

Runakuna hataringaku* ('The people will rise up'): Revitalizing Quechua in urban Ayacucho, Peru

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1. Introduction

“Manuyllaqa mana piniyuq rikukuykun hawapi. Qala pampapi puñun chiripi katatatastin, lliw runakunapa qayllanpi. Paqarinntintintaqa mana yuyaynin kanchu imapas ruwananpaq. Huk warmi masin asuykuspa tapun llakinmanta...Chay huknin warmiqa, mana ñaqchakusqa, mana armakusqa Manuylla kasqanta qawaykuspa, ‘manam munanichu’ nispa nispa” (Soto, 1993: 208-209).¹

‘Manuela, without any relatives sees herself outside. On the bare ground, she sleeps in the cold, shivering; all the people are in front of her. A fellow woman approaches her and asks about her sadness...Manuela was without combed hair, and without being bathed. Looking at Manuela. the potential employer said, ‘I do not want [you]...’ (my translation).

The above passage comes from a textbook reading for Quechua. Here, Manuela, a migrant Quechua speaker, is forced to sleep on the cold city streets, because she has no where to work nor live. Although is a stereotypical example of the struggles that Quechua speakers face when they leave their rural home communities, it is still part of the reality.

RUNAKUNA HATARINQAKU, part of the title of this paper means “the people will rise up” in Quechua.² This paper reveals Quechua language revitalization efforts and Quechua language domains in Ayacucho, Peru based on ethnographic fieldwork conducted in the summer of 2005.

My study focuses on the province of Huamanga located at 2,760 meters in the region of Ayacucho, Peru (INEI, 1996). Huamanga’s estimated population was 195,696 in 2002, with 31% rural (INEI, 1996). In 2004, 70% of the population (of Ayacucho) lived in poverty (INEI, Pobreza 2004).

The Quechua language is the largest indigenous language spoken in the Americas. However, worldwide, Quechua is classified as an endangered language (Hornberger and Coronel-Molina, 2004); In 2001, only 16% of the Peruvian population five years of age and older were native Quechua speakers (Chirinos, 2001). In the region of Ayacucho, it is

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¹ This is the reading and writing exercise found in Text 21, “*Llamkapakuy*” (‘migrant work’) of the Quechua book used for the fourth semester (see Soto, 1993).

² This comes from Unit 19, “*Pongu*” (Soto, 1993: 191). It is found in the phrase: “*Wiñaypaq chakra runakuna hataringaku*” (‘Country men will stand up forever’).

estimated that seventy percent are Quechua speakers (Chirinos, 2001: 41-42), and in Huamanga, 57.6% (Chirinos, 2001: 71). In Huamanga's main district, also called Ayacucho, 38% of the population has Quechua as a first language. Chirinos reports that all of the provincial capitals in the department of Ayacucho have the highest percentage of Quechua speakers out of all of the departments of Peru (Chirinos, 2001: 74).³

Ayacucho is known as a center of many bloody battles throughout Peruvian history, and it is important to contextualize Quechua and this study based on recent history. In 1980, the Shining Path, a Maoist-inspired guerrilla organization with its headquarters at the public university in Ayacucho, *Universidad San Cristóbal de Huamanga*, called to arms against the Peruvian State. With the Shining Path, the education system took a dramatic turn in Ayacucho, which affected mainly rural Quechua speakers, leaving Ayacucho in a war-torn state (Gorriti, 1999). Reports indicate that in Peru 69,280 people had died as a consequence of the Shining Path (Comisión de la verdad y reconciliación, 2003). The main activities of the Shining Path were put to an end in 1992 when its leader, Abimael Guzmán, was captured.

Migration from rural to urban areas in the Andes is one significant consequence of the decades of violence. In the province of Huamanga, 22,414 Quechua speakers are migrants from other provinces in the department/region (Chirinos, 2001: 74), and 52% of the population of the region of Ayacucho emigrated (INEI).

Hornberger and Coronel-Molina note that “the diverse mosaic of sociocultural contexts and experiences makes it difficult to generalize regarding a single, monolithic ‘Quechua situation’” (2004: 10). In comparison to other studies concerning indigenous language and cultural issues in the Andes, Ayacucho presents a unique “situation,” because of its history. Quechua speakers and especially Quechua-speaking children are at the margins of Peruvian society. In general, many Quechua speakers are discriminated against for speaking their language outside of their rural communities (Hornberger and Coronel-Molina, 2004: 25). I find in my study in Ayacucho that Quechua has been transformed from its traditional rural domains as described by Hornberger (1988) (the *ayllu* domain) to new domains of use in the city (when maintained) with a variety of subjects depending on parameters such as the mode, the addressee, and the function of the discourse.

