

# Amazonian Spanish

*Language contact and evolution*

Edited by Stephen Fafulas

John Benjamins Publishing Company

# Amazonian Spanish

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## **Volume 23**

Amazonian Spanish. Language contact and evolution  
Edited by Stephen Fafulas

# Amazonian Spanish

Language contact and evolution

*Edited by*

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Given the current state of affairs in which many communities in the Amazon are undergoing change as seen in their educational, political or social spheres, I must acknowledge the community members themselves who opened their homes and cultural heritage to me and many of the investigators in this book, to provide us with a snapshot of the rich cultural, linguistic and environmental legacies that would not be accessible otherwise. To them, I owe an everlasting debt of gratitude. I hope that the work in this volume brings them recognition as well as increased support for their languages, communities, and overall wellbeing.

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## INTRODUCTION

# Spanish in the Amazon region

## Some preliminaries on its status and geographical extension

Stephen Fafulas

University of Mississippi

This opening chapter offers the reader an introduction to Spanish in the Amazon. The vast linguistic diversity found in this region of South America has received much scholarly interest. However, the Spanish varieties that have resulted from language contact and a myriad of sociolinguistic factors have only recently begun to be documented. The enclosed chapters in this volume explore these emerging linguistic features and add to what is known of variation and change in the Spanish-speaking world.

**Keywords:** introduction, Amazonian Spanish, language contact, indigenous languages

### Introduction

*Amazonian Spanish: Language Contact and Evolution* is an edited volume which unites original, previously unpublished, empirically grounded and theoretically informed research from a number of leading scholars on a single theme: the unique origins, linguistic features, and geo-political situation of the Spanish that has emerged in the Amazon. The Amazon region encompasses a sizeable portion of South America, including areas of Brazil, Peru, Colombia, Venezuela, Ecuador, Bolivia, Guyana, Suriname, and French Guiana. The Amazon is home to hundreds of indigenous language communities (Aikhenvald, 2012) and in many of these speech communities Spanish is spoken as a second, or more recently, first language (O'Rourke & Fafulas, 2015; Vallejos, 2014). While the Amazon region boasts a great deal of linguistic diversity, many of the indigenous languages found within its limits are now losing status to and being replaced by Spanish (and Portuguese, see Aikhenvald this volume). This situation of language expansion, contact, and bilingualism is reshaping the sociolinguistic landscape of

the Amazon and creating a number of Spanish varieties, both monolingual and bilingual, with innovative or less commonly noted linguistic features that deserve closer scholarly attention.

As is well known, Spanish is in contact with many languages in diverse regions. This situation has been explored in depth from a broad range of perspectives (see Clements, 2009; Díaz-Campos, 2011; Klee & Lynch, 2009; Lipski, 1994). However, little attention has been devoted to the Amazon, where Spanish is in contact with numerous less well-known indigenous languages (see Aikhenvald, 2012; O'Rourke & Fafulas, 2015; Vallejos, 2014, and references therein). The current book documents this situation in detail. The peer-reviewed chapters in this volume include work on distinct geographical regions of the Amazon, with primary data collected from different methodologies and language contact situations. The scholars in this volume are specialists in an array of fields, including anthropological linguistics, bilingualism, language contact, dialectology, and language acquisition. Their work represents both formal and functional approaches to linguistics.

To the best of my knowledge, while there are a number of recent investigations on this topic, and some descriptive works written in Spanish (e.g., Escobar, 1978; Ramírez, 2003) there is no comparable and readily accessible work written in English that focuses specifically on Amazonian Spanish. There are a handful of recent journal articles (e.g., Falcón, Chumbile & Canturín, 2012; Henriksen & Fafulas, 2017; Jara Yupanqui, 2012; Montes Rodríguez, 2009; Sánchez, Camacho, & Elías, 2010; Vallejos, 2014, amongst others) that reflect growing interest surrounding this theme but there is no single collection of works or book that offers empirically grounded research and a solid overview of the diversity of Amazonian Spanish. The closest projects that I am aware of are works such as Aikhenvald (2012) and Campbell & Grondona (2012) that investigate minority/indigenous languages in the Amazon or South America more generally. However, these volumes do not focus on Spanish in the Amazon.

The first thematic section of the current volume introduces the reader to the linguistic and geographical diversity inherent in the Amazon region as well as the main disciplines and theoretical perspectives included in the subsequent chapters. Alexandra Y. Aikhenvald's contribution begins by detailing the major linguistic families of the Amazon. Revealingly, Aikhenvald presents a number of features of Vaupés Portuguese, including the presence of evidentials to mark information source, in order to highlight how Amazonian Spanish and Portuguese varieties share some similar outcomes traceable to the original languages of the communities and the imprints of the Spanish and Portuguese colonists who targeted the area. A major takeaway of her chapter is that the Amazon houses an incredible typology of languages as well as a rich cultural treasure-trove, which, due to the complex histories of the indigenous populations and the remoteness of the region, are still

in need of documentation. The following chapter by Kimberly Geeslin and Travis Evans-Sago sets the stage for research in the Amazon which looks to unveil the origins of non-pan-Hispanic norms in the Spanish of the region, and to what extent these are the result of contact-induced change, language shift, adult-acquired language processes, or early bilingualism, among typologically dissimilar languages. As Geeslin and Evans-Sago point out, the unique geographical, social, and political context of the Amazon region warrants particular care in making comparisons with previous studies of bilingual communities throughout the Spanish-speaking world. This is of primary importance as the majority of Spanish speakers in the Amazon region do not have access to pan-Hispanic features of the more prestigious or socially-dominant cities of South America, nor is their learning trajectory, educational setting, or available input from media, internet, etc. comparable to that of bilinguals in most North American or European contexts. At the same time, their chapter explains how the fields of bilingualism, SLA and contact linguistics can benefit from the investigation of Amazonian Spanish varieties given the shared processes such as simplification, regularization, and transfer evident in the grammars of these speakers and speech communities. For example, the study of *leísmo* (see Fafulas & Viñas de Puig's contribution) and direct object marking (see Sánchez & Mayer's contribution) covered in the current volume have both been widely researched, but these chapters show that new discoveries in the unique Amazonian context are still awaiting. Next, Manuel Díaz-Campos & Ángel Milla-Muñoz provide an account of the history of Spanish in the Americas and how the settlers' languages and practices in addition to contact with the local indigenous languages best explains the formation of present-day heterogeneity among Spanish varieties. Their chapter also provides an overview of some of the main phonological and morphosyntactic features that have been documented for Amazonian Spanish. With a better understanding of the main characteristic phenomena in each region of American Spanish, we can better investigate the unique and shared properties of Amazonian Spanish alongside other contact zones. This background might aid us in determining which properties of Amazonian Spanish are a direct result of contact with local substrate languages or possibly importations from settlers and other Spanish varieties in the same region or country. Importantly, their chapter also points out the significance of geographical distance, socioeconomic status, and degree of contact in determining the formation of macro-dialects among Spanish in the Americas.

Colleen M. Fitzgerald makes a timely contribution in her chapter on documentation and revitalizing the languages of the Amazon. As she points out, the Amazon is at the intersection of multiple countries, which makes consideration of language policies, legal expectations and attitudes toward indigenous populations all the more challenging and important.



Fitzgerald highlights a model for researchers that includes four stages: documentation, analysis, revitalization and training. Essentially, by working with community members, the access to metalinguistic knowledge and a richer repertoire of data is available to the linguist while also benefiting the community through training, revitalization, and documentation of the language. By training community members in descriptive linguistics, they can in turn document and teach the language in the future. Attention to archiving, preservation and access is likely to increase, given both funding agency requirements and community interests, thus, scholars working with indigenous language communities may do well to implement such a model in their future collaborations. In the final chapter of the first section, Scott Lamanna applies the concept of ethnolinguistic repertoires to account for the emergence and maintenance of ethnolinguistic variation. This is of primary concern as the field sites covered in the current volume include Amazonian communities that house multiple languages and ethnicities, all of which contribute to the formation of newly-emerging Spanish varieties in the region. As Lamanna points out, the current volume and work on Amazonian Spanish contributes to our understanding of how ethnicity-based language variation arises, is transmitted from one generation to the next, and is employed by speakers to index their multifaceted and ever-changing identities, while concurrently tackling issues relevant to endangered and minority languages. Similar studies can help legitimize the languages (and language varieties) of socially marginalized groups (such as many of those living in Amazonia), thus hopefully increasing the respect and appreciation shown to these groups by others and aiding them in their quest for equal rights within their respective nation-states.

The next section presents five original empirical studies that add to our understanding of Spanish in the Amazon region. Liliana Sánchez and Elisabeth Mayer present the results of a study focusing on direct object clitic doubling and differential object marking among bilingual speakers of Shipibo-Spanish and Ashéninka-Perené-Spanish in the Peruvian Amazon. Importantly, Shipibo is an ergative language while Ashéninka-Perené is a nominative-accusative language. Thus, their study reveals how typological differences in the case marking systems of the substrate languages impact the resulting bilingual Spanish varieties. Stephen Fafulas and Ricard Viñas de Puig offer an overview of morphosyntactic phenomena in Yagua-Spanish, including the omission of direct objects, *léismo*, and some non-canonical uses of the Present Perfect. Their study explores alternate hypotheses for the sources of these linguistic features, ranging from substrate influence to importation of Andean Spanish in the Peruvian Amazon. Ultimately, they conclude that Yagua Spanish co-exists among many ethnolinguistic microvarieties belonging to a greater Amazonian Spanish macrodialect that encompasses the different contact Spanish varieties in the Amazon basin. This difference between Yagua-Spanish

and surrounding varieties is attributable to the specific sociohistorical contact situation and pool of linguistic variants available for selection in ethnically-Yagua bilingual communities. Following these two studies of morphosyntactic phenomena in Amazonian Spanish, are two studies which add to our knowledge of Amazonian Spanish phonology.

Jose Elias-Ulloa explores the intonational patterns of interrogative sentences in two monolingual varieties of Peruvian Amazonian Spanish (Pucallpa in the Ucayali region and Iquitos in the Loreto region). Importantly, his study shows that both varieties, while geographically separated, behave similarly in as far as their intonational contours. He also finds some distinct patterns in these varieties of Peruvian Spanish which set them apart from what has been reported for questions in most other Spanish varieties. This includes the inclusion of four heights in their tonal boundaries. Next, Erin O'Rourke reports on the findings of a study targeting bilingual production of the Spanish palatal lateral (orthographic <ll>) in the Ecuadorian Amazon. Her investigation observes the effects of language contact and gender in the production of palatal laterals by Quichua-Spanish speakers. While males maintain a distinct palatal lateral and females demonstrate delateralization, transfer from their native language is evident as both genders demonstrate cases of depalatalization due to allophony, as in Quichua.

In the final empirical chapter of the volume, Nicholas Emlen surveys data collected in the Southern Peruvian Amazon, in the province of La Convención, where ongoing population movements have given way to a rich trilingual zone including the languages Quechua, Matsigenka, and Andean Spanish in a region where indigenous Matsigenka people and tens of thousands of Quechua-speaking agricultural migrants co-exist. His chapter offers a unique ethnographic view of the emerging Spanish in this trilingual agricultural frontier. In the concluding chapter, Miguel Rodríguez-Mondoñedo and Stephen Fafulas offer some insights from the work on Amazonian Spanish conducted in the past decade, including that of the current volume, with an eye towards what contributions this avenue of research has offered the linguistics community, as well as what we might expect in the next decade.

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# Language loss and language gain in Amazonia

## On newly emergent varieties of a national language

Alexandra Y. Aikhenvald

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The Amazon Basin is renowned for its high linguistic diversity. The history of Amazonian languages has been marred with language extinction and loss ever since the European conquest. Newly emergent varieties of the national languages – Portuguese and Spanish – bear the substratum influence of the indigenous languages. In many Amazonian languages, the necessity of always marking how the speaker knows things and being precise is linked to the obligatory category of evidentiality – grammatical marking of information source. In numerous varieties of Amazonian and Andean Spanish, a pragmatic convention to state the information source accounts for the evidential overtones of *dizque* across South America, where it has become an established feature of language varieties transmitted to children.

**Keywords:** Amazonian languages, linguistic diversity, evidentiality, language contact, ethnolect

### 1. Lowland Amazonian languages and their speakers: A backdrop

The Amazon Basin – the world’s major river system – is home to the world’s greatest linguistic diversity (rivalled only by the island of New Guinea). The region comprises over 350 extant languages grouped into over fifteen language families, in addition to a number of isolates (Aikhenvald, 2015, pp. 19–23; Crevels, 2012; Dixon & Aikhenvald, 1999; Loukotka, 1968; Tovar & Tovar, 1984).<sup>1</sup> The consensus

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1. Various attempts have been made, during the past two centuries, to align different families as part of macro-groupings or ‘stocks’, none of them with a solid backing of consistent proof (such as the putative ‘Amerind’, ‘Macro-Equatorial’ or ‘Arawakan’ said to encompass Arawak proper (or Maipuran), Arawá, Chapacura, Guahiboan, and Uru-Puquina (Aikhenvald, 1999, 2015). Macro-groupings or ‘stocks’ suggested by Kaufman (1994) and his predecessors are almost without exception illusory and otiose. The discussion in Section 1 is based on a revision of parts from Chapter 1 of Aikhenvald (2015).

among archaeologists is that the Americas were first populated about 12,000 years ago, possibly in successive waves of migration across the Bering Strait (a brief history and references are in Aikhenvald, 2015, pp. 2–17, 2013; a list of widely used loanwords from Amazonian languages into familiar European languages including English is in Aikhenvald, 2015, pp. 62–67). As a result of population movements and displacement, the linguistic map of Amazonia resembles a patchwork quilt: most major families are spoken in several disconnected geographical locations.

The six major linguistic families of the Amazon basin are as follows:

1. The Arawak language family is the largest in South America in terms of its geographical spread, with over forty extant languages between the Caribbean and Argentina. Well-established subgroups include Campa in Peru and a few small North Arawak groupings in Brazil and Venezuela. Arawak languages are spoken in at least ten locations north of the River Amazon, and in at least ten south of it. European languages contain a number of loans from Arawak languages (via Spanish), among them *hammock*, *tobacco*, *guava* and *canoe*.
2. The Tupí language family consists of about seventy languages; nine of its ten branches are spoken exclusively in Amazonia. The largest branch, Tupí-Guaraní, extends beyond the Amazonian Basin into Bolivia and Paraguay. Loans from Tupí-Guaraní languages include *jaguar* and *jacaranda*. A major source for these lexical loans was Tupinambá, a now extinct Tupí-Guaraní language which formerly occupied a large coastal territory around the area where Rio de Janeiro is currently located in Brazil. Tupinambá was known as the ‘Brasílica’ language, and ‘the most used language on the Brazilian coast’ (see Anchieta, 1595; da Cunha, 1978 and Rodrigues, 2014), thanks to its wide distribution.
3. Carib languages number about twenty-five, and are spoken in various locations in Brazil and Venezuela in northern Amazonia, and in the region of the Upper Xingu and adjacent areas of Mato Grosso in Brazil south of the River Amazon. The place name ‘Caribbean’ and the noun *cannibal* (a version of the ethnonym ‘Carib’), and also *manatee* are a legacy from Carib languages.
4. Panoan languages number about thirty, and are spoken on the eastern side of the Andes in Peru and adjacent areas of Brazil.
5. The Tukanoan language family spans Brazil, Colombia, Ecuador and north-eastern Peru, with a total number of about twenty languages.
6. Macro-Jê languages are a less well-established unit. Its central component are Jê languages with about ten members (the genetic relationship between a further eleven groups, such as Iatê, Maxacalí, and Karajá, is a matter for further work).

Smaller families include Guahibo, Yanomami, Jivaroan (or Chicham), Bora, Witotoan, Kawapanan, Zaparo, Peba-Yagua, Harakmbet, Arawá, Nambiquara,

Tacana, Katuquina and Chapacura.<sup>2</sup> National languages of the Amazonian states – Spanish, Portuguese, French, English, and Dutch – and contact languages such as Creoles came into play relatively recently.

Amazonian peoples share many details of their natural habitats and ways of life. They live mainly in the rainforest and along the main rivers and rivulets in the flood plains; the Jê people live in the savannah areas of Brazil. Many details of material culture, environment and subsistence are shared. Societies tend to be egalitarian and settlements are small. Spiritual culture tends to be more elaborate than material culture. However, this may not be the way things have always been.

Recent work by archaeologists confirms the existence of complicated man-made structures on the floodplains across the upper Amazon on the east side of the Andes, uncovering what could have been the remains of large chiefdoms with stratified hierarchical societies no longer in existence (see Neves, 1998; Petersen, Neves, and Heckenberger, 2001; Roosevelt, 1991, for details on traces of large urban-like settlements near the villages of the Carib-speaking Kuikuro in the Upper Xingu). Starting from the early 16th century, the first European explorers went up the main rivers and noticed the existence of large and well-organized chiefdoms along their shores. Francisco de Orellana's expedition in 1542 uncovered the rich chiefdom of Aparia, possibly inhabited by the Tupí-Guaraní-speaking Omagua (now reduced to a handful of people). And there were many more reports, to a similar effect (see a brief summary by Hemming, 2008, and further details in Hemming, 1978b).

The archaeological data now confirm that the major riverbanks of Amazonia could and did sustain large and materially sophisticated societies and settlements. The rainforest did not. The groups living in the rainforest kept their villages small in order not to exhaust the resources surrounding them. The larger and materially more advanced groups on the river banks were the first to be decimated by alien diseases and the aggressive invaders (the subsistence techniques, size of population groups, and peoples' distribution as debated by Meggers, 1971, and Roosevelt, 1991, and later work, are summarised by Hemming, 2008, pp. 269–88; an up-to-date account is in Silverman & Isbell, 2008).

At present, most Amazonian groups are small. The Jarawara in southern Amazonia (Brazil) number no more than 200. The Kagwahib (together with Tehnarim and the Parintintin) who live in adjacent areas in the Upper Madeira River basin number about 400, the Matses in Peru about 2,000, and the Palikur in Brazil and adjacent regions of French Guiana about 1,500. Only a handful of languages

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2. Recent advances in language classification have demonstrated the existence of further small groupings. For instance, the cultural denomination 'Makú' covers at least two genetic groups in north-west Amazonia (adjacent regions in Colombia and Brazil): Dâw-Hup-Yuhup on the one hand, and Kakua-Nukak, on the other hand: see Epps & Bolaños, 2017).

have a substantial number of speakers, among them a few Arawak-speaking groups in Peru: the Amuesha, or Yanesha, number about 8,000, and the Asháninka Campa about 25,000. The Shipibo-Conibo are the largest Panoan-speaking group, with about 30,000 speakers. The Aguaruna, a Jivaroan group, is perhaps the largest in Peru: they number about 39,000. Tikuna is spoken by about 48,600 people in the adjacent areas of Brazil, Peru and Colombia. Just a few language groups are larger than that. Guajiro, or Wayuu-naiki, an Arawak language, is spoken by about 350,000 people in the area of Guajiro peninsula in north-western Venezuela and the adjacent regions of north-eastern Colombia. Over five million people speak Guaraní – including over four and a half million in Paraguay where it is a national language. Garifuna, the Arawak outlier in Central America, is spoken in Honduras, Belize, Guatemala, Nicaragua, and now also in the USA by about 190,000 people.

The overall number of people of the forest tribes in the Amazon Basin itself in the mid-20th century is believed to be about 200,000. Some historians estimate that the rate of destruction over the years since the European Conquest was about ten to one. This would allow us to suggest that in the past the rainforest inhabitants may have numbered about 2,000,000. Highly populous chiefdoms on riverbanks and surrounding floodplain areas – whose existence was documented by explorers starting from the early 16th century – could have added to that (a summary and references are in Aikhenvald, 2015, pp. 3–6; Hemming, 1978b offers descriptions of earlier explorers). The current estimate of Pre-Columbian population of the Greater Amazonia may have been of up to four or five million people (Denevan, 1976a; Hemming, 2008, p. 288; Hemming, 1978a, p. 501 suggests a figure of 2.4 million for pre-conquest Brazil).

The European invasion – starting with Columbus reaching the coast of modern Haiti (the island of Hispaniola) in 1492 – resulted in decimation of numerous groups, especially those living along the major rivers. The Portuguese occupation of Brazil, with Pedro Alvaro Cabral reaching the east coast of Brazil in 1500, brought about quick extinction of numerous peoples of the Brazilian Atlantic coast and the north-east (for many of those, all we know is the name of the group: see, for instance, Loukotka, 1968 and Rodrigues, 1986).

The major killers were introduced diseases brought by the invaders, to which indigenous people had no immunity – smallpox, measles, malaria and influenza, to name a few. The Tapirapé, a Tupí-Guaraní group, numbered about 1,000 before they were reduced to 147 between 1890 and 1939, mainly by smallpox, influenza and yellow fever. The Sabané Nambiquara were reduced from 300 to 21 between 1931 and 1938, mainly by an epidemic of pneumonia. The Nambiquara as a whole numbered some 10,000 at the turn of this century. They are now fewer than 600 (see Denevan, 1976b; Dobyns, 1966, pp. 409–410; Wagley, 1940). The Arawá – a group



whose name is now used for the Arawá language family – are a case in point. Their presence on the Juruá river was first signalled by Castelnau (1851, p. 87). The tribe was reported to be exterminated by an epidemic of measles, introduced by the first migration of inhabitants from the north-eastern state of Ceará on the east coast of Brazil, after the drought of 1877. The few survivors sought refuge with the Kulina, speakers of a language from the same family, who “are said to have massacred them” (Rivet & Tastevin, 1938, p. 72, and Dixon, 2004, pp. 4–5). We know little about their language. It is possible that the remnants of the group in fact were incorporated into the Kulina, and may have affected one of the dialects of the Kulina language (see Aikhenvald, 2015).

The decline of the indigenous population of Hispaniola, from the first point of arrival of Europeans in 1492, was drastic. Of the estimated 100,000 people in 1492, only 50,000 remained in 1509. The period between 1509 and 1514 saw a decline to 18,000. The ethnic Taino – the first indigenous people encountered by Columbus and speakers of an Arawak language – were all but extinct within 150 years of the invasion (see Granberry & Vescelius, 2004; Rosenblat, 1976; and Rouse, 1992).

Another reason for the decline of Indians was genocide. Thousands of Indians perished during Spanish and Portuguese colonization of South America, especially along the main rivers and the coastal areas. These are ‘linguistic black holes’ (see also Rodrigues, 1986, 2001) – whole areas for which we know only the names of the peoples who once inhabited them, and nothing about their languages. Indigenous people, and their languages, disappeared from large parts of northern Venezuela, northern and eastern Colombia, the Brazilian north-east, and the banks of the river Amazon (see also Moreira Neto, 1988 for an overview of formerly powerful groups decimated in the period between 1750 and 1850).

By the mid-18th century, long stretches of the Amazon riverbanks, once teeming with villages, appeared to be bereft of traditional population. Just a few missionary villages were still around. Slaving expeditions to recruit Indians to work for the invaders, and ‘reductions’ of Indians into mission villages, to ‘save’ their souls – by missionaries of varied denominations – aided by lethal epidemics helped the destruction. The rubber boom, from about 1880 until about 1913, was disastrous for most groups, especially the Witoto and the Bora in Peru and adjacent regions of Colombia (see Burgos, 1994; d’Ans, 1982, pp. 178–88; Hemming, 2008, pp. 198–231; Wojtylak, 2017).

Approximate numbers of languages currently spoken in South American countries which belong to the Amazonian region are given in Table 1 (Adelaar, 1991; Queixalós & Renault-Lescure, 2000).



**Table 1.** Approximate numbers of extant Amazonian languages

Bolivia 35	Colombia 60+	Guiana 10	Suriname 5
Brazil 170–180	Peru c.55	French Guiana 6	Venezuela 38

Calculating the exact number of languages is not an easy task – in Amazonia as well as elsewhere. In purely linguistically oriented practice, two varieties, A and B, should be considered separate languages if speakers of one cannot understand the other – that is, if A and B are not mutually intelligible. Otherwise, A and B will be considered dialects of a single language. This language may be named after one of the dialects, or given a different name altogether.

In reality, it is often difficult to decide whether two varieties of a living language are completely mutually intelligible or not. For example, Kagwahib, Parintintin and Tehnarim, from the Tupí-Guaraní family in southern Amazonia, are very closely related (see Jensen, 1999, p. 132), so much so that Kracke (2009) considers them dialects. The Baniwa of Içana-Kurripako dialect continuum spoken by over five thousand people in adjacent areas of Brazil, Venezuela and Colombia, consists of about twenty varieties, most of them mutually intelligible to some degree. However, the people themselves find it difficult to identify themselves as one overall group (see Bezerra, 2005, 2012 on dialectal differences among these). As a consequence, it is more appropriate to describe them as distinct political groups. Tariana is an example of an opposite tendency: the name Tariana covers a number of mutually unintelligible varieties which ought to be considered different languages on purely scientific grounds. The groups speaking these varieties consider themselves as members of one tribal group. In the situation of obligatory language-based exogamy of the Vaupés River Basin linguistic area where Tariana is still spoken, a Tariana cannot marry another Tariana, no matter whether they speak divergent varieties or not (see the discussion of Tariana varieties in Aikhenvald, 2014). Along similar lines, many Northern Kampa groups (members of the Arawak language family) are considered to be speakers of one linguistic unit (especially by governmental and other agencies), despite the fact that the so called ‘dialects’ spoken are hardly mutually intelligible (Elena Mihás, personal communication.). The difficulties to do with determining the status of each linguistic system account for the fact that the numbers in Table 1 represent an approximation.

How many languages were there originally? Current estimates tell us that at least 60 percent of indigenous languages have become extinct, since the European Invasion, and maybe more. The number of Amazonian languages spoken at present is less than 400. At the onset of the Invasion, it may have been as high as 1200 or as low as 600 (Adelaar, 2000, 2004; Loukotka, 1968; Hemming, 1978a, b; Dixon & Aikhenvald, 1999; and Aikhenvald, 2015). Mass language extinction, especially in the

areas of the head waters of the Amazon, and eastern Brazil occupied by Europeans soon after the invasion, make the task of revealing the exact linguistic picture, and the past patterns of language interaction in Amazonia, truly daunting. As a consequence of constant pressure from major national, and sometimes other indigenous languages, most languages of Amazonia are currently endangered (see Cruz, 2011; and Rodrigues, 1996, 2000 on 'general' languages). Of 170–180 languages in Brazil, only four have more than 10,000 speakers – these are Tikuna (isolate), Makushi (Carib), Terêna (Arawak), and Kaingang (Jê). About twenty languages have 1,000 to 10,000 speakers, and about 150–160 less than one thousand. Many languages are no longer learnt by children – among them Tariana and Warekena of Xié, two Arawak languages in the north-west Amazonian region of Brazil.

Many languages have disappeared without leaving more than a name, or perhaps a few placenames (Loukotka, 1968, offers numerous examples, such as Macapá or Amapá). For some, we have some vocabulary but almost no grammatical information. This is the case for Taino, the first native American peoples encountered by Columbus (in 1492) in the Bahamas, Hispaniola and Puerto Rico, who became extinct within the first hundred years of invasion (Rouse, 1992; Payne, 1991); its Arawak affiliation is based on a mere handful of lexical comparisons. Other Arawak languages suffered a similar fate. Just under twenty words were recorded from Caquetio, once spoken on two islands near the Venezuelan coast, extinct since mid-16th century (Hemming, 1978b; Loukotka, 1968, p. 128; Oliver, 1989, pp. 54–55); just fifteen words are known from Shebayo, once spoken on the island of Trinidad. The basin of the Upper Rio Negro in the north-west was once home to at least a dozen Arawak languages (documented only in word lists by Spix & Martius, 1831), including Yabaana, Mandawaka, Passe, Yumana, and Wainuma. The once powerful Manao (who attempted to resist the European invaders and after whom Manaus, the capital of the Brazilian state of Amazonas, was named) were decimated throughout the 18th century, and their language became extinct in the 19th century. The major source for the language is the brief 'Christian doctrine' composed around 1740 (Brinton, 1892, pp. 38–44; Joyce, 1951). The last word list of Manao was collected by Johannes Natterer c. 1831 (list 42). Baré was formerly spoken in an extensive area within the Upper Rio Negro region along the Baria river and the Casiquiare channel and into the Orinoco basin, extending into the basin of the river Xié and Upper Guainia up to the Atabapo (see Aikhenvald, 1995). The language is now extinct; the descendants of Baré speak a local lingua franca (Língua Geral Amazônica), local Portuguese, and also Spanish.

