

Authenticity in language ideology

Social variation in Chanka Quechua

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Like many marginalized languages, Chanka Quechua (Peru) lacks community-wide prestige norms associated with standard-language ideology. Formal situations require Spanish, and few speakers are literate in Quechua, so normative speech styles are absent. Speakers' evaluative judgments do not reference notions of correctness; rather, they value *puro* 'pure' speech and authenticity.

This paper explores alternative approaches to accessing sociolinguistic judgments with a study of the variably present uvular phoneme in the past tense /-rqa/ morpheme, as exemplified in the following alternation:

- (1) *ri-rqa-ni* ~ *ri-ra-ni*
go-PST-1SG go-PST-1SG
'I went' 'I went'

To contrast speech from sociolinguistic interviews, careful, self-monitored speech is elicited through oral retelling of material presented aurally, rather than in writing. Of 38 participants, rural speakers tend to have higher rates of /q/ than urbanites and reflect idealized *puro* Quechua. We argue that authenticity guides variation, in place of standard language ideology.

Keywords: sociolinguistic authenticity, variation, Spanish, Quechua

1. Introduction

Sociolinguistic research has long identified shared social norms guiding language use (Labov, 1972). In majority languages with a broadly disseminated writing system and language authority, these top-down norms often come from orthography, linguistic elites, or other community-wide prestige norms from standard language ideology (SLI). However, in languages like Quechua, which do not have these top-down impetuses, the source of the norms that guide variation is less clear. This

paper takes steps toward identifying common ground for the speech forms preferred by Quechua speakers, and finds that discourses around authenticity are a major contributing force.

Quechua is a diverse language family spoken natively by around eight million people originally from countries around the Andes mountain range, including Peru, Ecuador, Bolivia, Colombia, and Chile (Chirinos Rivera, 1998; Chirinos Rivera, 2001). In Peru, the total population of Quechua speakers is estimated at about 3.7 million according to the 2017 census (Instituto Nacional de Estadística e Informática, 2017, p. 48), which is approximately 14% of the total population of the country (32 million). These numbers are likely low estimates, as the census allowed for a single language response (Spanish OR Quechua). Many bilingual interview participants reported having answered ‘Spanish’ due to widespread social acceptance, including by the census recorder—who asked questions in Spanish and sometimes marked ‘Spanish’ without consulting the interviewee.

Quechua dialects are generally considered by linguists to be as typologically distinct as Romance or Slavic languages.¹ In Peru, the Ministry of Education has developed a standardized orthography and written norms for the country’s six major Quechua dialects, and in recent years it has invested significant effort in distributing printed Quechua materials around the country. Chanka Quechua, the dialect of focus for this study, is spoken by just under one million people in the departments of Ayacucho, Huancavelica, and western Apurímac in southern Peru (Lewis, Simons, & Fennig, 2016). Data for this study was gathered in Andahuaylas, on the Eastern side of the Chanka dialect region, approaching the Cuzco-Collao region.

Despite the government’s literacy efforts, Quechua is still widely an oral language. Only since the early 2000s has education in Quechua (and thus, in Quechua reading and writing) become more common—and even then, discrepancies in access between urban and rural residents, and between men and women, mean that a large majority of the adult Quechua-speaking population still has low literacy and little knowledge of written norms, especially in Quechua (INEI, 2017). In fact, many of the rural women interviewed during this study did not know how to write: they gave oral consent and “signed” payment receipts with a fingerprint.

Moreover, Quechua has limited formal social domains of use. In Peru, formal environments historically require Spanish, such that Quechua is only spoken in informal domains such as the home. Speaking Quechua in public, even if both interlocutors are bilingual, risks implying that the speakers do not know

1. Some effort has been made to unite Ayacucho-Chanka and Cuzco-Collao dialects under a single Southern Quechua orthography, but they are phonologically distinct.

Spanish—a marker of inferior class or status (Zavala, 2014). Thus, the comparison between formal and informal language settings, often used to describe different registers in sociolinguistics, has no clear application for Quechua.

Sociolinguistic norms are often specific to a speech community (Morgan, 2004). This may be even more relevant for Quechua, as speakers within the same dialect region are separated from other communities by many hours on foot or long bus rides. In fact, even if Quechua is used publicly in the local community, little engagement in Quechua occurs outside of the immediate geographic area. When speakers visit another town or even another village, they use Spanish due to its prestige as the public language. Thus, they have little reference for how Quechua is spoken elsewhere, and a lower chance of following norms from outside of their own community. Certainly, the majority of speakers do not orient themselves toward the regional standard proposed by the Ministry of Education.

This paper reports results from a study of a sociolinguistic variable in Chanka Quechua: uvular alternation in verbal affixes. The data in focus was elicited through a novel oral sentence correction task, intended to increase participants' attention paid to speech. It will be briefly compared with data from more traditional sociolinguistic interview-type conversations. Given the social situation of Quechua speakers, they have not developed a standard language ideology as traditionally imagined (such as from a widespread written standard, the media, or high-status speakers). Instead, authenticity was found to be a potential alternative ideology that guides language variation. This ideology and the speech forms associated with it seem rooted in national political and language maintenance discourses that have developed over the past century. The following section of the paper will provide background on the uvular alternation of interest (2.1) and discourses around authentic Quechua language (2.2). Section 3 describes the participant makeup and methodology of the study. The results in Section 4 show variability in uvular presence for both production and perception, though ultimately the uvular-full variant is still preferred. In Section 5, we discuss the limitations of the attention-to-speech model for accessing stylistic variation in Quechua and other endangered languages, as well as evaluate our attempts to adapt it. Much of the discussion revolves around the apparent lack of a widespread standard language ideology for Quechua. However, we argue that a search for authenticity may be a growing force guiding variation, in place of written normative pressures.

2. Background

2.1 Uvular alternation in Chanka Quechua

The uvular phoneme /q/ is variably present in the experienced past morpheme /-rqa/. Chanka has a single uvular phoneme,² which has been described as being in free variation with zero in this morpheme and two others (exhortative /-rqu/ and 1st-to-2nd person future /-sqa/). Besides these morpheme-specific alternations and some other cases of phonological deletion, uvular presence does not vary (Cerrón-Palomino, 1987; Parker, 1969; Soto Ruiz, 1976).

The /-rqa/ morpheme is used for relating past facts or events that the speaker directly witnessed or performed (Quintero Bendeزú, 1996; Zariquiey & Córdova, 2008). In Quechua's agglutinative verbal template, /-rqa/ appears near the end, after aspectual morphemes and before person and tense morphemes. Examples (1) and (2) show a verb in experienced past tense (Quintero Bendeزú, 1996, p. 57).

- (1) *puklla-rqa-ni*
 play-PST-1s
 'I played'

- (2) *puklla-rqa-nki*
 play-PST-2s
 'you played'

This morpheme can appear word-finally in 3rd person singular verbs, as the 3rd person singular marker *-n* in both experienced and reportative past tenses is not obligatory in Chanka. In fact, it is generally not used, and a verb without it "is more natural" (Zariquiey & Córdova, 2008, p. 164). This contrasts with the Cuzco variety, which does usually add the *-n* person morpheme (*muna-rqa* vs. *muna-rqa-n* 'he/she wanted') (Parker, 1969; Zariquiey & Córdova, 2008). In Example (3), no person suffix appears (Quintero Bendeزú, 1996, p. 57).

- (3) *puklla-rqa-Ø* (puklla-rqa-n in Cuzco)
 play-PST-3s
 'he/she played'

The variable presence of the uvular in the experienced past is evident in Chanka and Cuzco Quechua (Adelaar with Muysken, 2004; Cerrón-Palomino, 1987;

2. The Chanka uvular phoneme is generally realized as a fricative /χ/. This paper utilizes the <q> grapheme from the standardized orthography to allow for easier comparison with other Quechua dialects like Cuzco-Collao, where the uvular phoneme is a stop.

