuisance*’), as he was the only one in the family who did not understand Quechua and ruined storytelling events when he kept asking what people were saying,

<p> <i>... siempre se siente algo raro ¿no? tú eres el único que no entiende ¿no? que te sientes medio raro y necesitas aprender necesariamente. Por ejemplo, es en un salón todos saben sumar y tú no sabes sumar, ¿cómo te sientes? medio así como yo soy diferente...</i> </p>	<p> <i>... it always feels a bit strange, right? you are the only one who does not understand, right? you feel a bit weird and you necessarily need to learn. For example, in one class everyone knows how to add and you don't know how to add, how do you feel? A bit like, I am different...</i> </p>
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(I, 2017.12.18)

Above all, Alonso felt he didn't quite fit in with his family. In the case of Giancarlo, sometime after moving back to Urubamba to live with his mother, he thought he was losing Quechua, “*pensé que el quechua se me estaba muriendo adentro*” (‘*I thought Quechua was dying inside of me*’) (I, 2017.12.07). Both youth described how they decided to start talking with older people around them, trying to respond to them in Quechua, or started asking their parents the meanings of Quechua words. In Giancarlo's experience, this turning point was crucial, “*en ahí fue cuando hice resucitar de nuevo el quechua y empecé a hablar y no olvidarme*” (‘*that's when I made Quechua come back to live and I began to speak and not forget*’). Although we sometimes think of language revitalization practices as situated in organized community or schooling contexts, the life experiences of these youth remind us of the very personal and affective dimension of

revitalization processes and how youth come to see themselves as revitalizing agents.

For other youth, changes in household composition in their families also brought them back to Quechua, though this outcome was not necessarily a planned family move. When Ricardo was in high school, his grandmother moved in to live with them. Though as a young child he had only spoken Quechua, by the time his grandmother came to live with them, he had almost forgotten the language. He felt his Quechua productive skills had diminished greatly and described he was unable to pronounce certain words and felt his tongue was twisted. Giancarlo, who was with him at the time of the interview, seconded Ricardo, explaining how he also felt he knew Quechua but speaking it was difficult, “*sabías acá, pero botarlo es un poco tranca, en la lengua, en la puntita [lo tienes]*” (‘*you knew it right here, but to bring it out is a bit hard, [you have it] in your tongue, in the tip of your tongue*’). When Ricardo’s grandmother moved in with them, Ricardo began listening to her as well as his mom speak the language, a new home practice, which sparked something inside of him, “*como que ya había en mi cabeza, algo así como algo que te sabes*” (‘*like it was already inside my head, like something you already know*’). Based on this new exposure to the language, Ricardo described he began speaking Quechua again, using terms as “*fluido*” (‘*fluently*’) and “*normal*” (‘*normal*’) to contrast with his previous descriptions of his own use of the language. With the arrival of his grandmother and the increased exposure to the language as well as more potential interlocutors, Ricardo’s Quechua became once more a meaningful communicative resource for him at the productive level, yet another example of the dynamic ways in which language development occurs.

Parents also expressed changing attitudes towards the role of Quechua as a language of early years' socialization accompanying the birth of youth's younger siblings. In the case of Tika's mother, Magdalena, she expressed a desire to raise her youngest daughter, Illariy who was almost two years old at the time of the interview, bilingually:

Viendo que, ahora es muy importante la lengua quechua, viendo que ahora se valora esa lengua, se está perdiéndose de mis antepasados ... Porque ahora ya, hasta ahora en los colegios como ya se enseña ... Illariy también tiene que tener ese origen del quechua

Seeing that now a days the Quechua language is very important, seeing that now this language is valued, it's getting lost [the language] of my ancestors ... Because now, even now in schools it is taught ... Illariy too must have that origin, of Quechua

(I, 2016.10.11)

Reflected in the statement of Magdalena is how the current change of status of Quechua differs from past times. She repeatedly uses the adverb 'now' and 'now a days' to highlight Quechua's importance, value and the school language policies favoring its teaching. She also highlights how the process of language shift, coupled by more positive valorizations of the language, pushed her to change her childrearing practices with her younger child. In fact, she also shared the belief that Illariy would speak more Quechua than either of her siblings, including T'ika, "*porque a ella le vamos a hacer hablar desde pequeño*" ('because we will make her speak [Quechua] since young'). While other parents also mentioned their desire to raise their younger children bilingually, and often mentioned the fact that Quechua was now taught in their older children's schools as reflective of the increased valorization of the language, this stance was not necessarily

reflected in language childrearing practices, nor did it necessarily influence or changed parental interactions with their older children. While younger siblings were being socialized in a different time scale where Quechua was not prohibited as a language of home socialization, nor banned from schools, future research will need to examine whether home socialization practices indeed differed among siblings and how these impacted the repertoires of other family members.

5.3.4 Future trajectories: the need for continued individual efforts

While some youth had previously experienced losing Quechua, many shared the conviction that they would continue to remember and learn Quechua. Unlike the first group of youth described, however, these youth explained that maintaining Quechua in their repertoires would require some extra effort and planning from their side. T'ika explained that even though she could understand most Quechua conversations, speaking was a challenge for her. As she described during one of my first visits to her home, “*mediucha yachani quechua*” (**I know Quechua so soish**) (FN, 2016.07.04). In her case, though, forgetting her receptive abilities in the language was not a possibility she envisioned, “*siempre se te va a quedarse, aunque no hables te va a quedar ... como el español no? ... si te acostumbras a Quechua, no se te va a olvidar*” (*It will always stay with you, even if you don't speak it, it will remain with you ... like with Spanish, right? If you become used to Quechua, you won't forget it*). Nevertheless, T'ika was not sure whether she would reach her goal to speak Quechua with more fluency, and had considered continuing learning Quechua after high school by joining a Quechua course (I, 2018.04.14).

For other youth formal study of the language was not as important as the continued use of the language, specially in home and community spaces. Raúl, for example, explained that “*si no practicas quechua ya te olvidas*” (‘*if you don’t practice Quechua you forget it*’), and was a bit doubtful he would continue speaking the language if he left his community (I, 2016.12.12). Giancarlo, referring to youth’s interest to learn English after high school, explained that learning English should not entail leaving Quechua behind, as this would be detrimental to their fluency in the future, “*porque si te vas a dedicar solo al inglés, te puedes olvidar el quechua al pronunciarlo y te va ser más difícil con el tiempo, volver a pronunciarlo más rápido*” (‘*because if you will focus only on English, you can forget how to pronounce Quechua and it will become more difficult with time, to speak it fast*’) (I, 2017.12.07).

Youth also mentioned knowledge of Quechua would come in handy for future jobs, mostly emphasizing how they could understand future Quechua-speaking clients and interlocutors. T’ika had at various times expressed interest in studying business management, tourism, cuisine, accounting, as well as becoming a policewoman. For all these careers, she explained Quechua would be useful, and recalled how her cousin who became a policeman used the language at his job. María stood out as an exception in this group, as her future plans envisioned a career where she would not just Quechua to communicate with Quechua-speakers but one through which she could help promote Quechua. María wanted to become a teacher and help reverse some of the language shift occurring in the region, a worrisome situation for the future of the language:

... *hay que dar alegría a nuestro idioma* ... *we must bring happiness to our*
 ... *hay que aprender a hablar y enseñar a* *language ... we must teach children to*
 ... *más niños porque prácticamente acá el* *speak because here Quechua is basically,*

quechua está, del 100%, ya al 70 % se está yendo al castellano, prácticamente el 30% están hablando quechua y no es posible eso ... tenemos que enseñar a más alumnos que hablen quechua y orientarle que el quechua es muy bueno

from 100%, 70% is going to Spanish, basically 30% [of people] are speaking Quechua and that is not possible...we have to teach more students to speak Quechua and counsel them that Quechua is very good

(I, 2017.12.15)

5.4 “Somos cuatro gringos acá”: trajectories of not knowing and not learning Quechua

Turning to the stories of a third group of youth, those who grew up not learning Quechua, in towns of the Sacred Valley and the city of Cusco, I focus on the family dynamics that led to Quechua not being a part of these youths’ repertoires from a young age, as well as their ongoing language learning experiences and future stances to the language. While these youth did not experience racialized othering in urban schools and neither did they experience family linguistic shaming, their encounters with Quechua were also marked by other types of othering which influenced and reflected their distancing away from this language.

5.4.1 The early years

The early language socialization trajectories of these youth show how, given the minimal use of Quechua by family members with youth and in their homes, as well as the absence of Quechua language learning opportunities in elementary schools, they grew up without speaking and understanding the language. While Quechua was not part of their repertoires, neither in terms of their language expertise nor in terms of their affiliation to the language (Rampton, 1990), they did develop awareness of the social meanings of

speaking Quechua and varying expertise in other non-Indigenous languages.

Milagros was born in the city of Cusco, about 90 minutes away from Urubamba, and the capital of the region. Since her parents both worked as teachers in rural communities of the region, she grew up with her grandmother and cousins in the family home in Cusco city, where her parents would return to on the weekends. Even though her grandmother was a Quechua speaker, Milagros didn't recall hearing much of the language while growing up. In the linguistic autobiography video project she made for school, Milagros summarized her Quechua socialization experience as a child, "**Tayta mamayqa huch'uy erqe kashaqtiy manan qeswa simipi rimapayawarankuchu, chayrayku noqa sasachakuni qeswa simi rimaypi**" ('When I was young my parents did not talk to me in Quechua, that's why for me it's hard to speak Quechua') (LAP, 2017). Her mom described that this family language dynamic was something that just happened, "*siempre con ella hemos hablado más castellano ... no sé, ni lo hemos pensando mucho enseñarle el quechua de repente*" ('with her we have almost always spoken more Spanish ... I don't know, we haven't really thought about teaching her Quechua') (I, 2016.05.26). So, even though Milagros' parents both spoke Quechua and used it every day to teach their rural students, they did not consider it as a language of family use when raising their daughter. For them, their childrearing practices did not center as much around prohibiting Quechua use with their child, but rather, it was a de facto practice, more like the childrearing practices of the first group of parents.

Like Milagros, other youth recalled growing up with Quechua speaking relatives yet Quechua was not a language these adults used frequently, and much less with them.

Pedro, for example, grew up in Urubamba with his parents and his maternal Quechua-

speaking grandparents, who would not address him or his parents in the language, but only on specific occasions, “*hablaban a veces con algunos familiares de ellos o primos o algunas cosas en las fiestas, cuando hacían chistes en quechua*” (‘*they spoke sometimes with some of their relatives or cousins or some things at parties, when they joked in Quechua*’) (I, 2017.05.19). For some youth, it was so uncommon to hear Quechua that when they did, it sounded strange. Fernando, who was born in the Sacred Valley but grew up with his uncles in the city of Cusco, described how he would only hear Quechua at the market, “*las señoras que traían hablaban quechua y para mí se me hacía desconocido*” (‘*the ladies who brought [products to sale] spoke in Quechua, and for me it felt unknown*’) (I, 2016.11.04). Even though we could argue Quechua was the heritage language of all these youth, present in their family history, many did not feel a connection or affiliation (Rampton, 1990) to the language at this stage of their lives.

Many of the youth who did not grow up learning Quechua had meaningful memories of the presence of other languages in their childhood, as home languages and of formal education. For Milagros, English became part of her repertoire since young, as her uncle and grandmother used to host English speaking volunteers at their home, whom she enjoyed interacting with and learning some English words from, and given that her uncle also used to give her some English lessons. In her elementary school in Cusco, Milagros also had the opportunity to study English for two years, and by the time she started high school in Urubamba she felt she had a stronger foundation in English compared to Quechua. Other youth also began learning English in their primary years at school, and this motivated them to continue learning the language outside school, listening to English music, practicing their pronunciation at home, and in some cases, by enrolling in

language institutes. Pedro developed a bilingual repertoire in Italian, a non-minoritized family language. His Italian father taught the language both to him and his Urubamba-born mother simultaneously, and by the time he entered primary school, he was fluent in both Spanish and Italian, a case of elite bilingualism.

While these youth did not learn Quechua in elementary schools, as was the case for most youth, they too experienced elementary schools as sites of socialization to the otherization of Quechua speakers. Fátima, described her elementary school as a space where the stigma associated with speaking Quechua, coming from a rural community, or working in agriculture was reproduced among classmates. She recalls how discrimination against peers who fit the above characteristics happened covertly in her urban school, “*se ve la discriminación, o sea no exactamente le dicen, pero como que rechazan a esa persona, lo hacen de lado*” (‘you see discrimination, I mean they don’t exactly tell them anything, but like, they reject that person, they put them aside’). During our interview, she provided the following example,

...yo tenía una compañera...y creo que venía con los zapatos sucios, porque pasaba por su chacra y todo eso, y cada vez que venía este, los zapatos tenía sucio, derramaba tierra y todos le decía ‘¿por qué derramas tierra? seguro es de tu chacra’ o le hacían escuchar ‘ah es que viene de chacra’ o ‘es de la altura’, ‘es de campo’...

... I had a classmate ...and I think she came with dirty shoes, since she had to cross her chacra [to come to school] and all of that, and every time she arrived, her shoes were dirty, she scattered dirt and everyone told her, ‘why do you scatter dirt? Surely it’s from your chacra’ or they made her heard ‘oh, it’s because she comes from a chacra’ or ‘she is from the highlands’, ‘she is from the countryside’...

(I, 2016.11.03)

Fátima's anecdote is illuminative in the sense that it shows how not only youth who are discriminated against, such as the first group of youth described in this chapter, but also those who witness discrimination, are socialized into similar ideologies which diminish Quechua speakers and the Quechua language through everyday peer interactions.

5.4.2 Misencounters with Quechua

Entrance to high schools where Quechua was a school subject area and movements to Quechua-speaking spaces presented significant turning points in youth's trajectories. Yet, while such movements entailed access to previously unavailable Quechua learning opportunities, this access was not sufficient to overcome what youth perceived to be less than meaningful learning experiences often associated with feelings of discomfort and experiences of linguistic othering.

By the time these youth entered high school and took the Quechua class, for many it was the first time they were taught the language and were exposed to it. They often mentioned learning Quechua was difficult and that they disliked the course. The year I observed Pedro's Quechua class, when he was in Year 4, I noticed how he usually engaged in talk with peers about topics unrelated to the class, asked for help and/or plagiarized homework and exams, and was not a helpful member for team activities. He often made comments to his peers and the teacher about not understanding, such as "*profesora está bonito pero no entiendo nada*" ('*teacher it's nice but I don't understand anything*') (FN, 2016.04.29) and reminded them he didn't know any Quechua, often describing himself and his team members as "*somos el grupo de los que no sabemos nada*" ('*we are the group that does not know anything*'). One day, as they participated in

a group task, whom he introduced to me as “*los cuatro gringos*” (‘*the four gringos*’), he asked them:

Pedro:	<i>Les gusta quechua?</i>	<i>Do you like Quechua?</i>
Team mate 1:	<i>No, pero tengo que aprobar siquiera</i>	<i>No, but at least I have to pass [the course]</i>
Pedro:	<i>La verdad detesto quechua yo, la verdad</i>	<i>Honestly, I hate Quechua, really</i>
<i>...(they talk about the homework of another course)</i>		
Pedro:	<i>Me gustaría que me guste quechua, sería estupendo</i>	<i>I would like to like Quechua, it would be great</i>
Team mate 2:	<i>Así haría las preguntas (about Pedro)</i>	<i>That way he would respond the questions (about Pedro)</i>

(A, 2016.06.10)

In the span of approximately two minutes, Pedro expresses he hates the class as well as his craving for wanting to like the class. His aversion to the class can be best understood in light of the fact that he felt he couldn’t understand what was going on nor did the teacher make efforts to teach students like himself. Interestingly, when I interviewed him later on, he shared how he had actually grown interested in Quechua on the previous year:

<i>... un profesor MUY, muy bueno que nos habló de José María Arguedas. José María Arguedas decía que no le bastaba el castellano para expresar sus ideas o para escribir las tradiciones o cuentos de su pueblo, así que los hacía en quechua y me encantó esa figura de José María Arguedas y me propuse que</i>	<i>... a VERY, very good teacher told us about José María Arguedas. José María Arguedas said that Spanish was not enough to express his ideas or to write the traditions or stories of his people, so he used Quechua, and I loved the figure of José María Arguedas, and I told myself that I he</i>
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si él lo hablaba, él lo valoraba, ¿por qué yo no lo iba a valorar? *spoke it, and valued it, why wouldn't I value it?*

(I, 2017.05.19)

Pedro's interest in Quechua did not develop during Quechua class, but during a Communications class where he encountered the figure and work of Jose María Arguedas⁴³, an instance of the role of biliteracy content in influencing the development of youth's communicative repertoires. That summer, Pedro read one of Arguedas' novels and became enthralled with discussions of inequalities in Peruvian society, which he believed had not changed much since the time when the book was written. For Pedro, however, this interest in Quechua came 'too late',

... digamos si uno no aprende a sumar, restar, multiplicar, dividir después no va a poder hacer álgebra o aritmética o física y digo que yo lo [el quechua] empecé a querer aprender cuando ya todos sabían lo básico y lo principal. Entonces cuando ya avanzaban cosas algo fuertes, o algo avanzadas, yo ya no podía hacer nada. Ya no podía entender. *...let's say, if you don't learn to add, subtract, multiply, divide then you won't be able to do algebra or arithmetic or physics and I say I started to want to learn it [Quechua] when everyone already knew the basics and the fundamentals. So when they were learning more advanced, or higher order, things, I could no longer do anything. I could not understand.*

Using a math metaphor, Pedro explained how he felt he had lost the opportunity to learn the language, in other words, his motivation to learn had developed too late in relation to the course progression. Other youth who shared similarities with Pedro's Quechua socialization trajectory also expressed a mixture of yearnings for Quechua and a dislike

⁴³ Peruvian writer, social scientist and intellectual whose service and work was focused on Andean culture.

towards Quechua and the high school course. Interestingly, their dislike for the language was also grounded on their learning difficulties, and not necessarily on the language itself. Youth also shared feelings of discomfort and frustration during their encounters with Quechua-speaking adults outside schools, including relatives and community members. When Milagros started high school, her family relocated from Cusco to Huayocari, her father's hometown, a small valley floor community about fifteen minutes away from Urubamba. When I asked Milagros if there had been any changes in her language use and experiences compared to her life in Cusco city, she described the following:

<i>Si, bastante. Hay personas por ejemplo, no sé, que son conocidos de mis papás, los veo y les saludo, y a veces, no sé, me preguntan algo en quechua y no sé qué decirles y no les digo nada, y a veces, no sé, me miran, a veces sintiendo que, como que me hubieran criticado, no sé, me miran raro, diferente, es raro, fue algo MUY diferente para mi venirme acá...</i>	<i>Yes, a lot. There's people, for example, who are acquaintances of my parents, I see them and I greet them, and sometimes, I don't know, they ask me something in Quechua and I don't know what to tell them and I don't say anything to them, and sometimes, I don't know, they look at me, sometimes feeling like, as if they had criticized me, I don't know, they look at me strangely, differently, it's weird, it was something VERY different for me to come here...</i>
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(I, 2016.05.26)

Living in the rural community of Huayocari, Milagros was in more contact with Quechua speakers. However, these encounters led to interactions where she was addressed in a language she could not understand or respond in, interactions in which she felt without voice, unsuccessful and criticized.

Additionally, other youth described walking away from family interactions where Quechua was spoken. Lesly explained how her mom and grandmother often spoke in Quechua when they did not want her to find out about something. Though she tried to understand, it was difficult as they spoke it too fast. On one occasion, as Lesly and her cousin overheard one of these conversations, she described how her grandmother and mom “*empiezan a hablar rapidito y ya nos confundimos, ‘¡Hay que irnos!’*” (*they begin to talk really fast and so we get confused, ‘Let’s go!’*) (I, 2016.08.27), leading the girls to disengage and walk away from this family speech event. The experiences of Milagros and Lesly exemplify instances of othering experienced by youth in rural spaces and in interactions with Quechua-speaking adults. In contrast to *altura* youth who were otherized because of the fact they spoke, and were perceived as speaking outside of their rural hometowns, Quechua, the girls feel left out for not speaking and not understanding the language. The lack of Quechua within their repertoires limits their ability to participate in interactions with adults in community and home spaces where Quechua proficiency is expected and valued, leading to feelings of social and linguistic incompetence. What is more, these examples also point to how spaces, be them urban or rural spaces, do uphold sociolinguistic norms and language regimes, yet individuals don’t orient nor experience these norms in similar ways.

5.4.3 Approaching Quechua: Two exceptions

Despite youth’s misencounters with Quechua at home, at school or in their communities, youth’s trajectories also include turning points towards Quechua. While these youth did not narrate regaining or developing their Quechua fluency, like the

second group of youth analyzed in this chapter, these turning points opened opportunities for youth to develop new appreciations for the language as well as increased their access to more meaningful learning opportunities.

Fátima, who had grown up only hearing Quechua spoken by older family members at social gatherings, described how she began to develop an appreciation for the language when she traveled with her mom to high altitude communities where they spoke Quechua. Fatima described how her mother continuously described high altitude dwelling children's Quechua as something beautiful, perhaps offering a distinct discourse than that of Quechua as problem which she encountered in primary school. Most recently, she also described how she had recently encountered and downloaded YouTube videos of songs in Quechua, such as covers of the Beatles and Michael Jackson, which she enjoyed listening to, though most of the music she listened to was in English. Additionally, Fatima was struck by a break dance and hip hop presentation performed in Quechua during one of her outings in the city of Cusco. It is possible that alongside a positive valorization of Quechua put forth by her mother, encountering different genres and modalities in which Quechua could be used, specially within the realm of popular and youth culture, opened some new ways in which Fátima could develop an interest or appreciation in the language.

Like the second group of youth I have described, changes in family language policies and practices also constituted forces pulling youth towards Quechua. When I first met Milagros' parents, they mentioned that it would be beneficial for Milagros to learn Quechua for her future career as a doctor. The family had witnessed how Milagros' cousin, who also didn't speak Quechua, had struggled when she had to complete her

nursing internships in high altitude communities, and they didn't want Milagros to go through the same experience. Even though they had moved to a rural community where Quechua was spoken by adults and older generations, no change had occurred in their family communication patterns. A couple of months later, Milagros mentioned her parents had begun speaking Quechua at home. The change, she described, was sudden and surprising, "*estoy sentada así y de un momento al otro empiezan a hablar en quechua, ¿qué les ha pasado?*" (*I am sitting down, and then, suddenly, they begin to speak in Quechua, what has happened to them?*) (I, 2016.11.10). After her parents noticed she was doing poorly in the high school Quechua course, they began talking amongst themselves in Quechua as well as addressing their daughter in Quechua at home, which Milagros described took place about four times a week. Reflecting on this new change, she admitted she liked it but wished it had occurred before, "*más o menos me está ayudando, pero no mucho porque hubiera sido mejor que lo hubieran hecho cuando era más pequeña*" (*it's helping me a bit, but not much, because it would have been better if they had done it when I was younger*). While for Milagros, changes in her family's socialization patterns brought about more meaningful Quechua learning opportunities than those she experienced outside her home, she was skeptical these would be sufficient to expand her repertoire in order to communicate successfully as a doctor, sharing some regret for learning Quechua too late as also expressed by other youth in this group.

5.4.4 Future trajectories: amidst ambivalence and vacillations

Youth had mixed thoughts on the presence of Quechua in their future lives, and most expressed some uncertainty regarding their future Quechua trajectories. Their ambivalent

stances were closely linked to the space scales where they envisioned they would live and work, as well as their own responsibility in defining and accomplishing language learning and revitalization goals.

Like youth in other groups, youth in this group who aspired to work in the region of Cusco, recognized Quechua would be an important language to add to their repertoires. Yet this group of youth were more certain that language shift would accelerate in the region, and knowledge of Quechua would be less needed and not as important a priority as knowledge of other languages. Fernando, for example, believed that in the coming years, Urubamba would quickly grow into a bigger city given the upcoming construction of a nearby international airport⁴⁴. Highlighting what he perceived as the inevitable shift to Spanish and the growth of English that would take place, Fernando stated he did not have an interest in learning Quechua, “*porque veo que el idioma quechua ya se está desapareciendo*” (‘because I see that the Quechua language is already disappearing’). Yet, even given his strong certainty of the eventual weakening of Quechua, on a separate conversation he expressed having a small interest in being able to understand Quechua though no interest in taking steps in that direction. Paying attention to Fernando’s Quechua language trajectory, we can consider how his lack of interest in the language, and his complex stance of simultaneous disinterest and interest are embedded within a personal trajectory of lost opportunities for learning, both at home and at school, and misencounters with speakers of the language.

⁴⁴ Construction of a new international airport for Cusco in the nearby town of Chinchero (about 30 min by car) began during the 2017 year and was halted due to a national political crisis. Even during the time of writing, with construction halted, there was still expectation in Urubamba and the region of Cusco that construction would resume.

For youth interested in working in the tourist industry, many shared an interest in learning “*idiomas más conocidos mundialmente*” (‘*languages more known internationally*’), since as one youth expressed, “*el turismo habla inglés, es lo que más me gustaría hablar*” (‘*tourism speaks English, it’s what I would like to speak the most*’) (I, 2016.08.27). So, even if Quechua was recognized as a language tourists would be interested in hearing or learning about, languages like English and French were mentioned as more valuable languages to facilitate communication with future clients and as a higher learning priority.

Additionally, this group of youth also envisioned futures outside of Cusco, such as in Peru’s capital, the city of Lima, where some described Quechua would be useless as a communicative resource, reflecting a strong discourse linking Quechua use to rural spaces, and particularly, erasing the presence of Indigenous languages in urban settings. Lesly, for example, planned to return to Lima after high school graduation, where she had been born and where her paternal family was from, to join a police academy. Though her Cusco-born mother reminded her of the potential need for Quechua if she was stationed in Quechua-speaking areas, envisioning her move away from Cusco, Lesly reflected “*¿pero si me voy a Lima, para que voy a aprender quechua?*” (‘*but if I go to Lima, for what purpose would I learn Quechua?*’) (I, 2016.08.27).

Shirley, who had relocated to Urubamba from Lima the year I met her, explained that when she first began learning Quechua at school she found it “*un poco hipócrita ... porque no, no me sirve a mi pe*” (‘*a bit hypocritical ... because it’s not, not useful to me*’) (I, 2017.12.17). According to Shirley, no one spoke Quechua in Lima, and speaking Quechua would not bring any communicative gains for her. Instead, she wanted to learn

“*idiomas mundiales*” (‘*world languages*’), like Catalan, Mandarin and English, describing Quechua as ‘*de acá nomas, en otros países no hablan*’ (‘*is just from here, they don’t speak it in other countries*’). Shirley was very perceptive in noticing the dominant space scale-specific value of Quechua. For her, taking into account her upbringing with no presence of Quechua, her prior schooling experiences in Spanish-only schools, and the social media she consumed, Quechua was linked to an immediate space scale, and thus not useful in the capital city of Lima and abroad. However, even with this critical stance and her dislike for the Quechua course, Shirley was open to considering that knowledge of Quechua could be useful in her future:

FKD:	<i>¿Y sientes que luego en el futuro Shirley, vas a necesitar el quechua?</i>	<i>And Shirley, do you feel that in the future you will need Quechua?</i>
Shirley:	<i>Si creo... Porque yo no pienso mudarme del Perú, me voy a quedar en Perú, obviamente y como los años transcurren así bien al toque y últimamente dicen [en las noticias] están implementando más quechua en colegios nacionales y públicos, puede ser de que haga un cambio y comience hablar más quechua en el Perú, y tal vez lo necesite.</i>	<i>I think so...because I don’t plan to leave Peru, I will stay in Peru, obviously and the years go by, quickly, and lately they say [the news] that more Quechua is being implemented in public schools, this might spark a change and Quechua becomes more spoken in Peru, and I might need it.</i>

(I, 2017.12.17)

Shirley’s mixed postures towards the role of Quechua in her future life co-existed, as well as the symbolic power of educational language policies in positively influencing youth’s attitudes about the utilitarian value of the language in society, even when Quechua seems overpowered by its perceived lack of worldliness and presence in the digital world.

While youth in other groups recognized the importance of their families as future

Quechua interlocutors or their homes as Quechua strongholds, these youth expressed more uncertainty in their ability to learn the language given the lack of support they could receive from family members. For example, when describing his future language learning prospects, one youth recognized that Quechua was more widely spoken in Cusco than English was, but explained he didn't have the support from his family needed to learn the language and thus would opt to study English or other languages instead. Shirley, comparing herself to some of her school classmates, explained she had little chances of learning Quechua as she had no Quechua-speaking grandparents.

What is more, none of these youth saw themselves as potential agents who could help bring Quechua forward, though they did point out the existing discrimination against Indigenous language speakers, and the concerning growing presence of Spanish and English alongside the decreased use of Quechua. Describing the maintenance prospects of Quechua, Pedro described "*poco a poco se está como extinguiendo*" ('it's like, slowly, diminishing') (I, 2017.05.19). For him, the cause of the eventual death of Quechua was that the language was not being passed across generations, "*solo hay tres millones de personas que lo hablan y la mayoría son mayores de sesenta años que se van a morir ya*" ('there is only three million people who speak it and most of them are older than seventy years old who are soon going to die'). Pedro's testimony sheds light on how he viewed his generation as one caught up in the process of language shift, and to an extent not involved nor responsible for redressing this process. Pedro further expressed mixed feelings regarding his posture, adding that "*digo que el idioma se está muriendo, y no hacemos nada, yo tampoco hago nada y me siento mal también por eso ¿no?*" ('I say that the language is dying, and we don't do anything, I too don't do anything, and I also feel

bad for that, right?') (I, 2017.05.19).

5.5 Similarities and differences that matter

This chapter has shed light on the language trajectories and biographies of youth who study in urban high schools and for whom Quechua forms part of their repertoires. While these youth have historically been outside the official IBE discourse in Peru, and overlooked as potential recipients of Indigenous language education, they are the fastest growing in number given ongoing processes of rural to urban migration and population expansion in urban areas.

Youth's language learning trajectories are not linear nor predictable, and what constitutes their repertoires is varied as well – including Indigenous languages, Spanish and foreign languages, language varieties and registers as well as different receptive and productive abilities. Looking across groups, we can see shared personal experiences of Quechua loss and recovery, being 'born' with Quechua, yearnings for lost language learning opportunities, overlapping and fluctuating interests and disinterest in Quechua, and considerations of their individual interests and responsibilities for keeping and expanding their Quechua resources. All youth also experience language learning turning points where diverse agents – classmates, siblings, parents, grandparents, neighbors, teachers – directly or indirectly tip youth's access towards and away from communicative resources and from language learning opportunities.

Similarly, looking across groups, youth's widening repertoires are not limited to Spanish-Quechua bilingualism, but also include other Indigenous languages and foreign languages. The cases of María and Daniel showed how Amazonian Indigenous languages

are also present in youth's repertoires, though youth neither encounter nor create extensive opportunities to expand their proficiencies in these languages. In contrast, we've also seen how youth's widening repertoires included growing awareness and productive and receptive abilities in English and foreign languages like Italian, like in the case of Pedro. Youth who viewed Quechua-Spanish bilingualism as a future fact or desire, often aspired to gain access to other language resources as well.

While youth lead mobile lives, their dynamic language learning trajectories are not unconstrained nor experienced similarly. In fact, youth trajectories unfold alongside oppositions between the use and meaning of different communicative resources (Quechua vs. Spanish, and registers of Spanish), in spaces (urban vs. rural, school vs. home, primary vs. high schools), domains (family, peers) and life stages (childhood, adolescence, future adulthood) with different scaled language regimes. These binaries and apparent oppositions are real and meaningful to youth in as much as youth negotiate, challenge and transform them. The way in which youth make sense of oppositional and more fluid understandings of their bilingualism and identities as Quechua language speakers, learners and non-speakers is not homogenous but goes hand in hand with how youth and their families experience the effects of systemic economic and social inequalities, racism, school policies and practices, ongoing movements of people across urban-rural continua, alongside changing family dynamics, composition and language management decisions enmeshed in these processes.

A meaningful pattern of differences among the youth featured in this chapter is how they experience linguistic privileges and marginalizations. All youth learned from an early age about the minoritized status of Quechua speakers and Quechua in their schools,

neighborhoods and homes, though in profoundly different ways. Diverging processes of language and racial socialization meant that *altura* youth were often object of such racialization, while other youth learned *about* its meaning but did not personally experience its effects. This is not to say these latter group of youth did not experience feeling otherized, different or standing out. For valley and non-speaker youth, the second and third groups of youth described, feelings of discomfort, disconnect and not fitting in were also common, yet not originating due to their racial positioning (more in Chapters 8, 9 and 10). For valley youth, unlike non-speaker youth, family members and family dynamics often sustained some of these insecurities.

Youth's lifelong Quechua trajectories, impacted by race, educational opportunities, Spanish language abilities, places of upbringing and residence, and parents' socio-economic positions and language abilities, mark their sense of selves in relation to different spaces and people. The following chapters continue to explore similar and diverging ways in which youth who live and study in urban high schools experience their sociolinguistic environment.

CHAPTER 6: Between socializing agents, interlocutors, and overhearers: *altura* and valley youth home language socialization

6.1 Home and family language socialization: practices, ideologies and roles

Life-long youth individual trajectories of Quechua learning converged in important ways, but they also differed in terms of when and how youth learned and made use of Quechua, and most importantly, the social meaning attached to these practices. Focusing on the home language practices of two groups of youth, *altura* youth and valley youth, this chapter continues to explore some of these differences through an account of the home socialization practices, ideologies and interlocutor roles youth encountered and co-constructed in their homes.

Following an understanding of language socialization as “socialization *through* language and socialization *into* language” (Ochs & Schieffelin, 2008, p. 5), and the ways in which local notions and ideologies about language, youthhood, personhood, teaching and learning (Howard, 2008) interact in dynamic ways with on-the-ground experiences, I examine the bilingual roles youth took up as well as the ideologies about Quechua learning and youth’s abilities as learners and bilinguals reflected in multigenerational discourse and practice. My ethnographic analysis, which draws on fieldnotes from home visits and interviews with diverse family members, is complemented by an analytical focus inspired by Goffman’s (1979) concept of production format, or the roles a speaker can embody during an interaction be it as animators, principals and/or actors.

This chapter is divided into three sections; the first two provide a detailed account of the home socialization experiences of ‘*altura*’ and ‘valley’ youth. While the four youth portrayed in this chapter did not use these terms to self-identify themselves, these were emic terms used widely in conversations in their homes and schools to distinguish and identify youth based on their place of upbringing as well as their bilingualism. Looking at the cases of Yesenia and Daniel, for whom Quechua remained an important family communicative resource since their birth, I consider their perceived and enacted roles as Quechua and bilingual interlocutors, paying particular attention to the practices of Spanish language socialization these youth spearheaded. Turning to the cases of T’ika and Raúl, whose family bilingual repertoire included a stronger presence of Spanish, I detail the ways in which their status as a Quechua interlocutors was enacted, questioned and negotiated in interactions with grandparents and parents. The chapter concludes by discussing some cross-case findings.

6.2 *Altura* youth: bilingual interlocutors and Spanish socializing agents

Daniel and Yesenia were part of bilingual families where Quechua was frequently used as a resource for communication with members of different generations. Their parents and siblings all had productive abilities in Quechua, and family members varied in terms of their oral production and comprehension in Spanish, with mothers having more limited Spanish abilities. Within this family dynamic, Daniel and Yesenia took up the roles of Quechua-bilingual interlocutors and Spanish socializing agents, roles that responded to and expanded family expectations.

6.2.1 The prevalence of Quechua

Example 1 – Weekend visit to Daniel’s hometown

As we travelled up the curvy road in a *colectivo* to Daniel’s hometown, I hear adult travelers chat away in Quechua and calm down their *primaria*-aged children who are playing in the back of the car in Quechua as well “**Qasillay! Qasillay!**” (‘**calm down, calm down**’). After a ten-minute walk from the highway stop where we got out of the car, we arrive to Daniel’s home, composed of several adobe constructions surrounded by pine trees which give off a wonderful scent. We are greeted in Quechua by his eight-year-old sister, Nery⁴⁵, and his mother, Sra. Justina, who after exchanging greetings with me, start asking Daniel about the trip. Daniel also chit chats with his older sister in Spanish and Quechua. In the next hour, the family gathers in the kitchen, with the mom and older sister (in her early twenties) near the **q’oncha (hearth)**, warming up and serving us potatoes and some of the cheese we brought with us, and Daniel, his father, Sr. Ernestino, Nery and myself sitting around a small wooden table. The family exchanges news from the family in Urubamba, while the mom and older sister also exchange side conversation about the food cooking in the pots, all in Quechua. Daniel calls his mom **mantay**, and refers to his sisters as Neryku (Nery) and Juliacha (Julia), while they often call him Daniku. (FN, 2017.09.10)

For Daniel and his siblings, Quechua was an unmarked resource used to communicate with their parents and each other. Fellow travelers who got off the *colectivo* in the communities prior to Daniel’s, also used Quechua as a medium of everyday communication with their children and other adults, paralleling Daniel’s observation that everyone in his and the nearby communities spoke Quechua. Within Daniel’s family, Quechua suffixes (**-ku** and **-cha**) are also used to create terms of endearment among siblings. Daniel used intensifiers as “*siempre*” (‘*always*’) and “*nomás*” (‘*only*’) to refer to his Quechua use with his parents and older relatives, especially with his mother. While Daniel addressed his parents, who had limited comprehensive and productive abilities in

⁴⁵ The pseudonyms of focal youth’s relatives are listed in Chapter 4, p. 93.

Spanish, mostly in Quechua, he and his siblings communicated among each other using both Spanish and Quechua. Yesenia reported a similar distribution of language use among her Quechua-dominant mom and her bilingual siblings: “**castellano simita rimani yachaywasipi, chaymanta sullk’aykunawan. Mantaywantaq wasiypi rimani quechuasimita. Kuisqa kani quechua simita rimaspa**” (‘I speak Spanish at school and also with my younger sisters. And at my home with my mom I speak Quechua. I feel happy speaking Quechua’) (LAP, 2017).

Yesenia’s and Daniel’s parents shared a clear expectation that their children would use Quechua and Spanish to communicate with the family. Quechua, as discussed in the previous chapter, was the language they learned as children, which parents spoke to them exclusively, in the case of Daniel, and for Yesenia only in the case of older siblings. The parents of Yesenia and Daniel did not comment on or correct their children’s Quechua, nor their Spanish. And, while siblings made more use of Spanish among themselves, this pattern was not fueled by youth’s inability to understand or speak Quechua. After all, as expressed by Yesenia’s sister, everyone spoke Quechua well at home (“**llipiyku allinta t’oqllachiyku**”, ‘**all of us⁴⁶ speak [Quechua] very well**’), but youth language use was rather guided by other factors which included family responsibilities and expectations, as discussed next. Daniel, Yesenia and their siblings were expected to be and become bilingual interlocutors.

While parents and youth recognized all family members as Quechua speakers, they also recognized language variation and mixing across generations. Sr. Ernestino explained how the Quechua spoken in the past in his community was a “sweeter” and

⁴⁶ This is an exclusive ‘we’, pointing to the family members only.

more “beautiful” variety than the current one spoken, “**ñawpaq munayta rimaqku, aswan munaytan**” (‘before they used to speak beautifully, even more beautifully’). This past variety included the exchange of greetings with passers-by, even if not nearby, using phrases such as, “*“Dios a María purísima*⁴⁷, **nispa napaykuy kasqa, uyarikuqtaq, chaskikuqtaq ‘sin pecado concebida’ nispa**” (‘they say that before the greeting was ‘God to Purest Virgin Mary’, and the one who heard this and received this greeting responded by saying ‘conceived without sin’). Implicit in Sr. Ernestino’s invocation of past language practices is an element of respect no longer present, as he described people no longer greeted each other in that manner.

Sra. Ana, Yesenia’s mother, pointed out with certainty how everyone, young and older, now spoke Quechua “**taqrukuchasqayá castellanuwan**” (‘mixed up with Spanish’). Yesenia’s sister mentioned present day Quechua was no longer “*puro*” (‘pure’) giving as an example how speakers relied on Spanish words given that “**wakinkunataqa manan, no, traduciyta atiykuchu quechuman**” (‘we are not, not able to translate some words to Quechua’). Additionally, Daniel highlighted how even his Quechua monolingual parents used certain Spanish terms instead of more traditional and perhaps not frequently used Quechua terms, giving as an example their use of the Spanish term “*mesa*” for table, instead of the Quechua term “**hamp’ara**”, a term he and his siblings had not learned from their parents. While Sr. Ernestino’s past greeting example also included Quechua mixed with Spanish, parental and youth commentaries

⁴⁷ It is possible Sr. Ernestino is referring to the Catholic exchange which consists of “*Ave María Purísima*” (‘Hail to Purest Virgin Mary’) and the response “*sin pecado concebida*” (‘conceived without sin’).

pointed to the increased contact between Spanish and Quechua observed across time, as well as their family's widening bilingual repertoire, against an ideal 'pure' Quechua less mixed with Spanish, and possibly also in contrast to their more monolingual past family repertoires. While adults recognized the changes in ways of speaking Quechua across time and across generations, they did not comment on, shame nor hold youth accountable for these changes, unlike, as we'll see, what happened in T'ika's and Raúl's families.

Daniel's and Yesenia's parents had differing views regarding youth's continued use of Quechua. On the one hand, Daniel's mother emphasized that bilingual youth in her community continued to speak Quechua "**rimankupuniyá, llapanpuni rimanku, mana p'enqakunkuchu rimayta**" ('**of course, they do speak, all of them speak, they're not embarrassed to speak**'), while Yesenia's mother held a different view, "[**wayna sipaskuna**] **p'enqakunku llaqtaypipas, chhayna Qosqoman ripunku, kay Urubambapi, La Salle⁴⁸pi estudiashanku quechuata rimayta p'enqakunku**" ('[**the youth**] **in my town are also embarrassed to speak, so they go to Cusco, those who are studying here in Urubamba, in La Salle, are embarrassed to speak Quechua**'). Both mothers' views reflect the various language trajectories youth experienced as they moved between their rural hometowns and the cities where they studied, lived and worked. The mothers' views wavered between the certainty that Quechua use would prevail among young people and the possible shift away from Quechua some youth experienced when leaving their hometowns.

Yet, despite the increased and dominant presence of Spanish, both in their children's repertoires and in society more largely, and the deep-seated discrimination

⁴⁸ Urubamba's higher education institute

Quechua speakers experienced, Yesenia and Daniel's parents seemed confident that their children would continue using the language at home and in the future. For Sr. Ernestino, the continued interaction in Quechua with his children, especially every time they came to visit them in their rural hometown, constituted a force that grounded the prevalence of Quechua in their lives. Instead, moving away to the cities, and possibly not returning to one's rural hometown, constituted a force pushing youth and parents towards Spanish and away from Quechua:

<p>Sr. Ernestino: Kaymanta askha wawakuna llaqtapi estudiashanku chayqa mastayachamushanku llaqtapiqa, pura castellanullataña llaqtapiqa rimanku a la fuerza tayta mamanpas riki? kaypiqa qheswallamanta rimapayawanku, rimapayashayku wawaykunata.</p>	<p>Many children from here are studying in the city, and so they are learning more Spanish in the city, they are speaking only Spanish in the city already, the parents and mothers too, they're forced to, right? here they constantly talk to us only in Quechua, we are constantly speaking to our children in Quechua.</p>
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According to Sr. Ernestino, the movement to the city entails a strong, and unavoidable shift to Spanish as youth's main language of communication, which also comes to bear on the language practices of those parents who migrate with their children to the cities, not his case. Implicit in Sr. Ernestino's statement is the recognition that children influence the language use of parents, a view shared by valley parents too. However, his comment also indexes a stark division between the countryside and the city in terms of language use, with the prevalence of (only) Quechua tied to rural areas and the prevalence of (only) Spanish to urban areas, a distinction common to dominant discourses about language use in the Andes. While Quechua use certainly prevailed in

altura youth's interactions with their Quechua monolingual and Quechua-dominant parents and in their hometown, the case of Yesenia, who continued to use Quechua in her interactions with her parents despite having migrated to Urubamba, paints a more complex picture of bilingual home socialization practices in urban areas. Similarly, Spanish was also a communicative resource that was mobilized in family interactions in rural households and with Quechua-dominant parents, as was the case of Sr. Ernestino and his family. Thus, while Quechua was indeed a prevalent communicative resource among *altura* youth and many of their family members, this prevalence also co-existed with expanding uses and presence of Spanish.

6.2.2 Youth as Spanish language socializing agents

Youth Quechua-Spanish bilingualism was as much a family planned goal as an unspoken expectation, or an inevitable outcome. While parents played key roles in promoting youth's opportunities to acquire Spanish, mainly by providing them opportunities to continue their studies in urban and Spanish-medium schools they believed would help them accomplish this goal, youth Spanish language socialization also took place outside of schools, relied on agents other than school teachers and included the socialization of not only youth but also of adults. As family Spanish language socializing agents, youth enacted and surpassed family expectations of their obligations as bilingual individuals.

6.2.2.1 "Tengo que hacerle aprender castellano" ('I have to make her learn Spanish'): Spanish socialization among siblings

In Daniel and Yesenia’s families, older siblings often took on Spanish language socializing roles with younger family members, providing siblings with Spanish input as they engaged in bilingual talk. In the case of Daniel and his sister Nery, eight years old at the time, everyday bilingual sibling talk became an important moment of language socialization. Consider the following exchange they have amidst a Quechua-dominant family interaction:

Example 2 – Bilingual riddles

In the late afternoon, we all sit outside the kitchen, in an open patch of grass, to catch the last warm rays of sun. As I wrap up asking my interview questions to Daniel’s parents, Nery asks her father, “**papay cuentuta willay**” (‘**dad tell us a story**’). Though Sr. Ernestino doesn’t take up the request, eventually, Daniel and Nery start sharing riddles like the ones below:

	<u>Original</u>	<u>Translation</u>
1 Nery:	imataq kanman?⁴⁹ (h) mana- ah noqa, phiñanwan- iman karan? Ah iman karan? Hoq (xxx)-	what would it be? (h) no- ah I, with its anger- what was it? uhm what was it? a (xxx)-
2 Daniel:	=q’omer chakicha	=with little green feet
3 Nery:	noqa! noqa! noqa! noqa!	me! me! me! me!
4 Daniel:	=umasapacha, ankaychallapi umachan, chukchachan	=a big little head, and right here its little head, its little hair

⁴⁹ Phrase that marks the beginning of a riddle.

- | | | |
|----|---|---|
| | <i>(gestures to his head)</i> | <i>(gestures to his head)</i> |
| 5 | FKD: sara? | maize? |
| 6 | Daniel: <i>(nods head as no) ...</i> | <i>(nods head as no)...</i> |
| 7 | Sr. Ernestino: choqlluchu? | is it corncob? |
| 8 | Daniel: <i>no... cebolla:::: (yells out as he leaves the group to play with his dog)</i> | <i>no... onion:::: (yells out as he leaves the group to play with his dog)</i> |
| | | ... |
| 9 | Nery: hoq tapukuy, huk <i>mamitacha</i> kukata hallpashan, q'omer simichayuq, iman kanman? | another one, a little <i>lady</i> is chewing coca, with a green mouth, what would it be? |
| 10 | Daniel: = <i>segadera</i> | = <i>sickle</i> |
| 11 | Nery: ah? | huh? |
| 12 | Daniel: (h) | (h) |
| 13 | Nery: ch'in! | shut up! |
| 14 | Daniel: (hh) | (hh) |

- 15 Nery: **(xxx) manan chaychu! manan (xxx) it's not that! it's not correct!**
 chaychu!
- 16 Daniel: **ichhuna** *es pe, segadera, si it's the **sickle**, sickle, because if you*
 cortas pasto, verde se ponen sus cut grass, its little teeth turn green
 dientecitos pe (h) (h)
- 17 Nery: **ay** (*realizing it's the right oh* (*realizing it's the right answer*)
 answer)

(FN & A, 2017.09.10)

In the context of the riddle sharing event, Daniel playfully teases his younger sister Nery, taking away her turn to share her riddle (1st riddle, lines 2 and 4) and quickly answering before any of the rest of us has a chance to (2nd riddle, line 11). In both cases, Daniel offers his responses in Spanish, which is easily understood by his younger sister in the first riddle ('onion', line 8), though not in the second ('sickle', line 10). "*Segadera*" is probably a Spanish word Nery is not familiar with yet, though she knows the concept and the term in Quechua (**ichhuna**). After Daniel explains why his guess is correct (line 16), Nery seems to understand her brother had guessed right since the start (line 17). Besides providing an example of bilingual sibling communication, this instance reveals a moment in which Daniel socializes Nery into Spanish, a second language for her, which was used for instruction in her school and which was increasingly becoming part of her repertoire. Bilingual sibling talk was important, as beside her time spent at school, Nery had little exposure to Spanish at home when none of her older siblings were visiting, as she lived alone with her Quechua-dominant and monolingual parents.

Sibling socialization into Spanish was also evidenced in correction and recast practices. On my return trip from Yesenia's hometown to Urubamba, I traveled in a *colectivo* with her next to oldest sister, Lucy (age 12), and two of her younger sisters, 5 and 3 years old respectively. I struck up a conversation with Lucy about her cousin, close to her in age, whom she introduced to me the day before and claimed to have taught Spanish. As we traveled down the mountain road, Lucy explained her cousin used to speak "*gracioso*" (*funny*) in the past, and gave me examples of how he would say things like "*viendrás en vez de vendrás*" (*viendras⁵⁰ instead of you'll come*) and "*qui⁵¹ en vez de que*" (*qui instead of what*), pronunciations which she would correct for him. As we approached a police car, the *colectivo* slowed down and one of Lucy's younger sisters, five-year old Aurelia, looked out the window and exclaimed "*pulicias*" (non-standard pronunciation of '*policías*', or policemen). Lucy chuckled at her sister Aurelia's expression, and looking at me repeated "*así como PULICÍAS*" (*just like PULICÍAS*), linking her cousin's funny talk to what her sister had just uttered. She then turned to her sister and pronounced "*policías*" (standard pronunciation for '*policemen*'), recasting her previous utterance, which her younger sister repeated without any more comments as the *colectivo* sped up and we continued our journey (FN, 2017.05.21).

During our exchange, Lucy both commented on and took on a Spanish socializer role, with her cousin and younger sister respectively, who were both developing Spanish productive abilities. Throughout my visits to her home, I continued to notice how she would recast the Spanish pronunciation of her two younger sisters, correcting their

⁵⁰ "*Viendrás*" is the non-standard form of '*vendrás*'

⁵¹ "*Qui*" is the non-standard form of '*que*'

pronunciation (“yo viengo” to “yo vengo”⁵²), their prosody (correcting “estaBAmos” for “esTÁbamos”⁵³), and providing Spanish terms for Quechua terms they used (such as “venado” (‘deer’) for ‘taruka’). On a few occasions, she would also give more direct corrective feedback, like the time when one of her younger sisters said during dinner time “cuando vamos a terminar vamos a tomar, ¿no?” (‘we will drink when we finish, right?’) and she commented “no se dice así, se dice, cuando vamos a terminar de comer vamos a tomar” (‘it’s not said like that, you say, we will drink when we finish eating’) (FN, 2017.10.18).

Youth’s correction of sibling talk targeted non-standard and stigmatized features of local Spanish and attempted to bring sibling speech closer to a more standard variety. Older siblings usually corrected instances of *motoseo* as well as prosody which was closer to Quechua pronunciation than Spanish pronunciation, as Quechua places the stress on the second to last syllable while in Spanish it varies. Older youth showed an acute awareness of the stigmatized Spanish produced by their siblings and sought to correct it. At times, as in the dinner time example above, this led to possible over-corrections, as both Lucy and her younger sibling’s sentences equally convey meaning and notions of Spanish language ‘correctness’.

While older siblings’ Spanish was not corrected by their parents and younger siblings, they did at times engage in auto-correction practices when they misspoke. For example, as Lucy shared with her mother and sister she had seen all the episodes of a

⁵² “Yo vengo” stands for ‘I come’, and “yo viengo” is the non-standard utterance of the former.

⁵³ “EsTÁbamos” stands for ‘we were’, and “estaBÁmos” is its non-standard form.

Korean TV show, she explained “*son tres volúmenos- vo, lú, me, nes, completos*” (‘*they are three complete volumos- vo-lumes*’) (FN, 2017.11.20). Family members’ use of non-standard Spanish speech did not evoke another response beyond the recasts and commentaries of older siblings, unlike the response these tokens usually had in schools (see Chapter 9) or in valley families (more below). The prevalence of sibling correction practices, as well as the lack of commentary these invoked, suggest their normalized status within the home space. Given that any everyday interaction that involved the use of Spanish could be an opportunity to correct sibling talk, older siblings were constantly positioned in and assumed the roles of Spanish language monitors.

Daniel, Yesenia and her sister Lucy all understood well the responsibilities that came along with their bilingualism to support their younger siblings’ transitions into life away from their rural communities and/or entering a new stage of schooling. Daniel, referring to his younger sister’s earlier start at learning Spanish, explained:

- | | | |
|---------|--|---|
| Daniel: | <i>... ella ha nacido después de mí... yo también ya he aprendido [castellano] cuando he estado en la escuela, ya en el colegio así, ya, tenía que subir [a la casa] a enseñarle, y contarle, no? todo lo que me ha pasado a mí, pa que no le pase a ella sí, no?...</i> | <i>...she was born after me...I have learned [Spanish] when I was in primary school, already in high school, so, I had to go back up [home] to teach her, and tell her, right? everything that has happened to me, so it doesn't happen to her, right?...</i> |
| FKD: | <i>cómo qué le contabas?</i> | <i>what sorts of things would you tell her?</i> |
| Daniel: | <i>...siempre le decía, 'los profesores te van a dar las tareas así en castellano, no lo vas a entender, por eso desde ahora</i> | <i>...I would always tell her, 'teachers will give you homework in Spanish, and you won't understand, that's why, from now on, you have to</i> |

tienes que estar leyendo el libro'. A veces cuando llego [a la casa de mis papás] hablamos así con la Nery en castellano, pero algunas palabras no entiende todavía, 'qué cosa significa esto, esto?' me dice, 'ah esto, esto, esto' le explico, no? ... más que todo ahora que está más cerca, tengo que hacerle aprender castellano, no? eso pe, pa que pase bien nomás ya, pa que ya no sufra hablando castellano

start reading books'. Sometimes when I return [to my parents' home] we talk with Nery in Spanish, but she still doesn't understand some words, 'what does this and this mean?' she tells me, 'ah this, this, and this' I explain to her, right?... especially now that she is closer, I have to make her learn Spanish, right? so that she gets through it OK, so she doesn't suffer speaking Spanish.

Evident in Daniel's response is a sense of duty to help his sister improve her Spanish to get her ready for the transition to an urban high school, which would take place in two years time. Even though Nery began developing Spanish skills at an earlier age than Daniel, he expressed an urgency to prepare her for her future, teaching her new words, talking to her in Spanish, and asking her to read Spanish books, in order to protect her from the hardships and discrimination he himself faced. Older sibling's own trajectories of racialization and experiences of discrimination⁵⁴ they faced outside of their homes informed the socializing roles they took up, which is further illustrated by the socially stigmatized linguistic features they chose to correct in their sibling's talk, as discussed above.

In addition, older siblings' assumed responsibilities went beyond language socialization. For Daniel, looking out for his younger sibling also included counseling her on the clothes one wears in the city, pants instead of *polleras*, a highly indexical sign of rurality and of being a native Quechua speaker. This recommendation parallels how, with

⁵⁴ See Chapters 5, 9 and 10.

the intention to protect him, his older sister had counseled him against speaking Quechua in the city when he transitioned to high school (see Chapter 5). As such, linguistic and non-linguistic sibling socializing practices were tangled up with the discriminatory context they sought to respond to. Older siblings were the first in their families to finish *primaria*, attend high school, and aspired to continue studying. As such, navigating school registration, transportation, enrollment and various other school logistics for themselves and their siblings often became their responsibility, which they balanced with their jobs and home responsibilities.

Throughout everyday home interactions, younger siblings were also socialized into the future roles they would assume for the ones who came after them. As Yesenia's sister Lucy explained to me how she sometimes picked up her younger sisters from their school, her three-year-old sister babbled that she would be in charge of taking her baby sister, a couple of month old at the time, to school once she grew up (FN, 2017.10.18). Given Daniel and Yesenia's large families, with five and six siblings respectively, and older siblings leaving home upon finishing *primaria* or high school, the responsibilities that came along with being the older sibling gradually fell on, and would fall on, most siblings.

Daniel's and Yesenia's parents also shared the expectation that in addition to schooling, and migration to urban areas, siblings would play a strong Spanish socializing role with each other. Sra. Ana described how her older children had learned Spanish in school, while the younger ones learned from school but also from each other “**kaypi hermanankuna rimanku, chaypi yachanchis sullk'achankunaqa**” (**‘their sisters speak Spanish here, that's how we learn, how their younger sisters learn’**). Interestingly,

Sra. Ana includes herself in the same group as her younger daughters who learn Spanish from the older sisters. Similarly, she explained she usually did not help her children much in school work, as most of the time this was a role assumed by siblings. Referring to the relationship between siblings, she explained, “*hermanapura yanapanakunku ... mana hermanan kaqtinga chicachaykunata noqa yachachini, ankay letrakunata reqsini, pero hermanankuna kaqtinga manan*” (‘**among sisters they help one another ... if their sisters are not around, I teach my younger girls, I know these letters, but when her sisters are around, I don’t**’). Older children, like Yesenia and Daniel, had themselves experienced doing school work on their own, being the eldest or without older siblings around when they attended *primaria*. In their case, they reached out to Spanish-speaking uncles or cousins if they were in town, used the Bible and dictionaries, or skipped doing homework at home.

Parents’ decisions to migrate to urban areas, like in the case of Yesenia, and/or the decision to support their children’s education in Spanish-medium urban schools away from home, in the case of Daniel, constituted parental language acquisition planning efforts that had long assigned their children the roles of sibling Spanish socializing agents. And, as we’ll see next, Daniel and Yesenia often took up and expanded these roles, as they also acted as translators, interpreters and Spanish language socializing agents for their parents.

6.2.2.2 Accomplishing family activities: parental translators, interpreters and language agents

Throughout everyday activities, the bilingualism of Daniel, Yesenia and their siblings was a shared resource used in everyday family activities, from the completion of institutional procedures and requirements, to spending downtime together as a family. Through these quotidian activities, youth also acted as de facto Spanish language socialization agents for their parents.

Yesenia, Daniel, and their siblings took up translating and interpreting roles with their parents, both inside and outside their homes. In the following example, Sra. Ana, Yesenia, her three sisters and I sit on their patio when their neighbor arrives. The family shared the electricity with this neighbor, who had come to pay her monthly share. In this bilingual event, Sra. Ana requests the help of her two older daughters, Yesenia and Lucy, to find the electricity bill and figure out the amount due by their neighbor, while caring for her baby in her arms and being a good host to her neighbor and me.