Some indigenous languages are under pressure from more dominant neighbouring groups. Tariana, the only Arawak language in the multilingual Vaupés River Basin in north-western Amazonia in Brazil, and numerous East Tukanoan

languages in the same region, are being rapidly replaced by Tukano, the numerically major group (as a result of Salesian education policies: see Aikhenvald, 2013, 2014 for details). The implementation of a Tupí-Guaraní-based lingua franca called Nhêengatú (literally, a ‘good language’) in northern Amazonian regions by missionaries has resulted in language displacement: nowadays, Warekena-speaking communities in northern Brazil, the Baniwa of the lower Içana, and the Baré of the Upper Rio Negro speak Nhêengatú as their first language (see Bessa Freire, 2003; da Cruz, 2011; Reich, 2003; Rodrigues, 1986, pp. 33–34; Schmidt-Riese, 2003, on the origins and the spread of this language, which bears signs of influence of Portuguese and can be considered partially creolised). But even Nhêengatú is now endangered – especially in urban centres, such as São Gabriel da Cachoeira, the capital of the Federal territory of the Upper Rio Negro in Brazil: with Portuguese being the main language of instruction at school, children tend to be proficient just in this national language (see Renault-Lescure, 1990, and a general perspective on the linguistic knowledge among urbanised Indians in Oliveira, 2000).

The European conquest brought about a disastrous extent of language loss and language replacement. Some depleted minority groups merged, forming new communities of multiple ethnic origins. The Palikur, speakers of an Arawak language in the Brazilian state of Amapá and in French Guyana, are said to come from nine different groups (Diana Green, personal communication.; Green & Green, 2013, pp. 214–215). Kamaiurá, the best described Tupí-Guaraní language from Xingu, is spoken by descendants of five groups (Seki, 1999). Yucuna, a North Arawak speaking group in Colombian Amazonia, is a conglomerate of several groups – many of which had spoken completely different languages in the past (Fontaine, 2008, pp. 48–50, 83–84). Members of the newly created group named Wai Wai (or Waiwai) in Brazil and adjacent regions of Suriname speaking the same language, from the Carib family, have an acute awareness of their different ethnic origins, among them Carib (such as Tunayana), Arawak (e.g. Mawayana) and an isolate (Taruma) (Carlin, 2006, 2011). In the late 19th century, the rubber boom took its toll. Sorowaha, the least contacted members of the Arawá family in southern Amazonia, “may have been groups that were ravaged by introduced diseases or perhaps attacks by non-Indians at the height of the rubber boom [...] They say they are a merger of seven separate groups” (Dixon, 2004, p. 9). The creation of new mixed languages as a result of displacement and mergers has its parallels in other parts of the world, including Aboriginal Australia (e.g. Light Warlbiri described by O’Shannessy, 2013, or Gurinji-Kriol analyzed by McConvell & Meakins, 2005, and other instances discussed in Meakins & O’Shannessy, 2016).

As indigenous languages across large areas of the South American continent fell into oblivion, majority languages expanded. Spanish and Portuguese are now dominant in the areas targeted by Spanish and Portuguese colonists at early

stages – including south-western Colombia & Venezuela, north-eastern Brazil, the shores of the Amazon, and the mouth of the Rio Negro (see Queixalós & Renault-Lescure, 2000; Adelaar, 2000).

The Portuguese and Spanish spoken across Amazonia differ in a number of respects from the languages spoken in their European homeland. Indigenous languages, even those long forgotten, have left their imprint on the Amazonian varieties of Spanish and Portuguese (see, for instance, Adelaar, 2004, pp. 589–602 on Andean Spanish, and chapters in this volume). In particular, the differences between Brazilian Portuguese and the Portuguese of the Iberian peninsula (see Dubert & Galves, 2016, for a summary) can be accounted for by independent developments, and also various patterns of substrate influence from second language learners – including indigenous people, African slaves, and immigrant populations (see, for instance, Naro & Pereira Scherre, 1999; Pereira Scherre & Naro, 2009 on the possible role of substrata from indigenous languages in the history of Portuguese). Lucchesi (2012) hypothesises that the development of Brazilian Portuguese may have involved incomplete language acquisition by non-native speakers and subsequent transfer of forms and patterns (see also Dubert & Galves, 2016; some of these processes have been described as creolization; but note that no Portuguese-based Creoles in South America have ever developed: see Bollé & Maurer, 2016).

The contact between Portuguese invaders and the indigenous inhabitants started in the early 16th century (with the establishment of settlements by Portuguese colonists in 1530). The first Portuguese settlers brought few if any women with them, and took indigenous women as their wives. Many of those were speakers of Tupinambá, who soon gave up speaking their own languages (see Rodrigues, 2014, p. 443, on the spread of Portuguese and its contact with Indian languages). As a consequence, Portuguese inherited numerous loan words from Tupinambá, many of them terms for plants and animals (see da Cunha, 1978). As pointed out by Rodrigues (2014, p. 446), the question of any grammatical influences of Indian languages on Standard Portuguese remains open.

Portuguese also played a role in the formation of some varieties of Amazonian Spanish. According to Jara Yupanqui (2012, pp. 447–448), in the early 20th century, Spanish speakers in the Department of Loreto in Peru were in contact with Portuguese speakers who were present both in rural and urban areas around Iquitos, both through slave trade and the presence of Brazilian traders in this frontier region. The presence of Portuguese speakers in border areas between Brazil, Colombia, Ecuador and Peru was signalled by Ramirez-Cruz (2012). The study of indigenous varieties of Portuguese – that is, Portuguese ethnolects spoken by first language learners of indigenous languages – is important for our understanding of the mechanisms of substrate influences on the national languages of South America. Comparing the outcome of substrate influence on both Spanish and

Portuguese – two closely related and structurally similar languages – offers a new perspective on differential impact of language contact, and the types of categories which characterise the Amazonian varieties of the two languages.

We now turn to some characteristic features of Portuguese ethnolects in use by speakers of Amazonian languages, with the focus on an emergent variety of Portuguese in the Vaupés River Basin linguistic area, which reflects linguistic conventions stemming from the Arawak and East Tukanoan languages of the region.

## 2. The Portuguese of Amazonian Indians: Some examples

As we can see from the few studies of Amazonian ethnolects, the varieties of Portuguese in Amazonian communities display different features, depending on the structure and vitality of the indigenous languages and the speakers' proficiency in the national language.

The Upper Xingu area of Brazil is a case in point. The Xingu River is a major southern tributary of the Amazon. Only a small portion of it is easily navigable. After about 200 km, innumerable rapids proved a barrier to the invaders for a couple of centuries. The Indian groups living there were able, by and large, to maintain their traditional way of life. In the 20th century, a few other tribes converged on the region, escaping the 'white man's' takeover of their area, others were moved to the Xingu by Brazilians. In 1961, the Xingu Indigenous Park was declared a 'national park' – that is, a kind of sanctuary or living museum of traditional indigenous culture. The region contains seventeen linguistic groups belonging to four families – Arawak, Tupí, Carib and Jê, in addition to one isolate (Trumai) (see Franchetto, 2010; Franchetto & Heckenberger, 2000; Seki, 1999, 2010, and references there on the history and the linguistic composition of the region). Most languages – with the exception of Yawalapiti, a near-extinct Arawak language, and Trumai, an isolate – are fairly vital, and still learnt by children as their first language. Despite the relative isolation of the Xingu region, the knowledge of the national language is expanding. As shown by Emmerich (1984, 1991), the knowledge of Portuguese in the 1970–1980s was limited to a simplified pidginized form. In the later years, its role has increased, as Indians have more contact with the outside world (through working at the supply centre, the Indigenous Post called Posto Leonardo), and as a lingua franca for communication between different indigenous groups (see Emmerich & de Paiva, 2009, pp. 154–156 for further details and also Abreu Gomez 2009). The Portuguese spoken by the indigenous people in the Upper Xingu region can for now be considered a pidginized variety whose complexity varies depending on age and exposure to contact with non-Indian Brazilians.

In general, categories present in standard Portuguese but absent from the main language of the community are at risk of getting lost. This phenomenon is known as negative borrowing (see, for instance, Dorian, 2010; Trask, 1993, and chapters in Aikhenvald & Dixon, 2006). Phonological distinctions absent from the languages of the Xingu region are neutralised: a salient feature of Xinguan Portuguese is neutralisation of voicing in stops and fricatives (see Emmerich & de Paiva, 2009, p. 157, de Paiva, 1997), e.g. *posto/bosto* ‘post’, *faca/vaca* ‘cow’. A similar phenomenon was observed in the emergent Portuguese ethnolect spoken by the Timbira (Jê) (de Sá Amado, 2015, p. 107; see also Braggio, 2015 on phonological features of the Portuguese ethnolect of the Xerente Akwe, also from the Jê family). None of the indigenous languages of Xingu have definite articles; these are used only sporadically in the Portuguese of the region (Emmerich & de Paiva, 2009, p. 157).

Portuguese has two genders, masculine and feminine, realised in agreement. No indigenous language of Xingu has gender distinctions. The Arawak languages (Waujá, Meinako and Yawalapiti) lost the two genders (reconstructible for the proto-language) as a result of areal diffusion and contact with other languages of the region (Seki, 1999, 2010). When Xinguan speakers speak Portuguese, the gender agreement is neutralised. The masculine form tends to be used, e.g. *no panela grande cheio água* (in+masc.sg pan big full.masc water) ‘in a big pan full of water’. The word *panela* ‘pan’ is feminine, so the standard Portuguese form would be *na panela grande cheia de água* (in+fem.sg pan big full.masc of water) ‘in a big pan full of water’. Along similar lines, speakers of Huni-Kuin (or Kashinawa), a Panoan language spoken in the Breu River reserve and surrounding areas in the state of Acre in Brazil, display a high degree of variation in gender agreement within noun phrases (Christino, 2015). There is a preference for using masculine singular forms of modifiers with feminine nouns, e.g. *aquele* (that.masc.sg) *capoeira* (clearing.fem.sg) ‘that clearing’ instead of the normative *aquela capoeira* (Christino, 2015, p. 93), *água bem lindo* (water.fem.sg very beautiful.masc.sg) instead of *água bem linda* ‘very beautiful water’ (p. 92). Some speakers treat all nouns ending in *-a* – a typical exponent of feminine gender in Portuguese – as feminine; then feminine agreement forms are used with nouns which belong to masculine gender, e.g. *um-a problema* (one-fem.sg problem) instead of the standard Portuguese *um problema* (one.masc.sg problem) ‘one problem, a problem’ (p. 91), or *a dia* (DEFINITE.ARTICLE.fem.sg day) rather than the standard Portuguese *o dia* (DEFINITE.ARTICLE.masc.sg day) ‘the day’ (p. 90). Along similar lines, gender agreement is optional in the Portuguese ethnolect spoken by the Timbira (de Sá Amado, 2015, pp. 109–110), e.g. *o meu professora* (instead of the normative *a minha professora*) ‘my female teacher’. (See Lucchesi & Macedo 1997, Macedo 2000) In contrast to speakers of the indigenous people of the Xingu park, speakers of Huni-Kuin and the Timbira varieties can be



considered fully bilingual in Portuguese (to which they are exposed through the school system and through interactions with non-Indians). Negative borrowing is what appears to characterise the Portuguese ethnolects in these communities. The loss of gender can be considered a mark of new emergent ethnolects (which are unstable, due to contact with the standard language taught at school). Loss of gender is often associated with emerging creoles. Optional gender agreement is also a feature of many vernacular rural varieties of Portuguese (see Dettoni, 2003, on the Cuiabano variety in the state of Mato Grosso, and a general perspective), and could be an indicator of the process of creolization and simplification in Portuguese ethnolects. But in quite a few instances, an ethnolect develops additional features not found in standard Portuguese. This is what we turn to now.

An ethnolect may have its own features, absent from the mainstream variety. A particularly salient trait of an indigenous language may get transferred into the national language, so as to express a distinction for which that language has a gap, and which is part of established communicative conventions.<sup>3</sup> Having to express the way in which information was acquired is a case in point.

A noticeable feature of South American Spanish and Portuguese is the presence of a marker of information source *dice que* or *dizque*, literally, ‘says that’, to indicate that the knowledge has been acquired through someone else’s report, with subsequent overtones of unreliable information and surprise (see the overview and references in Alcázar, 2018). This is likely to be a heritage of a reported evidential marker – a salient feature of Andean languages (Quechua and Aymara) and numerous Amazonian languages (see Kany, 1944 on the spread of this form and the concept in South America; Babel, 2009; Olbertz, 2005, 2007; and Travis, 2006, on various Spanishes; Galvão, 2001 on its use in Portuguese, and Alcázar, 2018 for a general perspective and an appreciation of a substrate influence from indigenous languages; Andrade Ciudad, 2007, 2016 on the Andean Spanish in Peru, and de Granda, 2002, 2003a–d on the Argentinian north-east and also Emlen, this volume; see also Aikhenvald, 2015, pp. 248–78 on evidentials in Amazonia). The ways in which the newly emergent reported evidential is used in ethnolect varieties reflects speech practices, and attitudes to information.

An illustrative example comes from Kagwahiv, a small Tupí-Guaraní language in the Upper Madeira River Basin (state of Amazonas, Brazil) (its other dialects are known as Parintintin and Tenharem, with the total number of speakers just over 400; Kracke, 2009; see also <<https://pib.socioambiental.org/en/povo/parintintin/910>>). Most speakers are highly proficient in Portuguese. Kagwahiv has a particle *ra’u* which is used to mark the information source of a statement as coming

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3. Ever since Weinreich (1964), this transferral has sometimes been described as ‘interference’ or ‘deviation’ (see Bunte & Kendall, 1981, for a criticism).

from a dream. This is an unusual feature, akin to the ‘revelative’ evidential used for dreams in Kwakiutl (Boas, 1947, p. 245; see Aikhenvald, 2004, on information sources used to describe dreams in other Amazonian languages).

Dreams – closely associated with shamanism – used to be highly important in traditional Kagwahiv life. People would rely on dreams to forecast the presence of game, to plan the day’s hunt, and to foresee illness and death. In times of war, dreams were relied upon to predict the outcomes of a war expedition. Relating a dream and discussing what it may possibly mean used to be an important part of Kagwahiv interactions. And every sentence in a dream contains the form *ra’ú*. The practice of telling dreams with the marker *ra’u* is acquired early. Kracke (2009, p. 66) offers an example of a five-year old child telling him a dream, in a mixture of Portuguese and Kagwahiv, with the particle *ra’u* marking every sentence. When the Kagwahiv tell their dreams in Portuguese, they mark their accounts with *diz que*, or *disse que*, lit. ‘says that’, or ‘said that’. The phrase indicates that the source for the statement is not the speaker themselves – rather, it comes from someone else, without stating the authorship. This may appear counterintuitive from a European perspective. As Kracke (2009, p. 69) puts it, “in our way of thinking about dreams, it would seem that dreams are par excellence events witnessed by the person telling them”. The Kagwahiv ‘dream-marker’ *ra’ú* is cognate to words meaning ‘ghost’, ‘augury’, and relating to ‘falsehood’ in general. Within the ‘main tenets’ of the Kagwahiv beliefs, “dreams are predictions or auguries of the future; dreams may be a way of perceiving the spirit world, especially ghosts; and dreams are unreliable, deceptive” (Kracke, 2009, p. 73). Kracke concludes that, in the Kagwahiv world, a dream “is a message, a message from an unknown source... Hence it cannot be coded as personal experience” (Kracke, 2009, p. 73). Or, in psychoanalyst Lacan’s words (1988, p. 135), “someone other than ourselves talks in our dreams” – a dream is a message “from another self, distinct from our waking self” (Kracke, 2009, p. 73). This is a likely reason why, when retelling their dreams in Portuguese, the speakers cast their story as if it came from another source.

The practice of telling a dream with the reported marker *diz que* or *disse que* is a common feature of the Portuguese spoken in Brazilian Amazonia and the northeast of Brazil – but not in the south of Brazil (Kracke, 2009, p. 67). This use conforms to the social conventions and attitudes to dreams as an out-of-this world experience – and is more than just transferral of substrate language practices. This can be considered a stylistic innovation (along the lines of the Southern Paiute and Valle Verde Yavapai uses of *they say* in their ethnic variety of English) which may, in part, reflect cultural requirements to mark different kinds of knowledge differently – stemming from the linguistic structures and linguistic practices embedded in the original language.



Evidentials are a salient feature in languages which have them. Stating how you know things easily becomes a speech habit. Indigenous people of the Vaupés River Basin linguistic area, when asked to translate into Portuguese what they had just said in one of their languages, complain that standard Portuguese is not good enough, and the elaborate expressions with an overt statement of information source in their native languages come out as ‘too short’. We now turn to how this gap is avoided in the emerging Portuguese ethnolect of the region, as spoken by the Tariana people.

### 3. Portuguese spoken by the Tariana of the Vaupés River Basin area

The Vaupés River Basin linguistic area spans adjacent regions of Brazil and Colombia (see Aikhenvald, 2010, 2013 for a general view, and references). The area is known for its language-based exogamy: one is only allowed to marry a person who belongs to a different language group (inherited through one’s father). Languages traditionally spoken within the exogamous marriage network of the Vaupés River Basin belong to two unrelated genetic groups. East Tukanoan languages (Tukano, Wanano (or Kotiria), Desano, Tuyuca, Piratapuya, Barasano, Siriano, and a few others) are spoken on the Colombian and the Brazilian sides of the area. Tariana, an Arawak language, is spoken only in Brazil. The exogamous marriage network ensures obligatory societal multilingualism.

Traditionally, every East Tukanoan and Tariana would speak, on average, four to five languages – the language of their father (which is what a person would identify with), the language of their mother (that is, her father’s language), plus the languages known, through their mothers, by other children living in the same settlement (traditionally, a longhouse). At present, people also speak Spanish (in Colombia) or Portuguese (in Brazil), the two national languages. We are faced with one of the most multilingual societies in the world. Standards of ‘speaking’ a language are very high (this was first noticed by Sorensen, 1967/1972 who worked exclusively on the Colombian side).

The East Tukanoans and the Tariana live on the riverbanks and share numerous cultural features, including slash and burn agriculture (see a summary in Aikhenvald, 2010). Tariana was once spoken in various settlements along the Vaupés river and its tributaries. The Tariana clans used to form a strict hierarchy (according to their order of appearance stated in the creation myth). Lower-ranking groups in this hierarchy (referred to as ‘younger siblings’ by their higher-ranking tribespeople) would perform various ritual duties for their ‘elder siblings’. Each group spoke a different variety of the language. The difference between these was comparable to that between Romance languages.

As the Catholic missions – and with them European influence – expanded, the groups near the top of the hierarchy abandoned the Tariana language in favour of the numerically dominant Tukano language. This process started in the early 1900s. The Tariana language as described here is spoken by members of two subtribes of the lowest-ranking group Wamiarikune in two villages, Santa Rosa and Periquitos. The language is seriously endangered, and is hardly being learnt by children (Aikhenvald, 2013 addresses the current language situation). Most East Tukanoan languages in Brazil – other than the numerically dominant Tukano – are also endangered to varying extent, and many are no longer being learnt by children (see Stenzel & Gomez-Imbert, 2018).

The long-term interaction based on institutionalized multilingualism between East Tukanoan languages and Tariana has resulted in the rampant diffusion of grammatical and semantic patterns (rather than forms) and the calquing of categories. These span almost every area of phonology and grammar – verb compounding, evidentiality, classifiers, number, manner as a verbal category and many more. A striking feature of the Vaupés area is a strong cultural inhibition against language mixing viewed in terms of borrowing forms. This is not to say that there are no borrowed forms: but they are few, hard to recognize, and generally avoided.

At present, Tariana is highly endangered. It is spoken by about 70 people in three villages (Santa Rosa, Periquitos, and Santa Terezinha) and in the mission centre Iauaretê in the Federal Territory of the Upper Rio Negro (state of Amazonas, Brazil). Children no longer acquire the language. Schooling is in Portuguese (a little Tukano and some Tariana is taught at two secondary schools in the mission centre). Switching to Portuguese, the ‘white man’s language’, is obligatory in all the environments associated with ‘white people’: schools, church services, sports and games, hospital and commercial activities. All written communication between literate Indians is in Portuguese. Radio communication is also in Portuguese. Many Tariana who live in Iauaretê have access to national television programs – all in Portuguese. Those people who still speak Tariana use it in their homes. This indicates the existence of ‘a functional differentiation’ of existing languages, known as diglossia (see Ferguson, 1964; Schiffrin, 1998; see Aikhenvald, 2010, pp. 200–201 on ambivalent attitudes towards Portuguese among the Tariana).

The vast majority of Indians of the Brazilian Vaupés area are fully fluent in the regional Portuguese. Children appear to acquire Portuguese at an early age – especially those who grow up in Iauaretê, a mission settlement. Most children are exposed to Brazilian television. For instance, Rosiane, the daughter of RB (himself one of the youngest speakers of Tariana, born in 1975), could understand both Tukano and Portuguese perfectly well at the age of three.

The Portuguese of the Vaupés – that is, Portuguese spoken as a non-first language by speakers of Tariana, Tukano and other East Tukanoan languages of the

Vaupés – shares a number of features with rural Brazilian Portuguese and with other nonstandard varieties (sometimes considered creolized: see Mello, Baxter, Holm & Megenney, 1998 on the notion of creolization as applied to varieties of Brazilian Portuguese).

These features include:

- a. Marking number just once in a noun phrase and in a clause, e.g. *a-s mulher indígena* (ART.FEM-PL woman indigenous) instead of *a-s mulher-es indígena-s* (ART.FEM-PL woman-PL indigenous-PL) ‘indigenous women’; and *chegou muit-as professor-a* (arrive.PAST.3SG many-FEM.PL teacher-FEM) instead of *chegaram muit-as professor-as* (arrive.PAST.3PL many-FEM.PL teacher-FEM.PL) ‘many female teachers arrived’. This feature is attested in other varieties of Brazilian Portuguese (see Campos & Rodrigues, 1996; Naro & Pereira Scherre, 1999).
- b. Omission of the final consonant in the 1pl suffix, e.g. *fala-mo* instead of *fala-mos* (speak-1PL) ‘we speak’ (see Mello et al., 1998, p. 124, on this feature).
- c. Loss of subjunctive, e.g. *eu tou pedindo a Deus que chove* (rain.DECL.PRES.3SG.) instead of *eu estou pedindo a Deus que chova* (rain.SUBJ.PRES.3SG) ‘I am asking God that it should rain’; *que eu sei* (as.far.as I know.DECL.PRES.1SG) rather than standard *que eu saiba* (as I know.SUBJ.PRES.1SG) ‘as far as I know’.

In contrast to numerous varieties of rural Portuguese, the Vaupés Portuguese has no instances of levelling paradigms – that is, cases like *nós fala* (we speak.DECL.PRES.3SG) instead of *nós fala-mo* (we speak-DECL.PRES.1PL) ‘we speak’ (cited in Mello et al., 1998, p. 124). Many forms of irregular verbs are not regularized. For instance, the irregular forms of *saber* ‘know’ are not lost, e.g. *eu sei* (I know.DECL.PRES.1SG) ‘I know’, and *você sabe* (you know.DECL.PRES.non1SG) ‘you know’ and *ele/ela sabe* (he/she know.DECL.PRES.non1SG) ‘he/she knows’, and not \**eu sabe* (I know.DECL.PRES.nonfirst.person.singular) for ‘I know’, etc. Note that the use of non-standard forms like *eu sabe* is characteristic for some first-language speakers of Portuguese in the area of the Upper Rio Negro and also for some second-language learners (in particular Baniwa speakers from the Içana area). In contrast to Portuguese ethnolects mentioned in §2, there are no variations in gender agreement in a noun phrase. This could be due to the fact that Tariana (as well as East Tukanoan languages) have gender distinctions in their pronominal system and obligatory gender agreement in a noun phrase.

The variety of Portuguese spoken by the Tariana differs from the standard language taught at school. However, the Portuguese of the Vaupés cannot be considered just a ‘simplified’ and ‘corrupted’ version of the standard language. Spontaneously produced discourse in Portuguese reveals ways of rendering grammatical distinctions found in the languages of the Vaupés (but absent from the standard national language). This makes the Indians’ Portuguese in some ways richer than

the standard language – though native speakers of standard Portuguese treat the existing deviations as simply incorrect. This is similar to the situation described by Bunte & Kendall (1981) for Verde Valley Yavapai and Southern Paiute groups of Arizona. These languages have evidentiality distinctions, with corresponding social conventions about how to use them in questions and instructions. These distinctions occur not only in the two indigenous languages, but also in the English spoken by the same bilingual people as an attempt to transfer the convention of their own languages into English. When the Yavapais and the Paiute speak English, they feel the need to employ the ‘nearest’ English equivalent for the existing ‘reported’ and ‘inferred’ evidentiality markers, which turns out to be ‘they say’. This makes their English sound peculiar to an outsider; but, in fact, it adds a new grammatical dimension to the language.

Evidentiality, or grammaticalised marking of information source, is a characteristic feature of all the languages of the Vaupés Linguistic area (see Aikhenvald, 2018, forthcoming; and Stenzel & Gomez-Imbert, 2018). In every language, four to five evidentials mark the way in which the speaker has acquired the information (whether seen, heard, inferred, assumed, or learnt from someone else).<sup>4</sup> Portuguese does not have a grammatical evidentiality system. Speakers of Vaupés Portuguese ‘make up’ for this obvious gap by using an array of lexical markers for different evidentiality specifications.

Tariana has five evidentials – visual, nonvisual, inferred, assumed and reported. When the Tariana speak Portuguese, statements referring to information obtained visually are usually accompanied by a phrase *eu vi* ‘I saw’, or (if contrasted to something else) *eu tenho prova* ‘I have proof’; or, more rarely, *eu tenho experiência* ‘I have experience’. Information obtained by hearing or by other sensory experience can be accompanied by *eu escutei* ‘I heard’ or *eu senti* ‘I felt’, matching the nonvisual evidential. The way of marking inferred and assumed information is by saying *parece* ‘it appears, it seems’. And *diz que* ‘it is said that’ is a conventional way of marking reported information.<sup>5</sup>

Each evidential in Tariana has additional overtones, and can be used in special contexts. The non-visual evidential is used if one cannot quite see what is happening. Someone arrived in the house, but we could not quite see who it was. OB, a highly competent speaker of Tariana, commented:

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4. Observations here are based on c. 25 years of work with speakers of Tariana of various generations; see also Aikhenvald (2010).

5. The use of *diz que* in telling traditional stories is a common feature of the Portuguese spoken by most indigenous people in the Upper Rio Negro area (in particular, I noticed its use among Baniwa storytellers, to match Baniwa *pida* ‘reported evidential’).

- (1) paita                      tsiãri di-uka                      di-nu-mahka  
 one+CL:ANIMATE man 3SGNF-arrive 3SGNF-come-RECENT.PAST.NONVISUAL  
 ‘One man has arrived’ (we cannot quite see who it is)

She then translated this into Portuguese for her nephew who could not understand Tariana.

- (2) chegou                      alguém não tou enxergando bem  
 arrive.3p.PAST someone NEG be.1SG see+PARTICIPLE well  
 ‘Someone arrived, I cannot see well’

The reference to the fact that she could not see the newcomer properly corresponds to the nonvisual evidential in the original Tariana. Experience obtained by supra-natural means is expressed with the same nonvisual evidential. (3) comes from a story about shamanic healing.

- (3) diha marieri di-yeka-mhana    thuya  
 he shaman 3SGNF-know-REMOTE.PAST.NONVISUAL all  
 ‘The shaman knew everything’

A spontaneous translation into Portuguese was *Ele o pajé sabia tudo com pensamento dele*, literally, ‘He the shaman knew everything with his thinking’. The Portuguese rendering of the Tariana polysemous evidential is more specific: the semantic overtones subsumed under one evidential form in Tariana are distinguished in Portuguese, using lexical means.

