



Quichua vs. Español. Un análisis del bilingüismo y la diglosia en Salasaca

Quichua vs. Spanish. An analysis of bilingualism and diglossia in Salasaca

Quichua vs. Inglês. Uma análise do bilinguismo e da diglossia em Salasaca

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Resumen

La lengua que se habla en los diferentes pueblos en el mundo, siempre será motivo de estudio, más aún si esos pueblos han mantenido su lengua milenaria, pese a la influencia de otras, aparentemente más importantes, en cuanto a su uso y al número de sus hablantes. Esta contribución tiene el objetivo fundamental de analizar el uso y la coexistencia del quichua como lengua materna y el castellano como segunda lengua en la comunidad indígena de Salasaca. En segundo lugar, definiremos si estamos frente a una comunidad diglósica, bilingüe o ciertamente es una situación de genocidio lingüístico. Tras un estudio de los principales aspectos teóricos de los términos más representativos de este tema, como son: el quichua y el castellano, en sus distintos ámbitos cotidianos en esta comunidad, su interacción, y el posicionamiento del quichua como lengua ancestral en la constitución ecuatoriana; así como del bilingüismo y la diglosia, se concluyó que la comunidad Salasaca no se la puede ver como un caso de glotofagia. Esta más bien es una comunidad diglósica, socialmente hablando. Finalmente, se estableció que existe una revaloración cultural de los pueblos indígenas en el Ecuador, específicamente del Salasaca, tanto en el ámbito público como en el privado.

Palabras Claves: Bilingüismo; Diglosia; Salasaca; Glotofagia.

Abstract

The language spoken in different surroundings in the world will be always a matter of study, especially if those places keep their millennial tongue resisting to other languages influence apparently more important, considering their usage and number of speakers. This contribution has the fundamental objective of analyzing the usage and the coexistence of the Quichua as a mother tongue and Spanish as a second language in the indigenous community of Salasaca. Secondly, it will be defined if this is a diglossia or bilingual case or certainly it is a linguistic genocide situation based on a study of the main theoretical aspects of the most representative terms of this topic such as: The Quichua and the Spanish language in different daily situations in this community, its interaction and the positioning of the Quichua as an ancestral language in the Ecuadorian constitution. Analyzing the bilingualism and the diglossia it was concluded that the Salasaca case it is not a glottophagy one. This is considered a diglossia community socially talking. Finally, it was established that there is a cultural revaluation of the indigenous communities in Ecuador, specifically of the Salasaca person considering the public and private field.

Keywords: Bilingualism; Diglossia; Salasaca; Glottophagy.

Resumo

A língua falada pelos diversos povos do mundo será sempre motivo de estudo, ainda mais se esses povos tiverem mantido a sua língua ancestral, apesar da influência de outras, aparentemente mais importantes, pelo seu uso e pelo número de línguas .seus alto-falantes. Esta contribuição tem como objetivo fundamental analisar o uso e a coexistência do quíchua como língua materna e do espanhol como segunda língua na comunidade indígena de Salasaca. Em segundo lugar, definiremos se estamos perante uma comunidade diglósica, bilingue ou se se trata certamente de uma situação de genocídio linguístico. Após um estudo dos principais aspectos teóricos dos termos mais representativos deste tema, tais como: quíchua e espanhol, em seus diferentes contextos cotidianos nesta comunidade, sua interação e a posição do quíchua como língua ancestral na constituição equatoriana. ; assim como o bilinguismo e a diglossia, concluiu-se que a comunidade de Salasaca não pode ser vista como um caso de gula. Esta é uma comunidade bastante diglósica, socialmente falando. Finalmente, foi estabelecido que há uma revalorização cultural dos povos indígenas no Equador, especificamente os Salasaca, tanto na esfera pública quanto na privada.

Palavras-chave: Bilinguismo; diglossia; Salasaca; Glotofagia.

Introducción

To express and communicate what we think, feel or desire, we always use the language. This is also the most common mean to transmit the culture and in this way it doesn't extinguish through time and at the same time to keep the cultural baggage from one generation to another.

The main objective of this work is to analyze the use of Quichua as the mother tongue and the use of Spanish as the second language in the indigenous community of Salasaca. Besides, it focuses on getting to know if the community of Salasaca is diglossic or bilingual.

The Salasacas is an indigenous community which lives in the Highlands in the center of the Republic of Ecuador in the province of Tungurahua, specifically, in the city of Pelileo. This millennial town has Quichua as its mother tongue until now. However, it is necessary to analyze the linguistic situation that this town goes through because it is located among others that speak

Spanish. They have this language as the official one because of the conquest, heritage and due to the Constitution.