Parker, 1969). This differs from many central and northern Quechua dialects, where the past marker /-rqa/ has completely lost the uvular. While the latter dialects are typologically quite distinct from Chanka/Cuzco, the uvular has also been deleted in Argentinian dialects southeast of, but more closely related to, Chanka³ (Cerrón-Palomino, 1987). To illustrate this variation in the past tense morpheme, alternate pronunciations of the previous Examples (1)–(3) are as follows in (4)–(6):

- (4) *puklla-ra-ni*
play-PST-1s
'I played'
- (5) *puklla-ra-nki*
play-PST-2s
'you played'
- (6) *puklla-ra-Ø* (*puklla-ra-n* in Cuzco)
play-PST-3s
'he/she played'

Besides a brief mention in some descriptions (Cerrón-Palomino, 1987; Parker, 1969; Soto Ruiz, 1976), only one known quantitative study on uvular alternation has been done for Quechua. Povilonis (2016) found near categorical absence of the uvular in the exhortative morpheme (1.4% presence, $N=142$), variable presence of the uvular in the experienced past morpheme (87.3% presence, $N=167$), and categorical presence of the uvular in all other morphemes ($N=425$). The data extracted for that study were taken from 15 hours of radio speech from two announcers on the Chanka news program *Llactamanta*, *llactapaq* broadcasted via *Radio Titanka* in Andahuaylas, following a methodology similar to Kroch and Small (1978) to identify formal speech, through the announcers, and casual speech, through guests and callers. The results showed higher rates of uvular presence in the speech of the announcers hosting the show, than in the usage of guest speakers. The quantitative analysis also identified a linguistic factor that significantly affected uvular presence: the number of following morphemes, with higher rates of uvular presence when there were no following morphemes.⁴

While this study offered some initial insight into uvular variation patterns in Chanka Quechua, token counts were quite small, and questions arose as to

3. In these dialects, evidence of the uvular remains: adjacent high vowels still show lowering (i.e., *rerani* appears instead of *rirani* or *rerqani* 'I went'), a process that usually only occurs in the phonetic context of a uvular consonant (Cerrón-Palomino, 1987).

4. This study was unable to resolve potential interactions between number of following morphemes and other correlated factors: stress position and number of syllables.

whether the announcers were using a special radio style different from their casual style, or whether speakers with other social characteristics would show the same patterns. As will be explained in the following sections, the quantitative study of uvular alternation described below expands on Povilonis (2016) to include more speakers of a range of social characteristics, casual and conscious speech styles, and higher token counts.

2.2 Authenticity in discourse

In the 1920s, an intellectual discourse called *indigenismo* reaffirmed the Quechua language as intrinsically tied to authentic Indigeneity. Rather than the “problem” that it was historically conceptualized to be, Quechua was reframed as a celebrated representative component of a renewed national Indigenous identity. Peruvian identity became rooted in a diverse history, and Indigenous people were the link to it. Since this diversity was conceived as categorical rather than on a continuum, Quechua became fixed as part of an authentic Indigenous identity. Conversely, Spanish became part of the *mestizo* ‘mixed’ identity. While *indigenismo* gave Quechua intrinsic value, it did not provide a place for Quechua or Quechua speakers to participate in modern society (Zavala, Mujica, Córdova, & Ardito, 2014).

Quechua has many overtly positive associations, which were frequently mentioned in the interviews for this study. In addition to being revered as an ancestral language, Quechua is also associated with “an idealized communal life in a rural context” (Zavala et al., 2014, p.39), essentially a “lost paradise” (Zavala et al., 2014, p.39) marked by “rural purity”⁵ (Zavala et al., 2014, p.38). In interviews, Pedro (42-year-old urban male) located valued reciprocity relationships and feelings in the countryside:

Porque kanraqmi chay sentimiento, corazón, prójimo nisqanchikta, runa masinchikta yanapaykunaypaq. Pero huklawpiqa manañam kanñachu. Kunan másta kaypi kanraq aslla. Riruyraq campun lawman; campun lawman másta tarinki.

Because there is still that feeling, heart, to help our neighbor, our neighbor. But elsewhere, that does not exist anymore. Now here [in the city], it is just a little. You ought to go to the countryside; in the countryside, you’ll find more.

(Pedro, 42 years, urban male)

The “living culture” is believed to still exist “higher up” or “farther inside” (Babb, 2020, p.13) and must be preserved (Zavala et al., 2014, p.40). The geographic references reflect the fact that urban areas are generally at lower altitudes, with easier

5. All translations are by the first author.

access via roads. In some ways, reciprocity and solidarity are part of this culture that has been transferred to the urban realm via the Quechua language. Leocadía (58-year-old urban female) described how Quechua is hidden until two Quechua speakers come together, whether or not they know each other:

A veces riqsisqaykuwanyá musyarquniku quechua simi rimasqanta, hinaspaqa kacharinikuyá.

Sometimes we recognize those who speak Quechua, and we let it out.

(Leocadía, 58 years, urban female)

To fit into the Indigenous identity mold, Quechua, like other indigenous languages around the world, is surrounded by “notions of authenticity—of who counts as an ‘authentic’ Indigenous person or representative.” Even though “authenticity in itself does not naturally exist” (Zavala et al., 2014, p.38), “traditional clothing, language use and other culture practices” from the past “become the only ‘legitimate’ forms of Indigeneity” (Patrick, 2007, p.119). Importantly, “speakers can be locked into fixed or essentialized notions of identity, ‘authenticity,’ and place” (Patrick, 2007, p.127). Essentialization is a process in which cultural or biological attributes of social groups are assumed to be inherently associated. This supposes that each group can be clearly defined, and assumes homogenization within the group (Bucholtz, 2003). The essentialized representation of Quechua delegitimizes anyone who does not fit into the mold, and it erases urban Quechua use from the realm of possible ways of speaking (following Irvine & Gal, 2000). This disempowers many Quechua speakers (Zavala et al., 2014).

As the Quechua language is a key component of the Indigenous identity, speakers also seek to define authentic Quechua. An authentic speaker is idealized as a monolingual who speaks *quechua neto* ‘pure Quechua’ (Zavala et al., 2014, p.13) that is not “contaminated” by Spanish, as one acquaintance in Andahuaylas mentioned. Despite the fact that “new forms of language are constantly developing” (Patrick, 2007, p.125), especially in indigenous languages in contact, “mixed language forms ... are often considered illegitimate” and “lack authenticity” (Patrick, 2007, p.125). This widely documented goal of linguistic purism in language revitalization (see Dorian, 1994) also exists for Quechua. Laurimar (36-year-old urban female) reflected the sentiment of several other urban speakers when she described how their Quechua is less well-spoken because it includes aspects of Spanish:

Manañam kunanqa quechua quechua, sapachallan quechuataqa rimanchikñachu. Aswanqa rimanchikña castellano; chapunchikñam castellano simiwan. Campopi allinta rimanmanku quechuataqa, ¿riki? Kunan kaypi ñuqaykuqa manañan chay quechua puro nisqantaqa rimanchikñachu, castellanuwan chapuspañan.

We no longer speak just Quechua. We often speak Spanish; we mix with Spanish. In the countryside they would speak Quechua well, no? Now here [in the city] we no longer speak that pure Quechua anymore, “mixing” with Spanish.

(Laurimar, 36 years, urban female)

Geographically, as Laurimar suggested, authentic Quechua is located in the *campo* ‘countryside’, as declared by almost all urban interview participants. There, the Quechua is *sumaq* ‘beautiful’, *chuya* ‘clean’, *puro* ‘pure (Spanish)’, *allin* ‘good’, *miski* ‘sweet’. Conversely, urban Quechua is *contaminado* ‘contaminated (Spanish)’ or *qayma* ‘tasteless’. Temporally, authentic Quechua existed more in the past, by older generations. Several urban participants claimed that their parents spoke it, and that it used to be spoken more *ñawpaq* ‘long ago’. In these conversations, discussions around *ñawpaq* evoke a nostalgia of more distant past events, especially family and community history.

Linguistically, thus, authentic Quechua is an idealized way of speaking rooted in the past. Monolithic and static, it is believed to no longer exist in modern urban society; it must be recovered and preserved. Much of this search for authentic Quechua occurred during development of the standardized orthography and grammar in the final decades of the twentieth century (Fishman, 1988, 1993; Hornberger, 1993), and now the norms from the Ministry of Education influence what educated speakers consider authentic speech. Occasionally, these speakers also reference notions of correctness related to these norms, but this is most often used for teacher certification exams or in a classroom, rather than for policing colloquial or spoken language.

Positive ideologies idealizing Quechua were most commonly expressed by urban speakers. All of the urbanites in the study (except for two over 70 years old) were fluent (native or almost native) Spanish speakers, educated professionals, and economically secure – and importantly, they and their families conformed in daily life to the *mestizo* social norms of the city. In local terms, they had sufficiently *superado* ‘overcome’ the Indigenous identity, even if they could also speak Quechua.

In these urban *mestizo* families, Quechua has become an accessory that does not threaten their social status. These are the people who were, according to Zavala et al. (2014), less embarrassed to speak Quechua and show that identity. They participate in Quechua workshops that are carried out in Quechua, and they demand that politicians speak Quechua in order to win elections (Zavala et al., 2014). At the same time, language shift has occurred in their own families: many participants described their children as not wanting to learn Quechua when young, indicating pervasive negative ideologies in the recent past. Now that more money is involved, and universities are requiring Quechua, many of those young

adults are asking their parents to teach them, as Mario (50-year-old urban male) explained.