1.1 The study

In this paper, I give background on the status and laws concerning Quechua in Peru and in Ayacucho, and the second part will include a discussion of part of my research in 2005 on revitalization efforts for Quechua language in culture in Ayacucho from governmental and non-governmental organizations. I present research questions and methodology that will give way to my observations on some of the governmental and non-governmental efforts for Quechua language and culture. The second part of my data includes an analysis of unexpected domains for Quechua use and their implications for

³ Chirinos notes that the department of Apurímac has the highest number of Quechua speakers in Peru, 76.6%. However, Abancay and Challhuanka, two districts that are also provincial capitals in Apurímac, have a percentage of mother-tongue Quechua speakers numbering less than 50%. In Challhuanka, there was a very high migration rate to Lima, and that in Abancay, low levels of Quechua are due to the fact that it is the departmental capital; a dissimilar linguistic situation to Ayacucho (Chirinos, 2001: 61).

Quechua status in the city looking at addressee, mode, and function. Along with my observations, I consider the impact of the Shining Path on the region.

2. Historical Background

Peru is known as the first country in Latin American country to officialize an indigenous language, and also, as the “vanguard” of bilingual education in South America (Hornberger, 2000:182; Zúñiga et al., 2003: 19, 24). In 1972, President Juan Velasco Alvarado (1968-1975) signed educational and linguistic reforms such as the creation of the Bilingual Education Unit in the Ministry of Education in 1973, and the officialization of Quechua in 1975 (Hornberger, 1988; von Gleich, 1989; Zúñiga et al., 2003: 19). This education law focused on bilingual education, with the emphasis on Spanish as a second language for vernacular-speaking populations (Hornberger, 1988; Zúñiga et al., 2003: 20), and brought about experimental programs that took place in the 1970s and 1980s in Puno (López, 1987), Cusco, and Ayacucho (Zúñiga, 1987b; von Gleich, 1989). In 1975, the preservation and maintenance of regional Quechua dialects was promoted through the creation of six dictionary and grammar sets in six common Quechua dialects under the direction of Alberto Escobar (Escobar, 1987; Hornberger, 1988: 29).

These early efforts to ensure the inclusion of Quechua were later addressed in the 1979 constitution. This time, Quechua, Aymara, and other indigenous languages of Peru would be official, but only in the regions where they are used (Zúñiga, 1987a; von Gleich, 1989). Then, in 1985, the Quechua and Aymara alphabets were officialized (Zúñiga, 1987a: 321).

Despite these progressive reforms in the 1970s, there has been disappointment in the achievement of these goals for Quechua speakers even today. Near the end of almost a decade of reforms, in 1981, the Ministry of Education’s statistics indicated that only 3.7% of the non-Spanish-speaking population received bilingual education (von Gleich, 1989: 324). There have been other reforms and attempts to education reform for vernacular language speakers in Peru, but due to violence, lack of funding and training, presidential administrations have not succeeded.

Turning toward more recent governmental attention towards languages in Peru, Alejandro Toledo (2001-2006), there has been more disappointment concerning linguistic and cultural education provisions for Quechua speakers. The current (as of 2005) *Dirección Nacional de Educación Bilingüe Intercultural*’s (DINEBI, ‘National Direction of Bilingual Intercultural Education’) mission statement available online indicates that it will “contribute to achieving quality and equality in education, by offering a pertinent cultural and linguistic education to the different people of Peru” (my translation) (DINEBI, 2005: 1).⁴ The two important documents that DINEBI has created for online viewing are the Language Law (*Ley de Lenguas*) and the Program of Languages and Cultures (*Lenguas y Culturas*) (2005: 3).

⁴ “contribuir al logro de la calidad y equidad educativa, ofreciendo una educación cultural y lingüísticamente pertinente, a los distintos pueblos del Perú...” (DINEBI, 2005: <http://www.minedu.gob.pe/dineibi/>).

3. Bilingual Intercultural Education in Ayacucho

Ayacucho has been the first site for experimental programs in bilingual education since the mid 1960s. In 1966-68 the Quinoa Experimental Program was carried out by the *Plan de Fomento Lingüístico*, (UNMSM). The program took off in 1977 in Ayacucho with the continued support of the UNMSM, and through its Research Center for Applied Linguistics (CILA) (Zúñiga, 1991: 258). However, due to political violence in the region from the Shining Path, the bilingual education program was terminated in the mid 1980s (Zúñiga, 1987b: 268). McClintock's (1998) book on the Shining Path mentions many of the effects of violence on the educational system in Ayacucho. In particular, the Shining Path's influence on bilingual programs is significant; teachers who did not want to join the Shining Path were killed.

