

Convergence in feature mapping: Evidentiality, Aspect and nominalizations in Quechua-Spanish bilinguals

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Reportative evidentiality (hearsay information) has emerged as part of the verbal paradigm of Spanish in contact with different Quechua languages. It is encoded as the pluperfect (Klee & Ocampo 1995, Escobar 1997, Sánchez 2004 *inter alia*) or as the present perfect (Escobar 1994). Grammatical encoding of reportative evidentiality on the verb coexists with the use of discourse-level particles such as *dice* (Escobar 1997, Sanchez 2004):

- (1) Le había encontrado un pajarito amarillo, dice.
CL Have-PAST IMP a bird yellow says
“(She) found a yellow bird” (Hearsay information)

In (1) the pluperfect occurs in a sentence in which the event referred to may have taken place in the recent past and crucially this is an event for which the speaker has no direct evidence.

Morphological marking of reportative evidentiality is found in all varieties of Quechua where reportative evidentiality is marked on the subject with the suffix *-s* and in the reparative past tense morpheme *-sqa*:

- (2) Pay-kuna-s taksa hamp’atu-ta qhawa-*sqa*-ku
S/he-PL-REP/FOC medium frog-ACC look-PAST REP-PL
“They looked at the medium sized frog” (Hearsay information, wide focus)

This indicates that some type of convergence in evidentiality, tense, aspect and mood features (E/TMA) is taking place in Spanish in contact with Quechua. Convergence in language contact contexts raises the issue of how do features come together to form larger structures (Adger and Svenonius 2009) that are associated with syncretic morphology (Giorgi and Pianesi 1996) in bilinguals. Language contact situations are especially relevant to understand this process since in them two feature systems coexist and allow for re-mapping of bundles of features onto morphology (Lefebvre 1988, Lardiere 1998, *inter alia*).

Cases such as (1) have been analyzed as evidence of convergence between Quechua and Spanish features in a matrix of functional features that includes, in addition to tense and aspect features, evidentiality features (Sanchez 2004). This matrix of features is mapped onto the syncretic Tense/Mood/Aspect (TMA) morphology of Spanish. Evidentiality in (1) is an uninterpretable feature in the C-domain that agrees with a complex syncretic T head:

- (3) $[_{CP} \text{Evid} \dots [_{TP} \text{ } [_{VP} \text{ había encontrado}]]]$
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While this mechanism may account for the checking of the evidentiality features it does not provide evidence of how the mapping of features onto morphology takes place. Furthermore there is dialectal variation in the mapping. Adelaar and Musyken (2004) note that, reportative values are conveyed by the pluperfect (*había sido* ‘had been’) in Southern Andean Spanish (Peru and Bolivia) and by the present perfect (*ha sido* ‘has been’) in Northern varieties (Ecuador). Additionally, while the morphological expression of reportative evidentiality has been extensively documented, the mapping onto Spanish morphology of its opposite value, attested evidentiality (first hand information), figures less prominently in the literature.

In this paper, I present a study that aims at answering the following questions about the emerging encoding of evidentiality, tense and aspect in Spanish in contact with Quechua:

- How do discourse conditions affect the mapping of tense, aspect and evidentiality features onto Spanish TMA verbal morphology in bilingual speech?
- Does contact with different dialects of Quechua generate differences in feature mapping onto Spanish morphology in bilingual speech?

In order to answer these questions, a study was conducted to elicit oral narratives from adult early Quechua-Spanish bilingual speakers from the Huánuco region, a community with low levels of formal instruction (N= 15, ages 24-69) and from adult early bilingual speakers (N= 15, ages 18-30) from the Cuzco region with high level of formal instruction (complete secondary education or college). The narratives were elicited in Quechua and in Spanish using a picture-based story telling task. It was hypothesized that contact with Quechua would result in similar patterns of crosslinguistic influence in Spanish that would show similar verb forms indicating attested evidentiality given the shared view of the sequence of pictures by the interviewer and the participant. In this talk I will report on the Spanish data only.

The data show that speakers of the Huánuco region made extensive use of present progressive forms in both languages. New periphrastic verbs forms in Spanish were found such as imminent progressives (4) and passives with *estar+participle+ DO* as in (5):

- (4) El tortuga (es)tá queriendo caer del canoa
 The turtle beASP want-PROG fall off the canoe
 “The turtle is about to fall off the canoe”
- (5) El muchacho está cruzado su mano.
 The boy is crossed his hand(s).
 ‘The boy has his hands crossed’

The Cuzco group, on the other hand shows low percentages of progressive forms and both imperfective and perfective forms in their Spanish narratives.

An independent samples mean test showed that the distribution of past forms among Cuzco Spanish speakers (22.3 avg) and Huanuco Spanish speakers (5.26 avg) was significantly different ($p=0.002$). There were also statistically significant differences in the distribution of present progressive forms between both groups (Cuzco, 1.37 avg; Huanuco 19.46 avg, $p= 0.000$). No significant evidence of hearsay particles such as *dice* or specific verbal forms for attested values were found for either group. While Huánuco Quechua speakers interpreted the task as a description and used the progressive forms as a way to convey shared information and *estar+participle+ DO* to convey a resultative interpretation, Cuzco speakers approached the task as a narration and used a wider range of past forms in Quechua and a wide range of past forms (perfective and imperfective) in Spanish. Structures (4) and (5) are indicative a description. In (5), the participle *cruzado* “crossed” is analyzed as a nominalization of the Quechua type that is the complement of an aspectual head. The resultative interpretation emerges from the interaction of the verb *estar* ‘to be+aspect’ and the nominalization.

These findings suggest that, while previous studies have established that contact with Quechua is an important factor in the mapping of Evidentiality, Tense and Aspect systems onto TMA morphology in contact varieties of Andean Spanish, changes in how discourse conditions are interpreted for the same task may yield different mapping results depending on the level of formal instruction of the speakers. These facts favor an analysis of online mapping of ETMA features onto bilingual Spanish morphology that is based on feature matrix formation according to discourse task.