Ñuqaykutaqa niwanku, “Papá, actualízate,” niwanku... Chay runasimitapas, manam warmaykuqa rimayta munanñachu... Kunan, chayllaraq chay ñakakuypi rikurichkanku,

They [our children] used to tell us, “Dad, update yourself,” they told me... Quechua, our children did not want to speak it anymore... Now, just recently, they are waking up to some regret. (Mario, 50 years, urban male)

Similar to languages like Welsh and Gaelic in recent years (O’Hanlon, 2015), the increasing economic value of Quechua is motivating young people to learn their family language. At the same time, its economic value still depends on recovering an essentialized or romanticized form of Quechua, which is only one element of an authentic Indigenous identity. In many cases, speakers who no longer fit into the authentic identity on a daily basis, usually those who have migrated to the city, can return to their rural communities for festivals and “perform” the identity (Zavala et al., 2014, p.40). This seems to be the type of diversity that is celebrated in the country. Once one can follow social norms, especially speaking Spanish in mainstream society, then they benefit from adopting the Indigenous identity in appropriate cultural spaces. Full adoption of the Indigenous identity comes through the use of authentic Quechua language.

Authenticity thus appears as an alternative type of standard language ideology (SLI). Urban speakers, also bilingual in Spanish and educated in Quechua grammar (as described by the Ministry of Education), cite authenticity (via purity, cleanliness, sweetness) as a main characterization of rural speech. Rural speech is also described as having more morphemes and phonological segments, while the contrary, urban speech is *qayma* ‘tasteless’. A speaker who wants to sound more authentic may then incorporate more rural features. This inverts the usual status of rural people, who, aside from language variety, are typically poorer, less-educated and lower in social status than their urban counterparts.

3. Methodology

To determine the extent to which an ideology of authenticity may influence spoken Chanka Quechua, we analyzed recordings of a sentence repetition task from 38 Chanka Quechua-speaking participants in rural and urban Andahuaylas, Peru, in 2019. The dependent variable was the uvular phoneme in the experienced past morpheme. Results from the controlled task were compared with rates of uvu-

lar presence in naturalistic speech from a subset of 32 participants. Section 3.1 describes the participant sample, and Section 3.2 describes the tasks performed.

3.1 Participants

The participant sample was gathered to account for two locations of residence (18 rural, 20 urban) and both sexes (20 women, 18 men), as well as a broad age distribution where possible. The social distribution of the participant sample is summarized in Table 1.

Table 1. Final participant sample

Spanish influence	Community	Age	Male	Female	Total
less	Rural Andahuaylas	Elder (54–75)	2	4	18
		Middle (30–40)	2	5	
		Young (18–29)	3	2	
more	Urban Andahuaylas	Elder (54–74)	6	3	20
		Middle (36–53)	5	6	
		Young (18–29)	0	0	

All rural participants were born in the rural community or one nearby and had spent most of their lives there, except for two of the young males (18 and 20 years old), who had been spending weeknights in a rented room in the urban valley for six years in order to attend school. Rural females except for the youngest one (18 years old) had low Spanish proficiency and less than primary education. For rural males, Spanish proficiency and education levels correlated inversely with age, such that the oldest men had low proficiency and less than primary education, while the youngest men had high L2 proficiency and at least secondary education.

All but four urban participants were born and raised in the urban valley. Two males had come from a rural community before the end of the critical period (at ages 8 and 10), and three females and one male had arrived after secondary school. Another urban female had also spent several years of primary school living with grandparents in a rural community. Urban speakers ranged from 36 to 74 years of age. All except the two oldest speakers and the four late arrivals were simultaneous bilinguals, and everyone except the two oldest had secondary education or higher. Unfortunately, younger speakers of Quechua who had spent most or all of their lives in the city were difficult to find, and the few possible qualifiers claimed that they did not speak Quechua well enough. This diffi-

culty in gathering an age-balanced sample of speakers reflects a logistical problem commonly encountered by researchers in endangered language speech communities in contact with a majority language. Stanford and Preston (2009) and authors within the same volume observed greater influence from the majority language for younger speakers. Long-term, this also results in language shift among younger speakers first, leading to fewer young endangered language speakers in the community (Dorian, 1994, p. 481). Certainly, future research in Andahuaylas will seek to instill confidence in younger urban speakers and encourage their participation. Much as Nagy (2009, p. 401) found for Faetar, younger speakers choose not to speak Quechua in the presence of their elders, given claims that they do not speak pure Quechua.

Spanish proficiency was defined on five levels, summarized in Table 2 below, and coded based on a combination of the participant's self-description of their proficiency plus the research assistant and the first author's assessments following interactions with the participant (we initiated conversation in Spanish following each interview). A Spanish proficiency of 1 was coded for participants with almost no productive or receptive knowledge. Participants with a Spanish proficiency of 2 have minimal productive knowledge, but can understand more. Participants with a proficiency of 3 can communicate ideas as necessary and understand most everyday conversation but still do not use Spanish in their day-to-day tasks. Participants with a Spanish level of 4 have non-native fluency, in that they can understand all conversation as well as communicate in Spanish with relative ease despite clear Quechua interference; they also have some Spanish literacy. Finally, participants with a Spanish proficiency of 5 have native proficiency (having acquired Spanish either from birth or early childhood), and can fully communicate and express ideas; they all also have Spanish literacy.

Table 2. Spanish proficiency levels of participants

Level	Description
1	almost none
2	no production, some comprehension
3	some production, good comprehension
4	non-native fluency
5	native fluency

Chanka speakers' social participation is generally local, within their own physical rural or urban community. Land travel over winding Andean dirt roads prohibits regular interaction between rural and urban communities: a bus ride

between Andahuaylas and Lima lasts over 16 hours, and the rural community in this study is over two hours by foot from Andahuaylas city. In urban Andahuaylas, bilinguals have proficiency in Spanish and do not use Quechua in most domains. At the same time, they have high local status and value Chanka for its in-group associations and historical prestige of authenticity. Rural speakers, with low Spanish proficiency, are the most likely to use Chanka in daily life, but they may not attribute it much prestige since it hinders their social progress. These differing ideologies about Chanka between speech communities were expected to lead to variation in use of linguistic forms, at least in conscious speech.

3.2 Data elicitation task

Recordings were made of an oral sentence correction task intended to approximate the effects of reading and text correction tasks (see Bleaman, 2018) in a society with low literacy rates. Traditional tasks generally involve reading a passage and/or word lists, with the goal of accessing phonological variation. Bleaman (2018) adapted this to a text correction task to access morphosyntactic variation.

The purpose of the oral sentence correction task was to gather targeted data with the variable of interest, as participants heard and repeated identical phrases for speech samples that could be easily compared. Due to the nature of the tasks, participants had to pay close attention to their way of speaking. Reading tasks are often used in sociolinguistic research to boost conscious attention to speech, and the increased attention paid to speech often leads to more instances of a preferred variant. In the oral task with unfamiliar phrases, participants also had to pay explicit attention to their speech.

During this task, each participant heard, repeated, and corrected the same 19 recorded sentences, of which seven had stimulus verbs containing the study variable, some with and some without the uvular. (Eight phrases had verbs containing the exhortative morpheme, which also exhibits uvular alternation at different rates, briefly described below. The four remaining phrases were distractors and did not have any morpheme of interest.) Example (7) shows a uvular-less stimulus.

- (7) *chita-kuna-ta apa-ra-ni-ku-m*
 goat-PL-ACC take-PST-1SG-PL-EVID
 ‘We took the goats.’

Stimuli were recorded by a native Chanka-speaking research assistant unknown to the participants. The research assistant was from an urban area and bilingual in Spanish. She assisted the first author in designing native-sounding sentences before recording. The distribution of each morpheme can be seen in Table 3.

Table 3. Distribution of realizations of stimuli for experienced past

With uvular [rqa]	Without uvular [ra]	Total
4 items	3 items	7

For urban participants, the task was carried out in the following way:

1. The participant heard a short recorded phrase
2. He/she repeated exactly what was heard (whether good or bad)
3. He/she declared whether it was good – *Allinchu kachkan?* ‘Is it good?’
4. If it was bad, he/she corrected the phrase – *Imaynatam kanman?* ‘How should it be?’

However, the activity was carried out differently for rural participants, who had difficulty producing unnatural or ungrammatical speech forms and thus did not repeat ungrammatical phrases. In the alternative cases, the participants corrected the phrase immediately with their first repetition (skipping Step 2). For analysis this was understood to be a representation of a better, more natural way of speaking for that participant, who preferred the phrase that he or she produced over the original phrase. When the participants did not offer an exact repetition the first time, their first phrase was considered to be their correction. For the few participants who repeated the recorded phrase exactly, with grammatical errors, they were asked to correct it. Then the second repetition, the corrected one, was considered to be their preferred way of pronouncing that morpheme.

Following recording, each stimulus was coded for whether the uvular was present or absent in the target morpheme. The final repetition by each participant was then coded for *same*, *inverse*, or *other*, depending on the pronunciation of the uvular compared to the stimulus. *Same* responses repeated the morpheme exactly as pronounced (whether uvular-full or -less). *Inverse* responses used the alternate morpheme variant (uvular-less instead of uvular-full, and vice versa). Finally, *other* responses did not include either variant of the morpheme (whether the morpheme was deleted or replaced by a different one).