4. Research questions

Taking into consideration the previous history of Quechua officialization and bilingual education in revitalization efforts in Peru and in Ayacucho, and the impact of the Shining Path in Ayacucho, I sought to determine: (1) What is the current status of Quechua within in the city of Ayacucho? (2) How do official language policies support Quechua language and culture revitalization in Ayacucho?

5. Methodology

In order to investigate these questions I divided my work into informal interviews with NGOs and governmental organizations officials, and I was a participant observer in the main plaza and other urban spheres. The contacts and interviews I established with NGOs led me to more contacts and interviews with other NGOs; my method was the snowball effect. I took detailed notes as a participant observer in urban public domains such as the plaza, restaurants, NGO offices and internet cafes. Many of the sites included non-traditional Quechua-speaking domains.

6. Findings 1: Agents promoting Quechua in Ayacucho

Now, I will discuss the governmental and non-governmental agents working on issues relating to Quechua revitalization in Huamanga. The case studies I reviewed provide a basis for my analysis of Quechua language and culture revitalization efforts and language domains.

6.1 Governmental agencies

In Huamanga, the Ministry of Education has two local branches: *La Dirección Regional de Educación de Ayacucho* (DREA, 'Regional Direction of Ayacucho Education'), and *La Unidad de Gestión de Educación Local* (UGEL, 'Unit of Local Education Management'). The DREA works with education laws and statistical information, while the UGEL's main function is to monitor the entire system in terms of

curriculum and training. The DREA and the UGEL have many officials that are working on issues of bilingual education due to the large Quechua-speaking population in the region.

Along with government endorsed institutions, *La Universidad Nacional de San Cristóbal de Huamanga* (UNSCH), is the main public university in Ayacucho. The language department offers language courses in Spanish and Quechua for university students, where it is obligatory for all professionals to learn Quechua.

6.2 Non-governmental organizations

In Ayacucho, there is an abundance of non-governmental organizations that work on improving health, sanitation, citizens' rights, political participation, and education. I went to these organizations in order to find out information on how and if they were working with issues of Quechua language and culture in Ayacucho. I visited: TAREA, Taller de Promoción Andina (TADEPA, 'Andean Promotion Workshop'), Servicios Educativos Rurales (SER, 'Rural Educational Services'), and the International School of Ministries- Peru (ISOM-Peru), but I will focus on TAREA. The above organizations have fully staffed offices in Huamanga and many, or the majority of the employees speak fluent Quechua.

TAREA, one of the best-organized, non-governmental education organizations in Peru, trains teachers and parents in Ayacucho, on issues of rejection related to Quechua culture and language use. TAREA's mission is to reduce discrimination that many students experience in classrooms by "promov[iendo] la identidad, los derechos humanos de la niñez y la adolescencia y el desarrollo de la educación ciudadana" ('promoting identity, children's and adolescents' human rights and the development of citizen education') (TAREA). One of TAREA's main areas of concern is changing the observed apathetic attitude that many teachers and parents have toward school and children. While TAREA does not sponsor any programs aimed at bilingual education for now in Ayacucho, they are most interested in making sure that students, regardless of their situation, are respected.⁵ In order to carry out these goals, TAREA conducts workshops, monthly meetings for teachers, and sometimes for parents (or guardians) and children as well.

TAREA also publishes different books, newsletters, and pamphlets for teachers and parents, although, only in Spanish for now. One of their pamphlets published in 2003 for parents in Ayacucho was: "*La familia: Hatun Sunqu*" ('Family,' in Spanish, 'big heart' in Quechua). TAREA considers this booklet as a response to the unique family situations that many people in Ayacucho face. In addition to written materials, TAREA hosts a live weekly radio program on Sundays in Huamanga called "*Compartiendo Saberes- Yachayninchikunamanta Rimarisun*" ('Sharing Knowledge') in both Spanish and Quechua.