Example 3 – Doing bills with the neighbor

	<u>Original</u>	<u>Translation</u>
1	Sra. Ana: hayk'a luzmanta kasqa ima? luzmanta recibuta qhawariy (to Lucy), luzmanta recibo- Pasamuy vecina	what had been the cost of the electricity bill? go look at the electricity bill (to Lucy), the electricity bill- Come inside neighbor
2	Neighbor: <i>vecina buenas tardes</i>	<i>good afternoon neighbor</i>
3	Sra. Ana: recibo callepichu kanman? ñan recibo chayaramunña	would the bill be on the street? the bill already arrived

- 4 Lucy: *dónde está?* *where is it?*
- 5 Yesenia: *ventanapi kashan* **on the window sill**
- 6 Sra. Ana: *ventana- ankay pasamuy vecina, kay laduchaman* **on the window sill- come inside neighbor, towards this side**
- 7 Neighbor: *gracias vecina, gracias* *thank you neighbor, thank you*
- 8 Sra. Ana: **qhawariy hayk'ataq tupawasunchis, pasamuy vecina chaychapi** (*places a stool*) *tiyariy* **go check how much will we each have to pay, come neighbor, (places a stool) please sit right there**
- 9 Neighbor: [*gracias*] [*thank you*]
- 10 Sra. Ana: [**tiyariy mamay**] **ankaychapi** (*to me*) [**please sit down honey**] **just right here** (*to me*)
- ... (*we sit down, talk in Quechua about the sewing Sra. Ana is doing and whether we watched the last soccer game. Lucy enters the kitchen to look for the bill, while the rest of us stay in the adjacent patio*)
- 11 Lucy: *Yesenia no hay (2) el recibo (2) Yesenia!...Yesenia dónde está?* *Yesenia it's not here (2) the bill (2) Yesenia!...Yesenia where is it?*
- 12 Yesenia: *qué cosa?* *what?*

- 13 Lucy: *qué cosa? [el recibo pues]* *what? [duh, the bill]*
- 14 Sra. Ana: *[recibuta], paqarin* *[the bill], tomorrow early in*
tutallamanta aparamusaq **the morning I'll bring it**
- 15 Yesenia: *tú estabas trayendo pe, ya* *you had brought it, saying that the*
habían traído recibo diciendo *bill had already arrived (to Lucy)*
(to Lucy)
- 16 Sra. Ana: **(xxx xxx) suyaruychisyá** **(xxx xxx) hold up!**
- 17 Lucy: *ah:, dónde han traído esto?* *ah:, where have they brought this*
(finding the bill) *from? (finding the bill)*
- 18 Sra. Ana: *casaca trae, después* *bring a jacket, then also bring me*
ponchochantawan apamuway **her little poncho (to Lucy)**
(to Lucy)
- 19 Lucy: *quince [soles] ha venido, quince* *it's fifteen [soles], fifteen and forty*
cuarenta [céntimos] (coming *[cents] (coming back to the patio)*
back to the patio)
- 20 Sra. Ana: **ah hayk'ataqri kushkan?** **ah and how much is half of it? last**
Noqaq hamurasqa qayna **month my share had been six,**
killapas seis, sietechus **perhaps seven [soles]**

*(Yesenia and Lucy begin calculating the amount due and the change
for the neighbor once she pays her share)*

(A, 2017.11.20)

In this bilingual event, Lucy and Yesenia helped their mom interpret the bill and figure out the amount of money owed by the neighbor, an activity which involved Spanish literacy and numeracy skills. On other occasions, I also observed Sra. Ana request her older daughters to translate school letters, and the girls shared how they accompanied their mom to school meetings or governmental offices to translate and interpret for her. Daniel also mentioned school meetings or school events as important moments where he acted as a parental interpreter, which is not surprising given that during fieldwork, both high schools held the expectation that parents ought to participate in school life, by attending meetings, events and requesting to meet with teachers to check on their childrens' progress. Youth were more likely to take up these roles with their mothers, given the latter's more limited Spanish proficiencies and school numeracy and literacy skills compared to their spouses. In addition, as fathers took up short-term jobs in construction or as *porteros* for tourists, they were often away from their homes during the day or for several days at a time, and mothers were more likely to participate in school events. Parents did not explicitly request children translate or interpret for them, rather, youth took on these roles spontaneously. Like many bilingual youth around the world, especially those whose parents are minoritized language speakers (Orellana, Reynolds, Dorner, & Meza, 2003), Yesenia, Daniel and their older siblings skillfully drew on their bilingualism to mediate between their parents and Spanish monolingual individuals and institutions, in the above case represented through the artifact of the electricity bill.

Youth interpreter roles were not limited to animators of text or talk from Spanish to Quechua and vice versa. In fact, I observed how in acting as interpreters youth carved complementary speaker roles, such as that of authors and principals (Goffman, 1979).

During my thirty-minute interview with Sra. Ana, a unique moment where she gave me her full attention as she was often busy with diverse household chores, she was interrupted several times by two of her daughters, Aurelia and Lucy, who were both in the room at the beginning of the interview, though engaged in different tasks, such as drawing in a school notebook and cooking dinner. The table below summarizes the interventions of Aurelia and Lucy:

Table 6– Children’s interventions during interview with Sra. Ana

Children’s interventions during the interview event	
1	Five year old Aurelia fills in the word “ <i>idioma</i> ” (‘ <i>language</i> ’) while Sra. Ana explains Quechua varieties in Quechua and pauses in search of the term.
2	Sra. Ana is cut off by Lucy while explaining her children’s growing up experiences, Lucy brings a Quechua Bible, which Sra. Ana had mentioned to me some turns before.
3	Lucy responds to the next five questions I make about Bible use and church activities (though I did not direct them at her), taking over the interview for a while; Sra. Ana usually follows with single noun confirmations of what Lucy says.
4	Lucy responds to a question I directed specifically to Sra. Ana, about her husband’s Spanish speaking abilities.
5	Towards the end of the interview, I ask Sra. Ana if she would like to add anything else. Lucy rephrases my question to her mom, asking her to share what she would say to youth who are embarrassed about Quechua (a topic I did not specify in my question).

6 I ask Sra. Ana what she would recommend to parents to continue teaching Quechua to their children, and Lucy voluntarily rephrases my question to her mom, including her own advice on linguistic childrearing practices.

Evident in examples 2-6 is how Lucy inserts herself in the interview event, where Sra. Ana and myself were the ratified interlocutors. She shifts from being an unrated overheard to a ratified interlocutor, taking her mom's turns and often speaking for her. This is most poignantly evidenced in examples 4 and 6, given that Lucy is not a married woman nor has had children of her own. Lucy is not just an interpreter of my questions to her mom (closer to the figure of animator described by Goffman (1979)), but becomes the author of utterances and bears responsibility for them, as she makes herself one more interviewee. Interestingly, even five-year-old Aurelia also shifts from being an overheard to a participant in the conversation, offering her mom a word she believes she is searching for, and which her mom had not requested help for. This short analysis based on a single interview event shows the ease with which siblings extended their interpreter-speaker roles vis à vis their mother and took on more responsibilities than asked for. Worth considering in future research is how these practices affected maternal-child relationships, as youth exerted positions of authority over their mother in ways that did not parallel interactions where outsiders like myself were not the principal interlocutors, nor did it parallel youth's rare intervention in their fathers' conversational turns.

Youth also translated for their parents in everyday family events that did not involve school literacy or completion of paperwork. Events like watching a TV show constituted family activities were youth's bilingualism, in addition to their knowledge

about popular media, was central for their accomplishment. Later on the same day as the electricity bill event, Yesenia’s siblings requested if they could watch a Korean soap opera they were fans of on my cell phone, since their TV was broken. As the siblings, parents (Sra. Ana and Sr. Julio) and I all gathered around the small screen, I noticed Yesenia translated the happenings of the show to her mother out of her own initiative as well as following her mother’s clarification requests. Some of the episodes we watched were dubbed to Spanish, while others were in Korean and had Spanish subtitles. During the course of one of these latter Korean-medium episodes, Lucy, who had already seen the entire show, explained what was taking place, which helped us understand the flow of events, especially as the subtitles on the screen were hard to read and not all of us read in Spanish. Following her explanation of why the male protagonist had jumped into the ocean to save the female protagonist, who was not a swimmer, from drowning, the following parental-child interaction took place as the episode played:

Example 4 – Watching a Korean soap opera

	<u>Original</u>	<u>Translation</u>
	<hr/> <i>(female protagonist is drowning, dramatic music, other characters yell in panic)</i>	
1	Sra. Ana:	manachu payqa nadayta yachan?
		she doesn’t know how to swim?
2	Lucy:	<i>no sabe y quiere CORRER, es que le agarra calambre cuando entra pe</i>
		<i>she doesn’t know and she wants to RUN, the thing is that she gets cramps when</i>

she enters [the water]

- | | | | |
|----|------------|--------------------------------------|--|
| 3 | Yesenia: | (hh) <i>calambre</i> | (hh) <i>cramps</i> |
| 4 | Sra. Ana: | (4) ayparushantaq? | (4) is he nearing her? |
| 5 | Lucy | mm | mm |
| 6 | Sr. Julio: | mana yachanchu? | she doesn't know [how to swim]? |
| 7 | Lucy: | (nods no) | (nods no) |
| 8 | Yesenia: | <i>sabiendo:</i> | <i>if she knew:</i> |
| 9 | Sra. Ana: | ayparunchu? | did he reach her? |
| 10 | Lucy: mjm | mjm | mhm |
| 11 | Sra. Ana: | lloqsipunqachu? | will she get out? |
| 12 | Lucy: | ajá | mhm |
| 13 | Sra. Ana: | wañurapunchá? | might have she died? |
| 14 | Lucy: | <i>no, inconciente</i> kashan | <i>no, she is unconcious</i> |

15 Sra. Ana: **imataq chayri?** **and what's that?**

16 Lucy: *desmayasqa* *she had fainted*

17 Sra. Ana: **ay::** **oh::**

(A, 2017.11.20)

Throughout the soap-opera watching event, Yesenia and Lucy acted as translators and commentators to include us all, and especially their parents, in the multilingual group event. In the above example, Lucy addresses her parents bilingually, explaining the happenings (line 2), confirming her parents' comments (lines 5, 7, 10, 12), clarifying some of her mothers' questions (line 14) as well as the meaning of an unknown Spanish word to her (lines 14-16). Lucy even adds her own vivid explanations for the happenings, as it was not clear from the show alone whether the protagonist had gotten a cramp or just didn't know how to swim. Not shown in the transcript was Lucy's earlier explanation of the dangers of swimming in the ocean, which she explained with the confidence of someone who had experienced this before, though she had never been to the ocean herself. Similar to how she took on and complemented her mothers' conversational role, here she also expanded on her role as linguistic interpreter of the content of the show to that of a cultural mediator who could explain to her family a sensation they had never experienced themselves.

While Korean and Turkish soap operas were popular among many of the youth I met in Urubamba, watching foreign soap operas was also a family practice I observed in my visits to youth's rural hometowns. Without access to cable or public TV channels, more available in valley towns and communities, high altitude-dwelling families often bought DVDs of movies and soap operas, which were never in Quechua, but dubbed to Spanish or with Spanish subtitles. Similar multilingual events as the one described above took place when family members gathered around the TV screen in the evenings, commenting on the happenings bilingually, and older youth often translating for the rest of the group in a very relaxed atmosphere. And, as siblings exposed their parents to Spanish-medium popular culture, they also exposed their parents to Spanish input, which constituted moments of child-parental Spanish language socialization.

Though child-parent Spanish language socialization was not as explicitly articulated and discussed by youth and their family relatives in contrast to sibling Spanish socialization, instances of it occurred when children exposed their parents to Spanish input (as in lines 14-16 in Example 4), when parents took Spanish interlocutor roles with their children and when youth corrected parental Spanish talk. Going back to Example 3, Sra. Ana draws on Quechua to give orders and instructions to her older daughters, as well as to communicate with the other adults in the event (her neighbor and me), communicative patterns I observed on repeated occasions. At the same time, she also uses bilingual terms and Spanish nouns (i.e. **the electricity bill**, **come inside neighbor**, **on the street?**, **six**), and more extended Spanish discourse (line 18, **bring a jacket, then also bring me her little poncho**) with her daughters. She also understood her daughters' Spanish exchanges (lines 14, 16, 20), showing both her developing productive

and receptive Spanish abilities. In the context of meals and completing household chores, Sra. Ana also made use of some Spanish and bilingual directives and nouns directed at her younger daughters. While her daughters often claimed Sra. Ana “*no puede castellano*” (‘*can’t [speak] Spanish*’) and she claimed she could not speak Spanish, she engaged in bilingual practices, many of which had her children as her interlocutors.

While older siblings usually corrected younger siblings’ speech, on a few occasions they would do the same with their parents’ speech. One evening after sharing dinner with the family, Sr. Julio explained to me the wedding traditions in his hometown, mostly in Spanish, and began to describe the customs “*para hacer cevel*⁵⁵” (‘*to carry out the civil ceremony*’). Yesenia, who listened to the conversation without participating much, softly recasted “*cevel*” to “*civil*” after her father’s utterance, which no one commented on (FN, 2017.12.06).

In the case of Daniel, he viewed the use of Spanish in multigenerational family interactions as a communicative resource used to accomplish an amenable family environment, “*cuando estamos así con mi papá hablamos castellano, los dos, castellano, quechua, juntos también, se ríen, los estamos haciendo reír*” (‘*when we are with my dad we speak Spanish, both, Spanish and Quechua, also together, they laugh, we make them laugh*’) (I, 2018.04.15), which can link back to the riddle exchange event described above. In the case of Yesenia’s siblings, there was more awareness of the language teaching roles they took on vis à vis their mother. After sharing with Yesenia’s sister, Lucy, that I observed she also responded to her mom in Spanish, she commented that sometimes she spoke to her in Spanish “*a modo de práctica*” (‘*as practice*’), so that her

⁵⁵ “*Cevel*” is the non-standard pronunciation of “*civil*”.

mom “*hable mejor castellano*” (‘*speaks better Spanish*’) (FN, 2017.11.15). This finding suggests that ideologies that linked youth’s bilingualism to notions of family responsibility to protect younger siblings from future discrimination or to help them accomplish everyday tasks in a Spanish-dominant society also informed the language teaching roles these youth took vis à vis their parents.

Zooming into the experiences of T’ika and Raúl will demonstrate how family expectations about language learning, teaching and youth’s language learning abilities also guided home socialization practices in their cases, though in significantly different ways.

6.3 Valley youth: between bilingual overhearers and interlocutors

T’ika and Raúl both lived in valley communities and were also part of bilingual families, yet the bilingual roles they took on were different than those of Yesenia and Daniel. Patterns of social interaction suggested that T’ika and Raúl were not expected to speak Quechua, though they were expected to understand Quechua interactions and directives, especially coming from grandparents. In addition, T’ika’s and Raúl’s status as legitimate Quechua interlocutors was not always recognized by adult relatives, particularly their parents.

6.3.1 Youth as adult bilingual interlocutors

Example 5 – Potato planting day

It’s potato planting day at the chacra of T’ika’s maternal grandparents. T’ika, her cousin, baby sister and I kneel around where the potato seeds have been placed. T’ika and three young boys who have been hired to help for the day are selecting

seeds and putting them into plastic buckets, which another boy takes to the adults. As we fill the buckets, we can hear adults yelling to us all “*falta muhu*” (‘we’re missing seeds’), “*semilla, semilla*” (‘seeds, seeds’), “*apúrate papá, trae más semilla*” (‘hurry up son, bring more seeds’) and “**apurayta aqllaychis**” (‘select [the potatoes] quickly’), as well as chatting with each other bilingually, often teasing each other in Quechua. T’ika’s grandmother approaches us and addresses T’ika,

T’ika’s grandmother:	hoq baldeman T’ika, hatunllanta churarunkichis, hoq baldeman ña ñut’unta churankichis, apuraylla!	T’ika you guys are going to put only the big ones in a bucket, in another one, you’ll put the smaller ones, hurry up!
T’ika:	<i>hay que apurarnos (to the group)</i>	<i>let’s hurry up (to the group)</i>
T’ika’s grandmother:	hinallataq chaytaqa apallachunyá! (<i>talking about the boy in charge of taking the buckets to the adults</i>)	T’ika’s grandmother: he has to bring it just like that! (<i>talking about the boy in charge of taking the buckets to the adults</i>)

As we resume filling the buckets, T’ika explains to us all, “*en aquel balde vamos a llenar puros grandes y en el otro chiquititos, así menuditos*” (‘in this bucket we’re going to put all the big ones and in the other one the little ones, like this, the small ones’), and adds this is so her grandma does not waste time selecting potatoes and can plant them faster. When her grandfather brings more sacks of potato seeds for us to sort through, he reminds us “*de ese colorcito siempre van a escoger, ah*” (‘you’re only going to choose the ones of this color’) and addressing T’ika, cautions, “*no vas a mandar eso*” (‘you’re not going to send that’), pointing to a different colored group of potatoes. (FN & A, 2016.08.27)

As in many of the family activities I participated in with T’ika and Raúl, during this activity, Quechua and Spanish were used simultaneously and separately in interactions by adults, youth’s parents, uncles and grandparents. Youth were often overhearers of these adult exchanges and sometimes also addressees. In the above

vignette, T'ika is addressed by her grandparents in Quechua and also in Spanish, a commonly observed bilingual pattern. T'ika understands her grandmother's Quechua instructions, which she then repeats to the rest of the group in Spanish, taking on the group leader role her grandmother indirectly assigns her. She also adds her own explanation of why it is important to separate potatoes by size, drawing on her prior knowledge of potato planting, an activity she has participated in before. Not as common, however, was youth being addressed by their parents in Quechua, which we now turn to examine.

6.3.1.1 Youth as parental Quechua interlocutors

Unlike Daniel and Yesenia, who were largely addressed by their parents in Quechua, T'ika's and Raúl's parents used Quechua as resource to communicate with their children less frequently, most often observed in playful events and in the reported speech of recounted events. In the following example, T'ika's mom Magdalena, her children and I were cutting parsley in the *chacra* one afternoon and talking about school. Magdalena shared one of her own high school adventures which involved being mischievous and getting punished by a teaching staff her classmates called by the nickname of “**kutiy siki**”⁵⁶, a term that her children found very humorous. In what follows, Magdalena narrates how she escaped from being punished thanks to the help of her grandmother:

⁵⁶ Humorous Quechua term for someone who walks tilted to one side. Literally, buttocks that go back/return.

Example 6 – Magdalena’s high school anecdote

	<u>Original</u>	<u>Translation</u>
1	Magdalena: ... <i>el auxiliar pues me estaría pegando y yo pues me estaba escapándome a la calle</i>	... <i>the teaching aide was probably hitting me and I was running away to the street</i>
2	FKD: <i>ya</i>	<i>OK</i>
3	Magdalena: <i>sin que no me pegue, pa mi mala suerte mi abuela estaba viniendo con el carro. Al chofer le había dicho ‘ay mierda sayachiy carruta’ (hh)</i>	<i>without getting hit, for my bad luck my grandmother was coming in the car. She had told the driver ‘oh shit, stop the car’ (hh)</i>
4	T’ika: [(hh)]	[(hh)]
5	Magdalena: [<i>así</i>]	[<i>like that</i>]
6	All: (hh)	(hh)
7	Magdalena: <i>y ‘imamanta escapamushanki?’</i> , ‘ <i>me quiere mamá pegar</i> ’. <i>Agarra su sombrero, ‘yaw, mierda, clasiykichu masiykichu kasqa oy wawayta maqapuwasharanki?’ (h) ...</i>	<i>and ‘what are you running away from?’</i> , ‘ <i>mom he wants to hit me</i> ’. <i>She picks up her hat, ‘hey, little shit, are you of her same size huh so that you were hitting my child?’ (h) ...</i>
8	All: (hh)	(hh)

(FN & A, 2017.09.08)

As Magdalena shares her funny anecdote bilingually, she uses Quechua in addition to Spanish to voice her grandmother (lines 3 and 7), T’ikas great-grandmother, who is described as an avenger who looks out for her during her high school ventures (line 7). T’ika’s laughter (line 4, 6, 8) follows instances of her great-grandmother’s bold moves (asking a driver to stop the car and cursing the school staff for hitting her granddaughter)

and shows her understanding of the narrated event, while Magdalena's laughter also shows enjoyment in narrating the funny anecdote. Similar instances of use of Quechua to report the past speech of adult family members, especially those who spoke Quechua, was common in the speech of valley youth's parents. Of importance is that during these events, as shown in the above example, youth did not need to use any productive Quechua skills to participate.

Following this playful tone, mothers would tease their children singing Quechua songs to them or using Quechua nicknames for them. One afternoon, for example, while Raúl, his mother Esther, and I sat in the kitchen chit chatting about his school day, the song '**Apakapuy**' ('**Take him away**'), a popular huayno at the time, played on the radio. Esther stopped the conversation and began singing one of the verses of the song to Raúl, "**Kutichipuy kutichipuy, qella borracho wawaykita, apakapuy apakapuy iskhay uya churiykita, mañana mañana munallanichu nina qallu wawaykita, mañana mañana munallanichu arpa chaka churiykita**" ("Make your lazy, drunk son go back, make him go back, take him with you, take your double faced son back, I don't want your sharp tongued child anymore, anymore, I don't want your harp-legged son anymore, anymore"). Mother and son both laughed as Esther sang along in a cheerful tone. While the song was particularly cheerful, making use of funny Quechua insults, the fact that a mom sang it to her son was also funny, as the song is what an ex-lover would sing to her former mother-in-law. For Esther, giving basic commands to her son in Quechua also took this playful tone. As she explained she rarely spoke Quechua to Raúl, she added that there were exceptions, "*hay veces jugando, entre juegos, así 'oy chicucha apamuy chayta, kayta ruway', así le digo*" ('sometimes, as we play around, I tell him

things like 'hey little kid bring that, do this'), which suggests that this use of Quechua with her son was not a common or routine practice. Examples like the ones offered above show how Quechua was one of the resources used by adults (in addition to Spanish, curse words, funny intonations, musical genres, etc.) in playful interactions with youth, which created a comic feeling among those present and followed the overall pattern of interactions where youth's Quechua comprehension was expected, though there were no expectations for them to display their productive abilities nor opportunities to develop them.

Following the friendly tone of parental-youth interactions, youth at times commented on the non-standard Spanish use of parents, especially when they produced *mote* utterances. During lunch after potato harvesting, Raúl's older sister caught on her father's talk as he requested she bring him his hat by uttering "*sombrero traimiy!*"⁵⁷ ('bring me my hat'). She laughed out loud and commented to those of us sitting around the table that her dad had spoken to her in Quechua with Spanish, repeating the phrase. T'ika once recounted how her father produced some "*motes graciosos*" ('funny *motes*'), recalling the time when her father instructed her and her brother to cook rice with eggs by saying "*van a ir a cocinar arroz con huivo*"⁵⁸ ('you'll go and cook rice and eggs'), a reported event which she narrated followed by laughter. T'ika explained that even though everyone could speak with *mote*, it was something funny to laugh about when you noticed it, "*digamos escuchas, están hablando bien, escuchas hablan algo, te da ganas*

⁵⁷ Non-standard pronunciation for '*sombrero traime!*'

⁵⁸ "*Huivo*" is the non-standard pronunciation of '*huevo*' ('egg').

de reírte” (‘let’s say you are listening, they’re speaking correctly, you hear something else they say, you want to laugh’).

These youth’s uptake of their parents’ non-standard Spanish at home was unlike the way *mote* was corrected in Daniel and Yesenia’s families. *Altura* youth took on a more corrective orientation with their siblings but when they commented on their parents’ speech, it was done in a more soft and indirect manner. Yet all four youth recognized the normalized value associated with *mote* and non-*mote* speech, the first as less correct than the former. In the case of Yesenia and Daniel, however, family *mote* utterances were mistakes to be corrected, while in the case of T’ika and Raúl, they appeared as entertaining mishaps to be pointed out. The more relaxed orientation towards *mote* evident in T’ika’s and Raúl’s home experiences suggests that the stakes for producing *mote* for individuals in these families were different, given their racialized identities as Quechua speaking *altura* individuals or bilingual valley individuals, social meaning which youth were aware of.

6.3.1.2 Youth as non-Quechua interlocutors

Besides not commonly addressing their children in Quechua, valley parents also engaged in other socialization practices which sent the message that their children were not legitimate Quechua interlocutors. One of these practices was moving away from Quechua, or switching from Quechua to Spanish, when addressing their children. During an early evening, while Raúl, Esther and I had some soup in the kitchen, Raúl’s aunt walked into the room to chat with Esther. Esther recounted to her sister-in-law in

Quechua some of the highlights of my recent trip to Colombia, which I had shared with her earlier that afternoon. Raúl sipped his soup quietly, playing around with his music buffer, and I ate my soup as I listened to the women talk. As I had previously shared with Esther how surprised I had been at the number of Peruvian restaurants I had seen, Esther mentioned to her sister in law that her own daughter (Katy) and their nephew, both of whom were studying to be chefs at the time, should travel to Colombia in search of employment, “**Katywan ripunqa, chefkuna ripunqaku chayman**” (‘**He’ll go there with Katy, the chefs will go there**’). I then heard Raúl add “*es que si somos reconocidos por la cocina*” (‘*it’s that we are recognized because of our cuisine*’), a comment not addressed to anyone in particular. The adults continued chatting in Quechua about other topics, when Esther turned to Raúl to remind him to eat his soup fast “*Raúl, apura! qué cosa me estás escogiendo? A comer todo, ah!*” (‘*Raúl, hurry up! Are you being picky with the food? You have to eat everything!*’) (FN & A, 2016.09.04). In this event, Raúl’s mother and aunt chat away in Quechua, not addressing Raúl, who overhears the conversation but is not considered a ratified participant, even when he attempts to enter the conversation with a related comment, which is not taken up by either of them. Instead, Esther and her sister-in-law switch to Spanish to address Raúl. This change of code represents a change in footing, that is, how the adults and Raúl relate to one another as participants in the interaction. While the adults used Quechua, Raúl remained an overhearer, but when they switched to Spanish he became a legitimate adult interlocutor, someone whom they intended to communicate with and from whom they expected a response. Also worth pointing out from this example is how youth respected adult conversations, without interfering much if not invited, or if doing so, not expecting

to be included in the conversation. Youth like Raúl and T'ika perhaps learned to read the conversational cues that even though they could understand adult's Quechua talk and conversations, they were not ratified participants nor were expected to participate.

In addition, valley parents also used Quechua to talk *about* youth in their presence in contrast to talking *to* youth. While Esther prepared toasted **poroto**⁵⁹ in the kitchen on another afternoon, Raúl rapidly grabbed some and gulped it down. Esther, who appeared amused by Raúl's action, talked very fast in Quechua saying that her son would get burned because of how fast he was eating, talking about him in the third person. In response, Raúl turned to his mom and told her "*crees que no entiendo*" ('*you think I don't understand*'). In this event, Esther's Quechua side commentary, probably directed at me or at no one in particular though certainly not at Raúl, is an example of parents not addressing youth in Quechua, but talking *about* them in Quechua, an interactive move which positioned youth as non-addressees of Quechua interactions. Raúl's reaction clearly illustrates his understanding of this positioning, which he countered a bit by defensively telling Esther he *did* understand what she said.

Throughout my visits to T'ika and Raúl's homes, their adult relatives would often address me and engage with me in conversation in Quechua, while switching to Spanish to address youth, who were nonetheless very adept at following our conversations. Similarly, parents would talk about their children to me in Quechua, even when they were present. Parents' choice of code to talk to me probably responded to several reasons, including my known interest in Quechua and my eagerness to use the language with

⁵⁹ Quechua name for a type of local bean.

them, as well as their appreciation of an outsider speaking Quechua. At the same time, this pattern further evidenced how adults denied youth the opportunity to also become interlocutors of Quechua interactions.

6.3.1.3 Between youth desire and opportunities: generational perspectives on family Quechua use

Youth's positions as bilingual interlocutors held different meanings for parents and youth, which reflected the various and at times contrasting ideologies about language learning and about youth which circulated across these different generations.

While Esther and Magdalena acknowledged they had not taught their children Quechua when young, they did not doubt their children's ability to understand Quechua, often reminding me that their children understood everything they said. However, as they explained parents' preferred use of Spanish with youth, versus Quechua, they largely grounded this socialization pattern on what they perceived to be youth's language preferences and abilities:

Magdalena:	<i>Uno, porque los papás tal vez no le han dado ese valor que tiene que tener el quechua. Otro, porque tal vez los papás no lo, no lo- decirle, de dónde son sus raíces, se dejan manipular por los hijos, les quieren hablar el quechua, no quieren hacer los papás tienen que, como dice? tienen que estar obedeciendo a los hijos.</i>	<i>first, because parents perhaps have not given Quechua that value, the value Quechua should have. Another reason, because maybe parents haven't, haven't-so to speak, where their roots are from, they let themselves be manipulated by their children, they want to speak to them in Quechua, they don't want to, parents have to, how do you say this?, have to obey children.</i>
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(I, 2016.10.11)

Esther:	<p><i>...MÁS les habla en castellano, porque, es más, más fácil de conectarse creo con sus hijos, porque dificultan en hablar [Quechua] los niños, por eso creo no, no, no quieren hablarles en quechua los padres mismos... hasta yo misma... más le converso en este nomás, en castellano, no?</i></p>	<p><i>...they speak to them MORE in Spanish, because it's more, it's easier to connect with their children, since children have a hard time speaking [Quechua], that's why I think parents themselves don't, don't, don't want to speak to them in Quechua...even I... mostly talk to him just in Spanish, right?</i></p>
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(I, 2016.09.07)

Even though both mothers recognize parents' inclination for Spanish as the medium to address their children, they also place much of the responsibility for this choice on youth's linguistic preferences for Spanish (and lack of preference for Quechua) and limited Quechua productive abilities. Magdalena positions youth as exerting power over their parents' language choices, who it is implied, would like to use Quechua with youth but instead use Spanish because of child pressures. Following this contrast between parents and children, she positions youth as not interested in Quechua.

Esther, in turn, describes how parental use of Spanish responds to the ease of communication between parents and children, which in turn rests on youth's inability to speak Quechua, something she herself experiences. In a different conversation, she also explained how communicating with Raúl in Spanish, was "faster" than in Quechua. Similarly, Magdalena mentioned she didn't talk to T'ika in Quechua much because "**nishuta renegachiwan**" ('**she makes me grumble too much**'), and described how T'ika mentioned she did not understand some Quechua words or asked about the meaning of different terms. For both mothers, expediency in interaction appears as a parental concern or priority in contrast to Quechua language use. In a context where youth were seen as

not having yet developed (sufficient) Quechua productive skills, this parental priority seemed at odds with youth developing those skills as well as with youth's desire for more Quechua use opportunities.

Parental perspectives on youth language practices also reflected an ideology about the nature of Quechua learning as an individual activity dependent on youth desire or interest. Esther, for example, when commenting on youth's difficulties in Quechua pronunciation, which she described as "*medio k'uri k'uri están hablando*" ('*they are speaking with difficulty*'), also mentioned "*pero de todas maneras ya, poco a poco, ya aprenden quechua siempre pe*" ('*but they will certainly, little by little, they always learn Quechua*') (I, 2016.09.07). Esther points to a long-time scale for Quechua learning, where struggles with pronunciation co-exist with the certainty that youth, in time and slowly, will learn Quechua. Regarding her own child, while she often corrected Raúl's Quechua pronunciation, she recognized he understood all and was speaking more and more. After all, for her, "*ese chiquito sí le tira al quechua*" ('*that little kid does have a knack for Quechua*').

Magdalena, in turn, often emphasized it was her children's responsibility to speak the language, a feat under their control. For example, she explained the difference between her two children's productive abilities on the grounds of their personal interest:

FKD:	<i>y Martin y T'ika igual los dos están hablando, o uno habla más que el otro?</i>	<i>and both Martin and T'ika speak Quechua, or does one speak more than the other?</i>
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Magdalena:	<i>T'ika habla más que Martin</i>	<i>T'ika speaks more than Martin</i>
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FKD:	<i>así?</i>	<i>really?</i>
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Magdalena:	<i>si, T'ika pueda o no pueda,</i>	<i>yes, even if she can or can't, T'ika</i>
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	<i>habla</i>	<i>speaks</i>
FKD:	<i>ya</i>	<i>I see</i>
Magdalena:	<i>sí, Martin un poco detalloso, te dice ‘no quiero pues hablar’</i>	<i>yes, Martin is a bit picky, he tells you ‘I don’t want to speak, so’</i>
FKD:	<i>ah</i>	<i>ah</i>
Magdalena:	<i>o sea, no le da la gana o no le gusta, no sé</i>	<i>I mean, he doesn’t want to, or doesn’t like it, I don’t know</i>
FKD:	<i>claro</i>	<i>of course</i>
Magdalena:	<i>pero me gustaría que hablara, no?</i>	<i>but I would like him to speak</i>

(I, 2016.10.11)

The contrast between T’ika and her brother Martin is insightful, as it reflects the idea of speaking Quechua as less connected to ability (in the case of T’ika), and more dependent on youth desire or interest (in the case of Martin). Magdalena’s closing comment also reflects the idea that speaking is dependent on individual will or interest. While there were certainly differences in sibling interest in learning and using Quechua, what is striking is how in explaining their children’s Quechua proficiency, both mothers favored explanations which highlighted youth motivation, interest or desire to speak/learn Quechua as an individual trait divorced from the myriad other factors that come to bear on language proficiency and language development.

Moreover, the mothers also emphasized “*vergüenza*” (‘*shame*’) as a characteristic of current youth culture when explaining youth’s limited use of Quechua. For Magdalena, this constituted the main difference between her generation’s language use and that of her children, “*esta generación tiene VERGÜENZA de hablar el quechua, tiene mucha*

vergüenza” (‘*this generation has SHAME to speak Quechua, they have a lot of shame*’) (I, 2016.10.11). What is more, “*los amiguitos*” (‘*youth’s friends*’), stood as a strong socializing force towards “*vergüenza*”. For Magdalena, youth cliques constituted an important force pushing youth away from Quechua, perhaps even stronger than school practices aiming to promote Quechua. She explained that regardless of teacher efforts, youth would never want to speak Quechua, “*si los amiguitos ahí están que les avergüenzan a ellos*” (‘*if their friends are making them feel ashamed*’), saying things like “*¿tú sabes el quechua?*” (‘*you know Quechua?*’) and “*seguramente tus papás son de la altura*” (‘*surely your parents are from the highlands*’). Within parental discourse about youth shame, as shown in this commentary, youth were both the cause of shame as well as the victims of shame.

In contrast to their mothers, when reflecting on their own Quechua use, T’ika and Raúl emphasized the lack of opportunities adults offered them to use Quechua and to expand their productive abilities in the language. During one of my first visits to T’ika’s home, I asked her if she had been speaking more Quechua during the school holidays, which she had spent helping her family in the *chacra*. In a matter of fact tone she responded “*no, ¿con quién?*” (‘*no, with whom?*’). When I followed up asking if she spoke Quechua with her parents she repeated no as an answer, and when I asked about her brother she replied “*peor, él no sabe nada*” (‘*it’s worse with him, he doesn’t know anything*’) (FN, 2016.07.13). In the case of Raúl, he described how at home and in his community he was mostly an overhearer of Quechua interactions, “*más escucho, más escucho hablar*” (‘*I mostly hear [Quechua], I hear others speak*’). He furthermore emphasized how for certain adults, Quechua was exclusively used in the realm of adult-

adult interactions. With regards to his father, for example, he explained, “*quechua sólo con su mamá nomás*” (*[my father] only [speaks] Quechua with his mother, only with her*).

T’ika’s and Raúl’s commentaries point to the broader pattern described above where youth were rarely positioned as Quechua speakers by adults, and even less so by members of their same generation. The sociolinguistic survey results from Raúl’s and T’ika’s school reflect a similar trend, as youth mentioned that while 51% of their family members spoke Quechua, only 35% of relatives spoke it to them, while youth used the language to address only 28% of their relatives (SS Sembrar School, 2016). Youth not only recognized this language use pattern but were also critical of this participation framework for helping them develop productive skills in Quechua. Below, as T’ika explains her mothers’ reaction to her low grade in the high school Quechua course, she points to the limitations she finds at home to speak Quechua:

T’ika:	<i>... me ha dicho, ‘¿por qué?, ¿acaso no hablamos quechua?’ así ... le he dicho, ‘no, es que mami no puedo tanto, me tienen que hablar un poco más, yo les tengo que responder así, en quechua y así pa que aprenda’</i>	<i>...she told me, ‘why?’, ‘don’t we speak Quechua?’ like that...I told her, ‘no, mom, the thing is that I can’t [speak it] much, you have to talk to me a bit more, I have to reply back like that, in Quechua, so that I learn’</i>
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FKD:	<i>mmm</i>	<i>mmm</i>
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T’ika:	<i>solo ellos hablan y yo escucho no más pe y no sé qué hablan pe.</i>	<i>they are the only ones that speak and I only listen, and I don’t know what they talk about.</i>
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(I, 2017.01.16)

Evident in Magdalena’s reported speech is the idea, shared by adults, that learning Quechua, and performing well on the high school course, is something youth ought to do

as they are exposed to the language in their bilingual homes. Clear too, in T'ika's response, is her request to be considered as a legitimate interlocutor, someone adults talk to but also expect to get a response from, and someone who is encouraged to produce the language. In making sense of how adults did not treat them as Quechua interlocutors and expressing their desire for this to be different, youth drew on an ideology of Quechua language learning as tied to the conditions for learning, which included opportunities to be a speaker and to be positioned as one.

6.3.2 Youth as Quechua speakers

Despite this scenario, T'ika and Raúl did find and create opportunities to speak Quechua, or attempted to do so. Youth's use of the language and its uptake was also linked to family language ideologies that in many ways maintained the limited the opportunities to speak youth described.

6.3.2.1 Parental uptakes: evaluations of youth Quechua use

T'ika's and Raúl's use of Quechua as a resource to communicate with their families was infrequent, and more so in the case of T'ika. When they did take on Quechua-speaker roles, they were evaluated by their parents in very different ways, ranging from direct pronunciation corrections to lack of commentary. In the case of Magdalena, she rarely commented on T'ika's attempts to speak the language. In the example that follows, which took place one afternoon while T'ika and her family worked in the chacra harvesting parsley, T'ika's use of Quechua does not bring about any commentary:

Example 7 – “Aparapunku”

	<u>Original</u>	<u>Translation</u>
1		(Magdalena’s cell phone rings)
2	Magdalena: <i>aló? (she picks up the phone)</i>	<i>hello? (she picks up the phone)</i>
3	T’ika: <i>apaparapunku (to me)</i>	they hang up (to me)
4		(Magdalena hangs up, puts phone away)
5	Magdalena: noqapas <i>contestayrisqay (to self)</i>	and I had picked up (to self)
6	Magdalena: <i>falta diez, falta diez (to Martin and T’ika).</i>	<i>we are missing ten, missing ten [bundles of parsley to cut] (to Martin and T’ika)</i>

(FN & A, 2017.09.08)

The above example illustrates the pattern of adults addressing youth in Spanish (line 6), while also using Quechua in the presence of youth, yet not directed at them (line 5). Of interest, here, is T’ika’s commentary as her mother answers and hangs up the phone after no one answers. T’ika comments on the fact that the caller is not answering and turns to me to comment using Quechua and Spanish (line 3), with more elaborate use of Quechua which she uses to mark verb tense, subject-verb agreement and grammatical emphasis.

This was not the only time when T’ika turned to me as she offered a Quechua phrase to

comment on the events and conversations we were both part of, which probably speaks to the feeling of *confianza* she had with me and my known interest in Quechua. What is more, the lack of commentary T'ika's Quechua intervention received, especially from her mom, was also a common pattern during other instances where she made use of the language. This was also the case when T'ika used Quechua nouns and verbs in her speech on other occasions, for example, when she used “**q'ente**” instead of the Spanish “*colibrí*” for hummingbird or the bilingual term “**qaparireando**” (*had been screaming*), both unmarked uses of Quechua in her Spanish talk which did not bring about commentaries from adults or siblings.

Neither T'ika's nor her brother Martin's attempts to use Quechua received much scaffold from Magdalena. As T'ika's family and I rode the bus back to Urubamba from visiting the *Sr. de Huanca* Sanctuary one weekend, Magdalena announced that she would get off first to go to the pharmacy with her youngest daughter, and the rest of us would ride the bus until the final stop. Martin got close to his mom, who sat in front of him, and asked her “*¿puedo ir contigo?*” (*can I go with you?*), followed by an elongated “**ri::::?**” which he then dropped, as if trying to form a phrase in Quechua (**riy** is a Quechua verb that means ‘to go’). He leaned his head on Magdalena's headrest and asked her softly, “*¿por qué no puedo hablar Quechua?*” (*why can't I speak Quechua?*), sounding a bit frustrated. Martin's comment suggested that he was trying to say ‘can I go with you?’ in Quechua. In a very matter of fact tone, Magdalena responded, “*porque no practicas, pues*” (*because you don't practice*). After a short pause she added, “*si hablaras lo que puedes...*” (*if you spoke what you could...*), and the interaction came to an end (FN, 2017.09.16).

Magdalena's responses directly, and indirectly, reflect once more the ideology of Quechua learning as the individual responsibility of youth, in this case, the responsibility of Martin. In her response to Martin, she explicitly explains his inability to form a phrase in his lack of practice. At the same time, the lack of scaffold, which could have entailed extending Martin's 'ri' into a phrase, indirectly indexes that speaking Quechua is something Martin has to do on his own, and perhaps, also suggests that she views him as able to speak and not in need of her support. This line of reasoning can also help explain why neither Magdalena nor Esther modified or simplified their Quechua speech for their children, a practice observed in other contexts where parents are trying to make their children speak the language (see Sichra, 2016).

In contrast to Magdalena, Esther commonly commented on Raúl's Quechua interventions in Quechua. Her commentaries usually targeted Raúl's pronunciation, as shown in the following vignette:

Example 8 – Cooking utensils

Esther is toasting **poroto** in the kitchen. She walks out of the room in search of something, and Raúl and I stay alone. I ask him about the names of the utensils around us and he names and explains which one is the "**k'analla**" (open clay pot used for toasting), the "**phachas**" (lime used for toasting), the "**phukuna**" (metallic tube used to blow the hot coal), the "**payla**" (bigger pot used to toast) and the "**chanaka**" (wooden stick used to move the coal). He then explains that "**qhollota**" is the name of the round stone placed on top of the **poroto** as it toasts. As I pronounce the term myself, Raúl explains it's pronounced with two 'C's. Esther had already walked back into the kitchen, and after overhearing our exchanges, quickly jumped in, addressing Raúl, "*quieres hablar otra cosa*" ('*you want to say something else*'). Esther explains that it's pronounced "**qollota**", repeating this word loudly and heavily emphasizing the first syllable, "**QO**". She ends by saying, "*es QOllota y no otra cosa*" ('*it's QOllota and not anything else*'). (FN, 2016.08.14)

Raúl was always eager to show me the names of different home utensils, agricultural terminology as well as the names of plants and herbs in his community, many of them in Quechua, which were commonly used in everyday talk. In the above case, Esther picks up on his incorrect pronunciation of one of the terms he taught me, and eagerly corrects him. Note how Raúl can adequately produce other words with Quechua aspirated and glottal sounds (like “**phukuna**” and “**k’analla**”), and that he is aware that “**qollota**” is not pronounced with a ‘k’ velar sound, as he reminds me it is spelled with a double ‘C’, a common non-standard way to spell the ‘q’ uvular sound in Quechua. Nevertheless, he doesn’t quite pronounce the word the way it ought to be pronounced, pronouncing it with a uvular aspirated sound rather than with an uvular sound, which leads to his mom’s correction.

Adults and youth had different views on the purpose and impact of these corrections, as suggested by the following exchange between Raúl and Esther:

- | | | |
|---------|--|--|
| FKD: | <i>y con tu mamá por qué no hablas quechua?</i> | <i>and why don't you speak Quechua with your mom?</i> |
| Raúl: | <i>mm no me entiende ella, cuando digo qh-huq me dice “se dice HOQ”, así- (a bit louder, voicing his mom)-</i> | <i>mm she doesn't get me, when I say qh-huq she tells me “it's pronounced HOQ”, like that- (a bit louder, voicing his mom)</i> |
| Esther: | hoq se dice pe, no huq | <i>but it's hoq, not huq</i> |
| Raúl: | kuq estoy diciendo- | <i>I'm saying kuq-</i> |
| Esther: | <i>yo te estoy denando- cómo se llama? corrigiendo la pa- la pronunciación pe hijo. Hoq es- o sea, huq estás diciendo, hoq se dice...</i> | <i>I am- how do you say this? Correcting the pronunciation son. Hoq is- I mean, you are saying huq, it's hoq...</i> |

(I, 2016.09.07)

Raúl points out that he doesn't speak in Quechua with his mom because she doesn't get him, and relates this to an example of how she corrects his Quechua pronunciation. His mom, who is sitting right beside him, defends her correction, which leads Raúl to correct what he had previously said, and his mom to continue emphasizing her correction. In the above interaction, Raúl does produce utterances which are not identifiable as Quechua, given that “huq” and “kuq” have no meaning, in contrast to **huk** (‘number one’) and **hoq** (‘other’). Raúl’s pronunciation may be more of a spelling pronunciation, as he had one book where Quechua was written with the three vowel system, and it also might be he was unsure about how to pronounce the two different words. The many times I heard Esther correct Raúl’s pronunciation, like when he shared riddles, practiced the Quechua lyrics for his dance troupe, read a Quechua text, or taught me a new Quechua word, followed this direct and sharp correcting style, with her emphasizing the way Raúl pronounced and comparing to the way it should be pronounced. Other times, corrections would be followed by comments like “*tienes que aprender*” (‘you have to learn’) or “*otra cosa estás queriendo decir*” (‘you are saying something different’).

Given Raúl’s mom’s emphasis on the **k’uri k’uri** Quechua spoken by youth at the time, it is no wonder she picked up on her son’s mispronunciations. In addition to the pronunciation of Quechua consonants, she also corrected and commented on Raúl’s and her daughters’ fluidity, intonation and rapidity when speaking Quechua. Esther was very perceptive of the phonological differences between the pronunciation of younger generations and her own and older ones. For example, she mentioned that younger generations did not pronounce the assibilated ‘r’ sound more emblematic of Quechua she and her mother used, and described the ‘r’ sound closer to Spanish produced by younger

people as “*medio raro*” (‘*a bit odd*’). She also described youth Quechua speech as “*medio gagueando*” (‘*as if stuttering*’) and “*no hablan muy correctamente*” (‘*they don’t speak very correctly*’). Interestingly, her corrections rarely targeted youth’s mixed use of Spanish and Quechua. Following the parental belief that children had the ability to speak Quechua, we can interpret Esther’s corrections as grounded on the expectations she had for her child to be able to not only speak Quechua, but to do so correctly. Even though these corrections were instances where Raúl’s mom helped him improve his productive abilities, they also seemed to discourage him, as Raúl suggests, from speaking with adults, further reducing opportunities for youth Quechua language development.

6.3.2.2 *Quechua use with grandparents: a two-sided exception*

An exception to the above pattern of limited youth Quechua use with adults were some interactions with grandparents. Raúl and T’ika recognized their grandparents as fluent Quechua speakers, and in the case of Raúl, as the only family relatives he addressed using Quechua. The following example, an interaction between Raúl and his paternal grandmother, María, in her kitchen, was one of the few instances where I recorded and heard Raúl make use of more extended Quechua discourse:

Example 9 – Raúl and his grandmother María

	<u>Original</u>	<u>Translation</u>
Raúl:	ima mikhunachatari wayk’umunki?	what food have you cooked?
Grandma	ima noqa wayk’unichu (<i>fast</i>)	why would I cook? (<i>fast</i>)

María:		
Raúl:	wa, mikhu-mikhukuytayá munani	oh, but I want to ea-eat
Grandma María:	manan kanchu (<i>fast</i>)	there's nothing [to eat] (<i>fast</i>)
Raúl:	wa, ripusaq <i>entonces</i>	oh, I'm leaving <i>then</i>
Grandma María:	ripuyyá, (<i>I walk into the kitchen</i>) pitaq <i>visitamusunki?</i>	go ahead and leave then, (<i>I walk into the kitchen</i>) who is visiting you?
Raúl:	waylaka <i>María-</i> ...	María waylaka ⁶⁰ - ...
Raúl:	mmm papa wayk'uchatayá mmm t'impuchiy <i>mamá</i> ⁶¹	mmm boil/cook up mmmm potato <i>mom</i>
Grandma María:	papaypas kanchu	I don't even have potatoes
Raúl:	haqaytaqri? ... aqhaypi kashan ashka hatunkunaraq. ya? ya pue mamá, ya? (<i>with a sweet tone</i>). Noqa wayk'ukamusaq. <i>Ah::, me he mordido la lengua, ay::: (his nearby cousins laugh).</i>	and that over there? ... there's still a lot of big ones over there. Ok? c'mon mom, ok? (<i>with a sweet tone</i>). I'll cook for myself. <i>Ah::, I've bitten my tongue, ouch::: (his nearby cousins laugh).</i>

(A, 2017.10.19)

In this event, Raúl approaches his grandmother, sitting by the **q'oncha**, and asks her what she had cooked that day, engaging in friendly banter that he will leave as there is no food,

⁶⁰ term used in teasing or insults for a woman who doesn't know how to cook.

⁶¹ It was very common for individuals to call their grandparents and great-grandparents 'mamá' ('mother') and 'papá' ('father').

and continuing to nag her to prepare him something to eat. Raúl also uses Spanish to comment on a mishap that has occurred to him, biting his tongue, which brings about laughter from his two cousins sitting nearby. Although he halts at times, and speaks at a slower tempo than his grandmother, he communicates effectively using extended Quechua discourse including a range of suffixes. His grandmother engages in conversation with him, treating him like a legitimate interlocutor, answering his questions and asking him others, unlike the interactions with other adults where Raúl was not addressed as a Quechua speaker.

Even though interactions with Quechua-speaking grandparents provided unique opportunities for youth to be taken seriously as Quechua interlocutors, this was not a common pattern, but rather an exception, for valley youth. In Raúl's and T'ika's life, the number of Quechua monolingual great grandparents and grandparents who did not understand Spanish was very small. In the case of Raúl, his paternal grandmother was the only older adult in his family who spoke only Quechua; his maternal grandparents understood Spanish, and Raúl often responded to them in Spanish even when they spoke to him in Quechua. Thus, while grandparents were the adults who most often addressed youth in Quechua, many of them were also bilingual and used both languages to interact with their grandchildren. Youth, in turn, used mostly Spanish with them, patterns evident in T'ika's interactions with her maternal grandparents (see Example 5). Just as parental views of youth influenced the language choices they made when addressing their children, it is also worth considering how grandkids' predominant use of Spanish, as well as circulating discourses about youth proficiency and the importance of Spanish, also influenced the ways in which bilingual grandparents engaged with their grandkids.

In addition, physical and emotional estrangement from older Quechua-speaking great grandparents and grandparents also came to bear on youth Quechua use. In the case of T'ika, as described in Chapter 5, when she moved away from her Quechua-speaking great grandparents, she had less opportunities to be addressed in Quechua and use Quechua. At the time I met her, she had moved back closer to them, though no longer lived with them. However, she described her limited proficiency as an impediment to communicate with them, describing how she no longer understood what they told her and needed her mom to interpret for her. In addition, even in cases where youth lived close to their Quechua-speaking older relatives, their lack of meaningful connection did not incite intergenerational interaction, much less interaction in Quechua. In the case of T'ika, she described her paternal grandparents as speaking "*pura Quechua*" ('*only Quechua*'), but her estranged relationship with them meant she rarely interacted with them, which was also the case when she lived close to them. For Raúl, interactions with his paternal grandmother where they bantered around domestic activities, like the ones featured above, constituted the majority of their interactions, and he described his grandmother as a bit "*aburrida*" ('*boring*') and he lamented there were a limited range of other conversational domains where he could use Quechua.

While positive emotional relationships with older relatives, many times grandparents, were at the root of T'ika's and Raúl's earlier language learning trajectories, the lack of an emotional connection or a change in their relationships also manifested itself in lost opportunities for Quechua use and learning. For these reasons, while Quechua-speaking grandparents were Quechua socializing agents and hence an exception

to the adult-youth interaction pattern for valley youth, this status was not necessarily realized (see also King & Haboud, 2011; Sichra, 2016).

6.4 Looking across four cases of home language socialization

This chapter has provided an overview of the practices, ideologies and roles involved in processes of home language socialization by looking at the experiences of Daniel, Yesenia, T'ika and Raúl. Paying attention to the interactional roles youth were assigned and took, I explored how Daniel and Yesenia participated in socialization processes as legitimate Quechua-Spanish bilingual interlocutors and as Spanish language socialization agents. T'ika and Raúl, in turn, wavered between being positioned and recognized as Quechua (non-)speakers, addressees and overhearers. For these four youth, their home language socialization practices, occurring in contexts of local and societal bilingualism, largely monolingual school policies and state institutions, discrimination, and Quechua shift to Spanish, as well as amidst migratory flows, diverse intergenerational relationships and family communicative repertoires, reflected local notions of language learning and youth, in as much as these practices reinforced and transformed family beliefs and expectations.

Looking across home experiences demonstrates the multidirectionality characterizing language socialization and the multiple agents involved. Considering the roles of children and youth as not just socialization recipients, but as socialization agents challenges preconceived notions of expert or novice on the grounds of age or authority, as well as any notion of a unidirectional socialization pattern. The findings reported in this chapter contribute to a growing literature on family language policy studies focusing

on the role of children as socializing agents, especially vis à vis their parents (Luykx, 2005), and also with their siblings (Kheirkhah & Cekaite, 2018). Youth influence family language practices and choices in indirect and direct ways. From acting as the impetus for family migrations in order to provide children a better future than their parents had, or from halting the use of Quechua to prevent children from discrimination their parents suffered, to bringing in/increasing Spanish use and language learning opportunities in Quechua-dominant homes where youth are seen simultaneously as non-speakers and can-be speakers, both parents and youth mutually informed language socialization experiences.

The predominance of correction practices across *altura* and valley families illuminates the many ways in which correction manifests itself as a socially-embedded practice. Underlying youth corrections of sibling and parental *mote*, as well as parental correction of youth's Quechua pronunciation and production are not only the circumstances of access to and opportunities for formal and non-formal language learning, but also ideas of the social meaning and stakes of using 'correct' language, as well as the responsibilities and capabilities of those who engaged in corrections and those who were corrected.

Together, the four cases also demonstrate, once again, how language issues are never just about language. Looking into family language use particularly reveals the centrality of relationships – both existing and non-existing -- that help bring Quechua and Spanish forward or not, highlighting how others can make one feel insecure, confident, needed and/or unmotivated as an individual and a speaker. Looking into the roles and sense of self involved in acts of speaking, listening, interpreting, counseling, bantering

and correcting, among the many language practices documented, allows us to see how the intergenerational transmission of a minoritized language like Quechua also rests on the maintenance and transformation of intergenerational relationships. It is through these relationships that local and more widely circulating ideologies about language, youth, learning and progress are also made sense of.

CHAPTER 7: High school Quechua language education: opening and closing down spaces for Quechua use and learning

7.1 Quechua language education in high schools: setting the context

Alongside the centrality of family relationships in youth's lives, the relationships, participation roles and language learning opportunities youth encountered, and did not encounter, in schools, also became central to their Quechua language socialization experiences. Within high schools, Quechua class was the ultimate Quechua language acquisition place; compared to other subject areas and domains, in Quechua class youth were most exposed to Quechua by their teachers, were most expected to use the language during instruction and used it the most with their peers . Quechua language acquisition class, however, took place under challenging circumstances, which included the mere 45-minutes a week period assigned to the class, limited curriculum and teaching resources and, in the case of Sembrar School, the varying expertise of teachers who were assigned to teach the course⁶².

While the regional policy that made Quechua an official subject area in Urubamba high schools set a policy precedent in the region, where Quechua had remained a mandated medium of instruction only in rural communities with IBE schools, in practice this policy did little to promote language diversity in the schools where it was expected to be implemented. Teachers from both schools described how none received any support from the local educational offices, regional educational offices and national Ministry of

⁶² More information on teachers' expertise is available in Chapter 4.

Education, nor from their schools in terms of professional development or classroom resources. Outside of high schools, the Quechua language education policy seemed to hold no traces of accountability beyond the document that officialized it. As I visited the regional offices of education of Cusco in early 2016, as well as the offices of education of the province of Urubamba and of the neighboring province of Calca, I was sent either to the *secundaria* division or the Intercultural Bilingual Education office, where public servants of the former often referred me to the latter, and public servants there explained, time and again, that though Quechua language education was also important in urban schools, their responsibilities belonged to rural schools. The compartmentalization of high school education and intercultural and bilingual education at the institutional level paralleled the division between rural and urban schools that has long grounded education in languages other than Spanish in Peru within a remedial focus aimed at rural-dwelling students who have an Indigenous language as their first language (López & Kuper, 1999; Trapnell & Zavala, 2013)⁶³.

Despite this rather gloomy backdrop, Quechua classrooms were a lively space where I observed the constant and often loud exchange between teachers and youth or among youth, though not necessarily always related to classroom tasks, nor making use of Quechua. In contrast to other subject areas, the class had a more relaxed atmosphere, and youth often took more liberties to engage in non-classroom tasks and sometimes challenged classroom norms. And while teacher use of Quechua as medium of instruction varied, from teachers who used it most of the time, to others who used both languages simultaneously and others who relied more on Spanish, youth oral participation drawing

⁶³ See Chapter 3.

on Quechua occurred far less than that of their teachers, and I often heard youth using more Spanish than Quechua in a variety of situations. About 39% of students from Sembrar School reported they used Quechua rarely, followed by about 30% who responded they spoke it “*pocas veces nomás*” (‘*just a few times*’), while at IC School the reverse was reported, with 40% of students expressing they used Quechua ‘just a few times’ and 28% rarely (SS, 2016); both, however, amounting to nearly 70% of students who reported using Quechua rarely or only occasionally.

In some ways, the mere fact that Quechua classes were implemented given the wider policy context constituted a symbolic gain for the language at schools. However, as minoritized language education scholars have explored, schools can play a role but are not sufficient to revitalize endangered languages nor promote Indigenous language maintenance (Hornberger, 2008; King, 2001; McCarty & Nicholas, 2014). Others like Fishman (1991) have more critically questioned the relevance of schools, often not controlled by communities of speakers, when intergenerational transmission of the language is threatened. What is more, minority language education does not simply constitute attempts to create more speakers or uses of a language but rather, following Jaffe (2011), it “plays an active role in *defining* both linguistic and sociolinguistic identities, creating new communities of practice and meaning” (p. 206).

The teaching of Quechua across Urubamba high schools is an inherently ideological practice, active in shaping particular views about language, language use and language learners’ identities, with implications for learners and for Indigenous language maintenance. In this chapter, I explore how through everyday classroom practices, teachers and youth opened and closed down ideological and implementational spaces

(Hornberger, 2002) for diverse Quechua language practices and learning opportunities.

The chapter begins by considering dominant teacher-directed classroom activities observed across schools, which sought to establish the legitimacy of the Quechua course and Quechua language. I then consider co-existing classroom moments and activities guided by a communicative orientation which created more inclusive and flexible spaces co-constructed in interaction. The chapter concludes by synthesizing the findings and their educational implications.