3.3 Interview speech

Prior to the sentence repetition task, participants were recorded in a conversational setting that was structured like a classic sociolinguistic interview. These conversations were conducted with two participants instead of one, with the goal of mitigating the observer’s effect. This provided a corpus of naturalistic speech with less of the self-monitoring promoted by the sentence correction task.

The interviewer was either a local Chanka-speaking research assistant or the first author, who is an intermediate speaker of Chanka and fluent speaker of Spanish; and the two participants were Chanka speakers who were close friends or family members. The interviewer (third person) asked questions in Quechua, but since participants knew each other well, the setting evoked dialogue and narratives with minimal intervention from the interviewer, much like Lefebvre (1976) did in Cuzco. This created a situation where participants were paying less attention to their speech, and potentially using a more casual style. Specific questions and topics were designed to elicit tokens of the variable of study (the experienced past morpheme).

Rates of uvular alternation in this corpus were analyzed using a subset of 32 participants. The data from this part of the study provides a baseline characterization of speakers' production of the uvular variant, while the sentence correction task is intended to access their preferred realization (or perhaps underlying representations) of the /-rqa/ morpheme.

4. Results

The analysis included a total of 269 tokens for the sentence correction task (38 participants), and 2353 tokens for the interviews (32 participants). Data from 32 participants were included in both interview and sentence correction speech data. Two urbanites who had arrived to the city after adolescence and four rural women were excluded from the analysis of interview speech to better balance the sample.

Both rural and urban speakers show variation across the tasks, but at different rates. In this section we present results from the sentence correction task (§4.1) and compare them to rates in sociolinguistic interviews (§4.2) to illustrate the rural tendency for uvular presence in the experienced past /-rqa/. The characterization of rural speech as having more phonological segments is instantiated in their greater preference for uvular presence in the sentence correction task and their higher rates of uvular presence in production.

While the sociolinguistic interview is designed to reduce the subject's attention paid to speech by creating an informal conversational setting, the sentence repetition task calls the participant's attention directly to the utterance. In this way, this task is intended to be more sensitive to participants' ideologies of authenticity, and is the focus of our analysis here. We will further illustrate the efficacy of the sentence correction task for determining the preferred variant by contrasting results for experienced past /-rqa/ with those for the exhortative /-rqu/ morpheme (§4.3).

4.1 Results from oral sentence correction task

The results of the sentence correction task provide evidence for the preferred realizations of the experienced past morpheme and ultimately demonstrate variability. Table 4 shows *same*, *inverse*, and *other*⁶ answers for each stimulus variant. In this table, the -rqa- responses (the *same* responses to a -q- stimulus, and the *inverse* responses to a -Ø- stimulus) are highlighted in gray. A chi-square test of independence showed a significant relationship between the stimuli type and repeated variants, $X^2(2, N=269)=26.89, p<.001$.

For uvular-full stimuli, overall high rates (75%) of *same* repetition and low rates (13%) of *inverse* responses indicate a preference for processing and producing the uvular-full variant. For uvular-less stimuli, lower rates (51%) of *same* repetition and increased rates (39%) of *inverse* responses indicate an ability to process but preference for the uvular-full variant (*inverse*). These response patterns indicate that, for the experienced past, the [rqa] variant is the preferred form, perhaps in some sense the underlying representation for many of these participants. The [ra] variant is recognized and can be reproduced, but is dispreferred.

Table 4. Summary of same, inverse, and other repetitions for past morpheme

		Answer		
		Same	Inverse	Other
Stimulus	q	116	19	18
	Ø	59	46	11

Figure 1 displays response results for each stimuli word. Full words are shown under each corresponding bar. Bars to the left of the vertical black line show stimuli words that were pronounced with a uvular, and bars to the right show uvular-less words. In the bars, burgundy indicates *same* responses, grey indicates *inverse* responses, and navy indicates *other* types of responses.

When the stimulus verb contained the uvular-full [rqa] variant (first four bars), it was repeated identically (burgundy fill) almost 100% of the time for two words and over 50% of the time for the other two words. The higher rate of uvular absence for *miku-rqa-nki-chik* (eat-PST-2-PL) ‘you all ate’ may be related to the larger number of syllables in the word. The high rate of uvular presence for *upya-rqa* (drink-PST) ‘he/she drank’ is likely due to the location of stress preceding the uvular. The greater than expected number of *other* responses for *tuku-rqa-nki* (finish-PST-2SG) ‘you finished’ may be because the stimulus phrase was quite long, and participants seemed to have trouble remembering it.

6. *Other* responses included substitution of a different morpheme, deletion of the relevant morpheme, or deletion of the entire verb.

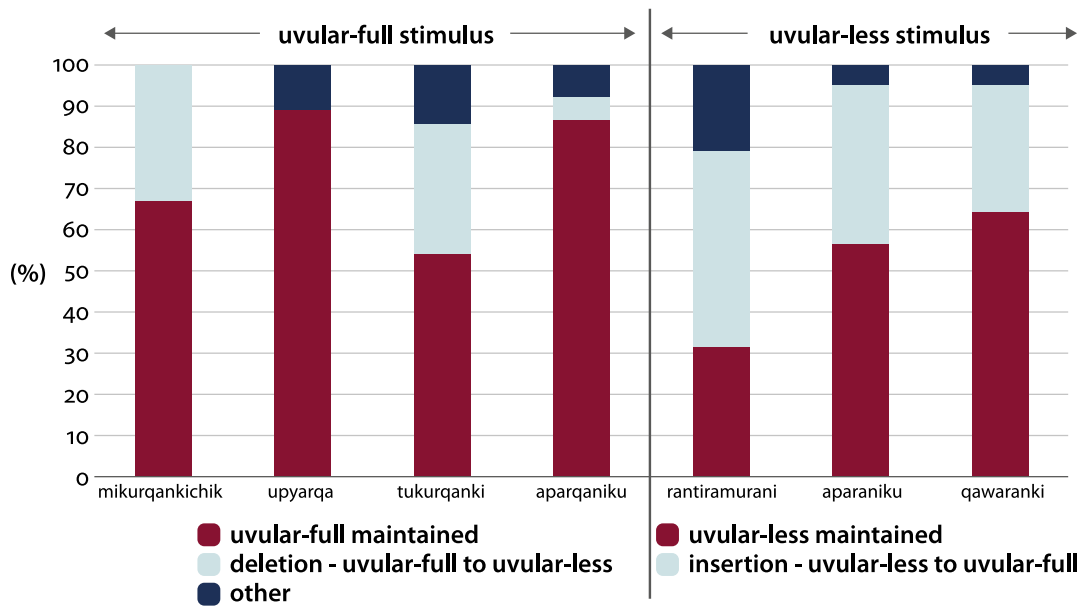


Figure 1. Results from the correction task: Variants of the experienced past /-rqa/

For the uvular-less past tense stimuli, participants were less successful at *same* identical repetition (burgundy fill) of a verb with the [ra] variant, reaching only 30–65%. In these cases, almost all of the remaining repetitions were *inverse* and included an inserted uvular that had not been in the recording (demonstrated by the grey parts of the bars). This suggests that participants were able to understand the uvular-less [ra] variant, but the preference is to pronounce the uvular. This is especially clear for the verb *apa-rqa-niku* (take-PST-1PL.EXCL) ‘we took’, which appeared twice in the stimuli, once as each type of stimulus. The uvular-full stimulus was almost always repeated exactly, *same*, whereas the uvular-less stimulus was only repeated *same* (uvular-less) about half of the time, and almost all the rest of the time *inverse*, where participants inserted a uvular. It seems clear that participants prefer the uvular-full variant of *aparqaniku*.

Ultimately, these results confirm variability in the realization of the uvular in the experienced past. The uvular-full variant is easily reproducible, and the uvular-less variant is understandable. But since the uvular is recovered in production even when not heard in the recording, and rarely omitted in production when present in the stimulus, it appears that speakers expect or prefer the uvular-full variant, at least for most of the stimuli words. As for metalinguistic evaluation, speakers did not offer any conscious evaluation or overt preference for either of the two forms ([rqa] vs. [ra]), even when explicitly asked about them.

To estimate effects of social factors, responses were then broken down and analyzed according to location of residence, age, and sex. Some differences were found, but most trends were not statistically significant. Since token counts in

these breakdowns were quite small, these patterns may be reconsidered in future investigations.