Similar to the Kagwahiv, dreams play an important role in the daily lives of the Tariana people. Dreams used to be a predictor of successful hunting or fishing expeditions, or of impending danger. (For instance, if a man dreamt of a woman before going out to hunt, something bad would happen to him, and the expedition might need to be cancelled.) Dreams by common mortals are typically cast in non-visual evidential – as one of my major teachers, the late GB, explained to me, this is so because one does not really see a dream with one’s own eyes. This is again reminiscent of the perception of dreams as not being part of one’s first-hand experience, among the Kagwahiv (see Kracke, 2009 and §2). But prophetic dreams by a powerful shaman are told using the visual evidential – the shaman ‘sees’ things which common people cannot see. When recounting his own dream in Portuguese, GB carefully inserted the specification of his source, *no sonho* ‘in the dream’. When recounting a prophetic dream of a shaman in Portuguese, the source was specified as *ele viu com poder dele* ‘he saw (it) with his power’.

The use of lexical expressions specifying information source makes the Vaupés Portuguese sound somewhat obsequious and hedging; and is often judged as weird by monolingual Brazilians from other areas. In Tariana, the inferred evidential

marker is used to transmit information available to the speaker and to the addressee; it is the one used in translations and in rendering what one has just read. It sounds bizarre to native speakers of Standard Portuguese when an Indian who had just read an announcement about a football match in the Mission centre said: ‘There is a football match on, it appears’ (*Vai ter um jogo de futebol, parece*).

Similar to the use of ‘they say’ in the English spoken by the Yavapai and the Pauite, *diz que* ‘it is said’ can be extended to cover all non-firsthand evidentiality specifications. Thus, an Indian who has read an announcement, may just as well talk about it using *diz que* (which sounds equally bizarre for speakers of Standard Portuguese; since for them this conveys a tinge of incredulity). This reflects variability and instability of the newly emergent variety of Portuguese: the use of lexical markers of information source is part of social conventions rather than of strictly grammatical requirements.

Some speakers also employ *diz que* to talk about uncontrolled action, or when they want to distance themselves from what is happening. OB’s niece, FB – who neither speaks nor understands any indigenous language – learnt the Vaupés Portuguese from her Tukano mother. FB hardly ever cooks or does any other household jobs, but once she decided to try and do some cooking. I was surprised, and asked her what she was doing. The answer was *tou fazendo bolinho diz que* ‘I am making pancakes it is said’. Here *diz que* appears as a marker of uncontrolled and unusual action – she was not sure of the result (and probably surprised at her own endeavour). Similar ‘mirativity’ overtones for non-firsthand evidentiality specifications are frequent all over the world (see Aikhenvald, 2012).

The requirement to express information source goes together with the importance of being precise in stating how one knows things. Someone who fails to specify the information source can be accused of being a liar or (worse) a sorcerer. One’s status in the Tariana community correlates with articulate speech and the ability to use evidentials correctly (this is similar to other languages, including Quechua: see Weber, 1986, p. 142; and a summary in Aikhenvald, 2004, pp. 335–337). One of the oldest speakers of Tariana was ridiculed behind his back for not using the reported evidential correctly, and I was explicitly encouraged not to listen to what he says: he was called *pedalie mēdite-pu* (old.person in.vain+CL:ANIMATE-AUGMENTATIVE) ‘a truly useless old person’, or, in Portuguese, *um velho a toa mesmo* (INDEFINITE.ARTICLE.masc.sg old.masc.sg in vain really). Similar attitudes are also prevalent in the Colombian part of the Vaupés area. Elsa Gomez-Imbert reports that ‘an elderly Tatuyo woman she had met during her initial fieldwork had become rather senile by the time she returned for her second trip. Although the woman was highly respected in the community, when she spoke, children laughed and adults had to make an effort to remain serious. Other women explained that the old lady was

mixing up the use of evidentials, which everyone found amusing” (Gomez-Imbert, 1982; Stenzel & Gomez-Imbert, 2018). Gomez-Imbert’s main Tatuyo consultant ‘also tried to compensate for the lack of evidentials in Spanish with lexical expressions, and was happy to learn of the existence of a reportative expression *dizque*, which she incorporated into her elementary Spanish’ (Gomez-Imbert, 2003, p. 126; Stenzel & Gomez-Imbert, 2018).

The emergent ethnolect of the Vaupés Portuguese has a number of further lexical and grammatical features of its own. One such trait is extensive use of the preposition *pra* (Standard Portuguese *para*) ‘to, towards, for’ to render meanings of ‘to’, ‘in’, and ‘out’ (expressed by just one locative marker in Tariana and in Tukano), e.g. *ele saiu pra sua mãe*, lit. ‘he left to his mother’, meaning ‘he left his mother’ (a more standard way would be *ele saiu da sua mãe*; see Aikhenvald, 2010, pp. 313–318 for further traits). Following the cultural inhibition against code-mixing, speakers of the Vaupés Portuguese avoid words from their own indigenous languages; spontaneous code-mixing while speaking Portuguese is usually interpreted as lack of proficiency. A further feature of the Vaupés Portuguese is calques from the indigenous languages. For instance, the expression *ele tem uma boca só* ‘he has only one mouth/word’ meaning ‘he has one firm word or opinion; he is not going to change his mind’ is a calque from Tariana *pa:-numa-mia di-de* (ONE-CL:MOUTH/WORD-ONLY 3SGNF-have). Used by Tariana speakers, it proved incomprehensible to native speakers of varieties approximating more to the Standard Portuguese.

To refer to the waning moon, speakers of Vaupés Portuguese say *cutia comeu a lua* ‘agouti ate the moon’. Quite a few individual words have different connotations from Standard Portuguese; for instance, the word *diferente* ‘different’ implies something bad and dangerous, just like in the indigenous languages of the Vaupés. Similarly, the word *outro* ‘other, another’ often has negative connotations. Saying *outra coisa tá vindo para nós* ‘another thing is coming to us’ implies the proximity of something unknown and potentially bad and dangerous (see discussion of similar connotations for Tariana terms ‘other’ and ‘different’ in Aikhenvald, 2003, pp. 601–602). A Vaupés Portuguese equivalent of ‘there is something ominous’ (Tariana *di-mapiseta*) is *está supersticiando pra nos* ‘it is being superstitious to us’ – another expression condemned by speakers of Standard Portuguese as plainly ungrammatical.

The lexical expression of information source in the Vaupés Portuguese makes the evolving contact variety of the national language conform to the existing societal conventions in the region – being precise as to how the speaker knows things. This is an example of contact-induced change which involves enrichment of the national language variety, rather than its simplification.



#### 4. Envoi

Ever since the beginning of European contact, the history of Amazonian languages has been marked with language extinction and loss of linguistic diversity. New varieties of the national languages emerge which bear the substratum influence of the indigenous languages.

Speakers of the emerging Portuguese ethnolect in the Vaupés River Basin linguistic area regularly use an array of lexical equivalents for evidentiality markers (obligatory in their original languages, such as Tariana). These lexical ways of marking information source allow speakers to conform to social conventions of being precise in stating the source of knowledge, so as to avoid accusations of incompetence or sorcery. The newly emergent Portuguese variety is richer in ways of saying things than the standard language. The question of its transmission and overall vitality remains open, as the indigenous languages of the region gradually fall into disuse and the impact of the standard language taught in schools increases.

The spreadability of features in language contact is often determined by their pragmatic relevance (see Aikhenvald, 2010 on pragmatic salience as a force in language contact in general, and the relevance of pragmatic features in the structure of numerous varieties of major languages, including Indian English: see Lange, 2012; Kolehmainen, Meriläinen & Riionheimo, 2014, p. 18). In many Amazonian languages, the pragmatic necessity of always marking how the speaker knows things and being precise is linked to the obligatory category of evidentiality – grammatical marking of information source. We find similar tendencies in numerous varieties of Amazonian and Andean Spanish – a pragmatic convention to state the information source, stemming from the original languages of these regions, accounts for the evidential overtones of *dizque* across South America, where it has become an established feature of language varieties transmitted to children.

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# Bilingualism, second language acquisition, and language contact

## Contrasts and shared processes

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This chapter introduces the central issues and concepts in the fields of bilingualism, contact linguistics, and second language acquisition, with an eye to identifying generalizations and key distinctions. For example, although authors use terms like *transfer*, *interference*, *bilinguals*, etc., across fields, these sometimes have the same meaning and other times depend on the subfield of linguistics in which they are employed. While there is a good deal of overlap between these fields, the current chapter provides an overview of studies and findings related to these concepts in order to help orient the reader to the hypotheses, methodologies, and discussions contained in the present volume.

**Keywords:** second language acquisition, input, universal processes, variation, bilinguals

### Introduction

The term *bilingual* is taken to encompass a wide variety of social contexts and linguistic abilities. Speakers identified as bilingual may be highly proficient in two languages or may have relatively little knowledge of one of the two languages they know. What is more, the path by which this knowledge is gained can vary widely from one speaker to another. This variety in contexts of language learning has led many to attempt to disentangle second language acquisition (SLA) from other, related phenomena. For example, Berdan (1996) provides a valuable technical account of how one might distinguish the process of language acquisition and the variation inherent in the acquisition process from the sociolinguistic variation that occurs in response to the setting of the interaction or to other social factors (see Sankoff, 2013, for a more recent account). The primary goal of the present chapter is to explore the ways in which one might come to know more than one language,



including situations of non-instructed and classroom-based SLA as well as language contact and diglossia, to name a few. However, we aim to address not only how these types of 'bilingualism' differ but also what they may have in common and how studies of one might profitably inform the other areas of inquiry.

## Bilingualism: Definitions and scope of research

We begin here by identifying some of the many speakers who are characterized as 'bilingual'.<sup>1</sup> Such speakers may have a high level of competence in two or more languages, all of which were learned from birth or in early childhood. Although the term is controversial, this group of speakers is sometimes referred to as *balanced bilinguals* if their competence is native-like in these languages and they are able to use both languages across all domains of interaction. However, the term bilingual can also be used to refer to the addition of a language to one's competence sometime after the first few years of life. These cases include so-called *additive bilinguals* as well as *subtractive bilinguals*, with the latter case referring to speakers who might lose contact with their birth language as a result of life circumstances such as immigration or adoption. Additive bilinguals, those who retain the first language (L1) but also gain competence in an additional language, may do so through a range of types of exposure, including both non-instructed and classroom learning in environments where the added language is spoken natively and those where it is not. Bilinguals may use the languages they know simultaneously, in a single interaction, or they may speak one language only in a particular context or with a particular group of speakers. This second case is at times known as *diglossia*. We hope to underscore the fact that each of these terms was intended originally to describe a group of speakers, but each is fraught with difficulties when an attempt is made to generalize a particular characteristic to several different multilingual groups of speakers.<sup>2</sup> The purpose, therefore, of mentioning these terms is to demonstrate that the term bilingual itself refers to a range of speakers and that the only unifying characteristic is that these speakers, across their lifespans, have knowledge of more than one language.

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1. For the sake of clarity, we will refer to bilinguals and to two languages, but we wish to state overtly that the same discussion should be taken to include speakers who know more than two languages.

2. See Chapter 1 of Austin, Blume, & Sánchez (2015), for an in-depth discussion on the varying definition(s) of bilingualism.

## Bilingualism and languages in contact with Spanish

Throughout the world, the Spanish language is in contact with a host of different languages in diverse situations characterized by varying degrees of bilingualism. Consequently, Spanish often figures prominently in the study of language contact. The investigation of language contact is an interdisciplinary pursuit that encompasses a wide range of geographical, social, and political contexts. This research may examine the borderland between two or more countries in which different languages are spoken, regions in which at least two ethnolinguistic groups inhabit the same political borders, or other contexts of bilingualism resulting from historical or contemporary migrations. In each case, the languages in contact give rise to linguistic, social, and political consequences that vary according to the geopolitical and social context.

Returning to the case of Spanish, we find examples of each of these situations, many of which are addressed in this volume. Spain shares a border with Portugal, France, Andorra, Gibraltar (the United Kingdom), and Morocco. In North America, the border between Mexico and the United States constitutes a contact zone with English. In South America, the focus of the current volume, several Spanish-speaking regions border Brazil leading to contact with Portuguese. Just as the range of languages with which Spanish finds itself in contact varies, so too do the degrees of permeability at those borders and the political relationships between countries. The consequence of this variability is differing levels of linguistic knowledge by speakers who live on borderlands. In contexts such as contact along the border of the United States and Mexico, we even find tremendous variability along a single border in the degree to which there is social, economic, linguistic, and interpersonal exchange between Spanish speakers on the one hand and English speakers on the other (Hidalgo, 1986; Martínez, 1978; Vila, 2010).<sup>3</sup>

In addition to the language contact that occurs across political boundaries, we find myriad examples of contact between Spanish and another language within the same political boundaries. Such contact may occur as a result of historical changes leading to contact between national languages and pre-existing regional languages, as is the case in Spain where we find longstanding contact between Spanish and the regional languages of Catalan, Valencian, Basque, and Galician (for another case, such as New Mexican Spanish in the United States, see Vigil & Bills, 2014). There is a wealth of research on loss and maintenance that has occurred across regions as a result of changing laws of normalization, first against regional languages during the reign of Franco, and more recently in support of regional languages, but to

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3. For a volume-length discussion on language, borders, and identity, which includes languages in addition to Spanish, we refer the reader to Watt and Llamas (2014).

varying degrees across regions in contemporary Spain (for overviews, see Klee & Lynch, 2009; or Turell, 2001; for Catalonia, Vann, 1999; for Catalonia, Galicia, and the Basque country, Pavlou, 2010).

Other contact situations involving autochthonous languages (i.e., those language(s) native to the area) are observed in the Americas and Africa, where these languages existed before the arrival of the Spanish. Some examples include the indigenous languages Nahuatl, Maya, Quichua, Guarani, and Mapudungun in the Americas (Escobar, 2013), the Bantu languages of Africa in Equatorial Guinea (Nistal Rosique, 2007), and the Austronesian languages of the Philippines (Moreno Fernández & Otero-Roth, 2008). As with other situations of language contact, we find variability in the degree of bilingualism. For example, only about ten percent of the population speaks both Spanish and another indigenous language in Ecuador, where nine indigenous languages, including Quichua, which is the most widely spoken, exist in contact with Spanish. In contrast, in Paraguay, Guarani has co-official status with Spanish and a far greater number of speakers (Gómez Rendón, 2008). According to the 2002 census, bilinguals of Spanish-Guarani constitute the largest group of speakers at a rate of 59 percent of the total population, followed by monolinguals of Guarani at 27 percent and monolinguals of Spanish at only six percent. While degree of competence in the indigenous language tends to vary by age and level of education, knowledge of Spanish in these contexts remains necessary for social mobility, even in cases such as Guarani, where the indigenous language enjoys associations with national identity, solidarity, and social intimacy (Gómez Rendón, 2008, p. 142). A third case of language contact may result from migration, either 'forced' as that resulting from slave trade, or 'voluntary' where the language of the migrant is not the official language (Lipski, 2005). In the former situation, we find contact between Spanish and languages of Africa, although there is a high degree of language shift from the native language to Spanish, as was the case of the *bozales* or African slaves in Cuba or Puerto Rico (McWhorter, 1995). One counterexample of a Spanish-based creole, of course, is found in the various slave enclaves of Latin America such as in Palenque, Colombia where nearly four thousand descendants of fugitive slaves live (Lipski & Schwegler, 1993). There are also contemporary migrations that include the movement of Spanish speakers to countries where Spanish is not the official language, such as the United States or Canada, and those in which nonnative speakers of Spanish migrate to Spanish-speaking countries, such as the case of Italians in Argentina. Language attitudes and language policy play a great role in the degree to which the native language is maintained and, consequently, the degree to which we find bilingualism and the resulting language contact associated with it. For example, we see a strong history of language maintenance and policies that support bilingualism in regions as diverse as New Mexico and Canada (Duff & Li, 2009; Guardado, 2010). Likewise, with respect to Italian immigrants to

Argentina, there is extensive bilingualism and language contact, perhaps resulting from the integration of Italians into Argentine society and the large numbers of immigrants arriving at the same time. In 1887, for example, 32 percent of the population of Buenos Aires was Italian (Baily, 1983).

The present overview demonstrates the array of situations that falls under the umbrella domain of ‘language contact’ and in which a degree of bilingualism is found. We can see that the range of factors that distinguishes these situations of contact, including political boundaries, degree of interaction and so on, includes precisely those factors that lead to varying degrees of cross-linguistic influence and proficiency in the contact languages at the level of the individual. Even though bilingualism resulting from situations of language contact is at times defined in contrast with SLA, we provide a brief overview and argue that there are important linguistic similarities across these contexts.

## Second language acquisition

The overview of situations of Spanish in contact with other languages suggests that some contexts may be more prototypical cases of SLA than others. The key to assessing the degree to which this is true, is to identify the basic tenets of SLA and better characterize the particular case of contact between languages. Second language (L2) learners may be children or adults, they may reach a relatively advanced level of proficiency or have only basic knowledge of the L2, and they may have access to formal instruction in the language or they may not. In this sense, there is no single profile of an L2 learner, or the context in which acquisition takes place. What L2 learners do have in common, however, is that they have already acquired an L1 (or multiple languages) prior to beginning to acquire the second (or additional) language. L1 proficiency reflects the age and level of education of the speaker, but speakers are able to communicate in that language at a level that is socially age-appropriate. To this communicatively functioning language base, a learner adds an additional language with a developing grammar that is influenced by situational, individual, and cognitive processes. With the goal of comparing and contrasting SLA and language contact, we begin here by briefly identifying the common issues and assumptions about L2s that span multiple theoretical approaches (for overviews, see Geeslin & Long, 2014; Mitchell, Myles, & Marsden, 2013; VanPatten & Williams, 2015). Theories of SLA differ in the extent to which a role in the process of acquisition is afforded to various factors, including language exposure, cognitive processes, the native language of the learner, social context, and characteristics of individual learners. However, SLA is widely believed to be initiated and propelled forward through exposure to the L2, even in cases where innate

knowledge, cognitive mechanisms, or social interactions are said to constrain the path of development. Input, or the language to which learners are exposed, provides the necessary information about how the L2 works for acquirers to develop knowledge and come to be effective users of the L2s (Gurzynski-Weiss, Geeslin, Long, & Daidone, 2017, Gurzynski-Weiss et al., 2018). One potential difference between SLA and other contexts of language contact, which will be explored in the next section, is the input itself. This is because the type of language to which learners are exposed may encompass different contexts of interaction, registers, and communicative goals, and it may vary in the actual quantity of opportunities for interaction (for overviews of interactionist theory, see Mackey, Abbuhl, & Gass, 2012; or Mitchell et al., 2013).

A second central issue in the study of SLA is the role of the L1(s). It is generally believed that the L1 plays a role in the process of SLA, but its effect may be mediated by the language pairs themselves and may vary across particular grammatical structures, even within the same language pairs (Jarvis, 2000; Pavlenko & Jarvis, 2002). Areas where structures are similar between languages or where lexical items carry prototypical, rather than figurative meanings are two examples of contexts where we might expect greater influence cross-linguistically (Kellerman, 1995). As we will discuss in the next section, the study of cross-linguistic influence is one area where we see common ground between SLA research and studies of language contact. The process of acquiring an L2 is characterized by gradual change over time. This change is not always linear and there are periods during which learners revert to previous stages before reaching native-like patterns of use. The term *interlanguage* describes the system of knowledge that language learners develop as they pass through these stages of acquisition (see Tarone, 2012, for an additional definition). The rules or generalizations contained in this developing system may reflect patterns in the input, the influence of the learner's native language, universal patterns of simplification, and learning strategies, to name a few. In the context of SLA, development is generally viewed at the level of the individual, allowing for different end states, rates of acquisition, and, by some accounts, even different paths of acquisition (Bayley & Tarone, 2012; Tarone & Liu, 1995). It is here where we may see greater potential for contrast with situations of language contact. Although the resulting patterns of language use may be quite similar and may have come to exist through similar processes, it is possible for simplified forms to have been learned as such in cases of societal contact. In SLA these forms may stem from each individual speaker's application of a universal strategy of simplification that is consistent with a particular point in development. In the discussion that follows, we will further explore both simplification and the similarities in the surface forms in L2 and contact varieties.

## Language contact

In the previous section, we emphasized that, by definition, all contexts of second or additional language learning, including instructed SLA, involve contact between two or more languages. Likewise, many cases of language contact, whether attested historically or contemporarily, constitute examples of some process or product of SLA or bilingualism. Therefore, the boundary between the various areas of investigation in bilingual studies, contact linguistics, and SLA represents considerable overlap from one subfield to the next. The goal of the present section is to identify some of the central characteristics of situations of language contact, which may or may not be similar to those explored already for bilingualism and for SLA.

From linguistic areas of convergence (e.g., the Balkan states) to indigenized varieties of languages spoken in postcolonial societies (e.g., Paraguay), the field of contact linguistics has sought to identify the social situations influencing the nature and degree of contact between two or more languages, specifically accounting for the number of speakers, the relative social status and power of each speaker group, and the prevailing attitudes toward the language(s) spoken in the community (Appel & Muysken, 2006; Heine & Kuteva, 2005; Matras, 2009; Mufwene, 2001; Thomason & Kaufman, 1992). Therefore, rather than posit linguistic or cognitive criteria to distinguish language contact from bilingualism or SLA, we suggest that any difference between these situations of language learning more likely reflects the predominant research agenda and theoretical frameworks of each subfield. For example, SLA studies have primarily addressed the cognitive aspects of language learning and bilingualism, often highlighting the role of the individual. In contrast, research in language contact is often limited to describing the characteristics of entire speech communities that explain how and why groups of multilingual speakers maintain the L1, shift to an L2, or converge on a combination of two or more languages. Of course, SLA researchers investigate social factors involved in language learning, such as gender, level of immersion, and connection to the L2 community (Block, 2003, 2014). However, the emphasis remains heavily on the individual learner rather than on a speech community of learners, except perhaps in heritage language situations. Similarly, contact linguistics has appealed to the role of cognitive factors, such as frequency in lexical borrowings, perceived typological similarity between grammars, and, to a much lesser extent, an innate language faculty (see Bickerton, 1984, for a discussion on the Bioprogram Hypothesis). However, the ecology of the language contact situation, among other questions of geographic and reproductive isolation (Croft, 2000), is viewed as the central explanation in accounts of variability among groups of speakers.

One important, individual factor that is, however, responsive to the type of contact situation is the instrumental motivation for learning a second or additional

language. Instrumental motivation encompasses the sociocultural and/or personal exigencies placed on learning more than one linguistic code for the purposes of achieving success in society (Gardner & Lambert, 1972). For instance, regarding the contact situation of some pidgins, the purpose of speakers learning another language – or, in this case, developing a new linguistic code – is to conduct trade in a community where there is no shared L1. This type of contact situation is distinct from the context where students learn foreign languages in a classroom for university requirements or personal interest and, even more so, from the case where an individual child is raised in a bilingual environment in which the home language does not match the language of the local culture. Therefore, instrumental motivation, in combination with the particular social context in which language learning takes place, may determine, at least partially, the outcome of acquisition and how closely this outcome will approximate the target language. Nevertheless, in a single contact situation we may find the coalition of multiple types of motivation or even some degree of similarity in motivation among learners in other contact situations. For example, a heritage speaker or immigrant may later study the language in a doctoral program with similar aspirations as a former classroom learner of the L2 to later become a researcher in the field. While instrumental motivation can be useful in disentangling one contact situation from the next, it cannot be taken as a singular, explanatory trait.

As we discussed in the previous section, linguistic input is one resource that is widely considered to be a requirement for initiating and propelling language learning, no matter the field of interest or theoretical approach espoused. If we take into account the nature and amount of input for each type of language contact, for example, we can attempt to distinguish and place onto a continuum, from least to most exposure to input, the contact situations of pidgins and creoles, immigrant speech, learner interlanguages, and heritage languages. We may also consider that the range of types of input may be different for each situation, with the expectation that classroom L2 learners may be exposed to formal language and those in contact situations may have access to less formal language or to language used for specific purposes. This generalization, however, cannot always reliably account for the ecologies of the learning context for each individual, and, in fact, meets with counterexamples. For instance, Clements (2009) demonstrates that two Chinese immigrants in Spain have differing interlanguage grammars primarily because of their distinct reasons for learning Spanish and their level of integration into the local Spanish culture, which exposed each of them to differing types and amounts of input (for similar results, see Langman & Bayley, 2002). Therefore, a classroom learner of Spanish, when compared to one immigrant, may have been exposed to a greater range and quantity of input, but when compared to another, may have had much less exposure, making this, too, a much less trustworthy



criterion for classifying bilingualism, language contact, and SLA as wholly different language-learning phenomena.

In fact, a common interest in SLA, bilingualism, and language contact is what happens with the input once an individual or group of speakers has access to it and subsequently develops linguistic knowledge from it. Simplification, for example, is one phenomenon described in high-contact varieties (Trudgill, 2002) that has received considerable attention in each of the respective fields. As Trudgill (2009) defines it for language contact, this complex phenomenon refers to three linked processes: the regularization of irregularities, an increase in lexical and morphological transparency, and a loss of redundancy either in morphological categories or repetition of information (e.g., loss of tense marking in past-tense narratives). Clearly, these processes can be seen in L2 learners and other contexts of bilingualism. For example, the prescriptively first-person preterit form of the verb *andar* ‘to walk’ is *anduve*, even though the ending ‘-uve’ departs from the regular forms, which end in ‘-é’ for the first person.<sup>4</sup> However, in cases of bilingualism (e.g., in the southwestern United States) and among L2 learners, the regularized form *andé* is widely attested. This clear case of regularization can be seen across the contexts explored in the present chapter and, thus, is not particular to language contact alone.

The cross-linguistic influence between the native and target languages, particularly the role of transfer, stands out as another unifying thread of investigation among each of the fields. Referring to SLA research, Siegel (2008) discusses transfer in relation to availability constraints and reinforcement principles that influence the selection and retention of features in pidgins and creoles. With an emphasis on both the individual learner-speaker and a community of individual learner-speakers, Siegel describes availability constraints as those factors that influence whether or not “features actually reach the pool of variants used in the contact situation” and reinforcement principles as those influencing whether “a particular feature in the pool is retained in the contact language or whether it is levelled out” (p. 148). Importantly, Siegel focuses on the linguistic factors (e.g., semantic transparency, salience, regularity, and lack of markedness) that affect the features of the language of individual learners, which may, in turn, propagate and be retained in an evolving community variety. In addition to the research on cross-linguistic influence discussed in the preceding section, accounts of semantic transparency (e.g., Geeslin, 2002), salience (e.g., Rossomondo, 2005), regularity (e.g., Collentine, 2014), and markedness (e.g., Eckman, 1987) are well represented in the literature on SLA.

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4. This form is not particular to the verb *andar*, but is shared by other verbs such as *tener* and *estar*. What distinguishes these three verbs, however, is that *andar* is less frequent than the other two, which by usage-based accounts would make it more susceptible to change than highly frequent forms (Bybee, 2010).



Thus, both the fact that languages influence each other in contexts of contact and acquisition, and the manner in which they may influence each other are often similar across contexts.

In this section, we have sought to demonstrate that any contrast between the fields of bilingualism, contact linguistics, and SLA may be less a result of the contact situation and may instead reflect the research agenda or the specific cases examined within each field. Nevertheless, we identified some tentative areas where it was possible to draw, albeit porous, lines across contact situations, recognizing the caveat that each context is subject not only to universals in language learning but also to the individual differences and particular sociocultural histories of the people who have learned second or additional languages. In the next section, we will examine linguistic phenomena that have occurred across various situations of language contact to further explore these differences and similarities.

### Tracing linguistic phenomena across contexts

Throughout this chapter we have focused on each of three lines of investigation: bilingualism, language contact, and SLA. In exploring the characteristics of each language learning context, we have seen that there are some distinctions from one to another. However, the commonalities across contexts are often stronger than the differences. Further, we generally anticipate knowledge of at least two languages and cross-linguistic influence between them, sometimes at the level of individual grammars and other times at the societal or speech community level. We have also seen that the language to which speakers (or learners) are exposed influences the resulting knowledge of that speaker and his or her own patterns of use. Finally, in every situation of language contact, including that of SLA, we have come to appreciate the multiple factors that conspire to constrain language learning and patterns of use across speakers and communities, including both language-specific facts as well as universal cognitive processes. In this section, we explore how these similarities and differences might play out by examining a single linguistic phenomenon across multiple contexts. Our rationale for selecting these particular cases is that they illustrate diverse outcomes across a range of types of contact situations and this sets the stage for the diverse cases included elsewhere in the volume. We have selected an example that illustrates striking similarities across contexts (case one) and one where there are greater differences across speaker groups (case two). Finally, case three shows a phenomenon that may appear similar across contexts but for which the process through which speakers arrived at those surface similarities may differ.