7. Quechua language use

While other studies of Quechua language revitalization and language use focus on rural communities (see Hornberger, 1988; King, 2001; Zavala, 2002; García, 2005), my

⁵ TAREA currently runs projects regarding bilingual education only in Cuzco, Peru.

ethnographic research in Ayacucho gives examples of the spaces for Quechua and Spanish language preference in semi-urban and urban settings. In the Peruvian Andes, Quechua speakers have typically lived in rural spaces and commuted to and from the city for market interactions. However, as mentioned, migration during and after the period of violence of the Shining Path, has led to a high internal migration toward the city of Huamanga, further bringing Quechua into the urban setting. In order to discuss spaces for language preference, I look at different domains for Quechua in Ayacucho. I focus on the urban domain and distinguish between physical space, mode, and addressee.

In order to discuss spaces for language preference, I look at different domains for Quechua in Ayacucho. This section examines Quechua and Spanish language uses in urban domains in Huamanga. In the next section, I focus on the urban domain and distinguish between physical space, mode, and addressee.

Coulmas (2005) refers to domains as a theoretical concept: “an aggregate of locales of communication, public vs. private; role of relationships between participants—family members, official/client; and kinds of interaction— formal vs. informal (2005: 138). Fishman and colleagues specify domains as a sphere of activity representing a combination of specific times, settings and role relationships, each resulting in a specific choice of language or style (1976). These concepts help to explain the concept of domain in reference to language use. Starting with a differentiation of where the interaction takes place, I turn to Hornberger’s *ayllu* model for an in-depth explanation of the Andean situation.

Hornberger’s *ayllu* model provides an in-depth explanation of the Andean situation. Hornberger (1988, 1991) describes the *ayllu* as a “non-nucleated community that may be all or part of a traditional Quechua *allyu*,” composed of “dispersed homes within a certain geographical area...defined both by the sacred places within sight of and bounding the physical area and by genealogical and territorial relatedness among its members” (1991: 141). Within the community/family/home (*ayllu*), Quechua is always spoken (1991: 143). Spanish, on the other hand, is reserved for the city, and other areas where Quechua speakers migrate for work (1991: 141). These other areas constitute what she calls the non-*ayllu*. Hornberger notes the term *comunidad* domain for the theoretical divisions cross many times in everyday interactions (1991: 145).⁶ This last domain takes place when community members participate in meetings, celebrations, or recreational programs outside the traditional *ayllu* environment (1991: 148).

Inside the above language domains, Hornberger distinguishes role relationships in order to specify language preferences. For the *ayllu* domain there are member-to-member role relationships in the following *ayllu* settings in household and field, *faena* (community work project), fiesta, and in free encounters in the community (1991: 143). In contrast, the non-*ayllu* settings mostly include member-to-outsider role-relationships (1991: 143). In the *comunidad* domain, it can include member-to-outside role relationships, and settings not included in the traditional *ayllu*.

Hornberger’s *ayllu* model provides a useful starting point for my study. However, as I include urban language domain examples from Huamanga, I will expand this model to include additional domains and settings. The following descriptions and analysis come

⁶ Hornberger mentions that *ayllu*, non-*ayllu* and *comunidad* domains “are not talked about as such by Quechua speakers, nor to my [her] knowledge by other scholars of Quechua” (1991: 143).

from participant-observation sessions and casual and informal interactions with *ayacuchanos*.

8. Urban public domains

While the main city plaza in Huamanga (or city of Ayacucho) has undergone physical and social changes since the Shining Path era, near and in the plaza, it is not uncommon to hear people speaking Quechua to one another. Hornberger and Coronel-Molina note that although Quechua has returned to the Andean cities due to migration, the language may not flourish in this space due to the *linguistic shame* they feel when using Quechua outside of their homes or their immediate communities (2004: 25). Although informants reported to me their feeling of *linguistic shame* when speaking Quechua in the plaza, additionally, they expressed other ‘reasons,’ such as that Quechua would be out of style (*fuera de moda*) in that context. In spite of these negative attitudes, I observed many different urban uses of Quechua. With this in mind, I decided to observe and make note of the different situations in which Quechua was still maintained in the city center. I differentiate these contexts by where it takes place (physical space), who is the addressee, and the mode and function of the exchange.

8.1 Physical space

Huamanga has benefited in the past years from increased technological advances such as high-speed internet, cell phones, and cable television. In an internet café, just a block from the main plaza, I observed small children speaking to each other in Quechua, while playing games online. It is not certain where these children live in the city, but, what is important, is that Quechua was spoken in a public space, in a busy internet café in front of many other internet users that may have understood Quechua as well. These children were probably too young to know how to read in any language, but they were in the internet café to play games, and it was apparent that this was not their first time there. Although some might hypothesize that the more access to the internet that these Quechua-speaking children have in the city, the more they might desire to switch to Spanish, or eventually learn English. Instead, it appears that living in a multilingual environment is the norm for these children.