As for location of residence, urbanites showed a growing acceptance and use of the uvular-less variants compared to rural residents. While urban and rural participants had similar rates of *same* responses (75%) for the uvular-full stimuli, they differed in their production and acceptance of uvular-less stimuli. With uvular-full stimuli, urbanites were also more likely to delete the uvular, doing so 15% of the time (13/84 *inverse*), while rural speakers deleted it only 10% of the time (7/69 *inverse*). For the uvular-less stimuli, urban responses were 56% *same* (35/63) and 33% *inverse* (21/63), whereas rural responses were 45% (24/53) for each. This hints at broader production of the uvular-less variant among urbanites. Rural speakers recognized the uvular-less variant, but were likely to re-insert the uvular. However, these conclusions require additional data, as location-based differences were not found to be significant, X^2 (2, $N=269$) = 26.89, $p < .001$ for the uvular-full stimuli, and X^2 (2, $N=269$) = 26.89, $p < .001$ for the uvular-less stimuli. A Cochran-Mantel-Haenszel test comparing the chi-square tables separated by location confirmed that they were not significantly different, X^2 (1, $N=269$) = 0.01, $p = .95$.

Regarding age, younger and middle-aged responses reflected the overall rates, whereas older speakers diverged. For the uvular-full stimuli, the older speakers had 63% *same* (17/27) and 22% *inverse* (6/27) responses. For the uvular-less stimuli, older speakers had 37% *same* and 37% *inverse* (7/19) responses. The lower rate of uvular-full *same* responses for older speakers is unexpected, but given the small sample, is also not significant at the .05 level. The lower rate of *same* responses for the uvular-less stimuli is consistent with a dispreference for this variant in this age group.

As for sex, patterns are less clear. While both sexes had similar rates of *same* responses (males 74%, females 76%) for the uvular-full stimuli, they differed in their production and acceptance of uvular-less stimuli. In repetition of uvular-full stimuli, males were more likely to delete the uvular, doing so 17% of the time (12/69 *inverse*), while females deleted it only 10% of the time (8/84 *inverse*). In repetition of uvular-less stimuli, females were more likely to maintain uvular deletion, repeating the uvular-less variant 55% of the time (36/65 *same*) and inserting a uvular 35% of the time (23/65 *inverse*). Male responses were more mixed, repeating the uvular-less variant 45% of the time (23/51 *same*) and inserting a uvular 43% of the time (22/51 *inverse*). While males seem slightly more likely to delete the uvular in their reproduction of a uvular-full stimulus, they were also more likely to reinsert it in their reproduction of a uvular-less stimulus. Though females did not delete the uvular as often in their reproductions, they seem more likely to repeat the uvular-less variant exactly, indicating more acceptance of this

variant. While these trends are interesting, there was no significant difference between males and females for either the uvular-full, $X^2(1, N=269)=0.19, p=.66$, or uvular-less stimuli, $X^2(1, N=269)=4.99, p=.08$. A Cochran-Mantel-Haenszel test comparing the chi-square tables divided for sex also found that differences were not significant, $X^2(1, N=269)=1.21, p=.54$. Additional data may clarify the exact nature of these potential sex-based differences.

The sentence repetition task was designed to increase attention paid to speech. To evaluate the stylistic effects of this task, experienced past task response patterns from the ten participants with under 80% uvular presence in the interviews were compared with each speaker's spontaneous speech patterns. Justina (79% presence in interview), Laurimar (75%), and Máximo (77%) repeated all seven tokens with the variant that was in the recording – they followed directions despite their own patterns, and did not show a preference for one variant over the other. Nelly (17%), Roberto (7%), and Basilia (69%) were similarly good with 6 accurate repetitions. The first two seem to have a slight preference for uvular-full speech in this task, as both inserted a uvular in one token with a uvular-less stimulus; Basilia deleted instead for one token with a uvular-full stimulus. Carmelo (37%), Elías (28%), and Ricardo (33%) had 4–5 accurate repetitions, and at least one deletion and one insertion each. Finally, Cristina (50%) pronounced uvular-full variants for all seven words, regardless of the stimulus from.

Thus, there is no clear correlation between speakers' spontaneous speech usage of the uvular in experienced past morphemes and their repetitions in this task. Several speakers, urban teachers especially, repeated the exact variant that they heard. Others did this mostly, with a few flips for both types of stimuli – which does not show a clear preference for either variant. Cristina seems to be the only participant to prefer the uvular-full pronunciation for experienced past in this task, which may be a sign that she was paying more attention to her speech if this variable is stylistically conditioned. She is a teacher with Quechua certification and thus has exposure to the Ministry of Education orthography – though she does not teach in Quechua. Further analysis of individual patterns will be treated in future research.

4.2 Results in interview speech

The preference for uvular presence that is evident in the response patterns in the sentence correction task is confirmed by the treatment of the experienced past morpheme in the participants' usage in naturalistic speech. In the semi-structured sociolinguistic interview conversations, 2353 uvular tokens were analyzed, with an average of 77 tokens per speaker (ranging from 5–164 tokens).

The overall rate of uvular presence in the experienced past was 81.4%, though this varied substantially based on several social factors. Geographically, urban speakers have lower rates of uvular presence than rural speakers, as seen by the breakdown of uvular presence rates by individual participants in Figure 2. The graphs are divided by location and sex, with speaker pseudonyms and age under each bar. The gray portion of the bar represents the percentage of uvular presence; burgundy shows percentage of uvular absence. The percentage of uvular presence for each participant is listed on the top of each bar.

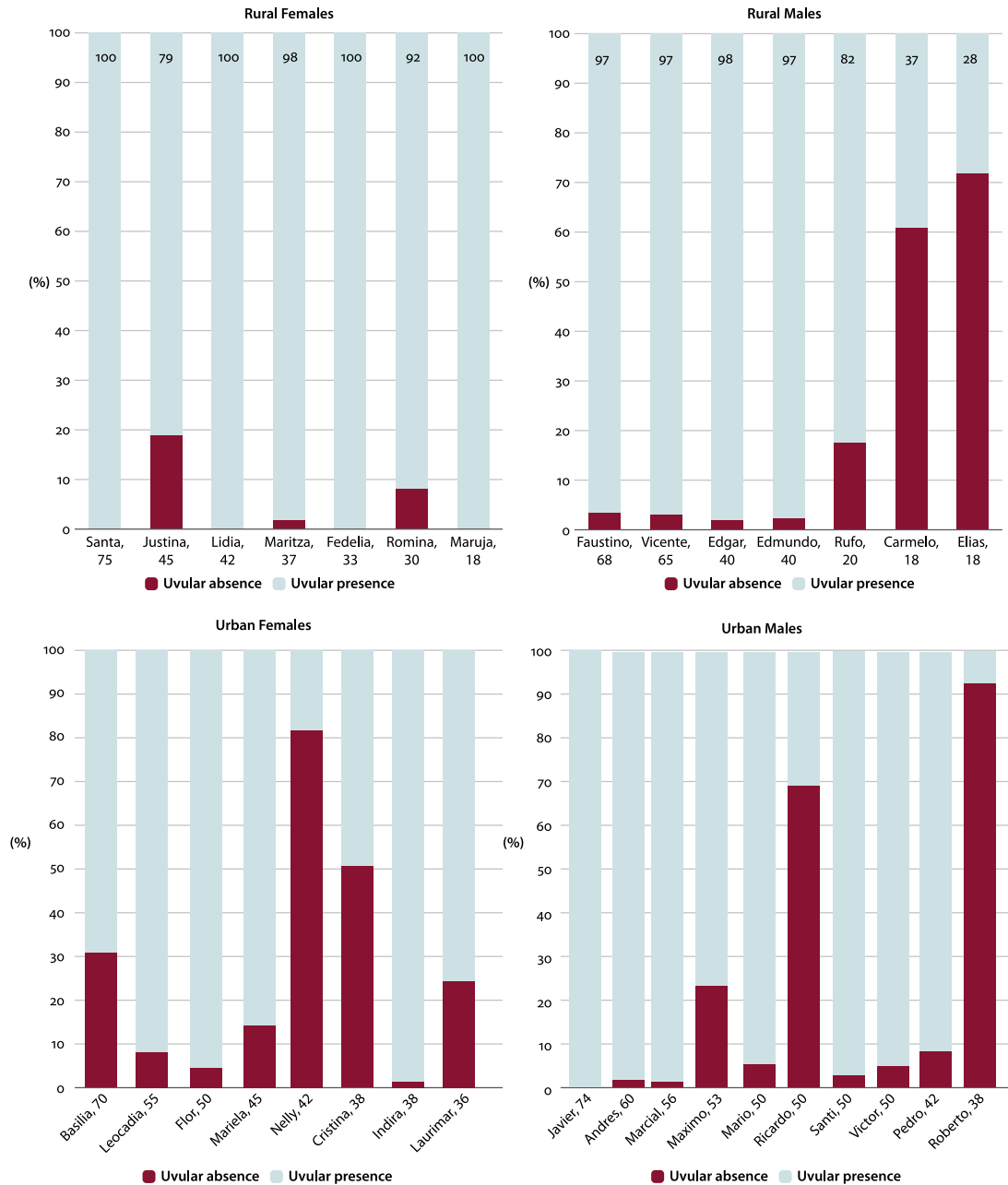


Figure 2. Individual speaker rates of uvular presence, divided by location and sex

The median presence rate for the rural speakers is 97%, and 9 of 14 people are near categorical – they have 97% or more uvular presence. For urban speakers, the median presence rate is 90%, and only 4 of 18 people have near categorical usage as defined above. Some urban speakers have much lower rates of uvular presence, including one male who has 7%, and one female who has 17% presence. The unweighted average, or mean of all the speaker percentages, shows similar effects. By this measure, the average rural speaker percentage is 86.1%, and the average for urban speakers is 75.7%.