To understand this issue better, a theoretical review will be done about the Quichua and Spanish, their use in the daily activities of the Salasacas, the interaction of these two languages, the positioning of Quichua in the Ecuadorian Constitution; as well as some important aspects about the bilingualism and the diglossia, of course they all will be focused on the community of Salasaca.

At the end of this research, some conclusions will be established. They will be useful for future investigations.

Development

In this section some essential theoretical points will be presented which will permit to have a wide perspective about the topic. Based on this, some conclusions can be established which will assist to accomplish the set out goals and in this way it will be a contribution in the field of science.

Quichua

According to the last Constitution of Ecuador issued in 2008, in the Title I, Main Fundamentals, in the Art. 1, says verbatim: “El quichua, el shuar y los demás idiomas ancestrales son de uso oficial para los pueblos indígenas, en los territorios que fija la ley¹” (Constitución del Ecuador, 2008). As it can be seen, this language is not only part of the culture and the history of Ecuador, but also it is also presented in the supreme law of this country.

The Quichua language of Ecuador belongs to the big linguistic family Quechua which can be found in a lot of Latin American countries such as: Colombia, Perú, Argentina and Chile (Garcés, 2020a). This language in the Ecuadorian communities is a mean of communication and interaction among those groups. It is also identified as a symbol of identity and representativeness in view of the rest of the world (Haboud, 1998, pág. 20). Wrongly, it is believed that Quichua is only spoken in the Highland. However, it is used in the four natural regions of Ecuador (Garcés, 2020a).

Quichua was spoken by the majority of the indigenous communities. Also, people who came to conquer Ecuadorian territory had to learn it to be able to communicate with them. Besides, it was

¹ “Quichua, Shuar and the other ancestral languages are for official use for the indigenous communities, in the territories set out in the law.” (Constitución del Ecuador, 2008) – Translated by the authors.

necessary to acquire it to carry out business and acculturation activities, but above all, to evangelize the indigenous people (Haboud, 1998, pág. 35) (Arnoux E. , 2010).

Spanish

According to the Ecuadorian Constitution, Spanish is the official language of the Ecuadorian territory (Constitución del Ecuador, 2008), but other languages are recognized and respected. This is the case of Quichua as the official language of the indigenous communities. However, Spanish will always have the first place because this is the language spoken in the capital city and other important cities in the country.

Castellano is another way to call Spanish which is spoken in the Andian Zone as described by Lope Blanch cited by Haboud (1998); who also says that this language was the one that the soldiers and the marines spoke when they came to conquer America.

It is also important to mention that the Castellano or Spanish which is nowadays spoken not only in Ecuador, but also in Spain and in all the Latinamerican countries are ruled by the Spanish Royal Academy² (RAE) and the Association of the Spanish Language Academies³ (ASALE) (Del Valle, 2014). This makes everything clear that there is still and there will be under the sway , in terms of the language, of those who conquered us.

Quichua and Spanish in contact

Quichua has survived since the Inca period, as well as the Colonial period until now. It has been spoken since the second half of the XV century (Ortiz, 2001). This language has suffered the common changes of an evolution, but undeniably this is the same language the own Incas introduced, it means the language from the Cuzco. Before that, there was not a common language, each aborigine people spoke their own language and Quichua was for decades a second language. Only some of those dialects survived. However, the others were part of the glottophagy process, which is the exclusion of the language.

When Ecuador turned into an independent Republic, the language policies did not change much regarding to the status that Quichua had, the Spanish conquerers' attitude maintained unchangeable. It means that there was a pejorative attitude toward the language that others spoke, particularly

² RAE –Real Academia Española

³ ASALE – Asociación de Academias de la Lengua Española

racism and colonialism has adverse effects on Quichua and the indigenous communities which spoke it. Spanish was the dominant language and Quichua was the dominated language (Carvet, 2005).

The situation explained above, changed in some way with the Liberal Revolution in 1895 led by General Eloy Alfaro, who permitted some social and religious changes. In terms of the linguistic aspects, Spanish continued to be the official language. However, it is important to mention that Quichua never disappear, in spite of the imposition of the land-owning men.