7.2 Language curricularization and legitimization

Year 3 students work individually on a graded classroom task. They have been directed to write ten questions using Quechua question words (**pi/ima/hayk'a**) reviewed earlier in the lesson. Youth start asking Teacher Mónica the Quechua translation of certain verbs and nouns, and after she reminds them to keep working on their own as it is a graded assignment, several students start turning to their classmates for help. In an exasperated tone, Teacher Mónica addresses the group:

Están meramente escribanos, robots, abren vuestros cuadernos y copian lo que yo hago, robots, repiten, escriben o transcriben de lo que yo he hecho. No es eso, el objetivo no es eso ... la gran mayoría ha estado pidiendo ayuda al compañero, a sultano, mengano como digo, no es eso. Mi objetivo es, les he dicho DESDE PRIMERO (loud), que ustedes sepan comunicarse

You are just like scribes, robots, you open your notebooks and copy what I write down, robots, who repeat, write or transcribe what I have done. The goal is not that, it's not that ... the majority of you have been asking help to your classmates, to anyone or someone, like I say, [the goal] is not that. My goal, and I have told you SINCE YEAR ONE (loud), is that you know how to communicate

(FN & A, 2016.04.14)

This short moment of interaction reveals a wider reality I observed across Quechua classes, that is, teachers' frustration with achieving their planned goals. Teacher Mónica

and the other Quechua teachers all shared a genuine desire for their students to express themselves orally in Quechua, helping youth develop missing productive abilities and/or overcome their perceived *vergüenza* ('shame') to speak the language. Another shared goal by teachers was to get youth to write in the language, viewing writing both as the next logical step after speaking a language, and as a tool for developing oral language skills, especially for developing a 'correct' Quechua pronunciation. However, many teachers felt they were far from achieving these objectives, especially promoting oral language use and development, which became a constant source of concern. Teacher Mónica's harsh description of youth as 'scribes' and 'robots' points to some of this frustration with youth but also with her own teaching practice, as speaking is replaced with repeating, and writing with transcribing.

Yet, throughout various classroom activities focusing on the teaching of Quechua vocabulary, grammar, pronunciation, Quechua oral skills and literacy, Quechua language education was guided by processes of language curricularization (Valdés, 2015) and legitimization which seemed to close down spaces for meaningful youth language learning. That is, many classroom activities were guided by a concern for establishing Quechua as a legitimate subject area like all other language-related high school courses and as a legitimate language, especially in relation to Spanish. In what follows, I explore how Quechua language practices were organized and promoted in classroom activities following this orientation, as well as how youth made sense of and commented on these classroom activities.

7.2.1 Bits and pieces of language: vocabulary, pronunciation and grammar

Despite teachers' goals for supporting youth development of communicative skills in Quechua, class activities often reflected a model of language as an object to be studied and analyzed and a vision of language learning as the mastery of bits and pieces of language, where the bits and pieces stood for linguistic forms such as loose vocabulary words, grammar bits, and letters of the alphabet which once learned by students would allow them to communicate, though these forms were rarely practiced with a communicative purpose in lessons. As Teacher Mónica explained to her class the importance of learning vocabulary, she questioned her students “*no saben verbos, no saben sustantivos, ¿cómo vamos a pretender hablar si no manejamos esas cosas?*” (‘*you don’t know verbs, you don’t know nouns, how will we attempt to speak if we don’t master these things?*’) (FN, 2016.04.14), a statement which vividly reflects the belief that the learning of discrete parts is a requisite for developing oral productive abilities in the language. The structuring of the class curriculum from discrete grammar forms and lists of vocabulary words, was further reinforced by the textbook materials teachers drew on for lesson planning (which they had found on their own), which followed a similar organization. Teachers explained the linearity of this curriculum based on the perceived emerging Quechua skills of their students, as well as on their shyness, which meant they could not demand youth speak more in class. Within these activities, youth were positioned in production formats where they were expected to act as animators of teacher known answers, and answer in the form of loose nouns and short sentences.

7.2.1.1 Language equivalence through vocabulary instruction

During one of T'ika's and Raúl's Year 2 classes, their teacher developed a lesson around 'enfermedades' ('illnesses'). Holding her Quechua book open in one hand, Teacher Janet asked students for the Quechua equivalent of Spanish terms such as 'diarrea' (diarrea) 'dolor de barriga' (stomachache), and 'paperas' (mumps), terms she selected from her book. Once a student or she gave the answer, she would write down the Quechua or the Spanish equivalent on the board, and ask students to write this down with its bilingual equivalent. The following excerpt is an example of the classroom talk typical of this lesson:

Example 1 – Lesson on bodily pains and illnesses

	<u>Original</u>	<u>Translation</u>
1 Teacher Janet:	como podríamos poner mi barriga duele?	<i>how could we write down my stomach hurts?</i>
2 Y1:	wiqsaymi nanawashan	my stomach is hurting
3 Teacher Janet:	wiqsa nanay, riki? Entonces dolor de barriga sería, dolor de? barriga (writes on board 'Wijsa Nanay'). Dolor de espalda que sería?	stomach ache, right? then, stomach ache would be, stomach? Ache (writes on board 'Stomach Ache'). Back ache, what would it be?
4 T'ika:	dolor de barriga?	<i>Back ache?</i>
5 Y2:	wiqsa nanay (yells from the back)	stomach ache (yells from the back)
6 Teacher	espalda que es en quechua?	<i>What's back in Quechua?</i>

	Janet:		
7	T'ika:	[wasay]	[my back]
8	Y3:	[wasay]	[my back]
9	Y4:	[wasaymi nanawashan]	[my back is hurting]
10	Teacher Janet:	wasa nanay o wasa onqoy	Back ache or back illness
11	T'ika:	wasa nanay	Back ache

(A, 2017.10.30)

Most of these activities followed an IRE-like, closed-answer questioning style which allowed teachers to organize classroom oral participation. Students acted as animators of teacher questions, usually providing one-noun responses required of them. In the above example, youth's more elaborate phrases (line 2, line 9) are reframed as individual nouns that fit the format of the exercise (lines 3 and 10). Many of these vocabulary-generating activities relied on the notion of equivalence between Spanish and Quechua, and its accompanying vision of balanced bilingualism. Figure 5, below, shows how Teacher Janet wrote down and organized the equivalent Spanish and Quechua vocabulary on the board during the analyzed lesson. For teachers, searching for equivalent Spanish and Quechua terms was a way to expand youth's Quechua repertoires and establish that both Quechua and Spanish were similar languages capable of expressing similar ideas.

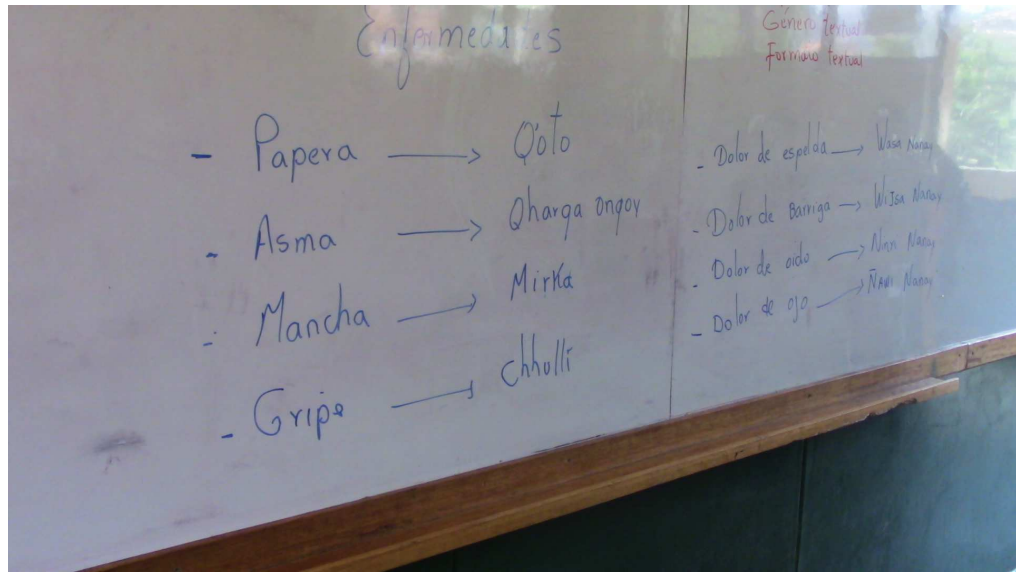


Figure 5 - Image of teacher writing on the board (2017.10.30)

The search for equivalence was carried out in different ways by different teachers, sending various messages about local and students' own language practices. In the same lesson as above, Teacher Janet explained to the group that the Quechua term for “gripe” (*the flu*) was “**chhulli**”, but it was a term which they did not hear much:

Example 2 – The flu

- | | | | |
|---|----------------|--|---|
| 1 | Teacher Janet: | <i>este, cuando nosotros nos enfermamos con gripe siempre lo mezclan nuestro quechua con el español, por ejemplo habrán escuchado en algunas personas mayores lo dicen eh:: gripe onqoy, gripe, gripiwan kashan, así dicen</i> | <i>mmm, when we get the flu people always mix our Quechua with Spanish, for example you might have heard older people call it uhm:: flu disease, flu, with the flu, that's how they call it</i> |
| 2 | T'ika: | <i>ajá</i> | <i>Mhm</i> |
| 3 | Ys: | <i>(nod in agreement)</i> | <i>(nod in agreement)</i> |

- 4 Teacher *pero lo más CORRECTO sería,* *but the more CORRECT way to*
 Janet: **chhulli onqowan kashan-** *ya* *say it would be, sick with the flu-*
entonces gripe en quechua es? (no *ok, so flu in Quechua is? (no one*
one answers) chhulli *answers) flu*

In this search for equivalence, Teacher Janet compared the local bilingual way of referring to the flu (line 1) to a Quechua-only term (line 4). The bilingual nature of local language practices is contrasted to a more “correct” way of speaking, represented by a Quechua-only term which comes from her textbook and which was eventually the term written down on the board and in youth’s notebooks. Even as Teacher Janet offered an opportunity for her students to expand their Quechua repertoires, this was done at the expense of positioning local language practices, which students seemed to easily recognize (lines 2, 3), as clearly less ideal than a “purer” way of speaking Quechua.

In addition, the search for vocabulary equivalents sometimes limited youth exploration of their own language learning interests. Throughout the above lesson, upon Teacher Janet’s requests for more terms to include in the growing list of illnesses, youth asked how to say Spanish terms like “*obesidad*” (‘*obesity*’), “*cancer*”, “*tuberculosis*”, and “*VIH*” (‘*HIV*’) in Quechua. At times, the teacher would recognize their questions, and ask the class for possible equivalents, though many times these queries were not recognized, and the teacher continued with her list. This was often the case with words which did not fall within the list of vocabulary the teacher had brought to class.

Whereas vocabulary instruction could have opened spaces to reflect about language contact and variation phenomena, this was often not the case. In a different

lesson, I noticed how students would ask the teacher for Quechua equivalents of words which were in fact already Quechua but widely used in Spanish, like *muña* (a local herb), or *pachamanca* (a local dish). Another day, as Year 1 students worked on the cover of their Quechua notebook, which the teacher had translated to Quechua, I observed a student ask the teacher for the equivalent of his own name in Quechua to include in the cover. These instances reveal how ingrained was the idea that Spanish and Quechua were equivalent, as well as how accustomed youth had grown to search for this equivalency even when not directed by their teachers. Most importantly, these instances revealed missed opportunities to engage in discussions about the bilingualism and language mixing that was so widespread in the region and in youth's own families (see Chapter 6).

Coexisting with these separating practices, I also observed how teachers themselves made use of flexible bilingual language practices themselves when addressing youth, and when they interacted with their colleagues outside of classrooms. In a much smaller set of cases, I observed how some teachers acknowledged other Quechua varieties, especially when using classroom materials which used the Ayacucho variant of Quechua. Though differences and similarities were not the focus of classroom explorations, no one variety was described as better than the other, they were just different dialects corresponding to different regions. And, as we'll see in the discussion of the video projects at IC School, Teacher Mónica in particular held a more open attitude to considering the many ways in which separate and flexible bilingual practices could both be used in the completion of classroom assignments.

7.2.1.2 Legitimizing Quechua: Quechua pronunciation and grammar

Lessons on the structure and sounds of Quechua became important ways to establish the legitimacy of the course as well as that of the language. In one of the first lessons of the year, as Teacher Mónica introduced the subject area plan for the year, she explained to her Year 3 students that the course would be organized around three criteria, the same as the ones used in the Spanish Language Arts course: oral expression, text comprehension, and text production, emphasizing that “*igualito va a ser aca*” (‘*it’s going to be just the same here*’). She then reminded the class that they must have studied grammar in the Spanish course, such as “*verbos, sustantivos, adverbios, no solo oraciones*” (‘*verbs, nouns, adverbs, not just sentences*’), topics they would also learn in Quechua class. With this introduction to the course, Teacher Mónica sent a clear message that despite the differences among the courses in terms of number of hours and resources, both Quechua and Spanish were worthy of a similar curriculum, and in so doing, she asserted the equality of Quechua and Spanish in terms of its linguistic structure.

During the course of the year, I became amazed at the degree of explicit instruction of Quechua grammar students from Years 1 to 5 were exposed to, including suffix by suffix breakdowns of the meaning of what they were saying. For example, in the first class of the year, Teacher Mónica had her Year 3 students work on the covers of their Quechua notebooks, something which all other subject area notebooks also included. Teacher Mónica wrote the following template on the board, which the class copied down:

Example 3 – Notebook cover jottings

QHESWA SIMI

QUECHUA LANGUAGE

SUTIY:

MY NAME:

ÑEQEN:

GRADE:

YACHACHEQ:

TEACHER:

YACHAY WASI:

SCHOOL:

WATA:

YEAR:

She then proceeded to explain to the group how they would fill each bit, and began by asking the class what was the meaning of ‘**sutiy**’. After youth responded ‘my name’, she asked them “¿por qué **sutiy** es mi nombre?” (‘why is **sutiy** my name?’). Following some student guesses, she explained to the class the Quechua suffix ‘-y’ acted as a possessive suffix, something they should already know. She then explained the term ‘**yachacheq**’ meant teacher, and that it was composed of three parts, writing on the board: ‘**YACHA-CHE-Q**’. In order, she explained the first bit was the verbal root, the second was a causative verbal suffix and the third was a suffix they would learn later in the year. She reminded the class, “*No solo es decirlo por decir. Podemos pronunciar pero hay que saber*” (‘it’s not just about talking for the sake of talking. We can pronounce but we have to know [what we are saying]’), and asked the group to bring different colored pens for next class so they could highlight the different suffixes in Quechua words when they wrote (FN, 2016.03.10).

For Teacher Mónica, who had vast knowledge of Quechua language structure, knowledge of Quechua grammar constituted an important way to ensure her students' comprehension and prevent them from becoming mere animators or scribes, as she explained in the opening vignette of this section. For most teachers, grammar instruction was an obvious topic to cover, following the curriculum of Spanish Language Arts and the content covered in the Quechua booklets many used to guide their lesson planning. Across classrooms, the teaching of grammar usually consisted of introducing a suffix, verb tense or any other grammar feature and having youth write examples with this feature. While grammar instruction contributed to construction Quechua language as a legitimate code with its own structure, the largely decontextualized manner in which it was taught also contributed to frame Quechua as a set of rules and forms to be learned in a sequenced fashion and detached from the social action these rules and forms accomplished through their use.

Though not all teachers reached the level of grammar exploration that Teacher Mónica did, nor with the same confidence that characterized her teaching, all made it a point to teach the Quechua alphabet to students to highlight the uniqueness of Cusco Quechua, specifically the unique sounds of the Cusco dialect in contrast to other Quechua varieties and Spanish. Across classrooms, one of the first lessons often revolved around the Quechua alphabet. In the second Quechua lesson of a Year 1 group, which for many youth was the first time they studied this language in school, most of the class was dedicated to writing down the Quechua alphabet and its phonological categorization, using the technical terms shown below. The title written on the board depicted in Figure 6 reads "*The Quechua alphabet according to the Academy of the Quechua Language*",

followed by the letters of these alphabet and its vowels. The teacher then wrote down the classification of Quechua consonants, organized under four subheadings: “*soft consonants*” (Figure 6), “*variable or trivalent consonants*”, “*auxiliary aspirated consonants*” and “*special intermediate consonants*”, listing the letters that belonged to each grouping (Figure 7). The second subheading was further divided into three sub sections: “*simple consonants*”, “*aspirated consonants*” and “*reinforced or glotalized consonants*” (Figure 7). These latter point was once again divided into two additional sub sections: “*reinforced consonants*” and “*glotalized consonants*” (Figure 7).

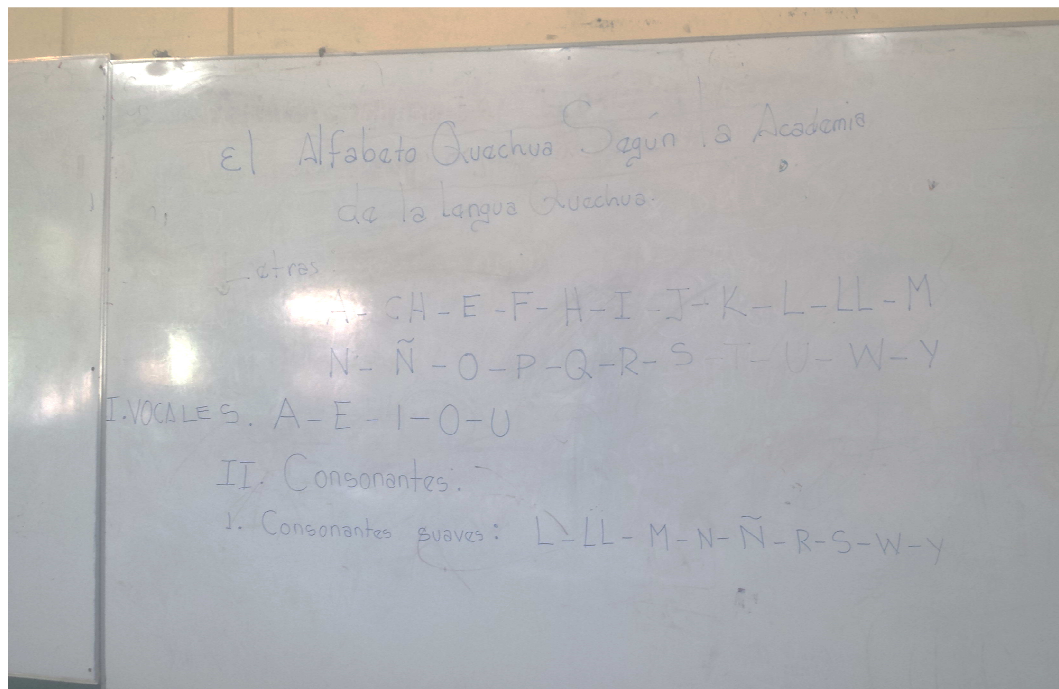


Figure 6 - Image of teacher jottings on the board of a Year 1 lesson

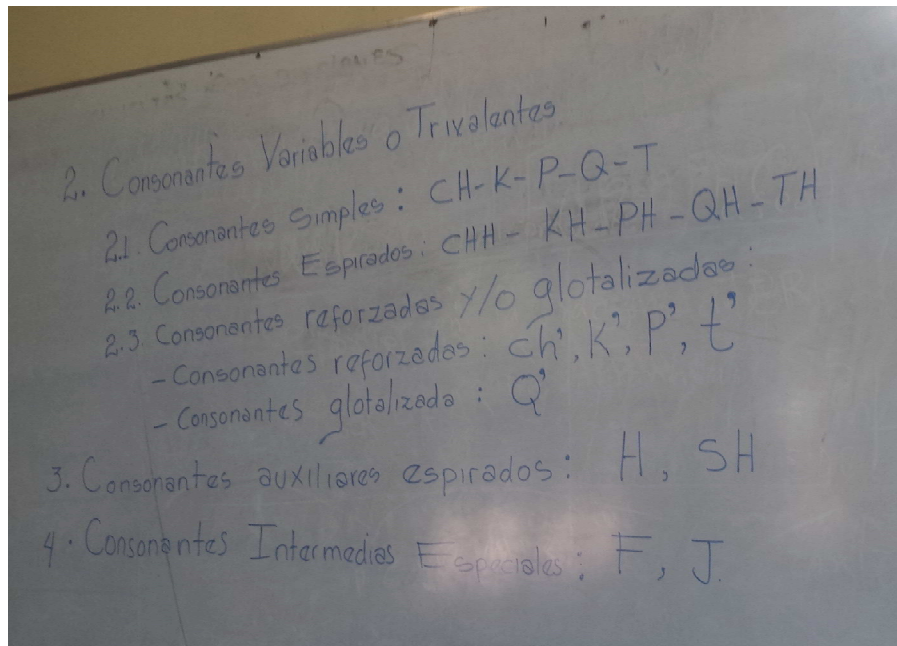


Figure 7 - Image of another set of teacher jottings on the board of a Year 1 lesson

The teacher also pointed out the location in the vocal tract where different sounds were produced and listed the technical names of each consonant, reading the terms from a very technical handout (FN, 2016.03.16). As evidenced in Figure 8, this handout included the articulatory phonetic classification of the place of articulation and the manner of articulation of consonants. The first row of the table details the place of articulation, and reads: “*labial*”, “*alveolar*”, “*palatal*”, “*velar*”, “*post-velar*”, while the first column of the table details the manner of articulation and reads: “*fricative*”, “*nasal*”, “*lateral*”, “*vibrant*”, “*semiconsonant*”⁶⁴. The second table in the handout offers a similar classification of vowel sounds. For many teachers, carrying out this lesson involved prior research online and in teaching materials they had managed to put together, genuine

⁶⁴ “vibrants” and “semiconsonants” are also jointly classified as approximants.

efforts to introduce their students to what they believe represented an important part of the language and which many were not necessarily familiar with either.

2 Qhiswa simi huñu siq'ikunqa iskay chunka suqtayunmi, hanllalli simikunataq phisqa. Upanpitaq kinsa chunka hukniyuq. (El alfabeto quechua queda constituido de: 26 consonantes y de 5 vocales. Total 31 signos o grafías representativos).

CONSONANTES = Huñu siq'ikuna

	L A V I A L	A L V E O L A R	P A L A T A L	V E L A R	P O S T - V E L A R
OCCLUSIVAS					
SIMPLE	P	T	CH	K	Q
ASPIRADA	PH	TH	CHH	KH	QH
REFORZADA/GLOTAL	P'	T'	CH'	K'	Q'
FRICATIVA		S	SH		
NASALES	M	N	Ñ		H
LATERALES		L	LL		
VIBRANTES		R			
SEMICONSONANTES	W		Y		

VOCALES = Hanllalli simikuna

	Anterior	Central	Posterior
Alta	i		
Media			u
Baja			

Figure 8 - Image of teacher handout used to explain Quechua articulatory phonetics in a Year 1 lesson

7.2.1.3 Youth perspectives: appreciations and longings for better learning opportunities

Youth held mixed views about the described classroom activities, even contradictory views which often coexisted. Regarding the opportunities for oral classroom participation available, on the one hand, many expressed preference for this style of oral participation, as the participation framework eased away the burden of individual participation in a context where the specter of being called out for knowing Quechua was ever present (see Chapters 5 and 9). While it was easy to recognize the voice of teachers in recordings of these whole-class activities, this was not always the case for youth, who often averaged thirty per class. In most classes, teachers did not call on individual students, but rather all participated at the same time. Youth mentioned they did not feel scared nor ashamed to speak during these activities, unlike being called to the front on your own, *“porque de tu sitio estás gritando, normal pues”* (*‘because you are yelling from your seat, it’s no big deal’*), and *“todos a la vez responden y como que nadie escucha nada”* (*‘everyone at the same time responds and like, no one hears anything’*). Answering teacher questions as a group meant no single youth would be singled out, as all could participate from the position of a collective speaker or animator.

At the same time, youth critiqued the lack of opportunities to engage in longer stretches of talk and interaction in class. Students of Teacher Janet explained that though they had learned a lot of vocabulary in class what they wanted to learn from their teacher was *“comunicarnos en quechua ... o, sea hablar con nosotros, digamos yo con él, pa que hablemos en quechua, eso debería enseñarnos”* (*‘to communicate in Quechua...I mean, talk to us, let’s say me with him, so we talk in Quechua, that’s what [she] should teach*

us') (I, 2018.01.17). Clear in this commentary is an interest in using Quechua to communicate among classmates, which youth were rarely expected to do. While several youth wanted their teachers to speak more Quechua in class and address them more in Quechua, others felt a bit more torn with this prospect. Youth who were in the process of developing Quechua abilities mentioned feeling lost in class when their teachers used more Quechua, and expressed a preference for continued bilingual talk from teachers.

The demands for more communicative learning opportunities also co-existed with youth appreciation for the teaching of grammar. Yesenia, for example, explained grammar was something new she had learned in school, as she already knew how to write and speak. Two Year 5 friends, with mixed language abilities, also explained they valued teachers who had taught them "*desde la palabra hasta las gramáticas*" ('*from words to grammars*'), and highlighted how Quechua had many grammar features just like Spanish which they thought were important to learn. In a way, youth appreciations for learning more about the structure of the language paralleled their teachers' objectives, though they were not seen as incompatible with more opportunities to use the language to communicate.

Youth also voiced critiques of the pedagogical orientation of some of the classes, particularly at Sembrar School. These critiques targeted authoritative attitudes from teachers and what they perceived as teachers' lack of linguistic competence and authority. During one Year 4 class, Teacher Jacob continued with his usual teaching practice of listing Quechua consonants, with their respective syllables, and writing a Quechua term with its Spanish equivalent, which youth had to copy in their notebooks. Teacher Jacob copied down these terms from a small booklet he had purchased in the city

of Cusco, produced by the High Academy of the Quechua Language, which he frequently used to guide his lessons. Some youth raised questions at the terms, which they felt did not represent the way they spoke at home, which they had not heard before, or which had inconsistent spelling. Teacher Jacob ignored many of the students' requests for clarification. At one moment, one of the students stood up and rewrote one of the contested terms on the board, changing the term '**noqana**'⁶⁵ written by the teacher to '**noq'aña**', changing two consonants (from q to q' and n to ñ) and creating a confusing and in effect meaningless term. The teacher, somewhat surprised at this action, held the handout near his face and pointing at it vigorously told the student that was not the term. From the back of the class, a group of girls whispered "*no sabe no sabe*" ('*he doesn't know, he doesn't know*'), gesturing a blabbing mouth with their hands, implying the teacher talked without knowing (FN, 2016.04.20).

For Teacher T and his students, tension was not only caused by the different ways of speaking each promoted, but was also greatly shaped by what students perceived as an inflexible teaching orientation which did not take into account youth concerns, contributions, and which fixed Quechua knowledge on a piece of paper. Related to this point, youth critiqued this teacher for teaching "*del libro nomás*" ('*just from the book*'), often expressing out loud in class this was something they too could do. Even though many teachers also visibly used a book during lessons as a teaching resource, and many too did not engage with or recognize language variation, youth did not feel other teachers' pedagogical styles to be as closed off. In this way, youth demands for better

⁶⁵ 'Something to strangle with, e.g. a rope.

Quechua language learning opportunities also included demands for more inclusive and horizontal conditions crucial for learning.

Finally, youth voiced critical postures towards the unequal resources allocated to the Quechua course, in terms of time allotment and teaching resources. Consider the following statement which a Year 5 student from IC School shared as he reflected on the differences between English and Quechua class:

<p>Ricardo: <i>o sea, en inglés es súper divertido porque nos dicen 'esto haz', canciones, en todo así, y en cambio en quechua, como que, es como que pasas a una tienda encuentras todo y aquí no encuentras nada, en quechua no hay casi muchos recursos como para poder aprender bien, y en inglés hay todo. Mira, les traen computadoras, o sea, si aquí traerían computadoras digamos para el nivel que avanzamos en quechua- se supone que todos deberíamos aprender como el inglés</i></p>	<p><i>it's like, English [class] is super fun because they tell us 'do this', songs, everything like that, and instead in Quechua, like, it's like you go into a store and you find everything and here you don't find anything, in Quechua there's almost no resources to learn well, and in English there is everything. Look, they bring them computers, I mean, if they brought computers here, let's say for the level of Quechua we are studying- its assumed we should all learn like English</i></p>
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(I, 2017.12.07)

Ricardo creatively summons the image of Quechua class as a poorly stocked store, in contrast to a fully stocked one, representing English class, to point to some of the stark differences between the status and resources available to each subject area. Not only did English class have five hours per week, while Quechua had only one, and government-issued textbooks, but as part of a Ministry of Education project, high schools had recently implemented a computer lab just for English, as well as software that complemented the

curriculum. Towards the end of his statement, Ricardo seems to imply that if the same resources were given for each course, perhaps youth's learning experiences would be different. This focus on learning resources places more emphasis on learning conditions and opportunities than demands for an increase in the number of hours alone. After all, as many youth commented, it would be of little use to add more Quechua hours to their school schedule if the content and style of classes remained the same.

7.2.2 Oral presentations: requirements of public use of Quechua

Promoting students' oral use of Quechua was an ongoing concern and source of frustration for teachers. Many wished students would speak more freely in class, even as classroom activities offered few incentives and opportunities to do so. One way, however, in which teachers included Quechua oral production as part of the classroom curriculum, was through oral presentation activities.

Across the year, students were expected to present songs, riddles, poems, stories, and *k'aminakuy*⁶⁶s. At times, students had to present individually and others times with a partner of their choice, and most groups did this activity multiple times during the year and across grades. Oral presentations were one of the few times where youth were expected to speak Quechua for longer stretches of discourse, and where they were heard by their teachers and all of their peers using the language. Teachers provided little scaffold besides outlining the task, usually the week before, and often did not correct students as they presented. Implicit in this activity was the expectation that youth ought to perform orally in front of the class, for which they would receive a grade, without prior

⁶⁶ Quechua oral genre of exchanging insults.

opportunity to practice nor with scaffolds to help them work on their presentations. That is, speaking in public on a range of genres was an ability youth ought to have developed previously, or ought to develop, on their own.

Overall, the activity opened a space for traditional Quechua oral genres in the class, distinct from the heavy focus on vocabulary lists and grammar topics, and further contributed to the idea of Quechua as a legitimate language with its own oral tradition and literary heritage. Youth often mentioned they enjoyed hearing Quechua songs, riddles and stories, and some teachers also used these genres at the beginning of the year or at the start of lessons to motivate the class. However, there was little reflection on the aesthetics, structures and richness of these oral genres, or their common day use in students' lives, the town or communities (see also Zavala, 2002).

7.2.2.1 Youth experiences: innovators, animators and non-participants

Towards the end of the school year, a Year 3 class had to present a short story individually. Their teacher, Teacher Carmen, had asked them to provide a written copy of the text they would present for her to grade, and after their presentation, she and the rest of the classmates posed questions to presenters in Quechua. This last bit was an uncommon addition to the oral presentations activity, as most of the time youth were expected to present in front of the class, receive a grade from their teachers and sometimes oral feedback, and return to their seats for the next presenter(s) to take the floor. Classmates would mostly clap after presentations, though they also shared their impressions with each other and carried on parallel small talk not audible to the rest of the class.

During the Year 3 class presentations, María⁶⁷, who was one of the most enthusiastic participants in her group and fluent in Quechua, shared a story of three brothers and their grandmother, displaying captivating prosody and intonation and using a variety of bodily gestures to captivate us as her audience as she took on a narrator role. She named the siblings after some of the most mischievous boys in class, a humorous move which the audience approved of and enjoyed, signaled by their smiles and laughter. María had not brought a written copy of her story, but responded to all questions from her classmates effectively, mostly focused on the sequence and details of the events she narrated. Then it was the turn of Franklin, a student who had very limited productive abilities in Quechua, and whom I had never heard participating in class in the previous year. Franklin began to recite the story he had memorized, which he handed in in writing as well. As Franklin narrated, the odd intonation of his words became more and more evident, as well as the awkward merging and splitting of words which did not follow the commonsense separation of Quechua words and made it hard for us as an audience to follow him. Perhaps sensing the group had not understood what Franklin narrated, and neither had she, Teacher Carmen skipped classmate questions and instead asked Franklin, in Spanish, to name five new Quechua words he had learned and their Spanish translations (FN, 2017.10.20).

Though both María and Franklin received a passing grade, they did not participate in the activity nor experience it in the same way. Maria appropriated the task to author her own version of a story, while Franklin participated as an animator of a text he had transcribed. In addition, María described she enjoyed oral presentations, opportunities

⁶⁷ Introduced and highlighted in Chapter 5.

where she could show off her Quechua abilities, and ‘beat’ her peers or surprise them with her narrating skills. In contrast, Franklin described he had memorized and recited the text he practiced at home. In fact, as youth often searched for riddles, stories and songs on the Internet, old books, and among their relatives, the texts were not necessarily texts they authored but mostly texts they transcribed or copied. Though the teacher adapted the evaluation for Franklin, there was little feedback on his pronunciation and prosody, which had made it hard for the rest of the group to understand him and engage in the question and answer exchange others participated in. The expectation for youth to produce oral Quechua alongside limited teacher feedback and scaffolds both to produce and comprehend texts was a limitation of the activity pointed out by youth. Some mentioned that they could memorize songs and poems, yet did not always understand what they sang or narrated, while other youth believed their teacher should correct classmates’ Quechua to help them expand their speaking abilities. Because of the lack of these scaffolds, the activity appeared to run the danger of becoming a rote memorization of stretches of Quechua discourse for students with more limited Quechua proficiencies.

Choosing not to participate was another stance youth took to this activity, even if this meant receiving a failing grade, a common threat made by teachers which did not seem to change students’ minds. In T’ika’s and Raúl’s Year 1 class, for example, about a third of the class, including T’ika, refused to present a song in front of the class, and received failing grades. As youth continued to refuse to present, teacher comments usually changed from encouragements to participate to emphasizing youth’s unwillingness to talk, and included comments like “*ustedes llegando a secundaria les ha dado amnesia*” (‘you’ve gotten amnesia when you’ve arrived to high school’), “*ya no*

quieren hablar” (‘you don’t want to speak anymore’), and “*y si no sé quechua, me esfuerzo*” (‘If I don’t know *Quechua*, then I make an effort’) (FN, 2016.11.03). Teacher comments responded to youth’s refusal to participate, with little explanation, and reflected their ongoing frustrations in getting youth to produce the language orally, further adding to the discourse of youth as embarrassed and uninterested in *Quechua* (discussed at length in Chapter 8).

After class, classmates of T’ika and Raúl commented they did not enjoy singing, and would not have liked to do so, even had it been in English or Spanish. Being put in the spot light, in any language, was not something they were fond of. Others, like T’ika, mentioned they had not prepared beforehand and felt insecure in their productive abilities in *Quechua*. So, while teachers noticed youth unwillingness to talk, they did not always interpret the causes behind it similarly to how youth did. After all, refusing to participate in an activity where they were pushed to produce *Quechua* orally, without prior scaffolds, and in public, co-existed with youth desires for more opportunities to use *Quechua* to communicate with peers and their teachers.

7.2.3 The practices and meanings of *Quechua* literacy

Teaching to write in *Quechua* constituted another shared goal for teachers across schools. Writing in *Quechua* was introduced and employed from the first day of classes, and rarely a lesson went by when teachers and/or youth did not write on the board or in their notebooks. For teachers, writing was seen as a continuation of the ability to speak *Quechua*, and a logical next step especially for those who believed their students already understood and spoke *Quechua*, particularly teachers at Sembrar School. As Teacher

Diana explained to the class during one of the first lessons of the year, “*sabemos hablar, pero no sabemos escribir*” (‘*we know how to speak, but we don’t know how to write*’), and went on to introduce the Quechua alphabet. Paralleling the focus on distinct Quechua pronunciation and grammar, teaching youth to write in Quechua also constituted a status planning effort, another aspect of what languages had, and implicitly, of what speakers of a language also ought to do, write it. In practice, the types of writing activities promoted in classes by teachers constructed a particular idea of writing in Quechua: as a tool for documenting oral language and classroom tasks, as something which could help represent the distinct sounds of the language, and as something complicated and difficult.

One way in which writing as documentation of oral speech was evident was when teachers asked youth to write down vocabulary words and grammar examples they were taught, sometimes on the board, and eventually in their notebooks. Engaging in this literacy activity, youth often took on the roles of scribes, copying down from the board, and in contexts where they had to create their own examples or sentences, without a communicative purpose besides completion of the activity. This literacy practice seemed to reinforce the idea of writing to document classroom progress, as in many cases teachers corrected student notebooks for completion of the activity without paying much attention to the form or content of what was written, which did not go unnoticed by youth. This correction practice was not surprising given that many teachers corrected student notebooks, which averaged around thirty, within the time constraints of the 45-minute class. Another case of writing to document oral speech was when teachers requested a copy in writing of the text youth would present in the context of oral presentations, and as further proof of school work which could be graded.

The second purpose of Quechua literacy, as a tool to represent the distinct sounds of the language, became evident during the many activities where teachers taught and reminded youth of the unique Quechua consonants not shared with Spanish. In a Year 1 class, for example, Teacher Mónica led a class on the Quechua CH-K-Q-T-P stop consonants. She wrote them all on the board in their simple, ejective and aspirated variants⁶⁸ and had youth share examples of words starting with the different consonants, correcting their pronunciation when they made mistakes and making the class repeat the examples out loud several times. She mostly selected individual students who volunteered to participate for examples, though the entire class practiced the pronunciation out loud, often following the teacher's lead, and having fun with sounding out words that included the stronger ejective sounds. The teacher reminded the class that employing the correct pronunciation was important, as one could want to say one thing but in fact would be saying something different, adding "*entonces tengo que saber pronunciar de mejor manera y escribir también*" ('*then I have to learn to pronounce better and to write as well*') (FN, 2017.05.10). In similar ways to this event, others teachers also emphasized writing as a tool for speaking in Quechua, as learning to differentiate between the different sounds through their written representation could act as a bridge towards developing Quechua pronunciation. Teachers wrote words students had mispronounced on the board, which often involved minimal pairs, and as they re-wrote their words to reflect the correct pronunciation, also corrected students'

⁶⁸ As referenced earlier in the chapter, Quechua consonants (which vary according to where they are produced) are also organized under three groups according to the manner in which they are produced. The velar consonant /k/ for example can be realized as a simple consonant (k), as an ejective (k') and as an aspirated (kh), present in words such as **kuru** ('worm'), **k'uychi** ('rainbow') and **khuchi** ('pig').

pronunciation. Teachers also organized graded spelling exercises which included words that made use of simple, ejective and aspirated consonant clusters. Teachers' use of writing as a pedagogical resource to represent speech, especially in a one sound to one grapheme kind of way, explains to some extent their preference for the five-vowel Quechua writing system they employed, rather than using the three-vowel system⁶⁹.

Finally, teachers' classroom metacommentaries about writing and their own inconsistencies in writing helped frame Quechua literacy as something difficult. Teachers described writing as the main source of insecurities regarding their own teaching. Even Teacher Mónica, with the most years of teaching experience and formal linguistic training, described writing as "*mi talón de Aquiles*" ('*my Achilles heel*') and "*algo traumante*" ('*something traumatizing*'), which she perceptively described as influencing her own teaching, "*hasta ahora creo que esto yo lo voy transmitiendo a los chicos*" ('*even now I think I am transmitting this to students*') (I, 2016.06.02). Teachers' insecurities about the correct way to write in Quechua was also expressed to their students, usually when they first introduced the Quechua alphabet to them. Some teachers described writing in Quechua as "*algo medio complicado*" ('*something a bit complicated*') or as something they themselves were in the process of learning, which was true. Teachers' inconsistent spellings and multiple attempts at spelling throughout and within lessons also seemed to reinforce in students an idea of the difficulty of writing in Quechua, which we'll see next.

⁶⁹ See 'Transcription Conventions' (p.xv) for more discussion on this topic.

7.2.3.1 *Between difficulty and indifference: youth stances towards Quechua literacy*

Youth's stances towards writing in Quechua ranged from indifference to frustration and included mixed evaluations of its usefulness. For many, writing in Quechua was described as "*muy difícil*" ('*very difficult*'), containing "*muchas reglas*" ('*too many rules*'), such as where to use the "*palito*" ('*little stick*') or "*tilde*" ('*accent*'), as youth commonly referred to the apostrophe to represent ejective consonants (e.g. k'). During a Year 5 lesson where students formed sentences in Quechua and used letter cards to spell the words, I noticed many groups misused the Quechua consonants, which was one of the things their teacher corrected them on the most, and in fact, the objective of the lesson was for youth to practice their use. As the class ended and Anita, a student with high proficiency who identified Quechua as her first language, said goodbye to me and her teacher, she told us that the girls in her group knew how to speak quechua well but when they had to write it "*nos palteamos, nos trabamos*" ('*we freak out, we get tangled up*') (FN, 2016.05.06). It is possible this feeling of inexperience regarding Quechua literacy also influenced the little student interest in reading texts out loud in class, some youth covering up their notebooks as they wrote, and the ongoing questions to teachers if they needed to write Quechua assignments using Quechua, which teachers seemed annoyed at.

Apart from a few exceptions, many youth had a detached stance to writing tasks, bordering on indifference. In another one of the Year 2 lesson on illnesses, the teacher asked me to help correct students' notebooks, where they had written three sentences about bodily pains. As I walked around the class, I approached Shirley, a new student

who had arrived from Lima some months before. She had written '**uma nanay k'ashian**', which she explained meant '*tengo dolor de cabeza*' ('*I have a head ache*'). She had copied '**k'ashian**' from the board, after she asked her teacher to write it for her, whereas the standardized form would be **kashian** or **kashan** with no ejective k. She shared that writing in Quechua was hard for her, and that she had to learn on her own when she arrived to school. Shirley then asked me to correct her sentence. Not wanting to contradict her teacher's example, I asked those around her if they believed the sentence was written correctly, exaggerating the pronunciation of the /k'/ consonant as I read the sentence out loud to signal the mismatch between the pronunciation and the writing. The group didn't seem interested in my question, and Shirley asked me to just sign her notebook, '*profe hágase de la vista gorda nomás*' ('*Teacher just look the other way*') (FN, 2017.11.06). This indifference or detachment was probably also informed by the more relaxed ways in which teachers corrected student work, although it did not mean youth were not able to accomplish these short writing tasks, which they often did by copying from one another and which they rushed to get corrected by their teachers, via a signature or stamp, as the class came to an end.

It is worth considering how youth's stances towards Quechua could be informed by how writing was constructed in class, which for many was the first time they learned to read and write in the language. It is possible that youth's stances towards Quechua writing were partly shaped by an overemphasis on the form of what was written, far from their language learning interests, and by limited opportunities for them to appropriate Quechua literacy for their own ends. Teachers' own insecurities and ambivalences towards writing were also picked up by youth, who expressed confusion at the different

forms of writing within a class, or taught across different grades. For example, in the lessons on illnesses described above, Teacher Janet spelled ‘**k’ashian**’ as well as ‘**kashian**’ to represent the third person present continuous conjugation of ‘to be’, often spelled as ‘**kashan**’ following the standardized writing system. She also spelled the word stomach as ‘**wiqsa**’ as well as ‘**wijsa**’. In the first case, the variance of /k’/ and /k/ resulted a bit confusing, given that there is no variation in pronunciation of the first syllable of this word in Quechua, and also as youth often struggled when representing ejective stops through writing. The second case, where both /q/ and /j/ were used to represent the same sound /q/, is an example of the multiple ways of writing in Quechua co-existing in classrooms. These ways of writing shifted within and across lessons depending on teacher preferences and without a discussion of the multiple writing systems available for Quechua, which did not seem to add to students’ confidence nor interest in writing in Quechua. In higher grades and in groups which had poor relationships with their teachers, youth were more vocal about correcting their teacher’s writing inconsistencies, which also led to evaluations of teachers’ competence with phrases like “*no sabe nada*” (‘*he doesn’t know anything*’), “*profe no sabes*” (‘*Teacher you don’t know*’) (FN, 2017.11.27). Classroom writing activities without meaningful purposes, nor clear audiences, and with little encouragement or opportunities to expand youths’ repertoires, often promoted a production format where they acted as scribes rather than authors of their own texts.

7.2.3.2 Youth appropriations of Quechua literacy

Nevertheless, youth did appropriate writing in Quechua for purposes different than those promoted by their teachers and classroom activities. Going back to Shirley and the lesson on illnesses, just before I corrected her notebook, I noticed the classmates sitting in front of her giggling as they offered her a little piece of paper that read ‘**turaypa runtun nanay**’ (‘**pain of my brother’s testicle**’). As I looked back to them with a questioning and surprised look having read the note, they quickly took back the paper before Shirley got a chance to read it. In a different class, two Year 1 girls had written a note with pink and blue colored markers, a smiley face which read “*jijiji*” (‘*hihihi*’), “*jajaja*” (‘*hahaha*’), and “**¿yachankichu munaskayta yachachiq?**” (‘**do you know about my care/love for you teacher?**’), addressed to their classroom teacher⁷⁰ and me:

⁷⁰ Erased name.

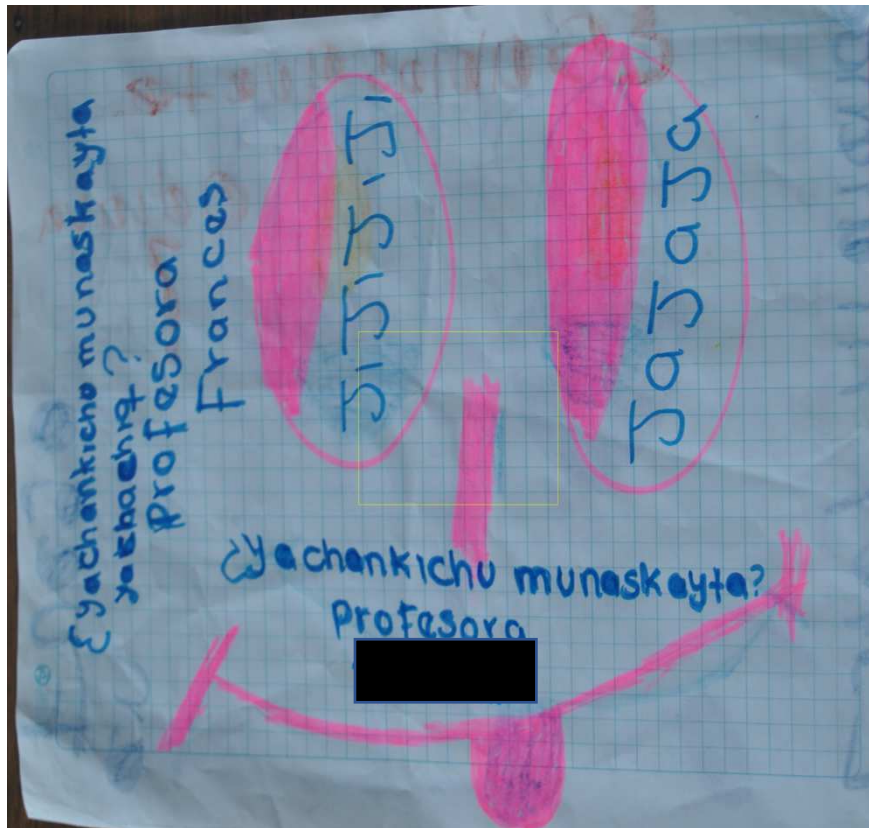


Figure 9 - Image of a colorful teacher note

Another time, students scribbled down questions to ask a visitor who came into their class one day, unrequested by their teachers, such as “*personaykiman rirankichu machupicchuta salineria mara*” (“have you gone to machupicchu and the maras salt mines”) and “*cancuna jamuranquichischu cainahuata o caimpalla*” (“did you come last year or just recently?”), evidenced in the images below (FN, 2016.08.18).

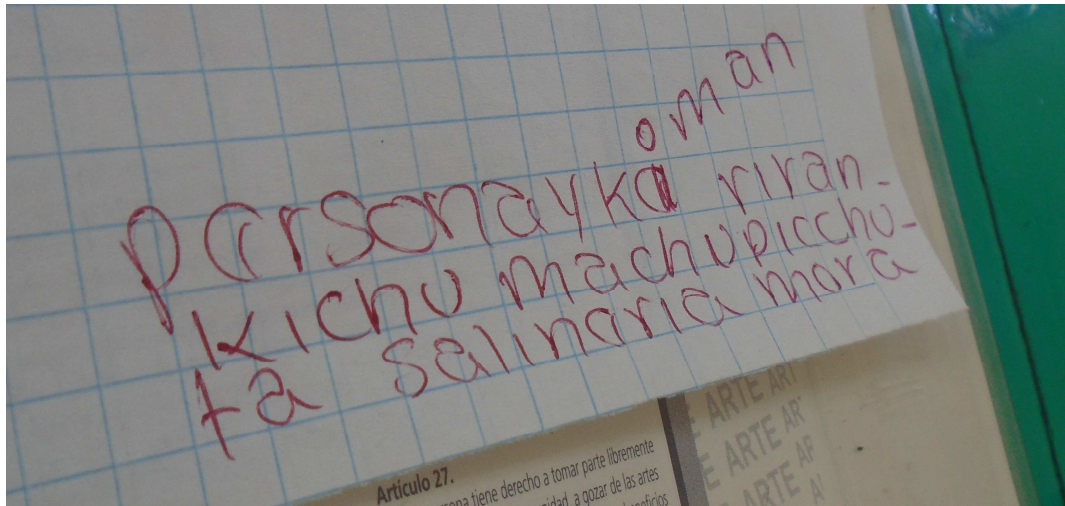


Figure 10 - Image of a question for a class visitor

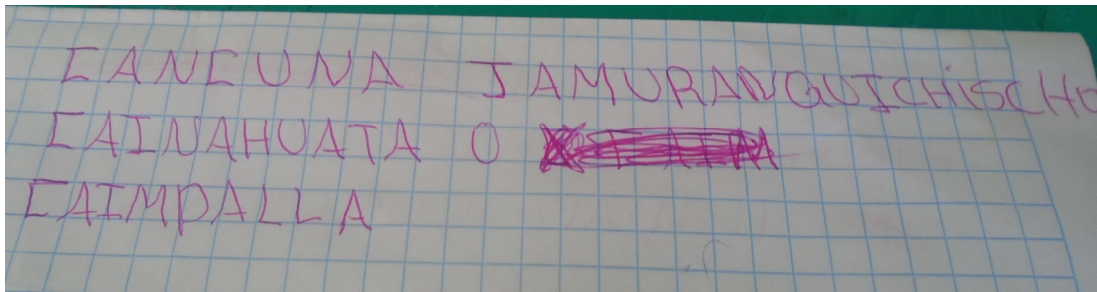


Figure 11 - Image of another question for a class visitor

These instances, happening alongside other class activities, reveal youth interest in appropriating Quechua literacy for different purposes, being mischievous, expressing their care for someone else, and as self-scaffolding to achieve a communicative goal. In other words, seizing Quechua literacy as a social practice (Street & Leung, 2010). In these instances, the form itself took a second plane to the social action being realized and to the roles as interlocutors and writers they took on, evidenced in the use of forms

viewed as non-standard or incorrect in the context of the class, as well as non-school writing formats, like the use of colored pens, all caps and scratches and scribbles.

Considering the role writing in Quechua would play in their future lives, youth mentioned writing could be useful to teach others Quechua, usually children, students or tourists who wanted to learn the language, although not all youth saw themselves taking that teaching role. Ironically, the main purpose of writing in Quechua youth identified for the future was the same they encountered in their classrooms, and not without hurdles: to teach others the language. Regarding their own goals, however, orality in Quechua was by and large what would allow them to actually communicate with other people who spoke Quechua, and which they aspired to continue learning, since “*si solamente escribo no podría comunicarme*” (*If I only wrote I could not communicate*) (FN, 2016.09.09).

7.3 Quechua for communication: classroom creaks, collaborations and youth practice

Alongside the opportunities for language use and learning described in the above activities, Quechua classes also included spaces where Quechua was used as a meaningful resource for communication and opportunities for learning Quechua in a more communicative manner. Some of these spaces were planned as part of my collaborations with Teacher Mónica while others emerged in the day-to-day interactions between teacher and students and among classmates and friends.

7.3.1 Teacher and student classroom talk: (missed) opportunities

Quechua was used as a communicative resource for classroom talk between youth and their teachers in a fairly narrow set of circumstances, which largely involved the exchange of greetings and commenting on or responding to teacher follow-up questions regarding the completion of tasks. As one walked into any Quechua classroom, the class began with teachers greeting students “**Allin p’unchaw kachun waynasipaskuna/erqechakuna**” (‘**Good day to you youngsters/boys and girls**’), to which students responded in chorus-like fashion “**Allin p’unchaw kachun qampaqpas yachachiq**” (‘**Good day to you too teacher**’), and took their seats after teachers offered a version of the phrase “**Tiyaykuychis**” (‘**Sit down**’). While this greeting signaled the start of class, it was often marked when it occurred outside this time frame. When students arrived to class late, for example, very few greeted the teacher in Quechua, and though they were often reminded by their teachers to do so, many did so hesitantly, softly, or simply refused. This contrast suggests that the few instances of Quechua for everyday classroom communication organized by teachers were not necessarily taken up in that way by youth. As a Year 1 student explained to me, the class greeting “*es mecánico nomás, si no entienden, si no hablan, también responden*” (‘*it’s just mechanical, if they don’t understand, if they don’t speak, they also reply*’) (FN, 2016.03.31), suggesting that youth did not view these exchanges as meaningful communication, but rather as an expected routine, and had little incentive to extend its use.

In cases where teacher talk made use of Quechua, youth sometimes took up non-requested translator roles. The following example shows Raúl’s interventions during one

of Teacher Janet’s vocabulary lessons on foods, just after she offered bilingual instructions to the group:

Example 4 – Simultaneous translation

	<u>Original</u>	<u>Translation</u>
Teacher Janet:	<i>Por favor, ya vamos a seguir, dije que mihunaymanta rimay?</i>	<i>Please, we are moving on, I said that about food we will?</i>
Teacher Janet & Ys:	=sunchis	=speak
Raúl:	<i>de las comidas vamos a hablar</i>	<i>we’ll speak about foods</i>

(A, 2017.10.02)

Raúl translates teacher talk right after Teacher Janet spoke, audible to those around him, and unrequested by the teacher. I observed other youth also offer translations as teachers spoke or wrote on the board in Quechua. Sometimes, teachers would notice and comment on youth translations of their directives, turning youth into ratified translators for the rest of the class. It is possible youth took up these translator roles because it is what they were frequently asked to do in class, thus anticipating teacher questioning, and because for many of them, like Raúl, making use of their receptive Quechua abilities and productive Spanish abilities was something they were accustomed to do at home and in schools (see Chapter 6). It is also possible taking up Quechua-Spanish translator roles was a production format in which they felt most comfortable, compared to participating in Quechua, individually, and/or in front of the class.

While youth sometimes used Quechua to respond to teachers' task and task follow-up questions, using Quechua beyond this purpose was often a marked practice which elicited reaction from classmates, especially in IC School. During one of Teacher Mónica's Year 1 classes, for example, after she had informed she would erase the text on the board, one boy commented out loud in a whining tone "**Ama, ama, ama!**" ('**Don't [erase it], don't, don't**'), drawing laughter from all the group (FN, 2016.04.07). On another occasion, Teacher Mónica addressed the class, '**Uyariychisyá!** *Me voy a cobrar doce minutos a la hora del recreo*' ('**Listen up!** *I'll take twelve minutes away from recess time*'), trying to get them to focus on the task at hand, to which a student replied "**¡Amayá!**" ('**C'mon/no teacher!**'), causing his peers to laugh too (FN, 2016.03.31). Though these two short examples point to youth use of Quechua to communicate back to the teacher as a marked practice, and one perhaps mobilized to keep a humorous tone in classroom activities, they also reveal an interest on the part of youth to use Quechua for classroom communication. This was particularly powerful in a context where youth were not encouraged by teachers to communicate in Quechua beyond classroom tasks and where the fear of being judged by others negatively was always lurking (see Chapter 9).

7.3.1.1 Third space openings

And yet, there were a few exceptions where youth displayed an interest to use Quechua for classroom talk non-related to the completion of tasks and when teachers momentarily seemed to promote this use as well. The following example took place at the start of class, and features Jason as he attempted to be let into the class after arriving late:

Example 5 – Requesting permission to enter the class

Quechua class already started and about half the class is missing. While Teacher Mónica sits and waits, a group of about ten students arrive and wait by the front door. Jason is in front of the group. Looking at the teacher, he smiles angelically and addresses her “**yachacheq:::?**” (“**teacher::?**”), though without a response. Jason looks up to the classmates sitting closest to the door and asks them in a lower tone, ‘¿cómo se dice entrar?’ (‘how do you say to enter?’). Little by little, the class starts offering phrases like “**hayk’uymanchu?**” (‘**Could I come in?**’), “**hayk’umunki**” (‘**he enters/will enter**’) and “I can enter in the class please?”, which causes a lot of laughter and giggles. Teacher Mónica is observing what unfolds but does not offer any comments. Jason continues to address Teacher Mónica and says ‘**hayk’umunki?**, **hayk’umunkichis?**’ (‘**he will enter? They will enter?**’), finally getting her to respond to him:

		<u>Original</u>	<u>Translation</u>
1	Teacher Mónica:	<i>ah, tú eres el que ordenas?</i>	<i>oh, so you are the one who gives orders?</i>
2	Jason:	<i>ah no, no</i>	<i>oh no, no</i>
3	Y:	<i>bótelo! (h)</i>	<i>kick him out! (h)</i>
4	Jason:	hayk’unmanchu? Yachachiq?	can he/she come in? Teacher?
5	Teacher Mónica:	pin qan kanki?	who are you?
6	Jason:	noqan kani (<i>loud</i>) (<i>taps his chest</i>)	I am (<i>loud</i>) (<i>taps his chest</i>)

- | | | | |
|----|--------------------|---|---|
| 7 | Ys: | (hhh) | (hhh) |
| 8 | Jason: | TUPAQ <i>Jason Mario Lopez</i>
(<i>fast</i>) | THE GREAT <i>Jason Mario Lopez</i>
(<i>fast</i>) |
| 9 | Ys: | (hhhhh) | (hhhhh) |
| 10 | Teacher
Mónica: | umalliqchu kanki
paykunamanta? | are you their leader?
(<i>referring to students behind him</i>) |
| 11 | Jason: | ari yachacheq , <i>si o no</i>
<i>chicos? (to those behind him)</i> | yes teacher , <i>right guys? (to those behind him)</i> |

Teacher Mónica addresses Jason in Quechua and asks him to count how many arrived late, something which Jason does quite well in Quechua too, totaling thirteen latecomers. As Teacher Mónica, now eager to start the lesson, lets the group into the class, she scolds Jason and the group for their late arrival, “**sapa kutin chayta, mana hoqpika- Jason! Manaña hayk’uchishaykichisñachu**” (‘**every time it’s the same, not another time- Jason! I won’t let you guys come in anymore**’). (FN & A, 2017.05.02)

This example reveals a unique instance of a sort of third space being constructed.

Following Gutiérrez et al. (1999), third spaces refer to the zones of development where meaningful literacy learning can take place, zones where “points of tension or conflict in various learning activities can lead to a transformation in the activity and the participation and discourse practices therein” (p. 286). Amidst the student laughter and enjoyment evident in this event, as well as the teachers’ annoyance at youths’ tardiness and relaxed

behavior, a momentary space is co-constructed between Jason and Teacher Mónica, and between the youth counterscript taking place between Jason and his peers and Teacher Mónica's official curriculum. In this space, Quechua is used as a resource for meaningful communication between teacher and student, as the teacher recognizes Jason as a legitimate Quechua interlocutor as well as the class' enthusiasm as an engaged audience, and continues the interaction in the target language. At the same time, Jason takes up the role of an active and humorous Quechua speaker who converses with the teacher, far from the parroting kind that Teacher Mónica often critiqued.