Location of residence – rural vs. urban – is part of a cluster of highly correlated social characteristics, including Spanish proficiency and level of education. The participant selection criteria for urban speakers required them to be born in the city or have arrived in early childhood, which meant that participants were generally simultaneous bilinguals; they also had higher educational levels than rural speakers. All of these characteristics were associated with lower rates of uvular presence, but a multivariate analysis showed the location of residence to be the most relevant predictor. Another important social correlate of uvular occurrence was speaker age: older speakers use more uvulars, among both rural and urban residents.

To measure the significance of these social correlates, uvular alternation in the past morpheme was modeled using logistic mixed-effects regression using the `lmer()` function in the *lme4* package (Bates, Machler, Bolker, & Walker, 2015) in the statistical program R (R Core Team, 2013), and using the `step()` function to find a best fit model by backwards elimination. The mixed effects models allowed for inclusion of fixed and random effects, which allow for inter-speaker particularities and speech preferences that diverge from what their social characteristics might predict, as well as for word-specific realizations (Johnson, 2009).

The best fit model is summarized in Model 1 below. The social predictors in the best fit model were sex, age, and location. In addition to the social predictors, relevant linguistic factors were also included: stress, preceding morphemes, and preceding syllables. The factors that were originally included but ultimately removed from the final model were: following morphemes, following syllables, style, education, and Spanish proficiency.

Model 1. Best fit model for uvular alternation, with only significant factors

$q \sim \text{PrecMorphemes} + \text{PrecSyllables} + \text{Stress} +$
 $\text{sex} + \text{Age} + \text{location} +$
 $(1|\text{speaker}) + (1|\text{word})$

For social factors, the results of this analysis indicated that age was significant at the $p < .05$ level, with older speakers using more uvulars. Location of residence

approached significance ($p < .051$), with rural speakers using more uvulars than urban speakers. Linguistically, uvulars are favored in post-tonic syllables preceded by a monosyllabic root morpheme. Table 5 shows results from the best fit model.

Table 5. Estimates for effects from best-fit model of uvular presence

	Estimate	Std. error	<i>t</i> -value	<i>p</i> -value		<i>N</i>	% Presence
(Intercept)	0.2940	0.1510	1.94	0.582	.		
Preceding morphemes (vs. two or more)						700	72.3%
one	0.0432	0.0199	2.17	0.0300	*	1653	85.2%
Preceding syllables (vs. two or more)						1428	74.4%
one	0.1200	0.0308	3.90	0.0001	***	925	92.1%
Stress (vs. following)						528	70.8%
preceding	0.2200	0.0272	8.11	0.0000	***	952	93.7%
same	0.0266	0.0236	1.12	0.2612		873	74.3%
Sex (vs. male)						1419	81.1%
female	0.0723	0.0829	0.87	0.3903		934	81.8%
Location (vs. urban)						1626	80.3%
rural	0.1790	0.0883	2.03	0.0511	.	727	83.8%
Age (continuous)	0.0066	0.0026	2.53	0.0146	*		

significance codes: *** = < 0.001 , ** = < 0.01 , * = < 0.05 , . = < 0.1

4.3 Comparison with exhortative morpheme results

The efficacy of the sentence correction task was confirmed when opposite results regarding uvular presence were discovered in the phonologically similar exhortative morpheme /-rqu/ and its allomorph /-rqa/. These results also highlighted the morpheme-specific nature of the uvular variation. In interview speech, the uvular exhibits almost categorical absence (99.13% absence or 0.87% presence) in the exhortative morpheme. Then, in the correction task, participants repeated almost all of the uvular-less variants exactly as heard, /-ru/ and /-ra/ – further indicating that these are the dominant forms. In fact, the uvular-less forms are so preferred that many participants had difficulty processing uvular-full forms on the correction task (they replaced the exhortative morpheme with a different one, usually the experienced past tense).

Figure 3 presents results of the correction task for the exhortative morpheme, which was found to appear uvular-less as [ru] almost all of the time in natural speech. Bars to the left of the vertical black line show stimuli words that were

pronounced with a uvular, and bars to the right show uvular-less words. The full stimuli words are shown under each corresponding bar. Red indicates *same* responses, grey indicates *inverse* responses, navy indicates where response contained a past tense marker instead, and light blue indicates *other* types of responses.

When the stimulus verb contained the uvular-less [ru] variant (final five bars in the figure), repetition of it was exact almost 100% of the time, as seen by the almost completely red bars.⁷ In the opposite case, participants exactly repeated a stimulus verb with the uvular-full [rqu] variant only a little more the 50% of the time. In these cases, some errors in stimuli processing occurred: sometimes the /-rqu/ morpheme was replaced with experienced past [rqa] (navy), or changed to other morphemes or completely deleted (light blue) – usually after the participant had asked to hear numerous repetitions of the same phrase, seemingly with the intention of better understanding it.

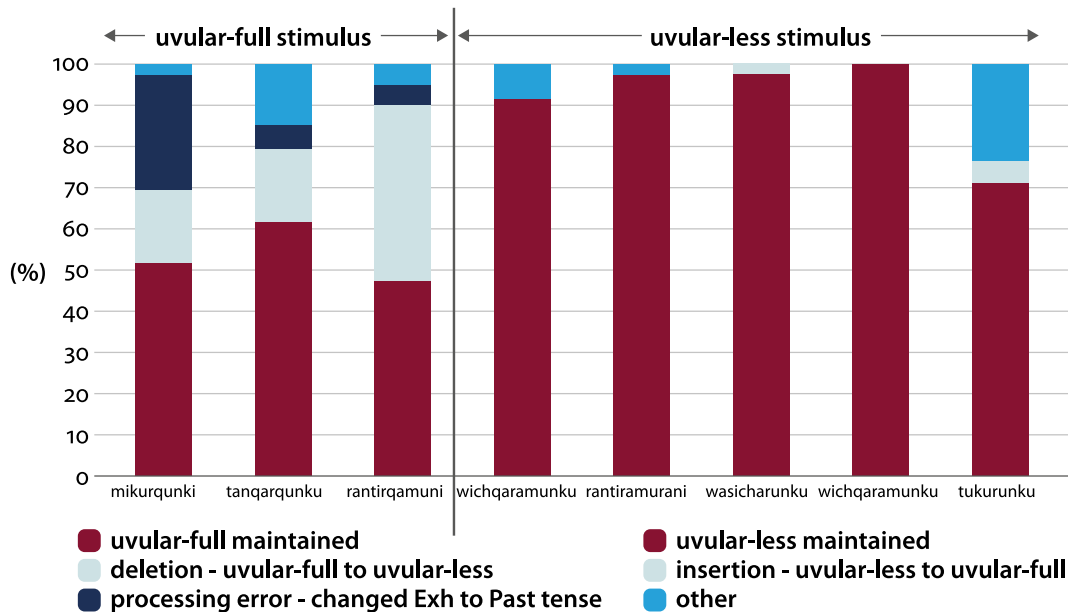


Figure 3. Results from the correction task: Variants of the exhortative morpheme /-rqu/

These results confirm that the uvular is almost never pronounced in the exhortative.⁸ In fact, for some speakers this morpheme has been lexicalized as [ru], given that they seem not to understand or process the verbs with a uvular-

7. The verb with some variation in its repetition was the one in the final phrase (number 19), and it occurred after many phrases with a uvular, which could have conditioned participants to pronounce a uvular-full repetition.

8. The only exception is in conscious speech by the few speakers trained in Quechua orthography – and only in a language education environment.

full [rqu] morpheme very well. At the same time, limited other speakers were able to process and repeat the uvular-full exhortative. Urban speakers who have studied Chanka orthography and some rural speakers repeated some uvular-full morphemes correctly. One even recovered it when not pronounced: Rosa (25-year-old rural female) asked for repetition of the stimulus containing uvular-full *miku-rqu-nki* (eat-EXH-2) ‘you have eaten’. The RA interviewer gave a uvular-less pronunciation; regardless, Rosa recovered the uvular with *puchullantaña miku-rqu-n* (leftovers eat-EXH-3) ‘he/she has eaten the leftovers’. However, very few of these insertions occurred.

As was shown previously for the past morpheme, the table below (Table 6) shows *correct*, *inverse*, and *other* answers for each exhortative stimulus variant. In this table, the preferred variant for the morpheme (the majority of *same* responses, with a confirming high number of *inverse* responses for the other variant) is highlighted in dark gray. For the exhortative, [ru] is preferred because it is repeated correctly or the *same* 173/189 times. Moreover, this morpheme, when uvular-full, is sometimes misunderstood, which is seen by the 24 *other* answers, highlighted in light gray. The significance of these results was confirmed with a chi-square test of importance, $X^2(1, N=301) = 62.64, p < .001$.