Given these facts, Bartolo (citado en Gramsci, 2013, pág. 16) says that when two languages are in contact:

“surge un bosque lingüístico relativamente estable en el que es posible desgozar una variedad dominante y variedades dominadas...Ninguna lengua, en este sentido, sustituye completamente a otra. Ninguna lengua desaparece, a su vez, sin dejar restos.”⁴

Quichua has lived together with Spanish for centuries. Although there are a few communities which speak Quichua in Ecuador, it has never succumbed to the domination of Spanish. It seems to be that it will never disappear neither. The contact between these two languages is always going to come into conflict. It means that the minority languages which has been historically dominated will always be fighting for its inalienable rights (Del Valle, 2014). However, “the coexistence between languages is only possible thanks to the clear differentiation of the appropriate contexts in which each language could be used” .”(Marilyn Martin-Jones (1989), citado en Del Valle, 2014, pág: 91). Therefore, the Quichua speakers in Ecuador lived asimilar situations to what happened to the Mexican indigenous communities “ the obligatory use of Spanish in public places did not have a significant impact. It was the emergence of a capitalist economy, the development of the mining and the textile industry, and the compulsory military service which led to the mass migration of the indigenous communities and in consequence ”(Marilyn Martin-Jones (1989), citado en Del Valle, 2014, pág: 91).

It should be noted that the things that the government in power has done the last decades has permitted a healthy coexistence between the two languages in contact. Thus, in Latinamerica, it is

⁴ “a relatively stable linguistic forest emerges in which it is possible to break down a dominant variety and dominated varieties...No language, in this sense, completely replaces another. No language disappears, in turn, without leaving remains”. Translated by the authors.

promoted the same as it is mentioned in the European Charter for Regional and Minority Languages:

“Conscientes del hecho de que la protección y promoción de las lenguas regionales o minoritarias de los diferentes países y regiones de Europa representan una contribución importante a la construcción de una Europa fundada en los principios de democracia y diversidad cultural, en el marco de la soberanía nacional y de la integridad territorial;...”⁵ (Hamel, 1999)

Quichua in the Constitution

The Republic of Ecuador took several decades to recognize its official language. It was also slow to recognize the importance that Quichua has in the country. Facing this situation it is necessary to manifest that: “the language represents the highest degree of identity and constitutes a path to build ethnicity from the country naturalize in this way the belonging to a nation” (Pérez & Rogieri, 2013, pág. 106). In Ecuador something similar happened to what happened in Mexico:

“[...] la edición de libros de textos únicos, gratuitos y obligatorios para la enseñanza primaria, que alcanzaron una distribución masiva, significó en primer lugar un control ideológico sobre los contenidos y métodos de enseñanza, pero también sobre las normas del español”⁶ (Hamel, 1999).

These two countries, Ecuador and Mexico, shared some characteristics. One of them was that they did not set, according to their constitutions, that Spanish was their official language. However, there were some secondary laws that pressed the citizens to use this language. Certain guidelines set the use of Spanish in the means of communication, in the official documents from the governments; over all the ones related to education. It means, there was neither clear rules related to the linguistic policies nor a plan about formalizing Spanish as the official language, and even worse giving the right status to the minority languages just as in the case of Quichua in Ecuador.

⁵ Aware of the fact that the protection and promotion of the regional or minority languages of the different countries and regions of Europe represent an important contribution to the construction of a Europe founded on the principles of democracy and cultural diversity, within the framework of sovereignty national and territorial integrity;...” (Hamel, 1999)- Translated by the authors

⁶ The publication of unique, free and compulsory textbooks for primary education, which reached a massive distribution, meant, in the first place, an ideological control over the contents and teaching methods, but also over the standards of Spanish” (Hamel, 1999). – Translated by the authors

Thus, from the Constitutions of 1830 until the one in 1845, nothing was mentioned about the language that was the official one in Ecuador, but it was understood that Spanish had primacy over the others because it was the language that the governments spoke. It was also the one they used to write the rules. Something similar happened to other countries in Latin America such as Argentina where “the circle of leaders excluded the indigenous communities” (Bein, 2010, pág. 309).

It was from the Ecuadorian Constitution of 1929, in the Title I, Art. 6 said: “El Estado Ecuatoriano reconoce el español como idioma nacional”⁷ (Constitución del Ecuador, 1929). It can be seen that any other language is mentioned in this legal document.

In the Constitution of 1938, in the Title I, Art. 6 it was said: “El Estado Ecuatoriano reconoce el castellano como idioma nacional, pero respeta el idioma propio de los indios”.⁸

In the Constitution 1945, Title I, Art 5 mentioned: “El Castellano es el idioma oficial de la República. Se reconoce al quechua y demás lenguas aborígenes como elementos de la cultura nacional”.⁹

In the Constitution of 1946 and 1967, In the Constitutions of 1946 and 1967, Quichua is once again excluded, and it is not even mentioned, but only Spanish is recognized as the official language.

