Linguistic attitudes towards Andean languages of students of the Faculty of Social Sciences of the National University of the Altiplano Puno, Peru

Actitudes lingüísticas hacia las lenguas andinas de los estudiantes de la Facultad de Ciencias Sociales de la Universidad Nacional del Altiplano Puno, Perú

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Abstract

The present investigation has as objective to determine the linguistic attitudes of the students of the Faculty of Social Sciences, in relation to the Andean languages Quechua and Aymara that are spoken in the southern region of Peru. It was approached from a qualitative research approach and a hermeneutic analysis was made in the treatment of the data; the data collection instruments were the interview guide and the questionnaire. The results show that the linguistic attitudes assumed by bilingual and Spanish-speaking students are favorable or positive cognitive and behavioral towards Andean languages, since they consider it a symbol of cultural identity. Finally, it is concluded that Andean languages are current in 83% of university students, and it is constituted as a fundamental instrument of social interaction.

Keywords: Linguistic attitudes, Andean languages, university students, validity and extinction of languages.

Introduction

In the current context, Peru is linguistically characterized by the presence of a plurality of languages: native and Spanish as the official language spoken by the majority groups that exercise the power elite. Peru is a multicultural country that is characterized by the confluence of Andean, Amazonian and urban sociocultural horizons.

In what is considered linguistic attitudes towards languages or varieties of languages and also attitudes towards the speakers themselves, as Umaña (1989) affirms, “the reactions of the common man towards linguistic varieties reveal the perceptions of the speakers” (p.121). Popular ideas about concepts such as “correct-incorrect”, “good-bad”, referring to language, have their roots in what Alvar (1986) calls the linguistic ideal, that is, the perception of the superiority of the variety standard. The standard’s high level of prestige is transferred to speakers of that variety, who are typically considered intelligent or ambitious by other members of the language community.
On the contrary, the use of non-standard dialects is often interpreted as a mark of low intelligence and low social prestige (Ng, 2007). Let's see then the example that “linguistic forms, varieties and styles can trigger beliefs about a speaker, his membership in the group, and can lead to assumptions about the attributes of the members” (Garrett, 2003).

According to Giles and Coupland (1991) “non-standard, adopting the stereotyped visions of the majority groups in society” (p.43), means that they can have a quite negative attitude towards their own speech, qualifying it as “incorrect” or “ugly” (Alvar, 1986). When this type of discrepancy occurs between one's own linguistic use and beliefs about correct use, one speaks of linguistic insecurity (Jara, 2006).

There are close links between language and power; very often the speakers of the standard linguistic variety constitute the most powerful groups in society (Carranza, 1982). The elites function as a model of imitation for other groups, also linguistically, and the positive connotations of power and prestige that the standard variety carries can make it a desirable or even necessary linguistic form in some contexts; for example, to move up the social ladder or to participate in certain types of activities or professions. Even if the use of a specific variety is not mandated by law, speakers of other varieties may feel pressured to use it because of (perceived or real) prejudices. According to Ng (2007) negative linguistic attitudes can also become “camouflage” for other types of social discrimination (p.108). Motivated by the desire to “disguise” prejudices, for example in the labor market, discrimination is rationalized through linguistic arguments such as this person cannot do this job well because he/she does not speak our language well. Sometimes discrimination of this type is based on myths about language that people actually believe, which means that it is not “calculated” discrimination (Ng, 2007). However, it is possible that this type of discrimination can be limited by increasing the level of knowledge of other languages.

Groups that consider it possible to increase their social status or that fear losing their current position tend to be more willing to use language as a social tool (Chambers & Trudgill, 1998). The evaluation of dialects or languages tends to be organized in two ways: according to status and according to solidarity (Umaña, 1989, p.125). It has been seen in research on linguistic attitudes that varieties of low prestige can inspire affective reactions and that speakers of these varieties are often evaluated favorably in terms of their honesty and sympathy. A non-standard linguistic variety can carry positive or negative symbolic values, both for groups that use it and for other groups in society (Ryan & Giles, 1982). It has also been found that a dialect with low prestige in the majority of society may enjoy high prestige in a specific social group, a phenomenon Labov calls “covert prestige” (Trudgill, 2000).