While this moment was a short-lived exception to classroom discourse, specially as Teacher Mónica cut the conversation short by emphasizing the importance of being on time over the language use that was taking place, it is an example of the opportunities for language use that could be promoted in Quechua classrooms. An important point however, would be taking into legitimate consideration teachers' concern that these instances of youth language use were many times considered off-task behavior, and at times even disruptive classroom behavior, due to the humorous reaction they usually elicited from students. Related to this point, as Teacher Mónica and I shared our impressions on the lesson after class, I emphasized how surprised I had been at the use of Quechua by youth at the beginning of class, while Teacher Mónica highlighted how youth liked to act out as "*payasitos*" ('*classroom clowns*'), shaking her head in a disapproving way.

Interestingly, across school sites, I found this concern about disruptive practices to be stronger than ideologies of language purism and teacher concerns about language mixing. Even though teachers did promote the idea of a 'correct' Quechua with minimal Spanish

influence, they rarely corrected spontaneous youth speech that made use of mixed language practices, and also made use of those practices themselves. In this case, it is also possible that since Jason was not considered one of the ‘good’ Quechua speakers in the class, Teacher Mónica did not expect him to speak, nor do so in a less ‘mixed’ way.

7.3.2 Video projects: crafting spaces for Quechua use and learning

While most class activities were not originally planned as opportunities for youth to author and create their own texts, the video dubbing and linguistic autobiography projects Teacher Mónica and I conceptualized and carried out together as part of our research collaboration stood out as an effort to redress this pattern⁷¹. In many of our conversations, Teacher Mónica commented how students resisted communicating orally in Quechua in class, wishing it would be different. Throughout her ten years of teaching the course, she had observed how students, regardless of their language abilities, tended to remain quiet, looking around at their peers during oral participation activities, and only participating with a lot of scaffolds and support. The following paragraph, which Teacher Mónica wrote for application to a ‘Best Teaching Practices’ contest, and which I helped edit, describes how the video project began and its objectives:

A comienzo del 2016, realicé un diagnóstico sociolingüístico de mis alumnos. En los resultados, observé que la mayoría identificaba la comunicación oral como la dificultad de aprendizaje más grande y pedían actividades más dinámicas. Basada en estas observaciones y la motivación del trabajo realizado por el promotor

At the beginning of 2016, I carried out a sociolinguistic diagnosis of my students. In the results, I observed that most of them reported oral communication as the biggest learning difficult and requested more dynamic learning activities. Drawing on these observations and motivated by the work of Fernando Valencia, a cultural

⁷¹ For more on our collaboration see Chapter 4.

cultural de la lengua quechua en promover of the Quechua language doblajes de películas, Fernando through the dubbing of movies, I Valencia, decidí realizar proyectos de decided to carry out learning projects aprendizaje con alumnos a través de with the students through the creation la elaboración de videos en quechua: of videos in Quechua: dubbing bits el doblaje de fragmentos de películas fragments of movies to Quechua and al quechua y la elaboración de creating autobiographies. The autobiografías. El objetivo es crear objective was to create oportunidades para la expresión oral for oral communication in Quechua en quechua y el desarrollo de la and for the development of confianza en los jóvenes para la in youth to value their roots. valoración de sus raíces.

(Grant Application, 2017).

During the 2016 school year, Year 4 and 5 students worked on the dubbing project, where they selected clips from movies or TV shows of their choice and dubbed a short fragment into Quechua. The following year, Year 4 and 5 students worked on a linguistic autobiography project, where they merged scanned photographs with a voice-over narration to describe their own Quechua language learning stories. In both cases, the videos had to be in Quechua, and the dubbing project included Spanish subtitles as well. The dubbing project was done in groups, while autobiographies were individual projects. Youth often began the dubbing project by transcribing a movie or TV show clip in Spanish and the autobiography project by writing down the script of the video, most of the time in Spanish. They then translated these texts into Quechua, sometimes on their own, but mostly as a group drawing on the expertise of team members, family members and their teacher. Once they had their first translation, youth began practicing narrating the texts orally. Most youth screened their projects to the class and received oral feedback from Teacher Mónica at this stage before submitting their final versions.

The projects were intended to provide youth with opportunities to display and expand their productive Quechua abilities, and considering the limited opportunities for classroom participation youth had, they were indeed a sharp turn of events for most youth. During many of the screenings, Teacher Mónica was genuinely surprised to hear many students who rarely participated orally using Quechua in class, often commenting that she had no idea they could speak Quechua after many years of teaching them, or that she was happy to hear them making the effort to speak Quechua. Perhaps the most significant space these activities opened was one where oral Quechua was to be used to communicate for a meaningful purpose. In the case of the autobiography project, youth were expected to narrate their language learning trajectories for their classmates and teacher, and eventually, the projects were also shared with parents in the end of the year school closing event. Consider the following fragment of Jason's, a Year 4 student at the time, linguistic autobiography:

Example 6 – Jason’s childhood Quechua learning experience

Original narration

Video screen shot

Translation

- 1 **Noqa runasimita
yacharani mantayta
Ingrid,**



**I learned
Quechua by
observing my
mother Ingrid**

- 2 **ipay Taliawan
kawaspa⁷².
Paykuna=**



**and my aunt
Talia. They=**

- 3 **=runasimipi
discotecata
lloqsinankupaq
rimaq karanku.**



**=used to speak in
Quechua to go
out to the
nightclub.**

⁷² Mispronunciation of ‘qhawaspa’.

4 **MANAN noqa lloqsiyta dejaranichu discotecata. Chay rimasqankuta noqa yacharani.**



I did NOT let them go out to the nightclub. I learned Quechua listening to them talk about that.

In this fragment of his linguistic autobiography video, Jason comically narrates how he learned Quechua by overhearing his mom and aunt's conversations, which they purposefully held in Quechua when they wanted to keep important information away from him, like their nighttime escapades. Jason's narration offered an insightful window into his language socialization trajectory, growing up as a bilingual who could understand but not necessarily speak Quechua, a trajectory he shared with many of his peers (see Chapter 5). Though comments about youths' Quechua proficiencies were sometimes exchanged in passing among friends or classmates working together on group tasks, youth's Quechua trajectories were rarely visibilized in the context of classroom activities or treated as legitimate course content. Watching their classmates' videos thus allowed youth to learn more about all of their peers' proficiency, and offered an additional resource for Teacher Mónica to better understand her students' Quechua development.

In his video, Jason included images of his mother and aunt, as well as a picture of a nightclub he downloaded from the Internet to accompany his narration. The last two lines of the fragment were particularly entertaining for his classmates, eliciting laughter at the same time as the image of the nightclub appeared and as Jason's narration stressed he did not let his mother and aunt go out, possibly implying he called them out for keeping their plans hidden from him and perhaps attempted to stop their outings. Perhaps

aware that the video would be watched not only by his teacher, but also by his classmates, Jason appropriated this task and also used Quechua, alongside the images, to entertain his viewers and continue to position himself as an entertainer, a role he assumed across classes. Thus, the communicative orientation of the task was not only delineated by Teacher Mónica's expectations but was also extended by Jason and his classmates to engage with their classroom audience.

For Teacher Mónica, the video activities constituted opportunities to expand the Quechua repertoire of her students, focusing on their oral productive abilities. To this end, she engaged in correction practices that fell on a continuum from acceptance of bilingual practices to pushing youth to expand their Quechua language practices. In the case of Jason's video, for example, during and after the screening, Teacher Mónica did not correct nor comment on the flexible language practices he employed (line 4), nor the instances where the Quechua pronunciation missed the mark (line 2). As was the case with other youth whom Teacher Mónica did not view as proficient speakers, she explained to me that although many had made mistakes, they were trying to speak, which was important. Of course, she added, her evaluation criteria would be different than the ones she would apply to more proficient students.

Not only did Teacher Mónica choose to focus on what youth *could* produce, though still viewing their repertoires in the process of expansion, but she also encouraged and made some space for language practices that reflected the bilingualism of her students and of the region. During one of the sessions where students worked on their dubbed scripts and complained about the difficulty of translating some terms and phrases into Quechua, Teacher Mónica reminded the group “*no hay que forzar el Quechua*” (“we

shouldn't force Quechua) as the purpose was to communicate. She referenced as an example a video where one of the characters had used the mixed phrase “**Mamaykiqa ña trapearunña**” (**your mother has already mopped [the floor]**), noting that it came off with such a facility that one did not even notice Spanish was used. She explained to the group that if they did not know the Quechua equivalent for a Spanish word, they should just use the original one in Spanish, though it shouldn't be that frequent or used for a whole dialogue, doing it “*sin que se note*” (*without making it obvious*) (FN, 2016.09.09).

Through her commentary, Teacher Mónica legitimized the use of bilingual practices which reflected local bilingual communication, though there was an implicit recognition that these were perhaps not ideal. Following this stance, perhaps, explained Jason's use of the Spanish term ‘*discoteca*’, as well as many Spanish lexical items youth used across their videos. For example, in one ‘*Chavo del Ocho*’ dubbed clip, which included some teasing and banter between characters Doña Florinda and Don Ramón, and their respective children who defend each one of them, youth included bilingual phrases such as “*bromalla chayqa*” (**it's just a joke**), “*mana mitikunaykichu*” (**you don't have to get involved**), “*qhawariy señora*” (**now look ma'am!**) and “*taytay chaynata mandachikunkichu chay payawan?*” (**dad, are you going to let that old lady boss you around like that?**), which were not evaluated either positively or negatively by their teacher. While local bilingual practices were not celebrated nor explored in their own right, they were accepted as legitimate practices in the context of this activity. Given the predominance of the search for language equivalence in Quechua

classrooms, Teacher Mónica’s flexible orientation, which made room for monoglossic and heteroglossic bilingual practices, seemed like a promising mid-point.

At the same time, Teacher Mónica encouraged youth to search for Quechua equivalents of Spanish terms, an expected practice given that both activities relied on translation practices, though in more inclusive ways than was the norm in other Quechua classes. In my role as a Quechua class volunteer, I assisted several groups in editing their video dubbing projects, which allowed me to observe how they worked on the project. As I helped youth after school hours, I noticed the different registers of Quechua as well as sources of language authority and knowledge they drew on to translate their scripts into Quechua. A group of three girls, who had selected a clip of the movie ‘Maleficent’, drew on Inca terminology of ranks, which they had learned in history class, to complete the translation activity. I observed how they translated the term “*rey*” (‘*king*’) as ‘**Inca**’, “*realeza*” (‘*nobility*’) as “**qhapaq runa**”. Keeping in line with their translation of nobility terms according to Inca terms and even praising them for their creativity, I asked if they knew similar equivalents for missing terms on their script. As the girls discussed different options, they mentioned the options, such as: ‘**allin runa**’ (‘**good people**’), ‘*poderoso, kuraka*’, (‘*powerful, leader*’), ‘*los hijos del rey*’ (‘*the children of the king*’), and ‘**panaca**’ (‘**Inca royal families**’) for the term “*nobleza*” (‘*nobility*’); ‘**waynakuna**’ (‘**young people**’), ‘**ayllus**’ (‘**communities**’), ‘**yanas**’ (‘**forced laborers**’) and ‘*yanacona*’ (‘*forced laborers*’) for “*el pueblo*” (‘*the people*’); and ‘*rateros, ladrones, suwaq runa*’ (‘*thiefs, burglar, thief*’) for “*gentuza*” (‘*scum*’) (FN, A, 2016.11.07). The example below shows the final terminology used in the video, which includes the girls’ original

translations (lines 1 and 2) as well as Teacher Mónica’s suggestion of the term “**millay runakuna**” for the Spanish original “*gentuza*”, which the group took up (line 3):

Example 7 – “Saqramanta” (‘Maleficent’)

Original

Video screen shot

Translation

1 **Kayqa sumaq
tantanakuymá
kasqa, Inca
Estefano**



**What a wonderful
gathering this had
been, King Estefano**

Subtitles⁷³: *Pues sí que esta es una reunión brillante, Rey Estefano*

Subtitles: *Well, this truly is a great gathering, King Estefano*

2 **Kaypi kashan
kurakakuna,
qhapaq runa,
ayllukuna,
hinallataq (.) (hh)**



**The leaders, the
nobility, and the
common people are
here, in addition to (.)
(hh)**

Subtitles: *La realeza, la nobleza, la plebe, y...*

Subtitles: *The royalty, nobility, the common people, and...*

⁷³ Subtitles are the original clip audio transcribed by youth and which they translated into Quechua.

3 **Atataw! Millay
runakunapas**
(referring to the
fairy godmothers)



**How disgusting! Even
despicable people**

(referring to the fairy
godmothers)

Subtitles: *Que singular! Hasta la
gentuza*

Subtitles: *How odd!
Even the scum*

Other groups also considered dictionaries and their parents' and grandparents' help as additional sources of language knowledge and authority. A Year 5 group composed of three girls had worked on a translation of a clip of the Little Mermaid TV show, where the mermaids engage in everyday activities like getting facials and fighting with their friends over their possessions, a clip of which is shown below:

Example 8 – “Challwa Sipas” (‘The Little Mermaid’)

Original

Video screen shot

Translation

1 **Ama
manchakuychu,
mikhunawanchu
uyaykiman
churakuranki**



Subtitles: *No te asustes, pero creo
que te ha explotado la cena en la
cara*

**Don't get scared,
but you've
covered your face
with food.**

Subtitles: *don't get
scared, but I think
dinner has
exploded on your
face*

2 **Kayqa yuyukuta kachiyuq**



This is a mix of seaweed and salt

Subtitles: *Esto es un extracto de plancton y sal marina*

Subtitles: *this is a plankton and sea salt extract*

...

3 **Kayqa noqaqmi**



This is mine

Subtitles: *Mis conchas de la suerte*

Subtitles: *My lucky charm shells*

4 **Munankichu?**



Do you want [it]?

Subtitles: *Lo quieres?*

Subtitles: *do you want it?*

5 Pututuytawanchu?



Subtitles: *Oh, también Don Caracolitos?*

And do you want my seashell?

Subtitles: *Oh, also Mr. Dear Sea Shell?*

6 Noqawanmi qhepakuyta munan



Subtitles: *Es lindísimo, le gusta estar conmigo*

He wants to stay with me

Subtitles: *he's so cute, he likes being with me*

7 Sawnayri?



Subtitles: *Y mi almohada?*

And my pillow?

Subtitles: *and my pillow?*

8 **Kaymi karan
pututuypaqmi**



**It was for my
seashell**

Subtitles: *Ah si, era para Don
Caracolitos*

Subtitles: *oh yeah,
it was for Mr.
Dear Sea Shell*

9 **Ama chaskiwaychu!
Qoway!
Kutichiway!**



**Don't take [it]
away from me!**

Give me!

**Give it back to
me!**

Subtitles: *Dámelo! No me lo quites!
Duelvemelo!*

Subtitles: *Give it to
me! Don't take it
away from me!
Give it back to me!*

10 **Chayqa munaychata
churakushan**



This is getting fun

Subtitles: *por fin algo entretenido*

Subtitles: *something
entertaining at last*

11 **Noqaqmi!**
Qopuway!
Noqaqmi!
Qopuway!



It's mine!
Give it to me!
It's mine!
Give it to me!

Subtitles: *Damelo, damelo, damelo*

Subtitles: *Give it to me, give it to me, give it to me*

Words the group had found tricky to translate included ‘pillow’, ‘sea shell’ and ‘plankton and sea salt extract’. The girls explained to me how they ended up choosing the term ‘**sawna**’ for pillow which was a term they had heard their grandparents use (line 7). They had originally used the Quechua term “**misk’i**” (something sweet) to describe the facial mixture referred to in line 1, referencing honey, but ended up working on a new translation with the help of Teacher Mónica. Considering the underwater mermaid world context, Teacher Mónica came up with the term “**yuyukuta kachiyuq**” (‘**ground sea weed with salt**’) (line 2), promoting youth to create their own terms in Quechua. While some youth consulted dictionaries and found the terms listed not familiar nor easy to understand by others, at other times, dictionaries were helpful. For this group, the girls used the term ‘**pututu**’ found in a dictionary to translate ‘*Don Caracolito*’ (lines 5 and 8).

Across groups, translating practices involved creativity, as youth did not just translate decontextualized terms, but terms within the context of the clips and the intention to communicate to an audience of viewers. In the context of the video projects, while the continued search for equivalents continued to reify the notion of two distinct

languages, it also acknowledged different sources of Quechua language knowledge and authority which did not include shaming or putting down youth's choices nor language varieties.

Throughout the course of the video projects, Teacher Mónica continued to hold high standards for youth's pronunciation and use of Quechua grammatical features. Many of the revisions she offered to her students revolved around the correct pronunciation of aspirated and ejective Quechua consonants, as well as corrections on verb pronoun/tense conjugations, and use of Quechua suffixes that could more richly help express youth's translations. In the case of the dubbed videos, she also identified areas where youth needed to modify their speech to match the film sequence, and encouraged youth to creatively use their voice tone to transmit meaning and emotion. For example, when correcting the Little Mermaid clip, she reminded the group members they were not only translators, but they had to become actors, encouraging them to inhabit their characters with phrases such as "*con fuerza hija*" ('with force honey'), "*tienes que ponerle ganas*" ('you have to do it with conviction') (FN, 2016.11.11). She also provided them with scaffolds to expand the Quechua discourse of the video, offering better choice of verbs (line 6), encouraging them to extend the Quechua turns (line 11) and to use more adequate suffixes (line 7 the enclitic *-ri*). The following examples show the final version with the draft version below:

Example 9 – “Challwa Sipas” final versions and drafts

6 Noqawanmi
qhepakuyta munan



He wants to stay
with me

Draft:

Noqawanmi kayta
munan

Subtitles: *Es lindísimo, le gusta
estar conmigo*

Draft:

He wants to be
with me

7 Sawnayri?



And my pillow?

Draft:

sawnaytawan?

Subtitles: *Y mi almohada?*

Draft:

With my pillow?

11 **Noqaqmi!**
Qopuway!
Noqaqmi!
Qopuway!



**It's mine! Give
it to me! It's
mine! Give it to
me!**

Subtitles: *Damelo, damelo, damelo*

Draft:

Qoway! Qoway!

Draft:

**Give it [to me]!
Give it [to me]!**

While the focus on the teaching of Quechua pronunciation and grammar remained present throughout the video project activity, these were no longer independent areas of study and teaching, but were rather treated as resources that could help support language in use (see also [Pica, 2005](#)). Teacher Mónica's corrections mostly focused on pronunciation and language structure that got in the way of meaning, clarifying unclear speech or confusing pronunciations, such as the case of Quechua minimal pairs, and also sought to expand the developing repertoires of students through corrections and suggestions on morphology and choice of lexicon.

7.3.2.1 Youth perspectives: embracing the challenges

Across grades, video projects and individual proficiencies, many youth appreciated the spaces for creativity and self-expression the project opened up, though not all experienced the project in the same ways. Some emphasized the struggle which recording themselves entailed, mentioning how they first disliked the task, battled to get started, or

didn't think they would be able to accomplish it. The difficulty mostly resided in orally producing Quechua, which was described as complicated and frustrating, e.g. *“estaba renegando porque no me salía como quería que me salga las palabras”* (*‘I was upset because the words didn't come out the way I wanted them to come out’*). For those who rarely had opportunities to produce the language, working on the projects acted as a sort of push for language production, which one youth described as *“la primera vez que he hablado corrido”*, (*‘the first time I've spoken non-stop’*). For Pedro, who identified as a non-speaker and had grown uninterested in the course over the years, hearing himself speak as the video was projected in class had a more emotive impact *“cuando yo me escuché hablar en quechua, en mi video, no sé porque un poquito me emocioné, porque hablar en quechua es algo difícil, pero cuando escuché mi voz diciendo todas las palabras en quechua, me emocioné”* (*‘when I heard myself speaking in Quechua, in my video, I don't know why but I got a bit excited, because speaking in Quechua is somewhat difficult, but when I heard my voice saying all those words in Quechua, I got excited’*).

While for some youth completing the assignment was easier than for others, even those with more productive abilities in the language described benefiting from this activity. Maribel, a strong Quechua speaker, for example, mentioned it was a welcome change from the usual activities they worked on in previous years, *“ya no es como antes, escribir, presentar, escribir, presentar”* (*‘it's not like before, writing, presenting, writing, presenting’*), or *“escribir o aprender algunas palabritas”* (*‘writing or learning a few little words’*), referring to the usual classroom activities. She highlighted how working on the projects allowed her and her classmates to develop language and technological skills, emphasizing particularly the opportunities offered for peers with limited abilities to speak

Quechua. Unlike the past, her peers were now making an effort to speak and to complete class projects, “*han hablado, pudiendo o no pudiendo, aunque sea mal pero todititos han tenido esa molestia de presentar, hablar por lo menos*” (‘*they’ve spoken, whether or not they’re able, even if incorrectly but all of them have gone through the trouble of presenting, at least speaking*’). Maribel’s comment, much like Pedro’s, seems to recognize the potential of Quechua class to become a space where more and more youth could be made to feel confident and able to participate, and in her case, a space where the burden and expectation of those with more proficiency to be constant participants waned. The fact that almost all classmates completed the projects, unlike oral presentations where many refused to participate, also suggests a move towards raising the status of the Quechua course, and of Quechua, a language all were encouraged to use.

While many youth recognized the challenge speaking brought for them, it was an expectation they were glad was embedded in the activity. When I asked Alonso, a Year 4 student who understood but had difficulty speaking Quechua, how the project would have been different had they been asked to write about their linguistic autobiographies, he explained:

<p>Alonso: <i>nada, nada, hubiera sido distinto, porque escribes, escribes nomás, hablando sabes, ya pronuncias bien y aprendemos más, en cambio escribiendo estarías mintiendo, alguien te lo estaría escribiendo aparte, pero no pes no, no vale mucho, en cambio tú ya que estés hablando, ya sabes el significado, a lo menos habrás preguntando qué significa eso, sí, pero escribiendo, quien sea escribe,</i></p>	<p><i>no, no, it would have been different, because you write, you just write, speaking you know, you pronounce better and we learn more, but instead if you are writing you would be lying, someone would be writing it for you, but no, it doesn’t count for much, instead, if you are speaking, you know the meaning, at least you will have asked what does that mean, yes, but writing, anyone</i></p>
--	---

pero pocos hablan.

writes, but only a few speak.

In his explanation, Alonso makes a stark distinction between the purpose and value of speaking and writing Quechua. Poignantly, he compares writing to lying (*'if you are writing you would be lying'*), mentioning that anyone can write and that someone could write your assignment for you (possibly also referring to how he and others accomplished prior classroom projects). Writing is constructed as an ability which does not entail nor reflect Quechua competence (neither productive nor comprehensive), and which does not seem to hold much social currency. On the other hand, he sees speaking in Quechua as something which reflects prior learning and comprehension, a more desirable and unique ability (*'only a few speak'*). His comments suggest youth interest for learning opportunities which privilege orality over the written text, and particularly, a desire to expand their communicative abilities in the language.

While Alonso's comments reveal some of stances of youth towards Quechua literacy, they also erase the role writing and literacies did have in the completion of the video projects. Not a single project was completed without recourse to writing, both in Spanish and Quechua, as youth transcribed original audios in Spanish, drafted several drafts of their autobiographies and worked on multiple translations of their dubbed script, and added subtitles to some of their videos. The drafts included many crossings out, scribbles and hard to read notes, often with several youths' handwritings in them. Youth wrote in both Spanish and Quechua, sometimes in their own notebooks, but mostly on loose sheets of paper (see Figure 12 & Figure 13). The fact that the teacher did not collect nor grade these scripts most likely influenced youth's more relaxed stance towards

writing, which also included several non-standard uses of spelling and a less 'clean' format. When working on the dubbing projects, several groups had multiple drafts of their script, which evidenced their ongoing sense making of the best way to produce the final product they wanted. Youth who worked on their projects in school at the end of the day also used the board to write out parts of their scripts or emphasize words their peers needed to pronounce correctly when recording. So even if Alonso emphasized the role of orality in these projects, the video projects were biliterate events where youth wrote to accomplish a larger goal. When youth engaged in writing for purposes other than writing for its own sake, specially as the teacher did not grade the written scripts, the social practice of writing became central.

Dayti

Aligra: Pitapis rikugtiqni tapukunankichu
 imatag pasan umampi, chayta
 meqa yachani anchotaga Rayliq
 Umama.

bebe → Uua.

Aligra: Chaypi pay Kashasga.
 mama: Imaynallan Rayli
 Papa: ohh imaynallan wabay, Kanmi
 Kanki ~~umachalla~~ kusichiqniyqa.

ohh Kanmi kanki umachalla
 kusichiqniyqa.

Aligra: Waaullu; ~~chayta~~
 maman cheq'aqshu mogapawan Raylipalio

bebe: Uua.

Aligra: Ulastari kun ^{kinisa} 30 ^{chunsa} minutunag

Tsuztega: Noga sutiyimi llaqikuy.

Aligra: Imaynallan, Imaynallan;
 Noga Kanmi Kusi Kuy, aygariy noga
 suwasag.

Figure 12 - Image of a draft of a script for a clip of the Disney movie 'Inside out'

Ado 1 = 1... sagrata Kamman kammi - Chayka sagrama.
 Ado 2 = Imaman gpay... Jamir...
 Ado 3 = hns
 Malefica - Kayka sumag Tam Tamakuyana Kasga. inca estiban
 Kayka curakal, Alho pap... runa ayllu...
 Kashani Soje humaspa...
 Waga xuyagripa...
 (qantay munaninchuschi... Kaypa)
 Ado 4 = Imaman willa...
 Malefica: Ahh chachau...
 manachu...
 Reyna: ...
 Malefica: ...
 Noqaga...
 mustacha kuruska w...
 Muy mago payta songon ujupi...
 sectayoc watanta...
 into...
 hoc puskawan...
 Reyna: ...
 Rey: ...
 Malefica: ...
 Malefica: ...
 Noqaga...
 socto watampi...
 Anol
 973 29481

Figure 13 - Image of a draft of a script for a clip of the Disney movie 'Maleficent'

7.3.3 Youth talk: language use and learning in *confianza*

Even though most class activities provided avenues for student participation under somewhat limiting conditions, youth used Quechua as a communicative resource as well as engaging in talk about Quechua in a wider set of ways. Expanding the analytical focus to consider youth-youth interactions parallel to teacher-directed activities and during group work illuminates how youth expanded the Quechua language use and learning opportunities they encountered in the above class activities.

7.3.3.1 *Accomplishing classwork together*

Though side talk and group work were often viewed skeptically by teachers, who were wary of students getting sidetracked from classroom tasks, these interactions often provided opportunities for youth with differing language proficiencies to come together and accomplish classroom tasks. In the following example, a group of three Year 4 girls work together on their linguistic autobiography scripts. The excerpt starts with Maribel, with more advanced Quechua proficiency, and often identified as one of the best speakers of her class, helping Yanette, who was in the process of developing Quechua productive abilities, draft her script:

Example 10 – Working on linguistic autobiography scripts

	<u>Original</u>	<u>Translation</u>
1	Maribel: <i>...o sea, lo que tenemos que hacer es cuando has nacido, o sea, desde que has nacido hasta-</i>	<i>...what we have to do is like, when you were born, I mean, since you were born until-</i>

- 2 Yanette: **noqan nacinmi en agostupi** (hh) **I was born on on October** (hh)
- 3 Maribel: *no- noqa paqarirani, eh en el lugar que has nacido* *No- I was born, eh in the place you were born*
- 4 Yanette: *Urubamba* *Urubamba*
- 5 Maribel: *ya, noqa paqarirani Urubamba k'iqlu? No, llaqta es pueblo, k'iqlu creo que es-* *Ok, I was born Urubamba street? no, town is town, street I think is-*
- 6 Y3: *y no se dice el día que has nacido?* *and you don't have to mention the day you were born?*
- 7 Maribel: *por eso pe, el día también* *Yeah, that's why, also the day*
- 8 Y3: *cómo se dice?* *How do you say that?*
- 9 Maribel: **killa es mes** **Month is month**
- 10 Yanette: **=killa agostupi, ya está pe** **=on august month, ok I'm done**
- 11 Maribel: *no pe, killa es mes, wata es año y-* *No, month is month, year is year and-*
- 12 Yanette: *por qué le miras? quién te gusta, quién te gusta? (to another* *why are you looking at him? Who do you like? Who do you like? (to*

classmate)

another classmate)

(A, 2017.04.17)

Maribel gives some indications to what Yanette ought to include in her script, and expands her original phrase (**I was born on on October**) using more Quechua terms and adding more information (lines 3, 5, 9, 11). The other group member, Y3, also helps the girls move along the task by reminding them to include the date of birth (line 6), and asks for the Quechua translation of the date (line 8), which Maribel begins to produce. The task-related interaction gets temporarily cut off by a more important topic – Yanette’s interest in learning about one of the group members’ crush (line 12) – as often happened in small group interactions. While Yanette rarely participated in whole-class activities, in the context of group work she is more vocal, using both Spanish and Quechua.

While Yanette’s laughter (line 2) was an indication of her own evaluation that she was not producing the phrase exclusively in the target language the activity asked for, this did not stop both girls from speaking and working together to finish Yanette’s phrase. This example highlights how small group dynamics became a space where youth who were in the process of expanding their productive abilities in Quechua felt comfortable speaking in whichever way they felt possible, and where their peers supported them to expand their Quechua repertoires. I often observed youth with lower proficiencies ask classmates who sat next or close to them for Spanish translations of what the teacher had just said, or double check if their guess was correct before participating in wider classroom question-answer activities. It is in these interactions

perhaps that many youth received the needed scaffold sometimes not found, and not asked for, in wider classroom activities.

Being positioned in the role of a peer helper brought about satisfactions as well as tensions for youth like Maribel. On the one hand, these youth mentioned they were used to helping their peers and enjoyed doing so, often downplaying their own abilities, “*cuando no saben una palabra siempre me preguntan y con lo que puedo les ayudo, eh yo tampoco no sé tan, tan*” (‘*when they don’t know a word they always ask me and I help them in what I can, but I too don’t know so, so*’). However, just as some teachers feared, students with more advanced Quechua proficiencies often felt additional responsibilities for getting the group work accomplished or helping their peers. Yesenia, for example, mentioned that during graded class activities, she sometimes felt she could not concentrate as peers repeatedly asked for help. Yeny, in turn, described how for some graded activities she preferred to work on her own as she could finish her work faster. This led some youth to choose to do these tasks on their own rather than in a group. Those youth with lower Quechua proficiencies, in contrast, sometimes felt left out when it was time to form groups, explaining how peers with more advanced abilities did not want them in their groups, leaving them feeling at a disadvantage when they were not part of mixed-abilities group.

Zooming into classroom group work interactions also offers a window into the diverse linguistic resources and perceptive linguistic awareness that made up youth’s repertoires and the strategies they employed to achieve classroom tasks. In the excerpt below, a group of Year 3 students, all boys, work on a graded classroom task, which involved translating a list of Spanish nouns and verbs into Quechua, including terms like

“pensar” (‘to think’), “cocinera” (‘cook’), “hablar” (‘to speak’), “hilar” (‘to spin’) and “basura” (‘trash’), and writing down the Quechua equivalents for the teacher and I to correct. All of the boys identified as understanding Quechua and speaking a bit of it, though not fluently:

Example 11 - Translating and writing nouns and verbs

	<u>Original</u>	<u>Translation</u>
1 Y1:	<i>pensar?</i>	<i>to think?</i>
2 Jason:	noqa::	I::
3 Y2:	<i>no, noqa es-</i>	<i>no, I is-</i>
4 Jason:	<i>pinsachuna (h)</i>	<i>thinkchuna (h)</i>

5 Y:	<i>‘hablar’ hemos hecho? Juan ya has hecho ‘hablar’?</i>	<i>have we done ‘to speak’? Juan have you done ‘to speak’?</i>
6 Y:	<i>si, ri-rimay, noqa rimani, qan rimankila, nosotros rimamos</i>	<i>yes, to spe- speak, I speak, you speakkila, we speakmos</i>
7 Ys:	(hh)	(hh)
8 Y2:	Phuskay, phuskay!	To spin, to spin!
9 Y1:	<i>nosotros rimakumanku algo así (hh) ay::</i>	<i>we speakkumanku something like that (hh) oh::</i>

10 Y:	qopa ⁷⁴ (reading term from a dictionary)	trash (reading term from a dictionary)

⁷⁴ Mispronunciation of ‘q’opa’

11	Jason:	<i>qué es?</i>	<i>what's what?</i>
12	Y2:	<i>la 'q' con la cosa</i>	<i>The 'q' with the thing</i>
13	Y:	<i>Escribe pe</i>	<i>C'mon write it down!</i>
14	Y1:	qopa , <i>ahí ta! eso era chucha. qopa es basura</i>	Trash , <i>that's it! fuck, that's what it was. Trash is trash</i>
15	Jason:	<i>claro mi abuelito cuando está quemando-</i>	<i>Of course, my grandfather when he is burning-</i>
16	Y1:	= <i>cuando barre</i> (h)	= <i>when he sweeps</i> (h)
17	Jason:	<i>no, cuando quema basura dice, qopa no sé qué, incendiar algo, así dice</i>	<i>No, when he burns trash he says trash, I don't know what else, to burn something, that's what he says</i>

(A, 2016.05.06)

In the first segment (line 4), Jason offers '*thinkchuna*' as a translation for '*to think*'. In this case, he combines the Spanish verb '*pensar*' shifting vowels from e→i (following the Quechua vowel repertoire of 3 vowels vs. Spanish's 5 vowels), and adding two Quechua suffixes '*chu*' (for negation and question formation) and '*na*' (to make nouns from root words). In the second bit (line 6), one of his team members comically conjugates the verb '*to speak*', also using Quechua suffixes which however don't quite add to forming recognizable Quechua verb conjugations. This is picked up by another classmate who continues the verb conjugation, a common classroom exercise (line 9). These three examples are instances of what I've termed '*approximating Quechua*' - that is utterances which include bits that sound like/approximate Quechua but don't have denotational meaning in Quechua. These utterances offer glimpses into how youth drew on their metalinguistic awareness of Quechua phonology and morphology to produce

sounds which allow them to combine task participation, create an amenable classroom atmosphere and maintain a relaxed/funny persona among peers (for a similar phenomenon with ‘faux Spanish’ in the U.S., see Link et al., 2014). What is more, by engaging in approximating Quechua practices, students were also de-centering the dominant monoglossic language ideologies recreated through the purpose of the task.

In the last segment, group members draw on various sources of language knowledge and authority to translate the term ‘trash’ into Quechua. One of them finds the term for trash in the dictionary (line 10), a resource the teacher prohibited they use since she wanted to assess their own vocabulary knowledge. This term is further confirmed by Jason, who after hearing the term is reminded of a connection to something his grandfather, who speaks Quechua, says (lines 15, 17). And even though they cannot produce the ejective Q consonant they do recognize it and refer to how it is represented through writing (*‘the q with the thing’* to refer to the apostrophe).

Within the group, besides eliciting laughter and friendly banter, no one is called out for not knowing or not speaking Quechua correctly. While all the group members besides Jason did not figure in my fieldnotes as active class participants, group work activities seemed to give a space for a wider range of youth to assume the roles of speakers and of ratified participants of discussions. Even though this might seem like a commonsense observation, in a context where youth were often blamed for not speaking or not caring to speak Quechua, it seems important to highlight.

7.3.3.2 Quechua in the business of youth school culture

Yamile: ... *nos hemos acostumbrado creo que más al castellano y como que son diferentes rol- o cómo se dice? ambientes? ya algo así, que, o sea, en el colegio mayormente todos hablan castellano y que dos personas creo que estén hablando quechua se les ve algo raro creo* ... *I think we've gotten more used to Spanish and they're like different role- or how do you say this? domains? Something like that, that, like, in school almost everyone speaks Spanish and for two people to speak Quechua, I think it looks a bit strange, I think*

(I, 2016.11.24)

Like Yamile states, youth generally viewed school as a Spanish speaking space, where Quechua talk among peers was described as an oddity, not representative of the established sociolinguistic norm. T'ika, for example, acknowledged the use of Quechua with her classmates, though in a minimal way. As we observed the pictures she took of herself and her friends during a classroom field trip and during the parade for her school's anniversary, she described their use of Spanish throughout the events, and upon my questioning about Quechua use, she added "*una palabrita siempre sale*" ('*a little word always comes out*') (I, 2017.01.16). Though youth use of Quechua with school classmates was often reported as minimal, throughout my observations I noticed Quechua did play a role among youth in situations of *confianza* and play within Quechua class.

Youth often made use of Quechua as communicative resource in peer events not related to accomplishing classroom tasks (though often occurring parallel to them), like romantic teasing, chitchatting and bantering, all related to participating in an amenable and entertaining community of classmates and, many times, friends. The first example belongs to an interaction towards the end of class among Year 4 friends, which include

Ricardo, who identified as a strong speaker, Giancarlo, also a Quechua speaker, and two girls, Inés and Nadia, who identified as non-Quechua speakers. As the group and I talked about Quechua use by youth, the boys implied in a playful and teasing tone that the girls did not talk Quechua, a commentary which the girls said was not true, and which led to the following interaction:

Example 12 – Romantic teasing

	<u>Original</u>	<u>Translation</u>
1 Inés:	noqa eh (.) Ricarducha eh (.) sonsonata	I eh (.) little Ricardo eh (.) dummynata
2 Ys:	<i>(hhh), (claps)</i>	<i>(hhh), (claps)</i>
3 Nadia:	<i>oy no hables quechuañol ya? (h)</i>	<i>hey, don't speak quechuañol ok? (h)</i>
4 Ricardo:	imatachá rimashan chay p'asña	what would this young lady be saying?
5 Ys:	<i>(hhh) (high pitched), (clap)</i>	<i>(hhh) (high pitched), (clap)</i>
6 Nadia:	<i>uy Inés uy</i>	<i>oh no Inés, oh no</i>
7 Inés:	<i>Anacha con Juancha sonsonacha, eh::, Carloscha, niñucha, Yeniracha con Luischa</i>	Little Ana with little Juan, dummynacha, eh::, little Carlos, little kid, little Yenira with little Luis

- 8 Nadia: *Oh:: Inés oh ... esto se está grabando* *Oh no:: Inés oh no... this is being recorded*
- 9 Giancarlo: *y se va publicar en la radio (hhh)* *and it will be broadcast on the radio (hhh)*
- 10 Inés: *la Nadia, Nadi**cha** con Giancarlo**cha** (hh)* *Nadia, little Nadi**cha** with little Giancarlo (hh)*
- 11 Nadia: *oe cállate oe! ahora si te matamos oe!* *Hey, shut up, hey, we will kill you now, hey!*
- 12 Y1: **achachaw** *la van a matar (to recorder) ay, ay, ay (high pitch) (hh)* **achachaw** *they're going to kill her (to recorder) oh no, oh no, oh no (high pitch) (hh)*
- 13 Nadia: *Inés y Juan Martin, Inés**chi** con Juan Martin**cha*** *Inés and Juan Martin, Inés**chi** with Juan Martin**cha***
- 14 Ys: (hhh) (hhh)
- 15 Inés: *qué cosa? (hh)* *what? (hh)*
- 16 Giancarlo: *Inés**cha** con Martin**cha*** *Inés**cha** with Martin**cha***
- 17 Inés: *no, manan manan manan, manan (hh)* *no, no, no, no, no (hh)*

- 18 Nadia: **manan entendiychichu** **I don't understand your**
 quechuañol *quechuañol*
- 19 Inés: *no manan- manan- (xxx)* *no no- no- (xxx) dummynasuta*
 sonsonasuta eh la monga de la *eh dummy little Ana*
 Anacha

(A, 2016.05.12)

The transcript begins with Inés who makes use of Quechua and Spanish to, it seems, show that girls do talk Quechua too (line 1). Her phrase is halted, and makes use of a Quechua pronoun ('I'), Quechua suffixes (**-cha**, **-ta**, and **-na**) as well as a term that appears to be part of an approximating Quechua register ('*dummynata*'). Together, it seems that Inés tries to express in Quechua that her friend Ricardo, who claimed girls did not speak Quechua is a dummy. On the one hand, her turn gets her the positive appreciation of the group, signaled by claps and laughter (line 2). On the other hand, her turn is also downplayed by Nadia and Ricardo, though keeping with the friendly tone of the whole interaction. Nadia, jokingly criticizes Inés' use of *quechuañol* (line 3), or the mixture of Quechua and Spanish, while Ricardo playfully questions the intelligibility of what Inés has just said (line 4). These two friends also get a positive appraisal from the group, who cheer on the interaction (line 5). Nadia, too, encourages Inés to continue and defend herself in the face of Ricardo's comments (line 6). From lines 7-12, Inés continues using her '*quechuañol*' to in fact tease her classmates romantically, pairing them with other classmates, including Nadia and Giancarlo, who are active participants in the interaction.

Throughout Inés' turns, the group seemed entertained and amused, and even those who were the object of her teasing laughed along. Inés drew heavily on a Quechua endearment suffix (-**cha**) to carry out her romantic teasing. In line 13, Nadia jumps into this exchange, teasing Inés and another classmate, which their friend Giancarlo also continues doing (line 16). Both Nadia and Giancarlo engage in a comeback teasing to Inés, who had previously paired them together. In addition to the continued use of the –cha suffix, Nadia also makes use of –chi (*'Inés**chi** with Juan Martin**cha**'*), in what appears to be another instance of approximating Quechua. Once Inés has also become the object of romantic teasing, she denies the romantic connection to the classmate she is paired up with, using Spanish and several instances of Quechua (line 17). At this point, Nadia, claims she does not understand Inés's *quechuañol*. While Nadia continues to typify Inés' mixed language practices as *quechuañol*, it seems that here this is not on the grounds of them being incorrect or inadequate for this context, but rather, Nadia strategically chooses not to understand Inés to hold her teasing in place. In line 19, Inés continues to try to negate this romantic connection, perhaps linking her friend Ana to the boy she was paired up with.

In this rich interaction, the youth accomplish several things. First, Inés and Nadia do in fact show that girls too can use Quechua, and both excel at their romantic teasing, entertaining the whole group and each other. They do so drawing on perhaps a more limited repertoire than more proficient Quechua speakers, but with the same entertaining force (see Chapter 9, Example 1 of radio stylization). Throughout the interaction, the youth also revealed the various meanings mixed language practices held for them. While mixed or bilingual language practices were recognized as not 'ideal' ways of speaking

Quechua, and perhaps specially not adequate when being recorded, as well as less intelligible than full Quechua phrases, they were also recognized as effective resources to accomplish social action, in this case, teasing and playing around with friends. Through the different forms of Quechua, or approximating Quechua, used in terms like *'dummynata'*, *'dummynacha'* and *'dummynasuta'*, we can also observe how Inés mobilizes her knowledge of Quechua, and Quechua-sounding, suffixes, a further display of her metalinguistic awareness. These attempts to communicate were appraised differently than those youth perceived as more mocking in tone, at the expense of L1 Quechua speakers, which I describe in Chapter 9 as Mock Mote. After all, the meaning of bilingual practices held different indexical force depending on the social domain of those who produced and recognized those practices.

Youth with more advanced Quechua productive skills were aware that for some of their peers speaking in Quechua was a skill they were in the process of developing, and which they often mixed with Spanish. Regardless, they viewed the fact that their peers tried to speak Quechua in a positive light. Reflecting on the recording, Ricardo and Giancarlo commented that *"es algo chévere que intenten aprenderlo ... que lo intentaron"* (*'it's cool that they try to learn it ... that they tried'*). For the boys, even the playful use of the **'-cha'** endearment suffix by Inés and Nadia was a positive sign that their peers could continue to develop more Quechua with time, *"poco a poco van a mejorar con el tiempo no se van a quedar solo en su quechuañol como le llamamos"* (*'little by little and with time they will improve, they won't stay just with their quechuañol as we call it'*). In a way, mixed language practices, which included instances of

approximating Quechua, were seen as valuable efforts to make use of the language which could be expanded through time.

Youth exchanges using Quechua sometimes also constituted language socialization moments, where youth attempts to communicate in Quechua entailed or became Quechua language learning opportunities. The following example represents simultaneous talk between three Year 5 classmates which took place during the course of a grammar lesson on forming nouns. The three participants formed part of the same work group and were also friends. Janet identified as understanding but not speaking much Quechua, Aurelia as a speaker, and Jonny as a non-speaker:

Example 13 – Figuring out the cost of a notebook

	<u>Original</u>	<u>Translation</u>
1	Janet: hayk'a? cuánto? hayk'a mamay? hayk'a?	how much? How much? How much dear lady? How much?
2	Aurelia: imata mantay?	what dear lady?
3	Janet: hayk'a, hayk'a qostomanta?	how much, how much in terms of cost?
4	Aurelia: <i>ah?</i>	<i>huh?</i>
5	Janet: (hh) <i>cuanto te costó esto?</i>	(hh) <i>how much did this cost you?</i>

6	Jonny:	<i>costomanta</i> (h)	in terms of <i>cost</i> (h)
7	Aurelia:	Qosqomanta <i>yo he dicho</i> (h)	from Cusco <i>I thought she said</i> (h)
8	Janet:	(h)	(h)
9	Jonny:	<i>no, costar es-</i>	<i>no, to cost is-</i>
10	Janet:	hayk'a qolqemanta <i>mamay,</i> ishkay?	how much in terms of money dear lady, two?
11	Aurelia:	hayk'a costarusunki, <i>así</i> [es (h)]	how much did it cost you? <i>it's</i> [<i>like that</i> (h)]
12	Jonny:	[(h)]	[(h)]
13	Janet:	<i>ahí está,</i> costarusunki	<i>like that,</i> did it cost you
14	Jonny:	<i>costa- costa- costarusunki</i> (h) <i>por qué?-</i>	<i>cost-cost- did it cost you</i> (h), <i>why?-</i>
15	Janet:	<i>=cuanto te ha costado el libro</i>	<i>=how much did the book cost</i>
16	Jonny:	costarusunki	did it cost you
17	Janet:	hayk'a <i>vuestro</i> <u>notebook</u> (h)	how much <i>your</i> <u>notebook</u> (h)

- 18 Aurelia: **hayk'a, hayk'a valerusunki, así** **how much, how much did you pay for it, like that**
- 19 Janet: *ya el sustantivilizador⁷⁵ es... (the group goes back to the class task)* *Ok, so the noun maker is... (the group goes back to the class task)*

(A, 2017.04.26)

In example 2, Quechua is mobilized by Janet alongside Spanish to ask her friend Aurelia how much she paid for her notebook. Aurelia, with more productive abilities, takes up Janet's bilingual chit chat offer responding to her in Quechua and addressing her with the term '**mantay**', indexical of Quechua speakerhood. Janet's guess of the term 'to cost' (line 3) as '*qosto*', another instance of approximating Quechua which involves a Spanish word rephonetized with the Quechua /Q/ sound, is found funny by the group. Aurelia extends the comedic effect by replacing '*qosto*' with '**Qosqo**' ('**Cusco**'), playing with the similar sound and familiar meaning of this last term, as well as playing with the double meaning of suffix *-manta*, which expresses "from" as well as "in terms of". In this double play on words, Aurelia amusingly transforms Aurelia's questioning about the price of the notebook to the origin of the notebook. In addition, upon Janet's request to form the phrase she wants in Quechua, Aurelia offers her two options (line 11 and 18). Even Jonny, who was more of a side participant, expressed interest participating in the search and exploration of the Quechua phrase (line 9, 14, 16).

⁷⁵ Referring to the grammar term 'sustantivilizador'. The term 'sustantivilizador' however was also used by the teacher and across classes.

In both examples, the activities are entertaining and involve participants with different productive and receptive abilities, not just as overhearers but active participants, commenting on the event bilingually, asking clarification questions. What is more, the events themselves provide opportunities, explicit and implicit, for youth to expand their productive skills in Quechua. Listening to these recordings was often the only times I heard some of these youth participate using longer stretches of Quechua discourse than one-word responses to teacher questions.

Using, learning and teaching Quechua insults to one another was another way in which youth mobilized Quechua to communicate with each other in the playful context of peer-peer interactions. Limited knowledge of Quechua insults did not inhibit youth from engaging in this friendly banter, and youth also asked their peers to translate the meaning of a Quechua insult or teach them with a term to use against someone else. For example, as a group with mixed proficiency worked on a writing task together, I observed how they helped one of the members, who identified as a non-speaker, come up with a comeback against another student in the class. The group looked for Quechua insults in the Quechua booklet one member had brought to class and relied on the knowledge of one of the members to translate the listed terms they found, mentioning terms such as “*rábano uya*” (*radish face*), “*hamp’atu uya*” (*toad face*) and “*k’aspi tullu*” (**thin person**, literally, stick-like bones) (FN, 2017.05.03).

Later, reflecting with me about many of these examples, youth explained this playful use of Quechua occurred in contexts of “*confianza*”. Janet, for example, identified the playful mixture of languages as a characteristic of how they talk when they are organized as a group:

<p>Janet: ... cuando estamos así en grupo, uno trabaja, el otro está ayudando al que trabaja y los otros que sobran hacemos bulla ... y no sé, nos inventamos palabras o hablamos entre los dos idiomas mezclando</p>	<p>...when we are in a group, one is working, the other is helping the person who works and the others, who have nothing to do, we are fooling around... and I don't know, we make up words or speak between both languages, mixing</p>
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Other youth also described mixing languages as something that was mobilized in group banter or which occurred when they felt lost in class or class was boring. They emphasized how with friends and people “*en confianza*”, exchanging Quechua insults was “*divertido*” (‘*fun*’) and “*bonito*” (‘*beautiful*’). The feeling of *confianza* was important, as youth also mentioned once they sat in individual rows or not with their friends, they were less likely to engage in fun talk in Quechua. Away from their friends, insults would not be “*broma nomás*” (‘*just jokes*’), but could be taken personally. And despite youth’s wariness about speaking in Quechua in Quechua class, they also explained how the class was a safer space than spaces outside it, like in recess, “*dentro de la clase más se habla que en el recreo, por miedo a que te escuchen otras personas*” (‘*Quechua is spoken more inside the class than in recess, because of fear other people will hear you*’) (I, 2016.11.08). Despite the dangers of being singled out as a Quechua speaker by classmates (Chapter 9), the class was also a space where youth had developed more relationships of *confianza* with their peers. For many youth and also for their teachers instances of youth fun talk and play with language was not seen as ‘correct’ or ‘legitimate’ teaching and learning, signaled by its status as a *confianza* practice, yet these practices evidenced linguistic knowledge, creativity, awareness and use which youth

themselves did not recognize in themselves and which they were often called out for not displaying.

7.4 Opening and closing down spaces for diverse language practices and learners

If schools seek to open up spaces for Quechua use, learning and teaching, this will entail a recognition and exploration of what (Quechua) language practices are promoted, to what ends and for which kinds of speakers and writers. As educational language planning and policy research continues to highlight, ethnographic research can act as “a tool for identifying the underlying ideological issues and implications of various choices” (Jaffe, 2011, p. 222; see also Hymes, 1980; Hornberger, 2014a), which this chapter has attempted to describe.

Across Urubamba high schools, Quechua classes took place under challenging conditions reflecting the lack of institutional support needed to actually implement a language policy that could promote Quechua teaching. Despite this scenario, teachers tried hard to position their subject area and Quechua as a legitimate course and language worthy of study. In this process, classroom activities co-constructed a model of Quechua language as an autonomous system with its own phonological, grammatical and writing system to be valued and studied, as well as with its own oral traditions. Alongside the legitimization of Quechua as a “Language”, an act of status planning at its core, this approach at the same time closed down spaces for recognizing and exploring bilingual practices, limited opportunities for students to become speakers and writers of their own texts, and inhibited meaningful opportunities for the development of communicative

language abilities. Many of these limitations were recognized to different degrees by youth and teachers themselves.

Co-existing alongside these dominant classroom activities, teachers and youth in both schools also engaged in practices that opened up spaces for a wider set of Quechua language practices and learning participation frameworks that constructed speaking and writing in Quechua in different ways. Through planned and unplanned activities, spanning teacher-youth and youth-youth interactions, and ranging from short-lived to regular patterns, Quechua also became a meaningful communicative resource, alongside others, for youth to achieve classroom assignments in collaborative ways, participate in youth school culture, expand their Quechua repertoires, and become bilingual interlocutors with their teachers. Across these speaking and writing practices, the code itself was not central nor detached from the social action youth engaged in (Blackledge & Creese, 2010), and more flexible language practices became part of the learning process and product.

Highlighting the multiplicity of practices and ideologies about language and learning that co-existed in classroom spaces offers an emic account of urban high school Quechua education, which was far from homogenous. Teacher Mónica's multiple language teaching practices, which drew on a continuum of grammar-centered and communicative teaching approaches and monoglossic and heteroglossic language practices, show how language educators rarely rely on unitary teaching approaches and orientations. Of interest is not just what approach or orientation educators use, but the purposes behind such choices and their effects on student engagement and learning. In the case of Teacher Mónica, purposes sometimes included raising the status of Quechua as an autonomous

code, but most importantly, also included building students' confidence as language learners, validating local bilingual practices and providing opportunities for students to expand their repertoires and use language as part of communicative activities.

In the case of creating multimedia and biliterate video artifacts, youth drew on a range of resources, including linguistic, paralinguistic and multimodal ones. In many ways, this paralleled the many continua of media and modes of meaning making which writers can draw on in meaningful ways as they develop biliteracy (Hornberger, 2003; The New London Group, 1996). By letting youth select the content of what they wanted to dub, Teacher Mónica also recognized the significance of students' choice regarding the content of biliterate and multimodal development. Overall, the video projects extended the more limited representations of Quechua literacy dominating classroom activities. In doing so, the projects also acted as a status planning effort that evidenced and helped to redress the lower status of the Quechua course compared to other courses.

In general, youth recognized how the combination of task based projects and the use of technology provided more incentives to use and learn Quechua. Pedro, for example, described his initial reaction to the task, "*era como un shock usar la tecnología para hacer un trabajo en quechua, era algo raro*" ('*It was like a shock to use technology to work on a Quechua assignment, it was strange*'), a comment which implies a view of Quechua and technology as incompatible, something which was not questioned in the case of the English course. Moreover, he described being motivated by the assignment, which he described as "*más educativo...más emocionante*" ('*more educational...more exciting*'). While the uses and meanings of technology in language learning are not

homogeneous, in the case of the video projects, incorporating multimodality as a resource and as a product contributed to the language acquisition and status planning efforts at play.

While recognizing the relevance of multimodal and flexible teaching approaches to Quechua language teaching, their use alone is not sufficient to address the challenging conditions under which Quechua language education took place, the many critiques youth had about the course, nor their mixed feelings about Quechua use and learning. One question that remains is who gets to decide which flexible bilingual practices count and are to be included in classrooms. As explored, many of the bilingual practices youth engaged in were unknown, overlooked and/or looked down upon by their teachers, yet they also constituted legitimate languaging practices to be recognized in their own right and practices to be mobilized as language learning resources. Another question which needs to be considered is how students learn and what they learn about, in ways that align with the language learning preferences and aspirations of youth with diverse language learning trajectories and repertoires. Lastly, Quechua language education does not occur in a vacuum, but rather, in contexts of ongoing linguistic marginalization and othering which comes to bear on the Quechua language use and learning experiences of youth. In this sense, the following chapters will continue to explore how Quechua classrooms and schools also became spaces where notions of Quechua proficiency and speakerhood became constituted and reconstituted in diverse ways and with different outcomes for youth.

CHAPTER 8: Proud *cusqueños*, extranjeros and deniers: youth and Quechua proficiency

8.1 Youth as Quechua (non) speakers

Teachers and youth across both schools were confident to point out youth should be Quechua speakers given their identities as *cusqueños* and *cusqueñas*, while at the same time they were also quick to identify youth as non-speakers or deniers who acted as if they did not know the language. The ease of assignation of these latter labels to particular individuals was surprising, especially in schools with no institutionalized assessments of Quechua proficiency, such as entrance-level evaluations, where few youth were actually requested to speak Quechua or were heard speaking Quechua in public, and where the behavior or language practices of youth labeled as non-speakers or deniers did not stand out in comparison to that of their classmates. This chapter is about the social meanings of Quechua proficiency and examines how youth made sense of what it meant to identify or be identified as a *proud cusqueño*, a *foreigner*, or a *denier*. These three labels represented circulating figures of Quechua speakerhood and non-speakerhood particularly prevalent in youth high schools, which reflected various ideological linkages between language and speakers, and were informed by local discourses of language and regional identity and language loss. Another meaningful and common figure was that of the rural Quechua speaker, which will be the focus of the following chapter.

Drawing on work on figures of speakerhood (Agha, 2007; Mortimer, 2013; Reyes, 2004), the first two parts of this chapter introduce the figures of the *proud cusqueño* and

the *foreigner*, describing the positioning work accomplished by youth who aligned to these figures and others who were ascribed these proficiency-related identity labels in Quechua classrooms, schools and homes. The third part of the chapter draws on conceptual and analytical tools on the discursive construction of learner identities (Martin-Beltrán, 2010; McDermott, 1996) as well as linguistic anthropological work on trajectories of social identification (Mortimer & Wortham, 2015; Wortham, 2005) to explore how particular youth became identified as *deniers* in schools and how this identification became consequential to their language learning experiences and that of their classmates. As I will show, evaluations of Quechua proficiency were not just objective evaluations of youth language practices or abilities, but were intertwined and informed by ideological representations of languages and speakers. This chapter offers a discursive view of language proficiency, understood as a constructed social identity rather than as discrete or measurable abilities or competence in a language free from the context which produces those evaluations.

8.2 Proud cusqueños

Youth's evaluations of Quechua as the language of the Incas and, consequently, as emblematic of a collective cusqueño identity, were readily evident in Quechua language classrooms. At the beginning of the 2017 school year, Teacher Mónica posed the following question to her Year 1 class: “¿Por qué será importante hablar el idioma quechua?” (‘Why would it be important to speak the Quechua language?’). Enthusiastically, several students raised their hands and participated as follows:

Y1:	<i>porque ... el Inca hablaba en quechua, debemos aprender para que no se pierda la cultura...</i>	<i>because...the Inca spoke Quechua, we should learn so the culture is not lost...</i>
Teacher Mónica:	<i>ajá. muy bien, a ver tú, hijo</i>	<i>mhm, very good, let's see, you, son</i>
Y2:	<i>es importante hablar quechua porque es nuestro origen, este...</i>	<i>it's important to speak Quechua because it is our origin, mmm...</i>
Teacher Mónica:	<i>es nuestro origen, ya</i>	<i>it's our origin, OK</i>
Y3:	<i>es importante porque es lo que nuestros antepasados usaban el idioma quechua para comunicarse, no hay que tener vergüenza de hablar el quechua.</i>	<i>it's important because it's what our ancestors used, the Quechua language to communicate, we should not be embarrassed to speak Quechua.</i>

(A, 2017.03.30)

At a first glance, we can notice the recurrence of phrases such as ‘*our origin*’ and ‘*our ancestors*’ alongside students’ explanations of the importance of the Quechua language. These Year 1 students, most of whom were learning Quechua for the first time in school, show an understanding of Quechua as a marker of a perduring collective identity with origins back to the Inca culture. Quechua is described as the language of the Inca ancestors, and as the language of origin of cusqueños, their descendants. Also expressed in students’ comments, and encouraged by Teacher Mónica’s question, is the implicit responsibility to speak the language in order to avoid cultural loss, because it is part of youths’ origins, and speaking Quechua is something one should do without shame. During interviews, some youth also compared Quechua to other tangible heritage and

described the language as something to treasure and protect. Kike, a Year 3 student who lived in the outskirts of Urubamba, commented, “*creo que el quechua es nuestra, parte de nuestra identidad, como manejar nuestra coca, eh, mantener nuestros restos arqueológicos bien, intactos, que nadie lo maltrate*” (*I think that Quechua is our, part of our identity, like using our coca, eh, keeping our archeological remains well, intact, not mistreated by anyone*) (I, 2016.11.24).