## Case 1: Mood contrast

In Spanish, the subjunctive mood is used to indicate hypotheticality, irrealis, or a degree of subjectivity that is not conveyed through the indicative mood forms. The use of these forms is acquired relatively late among native speakers of Spanish, in part because the concepts such as hypotheticality require more mature cognition than most other concepts conveyed through verbal morphology (e.g., number or person).<sup>5</sup> Studies of sociolinguistic variation and language change show that the subjunctive is constrained by various linguistic factors, such as futurity, specificity of time reference, hypotheticality, and clause type, as well as speaker characteristics such as geographic origin, socioeconomic class, and immigrant generation (Bayerová, 1994; Blake, 1981; Blas Arroyo & Porcar Miralles, 1997; de la Puente-Schuback, 1992; García & Terrell, 1977; González Salinas, 2003; Isabelli, 2006; Murillo Medrano, 1999). In a well-known context of language contact, that in the United States between English and Spanish, Silva-Corvalán (1994) has shown that use of subjunctive decreases across generations (following contact with English). Studies have shown that variability and change do not occur at the same rates for all contexts of use (e.g., adverbial clauses vs. adjectival clauses) and for all lexical items (e.g., Blas Arroyo & Porcar Miralles, 1997; de la Puente-Schuback, 1992; Isabelli, 2006). Even within a single clause type, such as adverbials, Kanwit and Geeslin (2014) showed that events with the adverbial phrase *hasta que* ‘until’ were consistently interpreted as ‘not yet having occurred’ when expressed with verbs in the subjunctive mood, whereas clauses with *después de que* ‘after,’ which prescriptively should also be interpreted as ‘not yet having occurred’ with the subjunctive, were viewed as ‘habitual’ 9.4 percent of the time. To summarize, bilingual speakers of Spanish and those in contact with other languages, show patterns of use that are linked to general strategies (e.g., expressing hypotheticality) as well as particular lexical items (e.g., different rates of use for different adverbs, all of which in future-time event contexts).

In the context of SLA, we also find both rule-governed and lexically-related patterns of use. For example, several studies have shown that learners are first able to use subjunctive forms in contexts that express futurity, with irregular verb forms and in contexts of volition (e.g., Collentine, 2014). In addition, there is evidence that learners produce subjunctive first with prototypical lexical items or groups of lexical items (e.g., *querer que*) and then this use spreads to additional lexical items that may

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5. There are many additional reasons why the subjunctive presents challenges for learners, such as redundancy, low perceptual salience, variable use among native speakers, etc. (Kanwit & Geeslin, 2014).

occur with less frequency in the input (see Collentine, 2003, and Collentine, 2014, for good reviews). It has been suggested, in fact, that the shift from a lexically-based strategy to a rule-based strategy, to express assertability, for example, is a sign of development, although the native patterns for adverbs that are also lexically-based are a notable exception to this (Kanwit & Geeslin, 2014).

If we take these two contexts of use, language contact and SLA, and assess the research on the subjunctive mood contrast in each, we see many similarities. For example, this structure is acquired late in first and second languages, and it is lost early and lends itself to variability across a host of bilingual contexts. We further see that competent speakers are able to use the subjunctive mood to express concepts such as hypotheticality, or actions that are not yet complete, regardless of the lexical item. We might even assert that subjunctive is maintained (or acquired) precisely in those contexts where it adds meaning to the utterance. However, with both contexts we also see evidence of lexically-based patterns of use. In short, some lexical items are used more often with the subjunctive in both contact and L2 contexts. In this case, we would argue that the explanation for this is similar regardless of the speech community or context of contact. This is because it is likely a reflection of the patterns attested in the Spanish language to which speakers have access. In other words, the lexical strategy that is attested for L2 learners is likely to be directly related to the frequency of occurrence in the learner-directed input. Thus, the subjunctive provides a test case in which we see that a single grammatical structure exhibits similar patterns across contexts where Spanish is in contact with English. We note that consideration of additional language pairings may come to influence our current view.

## Case 2: Copula choice

The languages of the world vary in the number of copular verbs they contain. Generally speaking, a copula is a linking verb and can be used to connect elements like nouns to adjectives or events to locations. Whereas in English we use the copular verb 'to be' to express all of these functions, Spanish contains a contrast between *ser* 'to be' and *estar* 'to be.' In contexts with adjectives, for example, *ser* expresses ongoing properties that are generally unchanging and inherent to the referent whereas *estar* may express that the characteristic is changing, or even that it has changed since the last observation. In general, the path of *estar* over time has been one of extension to new contexts that formerly only allowed *ser* (Hengeveld, 1991). There is, in fact, a wealth of research on the role of contact as it relates to variation and changing patterns of use of the copulas in Spanish. For example, Silva-Corvalán's (1986, 1994) work documents the loss of restrictions on the use of *ser* among first, second, and third generation Spanish-speaking immigrants to the

United States and posits contact with English as the source of the accelerated loss of restrictions on *estar* (see Gutiérrez, 2003, for comparable work on monolingual Mexicans that helped to support this hypothesis). In contrast, work by Ortiz López (2000) has shown the opposite effect for contact with English in Puerto Rico, such that speakers with greater knowledge of English showed decreased use of *estar* relative to those with less knowledge of the contact language. This finding led to the proposal that changing patterns of use of *estar* might be linked to access to formal education, rather than contact with English. Following these two studies, Geeslin and Guijarro-Fuentes (2008) examined copula use in Spanish in contact with Catalan, Galician, Valencian, and Basque, showing differing rates of use across groups. The findings not only refuted a purely contact-induced acceleration hypothesis of changing restrictions on *estar*, they also showed that these groups tended to display the same linguistic constraints on *estar* use and it was the rates of use that differed, rather than the actual contexts that tended to favor use of *estar*. In this case, then, the patterns attested in the data cannot be fully attributed to language contact.

In research on SLA, we find an interesting contrast in which highly advanced L2 learners were shown to be statistically similar in frequency of use of *ser* and *estar* but to differ in the constraints on this use (Geeslin, 2003; Geeslin & Guijarro-Fuentes, 2006). Specifically, learners were found to override semantic (or lexical) constraints in favor of pragmatic ones, even with extensive experience in the language. As with the research cited for language contact, these differences cannot be attributed to cross-linguistic influence because the work available to date now includes native speakers of English, Portuguese, and most recently Korean (Geeslin & Long, 2015). Thus, it is likely that the contrast between learners and native speakers is particular to L2 learners and may be related to the acquisition of particular lexical items, semantic properties of words, or to a particular difference in the input to which learners in a language classroom have access. Thus, we have seen a case where there are striking similarities across contexts (i.e., the mood contrast) and one where there are differences and certain patterns may be attributed only to L2 learners.

The copula contrast can serve to illustrate another common thread across contexts of language contact and bilingualism. Research on SLA has documented stages of acquisition that appear to apply fairly consistently across learning contexts and L1–L2 pairs. The first stage in this developmental path is omission. During this stage an utterance such as *María es guapa* ‘Maria is pretty’ may take the form of *María guapa* ‘Maria pretty’. This outcome is said to result from universal strategies of simplification through which those units that are least essential (i.e., least meaning-bearing) for communication are initially omitted as a result of the processing constraints demonstrated by early-stage learners (Ryan & Lafford, 1992; VanPatten, 1987). This pattern is primarily attested for English-speaking learners of Spanish and, thus, is of special interest because a pure transfer account would

predict overgeneralization of a single copular verb (rather than omission) as this is the pattern found in English. Similarly, copula omission has been the topic of research in the fields of language contact and pidgins and creoles as well. The language pairs in those studies may include languages with three copular verbs or with none at all and, despite this broader range of pairings, the outcome is often similar: copulas are omitted in simplified versions of language, regardless of the context (see Geeslin, 2001, for additional discussion). This case provides us with a second comparison between contact situations and SLA in which we see similar surface patterns resulting from what we believe to be universal strategies reflecting human cognition, rather than contact between particular language pairs.

### Case 3: Direct object pronouns

Variation in direct object pronominal expression occurs in both monolingual and bilingual varieties of Spanish, as well as among L2 learners. Among native speakers of Spanish, we know that variation is associated with particular geographic regions and that variability exists within and across social groups. In Castile and Leon, Spain, for example, one type of variation with direct object pronouns is *leísmo*, which refers to the use of the dative pronoun *le* with animate and inanimate referents of both genders in place of the etymological accusative pronouns *lo* and *la*. The factors found to be predictive of variation are the animacy, gender, and number of the referent (Klein-Andreu, 2000). In Castile and Leon's capital, Valladolid, human masculine referents show higher rates of *leísmo*, regardless of number, whereas some variation exists for singular and plural female referents (34 percent *leísmo* for singular and 7 percent for plural) among speakers of the highest social class. However, as Palacios Alcaine (2013) noted, this basic tendency of marking the gender of animate antecedents with the form *le/la* may be becoming less the case as she has registered a similar pattern with masculine inanimate referents. Moreover, Flores-Cervantes (2002) has demonstrated that *leísmo* is associated with transitivity (Hopper & Thompson, 1980) where the use of *le* in accusative contexts occurs in predicates with lower transitivity. This is to say that transitivity or the "transferring an action from one participant to another" (1980, p. 253) co-varies with the prototypicality of an object. For example, telic predicates, which are higher in transitivity according to Hopper and Thompson's model, are more likely to occur with the distinction between the pronouns *lo* and *la*, while atelic predicates will more likely occur with *le* as a less prototypical object. What is of importance, however, is that this phenomenon is by no means contemporary. In fact, variation is documented in medieval texts, suggesting the inheritance of competing pronominal systems since Latin (Fernández-Ordóñez, 2001).

In contact varieties, Palacios Alcaine (2013) attributes the acceleration of the internal change from an etymological or case-distinguishing system to simplified systems observed in Spanish-speaking regions around the world, particularly those in contact with indigenous languages, to a mechanism of linguistic convergence. In spite of typological diversity, Amerindian languages like Guarani, Nahuatl, Tz'utujil, and Quechua share “one crucial feature” that bears importance on the pronominal systems in varieties with which they are in contact: “they do not grammaticalize gender morphologically or make gender otherwise systemically pertinent” (p. 173). Unlike for the contact varieties in Spain, the change in the pronominal systems of Spanish in contact with Nahuatl in Mexico, Tz'utujil in Guatemala, and Quechua in Ecuador has led to neutralization of the gender feature rather than the case marker, yielding a two-case simplified system of *lo(s)* for the accusative and *le(s)* for the dative that does not mark the grammatical gender of the antecedent.

Other types of pronominal systems have been documented in bilingual contact zones. For example, Spanish in contact with Quechua near Quito, Ecuador shows that the case distinction remains relevant to the system but distinguishes between the accusative with *le(s)* for animate nouns and *lo(s)* for inanimate ones, where *le(s)* is used with all dative antecedents. Another change, too, has given rise to a simplified, unstressed pronominal system in which *le(s)* expresses both cases and genders of the antecedent, irrespective of animacy features. Palacios Alcaine (2013) argues that these systems are the result of a linguistic convergence process where Spanish is “simplified by eliminating those of its features which are not felt to be relevant by speakers of the indigenous languages involved, by bilinguals, or even by those who have lost their indigenous language” (p. 178). Contrary to the Peninsular varieties where the gender pattern is established, these contact situations do not induce changes toward any gender pattern because grammatical gender is not a part of the grammars of the indigenous languages involved.

The pronominal objects in Spanish have also been the attention of extensive research in the context of SLA. The majority of studies examine the patterns of pronoun use by English-speaking learners of Spanish, noting that in English, the accusative and dative cases are not marked reliably and gender is only marked on human objects (*him/her* vs. *it*). Much like speakers of the aforementioned indigenous languages, English-speaking learners face a L2 target pronominal system that is more complex. In early research on this topic, Anderson (1984) analyzed case study data from an English-speaking boy living in Puerto Rico and showed that his subject had simplified the Spanish system to arrive at a one-to-one correspondence between form and function. This system contained a single pronominal form *lo* ‘it’ and did not mark gender, even on definite and indefinite articles. Anderson showed that this high-level of simplification led to a system that was relatively functional,

prioritizing fluency over specificity to some degree. In more recent work with adult L2 learners, Zyzik (2006) and Malovrh (2008) both showed that, despite using different elicitation tasks and focusing their analyses on different uses of the form *le* in L2 Spanish, learners demonstrated a tendency to simplify the target system by overgeneralizing the use of the dative form *le* to all [+animate] (or [+human]) contexts, regardless of case. Although some of the learners in these studies had limited contact with speakers in Spain, it is most likely that these learners had arrived at this overgeneralization as a result of cognitive processes of simplification employed to compensate for limited proficiency in the target language.

Since those early studies, some research has directly addressed the acquisition of Spanish as an L2 and the role of regional dialect. Geeslin et al. (2010) conducted an analysis of preference data elicited from 33 learners at three times during a seven-week stay in Leon, Spain (a variety with the characteristics attributed to Castile and Leon, above). Their analysis showed that rates of use of *le* were higher than those for native speakers at the beginning of the study, dipped to lower rates at the midpoint of the stay abroad and then rose again but not to the level of native speakers, even by the end of their stay abroad. However, the study also examined predictors of *le* among the learners at the three different measurement times and showed that the predictors of this use became more similar to native speakers over the course of study. This finding shows that the near-native rates of use at the beginning of the study were not due to native-like factors and, thus, the differing rates but similar predictors toward the end of the stay abroad were indicative of development toward the native-like system. Salgado-Robles (2014a, 2014b) conducted research in central Spain (Salamanca, a region with these same dialect features) as well as in Seville, Spain, where the *le* form is not used in accusative contexts. The learners in his study started at similar (relatively high) rates in both locations. However, as the learners developed (i.e., moved beyond the stage of simplification leading to the use of *le* for all human referents), the learners in Seville decreased their rates of use whereas the learners in Salamanca maintained higher rates of use of *le*. In both cases, the initial common learning strategy was replaced by local target norms as acquisition progressed. Taking these studies of SLA in the context of language contact and bilingualism more broadly, we see that at times the surface properties may be similar, but the processes through which speakers arrived at those patterns differ. Specifically, we may see heightened rates of use of *le* across different populations. Nevertheless, these rates may result from different processes, depending on the speakers, the contact language, and the type of language learning context examined. The key insight, therefore, is that studies limited to frequency of use of a form without careful consideration of the manner (and linguistic contexts) in which that form is used, will miss key distinctions between bilinguals in different contexts of contact.



## Conclusion and future directions

One of the primary goals of the present chapter was to demonstrate that bilingualism, language contact, and SLA are not always easy to disentangle. In fact, all are situations of language contact, but with sometimes distinct research histories. In general, we see language contact as a societal characteristic, referring to groups of speakers of more than one language or groups of speakers in areas where more than one language is spoken. In contrast, we generally view SLA as an individual process through which speakers add a new language to their existing linguistic competence(s). However, cross-linguistic influence is constrained by the linguistic facts of the language pairs and by human cognition such that bilingualism, language contact, and SLA may exhibit similar processes across cases of language phenomena. In fact, we believe that these similarities allow researchers to collaborate and produce cross-disciplinary research that contributes to our understanding of the role of a particular language (or language pair) by adding new language pairs to the available body of research, and also enhances our understanding of human cognition and language processing through an effort to compare and contrast how such processes play out across contexts of language use. Thus, we end with a call for continued dialogue between researchers working on bilingualism, language contact, and SLA, in order to continue to uncover the similarities and differences among these related, yet distinct fields.

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# Origins and dialectology studies of Spanish in America

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This chapter offers a general perspective concerning the origins of American Spanish. This introductory chapter broadly includes the most relevant aspects that characterize Spanish varieties in South America. The first part reviews the influence of the settlers in the formation of Spanish in America. Additionally, contact situations with indigenous languages as well as the impact of African heritage are also investigated. The second part is dedicated to a description of the major dialectal areas in South America and their linguistic features. Departing from prior studies, the chapter depicts the most relevant phonetic and morpho-syntactic phenomena. The chapter ends with some concluding remarks about the roots of Spanish in America and its independent developments in different regions of South America.

**Keywords:** American Spanish, indigenous languages, language contact, variation

## Introduction

This chapter traces some of the origins and contact features of Spanish in the Americas in order to shed light on the outcomes of language contact since the arrival of Spaniards in this continent, particularly as they relate to contact with indigenous languages. With an understanding of the diverse origins of Spanish in the Americas, and the associated linguistic features that resulted in specific contact zones, we will be better able to evaluate whether contact-induced change in the Amazon is similar to or different from what has been previously found in the Americas.

## Origins of the Spanish language in America

As is generally known, after the *Reconquista* of the Kingdom of Granada (Spain) in 1492, the Catholic Monarchs (i.e. Ferdinand II of Aragon and Isabella I of Castile) in Spain decided to fund the first trips to America. The European expansion in America created a complex contact situation with the indigenous languages already present there (and later on with African languages as well) that in turn created conditions for the formation of new varieties of the Spanish language. According to Klee and Lynch (2009), the existing languages before the arrival of the Spaniards numbered around 1,750, of which approximately 600 have survived until today. The most important languages that had (and still have) a major impact on Spanish have been Quechua/Quichua (8.5 mill. speakers),<sup>1</sup> Guaraní (4 mill. speakers), Aymara (2.2 mill. speakers), Quiché (1.3 mill. speakers), Náhuatl (1.2 mill. speakers), and Yucatec Maya (714,000 speakers), among others. In fact, Lipski (2007) claims that linguistic contact is one of the main explanatory factors in accounting for the heterogeneity of the dialects of Spanish due to the bilingual population in Latin America. Figure 1 depicts the location of these indigenous languages in Spanish America.



**Figure 1.** Map of indigenous languages in Spanish America (taken from Díaz-Campos, 2014)

Company Company (2016, p. 604) argues that the diversity of the regional varieties of American Spanish can be explained by taking into account the successive and complex stages of linguistic leveling that included speakers of different Spanish

1. See Klee & Lynch (2009, p. 114) for more details on the number of speakers.



varieties as well as speakers of other languages who were in contact during the formative years of Spanish in America. This language contact situation ended up creating a *koiné*, a variety of language resulting from dialect and language mixture followed by a shaping process of language leveling and simplification, known as *koineization* (de Granda, 1994, p. 64). In other words, the combination of different influences related to the languages spoken in each of the regions as well as the different dialects spoken by the settlers contributed to shape the new regional varieties. Company Company (2016) used this term to characterize the process of levelling and convergence. She pointed out that the varieties of Spanish in America later became distinct from one another and from Peninsular Spanish as the result of (1) geographic distance; (2) infrequent contact; and (3) the relative socioeconomic status of the various American territories during the colonial period.

Geographic distance is relevant for the context discussed here because the more isolated certain communities were, given the complexity of the surrounding areas (e.g. wild forest, mountains, remote locations, etc.) and the lack of good means of communication, the more linguistic differences were likely to develop. Many American territories comprise areas difficult to penetrate with vast distances among them, which may have facilitated the formation of distinct varieties of Spanish, each with its own identity.

The second contributing factor, according to Company Company (2016), is frequency of contact between Spain and the American colonies. In her work, she mentioned that the number of ships departing for America was limited to a few per year. Additionally, time spent on the sea was approximately three months. Those wanting to come to America from the Iberian Peninsula often waited a year or more to depart from ports such as Seville or Cádiz. These observations imply at least two consequences. One is that contact between Spain and the colonies was somewhat limited, and this is particularly relevant for isolated regions where that contact would have been even less frequent. The second is that people coming from other parts of Spain to Seville or Cádiz and wanting to travel to America would accommodate to Southern dialects to a certain extent prior to their departure for the New World.

Related to both factors is the administrative status of the territories in America under colonial rule. During the 16th century, there were two Viceroyalties, New Spain and Perú, and later, in the 18th century, two more were created: Nueva Granada and Río de la Plata. These were the most important administrative territories. In other cases, territories with lesser status were known as Audiencias or General Captaincies. The relative political importance of each territory determined its degree of autonomy and isolation. Audiencias and General Captaincies had less contact with Spain and were more generally isolated, which contributed to dialectal differentiation. The three factors explained above give us a general idea of the



complexity of colonization and the formation of an independent identity in the different territories across space and time.

It has been traditionally argued in the literature that these new varieties of Spanish were formed from Andalusian Spanish as well as influences from the Canary Islands (e.g. Boyd-Bowman, 1964; Canfield, 1981;<sup>2</sup> Lipski, 1994; Sánchez Lobato, 1994, etc.), in particular with features from Sevillian speech, such as *seseo*. The work of Boyd-Bowman (1964) revealed that numerous people from Southern Spain moved to America during the first century of colonization (see also Aleza Izquierdo & Enguita Utrilla, 2010). As mentioned above, even if those emigrating were from a different part of Spain, before departing for America they would spend a considerable amount of time in Seville or Cádiz, where they adjusted (to a greater or lesser degree) to these Southern dialects. While the influence of Southern Spain is more predominant in coastal areas of America, it is less prevalent in the more inaccessible regions. Lipski (1994, p. 9) pointed out that colonial administrative centers located in interior regions such as Mexico City, Guatemala, Bogotá, Quito, etc. would have had representatives of the government, military, and clergy coming from Northern Spain, given the sociopolitical organization of Spain at the time. The case of these isolated or less penetrable regions is therefore different because a homogeneous influence is less prevalent. In these cases, geographic isolation contributed to the independent development of new varieties of the Spanish language. One of the most well-known proposals for classifying the dialects of Spanish is the one offered by Henríquez Ureña (1921), who argued for a dialectal division of Latin America based on the influence of different indigenous languages. The areas he proposed were as follows:

- i. Southwest USA, Mexico, and Central America, influenced by Náhuatl
- ii. Antilles, Venezuela, and Caribbean Coast of Colombia, influenced by Arahuan
- iii. Ecuador, Peru, Bolivia, and Northern Chile, influenced by Quechua/Quichua
- iv. Central and Southern Chile, influenced by Araucanian
- v. Argentina, Paraguay, and Uruguay, influenced by Guaraní.

This classification of dialects is still relevant today, as many scholars acknowledge a major dialectal division along the lines of what was initially described in the work of Henríquez Ureña. The generally accepted macrodialects of Spanish include: (1) Mexico, Southwest US, Central America, (2) Caribbean Spanish, (3) Andean Spanish, (4) Southern Cone Spanish, and (5) Chile.

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2. According to Canfield (1981, p. 2), historical documents indicate that early expeditions came from southern cities such as Seville, Huelva, Palos, Málaga, and Cádiz.

Our discussion so far has focused on the role of Spanish settlers in America and the linguistic influence of Southern Spain in the formation of varieties of Spanish in the new territories. However, of central importance to the description of the origins of dialectal differentiation in America is a discussion of the influence of indigenous languages as well as African languages, given that their speakers were and are important members of speech communities across Spanish America. Section 2 of the present chapter describes some of the most salient indigenous influences in three different regions as well as highlighting Amazonian Spanish. Section 3 addresses the African influence on American Spanish. Finally, we present some of the features that characterize dialects of Spanish spoken in America.

### Influence from indigenous languages

The first contact with indigenous languages that the newly arrived Spaniards experienced took place in Cuba and on the island of “La Española” (which today comprises the countries of Haiti and the Dominican Republic). Klee and Lynch (2009) list a number of words that have been incorporated into the Spanish language whose origin is found in the indigenous languages of the Caribbean, more predominantly from Taíno. These words include: *canoa* ‘canoe’, *maíz* ‘corn’, *huracán* ‘hurricane’, *tiburón* ‘shark’, *ají* ‘pepper’, *hamaca* ‘hammock’, and *caimán* ‘caiman’, among many others. These new lexical items arose as a response to the new reality Europeans had encountered and their need to name every element (Lipski, 2005). Through the years, there have been several reasons for the survival of the indigenous languages. For example, Escobar (2011) argued that Quechua/Quichua became the *lingua franca* of the Andean region because it was the language selected for the evangelization of the people. Closer to our times, indigenous languages have recently been included as part of linguistic policies put into place by the governments of various countries (Díaz-Campos, 2014). In what follows, we present some relevant examples to illustrate contact between Spanish and different indigenous languages.

#### Contact in Mexico

According to Lipski as indicated in Díaz-Campos (2014, p. 188), Náhuatl became the *lingua franca* that Spaniards used with the indigenous population in Mexico for the purpose of evangelization as well as civil and military activities. It is also argued that it is difficult to determine the level of bilingualism of the Mexican community, thus, recognition of the influence that Náhuatl has had on Spanish may be scant. However, studies by Lope Blanch (1967) and Klee and Lynch (2009) succeeded in pinpointing some of the main features of Mexican Spanish in contact with Náhuatl (see Table 1).

Table 1. Náhuatl influence on Mexican Spanish

Type of phenomenon	Phenomenon	Example
Phonetic	Presence of /ʃ/	<i>mixiote</i> [mi.ʃjo.te]
	Presence of /ts/	<i>Pátzcuaro</i> [pats.kwa.ro]
	Presence of /tʃ/	<i>Náhuatl</i> [nauatʃ]
	Presence of /r/ in word-final position	<i>comer</i> [ko.mer] ‘to eat’
	Vocalic weakening or deletion in unstressed position	<i>pescar</i> [ps.kar] ‘to fish’
Morphosyntactic	Pluralization of the possessive form to agree with the possessor	<i>su casa</i> (‘their house’) instead of <i>su casa</i> (‘his/her/their house’)
	Duplication of ‘lo’	<i>¿no lo vieron mi llave?</i> ‘didn’t you see my key?’

## Amazonian Spanish

The Amazonian region comprises a broad area that includes the following nine countries: Bolivia, Brazil, Colombia, Ecuador, Guyana, French Guiana, Peru, Suriname, and Venezuela (Queixalós, 2009). Looking closer at the Spanish-speaking countries, Amazonian Spanish could be located in the subsequent areas:

- In Bolivia, the Amazonian region comprises 4 departments: La Paz (capital city: La Paz), Pando (capital city: Cobija), Beni (capital city: Trinidad), and Cochabamba (capital city: Cochabamba).
- In Colombia, the Amazonas Department is located in the southern area of the country, near the borders with Peru. The capital city of the department is Leticia.
- In Ecuador, the Amazonian region is found in the east of the country. The most populated city is Nueva Loja.
- In Peru, there are two departments within the Amazonian region: the Department of Ucayali (capital city: Pucallpa) and the Department of San Martín (capital city: Moyobamba).
- In Venezuela, the Amazonian region is composed of both the state of Amazonas (capital city: Puerto Ayacucho) and the state of Bolívar (capital city: Ciudad Bolívar).

In the aforementioned regions, a vast diversity of indigenous languages is still considered to coexist with Spanish. This contact between those languages has shaped what we call Amazonian Spanish nowadays (see Aikhenvald, this volume). Some of the common language families include Arawak, Bora, Pano, and Caribe. These families are divided into particular languages that are spoken in the different areas.

With the purpose of providing an idea of the complexity and richness of linguistic diversity in the Amazonas, we offer a partial list of the indigenous linguistic families present in the different Spanish-speaking regions.