In the Constitution of 1979, Preliminar Title, Art. 1 said that: “El idioma oficial es el castellano. Se reconoce al quichua y demás lenguas aborígenes como integrantes de la cultura nacional”.¹⁰ (Constitución del Ecuador, 1979).

In the Constitution of 1998, in the Title I, Art. It was decreed that: “ El Estado respeta y estimula el desarrollo de todas las lenguas de los ecuatorianos. El castellano es el idioma oficial. El quichua, el shuar y los demás idiomas ancestrales son de uso oficial para los pueblos indígenas, en los términos que fija la ley”¹¹ (Constitucion del Ecuador, 1998).

⁷ The Ecuadorian Republic recognizes Spanish as the national language (Constitución del Ecuador, 1929).- Translated by the authors.

⁸ The Ecuadorian Republic recognizes Spanish as the national language, but respects the native language of the indigenous communities. (Constitución del Ecuador, 1938)- Translated by the authors.

⁹ Spanish is the official language of the Republic. Quechua and other indigenous languages are recognized as elements of the national culture (Constitución del Ecuador, 1945).- Translated by the authors.

¹⁰ The official language is Spanish. Quichua and other indigenous languages are recognized as members of the national culture (Constitución del Ecuador, 1979). Translated by the authors.

¹¹ The Ecuadorian Republic respects and encourages the development of all the languages of Ecuadorians. Spanish is the official language. Quichua, Shuar and the other ancestral languages are of official use for indigenous people, in the terms established by the law (Constitucion del Ecuador, 1998)- Translated by the authors

Finally, in the Constitution that currently governs the country, in Title I, First Chapter, On Fundamental Principles, Art. 2 says: "...El castellano es el idioma oficial del Ecuador; el castellano, el kichwa y el shuar son idiomas oficiales de relacion intercultural. Los demás idiomas ancestrales son de uso oficial para los pueblos indígenas en la zonas donde habitan y el los términos que fija la ley. El estado respetará y estimulará su conservación y uso"¹² (Constitución del Ecuador, 2008).

Quichua or Spanish

- In the family communication

Nowadays, it is sadly seen that in the indigenous communities, specifically in Salasaca, that the generational transfer of the Quichua language from parents to children has lost its importance and this puts at risk that not only the language will disappear, but the whole cultural baggage that it entails. It is speculated that if a different language is learned - and this is part of the environment in which an individual develops within a society - it influences in a different way the way of thinking of the speakers (Garcés, 2020b). Sacha Rosero, a Quichua who did a postgraduate degree in Sociolinguistics at the University of Mondragón, in Spain, considers the situation of Quichua is difficult. He says "There is shame and fear of speaking Quichua. Parents, thinking that they are doing the right thing, avoid using their native language and raise their children in Spanish because that way they believe that their children will have better opportunities" (El Universo, 2013).

- In education

At the beginning, the indigenous people had to integrate into the educational system in schools that only taught Spanish, as the Constitution dictated. Therefore, for several decades, there was no recognition and even worse support for its conservation and dissemination. As in Ecuador, countries like Argentina, it was said that "this rescue of the aboriginal languages is late, since several ethnic groups have been left unstructured, especially as a result of their academic situation, and have been adopting Spanish, in the classroom" (Bein, 2010, p. 319). It can be added to this that

¹² "...Spanish is the official language of Ecuador; Spanish, Kichwa and Shuar are official languages of intercultural relations. The other ancestral languages are of official use for the indigenous communities in the areas where they live and in the terms established by law. The state will respect and encourage its conservation and use" (Constitution of Ecuador, 2008). – Translated by the authors.

this adoption has gone further and has been part of the social and commercial interaction of indigenous people.

With the approval of the Bilingual Intercultural Education System of the nationalities and indigenous people of Ecuador, this reality has changed substantially, since it ranges from early stimulation to the higher level. It is intended for the implementation of the plurinational and intercultural State, within the framework of sustainable development with a long-term vision. (Ecuadorian Constitution, 2008).

The educational institutions destined for the purpose of teaching ancestral languages, have problems in terms of infrastructure, resources and trained professional staff. Ariruma Kowii, director of the Department of Literature at the Simón Bolívar Andean University based in Quito, says that "the paradox is that now Kichwa parents send their children to schools to learn their native language, when before they sent them to learn Spanish." (El Universo, 2013).