As part of my request for focal students to take photographs of people, places, and things that reminded them of Quechua, one of the first photos Raúl took was the following:



Figure 14 - Image of a sticker of the Inca and Qolla in Raúl’s bedroom

As we talked about the process of taking the photographs in his kitchen while his mom, Esther, warmed some soup for dinner at the *q’oncha*, Raúl shared about this photo:

- FKD: *¿y esto qué es?* *and what is this?*
- Raúl: *es de mi cuarto, mi Inca* *it's from my room, my Inca*
- Esther: *mi Inca, chaykunata orqon, ¿eh?* *my Inca, he takes pictures of those things, eh?*
- FKD: *¿y por qué le has tomado foto a esto?* *and why have you taken a picture of this?*
- Raúl: *es de quechua, ¿o no?* *it's of Quechua, or not?*
- FKD: *¿por qué es de quechua esto?* *why is this of Quechua?*
- Raúl: *porque los Incas hablaban quechua y representaban a la lengua de quechua.* *because the Incas spoke Quechua and they represented the Quechua language*

(A, 2016.09.07)

As Raúl explains, the Incas spoke Quechua and are indexical of the language, not only in their era, but, also in current times. This identification is grounded on a very long-term time scale going back to the Inca Empire, and one which has been constructed across time as a symbol of cusqueñness (de la Cadena, 2000; Mendoza, 2008), and an ongoing process.

Although youth did not often share references to the Incas in relation to home practices and spaces, the discourse of Quechua, as the language of the Incas, did circulate in their out-of-school surroundings. In Raúl's case, the linguistic landscape of his own town included some murals of the Incas and Inca architecture. As part of a municipal

project to promote tourism in his town, houses alongside the main street leading into the town square had paintings of Inca-related murals on their outside walls, as well as of the town's geographical attractions (waterfall, mountains), animals (a condor), and local festivities (dancers, crosses, etc). Tourist-oriented linguistic landscapes like this, and others around the Sacred Valley, were also spaces/resources that evoke and promote images of Inca culture and past as markers of regional identities, traditions and culture, including language (see Mendoza, 2008 for a discussion of the impact of tourism and the 'discovery' of Machu Picchu on the crafting of a regional Cusco identity).

A common way of referring to Quechua among youth was as "*nuestra lengua materna*" ('*our mother tongue*'), a term used by youth with different competences in Quechua, including those who claimed to understand just a bit and others who had grown up in Quechua-only/mostly speaking homes. The discourse of Quechua as the mother tongue of cusqueños and as the language of the Incas was also present in policy text and Quechua classroom teacher talk. The 2007 policy that gave rise to the teaching of Quechua classes in high schools throughout Cusco, for example, refers to Quechua as an important component of "*nuestra cultura materna*" ('*our maternal culture*') and proudly highlights the origins of the language in Cusco and its subsequent spread across the rest of the Inca empire:

Reconózcase para todo fin, el idioma Quechua como un idioma completo y pentavocal, bajo la denominación de IDIOMA QUECHUA O RUNA SIMI, lengua mater de la Gran Nación Continental Inca, que dio origen a

Be the Quechua language recognized to all ends, like a complete and pentavocal language, under the denomination QUECHUA LANGUAGE OR RUNA SIMI, mother language of the Great Continental Inca Nation, which give

la Cultura Andina.

birth to Andean Culture.

(Gobierno Regional Cusco, 2007)

Though Quechua teachers were somewhat aware of policy, but had not read it, most of them also referenced connections between Quechua and Incas during their Quechua language classes. Teacher Mónica, for example, highlighted the importance of Quechua given its cultural richness and its millenary past. As she explained to students one day, “*el idioma tiene una, vuelvo a repetir, riqueza cultural ... porque los primeros pobladores no han sido MUDOS, no, no, no*” (“*The language has, and I say this again, cultural richness...because the first dwellers were not MUTE no, no, no*”) (FN & A, 2017.03.30). Other Quechua teachers also referenced the Inca’s architectural legacy, specifically sites such as Machu Picchu, and the many accomplishments and advancements of Inca culture (FN, 2016.11.03) to highlight the need for youth to value the language and not be ashamed of it (FN, 2016.03.21).

Connections between Quechua and the Incas were also present in the linguistic landscape of both schools. Be it on teacher Quechua textbooks and dictionaries, which depicted images of the Incas on their cover, or in the large murals of IC School reading “**ama llulla**”, “**ama qella**” and “**ama suwa**”⁷⁶ (see Figure 15 & Figure 16), which surrounded one of the school patios, Quechua, as an emblem of the Incas and of cusqueño patrimony, was not only audible but also visible to youth. School-wide activities, specially at IC School, also valued representations of Inca culture. Teachers and students of IC School were proud to explain to me their tradition to run the **Ollantay**

⁷⁶ An emblematic Inca phrase which stands as a guiding principle of behavior and translates as “don’t lie”, “don’t be lazy” and “don’t steal”.

play every year, which made use of beautiful and elaborate Inca-themed decorations and wardrobe, and which involved the voluntary participation of many students. School assemblies and ceremonies also commemorated dates such as the anniversary of Cusco and the accomplishments of Incas, although little to no Quechua was used. Schools were also spaces where local and regional dance and music was frequently performed by students and teachers alike during school and town festivities, popular events in which many youth enjoyed participating. Similar to the historic role of folkloric arts in the crafting of a regional cusqueño identity (Mendoza, 2008), as well as the role of schools in propagating Indigenous cultures through processes of folklorization that distance local cultures from the stigmatized qualities of the 'Indian' (García, 2017), the association between desirable elements of past Inca and Andean culture, and to a much lesser extent, present day Andean culture, was also maintained in the two high schools.



Figure 15 - Image of IC School mural, “AMA LLULLA” (‘don’t lie’)



Figure 16 - Image of IC School mural, “AMA QELLA” (‘don’t be lazy’)

8.2.1 The meanings of being and identifying as a proud cusqueño

While recognizing the association between Quechua as language of the Incas and of cusqueños, youth also invoked and aligned with the *proud cusqueño* model to explain the significance of Quechua education, share their appreciation for Quechua language and culture as well as their desires to connect more to it, and challenge linguistic teasing, discrimination, and shame. Youth, for example, mentioned that universities now required one to learn English as well as Quechua, explaining that “*nosotros como peruanos deberíamos- primero es el quechua, como lengua mater, que es de acá de nuestra localidad, como serranos que somos*” (‘*as Peruvians we should- Quechua comes first, as mother tongue, that is from here, from our locality, as we are serranos*’) (I, 2016.11.24) and highlighting the place-based importance of Quechua as the language of cusqueños and Peruvians vis a vis English.

While recognizing the significance of learning Quechua because of its status as cusqueños’ mother tongue, some youth had a more critical outlook on school language education policies and youth practices. As Maribel, a Quechua-speaking youth, reflected on the Quechua course at school, she stated “*sería bueno que nosotros sepamos nuestro idioma que es maternal*” (‘*it would be good if we knew our idioma that is maternal*’) and suggested an increase in hours “*... porque una hora se pasa volando, o sea, no aprendes nada*” (‘*...because one hour goes by flying, I mean, you don’t learn anything*’) (I, 2017.05.12). Maribel recognizes the importance for schools to offer youth opportunities to learn Quechua, and explains this importance given Quechua is youth’s mother language, while she also critiques the current policy in place, which doesn’t provide

sufficient time for youth to learn the language. Her classmate Isac, who identified as understanding Quechua but only speaking it a little bit, in contrast, emphasized that the responsibility for not learning fell on youth themselves, “*es nuestra lengua materna, está en nuestra, ¿cómo así decirlo?, en nuestras raíces, pero también como que no le prestamos interés para poder aprender ... tal vez en nuestra mentalidad está esto de que este idioma tal vez no nos vaya a servir*” (‘*it’s our mother language, it’s in our, how to say it? In our roots, but also, like, we don’t pay attention to learn...maybe in our minds there is this thing that this language will not be useful to us*’) (I, 2017.12.12). Isac’s comments are insightful because while sharing an appreciation and recognition of Quechua as the mother tongue of *cusqueños*, he simultaneously acknowledges that youth like him don’t necessarily take steps towards learning the language. Isac’s statement suggests that while youth can find pride in Quechua as an emblem of one’s cultural identity, this does not necessarily translate into speaking the language or taking steps in that direction. While Maribel mentions the limitations for learning given school Quechua language policy, Isac points to an even longer-standing challenge youth face, that is, negative stereotypes regarding Quechua language use and the discrimination its speakers face (more on Chapter 9).

Additionally, youth oriented to the proud *cusqueño* model to express desires to connect to their heritage in more personal ways:

<p>Kike: ... <i>lo que yo quisiera es tener un apellido inca, de verdad porque, porque mi abuelo, mis abuelos, mi bisabuelo llevaba apellido Yupanki y mi abuelita llevaba el apellido ... Roca, no sé, algo así,</i></p>	<p><i>...what I would want is to have an Inca last name, really, because, because my grandfather, my grandparents, my great grandfather had the last name Yupanki and my grandmother had the last name... Roca, I don’t know, something</i></p>
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<p><i>pero era un nombre de un Inca ... y no entiendo cómo se ha perdido, porque deberían de sobresaltar el quechua- el apellido quechua, ¿no? a veces me avergüenzo de mi propio apellido porque, no es que no tenga identidad de dónde vengo así, sino, quiero identificarme más con la- mi cultura pues</i></p>	<p><i>like that, but it was the name of an Inca...and I don't understand how it's been lost, because the Quechua- the Quechua last name should stand out, right? I am sometimes embarrassed of my own last name because, it's not that I don't have an identity of where I come from, but, I want to identify more with the- with my culture</i></p>
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(I, 2016.11.24)

Following a group discussion about Quechua last names, in the above excerpt, Kike, who identified as understanding Quechua well but had a hard time speaking it, takes the floor to express a more personal desire. He is unsure of how his Quechua/Inca family name got lost across generations, and expresses disappointment and shame in not having that name anymore. Implicit in his statement too is his yearning for a Quechua last name as a way to connect to his family lineage and to his culture, and to be the type of person who identifies with their culture. Another instance of how youth oriented to being someone who is identified with one's culture, or a proud *cusqueño* with *identidad* is when youth explain their desire to teach Quechua to their future children, such as: “*porque yo sí me siento bien identificado con mi cultura*” (‘*because I do feel well identified with my culture*’) (I, 2017.12.12).

The figure of the *proud cusqueño* who speaks Quechua was mobilized by youth to counter and critique teasing, discrimination and shame relating to their own and others' Quechua language use. Later in the same interview as above, Kike described an instance of linguistic discrimination he witnessed in his primary school. He shared with the group that a new student, who had moved to Urubamba from a coastal town, had started

bullying a classmate who spoke with *mote* and called him pejorative terms such as “*serrano*”. At the time, Kike stood up to the bully and punched him, which ended up with the bully being expelled from school. As Kike revisited and narrated this past event, he recounted:

- | | | |
|-------|---|--|
| Kike: | <i>... lo botaron al amigo ese, porque creo que no se identificaba con su cultura, y creo que no sabe muy bien de donde viene, porque si hablamos de la cultura inca, pre-inca, nace en Cusco, en la sierra, por eso que todo el Perú [S2: es serrano] es serrano</i> | <i>they expelled that guy, because I think he did not identify with his culture, and I don't think he really knows where he comes from, because if we speak of the Inca culture, pre-Inca, it's born in Cusco, in the sierra, that's why all of Peru [S2: is serrano] is serrano</i> |
| Y2: | <i>sí ...donde que corre sangre inca</i> | <i>yes... where Inca blood runs</i> |
| Kike: | <i>el Inca sí, para mí el Inca es lo MÁXIMO</i> | <i>yes, the Inca, for me the Inca is THE BEST</i> |
| Y2: | <i>Mhm</i> | <i>mhm</i> |
| Kike: | <i>porque creo que él no necesitaba la violencia para conquistar pueblos, simplemente iba, decía allá, 'te unes a nosotros'</i> | <i>because I think he did not need violence to conquer people, he just went and said, 'you will join us'</i> |

(I, 2016.11.24)

Here, Kike discusses an instance where he re-signifies the term “*serrano*” from a pejorative meaning, used to bully a classmate, to a positive association given its Inca lineage. As he explains in the above excerpt, he finds pride in the label “*serrano*”, as it goes back to the pre-Inca and Inca cultures which originated in the Peruvian Andes.

Worth mentioning is how Kike and his friend (Y2) construct this re-signification

together, as Y2 provides the word “*serrano*” as a resource Kike draws on. In addition, both boys continue to draw on ties to the Inca culture as sources of shared pride, mentioning that Inca blood runs through their hometowns and referencing what they interpret as the non-violent expansion of the Inca empire (an ironic reference given Kike punched his former classmate and the Incas also practiced violent ways of conquest).

Of interest too is how these two youth drew on the Inca-Quechua connection to achieve a positive alignment towards me, whom they possibly viewed as someone interested in issues of cultural heritage and who valued Andean culture and Quechua. It is also possible this aspect of my positionality influenced their consideration of Inca-related pseudonyms. As I informed them they could keep their own names or use a pseudonym, they toyed around with the options of “**Pachakuteq** *con Q al final*” (‘**Pachakuteq** *with a Q at the end*’) and “**Atahualpa**” as possible pseudonyms, though choosing to keep their names at the end.

Youth drew on the *cusqueño* figure to counter linguistic teasing they themselves experienced from peers. As I hung out with a group of Year 1 girls at Sembrar School during lunch break and we talked about Quechua use within their family, one of them mentioned her grandmother would tell her things like “**kunallanña waqtarusayki**” (‘**Now I will smack you**’), referencing how grandmothers use Quechua when disciplining grandkids. One of her classmates, who had been hearing though not orally participating in our conversation, pronounced “*te voy a sobar*” (‘*I will spank you*’), translating the Quechua phrase the girl had just shared. Very quickly, another one of the girls told him “*habías sabido quechua, yo pensaba que eras americano*” (‘*it turns out you knew Quechua, I thought you were American*’) and the group around both of them

laughed. The boy responded “*si los cusqueños hablan quechua*” (‘*but Cusqueños do speak Quechua*’) (FN & A, 2016.05.19). In this observed event, which was characterized by a playful and relaxed tone among known classmates and myself, the boy invoked the figure of cusqueños as Quechua speakers to defend his Quechua-Spanish translating abilities in the face of a classmate who did not expect him to possess this ability, and in fact attempted to ascribe a ‘foreigner’ identity onto him in a playful way.

Finally, while discussing people who refused to speak Quechua even when they could during a group interview, Alfonso mentioned “*a mí lo que más me duele, es que había gente adulta que es netamente urubambina o del Cusco que debe de hablar quechua, dice ‘ay yo no sé hablar quechua’, ¿cómo es eso? tiene que saber*” (‘*what hurts me the most, is that adults that are legitimately from Urubamba or from Cusco who should speak Quechua, say ‘Oh, I don’t know how to speak Quechua’, what’s up with that? They need to know*’) (I, 2016.11.24). In Alfonso’s comment, we can note the proud cusqueño figure invoked to communicate his expectation that someone from Cusco and Urubamba should speak Quechua, specially among adults, as well as his disappointment that this is not always the case.

Relatedly, when Kike and Alfonso critiqued other youth who they believed were ashamed of their Quechua last names, they referred to the Inca pronunciation of last names as a source of both linguistic authenticity and what should be a source of pride. In one of the examples they provided, the boys talked about a peer with last name ‘**Hanq’o**’, who chose to pronounce his name as ‘**Hanko**’, omitting the pronunciation of the post-velar ejective Quechua consonant /q’/ and using the velar consonant/k/ instead. These boys developed a critique of their classmate as being a teen without identity and ashamed

of his last name because he wouldn't pronounce it as 'Hanq'o'. 'Hanq'o', they argued, is "*el apellido incaico*" ('*the Inca last name*') and how the name was pronounced in "*tiempos incaicos*" ('*Inca times*'), other varieties are the product of *castellanización* and a personal choice made by youth who deny their roots. While more could be said of these commentaries, relevant to our current discussion is that youth referenced the proud cusqueño figure as the expected model to critique their classmate for a perceived lack of pride, and that they also invoked the language at the time of the Incas as a legitimate standard against which to assess the Quechuaness of peers' last names.

8.2.2 Beyond Quechua proficiency: youth alignments to proud cusqueños

Youth often identified Quechua as emblematic of a collective regional identity, cusqueños, with roots back to the Inca culture. Youth further drew on the *proud cusqueño* model to explain the need and significance for Quechua language education and to express their appreciation and desires to learn more about and connect to Quechua language and culture. Relatedly, they also invoked the model to challenge linguistic teasing, discrimination and shame, showing appreciation and expectations for their own and especially others' Quechua language use. Overall, youth aligned positively towards being a cusqueño who recognizes Quechua as part of their identity through stances of pride, belonging and by expressing a desire to learn the language and challenge linguistic inequalities.

Although discourses linking Quechua to the Incas and cusqueño identity widely circulated in Urubamba space, particularly in schools and the tourist linguistic landscape,

youth's invocations of the model for explaining the significance of Quechua education, as well as for challenging linguistic inequalities, represented youths' own appropriations and orientation to the *cusqueño* figure of speakerhood in positive ways. While expressing positive alignments towards Quechua as emblematic of cusqueño identity, youth were also skeptical about the language learning opportunities available at school and their own efforts towards becoming a cusqueño who does speak Quechua. Being a *cusqueño with identidad* included valuing Andean culture, and though Quechua proficiency was something youth aspired to have, proficiency was not the only attribute a proud cusqueño ought to have, nor was it needed to align oneself to this figure of personhood. Just as important as Quechua proficiency was valuing Quechua or expressing a desire to speak Quechua. Not speaking Quechua, or lack of Quechua proficiency, however, was continuously evaluated by peers and adults as youth negotiated being called, and calling each other, *foreigners* or *deniers*, as we will next examine.

8.3 Extranjeros

Circulating in youth's classrooms and homes was the figure of the *extranjero*, a persona of both Quechua speakerhood and Quechua non-speakerhood. On the one hand, the *non-cusqueño extranjero* figure was associated with a person who has origins in another country, speaks languages that are not Spanish or Quechua (mostly English) as their first language, and has an appreciation for Quechua as well as for the local culture. Terms such as "*gringo*" (used to refer both to foreigners and to light skinned people) and "*turista*" (*tourist*) were also used interchangeably to refer to this version of the

extranjero figure. On the other hand, the *cusqueño extranjero* figure pointed to local youth who neither valued local customs nor valued or spoke Quechua.

8.3.1 The non-cusqueño extranjero

Similar to how youth referred to the utilitarian value of knowing Quechua so they could communicate with native Quechua speakers in the future, youth also oriented to the *extranjero* model as a potential future group they could use their Quechua with. Most of the youth who described this future use of Quechua wanted to work in the tourist industry, mostly as tour guides. Youth mentioned tourists liked the Quechua language and as their future tour guides youth could teach them Quechua words of local objects and everyday phrases, how to write some words in Quechua, and could also interpret between them and high altitude dwellers. Highlighting the perceived interest of *extranjeros* in Quechua, a group of youth also mentioned that *gringos* took courses to learn the language. While youth did not know where those Quechua courses were offered, they did mention that some foreigners that had learned Quechua in Cusco and other parts of Peru had become Quechua teachers abroad, pointing to youth's growing awareness of the interest in and appreciation for Quechua in different scales, be it by foreigners when coming to Peru but also in their home countries.

Some youth also mentioned that they themselves had interacted with tourists who were interested in Quechua, experiencing first-handed that foreigners appreciate local culture and language. Julia, who returned to her high-altitude hometown during the weekends, explained to me how she wrote in Quechua outside of school, as many tourists who visited her town, site of a popular and beautiful waterfall, asked her to write down

Quechua terms for them such as “*rica comida*” (‘*delicious food*’) (I, 2017.12.06). Other youth also recounted seeing and hearing tourists in their home towns who spoke some Quechua and who asked local residents to teach them some Quechua words (I, 2016.11.24; I 2016.11.08).

Regarding current Quechua use in the tourist industry, Kely, a high school senior who wanted to become a tour guide, noted that she had seen online videos of tour guides explaining to tourists in Quechua how to make ceramics or spin wool (I, 2016.07.12). Moreover, youth also noticed that tourist sites often included Quechua names. Reflecting on the linguistic landscape she observed when traveling from Urubamba to Cusco, T’ika noted how every time she passed the town of Chinchero, she saw many establishments with Quechua names (most of them textile shops) which, she explained, tourists liked (FN, 2018.01.20.).

The model of the *extranjero* as a figure interested in Quechua, who would value youth’s future use and knowledge of the language, was also promoted by some teachers, myself and parents. As Teacher Mónica explained the importance of Quechua in class one day, in addition to mentioning the 500-plus-year-long legacy the language represented, she mentioned that Quechua “*nos da de comer*” (‘*feeds us*’) (FN, 2016.04.07), referencing youth’s and Urubambino’s current and future work as guides and in the local tourist industry broadly. Teachers, however, mostly drew on the *extranjero* figure of speakerhood to highlight youth’s lack of pride in the language, which we will see next. As a participant in Quechua classes across both schools, I too helped to circulate this model of speakerhood, as I shared with youth how Quechua was taught in some universities in the United States, where I had studied the language, and I also

mentioned some of the activities promoting Quechua individuals living abroad were engaged in.

Parents, in turn, mentioned *extranjeros* as a group interested in the language, which some of them had experienced personally. Señora Remigia, whose son was a high school senior at Sembrar School, told how she had learned some phrases in English when selling textiles and souvenirs to tourists in her hometown of Chinchero, a well-known tourist destination in Cusco. As her son prepared to take the entrance exam to university, he mentioned to her he wanted to study tourism. When I asked Sra. Remigia if he would use Quechua in his future career even though most tourists did not speak the language, she replied “*turismupaqpas allinmi, maytaña turismo rinqa chaypas quechuata yachachiway niqtinpas, rimanqayá*” (**‘[Quechua] is also good for tourism, wherever there is tourism, he will be able to teach Quechua when they ask him to, he will use it’**). While Sra. Remigia described tourists as non-Quechua speakers, she went on to highlight they were very interested in learning, and often asked her to teach them the equivalents of some Spanish words in Quechua. In large part because of her direct experience in the tourist industry, where she met travelers from the United States, Brasil and Argentina, Sra. Remigia also felt her son’s Quechua proficiency would be useful and appreciated in his future profession. Together with youth, parents also recognized the symbolic and economic capital knowledge and use of Quechua could have in the highly touristic context of Cusco, and particularly, of the Sacred Valley.

While I have emphasized how youth saw varying levels of Quechua proficiency as useful in their future professions, I do not intend to downplay the great importance youth also gave to English proficiency for their future tourism careers. All of the youth who

expressed interest in working in the tourism industry pointed out the need to learn English to communicate with tourists, as well as other languages, like Chinese and Japanese, to give them an advantage over other tour guides (I, 2016.11.18), as well as Aymara (I, 2017.12.18). English was a language they planned to study and learn upon finishing high school in a language institute, though a few youth had already taken steps in that direction. At the same time, only one of the interviewed youth expressed they would not need Quechua at all (I, 2016.11.03). Thus, while English and other languages were perceived as future languages of communication with tourists, youth also carved a complementary role for Quechua proficiency.

In addition, when invoking the *extranjero* figure, youth expressed their admiration for non-cusqueños who spoke Quechua. Relatedly, Yeny remembered with fondness one of the *albergue* German volunteers who learned Quechua during his time in Urubamba, and who she still communicates with through Facebook messenger using some Quechua (I, 2017.05.02). Being commonly perceived as an *extranjera* myself⁷⁷, my use of Quechua often evoked admiration and praise from youth, teachers, parents and Urubamba residents. As the Quechua class came to an end one day, one of the youth I was recording sent the following greeting my way “**teacher Frances **allinmi riman quechua simipi chayrayku felicitation noqa ruwani, Francesman, allin warmi kasqa yachachiq****” (‘**teacher Frances **speaks in Quechua well, which is why I congratulate her, she’s a good person, teacher****’) (A, 2016.05.12). Ricardo’s comment stands as an example of the type of praise youth expressed for non-cusqueños’ Quechua speaking abilities. His use of English terms such as ‘teacher’ and mixed English-Spanish terms like ‘*felicitation*’

⁷⁷ For more, see Methodology Chapter, on positionality

when talking about me, also point to his orientation to me as *extranjera* within a playful speech event.

In some cases, when youth realized I was interested in Quechua, spoke Quechua and continued to learn it, they would take on teaching roles. As we worked in the *chakra* during a Saturday afternoon with T'ika and two other girls from her school, we began exchanging riddles and stories in Quechua. The girls, who were very outgoing and funny, began telling me they would teach me what they knew for a very modest price, which gave foot to joking about all the money I would owe them after they would be done teaching me Quechua (FN, 2016.06.04).

8.3.2 The cusqueño extranjero

The figure of the *extranjero* was also used as a model of non-Quechua speakerhood, by youth and adults, to refer to cusqueño youth who did not value local customs nor valued or spoke Quechua. Terms like '*limeño*' and nationality-based labels were also used to refer to this model interchangeably. In what follows, I address how adults, teachers and family members, as well as youth mobilized this figure to different ends.

8.3.2.1 Adult evaluations

As I accompanied Teacher Jacob across his different classes, while deciding which ones to follow for the rest of the school year, I often heard him comment to the class: "*nuestros apellidos, nosotros somos andinos...no vayan a decir que somos limeños, extranjeros*" ('*our last names, we are Andean...don't go around saying we are limeños, foreigners*') (FN, 2016.03.08), or "*los lugares en que vivimos es quechua... no vamos a*

decir que yo soy pues extranjero, no hay que tener vergüenza es nuestra idioma mater, la cultura antigua era la mejor, ¿no es cierto?” (*‘the places where we live are Quechua...we won’t say I am a foreigner then, we should not be embarrassed, it is our mother tongue, the ancient culture was the best, right?’*) (A, 2016.03.21). The comments show how, across events, this teacher attempts to highlight the importance of Quechua largely by appealing to its importance as a symbol of a shared local identity. In contrast, the teacher warns students not to identify as “*limeños*” or foreigners. In both events, in fact, the teacher is drawing on the figure of the *proud cusqueño* and contrasting it to the *extranjero* figure of speakerhood in order to get this point across.

Though many times teachers’ mobilization of the *foreigner* figure were directed at no one in particular, sometimes they were directed at individual students. At the beginning of one of the Year 4 Quechua classes in Sembrar School, the following took place:

Teacher Jacob picks one student who did not participate in the group-greeting at the beginning of class and asks him to come to the front of the room. The student looks startled, perhaps surprised he’s been chosen among so many. The teacher instructs the student to repeat the class greeting, state where he lives and what he does in life, instructions which cause laughter amongst the rest of classmates. As the class remains standing, the student under the spotlight walks to the front of the room, with his hands inside his pant pockets, and stands in front of the class, facing us all. He keeps his gaze focused across the room, without making eye contact with anyone in particular. As we wait for him to respond to the teacher instructions, he turns to Teacher Jacob and says “*no sé hablar*” (*‘I don’t know how to speak’*). “*¿Acaso eres chileno?*” (*‘what are you, Chilean?’*), Teacher Jacob responds back sharply, “*¿o acaso eres norteamericano?*” (*‘or are you North American?’*). The student repeats, “*no sé*” (*‘I don’t know’*) one more time, now looking at the floor, and then to the side of the class opposite the teacher. The teacher asks the student where he lives, and commenting on his neighborhood, Torrechayuq, says “*es quechua en Torrechayuq, ¿cómo no va a saber hablar? ¿No les da vergüenza?*” (*‘Torrechayuq is Quechua, how won’t he know how to speak? Aren’t you guys embarrassed?’*). He then tells the student he is surprised he has passed three years of the course without speaking Quechua, and suggests he must have plagiarized or memorized his way through the course. (FN, 2016.03.21)

This vignette depicts an instance where a teacher assigns an *extranjero* identity to one of his students, questioning the student’s inability to speak in Quechua. The student’s repeated statements that he doesn’t know how to speak Quechua are met with the teacher questioning the student’s place-based identity. Given he is not Chilean nor American, which the teacher indirectly points out through rhetorical questions, and from an Urubamba neighborhood with a Quechua name where adults speak Quechua, it is expected he ought to speak Quechua.

Events like this were not uncommon across schools and across different grades. Below, Table 7 summarizes some of the ways in which *extranjero* model of speakerhood were used by teachers.

Table 7 – Examples of teacher mention of the *extranjero* speakerhood and non-speakerhood figures⁷⁸

	<i>Non-cusqueño extranjeros</i> typifications	<i>Cusqueño extranjeros</i> typifications
Teacher Esmeralda (FN/A, 2016.08.26)	- speak better Quechua than youth	- ashamed of their parents - ashamed/pretend not to speak Quechua
Teacher Diana (FN/A, 2016.11.03)	- want to be owners of Machu Picchu - want to learn Quechua - invest money in learning Quechua - aspire to be <i>cusqueños</i>	- don’t want to speak Quechua - pretend to have forgotten Quechua (“ <i>les da amnesia</i> ”, ‘you get <i>amnesia</i> ’) - embarrassed of Quechua and archeological patrimony - confused

⁷⁸ Data: Observations, fieldnotes and audio recordings of five classroom events across schools.

Teacher Mónica -1 (FN/A, 2016.04.01)	N/A	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - speechless (“<i>mutis</i>”) - wary to speak (“<i>con temor</i>”, ‘<i>fearful</i>’) - negate their parents - without identity (“<i>cadáveres andantes</i>”, ‘<i>walking corpses</i>’)
Teacher Mónica - 2 (FN/A, 2017.03.30)	- as more interested in Quechua than youth (“Frances, who is not from here, is more interested in your language than you”)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - not interested in Quechua - don’t want to speak
Teacher Jacob (FN, 2016.03.21)	N/A	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - non-Peruvian (Chilean, American) - embarrassed - Quechua course plagiarizers

As seen, teachers often drew on both the *non-cusqueño extranjero* and the *cusqueño extranjero* figures to call out their students for what they perceived to be a lack of interest in Quechua. Teacher comments positioned *foreigners* as speaking better Quechua, as more interested in the language, and as making more efforts to learn the language than their students (see Table 7). At the same time, teachers called on the *cusqueño extranjero* figure to frame youth as embarrassed by their parents and family, uninterested in Quechua (‘*walking corpses*’), not wanting to speak the language (using terms such as ‘*speechless*’, and people with ‘*amnesia*’), and confused and scared.

Events where teachers publicly shamed students for not speaking Quechua were usually characterized by teacher-led monologues or extended interventions directed at the class as a whole, and took place at various moments in class, usually after teacher complaints that students did not participate in classroom tasks in the ways they had expected. Teacher monologues included questions addressed to students, but which were not meant to be answered. Most of the time, students kept themselves busy while teachers

spoke, reading books, writing in their notebooks, advancing coursework from other subject areas, at times putting their heads down on the desk, and sometimes giggling during teacher talk. Although non-verbal, these behaviors can also be interpreted as responses to teacher monologues, suggesting these practices did not necessarily promote youth to become engaged in the task.

Very few times, students responded to these teacher comments, though often not in a very loud manner, not audible to teachers. Youth responses went from “*yo no tengo vergüenza y no sé Quechua*” (‘*I’m not embarrassed and I don’t know Quechua*’) (FN & A, 2016.11.03), as Teacher Diana called out youth for being ashamed, to “**wakinllayá** *profe*” (‘**just some [youth] teacher**’), “**wakinllanta**” (‘**only some**’) and “*yo no profe*” (‘*not me teacher*’), “*yo te hablo en quechua, profe*” (‘*I speak to you in Quechua, teacher*’) when Teacher Esmeralda elaborated on how youth pretended not to know (FN, 2016.08.26). These subtle youth comments were often audible to me only because of recordings I made close to those speakers or because I was standing closer to the utterer than teachers. These comments are also important reminders that some youth showed some resistance to how teachers positioned them.

I also observed these youth shaming practices happen between parents, family relatives and youth.

As I walked around the food vendors during the festivities for IC School’s anniversary, I approached the stand of the high school seniors. As I neared, I saw Fernando, a Year 5 student, who seemed to be in a heated argument with the classroom moms who were in charge of selling the food. The moms, a group of about six, were giving Fernando a hard time about how it could be possible he didn’t speak Quechua. Fernando, in a somewhat rude tone, told one of them “*pregúntale a mis papás, yo no hablo quechua*” (‘*ask my parents, I don’t speak Quechua*’). He then turned to me and asked “*¿cómo se dice ‘cállese señora, nomás venda’?*” (‘*how do you say, ‘just shut up lady and just sell?’*’). I told him he

probably doesn't want to say that to the moms, and he walked away. As the moms and I began chatting, they shared their surprise and disbelief that Fernando couldn't speak Quechua. One of them mentioned it was almost impossible he didn't speak Quechua, since she knew Fernando's mother and his grandfather, and they both spoke Quechua well. "¿Cómo no va a hablar!" ('How is it possible he can't speak!'), she remarked. Suddenly, Fernando returned to the vending table and the moms started telling him things like "**maymanta mamayki, awichaykiri**" ('**where is your mother from? your grandfather?**'), and "*¿de dónde es tu mamá? ¿de dónde es tu abuelo? pe*", using both Quechua and Spanish. One of the moms added "**mut'i khamun runa**" ('**they're people who eat mote**'). Fernando looked at them, said "no sé quechua, no sé quechua" ('I don't know Quechua, I don't know Quechua') and left the table. As he walked away, one of the moms laughed and commented to the group "*se refine, distinguido es*" ('*he becomes refined, he is stuck up*'). Another one added "*es que él es de España*" ('*it's because he is from Spain*'), and all the women in the group laughed. (FN, 2016.09.18)

The vignette ends with one of the moms jokingly calling Fernando an *extranjero*, someone from Spain, in direct relation to his inability to speak Quechua. This choice of nationality is particularly useful in sustaining the us: them binary between adults and youth, speakers and not speakers, stuck-up and non-stuck up individuals, and it builds on Peru's history of coloniality. From the perspective of the adults in the vignette, Fernando is expected to know Quechua, given his older relatives do speak the language, and his family is from the region. What is more, the mothers attribute somewhat snobbish qualities to Fernando ('*he becomes refined, he is stuck up*') because of his not speaking Quechua. Besides repeating he does not speak Quechua, and challenging the mothers to ask his parents if he truly does know Quechua or not, Fernando also appeared irritated and annoyed by the discussion. Two months later, when I had the opportunity to interview Fernando, I asked if he recalled the event and how it made him feel. He first recalled how the women laughed at him, "*se pasaron, o sea, se mataron de risa, todo*" ('*they crossed the line, I mean, they cracked up*'), and then, continued:

- Fernando: *Nos bajan la autoestima, nos sentimos mal pues...* *they lower our self-esteem, we feel bad...*
- FKD: *O sea, tú- en tu opinión este cuando las señoras hacen eso, ¿a los chicos les motiva aprender quechua? ¿o les desmotiva? ...* *I mean, you- in your opinion, when the ladies do that, it motivates youth to learn quechua? Or it demotivates them?...*
- Fernando: *Eh bueno, no sé ah, nos quedamos callados, nos quedamos todo callados y escuchamos todo lo que nos dice porque no entendemos nada.* *eh well, I don't know, ah, we keep quiet and listen to what they tell us, because we dont understand anything.*

(I, 2016.11.04)

Fernando's comment points to the affective outcome of such an interaction, which made him feel without a voice, unable to respond, and with a low self-esteem regarding his Quechua language abilities.

Other youth described their parents and older siblings calling themselves and their siblings *gringos* to scold them for having stopped speaking the language, or when they were unable to speak it as expected. In the case of Esther, her brother-in-law labeled her in this way one of the few times she spoke the language at home, contrary to common practice:

<p><i>la anterior semana nomás, estuve hablando con mi hermana... y no sé que me decía, y yo le empecé a hablar en ... quechua (h) ... y mi cuñado estaba ahí y dijo, “¿quién?”, o sea, casi yo no hablo quechua en mi casa, y en ahí me dijo “¿quién es la gringa que está hablando quechua? sí, con razón está haciendo frío” así (hh) me</i></p>	<p><i>just last week I was speaking with my sister... and I don't know what she was telling me, and I started to talk to her in ... Quechua (h), ... and my brother-in-law was there and said, “who?”, I mean, I rarely speak Quechua in my home, and he told me, “who is that gringa who is speaking Quechua? Yes, no</i></p>
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*dijo, y a veces, no es por roche,
pero a veces el que te digan eso te
afecta un poco y ya no, ya no, no
sé.*

*wonder it's cold" like that (hh)
he told me, and sometimes, it's
not because I'm ashamed, but
sometimes when they say that it
affects you a bit and I don't
know, you don't, you don't.*

(I, 2016.11.18)

The accounts from Fernando and Esther suggest that instances where adults mobilized the *cusqueño extranjero* figure of speakerhood to highlight youth's perceived lack or insufficiency of Quechua skills did little to influence youth's motivation to use the language or to make them feel motivated or able to learn/try speaking.

Other youth, in contrast, narrated how older family relatives, upon noticing their attempts at speaking Quechua, taught them and teased them in a friendly manner.

Alfonso explained how his aunt teaches him "*en una forma graciosa*" ('in a funny way'), asking him to translate what she says in Quechua into Spanish, admonishing him good-humoredly, saying things like: "*tienes que aprender, no seas gringo' me decía*" ('she used to tell me, 'you have to learn, don't be a gringo') (I, 2017.12.18). Alfonso, who identified himself as the member of his family who spoke the least Quechua, referred to himself as "*yo era el único gringo de mi casa*" ('I was the only gringo of my house') in a joking manner during our interview.

Keeping with a similar tone, I also heard parents use the *gringo* term to refer to their own children. After we finished watering the potatoes, Esther, Raúl and I returned to their home. Knowing that Raúl was listening to us, Esther told me, "*el Raúl es gringo para regar, no le gusta*" ('Raúl is a gringo for watering, he doesn't like it'). Then, she told her

son in a playful tone, “*si te casas con una mujer de las alturas te va llevar a la chacra*” (‘*if you marry a high-altitude woman she will take you the chacra*’). Raúl swiftly replied that he would make sure to ask where the woman was from before marrying her. We all laughed. (FN, 2016.09.07). Esther uses the *gringo* term in a teasing manner to comment on her son’s dislike and poor agricultural abilities. Thus, while adult family relatives’ invocation of the *cusqueño foreigner* figure frequently had the effect of discouraging youth’s Quechua language use, it was also used in contexts of *confianza* and friendly teasing.

8.3.2.2 Youth evaluations: self and other identifications

The *cusqueño extranjero* figure was also deployed by youth in their interactions with peers to comment on their own and others’ Quechua proficiencies and their ability to engage in local practices. Many of these youth commentaries took the form of playful teasing using terms like “*gringo*” and ‘tourists’. On the one hand, youth used the terms to highlight their own and their peers’ inability to speak the language. For example, when describing to me who spoke Quechua in his class, after naming a few students, Raúl added “*y el resto parecen que son turistas, que no saben hablar*” (‘*and the rest appear to be tourists, that don’t know how to speak*’) (I, 2016.12.12). During a reading activity in class, T’ika too mentioned “*ese turista*” (‘*that tourist*’) when it was the turn of one of her classmates who many described as not knowing Quechua (FN, 2016.12.01). Pedro, in turn, who identified as knowing no Quechua, described his Quechua class team mates, including himself as “*somos cuatro gringos*” (‘*we are four gringos*’) (FN, 2016.04.29).

On the other hand, youth also used the term to tease peers in relation to local practices. As I walked with Raúl, Samuel and Oscar to the library for our group interview, we chatted about their plans for the upcoming summer holidays. Oscar mentioned he would help his father in construction work and Raúl shared that he would help in the corn harvest. I asked Samuel if he planned to work as well and Oscar said “*él no, es gringo*” (‘*not him, he is a gringo*’), making the three laugh (FN, 2016.12.12). This was not the only time Samuel was teased using the *gringo* label. Even though he spoke Quechua fluently, and came from a Quechua-speaking valley hometown in another province, he explained the reason for this teasing was his very light skin, and the teasing was something he did not take seriously, but just as a joke (I, 2018.01.17). Similarly, another classmate, Frieda, was teased as *gringa* for not knowing how to plant flowers during their ‘*Educación para el Trabajo*’ class, as one of her classmates told her “*gringa eres, ni quieres tapar con tierra...te voy a mandar a tu país*” (‘*you are a gringa, you don’t even want to cover it with soil...I’m going to send you back to your country*’) (FN, 2017.09.22).

Youth drew on the *foreigner* model not only to tease but also to critique youth shame in speaking Quechua, using a harsher tone than the examples above. Youth referred to classmates, who pretended not to know Quechua in front of teachers, or who made negative comments about Quechua, as “*limeños*” (someone from Lima), “*faramallas*” (someone who deceives, is artificial) and “*gringos*”. María for example, used the term “*limeño*” to describe peers who denied knowing Quechua, and to directly tease peers who said they were embarrassed to speak the language: “*fuera limeño’, yo también le insulto*” (‘*go away limeño’, I insult him*’) (I, 2016.12.15). Youth who were criticized for not

speaking Quechua, and for looking down on the language and on their peers who did, were also described as speaking like limeños. In reference to one of these youth, one of his classmates commented: “*cambia su forma de hablar...como los limeños habla*” (‘*he changes his way of speaking... he speaks like limeños*’) (I, 2016.11.22). Similarly, in her description of a classmate who T’ika argued was embarrassed by her mom because she worked in the chacra and dresses with a skirt, indexical of someone from a rural background, she also said that “*se hacía la limeña, hablaba como en Lima*” (‘*she pretended she was a limeña, she spoke like they do in Lima*’) (I, 2017.12.13).

Together, these various deployments of the cusqueño extranjero figure in peer interactions point to youth critiques of themselves and other youth who distance themselves from Quechua, local practices and their family. The parallel to how adults invoked the figure to critique youth also suggests that youth took on many of the same discourses which they in fact felt misrepresented them. In doing so, it seems they made sense of how their peers responded to language shift as well as ongoing discrimination and racism.

8.3.3 Foreigners and Quechua proficiency: youth alignments

In evoking the *non-cusqueño foreigner* figure, youth framed Quechua proficiency in positive ways. Tourists were seen as a potential group youth could communicate with using some Quechua, in addition to other languages, or a group to whom they could display their Quechua proficiency and who would value it. Foreigners interested in learning Quechua, in turn, were also figures in relation to which youth took on or envisioned taking on teacher-like roles, displaying their Quechua proficiency with them,

both in oral and written ways. While adults referred to this model in similar ways, school teachers also mobilized this model in youth shaming practices. Importantly, youth showed awareness of different scales, associated with the tourism industry, where Quechua proficiency gained economic value.

The *cusqueño foreigner* figure was used in different ways, ranging from playful teasing to shaming practices, by youth and adults. Shaming practices that drew on the *cusqueño foreigner* carried an emotional toll on youth, that while not changing their postures away from valuing Quechua, didn't add to their opportunities to learn or feel confident speaking/trying to speak the language, especially with adults and classroom teachers. We've seen too how in mobilizing the *cusqueño foreigner* figure of speakerhood to critique peers who they perceived as ashamed of the language/not proud of Quechua, youth also expressed an indirect alignment with Quechua pride, as youth shame was something to be critiqued. Among youth, the figure of the *cusqueño extranjero* was used to tease as well as to critique each other, though critiques were mostly shared in private conversations with me, while teasing took place in public. Thus, while adults and youth engaged in similar evaluations of youth Quechua proficiency, youth critiques were not as harsh as the ones adults, mostly teachers, engaged in. In the following section, we'll see how a local variation of the *cusqueño foreigner* figure, the *denier*, was constructed and maintained in Quechua classrooms and high schools, and the implications it carried for how youth's proficiencies in Quechua were evaluated as well as their language use and learning opportunities.

8.4 Deniers

While being labeled a *foreigner* entailed the possibility of not knowing Quechua, being labeled a *denier* relied on the assumption that the individual in question knew Quechua. Since the lines between the social persona of a foreigner and a denier often converged, this distinction was a crucial differentiating attribute. The denier was thus a figure of Quechua speakerhood that represented youth who had proficiency in the language but did not want to, or did not care, to show it. While youth called each other deniers, this label was more evident in teacher-student interactions, as well as more consequential for the learning trajectories of youth. In this section, I focus on the case of one youth, T'ika⁷⁹, a Year 1 student at the time, who during one academic year went from being one more student in the group to being positioned by her teacher as someone who knew Quechua and did not want to speak Quechua, a denier. T'ika's case shows how youth proficiency in Quechua was constructed in interaction, where resources such as past classroom events, the organization of class activities, youth's patterns of classroom participation, and local figures of youth identities (good/bad student, being a Sembrar School student) came to bear on how teachers perceived students' Quechua proficiency.

8.4.1 The discursive construction of a denier: a four-event account

Three months into the beginning of the school year, T'ika's Year 1 class had gained the reputation of being “*movidos*”, “*tremendos*” and “*malcriados*” (terms equivalent to restless/unruly, naughty and spoiled) during Quechua class and other

⁷⁹ Refer to her short bio in the Methodology Chapter, as well as her longer language trajectory (Chapter 5), and home language socialization (Chapter 6).

classes. Walking into her Quechua class, it indeed was one of the rowdiest ones I visited. Students often arrived late to class, ate snacks during the lesson, changed and moved seats, and carried on simultaneous chats with their peers as the teacher spoke. Since the class took place right before lunch time, many students were eager to leave the room, which they were not shy of showing.

Like many Sembrar School teachers and staff, the Quechua teacher, Teacher Diana, described this group as “*niños del campo*” (‘*children from the countryside*’) who “*ya hablan quechua*”, (‘*already speak Quechua*’). From its origins, the school had the reputation of serving youth from rural communities whose parents were *campesinos*, largely attributed to its focus on teaching agricultural sciences; it was established as a vocational agricultural school and continued offering agricultural sciences as part of its *Educación para el Trabajo* (‘Education for Work’) course. Most recently, this reputation was reinforced by its lower entrance grades, which made it more accessible for students from rural backgrounds who were believed to score lower than those who went to schools in urban areas. The Sembrar School student model, circulating for the last sixty years, was that of youth who came from rural backgrounds, who understood and spoke Quechua. The derogatory bilingual term “**wano q’epis**” (person who carries/transport manure), used to refer to Sembrar School students is reflective of this stereotype, as well as the term “**q’ella tukun**” (‘**who become lazy**’), which I heard a teacher use to refer to what she perceived to be the limited post-high school aspirations of her students.

T’ika stood out in her class because of her height, being one of the tallest students in the group, and her energetic personality. She was not shy to talk to anyone in the class, boys and girls alike, did not let others tease her, and had become somewhat of a class

leader. As the school year progressed, she started displaying signs of being “*movida*” (‘*restless/unruly*’), arriving late to Quechua class, changing seats, and sitting in the back of the room with the other “*relajado*” (‘*laid back*’) students, all boys. Because of her social standing, classmates sitting close to her often paid more attention to her than to the teacher. During the first months of school, she did not stand out as a participant in Quechua classroom tasks, as she rarely volunteered to answer teacher questions individually, though she participated with the rest of her classmates in classroom-wide activities.

8.4.1.1 Event 1: “*Ñoba*” (2016.06.23)

Though some minutes had already passed since the bell which marked the beginning of Quechua class had rung, students were still walking towards their seats, chit chatting and being loud and noisy. A few, including T’ika, were also returning from the bathroom, which altogether delayed the start of class. As these students walked into the room, Teacher Diana addressed the group: “*yo sé que han estado dos horas seguidas en la clase y cuando hace frío se vuelven ustedes hispay sikis*⁸⁰” (‘*I know you’ve been in class for two hours straight and when it’s cold you become hispay sikis*’), and reminded them not to arrive to class late. Teacher Diana’s use of the Quechua words “**hispay sikis**” entertained the class and many students giggled. The boys sitting close to T’ika started translating the term into Spanish, a common practice among youth in class. One of them explained to the group in Spanish, “*hispay es querer ir al baño, al ñoba*⁸¹” (‘*hispay is to*

⁸⁰ Quechua term for someone who pees a lot, often used in context of friendly teasing or insults.

⁸¹ Slang for bathroom, formed by inverting the syllables of “*baño*” (‘*bathroom*’)

want to go to the bathroom, to the *ñoba*, to which T'ika asked in Quechua “**noqa?**” (‘**me?**’), leading to her classmate reiterating the term “*ñoba*” once more. T'ika's intervention was picked up by the teacher, who turning to T'ika admonished her, “*T'ika sí sabes*” (‘*T'ika, you do know*’). The class grew a bit quieter and a classmate added in a soft tone “*se hace*” (‘*she pretends*’). Teacher Diana addressed T'ika once more, adding “*sabes hablar también*” (‘*you also know how to speak*’), and then turned away from T'ika and walking towards the front of the room began reprimanding the whole class for not being ready to start class. She reminded them that she had to keep asking them to focus in Quechua class repeatedly, and that they rather worked on other subject areas instead of Quechua.

In this event, an exchange between peers - where T'ika could have been commenting in a playful fashion on the similar sounds of “*ñoba*” and “**noqa**” or questioning herself as a potential “**hispay siki**” - is singled out by her Teacher and framed as though T'ika were pretending not to understand the Quechua term she had used. In fact, it is another classmate that explicitly describes T'ika's behavior as that of pretending, and her teacher not only affirms that T'ika knows Quechua, but also that T'ika knows how to speak it. T'ika's perceived Quechua proficiency includes both receptive and productive abilities, which although not explicated in the event, reflected longstanding ideas among school staff about students from Sembrar School, students from rural backgrounds who were expected to understand and speak Quechua.

8.4.1.2. Event 2: *Día del logro* (2016.07.22)

About a month later, T'ika's class was in charge of presenting a Quechua table for the school's '*Día del logro*', a biannual school fair where students demonstrated their subject area achievements. Teacher Diana had arranged a table where she displayed word cards with vocabulary she had taught in class, such as "**runa simi**" ('**Quechua**'), "**napaykuna**" ('**greetings**'), "**achahala**" (the term for the Quechua alphabet used in class), "**hamp'ara**" ('**table**') and letter cards of the Quechua alphabet, the **achahala**. The school had also arranged for a jury, composed of teachers from different subject areas, to evaluate the various booths, turning the fair into a contest. When the group of juries arrived to the Year 1 Quechua booth, Teacher Diana called the students who were still around to participate. T'ika was among the group of about seven girls who participated in the evaluation.

Understandably, the Year 1 girls were at first a bit shy around the jury members, many of whom were not their teachers. Each jury member held a tablet or notebook with the grading scheme, and together they began posing questions to students. As the jury members encouraged students to participate, Teacher Diana called on one of the girls in the group, Myriam, and assigned her as a respondent of jury questions. The following excerpt represents these first minutes of interaction. T'ika's participation, the focus of my analysis, is in bold:

Example 1 - The arrival of the juries⁸²

<u>Line</u>	<u>Participant</u>	<u>Original</u>	<u>Translation</u>
1	Jury member 1:	ama penqakuychu!	don't be embarrassed!
2	Teacher Diana:	ama penqakuychu!	don't be embarrassed!
3	Jury member 1:	imata clasepi?-	in class, what have you?-
4	Jury member 2:	rimay!	speak up!
5	Teacher Diana:	Myriam, yanapay, yanapay Myriam	Help, Myriam, Myriam, help
6	Jury member 2:	imayna wasipi rimanchis aqnatayá rimankichis	just like you speak at home, speak like that now
7		<i>(Myriam smiles, covers her mouth)</i>	<i>(Myriam smiles, covers her mouth)</i>
8	Jury member 3:	<i>claro</i>	<i>yes</i>
9	Teacher Diana:	Myriam yanapay! Imakunata ruwarankis qheswasimipi chayta tapushasunkis	Help Myriam! They are asking you about things you have done in Quechua [class]

⁸² T'ika's turns are highlighted.

10	T'ika:	ah noqa-	<i>ah I-</i>
11	Myriam:	runasimita, napaykuna (<i>reads from the table</i>)	Quechua, greetings (<i>reads from the table</i>)
12	T'ika:	<i>yo! (looks at me and smiles, tries to take a turn, nods head asking for approval)</i>	<i>me! (looks at me and smiles, tries to take a turn, nods head asking for approval)</i>
13	Myriam:	hamp'ara (<i>keeps reading from the table</i>)	table (<i>keeps reading from the table</i>)
14	T'ika:	noqa	me
15	Teacher Diana:	imakunata yacharanki Myriam qheswasimipi?	Myriam, what have you learned in Quechua?
16	T'ika:	noqaykunata yachamuni-yachamun-	we⁸³, I learn- I lear-
17	Jury member 1:	yachamuyku	we learn
18	T'ika:	yaqa-yachamun-	almost-lear-⁸⁴
19		<i>(T'ika makes eye contact with another student, then moves sideways and looks away)</i>	<i>(T'ika makes eye contact with another student, then moves sideways and looks away)</i>

⁸³ Here, T'ika refers to something close to an inclusive 'we' pronoun as a direct object.

⁸⁴ T'ika continues her attempt at conjugating and forming a phrase.

20	Teacher Diana:	imakunata yacharankis quechuasimipi chaytaqa tapushasunkis	they are asking you about what you learned in Quechua [class]
21	Jury member 3:	rimaytachá riki? [yacharankichis]	to speak perhaps [you learned]
22	Teacher Diana:	[imaykunata ruwarankis], a ver	[let's see, what you learned]

Jury members' encouragement to get the students to talk assumes that youth are embarrassed to speak (lines 1-2), and that they speak Quechua at home (line 6, 8) (which not all youth did or were expected to do, see Chapter 6). Teacher Diana encourages Myriam to answer the jury's questions, which after some hesitation, she begins to do by reading the word cards on the table (line 11). T'ika, who is behind the first row of girls, attempts to gain the floor, and as Myriam keeps reading from the word cards on the table, she requests the floor three times, in Quechua and Spanish, following a common classroom-participation pattern, 'noqa'/'yo' (lines 10, 12, 14). Though the teachers don't grant T'ika permission to participate, she jumps in and attempts to answer Teacher Diana's question (line 15) and describe what they learned in class (line 16), which she continues with the help of one of the jury members, before getting cut off by Teacher Diana, who repeats her question to encourage others to speak.

The jury then begins asking the group questions such as their names, where they live, and how old they are. After one of the students struggles to find the Quechua

equivalent of ‘twelve’ to answer the question, Teacher Diana reminds the jury members that they have not covered that topic in class yet, and instead lists the topics they have covered. One of the jury members points to the letter and word cards on display and asks Teacher Diana “*a ver, pero kaychata leewarinkumanchu?*” (‘*but, let’s see, could they read this to me?*’). T’ika points to the word card “**achahala**” and asks Teacher Diana “*¿cómo se dice ¿qué se llama?*” ‘*¿Qué nombre es eso?*” (‘*how do you say ‘what is the name of this?’*, ‘*What name does this have?*’). T’ika’s request for the equivalent Quechua version of the question she poses in Spanish is taken up by her teacher and the jury member differently, though:

Example 2 - What is its name?

<u>Line</u>	<u>Participant</u>	<u>Original</u>	<u>Translation</u>
1	T’ika:	<i>profe, cómo se dice-? Profesora, cómo se dice qué- qué se llama, qué nombre es eso? [cómo se le llama a eso?] en quechua?</i>	<i>teacher, how do you say-? Teacher, how do you say what-what is it called?- what is it’s name? [what is that called?] in Quechua?</i>
2	Ys:	achahala]	[achahala, alphabet, alphabet]
3	Teacher Diana:	<i>qué se llama?</i>	<i>what is it’s name?</i>
4	T’ika:	<i>en quechua, pero</i>	<i>yes, but in Quechua</i>
5	Y:	achahala (<i>smiling, looking to T’ika</i>)	alphabet (<i>smiling, looking to T’ika</i>)

6	Teacher Diana:	<i>por eso pe, qué se llama? (to T'ika) Cómo se llama esto? (asks the group)</i>	<i>that's why, what's it's name? (to T'ika) What is this called? (asks the group)</i>
7	All (including T'ika):	achahala	alphabet
8	Teacher Diana:	achahala	alphabet
9	T'ika:	<i>no, para preguntar en quechua (smiles and looks away)</i>	<i>no, in order to ask in Quechua (smiles and looks away)</i>
10	Teacher Diana:	yachachiychis payta! (h)	teach her! (h)
11		<i>(T'ika looks away from the group, smiling)</i>	<i>(T'ika looks away from the group, smiling)</i>
12	Teacher Diana:	mana napichu kasqa-	it wasn't actually-
13	Jury member 1:	mana, inglés, inglés [franceschata yachan] (h)	no, English, English, [she knows French] (h)
14	Teacher Diana:	<i>[no, inglésta yachan] (h)</i>	<i>[no, she knows English] (h)</i>
15	T'ika:	<i>no profe, para preguntar en quechua?</i>	<i>no teacher, in order to ask in Quechua?</i>

16	Teacher Diana:	<i>pero cómo se llama esto?</i>	<i>but what is the name of this?</i>
17	Ys:	achahala	alphabet
18	Teacher Diana:	<i>ya, es achahala, chay achahala imapaqtaqri? (asks the group)</i>	<i>OK, it's the alphabet, and what is it used for? (asks the group)</i>

In this event, T'ika's request for help to formulate the question "what is it's name?" in Quechua, which suggests she perhaps would phrase that question to jury members, is taken up by her teacher and one of the jury members as indicative that she is not interested in Quechua, but rather in foreign languages like English and French. T'ika asks not once or twice, but four times (lines 1, 4, 9, 15), how to produce the phrase "*¿qué nombre es eso?*" in Quechua, showing how she continuously resists the misinterpretation of her words and how she is positioned.

The teacher assumes T'ika is asking how to say '**achahala**' in Quechua, although in line 6 she shows she indeed knows the Quechua term for that term. This leads to Teacher Diana suggesting the rest of the group ought to teach T'ika Quechua (line 10), in a somewhat dismissive tone. Line 12 presents a potentially pivotal moment, as it is possible that Teacher Diana was about to acknowledge that T'ika was not actually asking how to say alphabet but how to ask in Quechua. However, after Jury member 1 breaks into the conversation once more, Teacher Diana goes along with her. Jury member 3 and Teacher Diana most likely draw on the local model of students as uninterested in Quechua to comment that T'ika knows English and French instead of Quechua. T'ika's

attempts to participate and her requests for scaffolds are turned down by her teacher, who instead interprets her behavior as that of someone uninterested in Quechua. Her non-linguistic behavior, such as smiling and looking away from the group, can point to her disagreement with her teacher, and perhaps resignation that she will continue to be misinterpreted.