**Table 2.** Linguistic families in Spanish-speaking Amazonas

Countries	Linguistic families present
Bolivia	Arawak, Chapacura, Pano, Takana, Tupi-Guaraní
Colombia	Arawak, Bora, Caribe, Guahibo, Makú-Puinave, Tukano Occidental, Tukano Oriental, Tupi, Yagua-Peva
Ecuador	A'ingae, Achuar-Chicham, Kichwa, Paicoca, Shiwiar-Chicham, Wao/Huao-Tiromo, Záparo
Perú	Arawak, Arawak, Bora, Cahuapana, Candoshi, Harakmbut, Jívoro, Munichi, Pano, Peba-yagua, Quechua, Shimaco, Takana, Tikuna, Tukano, Tupi-guaraní, Witoto, Záparo
Venezuela	Arawak, Caribe, Yanomami

This whole linguistic scene originated the varieties of Spanish studied in the present section. The majority of empirical research has been conducted in Peru (e.g. Caravedo, 1997; Elias-Ulloa, this volume; Emlen, this volume; Fafulas and Viñas de Puig, this volume; Huaroc Anquiya, 2009; Jara Yupanqui, 2013; Montes Rodríguez, 2009; Rodríguez-Mondoñedo & Fafulas, 2016, Sánchez & Mayer, this volume), although the phenomena described can be shared by the other regions. Some phonological features attributed to Amazonian Spanish (Lipski, 2005, p. 344) are:

- a. fortition of several consonants such as the use of intervocalic [dʒ] instead of [j] or [ʎ]. For instance, *ensayo* 'essay' /en'sajo/ > [en'sadʒo].
- b. labialization of some velars, especially [x]. For example, *jueves* 'Thursday' /'xuebes/ > ['φueβes].
- c. Deaffrication of /tʃ/. For instance, *chocolate* 'chocolate' /tʃoko'late/ > [joko'late]

Regarding morphosyntactic features, Amazonian Spanish is characterized by the following phenomena, among others: (i) changes in the order of constituents, (ii) lack of nominal and verbal agreement, (iii) changes in transitivity, and (iv) use of double possessive. Montes Rodríguez (2009) and Jara Yupanqui (2013) explained that the order of the constituents in sentences varies. Taking the examples from Montes Rodríguez (2009), speakers from this variety would produce sentences such as *ha muerto el caballo* 'the horse has died' or *los animales que tenemos vamos a perder* 'we are going to lose the animals we have', where both the subject and the object are post-verbal, instead of following an SVO model. Huaroc Anquiya (2009) and Jara Yupanqui (2013) posited that this variety of Spanish tends to have a lack of agreement, both gender and number agreement. This sentence *bastante largo es*

*su agonía* ‘his agony is too long’ exemplifies how the adjective *largo* does not agree in gender with the feminine noun *agonía*. According to these authors, the lack of gender agreement is due to two factors related to their first language: gender is not expressed by the noun and the adjective is invariable. Therefore, their default form is the masculine as it can be considered the least marked form. Concerning number agreement, in the noun phrases the number is expressed by the determiner and the noun remains singular (e.g. *no viví con mis papá* ‘I did not live with my-plural parent-sing.’). In verbal phrases, Lipski (2005, p. 345) points out that bilinguals dominant in their native languages tend to use a 3rd-person singular verbal form (e.g. *Las otras chacras no tiene riego* ‘the other chacras (properties) don’t have any irrigation water’).

According to Montes Rodríguez (2009), changes in transitivity occur when speakers elide the pronoun in pronominal verbs such as *levantarse* ‘to wake up’ or *casarse* ‘to get married’. Furthermore, speakers may add a pronoun in verbs that prescriptively do not need it. For instance, *pensar* > *pensarse* ‘to think’ or *caminar* > *caminarse* ‘to walk’. Finally, Falcón Ccenta, Chumbile Vásquez, and Canturín Narrea (2012, p. 97) have documented the use of double possessive as a byproduct of the language contact. This double possessive is built by including in the NPs a possessive adjective and a prepositional phrase with preposition ‘*de* (of)’ to indicate the possessor. For example, *su cuñado de mi hermano* ‘my brother’s (his) brother-in-law’ or *mañana es su descanso de él* ‘tomorrow is his day off (of him)’.

### Contact in the Andean region

With regard to this region, Quechua was considered the *lingua franca* and it was even extended to other regions outside of the former Inca Empire’s borders (Klee & Lynch, 2009). These authors claimed that, due to a monopoly in the economy, it was preferred that monolingualism in Quechua was still spread in rural areas. The economical position of the landowners allowed them to control the use of Spanish in the region. This way, they could preserve their status and power as intermediaries between the ruling class and the peasants. However, around the middle of the 20th century, coinciding with modernization of the economy as well as with immigration to the coastal cities, efforts to encourage the learning of the Spanish language were carried out by various governments in the region.

Table 3 includes elements present in Andean Spanish varieties that have been influenced by Quechua (Escobar, 2011).

Table 3. Quechua influence on Andean Spanish

Type of phenomenon	Phenomenon	Example
Phonetic	Raising of mid-vowels to high-vowels	<i>noche</i> > <i>nochi</i> 'night'
	Vocalic weakening or deletion in unstressed position	<i>oficinista</i> [of.si.nis.ta] 'secretary'
Morphosyntactic	Deletion of articles and prepositions	<i>escribe</i> Ø <i>carta</i> 'write a letter' <i>la casa</i> Ø <i>ingeniero</i> 'the engineer's house'
	Lack of noun-adjective agreement	<i>la escuela nocturno</i> 'the nocturnal-MASC. school-FEM'
	Morphological regularization	<i>ponieron</i> instead of <i>pusieron</i> 'they put-PAST'

### Contact in Paraguay

According to Klee and Lynch (2009), the situation of Guaraní, the main indigenous language spoken in Paraguay, is very particular as it has been one of the most extended indigenous languages in Latin America due to the status it achieved or its presence in the Paraguayan communities, among other reasons. In fact, the Paraguayan government implemented bilingual programs to continue the expansion of the language. Guaraní has been preserved as one of the prestigious languages in Paraguay for the following reasons (among others): (i) the relationship between the natives and the Spaniards was more cooperative than bellicose (Rubin, 1974), (ii) the presence of Jesuits and the fact that they kept Guaraní as their language helped bilingualism to continue growing. Table 4 below depicts some of the features of Paraguayan Spanish that have resulted from contact with Guaraní (Gynan, 2011).

Table 4. Guaraní influence on Paraguayan Spanish

Type of phenomenon	Phenomenon	Example
Phonetic	Use of glottal stop	[sus.ʔi.hos] instead of [su.si.hos] <i>sus hijos</i> 'their sons'
	Insertion of vowels in CC structure	[ku.ru.se.ta] instead of [kru.se.ta] <i>cruceta</i> 'control stick'
	Shortening of verbal forms	[bje.ne] instead of [bje.nen] <i>vienen</i> 'they come'

(continued)

Table 4. (continued)

Type of phenomenon	Phenomenon	Example
Morphosyntactic	Deletion of direct object pronouns	<i>Trajo la bandeja y Ø puso en la mesa</i> instead of <i>trajo la bandeja y la puso en la mesa</i> 'S/he brought the tray and placed it on the table'
	Double negation	<i>Nadie no vino</i> instead of <i>Nadie vino</i> 'Nobody came'
	Use of articles with possessives	<i>Un mi hermano vive en Asunción</i> instead of <i>Mi hermano vive en Asunción</i> 'My brother lives in Asunción'
	New uses of prepositions that differ from traditional uses	<i>Voy en el mercado</i> instead of <i>voy al mercado</i> 'I go to the store'

In this part of the chapter, we have compiled some of the most prominent features of the Spanish language in contact with several of the most well-known indigenous languages in Latin America. Although we are well aware that not all relevant contact situations are presented here, they nevertheless provide a general perspective on the main results of language contact in the region.

### The African influence

As seen in the previous sections of this chapter, the Spanish language has been subject to different types of influences. In addition to indigenous languages, influences from African languages have been documented due to the African presence on the American continent beginning in the 15th century. Perl (1998) states that most of the slaves brought to the Americas came from regions where there was an intense influence of Portuguese. In terms of numbers, Curtin (1969) mentions that around 4 million slaves were brought to the Caribbean, whereas 4.7 million were sent to South America. Díaz-Campos and Clements (2008) argue that only 9% of those slaves were brought to Spanish America (this represents around 1,037,900). Based on the demographics of the areas where Africans settled, some scholars have explained the process of creation of new languages known as Creole languages. Today at least two Creole languages are considered to be of Spanish origin: (1) Palenquero, spoken in San Basilio, Colombia and (2) Papiamentu, spoken in Aruba, Curaçao and Bonaire. Even though we do not have exact information about the origins and demographics of the African population in Latin America, it is known that some of the most important languages with a presence in the region were Mandingo/Fula, Kwa languages, Yoruba, Kikongo and Kimbundu.



Some of the more notable linguistic influences of African languages are found in the lexicon. Lipski (1994, pp. 124–125) points out the following lexical items that originated from these languages: *banana* ‘banana’, *batuque* ‘shake’, *bunda* ‘buttock’, *cachimbo* ‘pipe’, *candombe* ‘candombe (type of dance)’, *dengue* ‘dengue’, *guandul* ‘pea’, *marimba* ‘marimba (musical instrument)’, *milonga* ‘milonga (type of dance)’, *mucama* ‘servant’, *ñame* ‘yam’, etc.

Regarding other linguistic features present in the pronunciation or grammar of Afro-Hispanic language varieties, there is less agreement with respect to their origins. Some of these unique characteristics are presented in Table 5. The first set of phenomena has to do with the neutralization of liquids in syllable-initial position (and potentially in syllable-final position as well). It has been documented that languages such as Kikongo only have in their phonemic inventory a lateral segment, so that the Spanish rhotics would be produced as a lateral. This rhotic to lateral neutralization is also observed in consonant clusters. In this phonetic context (i.e. clusters), there could also be an alternative strategy, which consists of deleting the liquid segment from the cluster. Concerning morphosyntactic phenomena, we have chosen to comment on only two of them here: (1) The preverbal marker ‘ta’ and (2) double negation. Some scholars have analyzed the preverbal marker ‘ta’ as a present/imperfective durative aspect particle that may be associated with an Afro-Hispanic Creole (see Díaz-Campos & Clements, 2008; Lipski, 1994). Schwegler (1996) argues that double negation may be a feature originating from Kikongo, even though definitive evidence to make the case is not available.

**Table 5.** Phenomena of African origin in some American Spanish varieties

Phenomenon	Examples
Neutralization of intervocalic /r/	[kalákas] instead of [karákas] <i>Caracas</i> ‘Caracas, city in Venezuela’
Lateralization in consonant clusters	[tláhe] instead of [tráhe] <i>traje</i> ‘suit’
Consonant cluster simplification	[laðónes] instead of [laðrónes] <i>ladrones</i> ‘thieves’
Preverbal marker ‘ta’	<i>Mi ta sabé que...</i> ‘I did know that...’
Double negation	<i>No quiero no</i> ‘I don’t want’

## Prominent linguistic features of American Spanish

The purpose of this section is to provide a short description of some of the linguistic features often considered ‘unique’ or prominent in the Spanish of certain regions of America. While it is true that many linguistic phenomena observed in America are traceable back to the Peninsula, some characteristics are more prevalent in

American than in Peninsular Spanish. As one can imagine, the vast expanse of the territories where Spanish is spoken implies the existence of a variety of dialects, each one with its own identity. Our goal is not to exhaustively review all relevant phenomena, but to highlight some of the most interesting features documented in various regions (see Table 6).

The selected features are considered prominent in the sense that they are common in a certain area, though not used exclusively, as there tends to be variability in the use of dialectal phenomena and binary descriptions tend to miss the gradience that is intrinsic to variation and change in language.

**Table 6.** List of prominent phenomena in American Spanish

Phenomenon	Example	Dialectal region(s)
Zheísmo	<i>yo</i> 'I' [fo] [ʒo], <i>llama</i> 'llama' [jáma] [ʒáma]	River Plate (Argentina, Uruguay)
Velarization of /r/	<i>Ramón</i> 'Ramon: male name' [ɾ/ɣ/hamón]	Puerto Rico
Assibilation of /r/ in consonant clusters and in coda position	<i>tres</i> 'three' [třés], <i>cantar</i> 'to sing' [kantáʃ]	Andean Spanish, Mexico, Costa Rica, and in certain regions of Chile, Argentina, Paraguay
Palatalization of /x/	<i>mujer</i> 'woman' [muçér], <i>gente</i> 'people' [çénte]	Chile
Vocalization of /r/ and /l/ in coda position	<i>mujer</i> 'woman' [muhéj], <i>cantar</i> 'to sing' [kantáj]	Dominican Republic*
Gemination of consonant preceded by /r/ or /l/ in coda position	<i>corbata</i> 'tie' [kobbáta], <i>puerta</i> 'door' [pwétta]	Cuba
Velarization of /p,b/ and /t,d/ in coda position	<i>Pepsi</i> [péksi], <i>absoluto</i> 'absolute' [aksolúto]	Mexico, Argentina, and other regions in Latin America
Plosive realization of /b,d,g/ after a semivowel or non-homorganic consonant	<i>desde</i> 'from' [déhde], <i>ley de armas</i> 'weapons bill' [léj de ármás]	Central America, Colombia, and in Andean regions of Venezuela, Ecuador, and Bolivia
Non-inversion in open questions	<i>¿Qué tú quieres?</i> instead of <i>¿Qué quieres tú?</i> 'What do you want?'	Caribbean region
Use of <i>vos</i>	<i>Vos querés/queréis</i> 'You-2nd pers. sing. want'	Certain areas in Mexico, Central America, River Plate, Chile, and other regions of South America
Focalizing <i>ser</i>	<i>Yo vivo es en San Juan</i> 'Where I live is in San Juan'	Colombia, Ecuador, Panamá, and Venezuela

\* In the Cibao region

## Phonetic variation and change

Whereas most Spanish-speaking regions regularly use [j] (voiced palatal fricative) for orthographic <y, ll> (e.g. *yo* 'I', *llave* 'key'), *zheísmo* refers to the variable use of two allophones to pronounce these graphemes: [ʒ] (voiced post-alveolar fricative) or [ʃ] (voiceless post-alveolar fricative). *Zheísmo* is a process typically found in the region of the River Plate, including Argentina and Uruguay. Lipski (2005) confirms that this phenomenon has been documented since the late 18th century and early 19th century. He also points out that the voiceless allophone is associated with the region of Buenos Aires and with young people. Fontanella de Weinberg (1979) was a pioneer in the study of the variation between [ʒ] and [ʃ] in a group of Argentinian speakers. Her results revealed that social variables such as the age and sex of the speaker were important in explaining the phenomenon. More specifically, she highlighted that use of the voiceless variant [ʃ] was more predominant in the speech of young women between the ages of 15 and 30. In contrast, her study showed that older women (51–70 years of age) used the voiced variant [ʒ]. Rohena-Madrado (2015) offers a more recent sociolinguistic study of the phenomenon and its evolution in Buenos Aires Spanish. In his study of 16 participants, he found that younger speakers (18–29 years old) only produce the voiceless variant [ʃ], while older speakers (55 years old or over) use both [ʒ] and [ʃ]. This finding is interpreted by Rohena-Madrado (2015) as an indication that the change is in its final stage in which the voiceless variant [ʃ] has become the norm in this speech community.

The second phenomenon listed in Table 6 is the velarization of /r/ in Puerto Rican Spanish (e.g. [hamónʝ] instead of [ramón] *Ramón* 'Ramon: male name'). The velarization of /r/ is the use of a uvular (i.e. [ʀ]) or glottal (i.e. [h]) sound instead of the alveolar trill. In general, the term velarization can be used to indicate a change in the place of articulation, namely, from a more frontal region (i.e. lips, alveoli) towards the back part of the oral cavity (i.e. velum). A number of scholars have described the phenomenon and its various phonetic realizations: [ʀ] voiced uvular trill; [ʀ̥] voiced uvular fricative, and [h] voiceless glottal fricative (refer to Delgado-Díaz and Galarza, 2015, p. 70). The first scholar who described the phenomenon of velarization of /r/ in Puerto Rican Spanish was Navarro Tomás in 1948. In his study, Navarro Tomás documented the existence of variants with a velar point of articulation and either a fricative or rhotic mode of articulation. This author also observed variation regarding the sonority of the realizations since his findings allowed him to report both voiced and voiceless productions. In more recent research on Puerto Rican Spanish, this variation has been studied utilizing a sociolinguistic approach. Medina-Rivera (1999) analyzed data from the region of Caguas, taking into account stylistic variants according to Bell's audience design model (1984).

Medina-Rivera's (1999) findings indicated that the velarized variants are favored in daily conversations whereas a more formal style such as an oral presentation would discourage the speaker from using these variants. Topics such as abortion or the death penalty (as well as narratives) also favor the use of more velarized realizations.

Valentín-Márquez (2007) compared the speech of Puerto Ricans living in Cabo Rojo, Puerto Rico and Grand Rapids, Michigan. In his analysis, he included data containing two distinct phenomena: lateralization (i.e. neutralization of [r] in [l] when in coda position) and velarization of the trill. His results indicated that the alveolar realization was the most common one in both communities (used in around 60% of the cases). With respect to velarization of the trill, Valentín-Márquez pointed out that the percentage of use of this variant is similar both in Cabo Rojo (15.80%) and Grand Rapids (15.21%). The velarized variants tended to be more favored in the following linguistic contexts: in word-initial position, in unstressed syllables and before nasal consonants. As for social factors, men and middle-aged participants favored the velarized variants in Cabo Rojo, whereas women favored the use of the alveolar trill both in Cabo Rojo and in Grand Rapids.

Another study of this phenomenon (Delgado-Díaz & Galarza, 2015) analyzed the perception of the alveolar trill [r] and the glottal fricative [h] due to the phonemic status these two sounds have in minimal pairs such as [hamón] *jamón* 'ham' and [ramón] *Ramón* 'Ramon: male name', exemplifying a contrast between the two sounds. The main objective of this investigation was to determine if a process of neutralization took place whereby these phonemes lose their ability to generate a contrast. The data were collected from 17 participants divided into two groups: Puerto Rican Spanish speakers and speakers representing other Spanish dialects. The perception experiment involved a task of lexical identification with words such as *barra* [bára] 'bar' or *baja* [báha] 'small, short' together with illustrations that established the referent of each word. The participants had to choose one option for each word they listened to. Their findings revealed that the participants from Puerto Rico were able to recognize [h] as an allophone of /r/ in intervocalic position. On the other hand, speakers from other Spanish-speaking regions associated the allophone [h] with the phoneme /h/ and not with the trill. This result may indicate the existence of different phonological systems among the participants due to their recognition patterns. It is important to highlight that this study also revealed that the Puerto Rican informants had more doubts when they had to identify the sounds after a pause as opposed to in intervocalic position. This was because in these cases, associations were made with the phoneme /h/ and not with the alveolar trill.

Another phenomenon that has been described as part of American Spanish is the assibilation of /r/ and of word-final /r/ as in *rana* [řána] 'frog', *tres* [trés] 'three', and *cantar* [kantář] 'to sing'. Another context where this can be seen is in consonant clusters containing /r/. This phenomenon has been documented in Mexico,

the Andean region (which includes Colombia, Peru, Bolivia, and Ecuador), and Costa Rica. It has also been observed in Argentina, Chile, and Paraguay. Although it has been considered more common in American Spanish varieties, the *Nueva Gramática de la Lengua Española* (NGLE, New Grammar of the Spanish Language) documented its occurrence in Spain in towns close to the Ebro River and in other regions near Logroño and Zaragoza (NGLE-RAE, 2011, p. 260). The process of assibilation implies that the production of the rhotic sounds (both tap and trill) is affected by a stridence that is typical of fricatives. In various studies of Mexican Spanish during the mid-20th century (Boyd-Bowman, 1960; Matluck, 1952; Moreno de Alba, 1972; Perissinotto, 1972), assibilation (i.e. [ʃ]) was found to be favored by the following groups: women, the young, and middle class speakers. In a sociolinguistic study of the Mexican city of San Luis Potosí, Rissel (1989) examined the effect of factors such as the phonetic context (the environment where a given variant occurs), speech style, socioeconomic level, and attitudes toward the roles of different genders (i.e. men, women) in Mexican society. Rissel's findings showed that assibilation occurs in contexts such as word-final position before a pause (e.g. *comer* [koméʃ#] 'to eat'), word-initial position (e.g. *rama* [ʃáma] 'branch'), and after a consonant (e.g. *Israel* [isʃáel 'Israel']). This study found the same phenomenon occurred (albeit at a lower rate) in consonant clusters like /tr/. Analysis of the influence of social factors revealed that assibilation of rhotics was more likely to happen among women and middle-class groups. The groups who expressed traditional ideas concerning the role of women in society assibilated less often. Specifically, working-class men with more traditional attitudes are those who show less use of assibilation, since they associate it with women's speech.

The palatalization of the sound [x] (voiceless velar fricative) represents a change in its point of articulation, shifting from the velum to the post-alveolar region. This phenomenon, which has been documented in Chilean Spanish (NGLE-RAE, 2011, p. 194), usually occurs when [x] is followed by a front vowel ([i, e]). For instance, the word *gente* 'people' is pronounced as [çénte] instead of [xénte]. Lenz (1940) and Oroz (1966) are examples of scholars who have documented this phenomenon in Chilean Spanish. More recently, Flores (2016) studied palatalization using speech from Chilean radio stations. Her methodology took into account both sociolinguistic and stylistic factors. In her study, she analyzed 592 tokens and found that 56% of the cases ( $N = 329$ ) were palatalized. An additional relevant finding was that the genre of the radio program (e.g. interviews, entertainment, sports, all-news) significantly influenced the use of palatalization. These results suggested that the palatalized variant was associated with more informal styles, reflecting vernacular Chilean speech.

Vocalization of /r/ and /l/ in syllable-final position (e.g. *mujer* [muhéj] 'woman' instead of [muhér], or *golpe* [gójpe] 'hit' instead of [gólpe]) is produced when either

the segment [r] (voiced alveolar tap) or [l] (voiced alveolar lateral) is articulated as a front vowel [i] as a result of the lowering of the tongue (NGLE-RAE, 2011, p. 254). Although this phenomenon has been thoroughly documented in the Cibao region, Dominican Republic, the NGLE points out that it has also been observed in European Spanish in rural contexts in Andalusia and the Canary Islands. In the case of Dominican Spanish, Alba (1988) showed that the production of vocalized /r/ and /l/ was socially stratified. Specifically, lower socioeconomic groups as well as older participants (50 years or over) reported a higher use of this phenomenon.

Gemination in coda position is another phenomenon that affects /r/ (e.g. *corbata* [kobbáta] ‘tie’, *puerta* [pwéttá] ‘door’ instead of [korβáta] or [pwértá]). The process of gemination consists of the duplication of consonants due to a process of coarticulation. In the examples given, the consonant clusters [rβ] and [rt] are articulatorily reconfigured as [bb] and [tt], respectively. That reconfiguration could be interpreted as the product of a complete assimilation of the [r] segment to the following consonant, although it could also be seen as a compensatory process caused by the elision of [r]. This phenomenon is considered typical of Cuban Spanish, although it has also been documented for other Caribbean regions such as Puerto Rico, the Dominican Republic, Panama, and the Colombian coast. With regard to Cuba, Lipski (2005, p. 257) claimed that gemination was common in rural areas in the center of the island. Lipski described this production as part of the local vernacular speech and of informal styles.

Velarization of /p, b/ (bilabials) and /t, d/ (dentals) is based on a change in the point of articulation of these segments to the velar region of the roof of the mouth (e.g. *Pepsi* [péksi] ‘Pepsi’, *absoluto* [aksolúto] ‘absolute’, *adscribir* [akskriβír] ‘to appoint to’). In these examples, the plosive consonants are realized as velars. This phenomenon is so common that advertising agencies have utilized it in some of their campaigns to get the audience’s attention. The literature in the field has recently devoted significant space to this phenomenon trying to search for explanations. Brown (2006) stated that speakers prefer a velar production in these contexts because velar consonants are more common than bilabials or dentals in coda position in Spanish (e.g. *acto* [áкто] ‘act’, *acción* [aksión] ‘action’, *actuación* [aktwasjón] ‘actuation’). This configuration or pattern that characterizes Spanish phonotactics (concerning the consonants that are allowed in coda position) plays a significant role in determining speakers’ choices. In other sociolinguistic studies, it has been observed that velar variants can occur in the speech of all socioeconomic levels (Gonzalez & Pereda, 1998). However, Bongiovanni (2014) demonstrated, using data from Caracas Spanish, that velarization is more frequent in middle and lower class speakers, as well as among those over 30 years old. This study also showed that elision of the consonant is favored by many speakers and that the conditioning factors are different depending on the point of articulation of the segment.

Occlusive realization of /b, d, g/ after a semi-vowel or a non-homorganic consonant is another phenomenon that occurs in varieties of Spanish spoken in America. This phenomenon is present in Central America, Colombia, and the Andes region, where there are studies that document an occlusive realization of /b, d, g/ in contexts where one would expect a more approximant realization. The distribution of the variants of /b, d, g/ has been described as follows: the plosive realizations (i.e. [b d g] *bate* [#báte] ‘baseball bat’, *dato* [#dáto] ‘datum’, *gato* [#gáto] ‘cat’) usually occur in word-initial position after a pause, which has been represented with the symbol #. Moreover, the plosive realizations also occur after nasals (e.g. *cambio* [kámbjo] ‘change’, *candela* [kaṇdéla] ‘candle’, *conga* [kónḡa] ‘conga’). In the case of /d/, this also happens when it is preceded by a lateral sound as in *falda* [fálda] ‘skirt’ or *toldo* [tóldo] ‘sunshade, awning’. In all remaining contexts, one would expect to find a more approximant-like realization, since this requires less articulatory energy and provides a bigger path for the air stream due to a reduced (or almost nonexistent) constriction of the articulatory organs (e.g. *haba* [áβa] ‘bean’, *hada* [áða] ‘fairy’, *haga* [áya] ‘subjunctive of *hacer* (to do)’). NGLÉ-RAE (2011) documented this phenomenon in Central America and in other Spanish-speaking regions. More recently, Carrasco, Hualde, and Simonet (2012) compared data on the realization of /b, d, g/ from Costa Rica and Spain. They reported important differences in the distribution of the variants of these consonantal phonemes according to the sound that preceded them. In Costa Rica, the post-consonantal position favored the plosive allophones, particularly in the case of /b/ and /d/, whereas in post-vocalic position, the sound produced was an approximant. In Spain, the productions were said to be more approximant, and the variants were conditioned by the preceding sound. Carrasco et al. (2012, p. 170) established a “hierarchy of constrictions” that explained which sounds and how those sounds preceding the target phoneme contributed to the production of /b, d, g/.

### Morphosyntactic phenomena

Non-inversion in open questions refers to utterances such as *¿cómo tú te llamas?* instead of *¿cómo te llamas tú?* ‘what’s your name?’ or *¿qué tú quieres?* instead of *¿qué quieres tú?* ‘what do you want?’. Lipski (2005, p. 132) indicates that these types of constructions are common in Caribbean Spanish and states that a connection can be drawn to Canarian Spanish as a possible influence in their use. He also documents that these constructions are employed in varieties of Spanish with an African influence, although he notes that it is not a feature exclusive to these varieties, since their use has also been reported in other dialects of Spanish and in certain varieties of Portuguese. In some cases, non-inversion in questions has been mentioned as a potential Africanism and it has been linked to the monogenetic theory according



to which the creoles spoken in the Caribbean have a common historical origin in a Portuguese-based pidgin that was subsequently relexified due to the influence of Spanish. Lipski (2005) questions this potential origin given the fact that these types of questions can also be found in other dialects of Spanish without a direct influence of African languages.

*Voseo* consists of employing the pronominal form *vos* to refer to the second person singular in informal or familiar settings. One will recall that there are two other second person singular pronouns in Spanish, namely *usted* (used to indicate formality and respect) and *tú*, (used in informal settings). *Voseo* (and its corresponding verbal forms when the pronoun is used as a subject) is extensively employed in American Spanish in countries such as Mexico (certain areas), Guatemala, El Salvador, Honduras, Nicaragua, Costa Rica, Panama, the River Plate region, Chile, and certain regions of additional South American countries such as Colombia, Venezuela, Ecuador, Peru and Bolivia. Historically, *voseo* is a feature from Peninsular Spanish brought by the settlers to America. According to some researchers (Benavides, 2003; Kany, 1970; Newall, 2007, 2012), *voseo* acquired negative connotations around the 16th century and its use in Spain started to decrease, with eventual disappearance of the form there. In America, under a different set of socio-historical circumstances, the use of *voseo* persisted. In certain cases, it has been argued that the areas where *voseo* is used are those that had little contact with Spain. Thus, *voseo* survived in regions where there was infrequent contact and disappeared from regions in which the *tú* form prevailed due to constant political and economic exchange between Spain and these territories (most of Mexico, the Caribbean, and Peru, among other regions).

The conjugation that corresponds to the *voseo* varies according to the different regions where it is used. In Table 7 we take the Colombian, Honduran, and Chilean uses as representative cases for South America and Central America, respectively, where variation can be seen in the verbal paradigms.