Table 6. Summary of same, inverse, and other repetitions for exhortative morpheme

		Answer		
		Same	Inverse	Other
Stimulus	q	60	28	24
	Ø	173	3	13

5. Discussion

Speech style and the status of speakers have long been treated in sociolinguistic research as providing two complementary windows on the social evaluation of linguistic variation. But in a marginalized minority language like Quechua, it is not clear that this model is relevant to how speakers produce and perceive the social significance of variables for at least two reasons. First, the very conception of style in Western English-speaking communities, proxied by attention paid to speech and formal/informal dimensions, depends on the relevance of these contexts and normative pressures to stylistic variation in the local community. Second, the traditional tasks used to access speech styles, usually written, depend on widespread literacy in the language of study.

The attention-to-speech model developed by Labov (1972), commonly used in sociolinguistics, postulates that speakers use more formal language when paying greater attention to speech. In majority languages such as English, formal language often reflects a prestigious standard that is reinforced through written norms in the education system. Furthermore, public venues and careful speech become associated with a standard or prestige variety. Thus, attention paid to speech seems intrinsically tied to standard language ideology, where speakers have a conception of “correct” forms, and will try to use them more when they are aware. However, as many scholars including Labov himself (2016) have noted, “style” must be defined on local terms, especially for endangered languages.⁹ This is because style is not necessarily intertwined with “standard,” “conservative,” and/or “prestige” in communities with fewer normative pressures (Meyerhoff et al., 2020).

Still, many variationist studies on endangered languages have identified a reduction of styles in use by speakers. This “stylistic shrinkage” (see Kasstan 2019 for an in-depth overview) is often attributed to a reduction in formal domains of use for the language, leaving only intimate domains and thus casual speech. However, while it is true that many bilingual speakers now use Quechua in fewer domains in Peru, it seems premature to assume that stylistic atrophy automatically follows. In fact, several completed studies on other endangered languages contest such an assumption. For instance, Clarke (2009) found stylistic variation for four variables in Sheshatshiu-Innu-aimun (Canada), even though the other fourteen variables in the study did not vary along the stylistic dimensions considered. Kasstan (2019) found that speakers of Francoprovençal also use stylistic variation, absent a standard or prestige norm. Furthermore, in Máhĩki, another endangered language spoken in Peru, Skilton (2017, p.108) found stylistic variation between ‘correct’ and ‘incorrect’ uses, despite the lack of a written standard.

Given the evidence of stylistic variation in similar contexts of language endangerment, the lack of task-dependent variation among Quechua speakers for the uvular variable does not necessarily evidence a complete lack of stylistic variation. Rather, alternative repertoires of style likely exist. In Andean communities, the diglossic situation, with Spanish being expected in formal situations (including in school until recently), limits and potentially eliminates the number of Western-like formal environments available for Quechua use. Thus, stylistic variation is likely orientated around different social norms besides the casual and formal set-

9. Here our focus is on the external social norms guiding stylistic variation related to the attention-to-speech model. Once the Quechua repertoire of style is identified, future research can employ agentive approaches, which argue for an individualized, event-based analysis of style for all languages.

tings explored in this study. Notably, Kasstan (2019, p.699) found “substantial variation within the most careful speech style” in Francoprovençal, which suggests that speakers were orientated toward an alternative stylistic dimension.

Rather than assume lack of stylistic variation, we must seek evidence of notions of style along non-traditional, non-Western lines. In particular, researchers from outside the community of study can take advantage of the expertise of local speakers regarding social nuances. As we have begun to do for social categories (i.e., class and sex), gathering local insight leads to a more accurate description of the social meaning of linguistic variables in these communities. The search for an accurate conception of Quechua speech styles continues beyond this paper, as several questions remain: Do speakers have casual and formal styles in the Western sense? If so, where is each one used? Do these styles correlate with attention paid to speech? Or, does Quechua have alternative ideologies guiding variation?

As for task design, the present study developed alternative non-written methods for investigating the traditional formal-informal stylistic range in minoritized languages. As previously mentioned, the sentence correction task, compared with the interview conversation, was intended to address style as attention paid to speech, in the Labovian model (Labov, 1972). Traditionally, relatively un-self-monitored or ‘casual’ style is elicited through an informal oral interview, and self-monitored ‘careful’ speech through a formal reading task. In the present study, however, the limited literacy in the population necessitated using oral tasks for both, with the phrase correction task drawing the speakers’ attention specifically to the variable in question. But although the two tasks provided complementary insight as to the most common forms, and possibly the forms preferred by each group, they did not appear to directly approximate formal and informal styles in the traditional sense. Participants exercised similar levels of carefulness throughout the entire recording session, thus prompting further review of these methods for future research in this population.

Furthermore, using attention paid to speech as a proxy for formal/informal did not lead to expected differences in use of the uvular. A higher rate of uvular presence was expected in the repetition task compared to the interview because we assumed that uvulars would vary based on formality. Again, no clear difference between the tasks was found; nor was there an inter-task correlation between rates for individual speakers or certain social groups. However, as previously mentioned, this lack of difference does not necessarily indicate a lack of stylistic variation in Quechua. Instead, it underscores the need to expand our repertoire of styles available, especially in non-Western societies that are less oriented around written language and norms.

In any case, the responses in the phrase correction task clearly indicate an overall implicit preference for the uvular-full pronunciation of /-rqa/. This also happens to be the variant used more in conversation by speakers who are older, rural, less-educated, and less Spanish-dominant. In the sociolinguistic research tradition focused on majority languages with established ‘standards’, this would appear contradictory: in this community lower status speakers are using more of the preferred variant and also following the orthographical norm, which is the opposite of the findings in classic studies beginning with Labov’s work in New York City (Labov, 1966). But in the case of Quechua, this is not surprising, given that it lacks “‘superposed’ norms about ‘correctness’” (Meyerhoff et al., 2020, p. 7), as the educational standard is not widely “reinforced” through instruction or social practice. In fact, those who developed Quechua orthography intended to reflect this rural speech (Hornberger, 1993; Jung & López, 1987; Zúñiga, 1987). Furthermore, the lack of difference between conditions with supposedly distinct levels of formality highlights the fact that Quechua is not utilized in formal domains in Peru, and thus no formal register, as traditionally conceived, exists. Rather, these results suggest that the social evaluation of varieties of Quechua turns on an ideology of authenticity, in place of an association between ways of speaking and the status of speakers.

Authenticity is thus the alternative language ideology that is most evident in the current research. While most participants had no metalinguistic or social awareness of the uvular variable, teachers specifically trained in Quechua orthography attributed it social value. They positively described uvular-full speech as more *dulce* ‘sweet’, *puro* ‘pure’, and authentically Quechua. In part due to the way Quechua orthography was developed, older, rural speech more closely approximates an idealized authentic variety. The official Chanka orthography was finalized in 1989 by academics who prioritized the forms used by monolingual speakers (Hornberger, 1993; Jung & López, 1987; Zúñiga, 1987). However, it is still unclear exactly what social norms guide rural speech, despite its proximity to authenticity, given speakers’ low literacy levels and unfamiliarity with national authenticity discourse. As for socially established urban speakers, their uvular rates were much more varied. They attributed positive value to rural speech in general, considering it more authentic, even as their own usage diverged from it.

Thus, a desire for authenticity drives much of this idealization of the ‘pure’ form of Chanka Quechua. Features of authentic speech are based partially on knowledge of the official orthography and norms, and partially on local perceptions of purity, mainly meaning minimal influence from Spanish. Other ways of speaking are discredited as inauthentic, especially in the classroom – and so are the speakers. Unfortunately, the current construction of Quechua language

“delegitimizes” and “can disempower” many Quechua speakers in urban areas, as Zavala et al. (2014, p.46) describe in detail.

This paper addresses the ideology that considers authentic Quechua to be static. The results presented here confirmed the existence of uvular variation for all social groups – including older, rural speakers. Whether or not the uvular is stylistically stratified or carries social value, the fact that it varies at all is currently ignored in the standardized orthography and its implementation. In educational materials, the uvular is always present, which leads to its being seen as the more correct, prestigious variant. Initial indications of this ideology are found in the opinions of teachers, who have knowledge of the writing system and judge uvular-full speech as more correct. These educated bilingual speakers have begun to transfer the school-learned concept of standard language ideology from Spanish to Quechua. However, as noted above, few of our participants have any familiarity with this orthography or exposure to Quechua-language instruction. Even so, as this type of ideology spreads, it may be detrimental to revitalization efforts.