Going back to the first event, a pattern emerges, where T'ika's participation (in the form of clarification questions and requests for Spanish to Quechua translations) is continuously framed by her teacher as indicative of someone who pretends not to know Quechua. This framing is further reinforced by her peers and another teacher. In the various moments of interaction highlighted in this second event, her receptive and productive Quechua abilities, as well as her interest to continue participating in the evaluation despite the shaming she encounters are overlooked (which continued in what remained of the evaluation). Instead, what she is perceived as *not able to do, orally*, is more vigorously commented on or dismissed. In other words, assigning particular behaviors to the model of speakerhood of a denier goes hand in hand with ignoring or overlooking other behaviors which don't fit this model. The fact that T'ika's (attempts at) participation is overlooked is particularly poignant as the Quechua class itself was not a space where youth were necessarily given opportunities to develop the productive skills so cherished by teachers, nor to develop the confidence for speaking in public often demanded of youth, and yet it is what she was doing in a high-stakes event.

8.4.1.3 Event 3: Lesson on “*frases pronominales*” (‘*pronominal phrases*’)
(2016.09.08)

Throughout the next couple of weeks, aspects of T’ika’s classroom participation continued to be negatively evaluated by her teacher while other aspects continued to be ignored. With time, evaluations of her classroom participation and behavior increasingly served to frame her as someone who was not interested in the class, and in Quechua.

At the beginning of another lesson, several students arrived late, their heads and parts of their uniforms wet. They had come from the bathrooms, where they had been playing with water, pushing each other into the showers, T’ika being one of them. Not five minutes into class, Teacher Diana began questioning the class with phrases like “*¿no les importa el área de quechua?*” (‘*You don’t care about the Quechua course?*’) and “*vengo a perder mi tiempo porque no tienen interés en aprender*” (‘*I come here to waste my time because you have no interest in learning*’) with which she expressed her frustration with students arriving late and the heavy chatter of that particular day. She then brought up T’ika in her disapproving comments to the class, highlighting how she had asked T’ika to behave better, and how now she had no option but to call their parents. T’ika, timidly asked “*¿de todos?*” (‘*of everyone?*’), perhaps questioning why she was singled out from others who also misbehaved, though she got no response. Unlike the first event I have described, in this instance, T’ika’s misbehavior was directly referenced as emblematic of youth not caring about the Quechua course and about learning Quechua.

After class, Teacher Diana called T’ika to stay and explained she would have to call her parents if she continued misbehaving, since this was not the first time she had been outside class once it started. T’ika listened quietly. Teacher Diana continued to tell

T'ika that she did not care about the class since she did not participate, and when she did participate she offered terms in Spanish. She explained that she heard T'ika offer the word “*paloma*” (‘*dove*’), during one of the class question-answer IRE activities. T'ika did not keep quiet any longer, and replied that she had begun with the word “*paloma*”, but also added “**urpi**”, a common bilingual practice I observed during student participation in class (offering both Quechua and Spanish terms). T'ika was sent away by her teacher and headed out to lunch recess.

While T'ika indeed behaved outside the classroom norms of what was expected of a ‘good student’, she also participated in class activities in ways comparable to that of her classmates. She participated in the initial class greetings, in chorus-like responses, and responded to teacher questions about the tasks in Spanish. Indeed, she was more participative than many other students who rarely made themselves heard in class. Yet it seemed that her embodying the behavior of a ‘bad student’ trumped instances of class participation, leading to being evaluated differently by Teacher Diana, contributing to her identity as someone who did not care about the subject area. What is more, her refusal to participate in particular kinds of class activities, as we will see next, also became relevant resources in the trajectory of being identified as a denier and someone who did not care about the course.

8.4.1.4 Event 4: Oral exam on “frases nominales” (‘nominal phrases’)
(2016.11.24)

In the last months of the school year, the class began to participate in oral presentations, where they had to read a text from the board, recite a riddle or sing a song

in front of the whole class. T'ika did not participate in the last two activities, and though no comment was directed at her particular behavior, the teacher every now and then reprimanded those who did not participate as deniers and uninterested in Quechua. In the following event, this type of classroom activity – public oral evaluations – provided a context where T'ika's refusal to participate continued to be read by her teacher as the behavior of someone uninterested in Quechua, an interpretation mediated by ideologies of what youth from rural backgrounds ought to do.

In November, Teacher Diana carried out a graded oral evaluation where each student had to form “*una frase nominal simple y una compuesta*” (‘*a simple and compound nominal phrase*’), a theme they had reviewed on a previous lesson, though it remained unclear to many. Teacher Diana walked around the room with her grading list in hand, and approaching individual students, began testing them while they remained seated. She usually asked the class to be quiet and pay attention to the person being evaluated, which seemed to make most youth anxious, although it did not stop the ongoing class chatter. Teacher Diana encouraged many students to participate, offering words or the beginning of a phrase to get them started, which some took up and others didn't.

When she reached T'ika's table, T'ika shook her head, communicating she would not participate. As Teacher Diana began walking away, she communicated, “*yo quiero ponerte veinte pero tú no quieres*” (‘*I want to give you an A+⁸⁵ but you don't want to*’). T'ika no longer remained silent and explained “*es que no me sale profesora*” (‘*but I can't*

⁸⁵ 20 is the highest grade in the Peruvian education system, the equivalent of an A+ in the U.S. educational grading system.

do it teacher'). Teacher Diana seemed a bit unconvinced by T'ika's explanation and quickly added, "*sí te sale mami, sí tú hablas bonito, yo antes en Palccaraqui te he escuchado hablar bonito, bonito hablabas*" ('yes you can honey, yes you speak nicely, back then in Palccaraqui I have heard you speak nicely, you spoke nicely'). T'ika smiled shyly, and looked away from the teacher. Teacher Diana's last comment reveals an important resource she drew on to identify T'ika as a denier, that is, the expectation that youth from rural backgrounds, such as Palccaraqui, Teacher Diana's hometown, ought to speak Quechua. This belief, widespread across schools, relied on the assumption that intergenerational transmission of Quechua continued to take place and that youth developed both receptive and productive abilities, which was in fact no longer a given. Moreover, as Teacher Diana explained, T'ika's past use of Quechua as a child (which Teacher Diana probably observed in the local school where T'ika had studied, and where Teacher Diana's sister had been T'ika's teacher) remained as an indicator, and moreover, an expectation of what she ought to be able to do now, a conception which disregards the fluidity of youth's trajectories which moved towards but also in many cases away from Quechua as they grew older (see Chapter 5).

During the rest of the lesson, Teacher Diana continued evaluating other students, and continued to provide them with scaffolds to achieve the task, which she did not offer to T'ika. T'ika remained actively involved in the activity. She helped the girls around her form phrases for their evaluations, writing down examples on their notebooks and even interpreting for Teacher Diana what one of her classmates intended to communicate. For example, as the girl sitting behind T'ika pronounced "**noqa wayqeymi pukllayku**" ('**I my brother we play**'), a sentence where the pronoun did not match the verb conjugation,

and Teacher Diana looked at her confused, T'ika explained to Teacher Diana what her classmate meant or communicate “*no, ella con su hermano juega*” (‘*no, she plays with her brother*’). T'ika also approached Teacher Diana to ask her how many sentences they needed to have, a task-related question. And, towards the end of class, when Teacher Diana continued commenting on the lack of participation of the class, saying “*siguen diciendo que no saben*” (‘*you keep saying you don't know*’), and T'ika replied back, “*yo sí, ya sé profesora*” (‘*I do, I now know teacher*’), she still received no response. At the end of class, T'ika stayed behind to ask the Teacher Diana to retake the test, which she also encouraged other peers who had not participated to do.

Towards the end of the school year, T'ika's identity as a denier and as someone who did not care about the Quechua course seemed solidified, at least in Teacher Diana's eyes. At the same time, and partly as a consequence, her access to opportunities to develop the productive skills she felt she lacked decreased. Not only did she not receive the scaffolds others of her peers did, but she was rarely positioned as a desirable participant (unlike Myriam during the ‘*Día del Logro*’ event) nor were her attempts to participate praised or acknowledged. When her participation was acknowledged, it continued to be linked to her identity as a denier.

8.4.2 The meanings, burden and consequences of being a denier

Tracking the trajectory of one particular student, T'ika, illustrates how throughout the course of several months, she comes to be identified by her teacher as a denier and as someone who does not care about the course, and potentially, about Quechua either. A diverse range of resources, mostly figures of identity and their embodied practices,

belonging to different time scales and presenting different ideological representations of language and speakers, converge in the way in which T'ika comes to be identified by her teacher.

Teacher Diana draws on various resources from different time-scales during this social identification process, such as decades-long beliefs of rural residents as Quechua speakers, a decades-long stereotype of Sembrar School students as coming from rural areas, and a recent model of identity which portrayed youth as embarrassed to speak Quechua. The typification of T'ika's class as unruly, as well as T'ika's budding identity as a 'bad student', are also at play, evaluations and identities which gained meaning during a shorter time scale, during the first months of the school year. Moreover, Teacher Diana also draws on aspects of T'ika's own life trajectory, such as the productive abilities she displayed at a younger age as another resource in the social identification process underway. At the same time, practices/behaviors which could be interpreted as signs of another type of student or youth, such as someone who *is* interested in the language and who wants to participate and expand her abilities, are shamed, downplayed or ignored.

Mutually reinforcing processes of iconization and erasure (Irvine & Gal 2000) matter in shaping trajectories of social identification, or trajectories of linguistic social identification. T'ika's identification as a denier relies on the linguistic features taken to be indexical of someone who doesn't care, and on a complex range of behaviors she displays which are not consistent with the ideological scheme at play, and hence are ignored. Also downplayed is the interactional context, where the way in which students are positioned (or not) as legitimate participants and the participation framework around which classroom activities are built, closing down opportunities for participation, also

shaped T'ika's perceived identity . Similarly to McDermott's (1996) demonstration of how learning disability (LD) is a context that acquires children, here 'pretense' is a context that acquires youth like T'ika. Alongside processes of iconicity and erasure, processes of fractal recursivity were also underway, that is "the projection of an opposition, salient at some level of relationship, onto some other level" (p. 38). The identification of T'ika as a denier became projected onto other levels, such as framing her as a person who did not care about the course and did not care about Quechua either.

T'ika's case was not unique, nor an exception, across schools, where individual students were continuously framed by their teachers as deniers and as not caring about the Quechua course. This label usually fell upon students who stood out in the classroom –because of their ascribed identities as 'bad students' by teachers, or as 'stuck up' according to their classmates, or because of a specific instance of behavior interpreted as resistance or questioning of the task or the teacher. In the following example, Milagros, a Year 3 student from IC School, comments on the difficulty of a task, the Quechua exam, which is followed by teacher comments framing the class as not caring about the course and Milagros as someone who ought to know Quechua:

The teacher dictates the exam questions and several students complain, saying they don't know the answers, that they have not learned about the topic this year, and that it's not something they wrote down on their notebooks. The teacher addresses the whole class, "*así como saben inglés también tienen que saber quechua*" ('just like you know English, you also need to know Quechua'). Milagros, who sits close to where the teacher stands, comments "*es que es difícil*" ('but it's hard'), audible to all the group. The teacher replies back to the group, "*lo que pasa es que no les interesa, esa es la verdad*" ('the thing is that you don't care about it, that's the truth'), and then, addressing Milagros, tells her "*en tu casa tus papás hablan quechua, tus abuelos*" ('in your house, your parents and grandparents speak Quechua'). Without raising her voice, Milagros explains to the teacher that in her house the adults speak Quechua among themselves but don't speak it to her. The teacher dTeacher Dianaoesn't comment on the topic

again. (FN, 2016.05.20)

This event continues to illustrate some of the practices Quechua educators engaged in as they made sense of the communicative competence of their students. The teacher bases her assessment on her prior knowledge of Milagros's family, as well as on informed, though *a priori*, assumptions of how language socialization ought to happen – parents and grandparents speaking it to children, or children learning it by exposure. In another classroom event, the teacher brought up Milagro's father's advanced Quechua proficiency, who in fact had been the teacher's student at the school, as proof that Milagros too should speak the language. In the cases of T'ika and Milagros, a teacher's personal information about students seems to play at their disadvantage.

These interactions can be frustrating for educators, who have little to no training and pedagogical support when teaching the course, as well as for youth. When Milagros recounted this event in our interview, she described how “*ella [la profesora] me miró feo y me empezó a decir ‘tú sí sabes quechua pero no quieres hablar, yo conozco a tus abuelos’*” (“*she [the teacher] looked at me unpleasantly and began to tell me ‘you do know Quechua but you don’t want to speak, I know your grandparents’*”) (I, 2016.11.10). Despite the teacher never directly telling Milagros she didn't want to speak Quechua in the actual event, in her recounting, Milagros voices the teacher in this way, showing how she interpreted her teacher's comment. Milagros then continued to elaborate on how she felt, “*me sentí muy mal la verdad, sentí impotencia por tratar de responderle, pero tampoco quería responderle, porque no sé, no le dije nada, solo le miré, pero me hizo sentir muy mal*” (“*I honestly felt very bad, I felt powerless to try to respond to her, but I*

also did not want to respond to her, because I don't know, I didn't say anything, I just looked at her, but she made me feel very bad') (I, 2016.11.10).

Positioning students as deniers or not caring about the language did little to make these students more vocal or participative in teacher-directed activities, the behavior that was in fact being sought. After all, who would want to participate when their sense of self is being questioned, and given that few scaffolds for those with limited productive abilities were available? Furthermore, this framing did little to counter instances where youth perceived their peers in similar terms, and perhaps contributed to youth replicating this framing. For example, one of the new students in T'ika's class, whose non-Quechua speaking family had relocated from Lima to Urubamba, recounted how T'ika had questioned her claim of not understanding much Quechua, assuming she knew as much as those from Urubamba and using phrases such as "*como si tú no supieras*" ('*as if you did not know*') when the new student asked T'ika to translate Quechua words to Spanish.

Teacher assessments of students' proficiency such as those of T'ika and Milagros don't necessarily allow educators to listen carefully to students' trajectories in a context of language shift, nor take seriously their stories, such as growing up raised by Quechua speaking parents and grandparents yet having limited receptive and productive skills in this language. Instead, Milagros's and T'ika's sociolinguistic trajectories are dismissed, as are their opinions on the course and the difficulties they face. While it is important for teachers to get to know their students and for students' prior experiences and learning to inform teaching and learning (Moll, Amanti, Neff, & Gonzalez, 1992), it is worth questioning to what extent teachers' knowledge about students' background that relies on *a priori* assumptions of language learning and socialization can reproduce stereotypes

that limit, rather than expand youth's language learning opportunities. Where classroom pedagogies, as well as wider incentives for Quechua use in school, remain unchanged, and with widely circulating discourses of youth as uninterested in the language, one-sided teacher accounts of proficiency are less likely to be transformed, as shown in the case of T'ika, who remained positioned as a denier throughout her first year of high school.

8.4.3 Transforming social identifications and youth claims to proficiency

Nevertheless, just as (lack of) proficiency is constructed one event at a time, so too the social identification of students can be transformed across interactions. As part of my collaboration with Milagros' teacher, we reflected on what might be better ways to teach her classroom, with its diversity in terms of the language learning abilities and trajectories represented. During the first weeks of the following school year, students spent time working on linguistic autobiographies using a digital storytelling methodology which combined the use of photographs and audio (Gubrium, Harper, & Otañez, 2015). Students had to merge scanned photographs of various life events with an audio recording of their autobiographies, and present it as a slideshow. The purpose of the project was to learn about students' experiences and encounters with languages throughout their lives – both in school and at home with their families - as well as to provide opportunities for students to use Quechua orally, a main goal of the teacher and one of the biggest challenges she faced.

Within her class, Milagros was the first to finish and present her work, a surprise to us all. We all watched silently as her many photographs were displayed on the classroom TV and listened as her narration filled the room, a bit halting and unsure at times, yet

clear and engaging. Much of her family's and her own language story which I'd learned through our two interviews was summarized into the video for all to learn about. When the clip ended, the teacher quickly congratulated Milagros, enthusiastically sharing with all of us she never thought Milagros could accomplish something like that, since she'd never heard her say more than a word or two in class. She also stated she now realized Milagros was beginning to learn to speak Quechua and was very happy about it (FN, 2017.04.18). During, or because of the context of this activity, Milagros' completion of the classroom task was a meaningful practice that was identified by her teacher as a sign of being a good student and as someone engaged in the course and in her learning.

In the case of T'ika, in her Year 2 Quechua class, she was no longer assigned the identity of a denier by her new teacher. Instead, she transitioned from being one more student in the class at the beginning of the year to someone who was recognized as an active participant and as a 'knower' by her teacher and her classmates. Though tracking her Year 2 trajectory is out of the scope of this chapter, the way it evolved was grounded on how her active classroom participation was read by the teacher, in a context where fewer classmates took on active participant roles than in her Year 1 class, with a new teacher who knew little about T'ika's past trajectory and relied less on a model of youth as deniers and uninterested in Quechua and the Quechua course. Across both years, classroom activities and participation structures remained very similar. Striking was T'ika's positioning as less of a 'bad student' and more of a class leader (that year she was named classroom *brigadier*, a classroom leadership role). Towards the end of her second year of high school, T'ika even corrected her teachers' Quechua writing, was vocal in asking follow up questions about class activities, participated in graded and oral class

activities and shared positive self-reports of her proficiency and ability. The way T'ika's trajectory evolved suggests that despite the prevalence of negative youth Quechua speakerhood figures, teachers can choose to draw on different resources to position students as knowers, able learners and classroom participants.

While teachers sometimes engaged in practices that recognized youth Quechua proficiency, youth too at times claimed Quechua proficiency in ways that challenged the dominant representation of them as *deniers* and *extranjeros*. During a Year 1 Quechua class Martin, a frequent participant in class who the teacher often picked on and praised, mentioned “*yo soy un crack de Quechua*” (*I'm a Quechua ace*) to classmates around him, with a smile on his face in his typical easy going demeanor (FN, 2017.05.10). On another occasion, César, a Year 5 student, yelled out to the class “*cinco soles la hora para profe de quechua*” (*five soles per hour for a Quechua teacher*) when one of his classmates expressed she didn't know Quechua and wouldn't be able to do the assignment the teacher had given out (FN, 2017.03.30). These moments, though not widespread across schools, point to how youth oriented positively, and in public ways, to their Quechua abilities. These instances were met with positive responses from peers, such as smiles and fun laughter, and no negative evaluation towards them. It is worth pointing out that Martin and César, who both lived in valley communities and were Spanish-dominant bilinguals, were not racialized as *quechua hablantes* during their high school trajectory (more on this topic on next chapter), and possibly faced and felt less of a threat of mockery and discrimination than their peers who were racialized in this way when claiming their proficiency.

Youth further described pride in their Quechua speaking abilities as a combination of helping and outdoing others. During a conversation María and I had at her home, in response to my question of why she liked Quechua, she explained, “*no sé pues, me gusta, me gusta hacerles aprender a los alumnos porque no saben...me gusta porque me gusta hacerles tartamudear a los alumnos*” (*I don't know, I like it, I like making those students who don't know learn ... I like it because I like making students stutter*) (A, 2016.12.15). She further contrasted her own Quechua to the “*crudo*” (*crude*) way of speaking of one of her high school Quechua teachers, other youth and cousins who were just beginning to learn Quechua, as well as that of coastal-dwellers (I, 2017.12.15; 2018.02.01). Similarly, Raúl proudly described to me how he knew more Quechua than his older sister, as we chatted with him and his mom at his home (FN & A, 2016.09.07). While his mom contested Raúl's initial playful assertion that his sister didn't know Quechua, she later on agreed that Raúl was correct in saying he had learned more Quechua than his sister. The cases of María and Raúl show moments where youth positioned themselves as good speakers of Quechua, in relation to other youth and even adults, in the context of friendly conversations. Together, these four examples show ways in which youth put forth new meanings to being a good Quechua speaker that both challenged representations of youth as not speakers and not caring about the language, and avoided being identified with the stigmatized attributes of high dwelling native Quechua speakers.

Relatedly, youth also took on the non-Quechua speaker persona in Quechua class in rather deliberate ways signaling indirect claims to proficiency. During one of Teacher Jacob's classes, Year 5 students were undergoing an oral assessment, where they had to

recite, in front of the whole class, 10 Quechua words. I noticed several students who were proficient in Quechua pretend struggle to come up with ten words, as well as one student who just listed the numbers from 20 to 30; these youth participated usually with a smirk on their faces, or looking around to their peers to get validation in the form of complicit smiles. The teacher's shaming of youth for not being able to come up with ten words seemed to encourage these youth to carry on this pretense practice (FN, 2016.05.17). In conversation with these youth after class, they explained how they had found the exam too easy, which is understandable given that they had taken the class for five years. This class had a particularly tense relationship with their teacher (see Chapter 7), and many youth interpreted the teachers' poor choice of examination and his examination style as him not caring about the course and about getting to know students' language abilities and learning interests. While youth did not claim Quechua proficiency in the eyes of their teacher, they did so, at least momentarily, in the eyes of the classmates who picked up on the intentionality of their practice.

8.5 A discursive and dynamic view of youth Quechua proficiency

This chapter has explored Quechua youth proficiency as a constructed social identity embedded in the context that produces it. Moreover, it has explored proficiency as a dynamic construct expressed through diverse, often overlapping and many times short-lived alignments youth take up and assign to others vis a vis what it means to be proficient in varying domains. By examining proficiency identity labels assigned to youth through the lens of figures of speakerhood, we have learned how youth Quechua

proficiency was tied to ideological representations about language and speakers that reflected longstanding discourses linking *cusqueños* and rural dwellers to Quechua, as well as more recent discourses that question and discredit youth allegiance and proficiency to Quechua in a context of language shift. This latter set of discourses are not unlike others faced by North American Indigenous youth who are accused by Yup'ik adults of acting '*kass'aq*' (Yup'ik term for white/outsider) or wanting to be *kass'aq* for speaking English (Wyman, 2012) or viewed by their school teachers and administrators as not caring about the Navajo language (McCarty, Romero-Little, & Zepeda, 2006).

The ways in which youth made sense of these figures of Quechua speakerhood and non-speakerhood reflected the ways in which they negotiated what it meant to be proficient, or not, in Quechua amidst oftentimes discouraging and hostile environments. While youth did not view Quechua proficiency as the only defining characteristic of being a proud *cusqueño*, in aligning to this model of speakerhood they did express an interest for better Quechua learning opportunities, rejected linguistic discrimination and language loss and expressed yearnings for connecting to Quechua culture. And while many youth felt dispirited by adult commentaries and scrutiny regarding their proficiencies and non-proficiencies, we also saw how they rejected these evaluations or claimed Quechua proficiency in positive ways. These youth negotiations are not to be taken lightly and can valuably help inform Indigenous language education programs and efforts so they become more inclusive of youth experiences and interests.

The prevalence of youth alignments towards the figure of the *proud cusqueño*, even though not grounded on Quechua proficiency exclusively as other figures of Quechua speakerhood were, in fact evidences how youth did not see Quechua proficiency

as separate from connecting to Quechua culture and history, or from advocating for linguistic equality. This finding holds resonance with the work of Nicholas (2014), who found that Hopi youth in the United States conceptualized Hopi proficiency as embedded within a broader process of learning to act, feel and think Hopi. In many ways, school Quechua language education, because of its focus on the teaching of grammar and writing, was divorced from the interests of youth in not only speaking Quechua but also connecting to Quechua cultural practices. And, as we've seen, the ways in which schools incorporated cultural elements into school life privileged a glorified Andean past. Taking seriously youth's own sense-making of what it means to be a proud cusqueño or cusqueña, Quechua language education would do well to include opportunities for youth to also learn about and experience the richness of present-day Andean culture and a sense of cultural belonging that includes, but is not limited to, Indigenous language proficiency. In doing so, schools can also simultaneously question the ever-present stigmatizations of Quechua as low-status language and of Quechua speakers and Quechua culture as inferior.

In addition, the turnabout in Milagros' ascribed identity as Quechua speaker highlights both the need and value for research methods and pedagogical practices that move away from priori assumptions of youth proficiency towards those which attempt to understand and respond to sociolinguistic trajectories and the complex processes in which the development of communicative competence/proficiency is embedded (Brooks, 2017; Busch, 2012; Pietikäinen, 2012; Pietikäinen & Pitkänen-Huhta, 2013; Wyman, 2012). Grounded ethnographic research that documents youth experiences across sites and time can serve to inform pedagogical practice which is open to positioning students as

legitimate knowers of their own sociolinguistic experiences and engaged speakers and will-be speakers. In Milagros' case, the teacher created a context where she could be perceived as an interested student, which was facilitated by Milagros' completion of the task as much as about the content of the task.

Interestingly, her teacher referred to Milagros in other classes as an example of a good student, potentially opening a small space for an alternative model of Quechua student, someone with emerging skills, who completes classroom activities and who is interested in the course. Youth public claims to Quechua proficiency in Quechua classrooms also point to the emergence of another alternative positive figure of proficiency, that of the good Quechua speaker who claims and/or boasts their proficiency with coolness and pride. While future research will have to document the endurance and development of these figures across time, educational practice will also need to consider how to support and sustain youth positive identifications with Quechua proficiency.

CHAPTER 9: Youth and the maintenance of the *quechua hablante*

9.1 Alignments towards the quechua hablantes

The previous chapter explored how youth expressed yearnings to be a *proud cusqueño*, which included valuing Quechua, and how they were called out for not speaking or aligning to Quechua in ways deemed favorable by other youth and adults, and were thus positioned as *foreigners* and *deniers*. In this chapter, I focus on how youth made sense of a different figure of Quechua speakerhood, the *quechua hablante*.

The *quechua hablante* was largely understood as a native-speaker of Quechua, with limited or emerging Spanish-speaking abilities, who came from rural origins, specially referring to high-altitude areas. Consider the following description Eber, a Year 5 Urubamba resident who identified as a non-Quechua speaker, offered when I asked them what the term ‘*quechua hablante*’ meant to him:

...que ha nacido hablando quechua, o sea, que no ha nacido- sino la primera lengua que ha hablado ha sido el quechua, y, o sea, el quechua hablante viene a ser, como que si tus papás hablan quechua, a ti te han infundido el quechua, toditito, hablando desde chiquito, y tú hablabas el quechua, y por decir, ir a una escuela que hable puro castellano, a ya, él es quechua hablante y nosotros hablamos castellano porque nuestros papás hablan castellano, ya, y de ahí que te implementen hablar el quechua claro, ya, pero no eres quechua hablante.

...someone who was born speaking Quechua, I mean, not born- but that the first language they spoke was Quechua, and, like, the Quechua speaker comes to be, like if your parents speak Quechua, they have instilled in you Quechua, all of it, speaking since you were little, and you spoke Quechua, and let's say, go to a school that speaks just Spanish, ok, he is a Quechua speaker, and we speak Spanish because our parents speak Spanish, ok, and then from there they teach you to speak Quechua of course, ok, but you are not a Quechua speaker.

(I, 2017.12.13)

Eber highlights a clear distinction between a *nosotros* and an *ellos* (us:them), which is layered onto a stark distinction between acquirable Quechua speaking abilities and a racialized and innate Quechua speakerhood identity. The others, the *quechua hablantes*, are described as those who learned Quechua since a young age, whose parents also speak Quechua and socialize children into this language. In a way, Eber refers to being a *quechua hablante* as an innate identity, something one is born with and cannot be achieved by others just by learning the language later on in life. Similarly, being a *quechua hablante* is described as an identity that follows some individuals throughout their lives, unlike becoming a Quechua speaker later, for example when they teach it in school. Furthermore, Eber makes a strong contrast between Quechua speakers and Spanish speakers, making no mention of bilingualism among either group to highlight the differences between them and us. While youth mentioned *cusqueños* shared Quechua as their mother tongue, being a *quechua hablante* with Quechua as mother tongue was racialized in different ways and had different consequences on social interactions and youth experiences, as this chapter explores (as well as Chapter 10).

The figure of the *quechua hablante* is widespread among Peruvian Andean society, as it was in my field sites. The association of Quechua speakers with qualities such as backwardness, ignorance and rurality, is perhaps even more longstanding than the association of Quechua speakers with the *proud cusqueño* or the figures of the *foreigners* and *deniers* previously described, and is also present in other Indigenous language-speaking contexts across the Americas (Mortimer, 2013; Wyman, McCarty, & Nicholas, 2014). Building on research on discrimination of Quechua speakers (Hornberger, 2000;

Howard, 2007; Huayhua, 2014; Marr, 2011) and the racialization of Quechua-speaking individuals (Zavala, 2011), this chapter explores how this racialized figure was maintained across youth interactions, the alignments youth took up or didn't take up vis a vis this figure, and the social meanings and consequences of identifying or being identified as a *quechua hablante*.

This chapter considers the various social meanings youth attributed to the figure of the *quechua hablante*, in terms of their Quechua linguistic abilities, their Spanish language use, their continuously marginalized position in society and their potential roles as future interlocutors. Throughout the chapter, I consider the perspectives of youth with diverse communicative repertoires and life experiences, including those whose bilingualism and Quechua was racialized and those who were not. In the closing section, I highlight some of the key findings of this section regarding how youth affiliate towards and distance themselves away from this perceived community of rural Quechua speakers and youth's roles in maintaining processes of racialization.

9.2 Aesthetic (mis)appreciations

Youth commentaries regarding the Quechua spoken by *Quechua hablantes* spanned a continuum of aesthetic appreciations and mis-appreciations. For youth, the figure of the *Quechua hablante* indexed both Quechua linguistic prowess as well as negative qualities of 'aggressiveness' and 'strangeness'. These latter evaluations were shared mainly by youth who were not Quechua-dominant bilinguals, evaluations which did not go unquestioned and which encountered critiques from peers.

9.2.1 Sweetness, purity and fluency

There was a commonly expressed appreciation for the Quechua spoken by *quechua hablantes*, to which youth attributed characteristics of sweetness, purity and fluency. As I shared lunch with a group of Year 1 girls, we began chatting about Quechua use in their homes. As the girls commented on their Quechua-speaking parents and grandparents, one of them, Myriam, eagerly addressed me: “*En Patacancha profesora, los bebitos hablan BONITO:.....*” (‘*Teacher, in Patacancha, the babies speak LOVELY:.....*’), emphasizing and elongating the length of the adjective ‘*lovely*’ with an endearing tone as she spoke (FN/A, 2016.05.19). She went on to elaborate how in places like Patacancha they called grandmothers and grandfathers “**mantay**” and “**papay**”⁸⁶, using a sweet tone in her voice herself when pronouncing these two kinship terms. Patacancha, which Myriam referred to, is one of the high-altitude communities above the neighboring town of Ollantaytambo, often referred to by youth and adults as one of the communities with the best Quechua speakers, a place many recommended I should visit if I wanted to learn and listen to ‘real’ Quechua.

Youth often described adult valley residents as speaking both Quechua and Spanish, while characterizing high altitude *quechua hablantes* as speaking “*netamente quechua*” (only/distinctly Quechua), “*el verdadero quechua*” (‘*the true Quechua*’), and “*correcto*” (‘*correctly*’), that is, with little or no Spanish influence. In addition, youth identified this way of speaking Quechua and its speakers as valuable Quechua learning resources not only for me, but also for themselves. For example, Julia, who lived in a boarding house

⁸⁶ Quechua terms for ‘mother’ and ‘father’ respectively which express endearment, an equivalent could be ‘little mother’ and ‘little father’.

with other girls who came from high-altitude communities of Ollantaytambo, told about how her boarding peers, unlike her, “*no combinan las palabras*” (‘*don’t mix words*’) when speaking Quechua, that is, don’t mix Quechua with Spanish words.

In addition to sweetness and purity, youth also showed appreciation for the fluency and rapidity which they associated with *quechua hablante* talk. Remembering how a younger classmate recited a poem during a school ceremony, Isac commented:

... me emociona las personas que hablan quechua, por ejemplo tengo una compañera ... cuando habla, o sea, me quedo impresionado, me GUSTA... tiene una forma TAN fluida de hablar el quechua, que ME impresiona.

...I’m moved when people speak Quechua, for example I have a schoolmate...when she speaks, I mean, I’m impressed, I LIKE it... she has SUCH a fluid way of speaking Quechua, it impresses ME.

(I, 2017.12.12)

Isac, who identified himself as understanding a bit of Quechua but not speaking the language, enthusiastically shared his emotive appreciation for how a fellow student at his school speaks so fluidly, linking the speech of this classmate to how, it is implied, other *quechua hablantes* also speak (‘*I’m moved when people speak Quechua*’). His appreciation focuses on the form of speaking, rather than the content, which Isac does not understand much of. Like Isac, other youth also expressed appreciation for fellow peers who spoke “*Quechua fluidamente*” (‘*fluid Quechua*’), often highlighting and praising their peers’ pride and lack of shame when speaking Quechua publicly in this way.

While youth invoked the fluent *quechua hablante* to comment on their peers, they also invoked and inhabited this figure of speakerhood to achieve fleeting interactional alignments *among* peers. The following excerpt took place in a Year 4 Quechua class at IC School. As students, in groups of four, formed and wrote Quechua sentences related to

the town's upcoming annual festivity, Ricardo, an extrovert and charismatic student expressed the following:

Example 1 – The Quechua radio host

	<u>Original</u>	<u>Translation</u>
1	<p>Ricardo: wayqeykuna panaykuna imaynallam kashankichis? Kay radio rimaramusunchis, mana yachani imamanta pero improvisacioni ... Noqa nisayki, Señor Torrechayocmanta noqa ni imatapas tususaq, lamentablemente, mantay puchurakun indiferentemente. Ima chayqa? mana noqayku-karayku- chayrayku- imamanta asikushanki yaw? (to someone who is laughing in the back). Yaqa kunan ruwasunchis frasekuna, historiakuna, imaynachá karan chay? qhawaranchis pero manan entenderamuranchis ima chayqa? (referring to class activity) Kay radio turay, hamuyyá wayqey, hamuy rimamusunchis, rimayyá rimay, está grabando</p>	<p>brothers and sisters, how are you? We are speaking from this radio, I don't know what we'll speak about, but I am improvising ... I am telling you, about the Patron of Torrechayoq, I won't even dance, unfortunately, my mom is opposed to it, indifferently. ...What is this? We don't-were-because- hey, what are you laughing about? (to someone who is laughing in the back). We might create phrases, stories, what would that be like? We observed but we did not understand. What would that be? (referring to class activity) Come to this radio my brother⁸⁷, come on my brother, let's talk c'mon speak, speak, it's recording</p>
2	<p>Y1: <i>qué está diciendo? no sé quechua</i></p>	<p><i>what is he saying? I don't know Quechua</i></p>
3	<p>Ricardo: <i>acá, kay, kay</i></p>	<p><i>here, to this, to this</i></p>

⁸⁷ Here Ricardo uses the term “**turay**” (“**my brother**”) which means brother of a woman. Next, he uses the term ‘**wayqey**’ (“**my brother**”) which is used among men.

Ricardo:	<i>xxx xxx xxxx xx xxxx (nonsense fast talk, with prosody of radio host talk), no es como que, 'kay (.) radio' (with slower pace), o sea, algo fino no? ...</i>	<i>'xxx xxx xxxx xx xxxx' (nonsense fast talk, with prosody of radio host talk), it's not like, 'this (.) radio' (with slower pace), I mean, something refined, right? ...</i>
FKD:	<i>¿qué quieres decir, que hacen como burla?</i>	<i>and what do you mean, you do it to make fun?</i>
Ricardo:	<i>o sea, sale, o sea fluido ¿no? fluido</i>	<i>I mean, it comes out, fluently, right? fluently</i>
Giancarlo:	<i>algo gracioso</i>	<i>something funny</i>
Ricardo:	<i>no, nunca así como burla, sino que sale fluido y suena chistoso, mayormente las personas que ya hablan fluido, hablan así.</i>	<i>no, never like mocking, but it comes out fluently and it sounds humorous, it's mostly the people who already speak fluently, they speak like that</i>

(I, 2017.12.07)

Referring to the above excerpt, the boys highlight fluidity, speed and prosody as qualities of Quechua radio host talk, in contrast to non-fluent ways of speaking which might resemble reading from a text when speaking, and which they imitate at a slower tempo. Thus, the boys link the way of speaking Ricardo imitates to the fluid and high quality speech of Quechua radio hosts. While they do not explicitly make a connection between *quechua radio host* talk and *quechua hablante* talk⁸⁸, Ricardo does highlight the fluidity of the talk as the quality he imitates and mobilizes with entertainment purposes among peers. In a way, Ricardo and Giancarlo refer to a local variation of the *quechua hablante* figure, perhaps not as widely enregistered as the *campesino* figure (see Reyes, 2004 on widespread and local typifications).

⁸⁸ See Swinehart (2012a) for a case where rural speaker Indigenous language talk serves as ideal models for the creation of an Aymara radio register in Bolivia.

While the boys describe the comedic effects of this impersonation, we can also see in the transcript how Ricardo's impersonation contributes to the relaxed and fun atmosphere of the group activity, eliciting laughter from some peers (lines 13); there were also smiles, not evident in the audio recording but which I observed in the moment. Ricardo uses this way of speaking associated with fluent *quechua hablantes* as an interactional resource to entertain his peers, based on his own ability to approximate the fluidity and authenticity of the way of speaking. This contrasts with his peers' inability to respond to him in Quechua in a similar manner; in fact, his peers use Spanish and English to participate in the event. Throughout this event, Ricardo aligns in a positive way to speaking Quechua, managing to out-speak his peers.

As Ricardo later reflected and elaborated on, his imitation comes from a place of appreciation rather than mockery, and also earns him the appreciation of his peers, who mentioned Ricardo as an example of one of the best speakers in class who was not ashamed to speak the language among peers. While this analysis is based on a brief moment of interaction, it is important as it illustrates how youth alignments towards certain figures of Quechua speakerhood, which are also alignments towards becoming part of a community of Quechua speakers and learners, happen one communicative event at a time. Stylizations such as this also reveal youth alignments among other youth not evident in interviews nor home recordings, highlighting the importance of paying attention to peer-peer interactions in schools.

Finally, youth aesthetic appreciation for the sweetness of Quechua talk manifested itself in relation to their own and their family's instances of sweet Quechua talk.

Quechua-speaking María described how she found joy in how sweetly she spoke the

language, a trait her Quechua-speaking grandmother admired in her too, “*mi mamá me dice misk'i simi porque yo lo hablo bien bonito el quechua*” (‘*my grandma calls me graceful speaker*⁸⁹ *because I speak Quechua really nicely*’) (I, 2016.07.01). Ana Lucía, a valley-residing bilingual youth, described an appreciation for how her mother’s family, who came from a high altitude community in a neighboring province, spoke Quechua, in comparison to Urubamba Quechua: “*más me gusta como hablan en el valle, hablan chistosito*” (‘*I like it more how they speak in the valley, they speak endearingly*’) (I, 2017.05.07). Ana Lucía characterized Urubamba ways of speaking Quechua as “*tosco*” (‘*rough*’), “*feo*” (‘*ugly*’), “*frio*” (‘*cold*’) and “*cruel*” (‘*cruel*’), in contrast to high valley ways of speaking as “*bonito*” (‘*beautiful*’), “*más dulce*” (‘*sweeter*’) and “*con un cariñito lo hablan*” (‘*they speak it with affection*’).

9.2.2 Aggressiveness, harshness and strangeness

While the examples I have presented thus far illuminate positive youth orientations towards the native Quechua speaker figure based on linguistic prowess, I also encountered cases where youth oriented negatively towards the linguistic qualities of *quechua hablantes*. At IC School, after the first Quechua class of the year came to an end and Year 4 students started chitchatting, I heard Milagros comment to those around her “*cuando hablan el quechua, hablando muy fuerte, no sé, siento que me están gritando, tiene un dejo muy, muy:.*” (‘*when they speak Quechua, speaking loudly, I don’t know, I feel they are yelling at me, they have an accent/tone, that’s very, very:.*’). Following her teachers’ request to explain what she meant, she elaborated on her comment, explaining

⁸⁹ Literally sweet mouth or sweet lips.

how people who spoke Quechua “*hablan muy fuerte, pero cuando mi mamá habla en quechua, no habla así, otras personas hablan, no sé parece que estarían gritando*” (‘*speak very loudly/harshly, but when my mom speaks in Quechua, she doesn’t talk in that way, other people speak, I don’t know, it seems like they are yelling*’). As Milagros’s comment came to an end, a student sitting near her added “*están hablando con sentimiento*” (‘*they are speaking with passion*’), to which Milagros replied “*pero muy agresivo, no sé*” (‘*but very aggressive, I don’t know*’). The teacher went on to comment that perhaps those speakers were giving an order, and reminded the class about the “*dulce*” (‘*sweet*’), “*tierna*” (‘*tender*’), “*bonita*” (‘*beautiful*’) and “*delgadita*” (‘*fine*’) way in which young children from high altitude communities speak, stating she wished she could bring a recording for the class to listen to (FN & A, 2017.03.14).

In this event, Milagros associates aggressiveness and a loud tone with Quechua talk and portrays Quechua as a language used to yell at or scold someone. This in fact, was not a unique characterization. A group of boys from Milagros’ school described how some people took offense when they heard Quechua words with ejective stops, such as “**munay p’asña**cha” (‘**lovely young lady**’). For them the ejective stops were interpreted negatively, “*es que tiene el quechua unos p’a, ch’ay, así ... y tal vez mal piensan porque si tú piensas en castellano suena un poco mal así, como insultante, como si estuvieras insultándole*” (‘*Quechua has some p’a, ch’ay, like that...and people misinterpret, because if you think in Spanish, it sounds a bit bad, like insulting, like if you were insulting someone*’)⁹⁰. While ejective stops are widely enregistered as emblematic of

⁹⁰ What the boys don’t mention, however, is how the example they provide also has an association to *piropos*, which can range from an endearing compliment to unwanted flirtatious

Quechua, sounds which many youth, especially those with more limited productive abilities, enjoyed producing and practicing during Quechua pronunciation lessons, of interest is the negative ideological charge attributed to them. For Milagros, speaking in Quechua can carry an aggressive tone, while for the boys, ejective sounds can carry the insulting force of a word.

While Milagros does not generalize these language use typifications to all speakers, as she recognizes her mother as a different type of speaker, she does identify and evoke a *quechua hablante* figure of speakerhood with negative connotations, whom she doesn't align towards nor feel a connection with. Although the reasons might be multiple for the associations she makes, of interest are the responses her commentary evokes. In contrast to Milagros's descriptions, one of her classmates re-interprets the loudness of the Quechua talk as indexing a speakers' emotive use of the language ('they are speaking with passion'), reminiscent of the above discussed appreciation for sweetness of talk. Moreover, while acknowledging possible scenarios for the strong use of Quechua talk Milagros describes, the teacher re-directs the discussion to the aesthetic appreciation of *quechua hablantes'* talk, specially highlighting this with the example of a young child. The teacher's intervention is an example of how teachers, too, invoked and promoted the sweet *quechua hablante* speakerhood figure. In fact, this was not the only class where she shared this anecdote, and in the other instance she also evoked this figure to praise the fluidity and force of *quechua hablantes'* talk (FN, 2016.04.07).

remarks given by boys to girls, or by men to women. Although their emphasis is on the ejective sound of the terms, the social meaning behind it can also contribute to the insulting connotation they point out.

Another example draws on a small-group interaction that occurred in a Year 5 class in IC School. That day, the class was working on a lesson on “*sustantivilizadores*” (‘*nominalizers*’), where the teacher taught the class how to transform Quechua root verbs into nouns, for example ‘**pukllay**’ (‘**to play**’) → ‘**pukllaq**’ (‘**player**’). Teacher Mónica stood in the front of the room as she lectured and solicited student examples to write down on the board. The group I audio and video recorded, composed of César, Janet, Jonny and Aurelia, sat in one of the back tables. The four youth had been sitting together for the past weeks, and though the groups were formed by order of listing, they got along and collaborated on classroom activities while also engaging in playful teasing on occasion. César however, belonged to a different friend group. César identified as a Quechua speaker, as did Aurelia, though both did not participate in whole-class activities much. Jonny self-ascribed to the ‘*gringo*’ group of the class, and Janet often commented she had a hard time speaking Quechua but wanted to learn.

The interaction unfolded as the class began participating in the teacher-led Q & A activity. The excerpt begins with Janet vying for Teacher Mónica’s attention to participate. I video recorded the interaction from the side of the classroom, and have included underlined comments about relevant bodily gestures and movement, gaze directionality, as well as screenshots to contextualize the interaction:

Example 2 – “YachacheQ”

		<i>Original</i>	<i>Translation</i>
1	Janet:	<i>yo, yo, yo, yo, profe dé oportunidad a los que no saben ... profesora</i>	<i>me, me, me, me, teacher, give a chance to those who don’t know...teacher look behind</i>

		<i>mire a su atrás</i>	<i>you</i>
2	Teacher Mónica:	noqa, noqa, noqa (models for the class)	me, me, me (models for the class)
3	Aurelia:	noqa [noqa, noqa, noqa]	me [me, me, me]
4	Janet:	[<u>I, I, I</u>]	[<u>I, I, I</u>]
5	All:	(hh)	(hh)
6	Teacher Mónica:	noqañataq (continues modeling for the class)	now me (continues modeling for the class)
7	Janet:	noqa, noqa, no::qa [noqa-] (raises her hand)	me, me, me:: [me-] (raises her hand)
8	Aurelia:	[noqa también (h)] (raises her hand)	[me too (h)] (raises her hand)
9	Janet:	<i>eh- how do you say?</i>	<i>eh- cómo se dice?</i>
10	Aurelia:	yachacheq=	teacher=
11	Janet:	=profesora? yachachEQ noQA	=teacher? teach<u>ER</u> <u>ME</u>
12	All:	(hh)	(hh)
13	Janet:	(hh)	(hh)

(up until here César faces away from the group, looking at the board, while the rest have been facing each other)



- 14 Jonny: (hh) **yachachEQ** [*a ver cómo, cómo Janet?* **yachachEQ** (hh)] (hh) **teachER** [*let's see Janet, how? how? teachER* (hh)]
- 15 Janet, Aurelia: [(hh)] [(hh)]
- 16 César: [upayay, upayay mantay, machasqa kashanki, machasqa kashanki] (*to Janet*) [shut up, shut up lady, you are drunk, you are drunk] (*to Janet*)
- 17 Janet: **manan jodewaychu** (*to César*) **don't fuck with me** (*to César*)

(César turns around to face Janet, and Janet faces César too)



- 18 Jonny: **yachachEQ** **teachER**
- 19 César: **machasqa- Jonny, Jonny machasqa kashanki, ama rimawaychu** **drunk- Jonny, Jonny, you are drunk, don't speak to me**

(César turns around to face Jonny and Jonny faces César too)



- | | | | |
|----|----------|--|--|
| 20 | Aurelia: | <i>yo soy taiq</i> | <i>I am a singer</i> |
| 21 | Janet: | noqa yachacheq! | teacher me! |
| 22 | Aurelia: | noqa yachacheq! | teacher me! |
| 23 | César: | upayay , <i>ya papá?</i> (to Jonny) | shut up , <i>ok man?</i> (to Jonny) |
| 24 | Jonny: | <i>que me calle?</i> | <i>that I shut up?</i> |

(Throughout lines 22-25, César continues to face Jonny and moves his hand up and down repeatedly, as if gesturing him to keep quiet)



- | | | | |
|----|--------|----------|----------|
| 25 | César: | papapapa | papapapa |
|----|--------|----------|----------|

26	Janet:	noqa yachacheq!	me teacher!
27	Aurelia:	noqa, noqa, noqa!	me, me, me!

(A, 2017.04.26)

As the students vied for the teacher’s attention, wanting to be chosen to participate in the teacher-led questioning, Aurelia and Janet participate using Quechua, English and Spanish (lines 3-4, 7, 8), having fun as they do, expressed by the youth’s laughter. With the help of Aurelia, who offers the word ‘**yachacheq**’, in line 11 Janet yells ‘**yachacheQ noQa**’, with a strong sounding and heavily emphasized final –eq and -qa sound, which causes laughter (lines 12-13). In line 14, Jonny picks up on Janet’s stylization, repeating it and calling attention to Janet’s strong pronunciation of the –eq final sound in the word ‘**yachacheq**’. Up until the trio laughs, César keeps himself facing the board, not laughing, and perhaps focused on the classroom task, though listening to the group talk going on. After Jonny’s stylization, César turns around and addresses Janet in Quechua (line 16), telling her to be quiet and that she is drunk. Janet, keeping with the jocular tone of the interaction and a smiling face, responds back to César (line 17). After Jonny stylizes once more the word ‘**yachacheq**’ (line 18), César addresses him in Quechua, telling him he too is drunk and should not speak (line 19). From lines 20 onwards, Aurelia and Janet resume their classroom participation, trying once more to get chosen by the teacher. César however continues addressing Jonny, telling him to keep quiet verbally (line 23) and gesturing his hand in and up and down movement (lines 22-25).

The youth’s repeated stylizations of the Quechua ‘Q’ consonant, accompanied by laughter and César’s interventions in Quechua, are the highlight of this excerpt. Through

these stylistic moves, and in this short moment of interaction, the youth take on different stances towards figures of Quechua speakerhood and each other. Janet and Jonny described their stylizations in the context of the practice of friendly “*burla*”:

Janet	<i>...yo a veces lo hago y lo hago porque me burlo</i>	<i>...sometimes I do it because I'm making fun</i>
Jonny:	<i>...nos estábamos burlando, o sea de las terminaciones porque suena, como que raro... o sea, o sea, otros dicen esa terminación como- o sea, no sería por ofenderles pero me causaría un poquito de risa, porque (h) no lo entiendo pues.</i>	<i>...we are making fun, I mean of the endings because it sounds like weird...I mean, I mean, others say that ending like- I mean, it's not to cause offense but it would make me laugh a bit, because (h) I don't understand it</i>

(I, 2017.12.06)

For this pair, the Quechua endings (‘-eq’) have a strangeness to them, they are not part of their everyday speech. While Jonny claims he doesn’t understand them, other youth with limited productive abilities in Quechua also described the salience of these sounds, which are not found in Spanish, as something they needed to practice on to speak Quechua well. Here, Janet and Jonny point to the –Q sound as emblematic of the Quechua language, but also, in the case of Jonny, of Quechua speakers, unlike them (‘*others say*’, ‘*it's not to cause them offense*’). The pair contextualize their stylizations as a practice of legitimate mockery and playful talk that goes on during classes, distancing themselves from a discriminatory or mocker stance.

Despite their perspective on the interaction, others react not to their intentions but to their actions, putting into question a similar, or unitary, interpretation of these Quechua stylizations. César, as seen in the transcript, addresses his peers in Quechua and literally

asks them to be quiet while also associating what they are speaking to drunk people talk, as if it is something not to be taken seriously. When I interviewed César separately from the other members of the group, and asked him what he thought of this interaction, he commented that Jonny and Janet were incorrectly pronouncing the word ‘**yachacheq**’, and he did not find this funny, instead describing their actions as “*exagerando por gusto*” (‘*exaggerating in vain*’) (I, 2017.12.13). This comment suggests that César does not take his classmates’ stylizations lightly, and instead sees the stylizations as exposing their linguistic disfluency and more likely, their mocking stance towards Quechua speakers. He characterizes their performance as ‘abnormal’ and quiets them down, just like one dismisses drunk-people talk. The fact that César’s critique of his classmates is done in Quechua, which is used at length, further accomplishes an interactional redemption/defense of Quechua and potentially of Quechua speakers too.

Together, these two examples show negative orientations to the *quechua hablante* figure of speakerhood by some youth, as well as how they are re-framed into more positive orientations by other youth and adults in classroom settings. The social meanings attached to various linguistic forms that characterize Quechua (such as ejectives) are not static nor unitary but context-dependent and often positive, though the negative weight carried by Quechua sounds cannot be underestimated either (see Babel, 2016 on the positive identification with Quechua aspirates and ejectives in eastern Bolivia). And while negative connotations regarding aesthetic qualities of *Quechua hablante* talk were not highly prevalent, we will next see this was more complex when referring to *Quechua hablante*’s Spanish talk.

9.3 The Spanish of quechua hablantes

One of the most stigmatized associations with *quechua hablantes* was not their Quechua speaking abilities per se, but their Spanish speaking abilities. Widely circulating across my field site, and the Peruvian Andes, is the association of *quechua hablantes* as *motosos*, or people who speak with “*mote*” or who engage in *motoseo*. *Motoseo* is a feature of Andean Spanish⁹¹, which refers to the vowel alternation between e-i and o-u, such as pronouncing ‘*misa*’ instead of ‘*mesa*’. As Zavala and Códova (2010) point out, *mote* is a highly stigmatized feature of Andean Spanish, and one which has been racialized to index those who produce it as inferior to those who don’t. Consider how youth describe *mote* in their own words:

Cuando hablas quechua y recién te estás acostumbrando a hablar castellano, como tergiversas algunas palabras ... o sea, más o menos que confunden las palabras

When you speak Quechua and you are just getting used to speaking Spanish, you distort some words...I mean, more or less, they get the words confused

(I, 2016.08.27)

... el mote es un, creo que para mí es normal, porque se da entre un interlecto porque interviene su lengua materna el quechua, interviene el español, y hay palabras o letras que no lo hablan perfectamente en el español

...mote is, I think for me it is normal, because it occurs within an interlect, where Quechua, their mother tongue intervenes, intervenes Spanish, and there are words or letters than they don’t speak perfectly in Spanish

(I, 2016.11.24)

o sea, te confundes, hablas mezclando, haces una mezcla de castellano y

...I mean, you get confused, you speak mixing, you make a mixture of Spanish

⁹¹ A variety of Spanish that is product of the linguistic contact between Spanish and Quechua. See Chapter 3 for more.

quechua y no te sale tan bien, o sino el castellano hablas, digamos, en vez que digas seis, así normal, dices seise *and Quechua and it doesn't come out that well, or you speak Spanish, let's say instead of saying six normally you say six*

(I, 2017.05.13)

el Cholo Juanito habla así... eso es mote, todo lo habla con sus 'qui vas hacer' *Cholo Juanito speaks like that...that is mote, he speaks everything with 'what you do'*

(I, 2017.05.08)

For youth, the repertoire of someone who speaks with *mote* includes vowel shifting (e → i), omission of the auxiliary verb (*vas* ∅ *hacer* → *vas a hacer*), and adding vowels to form syllables (*seis* → *seise*). In other words, making Spanish sounds more ‘Quechua’.

Following the widely enregistered figure of the *motoso* speaker, youth too connect this way of speaking to a specific type of person – someone who has Quechua as their first language, is learning Spanish as a second language, and comes from rural, and often, high altitude, communities. They also reference *Cholo Juanito*, a popular show figure, as emblematic of someone who speaks with *mote*. What is more, youth use terms such as “*confundir*” (‘to confuse/mix up’), “*tergiversar*” (‘to distort, to twist’) and “*mezclar*” (‘to mix’) to refer to the bilingual practices of the *motoso quechua hablante*. Throughout interviews and classroom discussions, youth continuously pointed out that speaking with *mote* was something ‘normal’ that characterized the process of learning Spanish as a second language, though as we’ll see this rationalization went hand in hand with the continued stigmatization and racialization of Quechua speakers. With regards to peers who spoke with ‘*mote*’, youth re-stated this conviction, and also mentioned it was something to be overcome, and something to help others correct, maintaining a racialized

(and artificial) hierarchy between those who produce and those who identify or recognize mote. However, this was not experienced similarly by all youth (see also Chapter 10).

9.3.1 Mock Mote

Moments where youth invoke and inhabit the *motoso* figure of speakerhood through stylizations in classroom interactions can be understood as instances of Mock Mote, drawing on scholarship of mock registers documented in other languages (Chun, 2004; Hill, 1998; Talmy, 2010)⁹². The following analyses of the social work accomplished by youth's voicing of *quechua hablantes* using Mock Mote attends to interactional and ethnographic data as well as to youth's sense making of these practices.

The first example draws on observations of a Year 1 Quechua class in IC School. In preparation for the high school Quechua song festival, students were learning the lyrics of the Quechua song Valicha, emblematic of the region of Cusco and often referred to as an unofficial Cusco anthem. Sitting in individual seats, students copied down the lyrics on their notebooks, which the teacher had written on the board.

Example 3: 'Valiria'

Teacher Mónica, standing in the front of the room explains to the class that Valicha was a *campesina* of the province of Urcos, not from the city of Cusco. She explains that back in those times, many people from the provinces migrated to the city of Cusco and would have a hard time finding jobs, so many worked as domestic workers. Valicha, she continues explaining, ended up grinding *jora* to make *chicha* in

⁹² Most of this research was conducted in U.S. and European contexts. I found one exception, though not central to the research, and analyzed in passing. In the work of Sichra (2006) on the teaching of Quechua in urban high schools of Cochabamba, Bolivia, she mentions the case of one youth who describes the use of "refonetización quechua" (Quechua rephonetization) as a source of laughter and mockery which youth reported they used among each other (p. 22).

a *picantería*⁹³. Her name was not Valicha but Valeria. One of the students turns to one of his classmates and says ‘*Valiria, Valiria*’, with a pronounced smile, as if about to laugh, and opening his eyes wide exaggeratedly. Those around him begin laughing. I don’t think the teacher heard him. (FN, 2016.09.01)

The interactions displayed in the second example took place during a Year 3 Quechua class. During this class, the teacher had instructed students to form groups based on affinity and to translate four Spanish sentences into Quechua. The groups were to translate the sentences into Quechua, use letter cards of the Quechua alphabet to write the Quechua translation on their desks, and then ask the teacher or me to record their successful completion of the task.

During the recorded audio, five boys set out to translate the phrase “*Todo el pueblo para el Señor de Torrechayoc bailamos*” (‘*All of us in the town dance for the Torrechayoc patron*’), which the teacher had written down on the board. The boys, as described by themselves and their teacher, understand Quechua but do not feel as able to speak it; four of the five live in Chicón, a rural community located in the outskirts of Urubamba. Two of them were Kike and Alfonso, who are featured in other chapters of this dissertation; the remaining of the boys’ voices were hard to identify which is why their pseudonyms are not used to name them as participants. While the youth describe which letter cards they will use to write the sentence they are translating, the following unfolds:

Example 4: ‘*Al estilo Chicón*’

⁹³ *Chicha de jora* is a fermented corn drink made throughout the Andes and in Cusco. *Picanterías* refer to establishments that serve regional foods and chicha.