Gardner and Lambert (cited in Baker, 1995), these researchers distinguish between two main types of motivations or attitudes that can explain linguistic change: the integrative attitude and the instrumental attitude. The first type favors language change for interpersonal and affiliation reasons. In the case of integrative attitudes, these are economic, status or personal achievement motivations, for example in relation to work. However, clearly dividing between the two types is problematic; often the motivations for change are multiple and combined.

A positive attitude and strong identification with one's own language variety makes the person feel a high level of loyalty to that variety, i.e., makes it less likely that the speaker will drastically change the way he or she speaks. At the same time, it can make such a change more difficult if it is deemed necessary, for instrumental or integrative reasons. For speakers who, in Alvar’s (1986) words, “see their linguistic instrument as nothing more than the vehicle of their immediate communication” (p. 24), linguistic change is easier and does not involve problems related to personal identity or feelings of group betrayal. The speaker's linguistic attitude constitutes the background and value base that provides the reason and motivation for linguistic changes (Alvar, 1986).

Linguistic attitudes
For Moreno (2009) the linguistic attitude is a manifestation of the social attitude of individuals, distinguished by focusing and referring specifically to both the language and the use that is made of it in society, and when speaking of “languages” we include any kind of linguistic variety: attitude towards different styles, different sociolects, different dialects or different natural language. The attitude towards language and its use becomes especially attractive when the fact that languages not only carry certain linguistic forms and attributes is appreciated in its fair magnitude, but that they are also capable of transmitting meanings or social connotations. The cultural norms and marks of a group are transmitted or emphasized through language.

It can be said that linguistic attitudes have to do with the languages themselves and with the identity of the groups that use them. Consequently, it is logical to think that, since there is a relationship between language and identity, this must be manifested in the attitudes of individuals towards those languages and their users. We must not lose sight of the fact that the relationship between language and identity, especially when it comes to ethnic identity, obliges us to treat them as inherent realities, given that the existence of an ethnic entity that is very different from others does not always imply the use of a language very different from others (Guibernau & Rex, 1997).

Linguistic attitudes are a reflection of psychosocial attitudes; in fact, they are psychosocial attitudes. On the other hand, the linguistic attitude is manifested both towards the varieties and linguistic uses of one’s own as well as towards those of others; likewise, when forming this attitude, the level of standardization of the language (codification and acceptance) and its vitality are usually decisive factors (Moreno, 1998).

**Attitudes towards language**

Before defining attitudes, it is interesting to review two aspects. In the first place, that there is a mentalist approach that sees the attitude as a mental disposition, as an internal state, and a behaviorist approach that sees the attitude simply as a response or reaction to a stimulus (Fasold 1996) and although the tendency is the mentalist, the researcher chooses to consider both approaches, since his study has involved methodologies related to them. In the behaviorist perspective, direct observation has been used (Appel & Muysken 1996) and in the mentalist perspective, although it implies more complex methodologies, the questionnaire and the interview have been used, where the information about the attitudes depends on what the participants say. own informants. The latter also points out the weak point of the mentalist approach, hence the complementarity with direct observation of observable behaviors is rescued. Secondly, it refers to the components, related to the affective (assessments and feelings), cognitive or cognitive (knowledge, knowledge and beliefs) and conative (action, conduct) attitude in general (Fasold 1996). The emphasis of these components in the study of attitude will depend on the particular sociolinguistic context, the purpose of the participants and the participants themselves (Moreno 1998). Thirdly, the study of linguistic attitudes generally aims at the study of attitudes towards the language itself; however, this can be extended to “attitudes towards the speakers of a particular language or dialects” (Fasold, 1996, p. 231).

According to the last aspect, it can be defined then, taking some contributions, that attitudes towards the language are all the social behaviors related to the language, with the use that is made of it and with the speakers of the linguistic varieties (Apaza 2000).

There is, as Appel and Muysken (1996) say, the underlying idea in society “that social (or ethnic) groups adopt certain attitudes towards other groups according to their different social positions” (p. 30). Often these relationships are reflected in the attitudes of speakers towards languages and their users.