Inside the city limits, it is also interesting to examine the language dynamics inside the NGO offices. As I learned, the majority of their staff was highly proficient in Quechua, and fluent in Spanish. Despite this, I never observed them speaking in Quechua among themselves in any of the offices I visited. This could be due to politeness, because of my presence, or due to the fact that they were conducting professional activities, hence the use of Spanish. As Hornberger notes, “Spanish is perceived as functional for certain formal and official situations, Quechua is perceived as functional for informal, private and humorous situations...” (1988: 90).

In June and July 2005 in Ayacucho, the *Sindicato Único de Trabajadores en la Educación en el Perú* (SUTEP, ‘The Main Trade Union of Workers in Education in Peru’) initiated many protests that took place in the main plaza. At these protests, SUTEP members carried signs in Spanish and made all the proclamations in Spanish. The teachers’ main audience was the government officials, who they hoped would eventually make changes. At this public display in the most important public space of the city, Spanish was the language used because the recipient of the protest were the government

officials. In this last example, the addressee is also relevant in the choice of the language, as I further explain in the next section.

8.2 Addressee

In an encounter two blocks from the main plaza, I observed a mother talking to her children in Quechua in the street, about crossing the street. In the main plaza, I further overheard a middle-aged man talking on a public pay phone in Quechua. In both instances, Quechua speakers, whether of rural or urban origin, were engaged in semi-private conversations with family or friends in Quechua. These were clearly closed units of conversation, but taking place in the city. In these cases, the speakers know the addressee, know of the addressee's knowledge of Quechua, and therefore consider them part of their closed community, or *ayllu*. What is interesting is that no shame of speaking Quechua in public seems to be taking place in either of these two instances.

During a second public protest in the plaza and surrounding area that took place for two days, Quechua was this time used next to Spanish. It was a *campesino* ('farmer') demonstration, protesting Peru's possible signing of the *Tratado de Libre Comercio* (TLC, 'Free Trade Agreement') with the United States, which would lead to lower prices for farmers. A few of the hundreds of marchers carried signs that said NO TLC, and "la comunidad campesina rechaza..." ('the farming community rejects'). Again, in this event, the addressees were the government officials. While all of the marchers were screaming in Spanish, when they passed by me on the main plaza, some marchers switched to Quechua, stating that they wanted me to join their protest. I was not fully aware of what they had said, however, a twenty-some year old university student who was randomly sitting next to me, explained to me in Spanish what they had shouted. She fully understood the farmers speaking in Quechua, although she had only interacted with others around us in Spanish, perhaps reserving Quechua for her closed community. What this incident seems to point to is the fact that Quechua in the public urban domain can be used even with a non-Quechua speaker when he/she is perceived as a sympathizer of the *campesino* plight.

At other times, I was also randomly approached in Quechua in public places in the city by Quechua women dressed in traditional attire. One of these encounters occurred at a NGO office that also served as a law services-type office where rural people could report abuses/crimes from the Shining Path era. A woman in the lobby, whom I had never seen before, was dressed in traditional attire. She was conversing in Quechua with another woman at first, but as soon as that woman left, she approached me and conversed with me only in Quechua. As I understood, this woman was talking to me in Quechua about my bag and earrings, comparing hers to mine. In this case, what may have been important was that I was in a NGO/law office, a "safe space" geared at improving Quechua-speakers lives. Therefore, the woman may have assumed that I spoke some Quechua, since I was also interested in helping Quechua speakers.

Another example is from a busy Sunday in the main plaza. On this busy parade day, while sitting down and waiting on a bench, a woman that I had never seen or met before, approached me and started to speak to me in Quechua with some Spanish borrowings. She asked me where I was from, and some other basic details of my stay in Ayacucho. In the urban setting, these were my only private conversations in Quechua with Quechua speakers. Hornberger notes that "to show rapport [Quechua speakers] may fail to switch from Quechua to Spanish in the presence of a non-Quechua speaker when

they wish to exclude that person or underline particular group dynamics” (1988: 112). This may be expected in rural areas at the time of Hornberger’s study, but in my experience, there was a different addressee dynamic, perhaps, due to the fact that these interactions took place in the city.