		Original	Translation
1	Y:	<i>o sea falta algo, falta alguito</i>	<i>I mean, something is missing</i>
2	Y2:	<i>falta paq</i>	for <i>is missing</i>
3	Y3:	<i>se dice ka?</i>	<i>does one says ka?</i>
4	Y:	<i>es todo pue (h)</i>	<i>it's everything (h)</i>
5	Y3:	<i>Torreye-Torrecha-</i>	<i>Torreye-Torrecha-</i>
6	Kike:	<i>algo, algo, lee, lee, oe lee! ya, ya yo al estilo, yo al estilo</i>	<i>read, read, something, hey, read! Ok, ok, I will in the style, I will in the style</i>
7	Y2:	Tayta <i>Torrechayuq</i>	Father <i>Torrechayuq</i>
8	Y:	<i>acá dice mira, todo el pueblo</i>	<i>her it says, look, all the town</i>
9	Alfonso:	<i>yo al estilo hablo quechua</i>	<i>me in the I-speak- Quechua style</i>
10	Y:	es llaqtakuna	<i>it's towns</i>
11	Y:	llaqtakuna es	<i>it's towns</i>
12	Y:	<i>acá dice todo el pueblo</i>	<i>here it says, all the town</i>
13	Alfonso:	<i>al estilo de Chicón, al estilo de Chicón...</i>	<i>in Chicón style, in Chicón style</i>
14	Y:	todo el pueblo kuna ⁹⁴ . <i>Terminación verbal?</i> <i>Terminación verbal? Kuna</i>	<i>all the town kuna. verbal ending? Verbal ending? Kuna</i>
15	Alfonso:	<i>baila</i>	<i>dances</i>

⁹⁴ Quechua suffix to mark plural.

16	Y:	<i>señor es tayta, papá</i>	<i>lord is father, father</i>
17	Y:	Kuna	Kuna
18	Y:	<i>señor en quechua, qué cosa es?</i>	<i>how do you say señor in Quechua?</i>
19	Kike:	<i>qué? [wiraqucha]</i>	<i>what? wiraqucha</i>
	Y:	<i>[taytay, señor]</i>	<i>[my father, lord]</i>
20	Y:	wiraqocha	wiraqocha
21	Y:	<i>a ya</i>	<i>OK</i>
22	Alfonso:	tayta es, tayta es papá, papá es tayta	father is, father is father, father is father
23	Y:	<i>No es tayta pe</i>	<i>it's not father</i>
24	Y:	wiraqo-	wiraqo-
25	Y:	<i>Está bien</i>	<i>fine</i>
26	Y:	<i>señor es weraqocha, [Weraqocha, weraqocha] (hh)</i>	<i>Lord is weraqocha, [Weraqocha, weraqocha] (hh)</i>
	Y:	<i>[tayta es papá]</i>	<i>[father is father]</i>
27	Y:	(h)	(h)
28	Y:	<i>ahí dice señor</i>	<i>over there it says lord</i>
29	Y:	(hh) weraqocha weraqocha (coarse voice) <i>ya ya</i>	(hh) weraqocha weraqocha (coarse voice) <i>OK, OK</i>
30	Kike:	Weraqocha weraqocha de dónde ya, <u>ve-wi doble wi</u>	Weraqocha weraqocha from where, ok, <u>double vee-</u>

		<i><u>doble</u></i>	<i><u>wi, double wi</u></i>
31	Y:	<i>wi doble (h)...</i>	<i>double wi (h)...</i>
32	Y:	<i>wi doble es eso...</i>	<i>that's double wi...</i>
33	Y:	<i><u>wi doble</u> (high pitch)</i>	<i><u>double wi</u> (high pitch)</i>

In both examples, youth invoke the figure of the *quechua hablante* by mobilizing Mock Mote as a resource in interaction. They re-pronounce Spanish words (*Valeria, ve doble*) in their mote equivalents (*Valiria, wi doble*). Both cases involve a shift in vowels from e → i, and in the second case, also the replacement of v → w (‘v’ is not present in the phonemic inventory of Quechua). Example 4 also includes reverse vowel shifting in the Quechua word **wiraqocha** → **weraqocha**. Across examples 3 and 4, students make use of various accents (high-pitched voice, coarse voice) to stylize their speech, and rely on the repetition of words with mote, which together serve to cause laughter from the group. In the first example, participant observation of this instance allowed me to observe the student’s use of comedic facial gestures co-existing with repetition and stylization practices.

These stylized mote productions co-exist with references to people of rural backgrounds (those who live in Chicón, an agricultural area of Urubamba where these boys live, and in rural communities of Urcos) and of low-economic means (domestic worker, worker at a picantería). In the second example, the boys even refer to the type of talk they are about to engage in as ‘Chicón style’ (line 13) and ‘*in the I-speak-Quechua style*’ (line 9). These metacommentaries about speech recall previous statements of mote as a linguistic feature produced by *quechua hablantes*, whom students voice through their

stylized mote utterances. The fact that Alfonso states that he will speak in the style of ‘*I speak Quechua*’ further serves as evidence that he is about to voice someone else, or speak in a marked way. In fact, this aligns with one of the boys’ observations that some classmates can use mote on purpose, for humorous purposes, and that it does not reflect the way youth really speak, “*para hacer reír a los demás, no lo hacen con la intención de ellos hablan así*” (‘*to make others laugh, they don’t do it with the intention that they speak that way*’) (I, 2016.08.27).

Common across both excerpts too is the interactional context where stylized mote utterances take place, something of a peer zone of ‘*confianza*’ within the classroom – outside the sight and ears of the teacher and potentially that of the wider classroom (and unlike the very public contexts where instances of unintentional mote described take place). In the first example, the teacher was in front of the class (classes are composed of about 35 students), and did not react to the utterance, possibly not hearing it. In the second, the teacher and I were moving between different groups of students within the class, and it’s very likely the teacher did not hear these utterances, and I didn’t either.

A couple of months later, when I replayed this audio for the boys, they explained that the playful style of talk was how they spoke among friends (which makes sense as students formed groups according to their preference). This style of talk also included use of curse words, sexual innuendo, and wordplays between Quechua and Spanish (and a bit of English at times). The boys said they enjoyed this type of talk as it reflected the flair of Quechua language, “*nos atrae esas cosas, no, no es por burla sino, es la gracia que tiene el quechua*” (‘*we are attracted by these things, it’s not, it’s not because of mockery, it’s the flair that Quechua has...*’) (I, 2016.11.24). For them, engaging in Mock Mote

occurred in a context of confianza among friends, mostly among boys, as they described their female peers as “*pitucas*” (snobbish), “*las muy muy*” (*‘the very very’*), who categorized their playful language that makes use of Quechua terms as “*cosa de cholos*” (*‘the business of cholos’*). The playful and stylized language practices of Examples 1 and 2, thus, take place outside teacher-student participation frameworks and in certain closed peer circles, perhaps not allowed or sanctioned by the teacher in the former and not welcomed and even looked down upon by peers outside the circle in the latter. Relatedly, Talmy (2010) reports that Mock ESL stylizations in participation frameworks involving teachers, versus just students, tended to be subtler because of the potential of punishment.

The boys also mentioned that “*los moteos son graciosos, son pa reírse, no es para burlarse, hay que tomarlo bien*” (*‘moteos are funny, they are to laugh, not to mock, you have to take it that way’*). In doing so, they framed their stylization of Mock Mote as a harmless and playful practice, positioned themselves as people who appreciate this local way of speaking, distancing themselves from a discriminatory stance. For them, Mock Mote allowed them to become entertainers among peers without becoming discriminators or actual mockers (similar to how Hill, 1998 describes the work accomplished by Whites’ use of Mock Spanish). It was implied that other peers, like girls who don’t engage in Mock Mote practices or look down on them, were in fact closer to having a discriminatory stance than they were. Yet at the same time, the interaction and youth commentaries point to some ambivalence on the part of these youth, simultaneously wanting to identify with Quechua while also distancing themselves from it given the widespread societal stigma attached to the figure of the *quechua hablante*.

Not all youth viewed instances of Mock Mote stylization in the same way. Youth who identified as speakers of Quechua, and who grew up and currently lived in Quechua households, all expressed they did not find these stylizations funny, as these practices reproduced the stigmatized stereotype of Quechua speakers:

<p>Maribel: ... <i>tú hablas normalmente “cien”, pero mis compañeros saben decirlo “shen”, “shen”, “shen” hablan así, “¿qué está deshendo?” así, o sea, acá hablan cosas que, como en burla... a mi particularmente no me gusta eso, porque yo les escucho, pero no les digo nada, me hago la loca...</i></p>	<p>... <i>you normally say “one hundred”, but my classmates say ‘one hundred’, ‘one hundred’, ‘one hundred’, they speak like that, “what is he/she saying?” like that, I mean here, they speak things like, as a joke... I don’t particularly like it, because I listen to them, but I don’t say anything to them, I pretend I don’t notice...</i></p>
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<p>FKD: <i>¿Y por qué no te gusta a ti?</i></p> <p>Maribel: ... <i>cuando un compañero habla así, otro se burla así, eso mismo provoca que, a que se burlen de ti, y eso es lo que a mí no me parece bien.</i></p>	<p><i>and why don’t you like it?</i></p> <p>...<i>when a classmate speaks like that, another one is making fun, that same thing provokes that others mock you, and that’s what I don’t think is OK.</i></p>
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(I. 2017.05.12)

For Maribel, there is a clear difference between students who are allowed to pull off a congenial personality by using Mock Mote and racialized students like herself who suffer the everyday consequences of producing mote. By using Mock Mote, she explains, her classmates further reproduce the marginalization of those who produce it in unmarked ways as well as normalize the accompanying mockery and discrimination. In her case, pretending not to notice these stylizations or ignoring Mock Mote users is a way to deal

with these micro aggressions (Pérez Huber & Solorzano, 2015). In addition, not all students were allowed this heterogeneity in their speech in the same ways (see also Hill, 1998 drawing on Urcioli, p. 457).

Yeny, another Quechua speaker from a rural background explained that when she personified the Cholo Juanito character in a skit, her peers continued to bring up the Mock Mote she had produced days after the personification, specifically repeating them as stylizations; for example, saying “*di ripinti*” in place of ‘*de repente*’ (suddenly). Thus, Mock Mote was mobilized to spotlight particular students in public ways. Who was allowed to stylize and with what consequences differed according to the raciolinguistic socialization trajectories of students, with those racialized as ‘rural speakers’ being more scrutinized even in their stylized and performative speech.

9.3.2 Mediatized figures: *Cholo Juanito*

Mock Mote was not only stylized in Quechua classrooms, but was also widely used in the comedic skits performed and consumed by youth. The most emblematic mediatized figure (Agha, 2007) of Mock Mote circulating in my field sites was *Cholo Juanito*. *Cholo Juanito* is a character of the Peruvian Internet show ‘*Cholo Juanito y Richard Douglas*’. The Cholo Juanito character personifies a Quechua-speaking *campesino*, a *quechua hablante*, who has migrated to the city (see Figure 17). He is dressed like a *campesino*, and though does not speak much Quechua in the shows, makes use of *mote*. Cholo Juanito skillfully outmaneuvers is co-protagonist, Richard Douglas, an urban-looking *cusqueño*, in the myriad situations they find themselves in.



Figure 17 - Image of Cholo Juanito

I observed the character being impersonated in various school skits as well as a live performance in the Urubamba coliseum, which was well attended by children, youth and adults. For example, during the 2016 theatre festival at IC School, three skits made use of the *Cholo Juanito* character. In one of them, the Cholo Juanito character ran into a non-cholo acquaintance in the city of Cusco and exchanged comedic anecdotes about his wife, mother and women in general. In the second, Cholo Juanito was recruited into an army troop and in the third, he paid a visit to a city-dwelling friend and teased him of having befriended his wife. The three skits drew, among many other ideologies, on sexist ideologies that framed women as objects of consumption. The character of Cholo Juanito was dressed in clothing which indexed rurality, *bayeta* pants, a wool vest, *ojotas*, a **ch'ullo** and sometimes a **q'epe** (See Figures 18 and 19). His entrance to the stage was always accompanied by a *huayno* tune, which he sometimes danced to, and which

contrasted with the cumbia and non-huayno tunes used to mark the entrance to the stage of the other characters.

The youth successfully portrayed the *Cholo Juanito* character by displaying linguistic signs associated with *quechua hablante talk*, which included motoseo, prosodic qualities and discourse markers. Regarding motoseo, examples included “*mi incanta*” for ‘*me encanta*’ (‘*I’m delighted*’), “*Juaneto Mamani Quespe*” for ‘*Juanito Mamani Quispe*’ (Cholo Juanito’s full name) and “*sorno*” for ‘*sarna*’ (scabies), the military nickname Cholo Juanito is assigned. This last token of *motoseo* is particularly marked, a far stretch from u-o vowel alternation continuum to an ‘a’. Prosodic qualities included a singing-like quality, stress on stigmatized tokens and repeated use of “o” for ‘*oye/oe*’. In addition, youth made use of infantilized language forms (repeated use of “*aquí soy*” for ‘*aquí estoy*’ when he gets called to march) and exaggerated and elongated assibilations (“*marsh::en*” for ‘*marchen*’) - possibly related to stigmatized assibilation of ‘r’ sounds also found on other examples of ethnic humor (de los Heros, 2016). The markedness of these features was highlighted by the fact that the co-characters did not display these features. In two of the three skits, physical humor, like putting on a gruesome face each time he was punched, or mockingly marching in the style of traditional dances (see Figure 19) formed part of the semiotic signs mobilized by youth as *Cholo Juanitos* (see also Swinehart, 2012b on Mock Colla).

While Cholo Juanito outshined his co-characters in the skits, by for example mocking the military troop leader or insinuating he conquered the wife of his friend, causing his co-protagonists and the audience to laugh, he was also the object of laughter. Besides being the object of slapstick violence, comments about his physique, which he recounted

others had told him, also produced laughter: “*tú eres el último ch’uño del invierno*” (‘*you are the last ch’uño of the winter*’) and “*no te pareces a Cristóbal Colón, más te pareces a Manko Qhapaq*” (‘*you don’t look like Christopher Columbus, you look more like [the Inca] Manko Qhapaq*’). Through the skits, Mock Mote, stigmatized features of Andean Spanish, and commentaries and semiotic markers of the Incas and rurality were mobilized by youth to produce humor.



Figure 18 - Screenshot of skit titled ‘Juanito’, the character enters the stage



Figure 19 - Screenshot of skit titled ‘Comando Panetón’, Cholo Juanito marches (IC School, 2016.12.05)

As I talked to different youth about these performances during the weeks that followed, they emphasized that the comedic force of the character and the personification resided in the successfully performed language practices. As one Year 5 bilingual student put it, her classmates “*cambian sus voces, para hacer reír a la gente, porque no hablan así... lo está improvisando su voz pues a un campesinito*” (“*they change their voices, to make people laugh, because they don’t speak like that...he is improvising his voice like a little someone from the highlands*”) (I, 2016.12.12). The skits relied on the voicing of *quechua hablante* talk, an ‘other’ which is different from the speaker, who is not viewed as habitually speaking like that, an infantilized other as well.

Youth relied primarily on two interpretation schemes to make sense of the meaning of the stylizations. The most popular scheme was one which viewed the performances as

harmless fun and which justified linguistic difference on linguistic grounds. Commenting on the school skits:

- Eber: *...[el Cholo Juanito] todo lo habla con sus 'qui vas hacer', y es una manera graciosa, y es lo mismo que pasa acá, alguien dice algo así, en burla, y todos se ríen, y igualito, o sea, son los videos que reincorpora, ajá, y, o sea, es gracioso* *...[Cholo Juanito] speaks everything with his 'what you do?', and it's in a funny manner, and that's the same thing that happens here, someone says something like that, joking, and everyone laughs, it's the same, I mean, they reincorporate the videos, mhm, and like, it's funny*
- FKD: *¿a ti te parece gracioso?* *you find it funny?*
- Eber: *sí, me parece gracioso* *yes, I find it funny*
- FKD: *¿y a ti?* *and you?*
- César: *a mí también, por partes sí, o sea, no sé, cómo- siempre van a haber personas que van a decir 'pero está burlándose', pero otros van a decir 'está bien', así. Pero en verdad así, hablando en verdad, cuando las personas, las personas que saben hablar quechua y bajan acá, siempre hablan así, hablan mote, y no vas a mentir, ah! Y eso es lo normal, eso quiere decir que el Cholo Juanito, baja así, habla así, se confunde así siempre, a medida que va pasando el tiempo, se acostumbra la persona a hablar el español y normal lo hace.* *me too, in part yes, I mean, I don't know, like-there's always going to be people who will say 'but he is making fun', but others will say 'it's OK', like that. But the truth, speaking honestly, when people, the people who know how to speak Quechua and come down here, they always speak like that, they speak mote, and you're not gonna lie ah! And that is normal, that means that Cholo Juanito, he comes down, speaks like that, always gets confused, and as time goes by, the person gets used to speak Spanish and does it normally*

(I, 2017.12.13)

Similar to youth stances towards instances of Mock Mote in their classrooms, Eber describes the use of mote by Cholo Juanito as fun and not offensive. César, in turn, considers how some people might view the stylizations as offensive and argues that the

basis of the stylizations, mote, is a linguistic phenomenon observable in the area which in general terms is “normal”. His elaboration of the normalcy of this phenomenon is multifaceted. On the one hand, he suggests mote is a normal linguistic interference of those with Quechua as their first language, while at the same time he evaluates it negatively (*‘gets confused’*) and something to be overcome (*‘the person gets used to speaking Spanish’*).

Overall, the scheme which justifies or normalizes mote stylizations relies on attempts to establish the linguistic validity of vowel alternation, and on the continued racialization of this phenomenon as ‘abnormal’ compared to the speech of a L1 Spanish speaker. While César sometimes speaks back against the use of exaggerated Quechua consonants by peers in class (see Example 2 ‘Yachacheq’), here he takes a different posture. It is possible that the proximity or distance of the individual under mockery influences his shifting postures, as well as his mixed and shifting postures on the topic under discussion.

Drawing on this scheme to make sense of stylizations, youth also commented on the social meaning of stylizations, as well as possible solutions against discrimination, as located within individuals:

<p>Alfonso: <i>la cosa nomás está en la mente, como cada uno piensa ... si uno va a tomar en cuenta, por ejemplo ‘ay! así hablan’, ‘así son’, pero es la verdad, ¿no? hay que ser un poco más realistas y cuando alguien es netamente, así quechua quechua, habla un poco moteado ya igual, pero no se debe rebajar porque se rían de eso...si tienes bien claro las ideas, ya nadie te puede discriminar, estás fuerte y</i></p>	<p><i>it’s just in the mind, how each person thinks... if you are going to pay attention to, for example, ‘ew! they speak like that’, ‘they are like that’, but it’s the truth, right? We have to be a bit more realistic and when someone is natively, like Quechua, Quechua, he speaks a bit moteado, but he should not lower himself because people laugh about that.... if your ideas are very clear, no one can discriminate against you, you are</i></p>
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ya...

strong, and that's it...

(I, 2017.12.18)

Here, Alfonso describes an individual-centric approach to dealing with discrimination. For him, the responsibility of responding to teasing and mockery falls within those who suffer this discrimination, as well as the object of that response: oneself. In other words, you can only be a victim of discrimination if you let it get to you. While the processes of racialization through which discrimination continues to maintain itself are obscured, as well as the responsibility of individuals who discriminate, this rationale of self-protection makes sense in a context where schools and societies have normalized linguistic othering and discrimination and where youth encounter few opportunities to unpack the processes behind it. In fact, this individual-centric approach relates to the ways in which youth who experience mote-related teasing also chose to act.

The other scheme used to make sense of Mock Mote, though less common, was one which viewed the performances as complicit in reproducing the stigmatization of native Quechua speakers and framed the performance as discriminatory. Considering the character of Cholo Juanito after Alfonso expressed his point of view, Kike noted:

Kike:	<i>... el Cholo Juanito lo hace en una forma burlesca, de cómo se castellaniza, de cómo una persona que ha tenido una lengua mater habla el castellano... por eso se ríe la gente, por eso yo no estoy tan de acuerdo con eso... no me agrada mucho.</i>	<i>...Cholo Juanito does it in a burlesque manner, of how one is Hispanicized, of how a person who has had a mother language speaks Spanish ...that's why people laugh, that's why I don't agree much with that...I don't like it that much</i>
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For Kike, the stylizations rely on the stigmatized stereotype of the *quechua hablante*, an argument he uses to express his dislike for the show. Note how even though Kike himself

stylized Mock Mote (Example 4 ‘al estilo Chicón’) and used a different interpretative scheme to make sense of his stylizations, here he takes a different stance towards mediatized Mock Mote. Kike went on to comment that *Cholo Juanito* sets himself up for discrimination, “*él mismo creo que se discrimina solo, porque debería emplear más el quechua, no el castellano, porque se ridiculiza el mismo*” (‘*he discriminates against himself, he should use more Quechua, not Spanish, he ridicules himself*’). Rather than using a stigmatized variety of Spanish or Spanish altogether, Kike argues that *Cholo Juanito* should use Quechua, which would make him less ridiculous. Kike also expresses an individual-centric approach to dealing with linguistic discrimination, as the one who produces mote should stop producing it and instead speak Quechua, perhaps because he cannot produce ‘good enough’ Spanish. The theory of change behind the interpretative scheme reflected in Kike’s statement is similar to the former scheme, which relies on the normalization of mote as a stigmatized and racialized feature and places the locus of change and responsibility on the ones who produce it.

Similar to the work accomplished by other mock registers, Mock Mote makes use of Spanish language forms with Quechua stylized pronunciation to maintain the otherization and racialization of *quechua hablantes*. Exploring how youth interpreted the stylizations they encountered in comedy shows and their recontextualizations in school plays highlights the ways in which youth grappled with important issues like racism and racialization as they made sense of what it meant to be a Quechua speaker, even if many times they became key actors in reproducing the stigma associated with Quechua and being a Quechua speaker. Of importance too is how virtual elements can become

meaningful resources in youth's trajectories of racialization (see Brañez Medina, 2017 for a discussion of *cholos* and *amixers* in Peruvian cyberspace).

9.4 The specter and everyday acts of linguistic othering and discrimination

One of the most common uses of the *quechua hablante* figure was as a stigmatized figure that youth witnessed mobilized against others and themselves as a direct and lingering threat of discrimination. In the survey results of both schools, being perceived as a *quechua hablante* was highlighted by youth as the main reason one would be embarrassed or ashamed to speak Quechua, accompanied also by acts of bullying, discrimination, teasing and mockery. The following figures show the results to the question “¿Por qué piensas que algunas personas tienen vergüenza de hablar quechua?” (‘Why do you think some people are embarrassed to speak Quechua?’) in both schools:



Figure 20 – Sociolinguistic survey results for Sembrar School⁹⁵⁹⁶

⁹⁵ The size of the words represents the frequency of the responses.

⁹⁶ Translations from top to bottom and from right to left (biggest and second to biggest words are underlined): Insults and bullying; they pretend they don't speak, they are discriminated, they don't like to speak, shyness, they feel inferior/ignorant, mockery, they are embarrassed, they look like cholos/serrano/from the highlands, I don't know, they don't know how to speak, they get teased when they make a mistake/don't know, fear of discrimination, they don't want to identify themselves, they look foolish/poo/from the countryside/backwards/who work the land

year to the other (I, 2016.12.15). During the year I met her classmates and this student, he was no longer an active participant in Quechua class. T'ika, in turn, described a classmate who was embarrassed to speak Quechua because they had mocked her. After her classmates watched her fluently chat in Quechua with her mom during a school lunch break, they called her “*la campesina*”, and told her she came from Patacancha, one of the high-altitude communities of the neighboring province of Ollantaytambo, where the girl did not come from (I, 2017). Julia, who lived with several girls who did come from Ollantaytambo’s high altitude communities, used the term bullying to describe how her housemates were teased at the private school they attended (I, 2017.01.16).

Youth recounted instances where they observed Quechua speakers being treated poorly in banks, markets, buses and hospitals, and expressed anger and disappointment towards this, as well as a desire for things to be different. Yesenia’s testimony illustrates the regulating power of non-Quechua speakers:

... hay personas que no lo hablan quechua, te dicen ‘ay, ¿qué está hablando?’, no sé, te critican ... o sea, te hacen sentir que esa idioma no es, no tiene un valor, algo, es por eso creo que no lo- por eso es que tienen vergüenza ¿no? de hablar, por que la persona que habla castellano te hace sentir mal o, eh, como que no hay un valoración a la lengua quechua, no sé.

...there are people who don’t speak Quechua, they tell you ‘oh, what is she talking?’, I don’t know, they criticize you, ... I mean, they make you feel like that language [Quechua] is not, does not have value, somewhat, that’s why I think that they don’t- that’s why they are embarrassed, right? of speaking, because the person that speaks Spanish makes you feel bad, or, eh, like there isn’t a valorization of Quechua language, I don’t know.

(I, 2017.06.13)

Poignantly, she highlights how non-Quechua speaking individuals might make one feel that Quechua is less, has no value, and make Quechua-speakers feel bad.

Youth explained how, because of the everyday acts of discrimination Quechua speakers experienced, they could understand why they wouldn't want to pass the language on to their children. As Esther describes a moment where she saw a local police *serenazgo* (municipal watchman) confiscate the products of a high-altitude woman selling her produce on the public street in the city of Calca, she comments on this abuse as follows:

... y eso podría ser una de las razones por la que, como ellos han sufrido, por ejemplo ese maltrato ... o sea, ellos han vivido en carne propia las consecuencias que trae el hablar en quechua, y ellos dicen a sus hijos que ya no hablen el quechua porque no quiero que mi hijo sufra lo mismo que he sufrido.

... and that could be one of the reasons why, since they have suffered, for example that abuse...I mean, they have lived in their own flesh the consequences that speaking in Quechua carries, and they tell their children not to speak Quechua anymore because I don't want my son to suffer the same that I have suffered.

(I, 2016.11.18)

Youth told of facing linguistic discrimination themselves for speaking Quechua in primary school, high school and outside of school, though in less frequency than they narrated observing others and mote-related teasing. Speaking on these experiences, Daniel, described how his high school peers would mock him:

...En secundaria sí [pasa], mis compañeros dicen, me dicen siempre 'mejor di que- sé hablar quechua' así, ¿cómo decían?, mejor di 'que vengo de puna' así, siempre se burlan de mi, pero no, no doy cuenta, mejor me quedo callado, así ya, no me dicen nada ya pues.

...In high school yes [it happens], my classmates say, they always tells me, 'just say that- I know how to speak Quechua', like that, what did they say? Just say 'I come from the high lands' like that, they always mock me, but I don't, I don't pay attention, I'd rather stay quiet, that way, they don't tell me anything anymore.

(I, 2016.05.31)

Clear in this excerpt is the way in which Daniel voices his strategy of ignoring the comments and remaining quiet. In a conversation the following year, he narrated how his classmates used to tease a girl because she came from Huilloq, a high-altitude community above Ollantaytambo, explaining that's why he didn't tell them the name of the community he was from, instead just saying he was from Calca (FN, 2017.09.10).

In some cases, youth chose to challenge name-calling and teasing practices head-on. For example, María explained her reaction when a friend called her a "*chola*" for speaking Quechua: "*¡Cállate! eso es nuestro, nuestra riqueza de nuestro idioma y estás diciéndome cállate, no me molestes', le decía yo*" ("*Shut up!, that is our treasure, of our language and you are telling me to shut up, don't bother me', I told her*") (I, 2018.02.01). In her narration, rather than keeping quiet, María invokes the *proud cusqueño* figure to make her friend take back her words and appreciate Quechua in a different way. María challenges the teasing by re-signifying the offenses in a positive light. Daniel's and María's cases highlight the plethora of ways in which youth navigated teasing from peers and the various strategies they used, which can in fact change through time, to prevent future discrimination.

Youth who had not personally experienced this direct type of verbal offense, or who described it as something not common in their high schools, talked about less conspicuous ways in which someone can be made to stand out and positioned as inferior for knowing Quechua. Responding to whether she believed youth are embarrassed to speak Quechua, Yeny explained why she thinks someone can be fearful of speaking

Quechua:

- FKD: *mmm pero ¿qué les da miedo entonces? ¿según tu opinión?* *mmm, but what is scary then? In your opinion?*
- Yeny: *(.) porque- digamos hablas, digamos eso [quechua] y en un son de bromas así, se le sale a la otra persona, digamos 'ya tú sabes hablar el quechua ¿por qué no nos insultas en quechua?' algo así, no sé* *(.) because- let's say you speak, let's say that [Quechua] and in teasing, it comes out of the other person, let's say, 'ok, you know how to speak Quechua, why don't you insult us in Quechua?', something like that, I don't know*
- FKD: *mhm* *mhm*
- Yeny: *yo creo que eso, si porque digamos te- con algo de- te ofendes con una persona* *I think it's that, yes, because let's say they- with something- you take offense with someone*
- FKD: *ya* *ok*
- Yeny: *y lo primero es que cogen un defecto digamos* *and the first thing they pick on is let's say, a defect*
- FKD: *mhm* *mhm*
- Yeny: *...cómo le digo? Mmm, ahhh como que es algo mmmm, no se hace, como digamos hablar el quechua, no es algo normal ¿no?, es, pocas veces que puedes hablar así.* *...how do I explain this to you? Mmm, ahhh, it's like something mmmm, you don't do it, like speaking Quechua, it's not something normal, right? it's, few times that you can speak like that.*

(I, 2017.05.02)

Yeny vividly describes how knowing Quechua is linked to a defect, something not common normal, and most importantly, as something that can be called upon when there

is tension to interactionally position someone as inferior in relation to the speaker.

This specter of Quechua related-teasing was common across youth testimonies. As Samuel, a Year 1 Quechua-dominant bilingual student explained, he cloaked his Quechua-speaking abilities in school, and in response to my question of whether this was related to any direct teasing he had experienced, expressed:

Samuel:	<i>yo sé hablar pero no digo</i>	<i>I know how to speak, but I don't say it</i>
FKD:	<i>por qué no dices?</i>	<i>why don't you say it?</i>
Samuel:	<i>cómo dicen? tengo vergüenza (chuckles) ya</i>	<i>like people say, I'm embarrassed (chuckles)</i>
FKD:	<i>y, ¿por qué tienes vergüenza?... alguna vez alguien te ha dicho algo?</i>	<i>and why are you embarrassed?... has anyone ever told you anything?</i>
Samuel:	<i>no, nada (.)</i>	<i>no, nothing (.)</i>
Oscar	<i>pero siempre pe (soft)</i>	<i>but always (soft)</i>
FKD:	<i>mmm?</i>	<i>mmm?</i>
Samuel:	<i>siempre</i>	<i>always</i>
FKD:	<i>siempre ¿qué?</i>	<i>always what?</i>
Oscar:	<i>siempre lo piensan</i>	<i>they always think it</i>
Samuel:	<i>claro</i>	<i>right</i>

(I, 2016.12.12)

Samuel and his Spanish-dominant bilingual friend Oscar describe the threat of being labeled as a Quechua speaker in negative terms as deep-seated and ever present. It appears that the danger does not depend on actually being called names out loud or in

public, but rather it is something which others are *always* considering, even if they don't express it verbally.

Non-linguistic signs, like facial gestures, could also be used to evaluate Quechua-speaking youth negatively and convey this lingering threat. Myriam, another Year 1 Quechua-speaking student, at lunch with me and her girlfriends, explained how some classmates were surprised when they spoke Quechua and “*feo miran profē*” (‘*they look at you in an ugly way*’). She imitated the reaction of one of these classmates saying “*yo no sabía que ella hablaba quechua*” (‘*I didn't know she spoke Quechua*’) in a loud and manly tone of voice while widening her eyes abruptly as if to better express the surprise, a personification the group enjoyed (FN, 2016.05.19).

In fact, a couple of weeks later, while in Quechua class, something similar to what Myriam alludes to occurred. As Myriam loudly answered one of the Quechua teacher's questions, using the Quechua word “**mana**” (‘**no**’), the classmate sitting in front of her turned around and looked at her. Following her quick-spaced manner of speaking, Myriam quickly responded, “*¿acaso no has visto a una niña que hable? ¡Cómo jirafa estás estirando tu cuello!*” (‘*haven't you seen a girl that speaks? You are stretching your neck like a giraffe!*’). Neither her classmate nor anyone else commented anything more (FN, 2016.06.09). In this event, Myriam resists what she perceives as her classmates' surprise in her having spoken Quechua in a very abrupt manner. The event also suggests how, in everyday Quechua classroom practices, especially when communicating for real purposes with the teacher, youth's concern that they might be judged negatively by their peers was present.

Yet this concern also extended to youth-youth spaces in schools, like recess time or friendly chit chatting. When I asked high school senior Julio what happened if tomorrow he and his friends were to start speaking Quechua while playing soccer in school, something they had explained never happened, he responded: “*creo que se burlarían, no sé, te dirían que eres de la altura*” (‘*I think they would make fun, I don’t know, they would tell you, you come from the highlands*’). As seen, the threat of being mocked because of one’s Quechua-speaking abilities does not depend on youth actually speaking or not, and in fact acts as a type of social control over youth, as a regulator against future Quechua use happening in order to protect youth against discrimination (see also Bartlett, 2007 on shame as a type of social control regarding literacy practices). It also explained why many youth claimed they did not know whether their peers spoke Quechua or not, or to what degree.

Relatedly, as a group of girls worked on a translation of the term ‘*mi amor*’, for a Quechua project, they began exchanging Quechua endearment terms and one shared she would address her boyfriend in Quechua and tell him “**munakuyki**” (‘**I love you**’). As the girls laughed, one of them added, ““*media chola me estás hablando, ¿sabes qué? Terminamos*, te va a decir” (‘*he will tell you, ‘you are speaking to me like a chola, you know what? It’s over*’), which elicited even more laughter (FN, 2016.11.07). This short and playful exchange points to some of the fears youth expressed in using Quechua with each other, as well as how they acted as social regulators with each other, potentially limiting future Quechua use as they invoked the stigmatized figure of the *quechua hablante*.

9.5 Current and future interlocutors

Youth oriented to the figure of the *quechua hablante* as potential interlocutor of current and future interactions. Reflecting on what he had learned in Quechua class during his five years in high school, Spanish-dominant bilingual Giancarlo described he knew enough Quechua to be able to fend for himself when visiting “*lugares andinos*” (‘*Andean places*’).

FKD: *claro, ¿qué sería lugares andinos?* *right, what would Andean places be?*

Giancarlo: *cuando vas en viajes de campo, vas a visitar como, digamos, quieres ir a hacer un acto social allá a Lares y las personas de Lares no hablan castellano, yo me di cuenta, fui una vez a ayudar también ahí, y bueno hablan quechua, y conversar con ellos también es bonito, que ellos te hablen en su lengua, y tú hablarles en ella.* *when you go on fieldtrips, you go to visit, let’s say, you want to do social service in Lares and the people of Lares don’t speak Spanish, I realized it when I went to help there once, and well they speak Quechua, and talking to them in Quechua is nice too, they speak to you in their language, and you speak to them in theirs.*

(I, 2017.12.07)

In this excerpt, Giancarlo sketches out the figure of *quechua hablantes* as living in ‘*Andean places*’, as recipients of social work or in need of assistance, non-speakers of Spanish, and for whom Quechua is their language, maintaining the us: them distinction between these potential interlocutors and himself. Giancarlo also expresses an interest and appreciation for communicating with *quechua hablantes* in Quechua, something he believes the class has helped him achieve, at least minimally.

Youth also described the potential use of Quechua to interact with *quechua hablantes* who might come down to Urubamba, where youth would take on language helper roles with people they assumed did not speak Spanish and would experience communicative barriers in town. Though not a common everyday practice, youth described trying to speak Quechua to respond to high altitude dwellers' questions about town, "*cuando ... quieren ubicarse así... o saber algo así, nos preguntan en quechua a veces y piensan que no sabemos tan bien quechua pero les respondemos en quechua*" ('when ...they want to find their bearings...or to know something, they ask us in Quechua sometimes and they think we don't know Quechua that well but we respond to them in Quechua') (I, 2016.11.24). Some recalled taking the initiative to communicate using Quechua with adult strangers.

Ricardo, who resided in Urubamba and identified as a Quechua-speaker, narrated a time he addressed an unknown older woman in Quechua in the Urubamba town *plaza*:

<p><i>yo una vez estaba ahí [en la plaza] y yo le dije a la señora, es que como la veía así todo... y como todo cortés, 'imata ruwashanki?' y me dice '¿qué? ¿crees que no hablo español? ¡Soy más neto que tú!' así me dijo, y yo-</i></p>	<p><i>once I was in the town square and spoke to a woman, since I saw her all like that... and being polite and all I said 'what are you doing?' and she tells me 'what? You think I don't speak Spanish? I'm more native than you are! She told me like that, and I was like-</i></p>
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(I, 2017.12.07)

In Ricardo's case, taking the initiative to address an older stranger in Quechua, who he perceived as being a Quechua speaker because of her physical appearance (it's not clear what he points to, but the phrase "*since I saw her all like that...*" suggests a commentary about clothing or physical attributes), is taken up as offensive, implying the person

doesn't know Spanish. Youth who were raised or lived in Urubamba also recalled instances where older adults, when visiting their family's hometowns, did not address them in Quechua, assuming they did not speak the language. Together, these narrated encounters point more to the uncertainties of how interactions with unknown Quechua speaking adults will unfold, rather than joy or satisfaction on the part of youth in their attempts to speak Quechua.

Widespread in youth interviews was the potential use of Quechua in their interactions with *quechua hablantes* in their future professions and post-high school trajectories:

Isac: *... yo estoy yendo pa la carrera de medicina y tal vez ... van a venir algunos pacientes que son de las comunidades alto andinas y quizás no voy a saber hablar el quechua y no voy a saber cómo atenderlos y eso va ser un como contra para mi carrera* *... I will pursue medicine and maybe ... I'll have patients coming from high altitude Andean communities, and maybe I won't know how to speak Quechua and I won't know how to treat them, and that will be like a negative for my career*

(I, 2017.12.12)

Esther: *... quisiera trabajar así en el banco para esas- cuando vengan así hablarles en quechua, porque casi no entienden el castellano, y hablarles en quechua, atenderles así de una mejor manera, porque ellos también no por el hecho de que sean así de altura se les va a tratar mal, ¿no?* *... I would like to work in a bank, for those- when they come, speak to them in Quechua, because they almost don't understand Spanish and to talk to them in Quechua, to treat them in a better way, because, just because of the fact that they are from high altitude areas doesn't mean they get treated wrongly, right?*

(I, 2016.11.18)

As future doctors or bank workers, Isac and Esther mentioned Quechua would be useful to communicate with future patients and social program service recipients⁹⁸ from high-altitude communities who, it is implied, only speak Quechua. They position themselves as future professionals who recognize the need to accomplish their jobs doing so in a language their future interlocutors understand. This is framed in terms of both professional responsibilities and advantages (Isac) as well as personal interest or commitments to redress injustices (in the case of Esther). The latter concern was articulated particularly by females, especially those who identified as Quechua-speakers. Absent, however, from the youth's discourse is a rights-based rationale, whereby one has the right to receive services in any of the official languages of the country, or the potential use of Quechua to interact with bilinguals and/or in urban contexts. In keeping with the above narrated and imagined encounters with *Quechua hablantes*, these commentaries also contain somewhat of a compensatory orientation, as youth refer to *quechua hablantes* as non-speakers of Spanish in need of (linguistic) help, accommodation and assistance. While the latter might be true, the commentaries reinforce the idea that it is the *quechua hablantes* who create the need for accommodations rather than the largely monolingual system in place.

9.6 Youth ambivalence and the maintenance of the *quechua hablante*

The maintenance of the racialized *quechua hablante* figure of speakerhood in youth's everyday practices is not a mere reflection or a passive reproduction of societal

⁹⁸ Esther probably refers to high altitude people who come down to Urubamba banks to cash the payments of governmental social service programs like '*Juntos*' and '*Pensión 65*'.

discourses, but rather, the continuing circulation of this ideological figure shows how youth too construct and make sense of the world which surrounds them, with often painful and deep-felt consequences. The meanings youth assign to the figure of the quechua hablante, as well as the orientations they take up in relation to it, are complex. Overall, youth express ambivalent postures, on the one hand, expressing desires to align to this figure of speakerhood due to an appreciation of *quechua hablantes*' linguistic prowess and role as potential future interlocutors, expressing an interest to communicate and connect with those they view as different than themselves in a context where Quechua speaking abilities were increasingly taking on a symbolic and utilitarian value. On the other hand, and often simultaneously, youth distance themselves from aspects of the social figure which are the most stigmatized, such as being perceived as someone who speaks Spanish in a non-standard way or being associated with the linguistic and non-linguistic qualities of someone who comes from a high-altitude community, features which have long been racialized and which continue to hold material and everyday consequences in ongoing contexts of marginalization and discrimination. Overall, many youth view *Quechua hablantes* as an 'other', which they can mock, tease, imitate, appreciate, relate to, help, provide their services to, but not an 'other' they aspire to become. In fact, youth uphold this figure of speakerhood as a social regulator limiting each other's use of Quechua and identifications as speakers, in both intended and unintended ways.

Similar to youth alignments vis a vis the figures of *proud cusqueños*, *foreigners* and *deniers* explored in Chapter 8, the figure of the *quechua hablante* is another important resource youth draw upon across classroom events, school activities and youth-youth

interactions, as they give meaning to what it means to be a speaker or a non-speaker of Quechua. And unlike these other alignment practices, the continued use of the figure of the quechua hablante is implicated in maintaining processes of racialization which continue to position those perceived as rural-born or dwelling individuals and as speakers of Quechuas as a first language as inherently different and less than those perceived as urban-born and dwelling, Spanish as L1 speaking individuals, contributing to the ongoing, systemic and painful stigmatization of Quechua speakers in schools. In fact, this positioning contributed to and reflected the ongoing raciolinguistic enregisterment (Rosa and Flores, 2017) of Quechua as the language of *campesinos* or *Quechua hablantes*, an enregisterment that sustained this ideological representation of language and speakers.

As evidenced in this chapter, youth alignments vis a vis the *quechua hablante* make use of practices of stylizations taking place in both intimate peer-peer interactions, classroom events and public youth performances. The analysis of instances of youth stylizations of Quechua and Mock Mote reveals the role of youth's playful use of language in ongoing processes of racialization taking place in Indigenous language education classrooms and schools, practices which have been naturalized as seemingly inoffensive and jocular and which have been largely unexplored or reported in the literature in this context thus far. As explored, youth stylization practices were in fact part and parcel of the ongoing enregisterment of Quechua as the language of rural speakers and of the raciolinguistic enregisterment of mote, or the linkage between rural-born Quechua-speaking youth and the otherizing qualities of motoseo. While I have analyzed youth's playful and creative use of language as reflective of youth's rich metalinguistic awareness, enmeshed in sustaining group membership and as supportive of meaningful

opportunities for language learning (Chapter 7), these practices were not divorced from maintaining and reproducing larger racial hierarchies, though a few times also questioning or momentarily disrupting those hierarchies.

What is more, cases of interactional othering also revealed and sustained social distinctions and power differentials among youth, creating membership among those who engaged in racialized mock and stylized practices, and the exclusion of those who were identified as closer to the social persona being mocked. After all, engaging in stylizations, voicing others and using mock registers was not a social position available to all youth, and entailed privileges within societal and local racial hierarchies as well as classroom peer dynamics.

Relatedly, the predominance of an individual-centric approach to explaining the maintenance of and resistance to othering and discrimination stands as a key finding across youth experiences. Youth who enabled and were object of othering, mockery and discrimination largely coincided in explaining these processes as originating in individual beliefs or attitudes, as well as in proposing possible solutions at the level of changing individual practices. Not unlike many other forms of discrimination, the agents who maintained and reproduced processes of racialization and discrimination were excused from their responsibilities and victims were described as responsible for enabling and/or responding to this mockery. By and large, the processes and structures that gave origin to and sustained discriminatory practices, as well as the material effects of discrimination were undermined or invisibilized, specially by youth who were not racialized as Quechua speakers. As we'll explore in the following chapter, the experiences of youth who were viewed as fitting the characteristics of the *quechua hablante* figure by their peers and

teachers are more complex than an individual-centric lens can account for, and shed light on the everyday burdens and violence of being read as a *quechua hablante* youth experienced.

CHAPTER 10: Yeny and Yesenia: high school trajectories of racialization

Urubamba high schools were charged with the challenging task of Quechua language maintenance, which they tackled and accomplished in diverse ways and to varying degrees of success. Yet, the schools were also sites where the racialization of rural-born Quechua speakers was in several ways maintained. The narrated life events and school experiences of Yeny and Yesenia, two girls who identified Quechua as their first language and who were born and grew up in rural communities for some of their childhood before migrating to live in a valley town and in Urubamba respectively, show how being read as Quechua speakers many times depended on qualities beyond language abilities, and racialized identities as *quechua hablantes* influenced how in turn these girls' bilingualism and personalities were perceived by others.

In what follows, I examine how Yeny's and Yesenia's identities as *quechua hablantes*, which emerged throughout the three years in high school before I met them, were maintained and contributed to otherize them as certain types of people: as emblems of Quechua, ashamed of Quechua and forever *motosas*. This analysis draws on the concept of trajectories of socialization (Mortimer & Wortham, 2015; Wortham, 2005), and specifically, on trajectories of raciolinguistic socialization (Chaparro, 2019) to explore how race, language and other categories of difference work together in sustaining process of racialization which impact the educational and life experiences of individuals.

10.1 On being seen and heard as ‘Quechua hablantes’

Yeny and Yesenia⁹⁹, both students at IC School, were frequently identified as Quechua speakers and the best speakers in each of their classes. Across explanations, racialized features such as the dryness of one’s facial skin, the clothing one’s parents wore, a rural background or residence, as well as one’s Spanish speech (tone and *motoseo*), together and separately, were usually tied as markers of being a Quechua speaker, or a *Quechua hablante*. As one of Yeny’s classmates explained why he identified her as a good speaker even though she did not participate much in class, he referenced her rural origins and her current residence in a shelter for low-income youth, whom he reported spoke Quechua among themselves: “*tal vez porque...creo que viene de una comunidad de Calca, creo que solo ahí se hablaba quechua... hay niños también de comunidades que vienen, se dicen, se hablan, y por eso*” (‘*maybe because...I think she comes from a community of Calca, I think only Quechua was spoken there ...there’s also children from rural communities who come, they speak among themselves that’s why*’). Yeny’s rurality was a key marker in being perceived as a Quechua speaker, even though she migrated to the town of Calca at a young age where she studied all of her elementary school and felt that at the *albergue* where she lived in Calca, she was in fact losing Quechua rather than maintaining it. Although this classmate explained why discriminating against classmates based on where they came from was wrong, he nevertheless referenced Yeny as an example of someone who could be the object of

⁹⁹ Yeny and Yesenia have been previously introduced in the Methodology Chapter and in Chapter 5.

discrimination because of her physical features, “*Yeny tiene un poco facciones, digamos, eh, los cachetes un poco rojos, y digamos, **chhaspa**, como se dice ¿no?*” (‘*Yeny has some features, let’s say, eh, her cheeks are a bit red, and let’s say, **chhaspa**, like it’s called, right?*’). The association of dry or reddish facial skin, which would be indicative of being exposed to a cold and dry climate like people in high altitude communities who spend significant parts of their days outdoors, was further mentioned by other youth and teachers as a physical marker to point out Quechua speakers among classmates and students: “*por su tez*” (‘*because of their complexion*’), “*por su carita que es medio rojita*” (‘*because of their face that’s a bit reddish*’), and “*porque tiene la piel más seca*” (‘*because they have drier skin*’).

Not only were Yesenia’s and Yeny’s individual physical attributes mobilized to identify them as Quechua speakers, but also that of their parents, such as if they also exhibited signs of **chhaspa** faces, or the clothes they wore. In reference to Yesenia, a group of her classmates described how her mom had come to a school meeting dressed as “*una señora del campo*” (‘*a lady from the highlands*’) who did not understand Spanish. When I asked what they meant, they went on to describe her clothes: “*por su ropita y por la misma forma en cómo se vestía... con falda... con sombrero... con ojotas*” (‘*because of her clothes and the way in which she dressed...with a skirt...with a little hat... and with sandals*’). Additionally, even though Yesenia’s family had moved to Urubamba about eight years before, while maintaining ties to their rural hometown, Yesenia’s Spanish speech was associated with “*gente del campo*” (‘*people from the highlands*’). Her classmates described Yesenia as someone who *motea* and who had “*una manera de hablar que yo solamente llego a escuchar cuando esas personas del campo vienen [a la*

ciudad] ...un tono de voz...su vocecita misma” (‘a way of speaking that I only hear when people from the highlands come [to the city] ...a tone of voice...even her little voice’), which the girls imitated in a high-pitched tone.

In many ways, Yeny and Yesenia were seen and heard as Quechua speakers because of markers other than their Quechua language practices (Flores & Rosa, 2015). Yet they were seen as particular types of Quechua speakers, exhibiting traits more linked to the Quechua hablante figure of speakerhood than being part of the diverse group of bilinguals residing in Urubamba. Yeny and Yesenia’s Quechua proficiency was associated with individuals with ties to rural areas, whose Spanish is constantly scrutinized and seen as deficient compared to Spanish-dominant, city-dwelling individuals, and who are often attributed signs of backwardness and ignorance. This positioning was possible because of the raciolinguistic enregisterment (Rosa and Flores, 2017) of Quechua as the language of *campesinos* or *Quechua hablantes*, an enregisterment that sustained this ideological representation of language and speakers. Being racialized in this way, the school and life experiences of Yeny and Yesenia and those who shared similar social positions as them, differed from that of other Quechua speaking youth in their schools who were not racialized in the same way.

10.2 The over chosen

Youth identified as *quechua hablantes* were often upheld as examples or emblems of Quechua speakerhood in performance-related activities. As Yeny and I discussed the topic of discrimination during an interview, she brought up how one’s parents’ ability to

speak Quechua was often used to define someone as a Quechua speaker and to tease someone. Providing an example of this, she recalled the selection process of who would impersonate the role of ‘Cholo Juanito’ in the play her peers and tutor at her *albergue* put together. Yeny narrated how the selection process unfolded:

... Y todos dijeron esto, ‘¿Quién va a ser el Cholo Juanito?’ así, y todos me apuntaron a mí. ‘Yeny, Yeny porque ella sabe el quechua’ ... Y mi tutora preguntó ‘¿Por qué tú no puedes hablar? ¿Por qué tú no lo puedes hacer tú? Si tú también sabes, y has venido aquí hablando el quechua’ así. ‘No, yo no sé’, así ‘a lo menos mi mamá no sabe hablar el quechua’ así, ‘por ejemplo cuando viene de Yeny su mamá hablan ellos quechua’ así, ‘ella que lo haga’ así.

...and everyone said, ‘who will be Cholo Juanito?’ like that, and everyone pointed at me. ‘Yeny, Yeny, because she knows Quechua’ ... And my tutor asked, ‘why can’t you speak? why can’t you do it? If you also know, and you’ve come here speaking Quechua’ like that. ‘No, I don’t know’, like that ‘at least my mom doesn’t know how to speak Quechua’, like that, ‘for example, when Yeny’s mom comes, they speak in Quechua’ like that, ‘she should do it’, like that.

(I, 2017.05.02)

Yeny recalls how her Quechua skills were called upon as a first argument for her to interpret the Quechua-speaking male character. When their tutor questioned the validity of this argument, as it applied to more youth than just Yeny, members of the group brought up a second argument, the fact that Yeny’s mom speaks Quechua and speaks it with her when she comes to visit. Yeny and her mom’s bilingualism were erased (Irvine & Gal, 2000) through invisibilization (both speak Spanish to different degrees), and with the negative comparison signaled by ‘at least’, their Quechua-speaking ability was evaluated as something not desirable nor worthy of recognition. Though we’ve seen how many youth expressed they did not find the Cholo Juanito show offensive, and some even celebrated much of what he did, this excerpt shows how Cholo Juanito was not a figure

many want to be associated with, and a figure which particular youth – someone with ties to a rural community and with publicly visible and audible Quechua-speaking parents - were believed to be better at inhabiting than others.

The selection of Quechua-speaking youth for whom Quechua was their first language, and who came from or lived in rural communities, to impersonate *rural campesino* characters or to participate in school activities that involved the public use of Quechua was a common practice. Such students were often selected to participate in school-wide presentations and performances (such as the theatre school plays), and in events with outsider audiences, such as during guests visits and my research activities. During a skit in Quechua class, for example, one of the teachers selected three Quechua speakers in class to perform a skit on the life of a family. The setting was in a rural context, and she had students rent out outfits, ones used for dances typically representing high altitude traditions. In the skit, mother, father and son woke up and while the men went to work in the chacra, the mom remained at home cooking the family meal in a **q'oncha**. The performers did not look enthusiastic and often turned to their teacher for suggestions of what activity could unfold next in their rural lives. The teacher asked me to video record this skit and the other classroom presentations (such as riddles, poems and songs) which non-rural students performed without costume and voluntarily. Jesin, one of the students who participated in the family-themed skit, looked uncomfortable when the teacher mentioned the video would go up on YouTube, which the rest of his classmates seemed to approve of. When I approached him to ask if he wanted his name to be on it, as the teacher suggested, he quickly said no and abruptly ended our chat. Was he perhaps uncomfortable at being recognized personifying a character he did not identify

with? Or, fitting in with the stigmatized social identity often ascribed to students like him?

The overemphasizing of a certain kind of Quechua speaking student, the Quechua hablante who was perceived to be better/more fluent and also more ‘rural’, also became consequential for those who were seen as not fitting that model. On another occasion, as part of the video dubbing project Year 4 and 5 students from IC School worked on, Teacher Mónica and I invited the creator of the Quechua dubbed videos which inspired our project to talk to the class. Youth were excited for the visit, and the various groups had prepared for it, handing me copies of their projects so I could share with the artist, as well as working on what they would say when interviewed. After our invited speaker finished his bilingual presentation in Quechua and Spanish and began interviewing youth for his online news show, several students lined up to share their experiences, especially after he explained they could use Quechua and/or Spanish during the interviews. Teacher Mónica quickly asked one of her students to call Celestino, a proficient Quechua-speaking student who was in another class, to come and be interviewed in Quechua. Celestino, however, had not completed the dubbing project, nor had he offered to participate in the interviews, and looked uncomfortable while interviewed. I couldn’t help wondering how those around him also felt, those who had volunteered to be interviewed, and who had worked on the dubbing projects, to be sidetracked for what their teacher perceived to be a better and more fluent representative than they were.

On another occasion, as I walked out of the Art class with Ana, a bilingual Sembrar School student with limited productive abilities in Quechua who lived in a valley town, to interview her, her teacher stopped us and, calling on four students from

the high-altitude towns of Maras and Chinchero, suggested to me that they would be a better choice for interviewees, “*ellos mejor, te van a dar más información*” (‘*better choose them, they will give you more information*’) (FN, 2016.11.24). I politely answered that perhaps I could interview them on another day. Ana had already gone back to her seat. The teacher seemed to understand my interest in interviewing her, and encouraged Ana to leave the class. Ana abruptly told her she no longer wanted to be interviewed. When I approached Ana and encouraged her to join me in the interview, she remained upset and explained that she had already gotten excited about the idea of doing the interview and then the teacher ignored her, asking others to do it, as if she did not know anything. Paralleling Ana’s experience, another youth who was identified by teachers as an Urubamba-dweller recounted how school teachers had acted surprised when they heard her speak Quechua, emphasizing how a “*señorita*” (‘*miss*’) like herself spoke the language so well. In this case, the term *señorita* indexes not marital status, but rather classed and racialized ideas about speakers and personhood; a Spanish-speaking *señorita*, who probably does not engage in agricultural activities and is not expected to come from rural origins, is not someone who is expected to speak Quechua, hence the surprise.

Without taking attention away from the experiences of students racialized as *quechua hablantes*, it is also worth considering the experiences of those not chosen, or under chosen, or left behind in public performance events. While they are not assigned the burden of representing a figure of speakerhood which cannot express the myriad experiences of languaging with Quechua, nor experience the same hostile acts of marginalization, by not being included, their proficiencies and bilingualisms are ignored and overlooked, limiting further learning opportunities and influencing their sense of self.

And, their not being chosen is also one of the ways in which the model of the rural Quechua hablante as *the* Quechua speaker continues to hold strong.

10.3 “Ellas mismas al hablar se sienten inferiores” (“They make themselves feel inferior when they speak”): racializing personalities

Ironically, youth who on the one hand were emblems of Quechua, and often spoke it in public events and classroom events even without volunteering, were also positioned as individuals embarrassed by Quechua and by their identities as Quechua speakers. Yesenia’s perceived quietness, for example, was racialized as a sign of self-imposed or internalized inferiority, keeping in line with how similar youth interpreted Quechua-speakers reactions to mote-based discrimination (see Chapter 9). As we’ll see next, following her classmates’ ideological representation of rural Quechua-speakers as inferior to their urban-dwelling and/or Spanish-dominant counterparts, it is assumed, or expected, that Yesenia has internalized this as well.

During a conversation with three Year 5 classmates of Yesenia, we talked about who were good Quechua speakers in their class, besides Yesenia. Two of these girls (Y1 and Y2) identified as non-speakers, though they recognized they had begun learning more vocabulary that year, and the third (Y3) identified as a speaker, was a constant participant in class, as in most of her other courses and had the reputation of a collaborative and good student. The three of them lived in urban areas of Urubamba; Y1 and Y2 had professional parents and in the case of Y3, her parents well small business owners in Urubamba. When I asked if there were any boys who were good speakers, the trio described two boys, who enjoyed good social standing in class, noting that even

though they did not answer teacher questions, they always joked around, sharing insults in Quechua, especially outside Quechua class. Describing one of these boys, César, one of the girls mentioned, “*no participa, pero él sí sabe, hasta te insulta en quechua*” (‘*he doesn’t participate, but he does know, he even insults you in Quechua*’). They also laughed as they explained how he made use of insults and “*cosas que no deberíamos saber*” (‘*things we should not know*’), possibly related to sexual innuendos or curse words. Curious as to these positive appraisals of peers’ seemingly confident use of Quechua, I asked if these classmates were also the object of teasing, which led to the following exchanges:

Example 1: Peer talk about Yesenia no.1

	Original	Translation
1	FKD: <i>... nadie se burla de ellos por hablar quechua? Cuando César habla en quechua por ejemplo?</i>	<i>... no one teases them for speaking Quechua? For example, when César speaks in Quechua?</i>
2	Y3: <i>Es que depende mucho digamos, de cómo tú lo hables</i>	<i>But a lot depends on, let’s say, on how you speak it</i>
3	Y1: <i>de las mismas personas</i>	<i>on people themselves</i>
4	Y2: <i>O sea, digamos- es que hay personas, otras que hablan quechua, y así como que ellas mismas al hablar se sienten inferiores, [pero] hay otros que hablan quechua-</i>	<i>I mean, let’s say- but there are other people, who speak Quechua, and like they [females] themselves when they speak they feel inferior. [but] there are others that speak Quechua-</i>
5	Y1: <i>[ajá]</i>	<i>[mjm]</i>

- | | | | |
|---|-----|------------------------|-------------------|
| 6 | Y1: | = <i>con orgullo</i> = | =with pride= |
| 7 | Y2: | = <i>como sin nada</i> | =like no big deal |

Here, the girls create a distinction between two types of youth, those who speak Quechua with pride (which would relate to César) and those who don't, and instead feel inferior. These emotional states (pride and inferiority) are described as something located within, or in control of, individuals. The repeated use of the reflexive third person pronoun '*the people themselves*' (line 4), '*they [females] themselves*' (line 4), reinforces the attention and responsibility to the individual, which is represented as free of the social context and interactional situation (i.e. they feel inferior vs. they are made to feel inferior). In other words, the context which produces discrimination and mockery is unspoken of (see also Zavala, 2011). Since my question addressed mockery, the distinction the girls establish between speakers with pride and those without pride, also projects onto who is the object of mockery, or not.