In a case of imposition of a language, it entails the adoption of an attitude towards the original language “that can be expressed in terms of resistance or adoption of another language” (Apaza, 2000, p. 124), where it is
possible that acculturation of the speaker with the displacement of their own language “are provoked and even forced as a consequence of social inequality, racial discrimination, the relegation of fundamental rights among other causes” (Apaza, 2000, p. 124).

Apaza (2000), mentioning Lastra, states that “there are two sociocultural factors that determine attitudes towards the language: standardization and vitality” (p.121). Standardization would define behaviors because it has codified rules of use and accepted by the group, however, it is an aspect that is referred to a written language. Therefore, the second factor would offer a more pertinent perspective for the case under study. Linguistic vitality defined “by the number of speakers and the use of the language in multiple functions” (Apaza, 2000, p. 121). The wider and more important the range of functions for the speakers of a language, the higher its vitality. This scope can be complemented with the definition given by Giles (1991), taken from Appel and Muysken (1996), since he points out that linguistic vitality “it’s what makes it susceptible to behave as a differentiated and active collective entity in intergroup situations” (p. 52) to a group. In such a way that the survival of a linguistic minority depends to a certain extent on whether its linguistic vitality is scarce or extensive. Linguistic vitality depends on status factors, democratic weight and institutional support.

**Linguistic attitudes: between assimilation and loyalty**

For Van Dijk (1998), attitudes reside in the consciousness of individuals, are part of their cognitive world, and consist of a set of general evaluative beliefs, or opinions, that are socially shared by a social group. They are, therefore, specific, organized sets of socially shared beliefs.

As Weinreich (cited in Ninyoles, 1972) points out, linguistic loyalty is understood as a type of linguistic attitude that implies adherence to a language for the purposes of its maintenance, then the relevant attitudes in the processes of linguistic substitution and normalization will refer to Linguistic loyalty to the receding language.

The language has a double social function Ninyoles (1972): a communicative function that consists of transmitting messages and an integrative function, which encourages or requires belonging to a group. They are two functions that are not mutually exclusive but maintain asymmetric relationships. The communicative function does not necessarily presuppose the integrative one (I can know Spanish without identifying myself as Spanish), however, if the language has an integrative function, it also requires the communicative one (it is difficult for me to identify myself as Spanish if I do not know and use Spanish).

At the same time, whatever the function, we can consider language in an instrumental dimension or in an evaluative dimension. The instrumental dimension, whether communicative or integrative, is always carried out “in” the language. The evaluative dimension is realized when we speak “about” the language, whether it is “in” the language or not. A distinction that according to Ninyoles (1972) we owe to Fishmann (1989).

In the communicative instrumental dimension, the objective is to understand each other, while in the integrative instrumental the language is used with the intention of identification. The integrative instrumental dimension implicitly includes the evaluative dimension: the language becomes a signifier of things that are not said (valuation of the collective identity linked to the language). If the integrative instrumental dimension occurs, it is very likely that the integrative value dimension (identity assessment) also occurs, but not necessarily the other way around, as occurs in Ireland with Gaelic (Tejerina, 1992). The evaluative dimension can also refer to the communicative function, such as when assessing the difficulty of speaking Valencian or when it is said that Valencian is not useful for finding work and, therefore, it is not necessary.

**Materials and methods**

The research design corresponds to the qualitative paradigm, the hermeneutic method
was used for the analysis and interpretation of data. The application of the qualitative methodology works with real data from the subjects themselves to interpret reality (Hernández et al., 2006), and oriented to the process, valid: “real”, “rich”, “deep” data; It uses the interpretative-hermeneutic analysis (Reichard & Cook, 1986) and the quantitative one understood as that which is based mainly on numerical data (Santana and Gutierrez 2001) and is result-oriented, reliable: “solid” and repeatable data; uses statistical analysis (Reichard & Cook, 1986).

In the investigation, the indirect and direct method has been chosen, the information collection instruments: direct observation, the questionnaire or survey and the Likert attitudinal scale (Sierra Bravo, 1994). The universe of study corresponds to the students of the Faculty of Social Sciences who are studying in the tenth semester of the professional schools: Sociology, Anthropology, Tourism and Social Communication Sciences. The study population constitutes the students of the tenth semester and who attend their academic work on a daily basis made up of 78 students and of which 60 students as a study sample.