**Table 7.** Paradigm of the conjugation for the Colombian, Honduran, and Chilean *voseo* (taken from Angulo Rincón (2009, p. 274))

Country	Present indicative	Preterit indicative	Present subjunctive	Imperative
Colombia	<i>cantás</i>	<i>cantastes/cantates</i>	<i>cantés</i>	<i>cantá</i>
	<i>comés</i>	<i>comistes/comites</i>	<i>comás</i>	<i>comé</i>
	<i>vivís</i>	<i>vivistes/vivite</i>	<i>vivás</i>	<i>viví</i>
Honduras	<i>cantás</i>	<i>cantastes</i>	<i>cantés</i>	<i>cantá</i>
	<i>comés</i>	<i>comistes</i>	<i>comás</i>	<i>comé</i>
	<i>vivís</i>	<i>vivistes</i>	<i>vivás</i>	<i>viví</i>
Chile	<i>cantái(s)</i>	<i>cantastes</i>	<i>cantí(s)</i>	<i>cantá</i>
	<i>comí(s)</i>	<i>comistes</i>	<i>comái(s)</i>	<i>comé</i>
	<i>viví(s)</i>	<i>vivistes</i>	<i>vivái(s)</i>	<i>viví</i>



For the following examples, we have selected some newspaper headlines from Central America and Argentina in order to illustrate the use of *vos*:

- (1) *Vos sentís que van a llegar a tu casa y te van a encañonar* ‘You feel that they are going to arrive at your house and that they are going to shoot you’  
(El Salvador, *El Salvador*, December 28th, 2015)
- (2) *...pensá bien lo que vas a decir y hacer, no te metás a camisa de once varas...* ‘Think well what you’re going to say and do, don’t get into trouble’  
(Honduras, *El Heraldo*, May 19th, 2016)
- (3) *Ellos dicen que vos bajás la línea de Macri y del Gobierno* ‘They say that you set the bar low for Macri and the Government’  
(Argentina, *El Clarín*, May 19th, 2016)

Example (1) shows the use of the form in the present indicative of the verb *sentir* (i.e. *sentís*). Example (2) illustrates the imperative of the verb *pensar* (i.e. *pensá*). The last Example (3) shows the use of the present indicative for the verb *bajar* (i.e. *bajás*). The fact that the *voseo* forms appear in written style in national newspapers implies that these linguistic uses are common and accepted in these speech communities.

A type of construction that has attracted a certain degree of attention from Hispanists who specialize in morphosyntactic variation is focalizing *ser*, which refers to structures such as *Yo vivo es en Bloomington* ‘\*I live is in Bloomington’ instead of *donde yo vivo es en Bloomington* ‘Bloomington is where I live’. (Note that \* is used to indicate an ungrammatical utterance.) The function of the verb *ser* in these cases is to highlight the constituent immediately afterwards: *en Bloomington*. Kany (1970, p. 303) documents this structure in the Spanish of Colombia, Ecuador, Panama and the Andean region of Venezuela. Kany’s book contains examples such as: *No, llegué fue cansado* ‘No, \*I arrived was tired’ as a possible answer to the question *¿Llegó usted con hambre?* ‘Where you hungry when you arrived?’ They are, therefore, sentences where the focalized constituent is a contrastive answer.

Sedano (1990) considers that the sentences with focalizing *ser* are equivalent to pseudo-cleft sentences such as *donde yo vivo es en Bloomington*. In this example, *en Bloomington* is also a focalized element. Bentivoglio and Sedano (2011, p. 181) describe several structural features shared by both constructions: (1) a pre-copula clause (before *ser*), (2) the verb *ser* in a conjugated form, and (3) the post-copula clause with the focalized constituent. Due to the shared features and the function of focalizing the post-copula constituent, they could be considered as equivalent constructions to a certain extent. Use of constructions with a focalizing *ser* is conditioned by the grammatical category of the postcopula clause and the grammatical tense of the precopula clause. Thus, if the postcopula clause is an adverb or adverbial phrase, speakers favor the use of the focalizing *ser* (e.g. *Juan vino fue ayer* ‘\*John came was yesterday’ instead of *Cuando vino Juan fue ayer* ‘It was yesterday

when John came'). Bentivoglio and Sedano (2011) also indicate that focalizing *ser* occurs more frequently when the precopula clause is in the preterit indicative, the imperfect, or any tense other than the present indicative (e.g. *yo les propondría es que hagan un pacto de...* 'I would suggest you-pl. to reach an agreement...' taken from Sedano, 1990).

To conclude this section, we have reviewed several phenomena linked to varieties of Spanish spoken in Latin America with the idea of offering a general linguistic characterization. While the review is not exhaustive, it provides a list of features that differentiate the regions and demonstrates some of the ways in which dialects of Spanish spoken in America are unique.

## Conclusion

The first section of the present chapter described some of the early influences in the formation of American Spanish. Previous work analyzing the same issues has pointed out the great influence that Andalusian and Canarian settlers had in the formation of American dialects, particularly in the coastal areas where contact with Spain was more prevalent (e.g. Boyd-Bowman, 1964; Canfield, 1981; Lipski, 1994; Sánchez Lobato, 1994, etc.). Following the general arguments proposed by Company Company (2016), we maintained that the independent development of the new varieties in America was due in part to three factors: (1) geographic distance; (2) infrequent contact; and (3) the relative socioeconomic status of the American territories during the colonial period.

A fundamental component in the discussion of varieties of American Spanish concerns the influence of aboriginal and African languages. This chapter has presented a description of some of these influences in key regions. Particularly, our discussion included some basic information about indigenous languages in Mexico, the Amazonian region, the Andean region, and Paraguay. We also included a general perspective on the impact of African languages in America with a special emphasis on the Caribbean. Some of these unique traces have contributed to the existence of varieties of Spanish that reflect the diversity of cultural influences in America.

The last part of the chapter was concerned with the linguistic features that separate American varieties of Spanish from other areas where the language is spoken. A set of phonetic and morphosyntactic phenomena was described, with information provided on the nature of each phenomenon and the area(s) where these features are documented. We have to point out that we have focused on the characteristics that are more salient and particularly associated with American Spanish, given that many of the linguistic phenomena described in the literature have also been attested in the Iberian Peninsula.

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# Language documentation and revitalization as a feedback loop

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In this chapter, I present an overview of language documentation and revitalization focused on the Amazonian context, drawing from several case studies. Prominent areas where language documentation in the Amazon has played and continues to play a significant role are in the innovative use of collaborative or participatory documentation models (i.e., Yamada, 2011, 2014; Stenzel, 2014). I use the case studies highlighted here to expand upon a model of documentation and revitalization that acts as a feedback loop (Fitzgerald, 2017a; Fitzgerald & Hinson, 2013, 2016). The resources produced through documentation, revitalization, training and analysis, especially when archived and accessible, will likely be invaluable resources for Amazonian communities engaged in revitalization, as is the case in North America.

**Keywords:** language revitalization, language documentation, community training, indigenous languages, documentary linguistics

## 1. Introduction

The prominence and urgency of language endangerment came to the attention of the larger community of linguists in a powerful series of articles by Hale et al. (1992). Two of those articles focused on Indigenous language communities in Latin America, one in Guatemala (England, 1992) and another in Nicaragua (Craig, 1992), but none are situated in South America, let alone the Amazon. In the quarter century since the publication of these articles, there have been numerous theoretical, technological and ethical developments in linguistics, as well as the development of language documentation, a new subdiscipline. Somewhat parallel to this has been a dramatic increase in the description and analysis of languages in the Amazon. The linguistic structures of its roughly 300 Indigenous languages are of interest for a host of theoretical and typological reasons. Moreover, these languages and their communities are situated within ecologies of a larger scientific

interest, rooted in the rich biodiversity associated with the Amazonian region. The dynamics of the language contact situations in this region offer the possibility for more nuanced studies of multilingualism, language contact, and language shift (cf. Aikhenvald, 2002; Crevels, 2012; Epps & Michael, 2017; Messing & Nava Nava, 2016). Scientific knowledge on these languages has increased immensely in the last three or so decades; Franchetto and Stenzel (2017) describe an ‘explosion’ since the 1990s in descriptive and documentary work on these languages based on dissertation production during this time period.

While the descriptive, typological and genetic contributions of Amazonian linguistics are highly significant and predate the recent emergence of documentary linguistics, more recent language projects in this region are contributing in other ways, including scholarly understanding of community-based language research models. It is important to note that case studies focusing on language documentation or revitalization in the Amazon are still far fewer in number than those from North America, Australia or even Europe, despite the existence of the projects. According to Pérez Báez, Rogers and Rosés Labrada (2016), the literature on language documentation and revitalization on Latin America is sparse and has been more focused on North America (i.e., Czaykowska-Higgins, 2009; Fitzgerald & Hinson, 2013, 2016; Hinton & Hale, 2001; Rice, 2006; Jenni, Anisman, McIvor & Jacobs) and Australia (as in Wilkins, 1992; and Amery, 2009), to the extent it is less representative of cultural and other practices in different regions of the world (for example, Dobrin, 2008). However, this research from Latin America is emerging to contribute from a linguistically, culturally, and geographically diverse set of perspectives.

A growing literature of process papers contribute Amazonian perspectives to the collaborative production of knowledge on language documentation and revitalization in the region, as well as about the collaborations themselves. Amazon language work in the region is especially well represented for Brazil (Queixalos and Renault-Lescure 2000; Becquelin, De Vienne & Guirardello-Damian, 2008; Franchetto, 2007, 2010; Stenzel, 2014; Moore & Galucio 2004, 2016; Fagua Rincón 2015) and Peru (Beier & Michael, 2006, 2018; Valenzuela, 2010, 2012; and Vallejos, 2014), and ranging to Suriname (Yamada, 2007, 2014) and Venezuela (Villalón, 2004; Granadillo, 2006, 2010; Granadillo & Villalón, 2007). However, that literature notwithstanding, much of the research focused on Latin America has been focused on Mexico and other Mesoamerican countries (see for example, the papers in Bischoff and Jany, 2018 or in Pérez Báez et al., 2016, as well as Grinevald 1998, 2003). The Amazonian situation has some dimensions that make it very unlike other areas, including the geographic intersection of multiple countries, which raises the specter of multiple language policies, legal expectations and attitudes regarding Indigenous rights. It is also worth noting that there have been a number of language documentation projects focused on the Amazon funded by the three large funding initiatives; Franchetto and Rice (2014) provide a good sense of the work



done to that point as a result of major funding initiatives.<sup>1</sup> Large initiatives funding language revitalization have not typically existed to support these initiatives across borders, although the U.S. and Canada are two examples with revitalization funding for internal indigenous groups.<sup>2</sup>

This paper is organized as follows. The first section defines and provides brief exemplars of language documentation and revitalization. In the second section, I outline the feedback loop relationship between these two activities, known as the Chickasaw Model (Fitzgerald & Hinson, 2013), but here applied to the Amazonian context using the Kari'ña project described by Yamada (2007). I then turn to more detailed discussions in the following two sections which draw on other Amazonian projects for collaborative models of documentation and revitalization, each in its own section. I then address several key issues emerging elsewhere in the literature: the importance and role of archives; training; assessing language vitality; and expansion into other domains, like public health. I then conclude the chapter.

## 2. Language documentation and revitalization

Language documentation essentially is a relatively young discipline, even as it builds on earlier norms in language description, such as the collection and analysis of texts. Himmelmann (1998) may be best considered as a paper that itself emerged out of that increased attention to language endangerment brought to the forefront by Hale et al. (1992). Currently, moving into the third decade following the publication of Himmelmann (1998), it is helpful to give a rough characterization of the themes through the prism of Amazonian languages. One development from the attention to endangered languages (cf. Hale et al., 1992) has been the emergence of

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1. These initiatives are the now inactive Documenting Endangered Languages (DoBeS), which was funded by the Volkswagen Foundation; the joint funding initiative between the National Science Foundation and the National Endowment for the Humanities, Documenting Endangered Languages (DEL); the Hans Rausing Endangered Languages Documentation Project (ELDP), which is funded by ARCADIA; and several smaller, but significant strands of funding provided by the Endangered Language Fund (ELF), the Foundation for Endangered Languages, among others. Also notable is a significant initiative within South America, the Program for the Documentation of Indigenous Languages, known as PRODOCLIN, and administered through Museu do Índio-FUNAI and UNESCO, outlined in more detail in Franchetto and Rice (2014, p. 255–256). My thanks to Kristine Stenzel (personal communication, April 4, 2018) for this latter example, which is particularly significant being the only one funded by an Amazonian country, and which has had considerable impact within Brazil and in the language sciences more broadly.

2. My thanks to Pilar Valenzuela (personal communication, May 7, 2018) for this point, who also notes that another difference between the North and South American context is that there is a greater variety in the kinds of financial resources available to tribes in the U.S., for example, than to those in Peru. Pérez Báez et al. (2016) also notes a lack of social and political resources, in addition.

the subfield of language documentation, which “aims at the record of the linguistic practices and traditions of a speech community” (Himmelman, 1998, p. 166). Himmelman’s goal is to distinguish between documentation and description, or conceived another way, the contrast between collection and analysis. In his words, “a clear separation between documentation and description will ensure that the collection and presentation of primary data receive the theoretical and practical attention they deserve” (p. 164), with an essential component of this work requiring accessibility of that data.

By delineating the kinds of linguistic practices relevant to language documentation given by Himmelman (1998, p. 166), we establish a larger framework to examine Amazonian language projects,

Linguistic practices and traditions are manifest in two ways, (1) the observable *linguistic behavior*, manifest in everyday interaction between members of the speech community, and (2) the native speakers’ *metalinguistic knowledge*, manifest in their ability to provide interpretations and systematizations for linguistic units and events... the makeup and contents of a language documentation are determined and influenced by a broad variety of language related (sub-)disciplines...

(Himmelman, 1998, pp. 166–167)

Documentary activities only represent one side of the coin. In many communities, there is a desire to reverse language shift (Fishman, 1991), both by increasing the speaker population and expanding the usage into new domains. The connection of language to use is expressed in terms of vitality by Spolsky (1995, p. 178): “restoration of vitality to a language that has lost or is losing this attribute.” These processes, of reversing shift, expanding usage, and restoring vitality, are all known as language revitalization.

The classic and highly cited examples of language revitalization come from Hebrew (Spolsky, 1995), which had no living native speakers when it was brought back into use, and from the reinvigoration of communities with very small numbers of speakers, as in New Zealand’s Maori (King, 2001; Spolsky, 1995) and Hawaiian in the United States (Wilson and Kamana, 2001). But less well-known contexts, like the Hualapai community-academic partnership from the southwestern United States, described in Watahomigie & Yamamoto (1987, 1992), also illustrate how revitalization efforts can emerge in the school context, with a focus on teacher training and curriculum development.

While the focus of many revitalization case studies lies on North America, New Zealand and Australia, like some of those just cited, the efforts to energize languages occur worldwide, especially as communities’ awareness of language shift increases. One illustration of the Amazonian context comes from the Shuar language community of Ecuador. Gnerre (2008) recounts a multi-decade set of interactions with this community, starting in 1968 as he came to the community in efforts to do

linguistic and ethnographic fieldwork. On a return visit in 1970, he observed that speakers in their early 20s were bilingual in Spanish, and that they identified the Achuar community as one that retained the way of life of the Shuar up until the 1940s to 1950s. Within roughly thirty years, the shift of lifestyle and language led to the bilingualism and languages in contact, as well as the emergence and development of Shuar literacy. By 1980, Gnerre (2008, p. 46) became “a lecturer on their language for Shuar high-school students... [and] an early organizer of the work for a Spanish-Shuar (not the reverse!) dictionary.”

These revitalization efforts to maintain and invigorate the language, shifting into teaching the Shuar language are similar to other communities elsewhere in the world. The language efforts also exemplify revitalization as expansion into a new domain. With the community spread across large distances, they began to use their language on the radio, including instruction in Shuar for schoolchildren (see Grenoble & Whaley, 2006 for an expanded discussion).

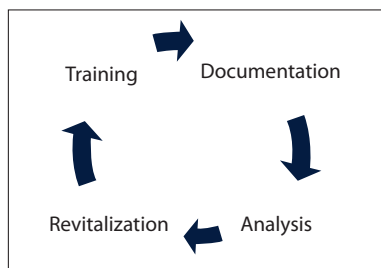
### 3. Documentation and revitalization as a feedback loop

Having presented a brief overview of what language documentation and revitalization are, I now present a model in which these two activities serve as distinct components that interact in a productive and fruitful way. While the initial articulation of this model is based on North American contexts (Fitzgerald, 2017a, c; Fitzgerald & Hinson, 2013, 2016), I outline its instantiation in the Amazonian context, laying the groundwork to talk in greater detail about Amazonian case studies of documentation and revitalization in subsequent sections of this paper.

Language work in the Chickasaw<sup>3</sup> language community of Oklahoma in the United States (Fitzgerald & Hinson, 2013, 2016; Fitzgerald, 2017a, c) provides an excellent example of a relationship in which documentation, revitalization, training and linguistic analysis interact as a kind of enriching feedback loop, illustrated in Figure 1. A feedback loop is where the output of one stage is used as the input into the next stage. Each stage is affected by its interaction with the other stages, so the resulting products of each stage feed the interactions. In the case of documentation and revitalization, Fitzgerald (2017a) argues for the benefits of this kind of feedback loop of four stages: documentation, analysis, revitalization and training activities, an approach articulated as behind a revitalization-driven documentation project focusing on Chickasaw (Fitzgerald & Hinson, 2013, 2016). Further below, I will also show how this occurs in other endangered language community contexts drawing from the Amazon.

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3. Chickasaw is a Muskogean language.



**Figure 1.** The Chickasaw Model (Fitzgerald & Hinson, 2013: 59)

The model in Figure 1 formalizes a relationship between the different activities such that documentation and revitalization feed into and improve linguistic analysis, with training playing a key role, as a feedback loop. Turning to the Amazon, one instantiation of these activities is found in the Suriname project focused on Kari'nja<sup>4</sup> (Yamada, 2007, 2014), which offers an exemplary case study of precisely how this kind of feedback loop operates. As described in Yamada (2007), the Kari'nja collaboration grew out of her time in the Peace Corps, where the community leader, Chief Ferdinand Mandé demonstrated a commitment to documenting the language. Unfortunately at that time, with only a linguistics undergraduate degree, she was limited in terms of the expertise that could support his efforts to further the documentation. However, as Sapién (formerly Yamada) began a doctoral program in linguistics, she proposed a language collaboration drawing on both their respective expertise:

By working together, we accomplish much more than either of us could alone. He has, among other assets, a knowledge of the language and an ability to talk *about* the language, influence in the community, an existing body of data that he wants to preserve and share, and a strong motivation to document and revitalize his native language. I have training in documentary and descriptive linguistics, tools for preserving and presenting data, and formal training and experience in language teaching.

(Yamada, 2007, p. 262)

By documenting the cultural activities relevant to the making of cassava bread, this served to create training opportunities in video and editing for some of the community members. In turn, that documentation ended up serving as a prompt for eliciting language data from the elders. Then the vocabulary derived from it drove the creation of a thematic, trilingual dictionary, of use for revitalization and teaching activities. Linguistic training of Chief Mandé served as a foundation for the curriculum development efforts and also fed into more teacher training. Subsequently, this linguistic training enhanced the linguistic analysis of Kari'nja. Yamada (2007)

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4. Kari'nja is a Cariban language.

describes the process by which she and Chief Mandé collaboratively analyzed the language's grammar focusing on a better understanding for a particular morpheme that both was tricky for learners and was, they believed, described inadequately by previous linguistic work on the language.

The Chickasaw Model in Figure 1 offers us an ideal way to characterize the collaboration between linguist and community member along with the greater Kari'nja community in Konomerume. Each component in the feedback loop between documentation, revitalization, analysis and training enriched the resulting products. Note that in this model, there is considerable more engagement with the community beyond returning the documentation recordings to the community (perhaps with transcriptions and translations, or a pedagogical grammar or dictionary). Documentation and revitalization are integrated and mutually supportive, along with training and linguistic analysis. The project builds capacity in the community to carry out language work, to develop skills not necessarily linked to language work (like in video recording and editing), and so on.

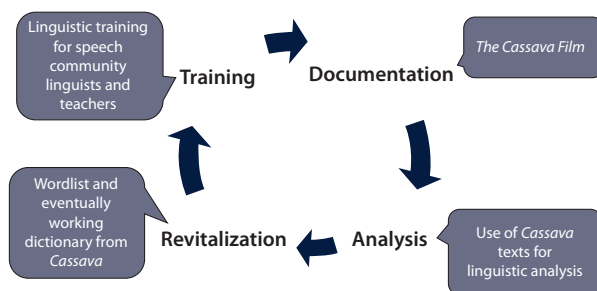
Yamada (2007) gives a concrete way to conceptualize this,<sup>5</sup> although she breaks the outcomes down in a different way, as characterized in Table 1. This directly links the specific activity to the concrete benefit and outcomes, both for the academic and the community.

**Table 1.** Activities and associated outcomes from the Kari'nja collaboration (Yamada, 2007, p. 272)

	Speech community	Academic community	Project
1	Conversation practice for elder speakers	High-quality recordings of natural discourse	Language hour
2	Documentation of cultural practices	Varied, naturalistic data with rich ethnographic content	<i>The Cassava Film</i>
3	Understanding of forms to be formally taught	Questions of academic and typological interest	Collaborative analysis including choice of topic and method of analysis
4	Access to previous and ongoing linguistic analyses	Access to speaker insights	Linguistic training for speech community linguists
5	Pedagogical materials	Understanding of language in use for novice linguist	Working pedagogical grammar, collaborative working dictionary
6	Reclamation of 'lost' language that may have been previously recorded	Data for analyses of language change	Digitization and distribution of previous recordings

5. Her discussion is inspired by Canada's Community-University Research Alliances, or CURAs, which are collaborative projects funded by the Social Sciences and Humanities Research Council of Canada. See Czaykowska-Higgins (2009) for discussion of a CURA.

These specific activities illustrate how the feedback loop (Figure 1) characterizes the relationship between language documentation, revitalization, analysis and training. Adapting the Chickasaw model to the Kari'nja context, drawing on Yamada (2007)'s detailed discussion of each component, Figure 2 shows how these different components are realized by the Kari'nja case study. While not modeled in this way in her work, the extension of the Chickasaw model to this characterizes the dynamic interaction between these four stages.



**Figure 2.** Applying the Chickasaw Model to Kari'nja

It is worth noting that there are models that detach the documentation activities as separate from language revitalization. Crippen and Robinson (2013, p. 124), for example, take issue:

with the viewpoints that linguists practicing language documentation must collaborate with the community, that the linguist's goals should be subordinate to the goals of community members, or that solo research is necessarily unethical research. The field of linguistics is generally described as the scientific study of human language. If the primary goal of documentary linguistics is the documentation of particular human languages in a principled scientific manner, then documentary linguists must generally have scientific goals in their work. These strictly scientific goals are often quite foreign to non-linguists, including most members of the communities where we, the authors, have conducted fieldwork. In projects attempting to pursue such scientific goals, then, collaboration with community members may not be realistic if the community members are uninterested in these scientific goals.

However, a model such as used for the Kari'nja project or for the Chickasaw language collaboration shows how the scientific value of the documentation is of higher value because it comes out of using this kind of feedback loop as in Figure 1 and 2, thus benefitting from stages in training and analysis as well. This suggests that the language sciences benefit and advance by incorporating language revitalization and training into documentary linguistics.

Yamada (2007)'s findings are paralleled by similar examples of descriptive or theoretical work strengthened by community training or language revitalization. For example, Rice (2011) notes how her understanding of plurality and animacy in Dene, an Athabaskan language of Canada, came through community workshops where participants wrote Dene stories on a topic that interested them. The reverse might also be true, wherein a methodology for documentation and analysis has prospects for revitalization as in the case for Desano; Silva and Anderbois (2016) use the game *Mastermind* to better understand evidentiality in this Eastern Tukanoan language (see also Silva, 2016). Games offer the kinds of contexts for language use like the Kari'jna language hour, and allow novice speakers to practice grammatical constructions. It is worth considering whether conceptualizing collaborative activity as a feedback loop (as in Figure 1) and in terms of its outcomes (as in Yamada's Table 1) also mitigates other differences claimed to exist between North America and other geographical regions in terms of collaborative and community approaches. In other words, by abstracting away from the specifics of the collaborations and community dynamics, and instead focusing on the stages and what occurs at each point in the feedback loop, we may be able to offer a more unified conception that holds in different geographic and cultural regions.

In the following sections, documentation and revitalization projects in the Amazonian region show additional parallels for these characteristics, either in terms of the presence of the four stages of Figure 1 and 2 or the kind of specific, mutually beneficial projects as in Table 1.

#### 4. Language documentation in the Amazon

A documentary framework as proposed by Himmelmann (1998, 2006) is holistic and focused on the many and varied communicative uses of language. The Amazonian language verbal arts texts in Stenzel & Franchetto (2017) exemplify the kind of language resource that aligns with these goals. The verbal arts are more stylized or conventionalized discourse forms, as compared to everyday speech practices, such as ritual speeches, oral literature, or speech play. In their volume, Stenzel and Franchetto show precisely how descriptive and theoretical linguists benefit from documenting the verbal arts; they note numerous ways that the texts show linguistic features associated with Amazonian languages, like head-final constituency, evidentials and switch reference markers. This is an excellent example of what Table 1 presented, drawing from Yamada's examples of mutually beneficial activities. Verbal arts enables the documentation of cultural practices which leads to the collecting of rich language data while simultaneously providing insights on typological issues of interest to academics, aligning nicely with two sets of activities



and outputs from Yamada's chart in Table 1. The study of verbal arts is also of interest from an areal perspective in the region (cf. Beier et al., 2002), and provides materials that have much potential for linguistic theory, whether in phonology (Fitzgerald, 2017c) or in morphosyntactic strategies that vary by discourse genres (Nikitina, 2018).<sup>6</sup> Fitzgerald (2017c) also shows that these materials can be transformed into training activities, adding further value to them.

Franchetto and Stenzel (2017) also offer an updated view of documentary projects from the region, drawing from key archives of endangered languages and music (cf. Franchetto & Rice's, (2014) earlier summary). By their count, European archives have holdings from 54 languages, the key United States archive for Latin American languages has 60 languages represented, and in Brazilian archives, 98 languages appear in the holdings.<sup>7</sup> I return to the issue of archives and archiving in Section 6.

Several Amazonian projects that began around the time that Himmelmann's seminal article appeared, offer relatively contemporaneous documentation and revitalization projects in Amazonian communities, including the local contexts of these languages (i.e., Seifart, Fagua, Gasché & Echeverri 2009). While these projects also include the production of descriptive and analytic knowledge of the languages spoken by the particular communities, I focus on the documentary components of the projects, such as the details on the kinds of speech practices and other knowledge gathered during the project and the emergence of the collaboration itself.

Vallejos (2014, p. 39) describes initial efforts in 1997 as part of a project in Peru with the Kukama<sup>8</sup> community; she served as the linguist on what she describes as part of a "bigger movement initiated by Indigenous organizations in the 1980s to address primarily land, education and health issues among Indigenous Amazonian groups." Like some of the other projects described in this chapter, the initial efforts grew into something more like collaborative, community-based case studies, even if the initial efforts may have focused on more traditional linguistic scholarship. Kukama is estimated to have 1,000 speakers of a community of 20,000 people, found across 120 villages (Vallejos, 2014).

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6. For example, the 2018 Amazonas 7 conference included a symposium on verbal art, as noted in the program <<http://aix1.uottawa.ca/~asalanov/Amazonicas/en/inicio.html>>.

7. The archives they calculate these totals from are: DoBeS (a product of the Volkswagen Foundation in Germany), the University of London/SOAS' Endangered Languages Archive (ELAR), the University of Texas at Austin's Archive of the Indigenous Languages of the Americas (AILLA), and in Brazil, the Emilio Goeldi Museum (MPEG) and the Museum of Indigenous Peoples (Museu do Índio/FUNAI).