As our conversation continued, the girls described the social standing of César and their other male Quechua-speaking classmate in positive ways, using descriptors of traits I also had noticed during my observations, such as "*son muy abiertos... son muy socialistas*" ('*they're very open...they're very social*'). With regards to Yesenia, they described her as follows:

Example 2: Peer talk about Yesenia no.2

	Original	Translation
8	Y3: <i>Es un poco calladita, ella misma, como que hasta a veces, digamos en grupos no la quieren, y yo, hay veces, la pienso traer digamos a mi grupo, pero es que digamos, siento que no se va a, digamos... es que como que mi grupo ya está formada, y ya son, ya saben muy bien quiénes están, quiénes deben estar, como que ella también ya no busca grupo ... o sea, se aumentaría ella más, a uno voy a tener que botar ...y ella tiene sus amigas con quiénes entenderse</i>	<i>She is a bit quiet, she herself, like even sometimes, let's say in groups they don't want her, and I, sometimes, I think of bringing her to my group, but let's say, I feel that she won't, let's say...but my group is like already formed, and they already are, they already know very well who is [in it], who should be [in it], she also doesn't look for a group... I mean, she would be added [to the group], I would have to throw someone out...and she already has her friends to understand each other</i>
9	FKD: <i>Mmm</i>	<i>Mmm</i>
10	Y3: <i>y ajá, entonces, no pues</i>	<i>and mhm, then, no</i>
11	Y2: <i>pero es algo calladita, no?</i>	<i>but she is somewhat quiet, right?</i>
12	Y3: <i>ajá es muy callada, no participa</i>	<i>mhm she is very quiet, she doesn't participate</i>
13	FKD: <i>Mmm</i>	<i>Mmm</i>
14	Y3: <i>si, es algo así, como que ella misma también, es que ella misma se baja=</i>	<i>yes, it's like, like she herself also, but she lowers herself=</i>
15	Y2: <i>=ella misma se encierra entre su mundo, ella y sus amigas</i>	<i>=she herself locks herself up between her world, herself and her friends</i>
16	Y3: <i>y se hace inferior ella misma</i>	<i>and she makes herself inferior</i>

- 17 Y2: *y no está tanto como los otros, que ellos ya, normal ellos mismos, no sé si-* *and she is not like others, because they already, they themselves, normal, I don't know if-*
- 18 Y3: *=porque si saliera, si digamos como que normal, una chica normal cómo que “yo sé quechua y qué?” sería normal, pero no, ella se siente inferior (soft)* *=because if she stepped out, if let's say, like normal, like a normal girl, like 'I know Quechua and what?' it would be normal, but she doesn't, she feels inferior (soft)*

Among the many things the girls do in this fragment is that they invoke the distinction between those who speak with pride and those who don't (line 17) (*'not like others'*) previously formulated to categorize Yesenia as one of those individuals who feels and makes herself inferior when speaking Quechua (lines 14,15 and 16). Attributes of normality and abnormality are also attached to this dichotomy, used to frame the boys who speak with pride as 'normal' and Yesenia as 'abnormal', not a normal girl. In a way, towards the end of their explanation they normalize, or naturalize, Yesenia's quietness or soft spokenness as a sign that she is a Quechua-speaker with feelings of inferiority or lack of confidence. Yet this naturalization rests on an ideological construction, whereby the qualities (soft spokenness) of certain types of speakers (rural dwellers) are racialized in particular ways (as a sign of feeling inferior).

The girls' description of Yesenia as a quiet or soft spoken individual extends to value judgements about her social abilities to integrate with classmates and the group. She is described as *'a bit quiet'* (line 8), *'somewhat quiet'* (line 11) and *'very quiet'* (line 12). As the intensity of her quietness is augmented, she goes from being described as not

wanted by other groups to someone who does not try to search for a group and who has a certain group of people, not them, with whom she gets along. After Y3 positions herself as someone who would want to integrate Yesenia into her group but who is unable to (using a somewhat paternalistic tone while trying to position herself as a helper) (line 8), and after she has established Yesenia as *'very quiet'* (line 12), Yesenia's quietness is no longer linked just to her group-finding (in)abilities, but to her qualities as a withdrawn individual with low-self-esteem.

Again, paralleling the ideological scheme established in Example 5, Yesenia is represented as responsible for her own inferiorization. The use of reflexive verbs in the third person, describing how Yesenia *'lowers herself'*, *'locks herself up'*, and *'makes herself inferior'*, as well as the use of reflexive third person pronouns, e.g. *'she herself'* used four times in lines 9, 14, 15 and 16, textually help to place the burden of responsibility on Yesenia herself. While on the ideological scheme, Quechua hablantes are associated with inferiority, in the excerpt she herself is *made the agent of her feeling inferior*. Going beyond the text, longstanding discourses which frame Indigenous people and children as shy and withdrawn (Hornberger, 2006) or which position Indigenous people as willfully isolated from society, opposed to 'development' and 'social integration'¹⁰⁰ act as meaningful resources in the construction of the representation of Yesenia and provide relevant analytical context. In both discourses, the burden of responsibility and fault is in the Indigenous 'other' who does not want to integrate, who lacks ability, rationality, pride or identity.

¹⁰⁰ See for example: <https://www.culturalsurvival.org/publications/cultural-survival-quarterly/under-guns>

This speech event is an example of how processes of racialization of a particular individual are maintained or reinforced through discourse and because of discourse. Yesenia's quietness and soft spokenness are racialized while, reciprocally, her identity as a racialized rural-dwelling individual is taken up to index characteristics of an introvert and ashamed speaker. It appears that the racing of language and the languaging of race are both at play (Alim, 2016). Yesenia's racialized identity as a Quechua-speaking student from rural origins influences how she is positioned as an ashamed Quechua-speaking individual, while her classmates' positioning as non-rural individuals influence how their Quechua speaking is seen in positive terms. Another important resource in the way Yesenia is racialized is her behavior with classmates who are not part of her close group of friends. While the boys' playful use of insults, remarked on by the girls and consistent with behavior I observed during classes, is evaluated positively, Yesenia did not engage in such practices. She indeed was more soft spoken than them, and I didn't hear her use insults and funny Quechua terms in class.

Nevertheless, in Quechua class she did not turn down participation when called upon by her teacher, or when assigned that role by classmates; sometimes she also volunteered on her own to participate in classroom-wide activities and helped other classmates complete classroom tasks. She was also the first in her class to voluntarily share a draft of her linguistic autobiography, which the teacher wrote on the board and the whole class corrected together. In the text, she described the rural high altitude community where she was born, as well as the Quechua language use that was part of her everyday family interactions, not shying away from questions from her teacher to expand on this. And, in out of classroom events, she participated in the seniors' farewell

celebration, staging a ‘pretend’ rock song with a group of classmates. These events, which took place prior to the interview with her classmates, and in which Yesenia positioned herself as a confident, or at least certainly not shy, Quechua speaker, did not however become meaningful resources in transforming the identity imposed on her. Yesenia’s various instances of classroom and school participation were not recognized nor was she afforded the opportunity by her peers to be seen beyond the role assigned to her.

Yesenia’s case is not the only one where youth from rural origins were positioned as inherently more shy, closed-off or even repressed by classmates and teachers. For example, Fátima, a Year 5 student who identified as a non-speaker, described the Quechua-speaking girls in her class: “*se cierran entre ellas las que saben hablar quechua*” (‘*those that know how to speak Quechua close themselves off*’) and “*son las más cerradas*” (‘*they are the most closed off*’) (I, 2016.11.03). During a lunch time break chat, a P.E. teacher explained how several of her girls refused to do class because they did not want to wear the shorts, or would cover their legs with their sweaters. She added “*parecen recién bajadas de las alturas*” (‘*they look like they just descended from the highlands*’), and explained that more and more students from high altitude towns and valley communities, like Chinchero and Yanahuara, enrolled in the school. The teacher near us nodded in agreement. In a conversation with one of the English teachers, as we discussed whether knowing Quechua posed an advantage to learning English, she emphasized that it wasn’t about the language background of the student but about their personality. Nevertheless, she went on to explain that there was a difference between students from rural areas and those from Urubamba, linking speakers of Quechua to rural

students, and not to Urubamba-dwelling ones. The first group had “*otra personalidad*” (‘*another personality*’), and she explained they were “*más sumisos, tímidos*” (‘*more submissive, more shy*’); if they made a mistake when participating they didn’t want to speak anymore in class. The kids from Urubamba, she contrasted, “*no se sienten reprimidos*” (‘*don’t feel repressed*’) and would participate more in class.

Overall, we see how time and time again, speaking Quechua means being from ‘el campo’ and how this is linked to inherent qualities of these types of students, which in contrast to those assigned to their urban counterparts, are seen in a less favorable light. Rural students, or *quechua hablante* youth, terms used interchangeably, are more closed off, demure, shy, submissive, and repressed. While there can no doubt be differences between students with different home socialization experiences, prior schooling experiences and individual traits/interests/dislikes, these comments seem to converge on the racialized representation of a group of youth, *del campo*, as less compared to their urban counterparts, and this difference is explained on their origins alone. These comments are not meant to vilify or ridicule individual teachers and students, especially those whose opinions I analyze, but rather to highlight the ways in which dominant discourses grounded on a racialized order which position those closer to the rural *campesino* social position as less than those who are positioned further away from it, are maintained in everyday commentaries and practices.

These findings suggest how the racialized identities of Andean rural students are maintained based not only on well-known categories of geography, cultural practices, educational background, and language (Zavala & Back, 2017) but also on seemingly

impartial personality traits. Personality traits, along other categories of difference, become one more tool for constructing and otherizing difference.

10.4 Forever motos@s

Mote was associated with Quechua hablantes to index signs of backwardness, rurality and ignorance, and as something which ought to be corrected, improved to become “correct” Spanish speakers. Chapter 9 focused on instances of stylized *mote*, which portrayed complex youth alignments towards and away from Quechua. Here, *mote* was also mobilized in the racialization of rural Quechua speakers: youth made sense of, grappled with, and came to terms with *mote*, and it impacted trajectories of students like Yeny and Yesenia.

10.4.1 “Se le sale el mote” (‘mote comes out of her’): motosos and non-motosos

Motosos were not a distant figure to many youth; in fact, *motosos* were found in their classrooms and schools. *Mote* was used as a way to categorize and hierarchize classmates, creating a difference between those who produced it and those who didn’t (or who were *seen* as not producing it), and moreover could spot it and correct it. Jason, a bilingual speaker from Yeny’s class, described the types of students that *mote* would happen to and what happens when this occurs:

[el mote] más les pasa a los que, digamos, tuvieron raíces quechua quechua... porque mira, a mis compañeros que no hablan nada de quechua no se equivocan, o sea, no tiene ese famoso mote, y los que,

[mote] happens more to those that, let’s say, had quechua quechua roots ...because look, to my classmates that don’t speak any Quechua they don’t make mistakes, I mean, they don’t have the famous mote, and those who,

digamos, saben medio algo así, tampoco no se equivocan... mi compañera Yeny que, digamos, domina bien el quechua y a veces está exponiendo y se le sale, digamos, como el famoso mote digamos 'nosotros mismos', algo así dice, entonces nos burlamos, y se pone rojita, pero lo bueno es que, digamos, ella lo pasa normal ... fue algo chistoso pero también ameno y no fue digamos algo negativo, ... creo que le va a servir para que digamos vocalice mejor y también sea para su mejora, aunque nos hemos burlado, pero no nos hemos burlado con maldad ... si ya se pasa, nosotros sabemos controlar.

let's say, know some, like that, they also don't make mistakes...my classmate Yeny who, let's say, speaks well Quechua and sometimes she is presenting and it comes out, let's say, like the famous mote, let's say 'we ourselves', she says something like that, so we make fun, and she turns red, but the good thing is that, let's say, she takes it OK...it was something funny but also enjoyable and it wasn't, let's say, anything negative ...I think it will serve her to, let's say, enunciate better and it will also be for her improvement, even though we made fun, we didn't make fun with an evil intention...if it becomes too much, then we know how to control it.

(I, 2016.11.24)

For Jason, there is a clear distinction between youth he characterizes as *motosos* and non-*motosos*. *Motosos* have 'Quechua Quechua roots' (line 1), while non-*motosos* don't know any Quechua or know some Quechua. In his opening line, it's implied not all bilingualisms nor all bilinguals are the same. He goes on to offer his classmate Yeny as an example of someone he identifies as a *motosa* and recalls an instance when Yeny produced a *mote* utterance. Yeny is positioned as someone who is not in control of her linguistic practices ('*it comes out*'), an object of mockery ('*so we make fun*') and as an individual in need of betterment ('*it will serve her...to enunciate better*', '*for her improvement*'). Jason, on the other hand, building on the initially established separation between *motosos* and non-*motosos*, positions himself as someone who can identify *mote*, as a non-discriminatory mocker, and as someone who can and perhaps should correct his classmate.

In this short commentary, Jason illustrates the normalization of mockery and teasing towards mote-producing students widespread among youth, mostly described by those not identified as *motosos*, who see teasing as ‘*just kidding*’ and ‘*just a joke*’. The mockery is framed in positive terms, ‘*funny*’, ‘*enjoyable*’, and distanced from negative terms: ‘*it wasn’t, let’s say, anything negative*’, ‘*we didn’t make fun with an evil intention*’. Even Yeny’s reaction to the mockery is normalized, her blushing is described in diminutive terms to perhaps lessen its importance, and it is assumed she does not question the mockery. What is more, Jason and peers like him are the ones in control of when the mockery ends, of determining what goes beyond this ‘friendly teasing’. The *motoso* is not only someone who ought to correct their speech, an object of mockery, but also a passive individual in questioning and stopping this situation.

The direct association between rural-born Quechua-speaking youth and the otherizing qualities of mote - the raciolinguistic enregisterment of mote introduced in Chapter 9 - was drawn upon as a resource to explain the school readiness, or non-readiness, of *quechua-hablante* students. Referring to Yesenia, one of her Year 5 classmates explained her mote as the reason she had repeated the first year of high school,

<p>Y1: <i>... a mí me dijeron que ella repitió esa vez el año, no porque ella no pudiera pasar, sino es que porque como ella venía de más después del puente, y creo que por ahí, su familia le hablaba en quechua y ella confundía las vocales para escribir en castellano, las confundía y dicen que fue por eso que le hicieron</i></p>	<p><i>... they told me that she repeated the year that time, not because she could not pass, but because since she came from beyond the bridge, and I think that around there, her family spoke to her in Quechua and she confused her vowels to write in Spanish, she confused them and they say that is why they made her repeat the year.</i></p>
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repetir.

Whether the reason for Yesenia's repeat (which did occur) was true or not is beside the point. What is meaningful here is that the girls make evident the unquestioned relationship established between writing in a non-standard way and not being considered a student capable of doing school, nor of someone able to continuing developing Standard Spanish skills as all students do in high school. Yesenia's classmate in fact begins by acknowledging that Yesenia can do school, yet Yesenia's mote, which is grounded on her rural origins and being surrounded by Quechua speakers, become powerful elements in reproducing the story of why she repeated the year. Evident too is the recognized institutional power of schools to scrutinize and define some students as non-school ready based on racialized linguistic practices. After all, the girls narrate Yesenia was *forced* to repeat (*'they made her repeat the year'*). The fact that the girls commented on an event that occurred six years before also points to the endurance of mote-based categorizations on students like Yesenia, and how it can continue to inform their trajectories of socialization.

During another interview, referring to a past event when a Quechua-speaking classmate from a high-altitude town (outskirts of Chinchero) produced a mote utterance as she nervously presented in front of class, her classmate described how the teacher had drastically told her "*explica en quechua si no puedes hablar el castellano*" (*'explain in Quechua if you can't speak Spanish'*). This reported event, more drastic and violent than the previous one, also reinforces the power of educational agents to maintain the social value of the linguistic practice known as mote. To position someone who acts nervous

and produces a *mote* in a class presentation as a not capable Spanish speaker, not only erases their bilingualism and otherizes their Spanish, and reproduces a deficit-view of Quechua bilingualism, but acts as a powerful normalizing pattern where motosos continue to be viewed as not capable of doing school.

10.4.2 “*Mote popular*” (‘*popular mote*’) and *mote altoandino* (highland *mote*): tensions in explaining language mixing and variation

In the above examples, youth present a clear distinction between motosos and non-motosos, vividly describing the consequences of being identified as a *motoso*. In the first two examples, a clear delineation of what is considered *mote*, vowel alternation, is also presented, in line with how this phenomenon has been described in the literature (Cerrón- Palomino, 1981, 2003; Pérez-Silva, Acurio Palma, & Benedezú Araujo, 2008; Zavala, 2011). Unlike other accounts, and despite the predominance of the vowel alternation model, what counted as “*mote*” for youth and who could be a *motoso* was more widely defined.

Mote was also a term used to describe Spanish-Quechua mixing, the use of Quechua interjections in Spanish discourse (achakaw, alalau), “*equivocaciones*” (‘*mistakes*’) made when pronouncing English words, and Spanish contractions (such as ‘*ya pe*’ instead of ‘*ya pues*’ and ‘*oy*’ instead of ‘*oye*’). For many youth, *mote* could happen to anyone and in any language learning situation:

Alfonso:	<i>el moteo se da casi en todos los idiomas, si tu idioma ...es el inglés y quieres aprender el castellano, de hecho que va haber moteo, y si es quechua también va haber moteo ...</i>	<i>moteo happens in almost all languages, if your language...is English and you want to learn Spanish, there will definitely be moteo, and if it is Quechua there will also be moteo...in ALL, IN</i>
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<i>siempre en TODO, EN TODO idioma hay moteo, dicen que es quechua y castellano, en todos...en el inglés también hay moteo... porque digamos el <u>banana</u>, veneno¹⁰¹, [así], cambian...</i>	<i>ALL LANGUAGES, there will always be moteo, they say it's in Quechua and Spanish, in all of them...in English there is also moteo...because let's say the banana, veneno, [like] that, they change it...</i>
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Y1:	[hh]	[hh]
Y2:	<i>digamos en el inglés, dices <u>fly</u> es volar, no es cierto? y tú lo lees así, fli, tiene otro significado, eso es motear</i>	<i>let's say in English, you say <u>fly</u> is to fly, right? And you read it like this, fli, it has another meaning, that is to motear.</i>

As youth recognized the widening, and perhaps arbitrary, possibilities of what could be considered a linguistic token of *mote*, and who could be considered as producing *mote*, they recognized the unmarked and common practice of linguistic interference and language mixing in a context of language contact and language learning, disassociating *mote* from its ideological construction as an index of ignorance, rurality and inferiority. On linguistic terms, they recognized *mote* as something that happens to anyone. Yet at the same time, this extended view of the repertoire and social domain (Agha, 2007) of *motoseo* did not necessarily entail a critique or questioning of the raciolinguistic enregisterment of *motoseo* nor the racialization of rural Quechua speaking youth.

In contrast, these two Year 5 students who did not identify as Quechua speakers and lived in urban parts of Urubamba do recognize a distinction. They explained,

1	FKD:	<i>a ti alguna vez se te ha salido el mote?</i>	<i>has mote ever happened to you?</i>
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¹⁰¹ *veneno* means poison.

2	Y1:	<i>ah, a veces se me sale el mote así, alalau</i> ¹⁰²	<i>ah, sometimes mote comes out like, brrr</i>
3	Y2:	(hh) <i>alalau, a mi también</i>	(hh) <i>brrr, me too</i>
4	Y1:	achakaw ¹⁰³	ouch
5	Y2:	achakaw, sí	ouch, yes
6	Y1:	<i>ese tipo de mote, siempre va con tu-</i>	<i>that type of mote, it always goes with your-</i>
7	FKD:	<i>y cuando dices por ejemplo alaláu la gente a tu alrededor se ríe o es normal?</i>	<i>and when you say for example, <u>brr</u>, people around you laugh or it's normal?</i>
8	Y2:	<i>No</i>	<i>no</i>
9	Y1:	<i>no, ya es normal en acá</i>	<i>no, it's already normal here</i>
10	Y2:	<i>no, porque eso, eso ya es un mote popular=</i>	<i>no, because that, that's a popular mote now=</i>
11	Y1:	<i>=ajá=</i>	<i>=mjm=</i>
12	Y2:	<i>=porque todos lo hablan, pero si digamos dices una cosa, no sé, no tengo un ejemplo (.)</i>	<i>=because everyone speaks it, but if let's say you say something, I don't know, I don't have an example (.)</i>
13	FKD:	<i>si dices misa</i> ¹⁰⁴ <i>mesa?</i>	<i>if you say table, table?</i>
14	Y2:	<i>Algo, algo así, ahí sí te miran feo ya</i>	<i>Something, something like that, then they do look badly at you</i>
15	Y1:	<i>o f-pósporo</i> ¹⁰⁵	<i>or match</i>
16	Y2:	<i>o se ríen de ti</i>	<i>Or they laugh at you</i>

¹⁰² Interjection that denotes it's cold

¹⁰³ Interjection that denotes pain

¹⁰⁴ A common example I heard in my field sites, were the mote version of *mesa* (table) is *misa* (mass).

¹⁰⁵ In the word *fósforo* (match), the first consonant 'f' is replaced by a 'p', given that Quechua does not have a 'f' in its inventory.

17	Y1:	<i>así</i>	<i>like that</i>
18	FKD:	<i>ajá</i>	<i>mhm</i>
19	Y1	<i>porque cuando tú digamos hablas ya con mucho mote, ya te creen que eres una persona</i>	<i>because when, let's say, you speak with too much mote, they think you are a person</i>
20	Y2:	<i>que eres ya</i>	<i>that you already are</i>
21	Y1:	<i>de alto andino</i>	<i>of the highlands</i>
22	Y2:	<i>sí, y no, está mal pues, pero ya la sociedad te ha marcado que eso está mal</i>	<i>yes, and no, it's wrong, but the society has already marked you that that is bad</i>
23	Y1:	<i>ajá, la gente tiene una distinto forma de pensar en esa forma social.</i>	<i>mhm, people have a different way of thinking in that social manner</i>

(I, 2017.05.19)

As the boys explain, not all ‘motes’ are the same, nor all motosos, after all, are the same either. Of interest is the expanded register of motoseo they describe, one they identify as ‘popular *mote*’, which is described as “normal”, based on the argument that ‘everyone speaks it’. ‘Everyone’ most possibly means that not only *Quechua hablantes* speak it, but also people like them, valley people with limited to varying Spanish-Quechua bilingualisms. The presence of an alternate motoseo register, which they suggest has occurred in a shorter time scale than the *Quechua hablante mote* (‘that’s a popular *mote* now’), does not transform the racialized one we’ve been discussing, and in fact “*mote popular*” serves to highlight the continued marked status of “*mote alto andino*”. From line 10 onwards, the boys refer to this latter register, which includes vowel and consonant alternations as part of its repertoire and indexes being a high-

altitude person. Following the boys, that type of mote is too much mote (*'you speak with too much mote'*).

In a context of language contact, like the Andean region, features of what can be described as 'mote popular' are present across gender, class, rural and urban areas. In fact, they are present in the speech of all youth I met if one decided to look for it. Contact features in and of themselves don't carry social meaning, but social meaning is socially constructed. Taking this approach, "*mote popular*" is a way to explain language contact while keeping the social work done by "*mote alto andino*" in place. The boys are perceptive in stating that "*mote alto andino*" is socially constructed, revealing momentarily the ideological construction of mote; but their normalization of the distinction reveals the weight of this construction, one which seems hard to think outside of.

Flores and Rosa's work on (2015) raciolinguistic ideologies argues for the need to consider how subjects' racialized positions come to bear on how their language practices are evaluated and heard by the White listening subject. Specifically, they argue that "raciolinguistic ideologies produce racialized speaking subjects who are constructed as linguistically deviant even when engaging in linguistic practices positioned as normative or innovative when produced by privileged white subjects" (p. 150). In a similar manner, racialized rural speakers can always be seen as *motosos*, even if the practices they engage in are not necessarily instances of mote or if other speaking subjects racialized in different ways engage in similar practices to them.

Along these lines, Jason described an instance when his classmate Yeny produced what he describes as mote during a class presentation as follows:

...pero, o sea, me acuerdo una ocasión que estábamos exponiendo sobre Noruega [el país], Yeny dijo “Noriega”, y decimos “Noruega” todos. “Nor-nor-Noriega” dice, y “No, Noruega, di Noruega” y estaba tan nerviosa que estaba volviendo a cometer el “Noriega”. “No, pronuncia bien, Noruega”.

...but, like, I remember that one time we were presenting about Norway [the country], Yeny said “Noriega” and we all said “Noruega”. “Nor-nor-Noriega” she says, and “No, Noruega, say Noruega” and she was so nervous that she was repeating the same “Noriega”. “No, pronounce well, Noruega”

(I, 2016.11.24)

While Jason describes the pronunciation of ‘*Noriega*’ as mote-utterance for ‘*Noruega*’, considering the context of a class presentation, the nervousness that anyone can feel, specially someone like Yeny who reported experiencing previous mote-related teasing, it is equally possible to consider the ‘*Noriega-Noruega*’ mismatch as a mistake made by Yeny, though unrelated to mote. Following the vowel alternation order of mote phenomena, more possible options would be ‘*Noroega*’, ‘*Noruiga*’, ‘*Noroiga*’, ‘*Nuruega*’, ‘*Nuruiga*’ and ‘*Noroega*’. It’s possible Yeny does not remember the name of a possibly uncommon European country to her, and a more common word, such as the Spanish last name Noriega comes to mind. Once students like Yeny have been racialized as Quechua hablantes, for whom producing mote is seen as an inherent quality which they do not control, other possibilities to account for ‘incorrect’ speech or linguistic variety are eliminated to continue fitting this ideological representation of them (Irvine & Gal, 2000).

The fact that when individuals who are not racialized as Quechua hablantes produce tokens of what is considered as mote, even of “*mote alto andino*”, they are not evaluated similarly to youth like Yeny is the other side of this argument. The following

two interview excerpts show instances of what can be identified as mote ‘alto andino’ (underlined) and ‘popular’ (underlined) produced by youth who lived in Urubamba and were not identified by others as Quechua speakers:

Example 3 -

	<i>(Y1 defines mote)</i>	<i>(Y1 defines mote)</i>
Y2:	<i>‘<u>El profesor no quiere darme permiso oy</u>’ así, tipo, cosas así</i>	<i>‘<u>The teacher doesn’t want to give me permission oy</u>’ like that, things like that</i>
Y1:	<i>ya pe¹⁰⁶</i>	<i>ya pe then</i>
Y2:	<i>con esas-con esas-</i>	<i>with those-with those-</i>
FKD:	<i>ya pe es mote?</i>	<i>ya pe is mote?</i>
Y2:	<i><u>se</u>¹⁰⁷</i>	<i><u>yes</u></i>
Y1:	<i>el <u>pe</u>, <u>pe</u></i>	<i>the <u>pe</u>, <u>pe</u></i>
Y2:	<i>el pe es mote (h)</i>	<i>pe is mote (h)</i>

(I, 2017.05.19)

Example 4 –

	<i>(Frances y Y3 hablan sobre quienes, cómo y dónde usan el termino ‘cholito’ entre compañeros)</i>	<i>(Frances and B speak about who, when and where the term ‘cholito’ is used among classmates)</i>
Y3:	<i>porque algunos se <u>ofienden</u> pues</i>	<i>because some people <u>take offense</u></i>
FKD:	<i>por qué se ofienden?</i>	<i>why do they take offense?</i>

¹⁰⁶ Short for ‘ya pues’ (c’mon).

¹⁰⁷ variation of ‘si’ (yes).

- Y4: *no sé pero, no sé, creo que para ellos es un insulto decirles* *I don't know, but, I think for them it's an insult to call them that*
- Y3: *ajá, es que para algunos, piensan que les estamos diciendo cholo porque ya, y se ofienden.* *mjm, because for some, they think we are calling them cholo because, and they take offense.*

(I, 2017.05.08)

The purpose is not to highlight that these youth too, produce mote, but rather to highlight that not everyone is evaluated in the same way, nor does everyone's talk carry similar consequences. For students racialized as Quechua hablantes, their mote, which can be overdetermined, is a source of scrutiny, correction and ridicule, which is not observed in the above excerpts, nor was ever reported in my conversations regarding youth seen as non-rural, valley and city dwellers. Those who don't fit the racialized domain of 'alto andino motosos' are not racialized as such, not because their language practices don't fit the repertoire, but because of their racialized position in society.

10.4.3 “No es broma nomás” (‘it’s not just a joke’): responding to mote discrimination

Youth like Yeny, who had been laughed at and teased by peers, did not passively nor unreflexively encounter motoseo based discrimination, as their classmates suggest. Youth developed different strategies to cope with discrimination, which included internalizing mote as their personal fault and coping with teasing, to asking peers to stop, strategies which were not mutually exclusive. Yeny and Yesenia both described a feeling of discomfort when their classmates mocked them, both in elementary and high school:

“me hacían sentir mal...es feo digamos que se te salga algo y que ... se rían todos” (‘they made me feel bad ...it’s not nice, let’s say, that something comes out and that... everyone laughs’). The girls also internalized that mote was their own fault and the inadequacy of their Spanish. After recounting a past teasing, Yeny explained her reaction as follows: *“Sólo me puse roja y ya pues, respiré, nada, porque no es nadie perfecto, ¿no?”* (‘I just turned red and then, I took a deep breath, and that’s it, because no one is perfect, right?’).

A few youth told of confronting their peers and asking them to stop the teasing. Maribel, for example, mentioned that when mote-teasing occurred to her in high school: *“les dije, por favor dejen de molestar... mi carácter es un poco fuerte y por eso les dije, por eso me han dicho ‘no, sólo era broma’, ‘no me gusta ese tipo de bromas’, así, ya les paré y ya no me molestaron.”* (‘I told them, please stop bothering me...my character is a bit strong, and that’s why I told them, and that’s why they told me ‘no, it was just a joke’, ‘I don’t like that type of jokes’, I stopped them like that and they did not bother me anymore’). (I, 2017.05.2). Other youth described they remained quiet or tried not to make a big deal out of it so classmates would stop teasing them. Learning to dismiss mocking was a common strategy in classrooms. As two friends explained:

Y1: *... nos corrigen, nos molestan pues, hay que tomarlo a la broma, yo lo tomo a la broma porque si insistes, insistes MÁS ellos también te van-(h)...* *... they correct us, they bother us, you have to take it as a joke, I take it as a joke because if you insist, insist, they will even MORE- (h)...*

Y2: *porque, o sea, hay momentos que te atormenta pues, te molestan a cada momento sí, te molesta pue, pero a veces no, ya conociéndole a una persona que siempre te molesta ya* *because, like, there are moments that it torments you, they bother you all the time, yes, it bothers you, but sometimes no, when you know a person that always bothers you, then*

no pue, tomarlo como si nada. *you take it like if nothing happened.*

(I, 2016.12.02)

For some, ignoring teasing became easier with time, once they got to know their classmates and developed a feeling of confianza with them: “*nosotros somos de quinto, o sea, confianza ya, ya sabes como son, no sientes vergüenza por ello*” (‘we are in Year 5, I mean, there is trust now, you already know how they are, you don’t feel embarrassed because of it’). Overall, responses to mote were an individualistic effort, aimed at changing the behavior of some classmates over particular individuals, or coming to terms with the mockery of one’s own personal experience. Given the distress of the situation, this in itself was a courageous task.

Youth were not alone in contesting mote, and in a few cases their classmates also intervened with this intention. During Yesenia’s Year 5 *Comunicación* class, students presented their expository essays on the topic of linguistic diversity and discrimination. One student, a close friend of Yesenia, began elaborating on how discriminating against people based on how they spoke Spanish was unacceptable. She went on to elaborate, with great conviction, that there were people who spoke with mote in their class, she wouldn’t say any names, but it was one person in their classroom, a “*compañera*” (female classmate). At this point, I am quite certain everyone in the room, including myself and the teacher, knew which student she was referring to. The tension in the atmosphere was palpable. The student in question (Yesenia), who was sitting in the front row of the class and had, until that moment, been an active listener of all presentations, put her head down. As her classmate continued her presentation, she passionately told the class they should not make fun of their classmate, it was not cool. By then, Yesenia was blushing

and continued with her head tilted down. I looked at the teacher, who looked back at me with an uneasy look, and we both remained quiet, as the presenter continued delivering her speech on other topics. Later that day, I ran into the teacher, and after briefly discussing the presentations, I brought up the event. She agreed the girl had exposed Yesenia, who did not look comfortable. She had wanted to say something, but then decided not to in order not to make it worse (FN, 2017.05.11).

In this event, even when youth attempted to challenge mote-based discrimination, they reproduced the discomfort of their classmates. It is also discomfoting to consider how teachers (myself included) are also complicit in the reproduction of these stigmatizations by keeping quiet. I don't believe the student nor the teacher were ill-intended, after all she was one of Yesenia's friends, and the teacher reported a concern for not wanting to overexpose or denigrate Yesenia even more, yet a focus on the intent of individuals obscures how the logic behind mote is reproduced through everyday talk and practices. While being called out as a motoso was a rare occurrence in classrooms, there were other instances when teachers addressed mote-teasing by clarifying the term to students and reminding them that '*mote*' was "normal" and that it was "wrong" to tease others. Though less common, there were also instances when teachers began to articulate a deeper critique of the ideological representation behind motoseo.

Later in the same *Comunicación* lesson, when another student presented the case of a young man laughed at for pronouncing "*sincillo*" instead of "*sencillo*" ('change') in a local bus, the teacher commented that this represented an example of linguistic discrimination, perhaps repenting she had not spoken out previously. She went on to ask the class why they thought mote occurred, and she explained that mote was a "*fenómeno*

lingüístico” (‘a linguistic phenomenon’) caused by the interference of Quechua onto Spanish, “*porque su primera lengua fue quechua, y ha entrado como segunda lengua el castellano*”. She continued to address the class:

... Eso no es una falta de educación, no es que es un burro, él tiene una interferencia lingüística, a eso se llama INTERLECTO, eso se llama interlecto, por favor, entonces, presten- no es una cosa para discriminar, porque al turista que viene, les he dicho varias veces, entra a un restaurante y dice ‘dame un plato de chorrasco¹⁰⁸’ y NO nos reímos, porque decimos que es un gringo y tiene interferencia. Pero cuando entra una gente del campo y dice lo mismo, si nos burlamos de él (one student nods), ah, somos un poco, inconscientes con las cosas que hacemos, a veces marginamos a los demás por ignorancia, okey? Muy bien, ahora le vamos a escuchar a su compañero.

... That is not a lack of education, it’s not that he is dumb, he has a linguistic interference, that is called INTERLECT, that is called interlect, please, then, listen- it’s not something to discriminate, because to the tourist that comes, I’ve told you several times, he enters a restaurant and says, ‘give me a steak’ and we DON’T laugh, because we say he’s a gringo and has an interference. But when people from the highlands walk into the restaurant and say the same thing, we do mock them (one student nods), ah, we are a bit thoughtless with the things we do, sometimes we marginalize others because of ignorance, ok? Very well, now we will listen to your classmate

(A, 2017.05.11)

Following a technical explanation around mote offered by the teacher, which focused solely on the linguistics of it, the teacher also articulated a critique of the ideological representation behind it. How come a foreigner’s mote was not scrutinized in the same way as the one produced by a rural dweller? The teachers’ commentary makes evident for students that it’s not the practices itself which are being evaluated and discrimination against, but the individuals who produce those practices, which in fact reflects not just individual ‘ignorance’ but societal racial hierarchies (Flores & Rosa, 2015).

¹⁰⁸ Variation of ‘churrasco’ (steak).

10.5 The burdens and dangers of racialized Quechua proficiency

The experiences of Yeny, Yesenia and other youth featured in this section shed light on how evaluations of proficiency in Quechua and Spanish are racialized. The enregisterment of Quechua as belonging to rural people, means that in schools and classrooms, Quechua proficiency is largely assigned to (only) the rural-born or rural-dwelling Quechua speaking youth, who were in fact bilingual like many youth who were born or lived in the valley. At the same time, the racialization of certain Quechua speaking had direct real-life and educational consequences. For Yesenia and Yeny, these real-life consequences are painful and profound, and the many examples narrated by them or observed in interactions represent everyday acts of violence which continue to position their bilingualism as distinct than that of other bilingual classmates and as object of normalized scrutiny, commentary and mockery. Across their high school experience, Yeny and Yesenia's Spanish language skills, Spanish and English language learning abilities, school-readiness abilities, personalities and relationship to their mother language were scrutinized, commented on, and at times, ridiculed, in ways that differed from the experiences of peers who did not have Quechua-dominant speaking campesino or low-wage earning parents, who had not been born and/or raised in rural communities, who had access to better elementary schools or to better Spanish language learning opportunities. While these youth could have been, and were often, called out as *foreigners* or *deniers* by adults and other youth, they were not heard, judged and evaluated by others as emblems of Quechua and rural life, as socially inept individuals and as life-long motosos with deficient language practices. In the cases of Yeny and

Yesenia, experiences of racialization impacted their sense of self as speakers and individuals, and their schooling experiences and classroom participation. It is perhaps by zooming in to these personal cases that the effects of the maintenance of the *Quechua hablante* model are most poignantly evidenced. Keeping in mind the social identification trajectories of youth described in Chapter 8 we can continue to see how not all bilingualisms, and more specifically not all bilinguals, were evaluated similarly.

In addition to school peers, Quechua language teachers and non-language teachers are also agents involved in the reproduction, and to a lesser degree, the transformation of the racialization of their rural students, a process that they neither started nor can they ‘fix’ through their individual actions. Independent of their intentions, through their classroom-wide commentaries, silences and chitchatting with colleagues, teachers sustained many of the ideologies and practices which harmed students like Yeny and Yesenia, relying on the same individual-centric approach to understanding the cause and effects of racial hierarchies as their students (see also Chapter 9). Nevertheless, there were instances when teachers also made visible the causes of the linguistic and social hierarchies observed by her students, showing how educator responses are multiple and not always the same, even for the same individual.

The analysis also brings up an important question to those concerned with Indigenous language education and social justice – how can we imagine and craft anti-racist Indigenous language education in the Quechua context? Though not an easy question to tackle, scholarship on the interconnectedness of race and language offers some insightful points. With regards to racist language, Chun (2016) argues that policing practices that seek to eradicate racist language and containment strategies that restrict it to safer

contexts both rely on determinist understandings of “racist meaning as determined by words and their contexts” (p. 91). Attempting to police teasing or contain it to a public or school setting reflects these anti-racist strategies, which are nevertheless of questionable effectiveness, since “racist words may intensify through attempts to police or contain them” and little is done to question “the ideological assumptions that underlie linguistic meaning” (p. 92). While there is certainly a need for Quechua and mote-based discrimination to stop, and policing students and classmates who engage in teasing and name-calling is a common and needed response adopted by youth and their teachers, it is worth considering to what extent this strategy questions the ideological representation behind such discriminatory practices, and ensures racialization practices are made visible and challenged, and not just contained.

The last example provided in the preceding section, where a teacher questions why the language practices of foreigners are not evaluated in the same way as those of high altitude dwellers entails a different strategy, closer to what Chun points to. In a way, the teacher’s approach parallels a raciolinguistic framework, which centers on placing “racial hierarchies rather than individual practices at the center of the analysis” (Flores & Rosa, 2015, see also Lewis, 2018). Flores and Rosa (2015) have critiqued an appropriateness-based model of language education which not only marginalizes the languaging of language minoritized communities “but is also premised on the false assumption that modifying the linguistic practices of racialized speaking subjects is key to eliminating racial hierarchies” (p. 155). Following their theorizing, Quechua language education and bilingual education could also benefit from reflecting on the limitations of approaches which seek to give access to more ‘standard’ Spanish resources, ‘improve’ or ‘justify’ the

Spanish and bilingualism of racialized bilingual youth. After all, giving marginalized students ‘standard’ Spanish proficiency won’t ensure social mobility nor undo the historical positioning of these students in Peruvian education and society. Similarly, just recognizing the Quechua-speaking abilities of some without addressing and challenging the injustices and discrimination Indigenous language speakers experience won’t necessarily promote Quechua language maintenance and interest youth with ambivalent stances towards the language in using and learning it.

Following the critical approaches and reflections of some teachers and youth featured in this chapter, Quechua language education research and practice would do well do explore the potential of language education models which acknowledge, address and question the hierarchies, mechanisms, laws and policies, institutions and everyday practices which have sustained and continue to sustain processes of linguistic and wider societal marginalization of some speakers over others. This would entail taking into account the causes and effects of economic inequality and poverty which impact rural and urban-dwellers differently, histories of Indigenous movements of resistance as well as repression, the origins and effects of hegemonic monolingual and monocultural state institutions and policies (including the educational domain), as well as the roles of schools in reproducing linguistic and social inequalities.

CHAPTER 11: Conclusion

Throughout the various data chapters of this dissertation, I have provided different accounts of what it meant for youth to be learners and speakers of Quechua, moving between home and school spaces, zooming into different inter and intra-generational relationships; largely grounding the analysis in one specific moment in time though also paying attention to how youth looked back in time and into the future. This final chapter begins by summarizing some of the key findings and considering this study's scholarly contributions. I then focus on the implications of this study's findings for educational efforts supportive of Indigenous language education as well as inclusive of the concerns and aspirations of young generations. The chapter ends outlining future writing and research I would like to pursue.

11.1 Literature Contributions

This dissertation was in part inspired by the scholarship of countless scholars working from different disciplines, and seeks to make contributions to the study of bilingual education and language planning and policy in the Andes and to other contexts of Indigenous language education (ILE). Some of these contributions document and describe language and educational practices in an under researched scenario and others also put forth conceptual lines of inquiry to enrich ongoing research in the topic.

Fifteen years ago, Hornberger and Coronel-Molina (2004) noted that there was no “single, monolithic ‘Quechua situation’” (p. 10) but instead a mosaic of sociolinguistic contexts that characterized the sociolinguistic scenario of this Indigenous language. This

study contributes to our growing understanding of Quechua bilingualism by focusing on the individual trajectories and on the ground experiences of youth who live lives across rural and urban spaces, often conceived as separate spaces in academic and popular discourse, but in fact experienced as continua of varying meanings to different individuals. This study has attended not so much to the meaning inherent in particular rural, urban, school or home spaces but to the experiences of youth who live in, study in and traverse those spaces, youth with different language abilities and subjectivities which result in similarities but also differences in their trajectories. By focusing on youth's bilingual practices and identity positionings, I have not just focused on how Quechua as a minoritized language is planned for and taught, but most precisely, I attended to how individual youth – language learners, speakers, non-speakers, migrants, older siblings, younger siblings, daughters, sons, grandkids, classmates and friends, future doctors and tour guides– experience and shape their sociolinguistic environment across school and home domains under particular conditions and constraints.

This study's focus on individual trajectories and repertoires (Blommaert, 2010; Blommaert and Backus, 2013; Hornberger, 2014b; Wortham, 2005), and not solely communities and languages, and on different spatiotemporal scales (Blommaert, 2010), be they life stages, levels of schooling, fleeting or more durable moments of interaction, and homes, schools and other family and peer domains, opens analytical room for the study of youth bilingualism and identity to further enrich studies on Quechua language planning and policy in the Andes. In an area of study which has largely privileged rural contexts with limited focus on the experiences of young generations, the focus of

attention here on youth in an urban Andean setting contributes to cumulative ethnographic knowledge on the topic.

Throughout the various data chapters, we've seen how youth's repertoires are not homogenous nor fixed, but rather expand and contract at different rhythms across their lives, subject to various turning points, repertoires which youth can cloak and uncloak across interactional contexts. We've seen too how the uses and meanings of youth's repertoires and language trajectories are intimately linked to social relationships, identity positionings, racialized trajectories (Chaparro, 2019; Chun & Lo, 2016), language ideologies and institutions. Varying access to language learning opportunities, ongoing discrimination and raciolinguistic (Alim, Rickford, & Ball, 2016; Flores & Rosa, 2015) hierarchies, and ideologies which question and invisibilize youth proficiency and interest in Quechua, as evidenced in school and family practices, are some of the forces which youth at times reproduce, question and/or, above all, negotiate on an everyday basis.

In relation to youth identity, one of the main findings of this study is that the ways in which youth understand themselves as learners and/or speakers of Quechua is characterized by complexity and ambivalence, an ambivalence that does not frame complexity as contradictory. There is no single one way in which any one youth oriented to being a Quechua speaker or learner, and youth alignments towards and away from Quechua proficiency and speakerhood signaled certainty at the same time as they were fleeting, dynamic and multiple. The complexity of youth's identity alignments can best be understood in a context of (growing) Quechua LPP activities, symbolic and utilitarian recognition of the value of Quechua which brought them closer the language, as well as ongoing and painful inequality and discrimination which distanced youth away from it.

While ambivalent, most youth in this study also expressed interest in becoming or continuing to be Quechua speakers, an interest best understood as a dynamic spatio-temporal continuum also embedded in the continuities and changes of youth's sociolinguistic environments.

Drawing on linguistic anthropological work on figures of personhood (Agha, 2005, 2007; Mortimer, 2013; Reyes, 2004), using the analytical concept of figures of Quechua speakerhood allowed for an emic exploration of the construct of language proficiency which combined attention to the meanings of speaking an Indigenous language and to being a speaker of an Indigenous language, meanings which are hard to separate and often went hand in hand in youth's practices and commentaries. While the proud *cusqueño*, foreigner, denier and *quechua hablante* figures featured prominently across youth experiences (see Chapters 8, 9 and 10), other less visible and potentially emerging figures were also identified, such as the unashamed teen speaker or the good language learner.

One of the ways in which youth's ideological ambivalence and multiplicity towards Quechua-Spanish bilingualism and language identity was manifested was through the various bilingual youth practices documented in school settings. Exploration of instances of quechuañol, Mock Mote, approximating Quechua and other stylization practices (in Chapters 7 and 9), shed light on the meaning of these practices for different youth and the social work and identity positionings accomplished through their use. Attention to who engaged in these practices, and who did not, social domains in which they were deployed, and to the reactions and responses of youth with different language learning trajectories and repertoires helped illuminate how youth's bilingual practices

enabled the construction of belonging *and* exclusion among peers. Bilingual practices revealed youth linguistic and metalinguistic creativity, youth's language learning interests and language appreciations, and attempts at co-building a relaxed classmate domain, while some of these same practices also signaled how youth reproduced, though sometimes also pushed back, hurtful language ideologies which hierarchized some individuals and speakers as less than others and contributed to the raciolinguistic enregisterment (Rosa and Flores, 2017) of Quechua and *motoseo*. Just as much research on youth talk in multilingual language education contexts in Europe and the U.S. has shown (Blackledge & Creese, 2010; Jaspers, 2015; Talmy, 2010), close attention to youth-youth talk in Indigenous language classrooms, which many times escapes the attention of teachers as well as researchers, can also provide another meaningful line of inquiry to understand how youth talk their identities as (non)Indigenous language learners and speakers.

The exploration of home language socialization practices contributes to the growing field of family language policy studies (King, Fogle, & Logan-Terry, 2008) by offering an account of Indigenous language use and transmission in the home that focuses on socialization practices, ideologies and participant roles (Goffman, 1979). Centering the analysis on the roles youth were assigned and expected to take on highlights how youth language use is inseparable from youth's roles as members of families with distinct beliefs and aspirations about languages, but also about children's responsibilities and abilities, family progress, and the future livelihoods of its members. In the case of *altura* youth, taking on the roles of Spanish language socializing agents responded to family expectations of *superación* and of the responsibilities of older siblings with younger ones.

Looking at the cases of *valley* youth, whose status as Quechua interlocutors wavered between recognition, misrecognition and non-recognition, shows how intergenerational differences of language use are closely linked to intergenerational differences in ideologies about language, language learning and youth, as well as intergenerational connections and disconnects in terms of affective relationships. These intergenerational divergences influence how youth come to see themselves as (non)speakers and their access to language learning resources.

Findings from this study also contribute to the study of bilingual education in the Andes, which has long taken rural primary schools as the main site of research, in part responding to the small number of ILE experiences in urban schools and in high schools. Chapter 7 explored how Quechua language classrooms in the two high schools were spaces where a multiplicity of practices and ideologies about language and learning co-existed, opening and closing down opportunities for the inclusion and exclusion of diverse learners and learners' interests, as well as the inclusion and expansion of monoglossic and heteroglossic bilingual practices. Given the ever-present threat of language purism, discourses of language 'correctness' and legitimacy, and language curricularization approaches to close down spaces for student voice and language development in contexts of minoritized language education (Hornberger & King, 1998; Jaffe, 2011; Valdés, 2015), observed teaching practices and orientations which encouraged language use for meaningful communication, validated local bilingual practices and youth's repertoires as well as provided opportunities for youth to expand their repertoires are important to continue documenting and exploring as resources for ILE development.

Moreover, a focus on how youth experienced Quechua language education also shed light on the critical postures youth took vis a vis the course and their teachers. Youth questioned the uneven distribution of resources for the Quechua class compared to other (language) courses, the quality of teaching and teacher-student relationships, and the gap between what and how they were taught and what and how they wanted to learn. Even though schools many times pushed youth away from Quechua, few youth questioned the importance of including Quechua language education in high schools and some also considered future formal language learning opportunities.

Language learning in Quechua classrooms went hand in hand with evaluations and co-construction of language learners' and students' identities, as classroom practices particularly influenced how bilingual youth came to be seen as Quechua deniers or as racialized Quechua speakers (Chapters 8 and 10). The under-assignment and over-assignment of particular types of Quechua proficiency and non-proficiency, acts which both teachers and youth engaged in, was not distributed equally among youth, with some facing the burdens of racialization and others the burdens of linguistic othering and shaming. Findings also highlighted how some youth confronted these imposed labels and how teachers and youth created the conditions for alternative social identifications to become visible and valued. Future research can continue to document how classrooms and schools can become spaces where youth's positive social identifications with Quechua proficiency are supported and sustained. I am particularly interested in continuing to explore how schools can promote positive social identifications with Quechua proficiency based on figures of everyday Quechua-speaking people, including youth's teachers, classmates, family relatives and community members, figures which are

based on proximate spatiotemporal scales for youth, on the here and the now. What would a *nosotros* figure of speakerhood mean? How could it help inform ILE?

Taking a raciolinguistic perspective (Alim et al., 2016; Flores & Rosa, 2015), I considered how high schools were *de jure* spaces for the maintenance of Quechua through the implementation of a weekly 1 hour Quechua class, as well as *de facto* spaces where the racialization of rural students was maintained as well as the raciolinguistic enregisterment of Quechua and of mote as Quechua language education classrooms and high schools. Analyzing how these processes unfolded through individual and cumulative speech events also suggests that these processes can be questioned and challenged through everyday classroom practices, though this does not imply a ‘solution’ to deep-seated inequalities and marginalization. As one starting point, it would be worth considering the affordances of framing analysis and pedagogical practices around mote and Quechua-based discrimination not on individual student practices alone, a common practice observed across my field sites, but on the racial hierarchies around which these are built. What would it look like to stop viewing mote as just the problem to be fixed of some students? Or Quechua-based discrimination as the problem of some ignorant or thoughtless youth? What would classrooms look like if classroom participants built on humor and playful language as learning and community-building resources, rather than as resources which sustained racialized stereotypes and dehumanized its members? What would it mean if schools were no longer spaces where the racialization of rural youth was maintained and instead spaces where it began to be deconstructed, questioned and re-signified by youth and their teachers? Though there is no easy answer or single path to

follow, these questions offer a different point of departure for addressing discrimination and racism, and one that some youth and teachers had already begun considering.

11.2 Educational Implications

...the role of the school is not so much to create speakers, but to create conditions in which acts of minority language appropriation become thinkable, accessible, and attractive to a wide number of individuals, and to allow them to understand the role that both policy and everyday practice play in defining what speaking Corsican will mean in the future. (Jaffe, 2011, p. 222)

As much ILE research has shown, schools are not sufficient to maintain or revitalize endangered languages, and many times inadvertently reproduce many of the inequalities they set out to address. As the above quote from Jaffe (2011) eloquently expresses, schools can also become spaces where individuals engage in reflections and decision making of how they would like to make their languages their own, or how they would like to bring them forward (Hornberger & King, 1996). This endeavor needs to go hand in hand with taking into account the hopes, interests, hesitations, dislikes and uncertainties of learners, the children and youth who will indeed continue to bring minoritized languages forward. In the Peruvian context, a changing policy scenario is attempting to promote the implementation of intercultural bilingual education in rural schools situated in communities with diverse sociolinguistic characteristics, as well as in urban areas where Indigenous language speaking students study alongside their non-speaker classmates. Drawing on my ethnographic findings, I offer some suggestions of what taking into account youth as engaged stakeholders could look like to help inform the maintenance of existing Indigenous language education (ILE) programs like the ones I

studied in Urubamba, the seizing of potential new policy spaces, as well as the creation of new programs and models.

- **Involve youth in developing the objectives and goals of ILE.** What are youth aspirations for language learning and use? For what purposes or why? How do youth want to learn? It would also be important to include youth's family relatives in this process so that alongside youth, they can identify potential home language learning resources, which should not be assumed a priori. Use these insights to inform curriculum development, language teaching strategies and materials. Take a dynamic approach to the development of ILE, open to ongoing collaborative reflection and evaluation. Consider too how ILE education is not separate from the development of horizontal and caring relationships between educators and learners.
- **Learn about the complexity of youth's language learning trajectories and expect this complexity.** This would involve resisting a priori assumptions of what youth can or cannot do with their languages, as well as distinguishing among different youth stances towards the Indigenous language and Indigenous language learning. This would also entail expecting and embracing apparent contradictions in terms of reported and observed youth language use, interests, or neither/both/and stances and practices. Finally, learning about youth's trajectories would entail looking backward and forward, in terms of time scales, as well as beyond the domains of schools.

- **Pay attention to youth-youth everyday interactions in ILE programs.**

How do youth use their language resources in day to day interactions, both in the context of accomplishing classroom assignments and in everyday socializing with peers? While teachers face multiple demands and responsibilities whilst teaching, collaborative actions with researchers and students themselves could offer possibilities to document and explore the meanings of these practices. Consider, how do these practices support and/or diminish the goals of ILE? Consider too, youth's playful use of language not just as off-task behavior but as potential resources to support language learning and learn about youth's perspectives/experiences with language.

- **Identify and promote positive figures of Indigenous language**

speakerhood. What are positive figures of Indigenous language speakers, listeners and would-be speakers youth orient towards? What are emergent figures of Indigenous language speakers in the context of classroom interactions? Who are community and school role models of Indigenous language speakerhood? Explore alongside youth why they value these figures, how these inform their language learning interests and goals, and how ILE programs can support these interests and goals. Create spaces for youth and community and school role models to share their language use and learning experiences.

- **Identify and challenge negative figures of Quechua speakerhood.**

Similarly, identify the negative figures of Quechua speakerhood and explore alongside youth why they don't want to be associated with these types of

speakers. At the same time, unpack the histories, structures and practices which naturalize and sustain these ideological figures of languages and speakers, and consider how these figures support and/or diminish the goals of ILE.

- **Recognize that ILE can (inadvertently) reproduce discriminatory ideologies and practices and challenge these ideologies and practices.**

Acknowledge how histories of coloniality, racism and discrimination have impacted not only Indigenous languages but Indigenous language education, intergenerational transmission, identification and above all, speakers, learners and individuals' language learning trajectories and livelihoods. Explore these experiences and possible solutions by centering on the ideologies, institutions and racial hierarchies which sustain otherizing and racializing practices, rather than on individual beliefs or just focusing on changing individual practices as solutions. Recognize not all youth experience otherizing and racializing discourses and practices similarly.

- **Promote youth explorations of their cultural heritage and identities.** ILE learning need not be developed separately from an intercultural educational stance, where cultural diversity is explored alongside linguistic diversity. Learn about present day Indigenous cultural practices youth engage in and have an interest in and those practiced in the multiple spaces they traverse. Explore alongside youth what it means to identify as an Indigenous person or have an Indigenous cultural heritage, and how this relates, or doesn't, to identifying as an Indigenous language speaker.

- **Recognize, build on and expand youth's repertoires.** Experiment with language teaching models and practices that both recognize and value youth's present-day repertoires as well as offer opportunities for them to expand them in ways that align with their language learning goals and interests. This would entail reflecting on the meanings and goals of bilingualism for youth, considering present interests and future aspirations.

These reflections are by no means attempts to offer easy solutions to 'fix' the many challenges faced by ILE. Instead, they are considerations which emerged from a specific ethnographic research that can be taken into account as the many actors involved in ILE projects continue to engage in acts of Indigenous language appropriation that seek to build ILE for and with youth. These reflections are grounded on an understanding of language as social practice, a practice which reflects, reproduces and can also transform representations of language and people with material effects and consequences on the everyday lives of people, a practice that ILE participants also engage in. These and all ILE implications also need to be considered alongside broader projects of Indigenous self-determination and sovereignty, community wellbeing and educational equity (McCarty & Nicholas, 2014).

11.3 Future explorations

Almost two years of ethnographic fieldwork resulted in a vast data set, some of which I did not analyze in detail and write about in this dissertation, but much of which I hope

to continue exploring in future analysis and writing. First, I plan to explore data regarding high school Quechua teachers' experiences, particularly paying attention to how teachers, most without formal training in language teaching, Quechua, and Quechua language education, decided to organize and teach their Quechua classes, clear examples of teachers as de facto LPP agents. In a context of little top-down educational intervention, I want to explore the resources teachers drew on as well as the agents they relied on as they learned to teach Quechua to their high school students. This analysis will enrich and better contextualize my exploration of Quechua language education practices. Moreover, I plan to reflect and write about the types of collaboration that Teacher Mónica and I engaged in together, considering the possibilities and limitations of sociolinguistic surveys, video-inspired language teaching methodologies and everyday acts of collaboration to support the development of Quechua language education. Going back to my data set, I would also like to engage in a close reading of youth's family member's perspectives and practices, specially those who were not relatives of focal youth, to continue to understand the diversity of home socialization practices in ways that may parallel but also differ from the experiences of focal youth.

Throughout my analysis and writing, I became more attuned to the ways in which family LPP decisions and educational and language trajectories were also gendered, or the ways in which categories of gender influenced family LPP decision-making and girls' school and languaging experiences, in conjunction with categories of race, educational backgrounds, socio-economic status and language abilities. While this analysis was out of the scope of this dissertation, I plan to code and analyze my data with this analytical interest in mind and would also like to collect more data on this topic, perhaps leading to

a future research project. Another potential line of inquiry would continue to track youth's language learning trajectories beyond high schools, focusing on youth experiences in higher education and in their various occupational tracks they will follow.

Throughout this project, I have considered what the study of youth bilingualism and identity tells us about the prospects of Quechua language maintenance. In part, this is a difficult issue to tackle because processes of language maintenance occur across longer scales of time than this ethnographic research has covered, which underscores the importance of continued research on the topic. Through the various youth stories, trajectories, language experimentations and testimonies I have highlighted in this dissertation, I hope to have done justice to the complexity and dynamism of youth Quechua bilingualism and identity, which includes youth's continued uses of Quechua in traditional domains, interests in the use of Quechua in expanded and new domains, as well as youth's interest, curiosities and yearnings for becoming and continuing to be Quechua speakers and learners. There are, and will probably continue to be, many hostile, painful and deep-seated societal and local forces which work against many of youth's interests in Quechua language maintenance. But, considering youth perspectives reminds us of the importance of continuing to imagine and creating better conditions for current and future Indigenous language speakers and learners to pursue their dreams, hopes and aspirations.

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