The ideological path to a search for Quechua authenticity has come alongside standardization. Back in 1950, Rowe mused, “It would be interesting to see what could be done if Quechua and Aymara were legalized for teaching and official business in the provinces where they are spoken by a significant fraction of the population” (215). Despite Quechua officialization and many language education initiatives since that time, language shift to Spanish is still occurring. In fact, discourses or methods of implementation of some of these initiatives may be contributing to it. As Zavala (2020) noted, “policies in favor of diversity can hide” the true social situation, which is not as supportive of variation in cultures and languages.

The Peruvian Ministry of Education frames Quechua as a “‘discrete,’ bounded object” (Patrick, 2007, p.124), by indicating that only the linguistic forms in written materials are authentic and valid. This viewpoint is common in endangered language communities. As governments seek “homogeneity in nationhood,” speakers find that “[language] rights will always be circumscribed by an ideology of linguistic homogeneity, and linguistic diversity will thereby be compromised” (Patrick, 2007, p.129). While the Peruvian government recognizes 48 official languages, only the standardized form is valued.

The “correct” orthographical Quechua forms are justified as being the most authentic forms. In fact, most orthographic rules in Quechua were determined for historical, unification, preservation, or compatibility reasons (Hornberger, 1993; Jung & López, 1987; Zúñiga, 1987). Authenticity and faithfulness to (sometimes reconstructed) historical forms is generally a driving factor in determining which forms gain official status. Standardizing authorities refer to reconstructions by lin-

guists or other professionals of what the forms of a variety or dialect used to be, or maybe to how older community members (more “authentic” ones) currently speak (Fishman, 1988; Hornberger, 1993). This may be the source of the authenticity ideology for Quechua teachers.

Even where successful implementation of the official standard Quechua orthography has occurred, it has not stopped or reversed language shift. While it gives Quechua more visibility and legitimacy as a language, it also reinforces ideologies that frame the language as static and monolithic. Government documents affirm that Quechua “is not a dead language or of the past” (Zavala et al., 2014, p.11, quoting Gobierno Regional de Apurímac, 2009). However, “standardizing processes ... lead to linguistic forms that are artificial” (Patrick, 2007, p.129). In fact, the Peruvian Ministry of Education standardized Chanka orthography ignores variation that is inherently present in the language. The discrepancy between a growing acceptance of uvular-less variants, shown in this paper, and the static uvular presence in the orthography, evidences this point.

Ideologies around authenticity have been found to affect variation in other minority languages, though each process is community-specific. For instance, new Basque speakers (who learn the standardized *Batua* variety in school) learn invariable Object Marking as the correct form (Rodríguez-Ordóñez, 2021), similar to how lack of variation is taught in school Quechua. However, through interaction with native speakers of local varieties, the new speakers of Basque also learn to apply variation (Differential Object Marking) to increase their own authenticity (Rodríguez-Ordóñez, 2021). In this sense, Quechua speakers and learners believe that this static variety represents authentic Quechua, rather than the variable language spoken by real, often bilingual, speakers. Currently, only monolingual Quechua language is viewed as authentic, and this aligns with the standardized variety taught in schools. While the population propagates this idealized variety, most admit that few speakers of it actually exist.

In Peru language mixing is also a clear social marker of inauthenticity. Despite being extremely common, Quechua with Spanish mixing is stigmatized as “contaminated,” as Laurimar described above. While most urban participants claimed that only urban speech was contaminated, Laurimar later retracted her sentiment that rural speech is pure based on her own experiences as a teacher in a rural community:

En el campo te dicen igual, mezclando. Siempre se le mete algo del castellano.
In the countryside they say it the same way, mixing. Something from Spanish
always slips in. (Laurimar, 36 years, urban female)

She recognizes that the authentic ideal does not exist, and Máximo (53-year-old urban male) agreed:

Mana puruchataqa rimankuchu. No hay puro, entonces una mezcla hay.

They [in the countryside] do not speak purely. There is no pure [Quechua]; there is a mixture. (Máximo, 53 years, urban male)

The stigmatization of Quechua varieties ‘contaminated’ by Spanish is similar to the antipathy for language mixing that Kroskrity (2018) describes for Tewa. He sees this “Indigenous purism” as a factor facilitating language maintenance, framing the language as an essential element of identity. But in the Quechua case, purism appears to militate against language maintenance, by devaluing the usage of so many speakers. For language maintenance purposes, reframing variable Quechua as authentic may legitimize it like local varieties of Basque have been. As it stands, the Quechua speakers seen as most authentic have the least potential for social mobility, and thus are motivated to switch to Spanish and leave Quechua. The potential gains in authenticity of using Quechua in daily life – as speakers of Basque do – are outweighed by the continued negative stigma. Conversely, the urban, bilingual, educated, professional Quechua speakers could maintain the language without losing social or economic status – but they are not valued as speakers due to not speaking pure Quechua. Bilingual speakers are thus the most invalidated by the idealization of authentic expression in Quechua. This differs from Basque speakers, in that both traditional and new speakers are bilingual, and they can approximate authenticity by using nonstandard, contact-related linguistic features (Differential Object Marking). Using these features, Basque speakers can fall on a continuum of authenticity (Rodríguez-Ordóñez, 2021). This may eventually be the case for Quechua speakers as well, though the popular ideology maintains a categorical definition of authentic language. Future work on Quechua should examine the possibility of describing variation on a continuum, possibly with a more salient feature.

Bilingual Quechua-Spanish speakers are the best positioned economically to maintain the language, as they have overcome most negative associations with it. The urban bilinguals in this study are often from the low middle class by regional standards, which means that their employment allows them to cover their family’s basic needs in addition to a small amount of disposable income. Currently, these bilinguals can use Chanka in socially acceptable spaces such as historical cultural demonstrations – as long as they otherwise speak standard Spanish. However, they also usually have some instruction in Quechua writing and grammar, and thus strive for correct and authentic speech by those standards. Unfortunately, these speakers tend toward less authentic, uvular-less colloquial speech, as seen in the results presented here. Similar results are likely for other variables, which heightens the need to raise awareness of the legitimacy of variation in the commu-

nity. Were the everyday speech of bilingual speakers also validated as authentic, they may be encouraged to use it more often.

Language shift to Spanish in Quechua-speaking communities, as shown by the absence of young Quechua speakers in the urban setting, evidences the pervasiveness of underlying negative ideologies about the value of Quechua in Andahuaylas and Peru, which certainly must continue to be addressed. At the same time, overt positive ideologies expressed by speakers, rooted in political discourse and new economic incentives, conceal the negative perceptions – though they also contribute to language shift in their own way, by only legitimizing language that is deemed authentic.

6. Conclusion

This paper found uvular alternation in Chanka Quechua (Andahuaylas, Peru) using data from an oral sentence correction task (explicitly monitored) and sociolinguistic interviews (less self-monitored). The uvular-full variant is the most common form of the experienced past morpheme, though most speakers use and understand the uvular-less variant as well. The oral task developed for this project effectively confirmed these hypotheses; however, it also highlighted the limitations of assuming a formal/informal style continuum that correlates with attention paid to speech. In endangered language communities where the dominant language is also the formal language, we can work to identify alternative style repertoires and methods for accessing them.

This paper also highlights the need to broaden our understanding of standard language ideology, seeking alternative community norms and priorities. Given the social situation of Quechua speakers, they do not align to a traditional standard language ideology based on a widespread written standard, the media, or a respected group. Instead, speakers – urbanites especially – orient their language attitudes toward authenticity, often tied to rurality and monolingualism. While authenticity can be a guiding force for language norms, we must be careful that it does not delegitimize Quechua speakers who do not fit neatly into an authentic identity. In this way, studies of variation in minority language communities can legitimize different ways of speaking in the community, which ultimately encourages all types of speakers to continue using the language.

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Abstract (Spanish)

Al igual que en otros idiomas marginalizados, en el quechua chanka (Perú) faltan normas de prestigio a nivel de la comunidad que se asocian con la ideología del lenguaje estándar. Las situaciones formales requieren el castellano y pocos hablantes tienen alfabetismo en quechua, así que los estilos normativos del habla están ausentes. Los juicios evaluativos de los hablantes

no tienen referencia a las nociones de lo que es correcto, al contrario, valoran el habla pura y la autenticidad.

Este artículo explora los acercamientos alternativos para acceder los juicios sociolingüísticos con una investigación sobre el fonema uvular que es presente de manera variable en el morfema /-rqa/ del tiempo pasado, tal como se ejemplifica en la siguiente alternación:

- (1) *ri-rqa-ni* ~ *ri-ra-ni*
 go-PST-1SG go-PST-1SG
 'I went' 'I went'

En oposición al habla de las entrevistas sociolingüísticas, el habla cuidadosa, auto-monitoreada, se obtiene a través del recuento oral del material que se presenta auditoriamente, en lugar de en la escritura. De los 38 participantes, los hablantes rurales tienden a tener tasas más altas de /q/ que los urbanos, así que refleja el quechua puro idealizado. Argumentamos que la autenticidad guía la variación en lugar de la ideología del lenguaje estándar.

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