Results and Discussion

Linguistic attitudes of bilingual and Spanish-speaking university students towards Andean languages

This part deals with the linguistic attitudes in relation to Andean languages in the context of the Faculty of Social Sciences of the 60 bilingual and Spanish-speaking students to react positively or negatively towards the Andean languages Quechua and Aymara from the cognitive component and behavioral (Fasold, 1996; Huguet, 2004). The cognitive component refers to ideas and beliefs and the component corresponds to the predisposition to act in a certain way towards the object of the attitude.

In the first place, it deals with the analysis and interpretation of the relevant items of the attitude from the perspective of the cognitive component, it is about the cognitive social attitude with respect to the Andean languages. When the statement is made: “the Andean language Quechua and Aymara are already extinct languages for this reason it is no longer used at the University” (they are found on the Likert attitudinal scale of 2.0 score) and the other statement ideas and beliefs, “the Andean languages Quechua and Aymara cannot be written because they lack an alphabet” (responses on the Likert attitudinal scale are in the 2.3 range). Both statements point us in disagreement, the Andean languages Quechua and Aymara are useful in society, they are current and strengthened by the speakers of the native peoples.

In addition, these languages are a very useful element like any of the languages that fulfill the communicative function in the social sphere, therefore, the Andean languages are used as an official language within the Andean linguistic families and the communal structure or places where the validity of these languages is still marked. If there is a society, there must be a culture (Cohen, 1985). Hence, culture, society and language are presupposed and without any of them reaching an independent life, (Escobar, 1975). Language is a social and cultural phenomenon acquired individually in the process of socialization and differs from conditions of a superstructural nature.
Another more controversial point on the validity and disappearance of Andean languages is the statement: “at present, the Quechua and Aymara languages are useful, and they will be valid for many years to come and will not disappear, because they are an important means of communication for people of Andean origin” (as a result, we have a score of 4.1). 1 score), to the statement: “the person who does not know how to speak, read and write in Quechua or Aymara must necessarily learn to communicate with speakers of Andean languages” (the answers have been located in the Likert attitudinal scale at 4.2 score) and the statement exposed to the students: “knowing how to speak, read and write in Quechua or Aymara nowadays is very important, to communicate and sometimes to get a job in institutions” (of 4.2 Likert attitudinal scale). These statements are placed on the Likert attitudinal scale of agreement.

Table 1. Linguistic attitudes of students in relation to Andean languages

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>COGNITIVE COMPONENT</th>
<th>RATE</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>The Andean languages Quechua and Aymara are already extinct languages, for this reason they are no longer used in the university.</td>
<td>2.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The Andean languages Quechua and Aymara cannot be written because they lack an alphabet.</td>
<td>2.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Who does not know how to speak any of the Andean languages (Quechua or Aymara) does not get a job.</td>
<td>2.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Young people today highly value the Quechua and Aymara language, because it unites us with the peoples of the region and it is our Andean culture.</td>
<td>3.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>At present, the Quechua and Aymara language is useful, it will also be valid for many more years and will not disappear, because it is an important means of communication for people of Andean origin.</td>
<td>4.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The person who does not know how to speak, read and write in Quechua or Aymara must necessarily learn to communicate with the speakers of Andean languages.</td>
<td>4.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Knowing how to speak, read and write in Quechua or Aymara is currently very important, to communicate and sometimes to get a job in the institutions.</td>
<td>4.2</td>
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<table>
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<tr>
<th>BEHAVIORAL COMPONENT</th>
<th>RATE</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>The government must promulgate a Law that prohibits speaking the Quechua and Aymara language, because it is useless and must disappear.</td>
<td>1.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Students who speak Quechua and Aymara with their classmates at the university must be called attention so that they do not speak these languages.</td>
<td>1.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>At the university, speaking in Quechua and Aymara is feeling marginalized and criticized</td>
<td>2.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The Quechua and Aymara languages should be used in daily communication between the teacher and the student at the university.</td>
<td>3.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>People of Andean origin are proud to know how to speak Quechua and Aymara.</td>
<td>4.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The study of the Andean languages Quechua and Aymara should be included in the study curriculum in the professional schools of UNA-Puno.</td>
<td>4.6</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: Questionnaire applied to university students
The vernacular languages in the spaces where the potentiality is interwoven in the rural areas: families, communal, assemblies, farms and fairs, as it has also been learned as a language of acquisition for people who do not know how to speak Andean languages, therefore it is useful in the life of society, these languages as a means of basic and functional communication. Also, Spanish speakers who do not have knowledge of the vernacular languages must necessarily know how to speak, read and write in Quechua or Aymara as a cultural and linguistic practice in any space of the society of the Andean ecoregion. According to Ng (2007), negative linguistic attitudes can also become “camouflage” for other types of social discrimination. Motivated by the desire to “disguise” prejudices, for example, in the labor market, discrimination is rationalized through linguistic arguments such as “this person cannot do this job well because he/she does not speak our language well”. Sometimes discrimination of this kind is based on myths about language (folk linguistics) that people actually believe in, which means that it is not “calculated” discrimination (Ng, 2007, p. 108).