Now, we have to remember that Quichua is an official language and must necessarily be promoted from the educational system. This implies considering the cultural part as something of high importance. Thus, it should not be forgotten that Ecuador was originally a place where Quichua was spoken, therefore, it must be part of our training as well as the rescue of our identity. Of course, without leaving aside the learning of languages that relate to us regionally and worldwide. So the following must be highlighted: "...when decisions in relation to languages are part of a state policy, it unfolds in the educational field and, fundamentally, in the section of future citizens, secondary education." (Arnoux E.N., 2010, p. 336)

But little or nothing progress has been made in this regard, good intentions have remained on paper and on desks, since, as in other Latin American countries such as Chile, Portuguese is associated as "the historical enemy" (Arnoux & Del Valle, 2010). Quichua is related in Ecuador as the language of the despised, the conquered, and the indigenous people.

- **In the workplace**

Twenty years ago, private and public companies did not employ any indigenous people due to discrimination, but also because of the self-discrimination with which the indigenous people reacted, by not even trying to improve themselves. Nowadays, the indigenous people trust themselves, study, go to university, obtain their degree. Now they have economists, engineers, lawyers, etc. (Rosa de Cobre, 2014). In private companies, the majority of indigenous people who have obtained a university degree work in banks, directed by themselves, or in commerce. In these

positions, it is common for these workers to speak both languages, since they not only deal with indigenous people, but also with mestizos who speak Spanish. Commercial transactions could not take place if the two languages were not mastered in communication. This reality erases the aforementioned weaknesses, since young people, especially, are living in this environment where their peers have placed Quichua in an important position.

Regarding the public companies, in the National Assembly, in Ministries and other main places, the participation of indigenous-Quichua speakers has been important. This has increased substantially in the last twelve years, apparently with the aim of integrating the different representative communities of Ecuador. In the case of the town of Pelileo, to which the Salasaca community belongs, the mayor of that city is an indigenous person, a native of that parish, even though it is a population made up mostly of Spanish-speaking mestizos. Therefore, it has been maintained that the language used by the majority has to be used in each place where the indigenous people develop, while Spanish is used as the common language in the workplace. It is clearly seen that there is no linguistic policy in Ecuador where it is established that indigenous people can use their language and even more if they are represented by an indigenous authority. This is what Peruvian indigenous, María Sumire and Hilaria Supa wanted to do in the Peruvian Congress in 2006 (Arnoux E. N., 2010, pág. 332).

Bilingualism and diglossia

There are several definitions of bilingualism, but a few have been considered to define this term precisely:

Bilingualism according to Mackey (quoted in Spence, 2004), is "... the alternative use of two or more languages by the same person."

According to Uriel Weinreich, "bilingualism is the alternative use of two languages" and he also expresses that "it is the deviation from a linguistic norm as a result of contact between two systems" (Alvar, 2010).

In Bernard Pottier's dictionary (cited in Alvar 2010), he says that bilingualism is "the ability to understand a language other than the mother tongue and to be understood in it.

On the other hand, T. Lewandowski says that "bilingualism would also include the coexistence and contiguity between the dialect, the norm and the different sociolects (social bilingualism)"

In this particular case, the Salasacas use Spanish and Quichua according to the different situations of daily life. That is, its use is definitely alternative.

On the other hand, diglossia is, according to Ferguson (1959, cited in Spence 2004), a characteristic of a speech community where two or more languages are necessary to perform differentiated communicative functions.

According to López (1998), he says that "...within a bilingual or multilingual social environment, there is no equity in the use of one language or another. One of them, the one with the highest social prestige, is spoken mainly by the dominant groups and the other(s) by the subaltern groups." Several studies have shown that speech communities that are diglossic and bilingual are linguistically stable, while those that are bilingual but not diglossic lack such stability. (Spence, 2004).

Salasaca has its indigenous language, Quichua, which is considered a low variety language, along with Spanish, which is the high variety language. This is a clear example that Los Salasacas are a diglossic community.

Conclusions

This brief review of the use of Quichua and Spanish in the Salasaca community leads us to conclude that: 1. Due to the measures adopted by governments in recent years, a case of glottophagy is completely ruled out. Now the official languages of the indigenous people are being rescued through the language policy and planning carried out. 2. Rather, it is identified that a diglossic community exists in terms of society, but not only individually. 3. There is a revaluation of the culture of these people and the new opportunities in the public and private areas.

As a final statement, it can be established that it would be necessary to delve into the community itself to further strengthen what was said in this brief study. This will remain as a first step for the analysis of language policies and their planning in Salasaca, as it is one of the representative Quichua-speaking towns in Ecuador.

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