8. Vallejos (2014) notes that Kukama is also known as Kokama and Kukama-Kukamiria; it is a Tupian language.

Coming out of these efforts is a linguistic record for Kukama that represents not only the canonical elements of a documentary collection (The Kukama-Kukamiria Documentation Project), but also two of the three canonical elements of the Boasian trilogy, with Vallejos' record including a dictionary (Vallejos & Amías, 2015) and a reference grammar (Vallejos, 2016a). Separately, a collection of six short pedagogical videos were produced and are accessible on YouTube (Proyecto de documentación del kukama-kukamiria), covering vocabulary such as body parts, grassroots efforts emerging out of the larger scale of training and education.<sup>9</sup>

Vallejos (2014) describes a documentation team with three key partners from the community, Víctor Yuyarima Chota and Rosa Amías Murayari, as well as a Kukama teacher, Pascual Aquituari Fachín. Amías is co-author on the dictionary referenced above, and has emerged as “a community linguist with extraordinary intuition about the grammar of her language,” contributing significantly to the interlinearization, transcription and translation of the Kukama texts (Vallejos, 2014: 44). This parallels Yamada's (2007) argument for the importance of linguistic analysis for both the Indigenous and academic community (cf. Table 1). Yuyarima, as shaman and leader in the community, has himself enhanced the diversity of genres documented by sharing curing songs, for example, as well as led the way in developing a graded set of access protocols for the resulting documentation and recordings, insight possible in part because of his own expertise and privileged access to religious knowledge, which is often restricted in communities. Finally, Aquituari, the teacher, has become a strong activist for the Kukama language, as well as leading in teacher training and materials development.

These kinds of activities, along with other efforts centered in the schools, have enhanced the status of the language, a process known as valorization. López and García (2016) discuss the extension of Kukama language teaching into a private school, students writing a rap song in Kukama and then uploading a video of it to YouTube, and teachers doing a Kukama-language radio show in one of the villages. Kukama language documentation grew in part out of a desire that there be linguistic competence among language teachers in the schools, especially considering that they are second language learners.

The project highlights many of the important elements that need to be worked out in order for documentary projects to be successful as shown in the previous section: collaborative production of knowledge; respect for the diverse expertise of the different team members; determination of access protocols for the resulting recordings and documentation; community training in documentation and resulting involvement in the actual documenting; and the recognition that different communities have different needs and situations on the ground.

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9. My thanks to Pilar Valenzuela (personal communication, May 7, 2018) for this last point.

According to Vallejos (2014), the documentary activities and the engagement of second language learners have been productive in generating new Kukama language teachers from the learners, while also highlighting the high value of communicative practices and naturalistic language use for linguistic analysis and revitalization. This parallels what I have seen in the North American context, where many learners also serve as teachers in their home communities. The documentation and analysis of learner speech (i.e., Vallejos, 2016b) will enable this work to better support revitalization efforts, again showing the strength of a relationship between analysis, documentation and revitalization as noted in the previous section.<sup>10</sup>

## 5. Revitalization projects in the Amazon

An example demonstrating the arc of revitalization projects and how they emerge comes from Granadillo and Villalón (2007), who describe a project starting a decade earlier, when Villalón started the project as a faculty member in Venezuela working with the Mapoyo community. Mapoyo, a Carib language, was spoken by a small group of speakers in a community of approximately 200 people in 1996. From 1993 to approximately 2006, Villalón led a project that started by working on descriptive goals focused on the sound system, but also included a sociolinguistic survey per the community's wishes. Granadillo started the project as one of Villalón's two undergraduate research assistants, who worked in the community onsite and collecting the data. During the life of this project, it morphed in 1999 into a focus on activities oriented towards language classes in the community for the next few years. In the initial six or seven years, the research team developed a writing system and some preliminary teaching materials, which they presented to the community in 2003. In the following year, Granadillo returned with copies of audio recordings and the teaching materials, and provided explanations on how those materials could be used. This example again highlights the important role of training argued in Section 3, as well as integrating pedagogical projects for communities and being attentive to repatriating recordings made in the course of research projects back to language communities.

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10. Some examples of other documentation projects focused on the Spanish-dominant region of the Amazon include those on Ashéninka Perené, Isconahua and Kurripako. Ashéninka Perené is an Arawak language, with a documentary project outlined in Mihás (2012). Isconahua, a Panoan language of Peru, described in Sánchez (2016), is being documented through a collaboration between Peruvian and U.S. researchers. Granadillo (2006, 2010) describes efforts to document Kurripako, an Arawak language of Venezuela, as part of her dissertation research.

Granadillo and Villalón (2007) extrapolate a number of informative lessons for documentary linguistics, one significant one being the increase in esteem and regard for the language spanning a decade. In the early discussions regarding language work, the community's interest and emotions are characterized by "nostalgia and resignation" (p. 17). But they note:

It took time for us [the researchers] to realize that in the best scenario, "revitalization" in this case meant maintaining the existing knowledge. And it took time for the Mapoyo to realize they should and could avoid losing their heritage language for good. For different reasons and through different paths, linguists and Mapoyos swayed from nostalgia and resignation over the language situation to hope. Not only the projects themselves, but also the political changes that have occurred in Venezuela in the last ten years have contributed to this roundabout.

(Granadillo & Villalón, 2007, p. 17)

The importance of the valorization of the Indigenous language was shown above in the Kukama discussion, but also characterizes other Amazonia communities in Peru, including the Shiwilu community (Valenzuela, 2010, 2012) and the Iquito (Beier & Michael, 2006, 2018).

In fact, the Iquito documentation project considers the crucial role played by community dynamics (see Rice, 2018 for a larger discussion of these issues). After all, even in the case where the linguist is from or within the community, there are likely to be dynamics at play, with extensive consultation and articulation of goals needed. Stenzel (2014), drawing from her own participatory collaborations in the Brazilian Amazon, astutely notes how very challenging such projects are in that partnerships may be strong and seem well-aligned, but that even within such partnerships, participants may have unarticulated goals that differ from each other.<sup>11</sup> In the Iquito project, the linguists were graduate students, who worked in concert with the community and a team of other students, both from the United States and Peru. Beier and Michael (2006, p. 4) discuss the initial conversations with the community in 2001 and started the documentation project in 2002 with "intensive training in basic descriptive linguistics to community linguistics. Community team members began to work year-round on language documentation."

The goals of this project included improving the activities of both community members and graduate students in language documentation in a productive way with a long-term eye to the need to develop new generations of linguists to work on Amazonian languages which may have little documentation and analysis (Beier & Michael, 2006). By creating training for community members in descriptive linguistics, the project sought to increase the community's expertise so it could

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11. See Rice, 2018 for a larger discussion of community collaborations.

be deployed for documenting and teaching the language. After the first phase of this project, which Beier and Michael (2018) describe as ending in 2006, the second phase, starting in 2014, “has included offering language classes for community members, producing new pedagogical and promotional materials” (Beier & Michael, 2018, p. 410) and putting a focus on activities focused more on ‘symbolic value’ and valorization rather than linguistic training. Their description and assessment of this project in the later paper notes some potential pitfalls and challenges of revitalization projects when community and academic goals are misaligned, illustrating “the importance of understanding and respecting the objectives of local participants” so that academics better understand and support the goals of the community (p. 413).

In comparing the Iquito Documentation Project with the Kari’ña one, both produced teaching grammars and dictionaries, as well as academic dissemination of linguistically-focused analysis. The introspection by the team of linguists in the Iquito project offers a cautionary note for academics involved in such projects. In fact, analyzing the mismatch between academics and the language community (cf. Fitzgerald’s (2007) failure in an archival repatriation project in the Tohono O’odham community or Stenzel (2014) on a project in Brazil) is excellent food for thought for those very experienced in working with communities and those just starting off, and Beier & Michael (2018) is a valuable contribution as such a case study.

## 6. Archives, training and language vitality

In this section, I briefly touch on a number of issues that are of relevance for endangered language communities as well as academics focused on documentation and revitalization: archives, training, public health, and language vitality.

Archives, for example, have been invaluable resources for community members seeking to revive ‘sleeping’ languages (Amery, 2009; Fitzgerald & Linn, 2013; Hinton, 2001; Sammons & Leonard, 2015). The United States and more recently Canada and Australia, have mobilized archival language material in conjunction with linguistic training for communities where languages have ceased to have first language fluent speakers. In the United States, there is a substantial tradition of recording these languages, first in manuscripts and other written documents, and later in audio and now video recordings. Contemporary best practices in documentation now emphasize archiving and making those materials accessible (Himmelmann, 1998; Kung & Sherzer, 2013). One venue for their use comes in the so-called ‘Breath of Life’ Workshops, which show precisely how accessibility impacts communities interested in learning and teaching their own language (see Gehr, 2013 for an oral history of the development of this model in California).

The U.S. National Anthropological Archives and other long-established archives hold language collections that can be used for such purposes, especially as more curators and archivists bring communities onsite and adopt more participatory or community-based archive approaches (see Linn, 2014). The repatriation of archival recordings and other language materials has ample value for both linguist and the heritage community, as noted in Table 1 from Yamada (2007).

In Latin America, significant recent investments have been made in archives for endangered languages and musics (Franchetto & Stenzel, 2017; Kung & Sherzer, 2013; Seifart, Drude, Gasché, Golluscio & Manrique, 2008; Seifart, 2015; Thieberger, 2016). The attention to archiving, preservation and access is likely to persist and even increase, given both the funding agency requirements and community interest. With numerous linguistic fieldwork projects in the Amazon in the pre-documentary era, there are likely also collections in the hands of academics which have yet to be digitized and archived, much like the recordings that Yamada (2007) describes for Kari'nja. Also relevant is the website and listserv of Etnolingüística (Etnolingüística, n.d.), which serves as a resource and archival repository for Amazonian and other languages of the region. The fragility of repositories in terms of long-term preservation was illustrated by the fire that devastated Brazil's *Museu Nacional* in September 2018. It housed the Documentation Center of Indigenous Languages archives (CELIN), which was estimated to serve as a repository for roughly 160 languages by linguist Franchetto (Dreyfuss, 2018), some of which were isolates and a number of which are sleeping. The extent of the digitization of the language collection was unknown. These kinds of losses could significantly reduce the potential for indigenous language revitalization in communities; for example, Breath of Life Workshops rely on archival resources. For a language isolate, if all its archival resources were lost in the fire, revitalization efforts would need to seek out other possible resources, like what community members remember, place names, and traditional knowledge that is still retained in that local context.

The role of training in Indigenous language documentation and revitalization has grown significantly in importance. Grassroots training institutes focused on Indigenous communities have existed for at least 40 years (Watahomigie & Yamamoto, 1992) in the United States and in Guatemala (England, 1992, 2003, 2007). In the U.S., for example, a short summer training institute, the Institute on Collaborative Language Research, or CoLang, as it is now known, began in 2008 at the University of California, Santa Barbara (Genetti & Siemens, 2013). This training venue is a point of intersection for academic linguists and Indigenous community members, and it includes numerous participants from other countries. While North and Central America have developed these training venues where communities are welcome, this model has not yet emerged in South America. Instead, training is more situated at the local level, as in the case studies cited here. However, the

programmatic options of a larger institute like CoLang serve multiple audiences and needs, whether a senior linguist seeking updates to their technological ability or community members wanting an introduction to linguistics and recording techniques. The curriculum is wide-ranging and features topics of interest to an audience of diverse background and training (CoLang, 2014, n.d.). One possible example is the training center in the Upper Rio Negro area of the Brazilian Amazon described in Chacon, Shulist, & Genetti (2013), which was not realized, but gives an idea of a model that might work. It does seem that long-term, collaborative training in a region can strengthen documentation and revitalization efforts for multiple communities in a sustainable way (see Fitzgerald, 2018a, b for more discussion), even if such efforts require considerable investment, both in funding and in human capital.

An interesting perspective on the challenges of revitalization for revitalization's sake is offered by Henderson, Rohloff, and Henderson (2014). They argue that healthcare and other functional approaches offer better prospects for supporting language revitalization, presenting a case study from Guatemala, training Mayan midwives in Indigenous languages rather than Spanish. These activities expand the domain of use for the Indigenous language, a hallmark for revitalization, but do so in a way that aligns with other community goals and needs, in this case, public health. While that example is from Central America, its implications are relevant more generally for challenges in sustaining revitalization.

Finally, a better approach to assessing and theorizing about language vitality is emerging in the literature. Rosés Labrada (2017) conducts an assessment of language vitality for Mako, a Sáliban language in the Venezuelan Amazon. He uses a variety of methodologies both qualitative and quantitative to support his claim that despite the language's vulnerability due to the dominance of Spanish in the region, it actually exhibits more vitality than indicated elsewhere in the literature. Interestingly, Rosés Labrada's discussion of Venezuelan Indigenous language policies attends to the lack of inclusion for sleeping languages, like those discussed above, highlighting shortcomings where revitalization approaches do not address such communities. More generally, recent work on language vitality argues that revitalization efforts themselves should be taken into account, since the revitalization efforts of these community members show the vitality of languages even in the absence of fluent first language speakers (cf. Leonard, 2017; Fitzgerald, 2017b).



## 7. Conclusions

A significant and enduring contribution from Hale et al. (1992) is in how many of its articles serve as early outlines of a process-oriented literature on language documentation and revitalization. In fact, the reader will observe the numerous citations in this chapter from two relatively new journals, *Language Documentation* and *Conservation and Language Documentation and Description*. The 1992 papers recount community-based projects firmly grounded in participatory or community-based language research models, features seen in many of the Amazonian projects noted here and elsewhere worldwide. In the years since, a larger literature has developed showing the scientific and humanistic contributions of such approaches. In this chapter, the discussion in Section 3 focused in particular on the specific kinds of contributions of those approaches and how to gain mutual benefit for community and academics.

But perhaps a more important contribution of this paper is the benefit to the Indigenous community through documentation and scientific analyses of the community's language. As I have shown, highly successful projects mobilize that scientific work back into the community to further their goals. In North America, sovereignty, self-determination and language are tied closely together. Similarly, the language projects in the Amazon that seem to have been most successful are those that incorporate revitalization into the model and that show Indigenous community members determining their own destiny. In the Chickasaw model, the feedback loop shows how the integration and interactive relationship between documentation and revitalization furthers the goals of both linguist and community, resulting in better products from both activities (Fitzgerald, 2017a, c).

In this chapter, I have highlighted projects focusing on documentation and revitalization in the Amazon, working to contextualize these activities as feeding into each other (Fitzgerald & Hinson, 2013; Figure 1 above), and perhaps best framed as viable when both academic and community goals are met and productive (Yamada, 2007; as well as Figure 2 and Table 1 above). It is worth noting that even in those contexts in which the focus by academics has been exclusively on documentation, the primary data, recordings and annotations of texts will create a record that plays an essential role for communities seeking to revitalize their languages and reverse language shift.

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# Amazonian Spanish and the emergence and maintenance of ethnolinguistic variation

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This chapter outlines various linguistic phenomena involved in the creation and transmission of ethnolinguistic variation, as a general framework for understanding Amazonian Spanish specifically. Language and dialect contact, second language acquisition, bilingualism, and language shift have all played important roles in the emergence and maintenance of ethnicity-based language varieties around the world, and Amazonian Spanish is certainly no exception. The chapter considers the potential explanatory value of the concept of an ethnolinguistic repertoire (Benor, 2010) when accounting for patterns of variation observed in Amazonian Spanish, and also points out the need to examine the interaction between ethnicity and other relevant social factors such as age, gender, and social class (Wolfram & Schilling, 2016) as speakers index their multifaceted identities.

**Keywords:** ethnolinguistic variation, Amazonian Spanish, ethnolinguistic repertoire, language contact

## 1. Introduction

According to Laferriere (1979, p. 603) (as cited in Wolfram & Schilling, 2016, p. 183), “in communities where the local lore acknowledges more than one ethnic group, we would expect ethnicity to be a factor in linguistic variation”. Consistent with this expectation, the relationship between language and ethnicity has proven to be a fruitful area of research within the field of sociolinguistics in recent decades (Becker & Cogshall, 2009; Benor, 2010; Dow, 1991; Fishman, 2001; Fought, 2006, 2013; Hall-Lew, 2009, 2010; Walker & Hoffman, 2010; Wolfram & Schilling, 2016). By far the most studied case of ethnicity-based language variation in the English-speaking world is African American English, perhaps due to the demographic and historical importance of this group in U.S. society (Green, 2002; Labov, 1972a; Lanehart, 2015; Mufwene, Rickford, Bailey, & Baugh, 1998; Rickford, 1999; Wolfram, 1969).

Other examples include Latino English (Fought, 2003; Mendoza-Denton, 2008; Wolfram, Kohn, & Callahan-Price, 2011), Jewish American English (Benor, 2009, 2012), Lumbee English (Dannenberg & Wolfram, 1998), Cajun English (Dubois & Horvath, 1998a, 1998b, 1999), Asian American English (Bucholtz, 2004; Lee, 2014; Reyes, 2007; Wong, 2012), Maori English (Holmes, 1997), and Black South African English (Gough, 1996). Researchers have also investigated the role played by ethnicity in influencing patterns of variation in other languages including Afrikaans (McCormick, 2002), Arabic (Rosenbaum, 2002), Dutch (Jaspers, 2008; Nortier & Dorleijn, 2008), French (Thibault & Sankoff, 1993), German (Androutsopoulos, 2001), Russian (Verschik, 2007), and Spanish (Barrios, 1996; Klee, 1996; Vann, 1998). The above list is not exhaustive, but rather is intended to provide the reader with an idea of the range of languages included in previous work in this area. It will be noted that the Indo-European family is disproportionately represented, due in part to the history of colonialism, which brought speakers of these languages into contact with many other groups around the world.

In light of the central role ethnicity-based language variation plays for many speakers as a marker of identity (Bucholtz, 2004; Mendoza-Denton, 1997; Reyes, 2007), this chapter considers how such variation comes into being in the first place, and how it is subsequently maintained in a given speech community. The purpose of the chapter is to provide a useful framework for understanding the particular characteristics of emerging ethnolinguistic varieties of Spanish in the Amazon region, which to date remain relatively understudied (Fafulas, this volume). The following section sets the stage for the discussion by providing important background information on the notions of *race* and *ethnicity* along with a description of the incredible linguistic diversity present in the Amazon region. Next, the role played by various linguistic phenomena (language and dialect contact, second language acquisition and bilingualism, and language shift) in the creation and propagation of ethnicity-based language variation (including Amazonian Spanish varieties) is considered. The potential relevance to Amazonian Spanish of the notion of an ethnolinguistic repertoire (Benor, 2010) is then addressed, followed by a brief discussion of the interaction between ethnicity and other social factors. Finally, the chapter concludes with some reasons why it is worthwhile to study emerging ethnolinguistic varieties of Spanish in the Amazon.

## 2. Background information

### 2.1 Ethnicity and race

In order to adequately address the issue of ethnolinguistic variation, one must first consider the definition of the term *ethnicity*, and distinguish it from the related concept of *race*. Different ethnic or racial groups in society have traditionally been viewed as *a priori* or given categories, consistent with the theoretical position of essentialism, which “maintains that those who occupy an identity category (such as women, Asians, the working class) are both fundamentally similar to one another and fundamentally different from members of other groups” (Bucholtz & Hall, 2004, p. 374). Initial work in the field of sociolinguistics tended to assume this essentialist view (either explicitly or tacitly) when investigating the relationship between language and ethnicity (Labov, 1966, 1972a; Laferriere, 1979). In more recent work on the subject, however, many social scientists (including linguists (Niño-Murcia, 2011)) have argued that both ethnicity and race are in fact socially constructed, lacking clearly identifiable, objective criteria for distinguishing between groups (Gandy, 1998; Omi & Winant, 1994; Zelinsky, 2001). Nevertheless, it is important to note that “the fact that ‘ethnicity’ and ‘race’ may be socially constructed *does not mean they are purely hypothetical concepts* that have no basis in reality” (Fought, 2006, p. 5, emphasis in the original). Smelser, Wilson, and Mitchell (2001, p. 3) (as cited in Wolfram & Schilling, 2016, p. 269) note: “race and ethnicity are social realities because they are deeply rooted in the consciousness of individuals and because they are firmly fixed in our society’s institutional life.” Also, as Fought (2006, p. 13, emphasis in the original) points out:

... the entity involved when we use the term ‘race’ is not *solely* a social construct, in the sense that societies use phenotype differences to classify people (unscientifically), and these elements of physical appearance affect the ascription to ethnic groupings by others in the community.

Although race and ethnicity as social constructs exhibit commonalities, such as perceived common descent of group members and shared cultural characteristics (often including language (Benor, 2010)), race necessarily involves “distinguishing *physical* characteristics” (Smelser et al., 2001, p. 3, emphasis in the original), whereas distinctions between ethnic groups may or may not involve perceived differences in physical attributes. While sociologists (e.g. Omi & Winant, 1994) assign central importance to the study of race, “linguists generally restrict their descriptions to ‘ethnic groups’ rather than racial groups, subsuming racial categorization as a part of the historical, cultural, psychological, and, of course, linguistic, construction of ethnicity” (Wolfram & Schilling, 2016, p. 269).

In the case of Amazonian Spanish, most speakers of these varieties would be categorized racially as *indígenas* ‘indigenous’ or *indios* ‘Indians’ by speakers of other regional Spanish dialects (with others perhaps classified as *mestizos* ‘mixed race’). However, they generally identify themselves as members of one or more specific indigenous ethnic groups such as Ashéninka (Sánchez & Mayer, this volume), Bora (Merchán Galindo, 1998; O’Rourke & Fafulas, 2015), Shipibo (Sánchez, Camacho, & Elías Ulloa, 2010; Sánchez & Mayer, this volume), Tikuna (Montes Rodríguez, 2009), Yagua (Fafulas & Viñas de Puig, this volume), or Yukuna (Merchán Galindo, 1998). Again, this list is far from exhaustive, as there are numerous other indigenous people groups residing in Amazonia with varying degrees of proficiency in Spanish and/or one or more Amazonian languages. The following section provides a general overview of the unusually rich linguistic diversity found in the Amazon region, which until recently was largely unknown to the rest of the world (Grinevald, 1998).

## 2.2 Linguistic diversity of the Amazon region

The languages currently (and historically) spoken in Amazonia include a dazzling array of indigenous languages along with the national (official and/or majority) languages of the various countries that make up the region (Dixon & Aikhenvald, 1999). Multilingualism is common, with some areas such as the Vaupés River Basin in northwest Amazonia (Brazil and Colombia) particularly known for it (Aikhenvald, 2003, 2012). Regarding the languages native to the area, according to Epps and Salanova (2013, p. 1):

Amazonia is a linguistic treasure-trove. In this region... the diversity of languages is immense, with some 300 indigenous languages corresponding to over 50 distinct ‘genealogical’ units... language families or language isolates for which no relationship to any other has yet been conclusively demonstrated.

According to Romaine (2013, p. 781), Amazonia is the world’s second “most diverse wilderness area linguistically” after New Guinea. The largest language families of the Amazon region are the Arawak, Tupí, Carib, Panoan, Tucanoan, and Macro-Jê families, and there are at least fifteen smaller ones as well (Aikhenvald, 2012). Much progress has been made recently in documenting these languages, including the relationships among them and their typologically rare features (which have provided useful data for research on linguistic universals). Some examples of these uncommon features are bilabial affricates and trills (Elías Ulloa, 2009; Everett & Ladefoged, 1996), object-initial basic word order (OSV or OVS) (Derbyshire & Pullum, 1981), and ontological operators (Franchetto & Meira, 2007), which “constitute a system of nominal suffixes or modifiers that indicate how the referent deviates from or conforms to categorial prototypes” (Epps & Salanova, 2013, p. 16). Despite knowing

a great deal more about these languages today than just a couple of decades ago, much work remains to be done in order to have a more complete picture of their characteristics (Epps & Salanova, 2013).

The dominant national languages of the Amazon region include Spanish (in Bolivia, Colombia, Ecuador, Peru, and Venezuela), Portuguese (in Brazil), English (in Guyana), Dutch (in Suriname), and French (in French Guiana). These European languages are employed for official purposes (such as education, government affairs, and the media) in their respective nation(s) and overall enjoy greater prestige than the Amazonian (and other indigenous) languages spoken within the same territories (Appel & Muysken, 1987; Clements, 2009; Niño-Murcia, 2011). In Amazonia, this leads to a situation in which the European languages are socially dominant while Amazonian languages are in a socially subordinate position, with concomitant negative attitudes among members of the majority population towards these languages (Derbyshire & Pullum, 2010). These negative evaluations sometimes apply to emerging Amazonian varieties of Spanish as well (Fafulas, Rodríguez-Mondoñedo, & O'Rourke, 2016; Vallejos, 2014). This is not surprising since these countries have an unfortunate history of racism and discrimination against indigenous groups, and people's attitudes towards a given speech variety are derived from "the linguistic clues that both guide a hearer to a speaker's group membership and trigger the hearer's beliefs about the group" (Preston, 2013, p. 157).

The next section considers several linguistic phenomena that play an important role in the emergence and maintenance of ethnolinguistic variation in general, along with their relevance to Amazonian Spanish varieties in particular. These phenomena include (but are not limited to) language contact, dialect contact, second language acquisition, bilingualism, and language shift. It is important to note that although the phenomena are treated separately here for the sake of convenience, they are of course interrelated rather than independent from one another, and the relationships among them are acknowledged at appropriate points in the discussion.

### 3. Linguistic phenomena involved in ethnicity-based language variation

#### 3.1 Language contact

One of the main linguistic phenomena contributing to the creation and transmission of ethnicity-based language variation is language contact, defined by Thomason (2001, p. 1) as "the use of more than one language in the same place at the same time." She goes on to define "nontrivial language contact" as "contact situations in which at least some people use more than one language" (p. 1), since in theory two or more monolingual groups could live in close geographical proximity to one

another without regular verbal interaction. Weinreich (1970, p. 1) offers a similar definition of language contact in his seminal work on the subject, where he states that “two or more languages will be said to be in contact if they are used alternately by the same persons.” It is worth noting that these definitions do not assume that all (or indeed any) speakers are fluent bilinguals, allowing instead for a wide range of levels of proficiency in the languages involved in a given contact situation (such as that reported for Bora-Spanish bilinguals in Peru in O’Rourke and Fafulas (2015)).

Many well-studied cases of ethnicity-based language variation (such as Cajun English and Latino English in the United States) have been significantly shaped by historical and/or contemporary language contact situations (involving French and English in the former case, and Spanish and English in the latter). Language contact is occurring presently and has occurred in the past in a wide range of geographical areas and involving languages from many different language families (see individual chapters in Part IV of Hickey (2010) for specific examples). In contemporary contact zones, it often involves the dominant (official and/or majority) language of a given country and one or more minority language(s) also spoken there (see numerous examples in Filppula, Klemola, and Sharma (2017) for English, Lipski (2010) for Spanish and Portuguese, Pakendorf (2010) for Russian, and Versteegh (2010) for Arabic). Such contact can involve typologically similar languages, such as Spanish and Catalan (Blas Arroyo, 2011) or Spanish and Galician (Pollán, 2001). Alternatively, the languages in contact can be quite distinct from one another, such as Spanish in contact with Quechua (Escobar, 2011), Guaraní (Gynan, 2011), Basque (Fernández Ulloa, 1996), or Arabic (Sayahi, 2011), or English in contact with East African languages (Schmied, 2017), West African languages (Gut, 2017), or the languages of New Guinea (Foley, 2010). Contact between Spanish and Amazonian languages (the context that concerns us here) is of course an example of a situation involving significant typological differences (Fafulas & Viñas de Puig, this volume; O’Rourke & Fafulas, 2015). Due to the remarkable linguistic diversity of the Amazon region mentioned above, the specific types of differences from Spanish vary considerably according to the indigenous language(s) involved in each contact situation, though there may be some commonalities.

Thomason (2001, p. 10) maintains that “(t)he most common result of language contact is change in some or all of the languages.” There has been heated debate in the language contact literature regarding the specific factors that are most influential in determining possible or probable types of change. One position, which gives primacy to social and historical factors in influencing the outcomes of language contact (without denying that certain components of language are more susceptible to change than others), is represented by Thomason and Kaufman (1988), who assert that “any linguistic feature can be transferred from any language to any other language” (p. 14). In contrast, Sankoff (2002, p. 658) claims that “linguistic structure



overwhelmingly conditions the linguistic outcomes” of language contact, with the lexicon and phonology being the most susceptible to change and syntax and morphology the least susceptible. Despite these differing viewpoints, there is widespread agreement among researchers that, regardless of which are primary, both social and linguistic factors play an important role in determining the results of any given contact situation (Ravindranath, 2015; Sankoff, 2002; Thomason, 2010).