In relation to vernacular languages, the analysis is made from the perspective of the behavioral component. Faced with the following statement: “the government should enact a law that prohibits speaking the Quechua and Aymara languages, because it is useless and should disappear” (at 1.2 on the Likert attitudinal scale) and hypothetical statement as follows: “students who speak Andean language with their peers within the University, should be called to attention so that they do not speak these languages” (1.3 on the Likert attitudinal scale) both statements gives us to know that bilingual and Spanish-speaking students are in strong disagreement. Therefore, affectivity towards language is produced by idiomatic use, the loss of the linguistic use of the ancestral language influences negative attitudes, thus, in defense of the Andean culture. For Moreno (2009), linguistic attitude is a manifestation of the social attitude of individuals, distinguished by focusing on and referring specifically both to language and to the use made of it in society, and when speaking of “languages” we include any type of linguistic variety: attitude towards different styles, different sociolects, different dialects or different natural language.

The attitude towards language and its use becomes especially attractive when one appreciates the fact that languages are not only bearers of certain linguistic forms and attributes, but are also capable of conveying social meanings or connotations, as well as sentimental values. The cultural norms and marks of a group are transmitted or emphasized through language.

Linguistic attitudes are a reflection of psychosocial attitudes; in fact, they are psychosocial attitudes. On the other hand, the linguistic attitude is manifested both towards one’s own language varieties and uses and towards those of others; likewise, when forming this attitude, the level of standardization of the language (codification and acceptance) and its vitality are usually decisive factors.

Within the behavioral component, a hypothetical statement has been specified as follows: “in the university to speak in Quechua and Aymara is to feel marginalized and criticized” (2.5 score in disagreement), this statement of the Likert attitudinal scale expresses the linguistic use of Quechua and Aymara by their bilingual peers within the university faculty with a tendency to the full utility and condition of the use of Andean languages in the university, understanding the language as a means of communication and functional of the society.

The results of the bilingual and Spanish-speaking students show a favorable behavioral attitude towards the Quechua and Aymara languages, belonging to an ethnic historical social group determined to the Altiplano region. Thus, Thurtone (cited in Cutipa, 1989) states that attitude is “the sum total of a man’s inclinations and feelings, his prejudices, preconceived notions, ideas, fears, threats and convictions about a topic” (p. 123).
In response to the statement: “the Quechua and Aymara languages should be used in daily communication between the teacher and the student at the University”. The responses have converged on the Likert 3.9 attitudinal scale where it is slightly tending from neither agree nor disagree. In this case, the Quechua and Aymara language as a means of shared communication in the university and giving the sustainability of strengthening the validity of Andean languages. The Quechua or Aymara speaker can opt for the linguistic use between teacher and student at the university.

To know the opinion of the validity of the Andean languages, the question was asked to 29 Quechua and Aymara bilingual students from the Faculty of Social Sciences, from the professional schools of Sociology, Anthropology, Social Communication Sciences and Tourism that are part of the of the study sample of a total of 60 students, and the following question was formulated with two alternative answers: Do you think that the Andean languages Quechua and Aymara are still valid? 83% of the bilingual students thought that the native languages “yes, they are valid”. Likewise, the bilingual students said that Quechua and Aymara “are still valid”, they were asked to give the rationale for this answer alternative, they were asked the following question: Why? The bilingual speakers maintain that the validity of vernacular languages is due to the internal solidity of the social and cultural organization of the Andean population and the continuity of the cultural practice of rites and ceremonies related to agriculture, soil fertility, the offering to the land or Pachamama, to the house or dwelling and to the practice of traditional dances.