8.3 Mode

During my time in Ayacucho, I also heard Quechua when observing what types of music were popular. There was an abundant amount of Andean music available, and especially music from Ayacucho, even rock and roll in Quechua from a popular group called, *Uchpa*. *Uchpa*’s music is a mix of traditional Andean music in Quechua with typical American rock cords. Therefore, it sounds similar to American rock music, but the songs are about Andean life, family, and love in Quechua. *Uchpa* was formed in 1985 in Ayacucho by Fredy Ortiz, a native of Andahuaylas. Ortiz mentions that *Uchpa* is engaged in the revalorization of Quechua. *Uchpa* wants to demonstrate that Quechua is a modern language that can live and become ‘richer’ (Editora Perú, 2002: 2). Reports also indicate that young people who are trying to learn Quechua in order to learn the lyrics to *Uchpa*’s songs. Hornberger and Coronel-Molina note that urban youth prefer rock and roll, techno-cumbia and non-indigenous music, they see it as a way constructing a preferred urban linguistic identity (2004: 18). However, from my observations, “western” only music preferences for Huamanga youth may not be as dramatic as Hornberger and Coronel-Molina suggest.

Hornberger’s *ayllu* model of Quechua-speaking domains provides a detailed model for observing language preferences and uses. The examples I give of Quechua language domains reveal an expansion of Hornberger’s model (which is based on interactions in rural regions). I propose an expanded model, which I call the *llaqta-ayllu* (‘city *ayllu*’). This new way of viewing the Andean *ayllu* includes a variety of language domains both in the city and semi-urban areas. This term refers to the multiple interactions that take place in the city. Quechua can be present in the city in non-traditional venues. Quechua speakers can be children, adolescents, *campesinos*, women, migrants, and even foreigners (like myself), for example. In this model, Quechua language and culture may have separate meanings or have taken on new ones. For example, Quechua is may no longer be solely associated with the domains for traditional festivals in rural communities, or with other traditional Quechua cultural practices. Quechua is appropriate for city festivals, internet cafes, telephones conversations, etc. For example, the children in the internet café may have spoken Quechua among themselves, but then switched to Spanish when they returned to school in the afternoon. Also, during the *campesino* strike, the woman sitting next to me on the bench, who translated what the *campesinos* said to me in Quechua, may switch to Quechua when she speaks to certain people in other places in the city. I propose that there is a constant switching of language spaces, between members and non-members of certain groups (for example, I was not a clear member of any established group).

9. Conclusion

Hornberger and King reflect that Quechua speakers “remain powerless and marginalised within their national contexts” (2001: 167). They are pessimistic concerning

the status of Quechua in Peru, and by suggesting that “processes at work in the slow, but study decline of Quechua” (2001: 168). They suggest that “there is no longer a ‘safe’ space, for instance, in the home, in the community, or among family, for Quechua to be used exclusively and therefore ensured transmission to younger generations” is difficult (2001: 168). My research in Ayacucho does not seem to indicate as dramatic of a shift away from Quechua as King and Hornberger suggest for the rural communities studied in Peru and Ecuador. It might be the case that internal migration in the department of Ayacucho has contributed to a special situation promoting bilingualism in Huamanga.

9.1 Further research and limitations

In Ayacucho, for me, it was a surprise to hear Quechua spoken in an internet cafe, or on a pay phone in the city center, and especially in a conversation with me. A further analysis of these spaces and other unexpected spaces in the city center or in *barrio marginales* would require determining who is speaking in these spaces (children, adults, elders, migrants, etc.), to whom, and what exactly are they talking about in Quechua. Are people talking about *ayllu* related topics? Are the Quechua speaker migrants in the city and in the semi-urban areas all bilingual? The answers to these questions can reveal more about the status of Quechua and the meaning of certain Quechua domains in the city. As I experienced, for some people, Quechua is valued in the city in many interactions, but in others, Quechua speakers feel that it can be discriminating. Obviously, some have chosen to speak Quechua regardless of where they are, while others have not. One must also accommodate a different view of a Quechua speaker, one who can also be bilingual in Spanish and live in the city. Due to my limited comprehension of Quechua at the time (summer 2005), I was not able to understand all of the content of the Quechua conversations I heard.

Ayacucho presents a special case in terms of Quechua language and culture issues. I have presented an optimistic view of how *runakuna hataringaku* (‘the people will stand up’) in Ayacucho. By this, I mean, how people in Ayacucho are rebuilding, especially Quechua speakers. Although it is hard to say what will happen, many of the issues relating to language and culture deal with attitudes, self-esteem, education, and economic opportunities. Consequently, all these topics intersect in complex ways, and require further analysis.

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