The logic of the thought of the Andean man is in relation to the conception of the world, to nature and to the things that are part of the daily life of people. For this reason, as long as the Quechua or Aymara community exists and is in force or strengthened, the Andean languages will also be in force and will continue to be spoken. We can see that “the migration process (from the countryside to the city) influences the value of ancestral languages. The bilingual Quechua-speaking migrant who lives in Juliaca values Quechua positively when it comes to affective attitudes and not in his opinion. In the migrant's place of origin (the countryside) the trend is similar, but Quechua is the preferred language, while Spanish is preferred in the city” (Cutipa, 1989, p.182).
Process of extinction of Andean languages

In order to know the opinions of bilingual Quechua, Aymara or Spanish-speaking students regarding the process of extinction of Andean languages, the following question was asked with two alternative answers: What would be your opinion if you heard a person say that the Quechua and Aymara languages are in the process of extinction or disappearance? Most of the bilinguals gave opinions to the alternative "no, you are not right", which corresponds to 59% of the total of 29 students who speak Quechua and Aymara, stating that "the Andean languages are not in the process of extinction" and the negative opinion stating "yes he is right" 31% “the Andean language is in the process of disappearing”.

Languages cannot be superior or inferior in terms of their communicative function as a vital means of communication, nor is there a superior or inferior culture, however, they can have a social status rank, according to their official use in public and private administration, political and economic power. Language itself is independent of the existence of social classes and the state; therefore, “language is not the work of any one class, but of the whole society, of all classes” (Stalin, 1951, p. 3). Language is directly linked to the different forms of social production carried out by man to satisfy his vital needs, from the production and reproduction of goods and existence to social, political and cultural manifestations. In these conditions, language reflects, defines and systematizes the changes occurred in the immediate production, language depends on the changes of the economic base of a given society.

This answer is not right of the bilingual students, in relation to the topic of the process of extinction and disappearance of the Andean languages, demonstrating a favorable expression, which implies, on the one hand, the validity of the Quechua and Aymara languages strengthened by their speakers, and on the other hand, the full identification of the bilinguals with their Quechua or Aymara language and cultural identity. The minority gave the opposite answer in the sense that this language is in the process of extinction and disappearing. Language is a social phenomenon that “it is born and develops with the birth and development of society; it dies together with society”. In this sense “there is no language outside of society” (Stalin 1951, p. 19).

So, in the table previously presented, the
“Quechua and Aymara language” is not in the process of extinction or disappearance, but the vital importance of the Andean languages in our region of the highlands of Puno. It can be seen that the opinions given by the speakers are made excluding the multiple sociolinguistic inter-influences between language and society, since “language is a social phenomenon, its fate depends on the decisions taken by political institutions, users and members of a society” (Rotaetxe, 1990).

Conclusions

The linguistic attitudes of bilingual and Spanish-speaking students are favorable, since they feel identified with Andean culture and value native languages. These languages have a useful value, they are a symbol of cultural identity, the language unites people and is the bearer of knowledge and wisdom of the people, and it will not disappear, nor is it in the process of extinction. Likewise, people should learn to read, write and speak as part of the knowledge of human knowledge, it is an element of social interaction or means of communication in Quechua and Aymara societies.

Regarding the validity of Andean languages, the majority of bilingual student speakers state that the native languages are still valid, which represents 83%, due to the number of Quechua or Aymara speakers in the Altiplano region. On the other hand, Andean languages are in force and strengthened in the rural communities, as a symbol of cultural identity, used as a vehicle of communication and as long as Andean speakers predominate, it will continue to be valid. The logic of Andean man’s thinking is related to the conception of the world, nature and things, which are part of the daily life of the native peoples.

Regarding the process of extinction of the Andean languages, the bilingual students were mostly of the opinion, 59%, that the native languages are not in the process of disappearing, because the language is a main component of the cultural identity that predominates in the rural area and all the families use it as their main language. History reminds us that these languages were used by the native peoples and that some of them were used as a secret language by the pre-Inca and Inca societies.

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