Regarding social predictors of language contact outcomes, Thomason (2001, 2010) mentions three: (1) the presence or absence of imperfect learning, (2) intensity of contact, and (3) speakers’ attitudes. The first of these, the presence or absence of imperfect learning, refers to whether the outcomes of contact affect the speakers’ native or second language. In the former case, imperfect learning is of course not a factor, whereas in the latter, incomplete acquisition of the second language plays a role in bringing about changes in that language as spoken by learners. Since in the case of Amazonian Spanish we are (in many cases) dealing with the speakers’ second language, we would expect imperfect learning to be a factor in determining the outcomes of this language contact situation, with transfer of linguistic features from speakers’ native language(s) into Spanish.

The second social predictor discussed by Thomason (2001, 2010), intensity of contact (also mentioned as a key influence by Clements (2009)), is based on a number of different components. In cases of imperfect learning such as with Amazonian Spanish varieties, these include the length of time the groups have been in contact, the relative sizes of their populations, and “the degree of access to the target language by the shifting group” (Thomason, 2010, p. 37). In many parts of the Amazon region, Spanish has been in contact with Amazonian languages for a relatively short time (compared with other areas), native speakers of Amazonian languages outnumber monolingual Spanish speakers, and exposure to the pan-Hispanic variants of standard Spanish is quite limited (Fafulas & Viñas de Puig, this volume; Henriksen & Fafulas, 2017; O’Rourke & Fafulas, 2015). Under these conditions, according to Thomason (2010, p. 37), “a relatively large amount of shift-induced interference is likely.”

The last social predictor enumerated by Thomason (2001) is speakers’ attitudes, which can either facilitate the changes that the other predictors would lead one to expect or militate against them. In the case of Amazonian Spanish, at least one study (Alvar, 1977), conducted in the Colombian border city of Leticia, found that members of indigenous groups had positive attitudes towards Spanish as the language of education, commerce, government, and the Catholic Church, and correspondingly viewed their indigenous language(s) in a negative light. These attitudes would lead one to predict more use of Spanish by these speakers, and thus more opportunities to observe transfer effects due to imperfect learning. Additional research (for example, analysis of data from surveys and sociolinguistic interviews) is needed

to confirm or deny the existence of similar attitudes in other Spanish-speaking communities in the Amazon region.

The next section considers the role of dialect contact in ethnicity-based language variation, which, though similar to that of language contact, exhibits some key differences as well.

### 3.2 Dialect contact

Another linguistic phenomenon that contributes to ethnolinguistic variation, and whose difference from language contact “is more one of degree than of kind” (Hickey, 2010, p. 4), is dialect contact, which Trudgill (1986, p. 1) defines as “contact between varieties of language that are mutually intelligible at least to some degree.” Dialect contact can occur between varieties of a majority language (such as Norwegian in Norway (Kerswill, 1994)) or a minority language (such as Spanish in the United States (Lamanna, 2012; Otheguy, Zentella, & Livert, 2007)). As with language contact, dialect contact often leads to changes in one or more of the varieties involved in the contact situation. Trudgill (1986, p. 1) states that “related, mutually intelligible dialects... have an effect on one another in contact situations, with or without the development of individual bidialectalism.” Similarly, Kerswill (2002, p. 669) maintains that “(d)ialect contact ... is one of the main external causes of language change – ‘external’ here referring to social factors, in this case migration, which can reasonably be expected to promote change.” Trudgill (1986) argues that mutual accommodation during face-to-face interaction between speakers is the principal mechanism of change in dialect contact situations, and dialect leveling (simplification) is a common outcome of such accommodation (Kerswill, 2002). Giles (1973) examined the accommodation process during short-term contacts between speakers representing high- and low-prestige accents, and Trudgill (1986) argued that the same mechanism applies in the case of long-term contact between speakers of different regional varieties. He explains the functioning of this mechanism as follows:

In face-to-face interaction ... speakers accommodate to each other linguistically by reducing the dissimilarities between their speech patterns and adopting features from each other’s speech. If a speaker accommodates frequently enough to a particular accent or dialect ... then the accommodation may in time become permanent, particularly if attitudinal factors are favourable.

(Trudgill, 1986, p. 39)

As is the case with language contact, dialect contact has played an important role in shaping patterns of ethnicity-based language variation. Such contact can occur between majority and minority varieties of a given language or between varieties

spoken by different ethnic minority groups (see Chapter 7 of Fought (2006) for specific examples). Although it often leads to convergence between the varieties in specific features (as we might predict), divergence is also a possibility, if speakers choose to further accentuate the linguistic distinctions between themselves and members of other groups.

A number of scholars have argued that dialect contact with Andean Spanish (a contact variety resulting from long-term Quechua-Spanish bilingualism in the Andes region (Escobar, 2011)) has played a significant role in the formation of Amazonian Spanish varieties through migration (Escobar, 1978; Ramírez-Cruz, 2012, 2018). Contact between dialects of a native Amazonian language, on the other hand, has not been a major influence suggested in studies of emerging Amazonian Spanish varieties, though such contact could potentially modify the characteristics of the substrate language that subsequently get transferred into the second language. Aikhenvald (2003) discusses the effects of contact between different Tariana dialects in the linguistic area of northwest Brazil, but the dominant language there is of course Portuguese instead of Spanish.

Many speakers of Amazonian Spanish (especially in the more remote regions of the Amazon) have learned it as a second language, and thus have gone through the process of second language acquisition on the way to becoming (more or less fluent) bilinguals. The following section considers the specific role of second language acquisition and bilingualism in influencing patterns of ethnolinguistic variation.

### 3.3 Second language acquisition and bilingualism

Second language acquisition (SLA) “refers to the process of learning another language after the native language has been learned. Sometimes, the term even refers to the learning of a third or fourth language” (Gass, Behney, & Plonsky, 2013, p. 4). In the Amazon contact zone, native speakers of indigenous languages are much more likely to acquire a dominant European language (such as Spanish or Portuguese) than the opposite situation (native speakers of a European language acquiring an Amazonian language). When such individuals learn the European language after they have already acquired their native language, second language acquisition processes are involved.

One possible (and common) result of the second language acquisition process is a period of stable bilingualism or multilingualism (Romaine, 2010). According to Matthews (2014, p. 40), the term *bilingual* is currently used in the field of linguistics to refer to “people or communities speaking two or more different languages, or different dialects of the same language, whether or not they are controlled equally and whether or not more than one is native.” Despite the fact

that monolingualism often “is assumed to be the normal state for individuals and communities” (Sicoli, 2011), in fact bilingualism and multilingualism are “(v)ery widespread phenomena” (Edwards, 2013), and this is certainly true in the Amazon region (Aikhenvald, 2003, 2012). Using Matthews’ (2014) definition, many residents of Amazonia would be classified as bilingual in Spanish and one or more indigenous languages, such as Asháninka (Falcón Ccenta, Chumbile Vásquez, & Canturín Narrea, 2012), Bora (O’Rourke & Fafulas, 2015), Shipibo (Falcón Ccenta et al., 2012; Sánchez et al., 2010), Tikuna (Ramírez-Cruz, 2012, 2018), or Yagua (Fafulas & Viñas de Puig, this volume).

The influence of the native language on an emerging (or stable) second language variety has been a major topic of investigation in the field of SLA over the past several decades (see Odlin (2003) and Chapters 4 and 6 of Gass et al. (2013) for detailed discussions of this topic). A number of studies have sought to explain characteristics of Amazonian Spanish in terms of transfer of native language features observed in the speech of bilinguals (Falcón Ccenta et al., 2012; Henriksen & Fafulas, 2017; Sánchez et al., 2010; Sánchez & Mayer, this volume). General processes involved in naturalistic SLA, such as “simplification, fossilization, and overgeneralization” (Henriksen & Fafulas, 2017, p. 225), may also play a significant role in shaping Amazonian Spanish varieties. More research is needed to determine the extent of the influence of these different processes in each specific case (O’Rourke & Fafulas, 2015).

As mentioned above, the language acquisition process frequently leads to a period of stable bilingualism, but it can also result in language shift as speakers abandon the traditional language of their group for various reasons (Fishman, 2013; Potowski, 2013; Romaine, 2010; Sicoli, 2011). The following section considers some of the factors that can determine whether a given group maintains its ethnic heritage language or shifts to another one (usually, but not always, the dominant language of the wider community).

### 3.4 Language shift

Language shift is defined by Potowski (2013, p. 321) as “the replacement of one language by another as the primary means of communication and socialization within a community” and by Romaine (2013, p. 779) as “a loss of speakers and domains of use, both of which are critical to the survival of a language.” Language shift usually involves speakers of a minority and/or lower-prestige language in a given society abandoning it in favor of a dominant and/or higher prestige language. Potowski (2013) considers the role played by the individual, the family, the community, and the larger society in contributing to language shift or to its opposite, language maintenance.

Individual factors that are influential in whether shift or maintenance occurs include proficiency in the minority language and attitude (positive, negative, or indifferent) towards it. Not surprisingly, language shift tends to correlate with lower levels of proficiency in the traditional language of the community, as well as with a negative or indifferent attitude regarding the value of this language. The family also plays a crucial role in determining whether language shift occurs, since, according to Fishman (1991) (as cited in Potowski, 2013, p. 322), “language maintenance must involve intergenerational transmission of the language; that is, it must be passed on from parents to children over successive generations.” Marriage practices can either facilitate or inhibit such transmission, with endogamy (marrying within one’s group) encouraging language maintenance and exogamy (marrying outside one’s group) associated with language shift (Romaine, 2013). Community factors can also play a significant role in minority language maintenance or shift. Such factors include speaker concentration, geographical proximity (or lack thereof) to a society where the language is widely used (such as across a national border), contact with monolingual speakers, formal schooling in the language, patterns of language use with peers and in other social networks, local community pressure or ideology, and participation in religious activities in the language (Granadillo, 2011). Finally, attitudes of the broader society towards language minorities (derived from political events, cultural values, or other sources) can encourage either language maintenance or (more commonly) language shift. For example, in the United States, the concept of the ‘melting pot’ and the activity of groups such as the English-Only Movement (Wiley, 2004) often encourage immigrants and their descendants not to maintain their heritage languages. In Peru, language shift from indigenous languages to Spanish is encouraged by the fact that “(i)mplicit in ideologies of national development is the assumption that indigenous people should abandon their linguistic (and) cultural identities in favor of learning a European language” (Niño-Murcia, 2011, p. 737). Bilingualism is only encouraged in the case of European languages, and therefore, according to Niño-Murcia (2003) (as cited in Niño-Murcia, 2011, p. 737), it “has a peculiarly asymmetrical profile; to be bilingual in an Amerindian language is widely considered a sign of ‘low cultural level’, while bilingualism in English, French, and so on, is accounted as a cultural asset at the ‘highest cultural level’”

The relatively recent emergence of Amazonian Spanish varieties in countries such as Peru and Colombia has sometimes co-occurred with language shift from indigenous languages to Spanish, instead of leading to stable bilingualism (Caravedo, 1997; Henriksen & Fafulas, 2017; Montes Rodríguez, 2009; O’Rourke & Fafulas, 2015; Rodríguez, 2004). The process of shift involves disruption of intergenerational transmission of these Amazonian languages, sometimes due to pressure from the wider community to speak only Spanish (clearly documented for Cocama in

Colombia in Rodríguez (2004)). In these cases, speakers of Amazonian languages have followed the same path as speakers of other indigenous languages in South America in abandoning their traditional tongues in favor of Spanish monolingualism (Montes Rodríguez, 2009).

In this section, we have considered the phenomena of language and dialect contact, second language acquisition, bilingualism, and language shift in relation to ethnolinguistic variation in general, and emerging varieties of Spanish in the Amazon region in particular. The following section considers the potential explanatory value of the relatively recent notion of an ethnolinguistic repertoire (Benor, 2010) in the case of Amazonian Spanish.

#### 4. Ethnolinguistic repertoire

The concept of an ethnolinguistic repertoire (Benor, 2010) may be helpful in accounting for patterns of ethnolinguistic variation found in the Amazon region. This theoretical construct seeks to move away from the notion of an 'ethnolect' (Androutsopoulos, 2001; Clyne, 2000; Verschik, 2007) as a bound set of linguistic features used by all members of a particular group in more or less the same way. Instead, it places the emphasis on individual speakers in selecting (though not necessarily consciously, since linguistic phenomena frequently occur below the level of consciousness) from a range of possible forms (the repertoire) to index ethnic group membership in varying ways according to each specific speech situation. One of the major advantages of this approach is that it acknowledges the significant correlations that exist between patterns of language variation and group identity (Bucholtz & Hall, 2004; Kiesling, 2013; Mendoza-Denton, 2002; Niño-Murcia, 2011) while also accounting for intra-group and intra-speaker variation, both of which represent a serious challenge for the more traditional ethnolect approach (Benor, 2010). The concept of an ethnolinguistic repertoire may more fully explain the use of ethnically distinctive features in the Spanish of individuals who are bilingual in Spanish and an Amazonian indigenous language, as they negotiate their identities as citizens of the multilingual, pluriethnic nations in which they reside. Speakers may use such features more frequently with interlocutors from their own ethnic group than with outsiders, or they may vary in their use of these features with the same interlocutor during a single conversation, depending on whether they want to downplay or accentuate their ethnic identity at any given moment. In a recent study, Negrón (2014) found the ethnolinguistic repertoire approach useful in explaining the linguistic behavior of speakers in another part of the Spanish-speaking world, the Latino community of New York City. For example, one of her informants, Roberto, variably drew upon features associated with different

varieties of Spanish to mark his Latino identity in ways appropriate to each interlocutor and/or communicative context (such as using Venezuelan features with fellow Venezuelans and Puerto Rican features with members of other groups). Future research on Amazonian Spanish should include these types of fine-grained analyses, in order to provide a more accurate account of the patterns of ethnolinguistic variation that occur in the region. Such variation includes the interaction between ethnicity and other aspects of identity, which is the topic of the next section.

## 5. Interaction between ethnicity and other social factors

As pointed out by a number of scholars (Benor, 2010; Fought, 2006; Wolfram & Schilling, 2016), ethnicity interacts with other social factors such as age, gender, social class, religion/religiosity, and place (regionality, local or extralocal orientation, etc.) in determining patterns of language use. For example, Dubois and Horvath's (1998a, 1998b, 1999) research on Cajun English (a variety historically shaped by French-English bilingualism, but not currently dependent on it) showed differences between age groups in their use of phonological features associated with Cajun identity (such as a lack of aspiration of /p t k/ and heavy nasalization of vowels before nasal consonants). Dubois and Horvath (1999) also found that gender played a significant role in this variation, with males producing more unaspirated stops than females (in the middle-aged and younger generations) and more heavily nasalized vowels (in the younger generation). A number of studies have shown that the use of linguistic traits associated with African American English varies according to speakers' social class and/or gender (Jones & Preston, 2011; Nguyen, 2006; Wolfram, 1969), and such features can also exhibit regional variation, such as characteristics unique to the speech of African Americans from New York City (Becker, 2009). Use of features of Jewish American English has been found to vary according to speakers' social networks (percentage of Jewish friends) and religiosity (frequency of synagogue attendance) (Benor, 2010), along with other factors such as age, gender, and regionality (Wolfram & Schilling, 2016). Finally, "local or extralocal orientation" (Fought, 2006, p. 24), defined as "whether a speaker mainly has strong ties to the local community, or instead is oriented toward contacts and future opportunities outside the community," interacts with ethnicity in places such as Martha's Vineyard (Labov, 1972b) and rural North Carolina (where it was termed local versus expanded identity by Hazen (2000)).

In light of the interaction between ethnicity and other social factors exemplified above, researchers must take into consideration the fact that speakers' identities are "fluid and multidimensional" (Mendoza-Denton, 2002, p. 478) when accounting for patterns of variation in a given speech community, and this certainly applies



to speakers of Amazonian Spanish varieties. Zavala and Bariola (2008) (as cited in Niño-Murcia, 2011, p. 739) note one interesting example of how the relationship between language and identity is multifaceted and changes over time. They conducted research on Shipibo-Spanish bilinguals in Peru who recently migrated from the Amazon region to the capital, Lima, and found that a shift in gender roles (women replacing men as the principal breadwinners for their families, through selling handicrafts) was accompanied by more frequent use of Shipibo by women, and of Spanish by men. According to Niño-Murcia (2011, p. 739):

... this usage marks a shift in gender as well as ethnic and class relations. Shipibo women's language choice is an identity marker not only in contrast with men, but also with other versions of womanhood. These Shipibo innovations exemplify a tendency in all the Andean countries for Amazon-dwelling ethnic groups, which were never firmly inserted in the colonial 'republic of Indians,' to take assertive positions in the renegotiation of identities.

Future research on Amazonian Spanish should follow the above example by investigating how speakers simultaneously construct their ethnic and other identities using language (whether by choosing between different languages, mixing languages, or selecting specific features within a language). Whenever possible, researchers should also seek to ascertain the social variables that are relevant to each specific community (Fought, 2003) (with these ideally identified by community members themselves), instead of simply importing predetermined categories into the process of data analysis and interpretation.

## 6. Conclusion

As should be apparent from the discussion in the previous sections, the relationship between language and ethnicity is a complex and multilayered one that resists an overly simplistic explanation. We have considered the importance of ethnicity as a (largely) social construct that influences people's perceptions of themselves and others, and we have also seen how speakers express their identities (including ethnic group affiliation) through their variable use of linguistic features (Fought, 2006). A number of linguistic phenomena including language contact, dialect contact, second language acquisition, bilingualism, and language shift all play a role in the emergence and maintenance of ethnolinguistic variation, and we have seen that Amazonian Spanish is certainly no exception. It is important to point out, however, that outcomes are not uniform across all parts of this vast region or with all people groups, due to different combinations of social and linguistic factors that apply in each case. Also, it is reasonable to assume that much intra-group and

intra-speaker variation exists as well, due to variable indexing of ethnic identity in different speech situations, but it remains for future research to confirm or deny this supposition.

In conclusion, it seems appropriate to offer some remarks on why it is worthwhile to document and analyze emerging ethnolinguistic varieties of Spanish in the Amazon (with an entire volume now devoted to the topic). First, research on less frequently studied varieties such as these contributes to the field of Hispanic linguistics by increasing our knowledge of the considerable variation that exists in the Spanish-speaking world (Díaz-Campos, 2011; Penny, 2000). It also advances knowledge in the field of sociolinguistics more generally by deepening our understanding of how ethnicity-based language variation arises, is transmitted from one generation to the next, and is employed by speakers to index their multifaceted and ever-changing identities (Fought, 2006; Mendoza-Denton, 2002). In addition, it contributes to the study of endangered and minority languages by documenting the influence of Amazonian languages on a national language (in this case, Spanish) (see Aikhenvald (this volume) for similar examples for Portuguese). These types of studies can help legitimize the languages (and language varieties) of socially marginalized groups (such as many of those living in Amazonia), thus hopefully increasing the respect and appreciation shown to these groups by others and aiding them in their quest for equal rights within their respective nation-states. Finally, by increasing awareness of the existence and endangered status of Amazonian languages, such work can also play a part in preventing their extinction through the process of language death (Crystal, 2000; Dorian, 1981; Romaine, 2010). In so doing, it can help preserve the rich linguistic diversity of humanity, which is currently under threat of being significantly reduced in the near future if current pressures on minority languages due to the globalization process continue unabated (Granadillo & Orcutt-Gachiri, 2011; Mithun, 2004; Nettle & Romaine, 2000; Romaine, 2013).

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# Clitics and argument marking in Shipibo-Spanish and Ashéninka- Perené-Spanish bilingual speech

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Direct object clitics in Spanish are morphological markers at the interface of syntax and phonology, morphology, semantics and information structure. We explore variability in direct object clitic doubling and argument marking in bilingual speakers of Shipibo-Spanish and Ashéninka-Perené-Spanish (Mayer & Sánchez, in press). We focus on the production of the dative versus the accusative forms of the clitic and on the expression of Differential Object Marking (DOM) (Aissen, 2003; Bossong, 1985, 1991; Dalrymple & Nikolaeva, 2011), in particular, on the extension of DOM to definite inanimate DPs and the lack of DOM with animate direct objects required in other varieties of Spanish. We analyze this variability as the coexistence of two different argument-marking systems in these contact varieties of Amazonian Spanish.

**Keywords:** clitic doubling, differential object marking, argument systems, bilingual acquisition, typological differences, Amazonian Spanish

## 1. Introduction

In this chapter, we explore variability in direct object clitic doubling (CLD) and differential object marking (DOM) in bilingual speakers of Spanish in contact with Shipibo, an ergative language, and Ashéninka-Perené, a nominative-accusative language. We expand on another proposal (Mayer & Sánchez, in press) that focused only on the selection of clitic features from a feature pool perspective (Mufwene, 2001) and we incorporate production of DOM to our data on these two varieties of Amazonian Spanish in order to understand how typological differences in case marking have an effect on bilingual Spanish. We investigate the effect of contact between the two typologically different Amazonian languages and Spanish in terms

of (a) the configuration of the functional features case, person, gender and number in clitics, and (b) the configuration of DOM. In a previous study on bilingual Quechua-Spanish and Shipibo-Spanish (Mayer & Sánchez, 2017) we found evidence of functional convergence and feature reassembly in both groups in clitics and DOM (Matras, 2010; Sánchez, 2003). In this paper, we explore the role of typological differences in case marking between Shipibo, as an ergative language and Ashéninka-Perené as a language with split intransitivity in the emergence of direct object clitic systems in contact Spanish.

Direct object clitics in Spanish are phonologically unstressed bound morphemes, dependent on a verbal host (Spencer & Luís, 2012; Zwicky, 1985, among others). They exhibit variability across time and space and are specifically vulnerable in bilingual acquisition (McCarthy, 2008). In all varieties, they are morphological markers at the interface of syntax and several other language components (Belloro, 2007). At the syntax/semantics/information structure interface, direct object clitics participate in anaphoric and grammatical agreement (Bresnan & Mchombo, 1987), with the latter referring to clitic doubling which involves either an indirect or direct object clitic and the marker *a*. Direct object clitic doubling involves a direct object clitic and the marker *a* as differential object marking which has been assumed to follow from Kayne's Generalization (Kayne, 1975; Rodríguez-Mondoñedo, 2008), and is subject to variable conditions. In some varieties of Latin American Spanish that allow clitic doubling, agreement in gender and number between the clitic and the doubled DP (Lipski, 1994; Sánchez, 2010; Suñer, 1988) is required as well as definite and/or specific interpretations of the DP (Bleam, 1999; Leonetti, 2004, 2007; Mayer, 2008). At the level of information structure, clitic doubling structures have been found out to carry a secondary topic interpretation in some contact varieties (Mayer, 2017; Mayer & Sánchez, 2016; Mayer, 2008, 2010, 2017) and a focus interpretation of the DP in non-contact varieties (Di Tullio & Zdrojewski, 2006; Kiss, 1995; Sánchez, 2010). In Example (1), all agreement requirements for liberal clitic doubling dialects such as Lima and Buenos Aires Spanish are met (Sánchez, 2010; Sánchez & Zdrojewski, 2013).

(1) Sánchez & Zdrojewski (2013, p. 295)

*La vi a la chica que conoc-imos en la fiesta*  
 CL3FSG see-PST.1SG DOM DET.FSG girl that meet-PST.1PL at the party  
 'I saw the girl whom we met at the party.'

In this chapter, we focus on two phenomena. Firstly, the production of the dative versus the accusative forms of the direct object doubled clitic among Shipibo (2) and Ashéninka-Perené Spanish speakers including reduplication in the latter group as shown in (3).

- (2) Shipibo Spanish (Sánchez, FW 2002, 2010)  
*Y le bota al loro*  
 and CL3SG throw-3SG DOM-DET.3SG parrot  
 ‘And he throws the parrot away.’ (S2)
- (3) Ashéninka-Perené Spanish (Mayer, FW 2006)  
*Pero no lo han podido matarle*  
 but not CL3MSG have-3PL could kill-INF.CL3SG  
 ‘But they were not able to kill him.’ (A2)

Secondly, we explore the expression of Differential Object Marking (DOM) (Aissen, 2003; Bossong, 1991, 2003; Dalrymple & Nikolaeva, 2011) in clitic doubled expressions focusing on the lack of DOM with animate direct objects (4a) and (4b) that are required in other varieties of Spanish.

- (4) Ashéninka-Perené Spanish (Mayer, FW 2006)
- a. *Ingresaron por dos caminos para atacarle* Ø  
 enter-PST.3PL through two ways to attack-INF.CL3SG DOM  
*los Ashaninkas Campas*  
 DET.MPL Ashaninkas Campas  
 ‘They came in through two ways to attack the Ashaninka Campa people.’
- b. Ø *Esos chunches hay que matarles*  
 (DOM) those Indians have-IMPERS to kill-INF.CL3PL  
 ‘Those Indians have to be killed.’

Based on fieldwork data from Shipibo-Spanish bilinguals and Ashéninka-Perené-Spanish bilinguals, our findings indicate lack of gender specification that results in both groups favoring *le* over *lo* in clitic doubling structures but with a more pronounced preference for *le* among the Shipibo bilinguals. Both groups also exhibit lack of DOM with animates. We analyze this variability as the coexistence of potentially two different argument-marking systems in each one of these contact varieties of Spanish with Amazonian languages. Our proposal is that contact with Shipibo, an ergative language and contact with Ashéninka-Perené, a split intransitive language, may result in different preferences for clitic selection in Spanish.<sup>1</sup>

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1. A reviewer points out that it is possible that based on the universal operation *Agree* there is only one agreement system with different lexical items. However, as we show in Table 10 below, there are differences between the two bilingual varieties of Spanish such as doubling with *se* in Shipibo-Spanish but not in Ashéninka-Perené-Spanish. A fact that seems to indicate that there are differences related to contact with typologically different systems.

Differential object marking is a widespread strategy among genetically unrelated languages to mark a selected range of direct objects following language-specific rules (Aissen, 2003; Bossong, 1991, 2003; Dalrymple & Nikolaeva, 2011, among others). As shown in Examples (2)–(4), Spanish obligatorily marks direct objects bearing human and definite features. Optional marking extends to direct objects with animate and specific features interpreted as identifiable or referentially accessible (such as personified animals, etc.). Additionally, inanimate and specific direct objects can receive DOM under certain conditions depending on the dialect, and indefinite non-specific direct objects remain unmarked (Leonetti, 2004, 2007, 2008; Mayer, 2010, 2017; Mayer & Delicado, 2015; von Heusinger & Kaiser, 2003, among others). Direct object clitic doubling and clitic dislocated structures require DOM, a phenomenon known as Kayne's Generalization (Ormazabal & Romero, 2013; Rodríguez-Mondoñedo, 2008; Zdrojewski, 2013, among others). In terms of informational structure, accusative clitics and DOM in doubling structures tend to mark direct objects that are topical or deemed salient by the subject as the primary topic (Dalrymple & Nikolaeva, 2011). This condition is particularly susceptible to variability in acquisitional varieties. This is more likely to be the case in contact scenarios that involve typologically different languages. The complex combination of differentially applied case and feature agreement requires apart from syntactic competence crucially morphological and discourse/pragmatic competence. The bilingual speaker needs to solve the puzzle of reconfiguring formal features that exist in their native language and in UG, and map those on to L2, a process also known as Feature Assembly (Lardiere, 2008). In order to solve the grammar-meaning interface, a widely-accepted assumption in the generative literature is that syntax and semantic competence is straightforward and available from the context, whereas functional morphology is not and it constitutes the Bottleneck of Language Acquisition (Slabakova, 2009).

While there is a large body of literature about clitic acquisition and variability in different contact scenarios (Cuza, Pérez-Leroux & Sánchez, 2013; Escobar, 2011, 2012; Lipski, 2010; Montrul, 2010), previous work on the acquisition of DOM in L1 speakers, heritage speakers and L2 learners is scarce. The findings are that while heritage speaker acquisition of DOM (Montrul, 2004) and monolingual acquisition seem to be largely similar and unproblematic (Rodríguez-Mondoñedo, 2008), English-Spanish bilinguals seem to acquire case, but encounter difficulties identifying the person feature in DOM (Guijarro Fuentes, 2011, 2012; Ticio, 2015). A similar result is discussed in the Feature (In)accessibility Hypothesis, which proposes that while structural features such as case (oblique vs. direct) are readily accessible and learnable, 'interpretable' features or object inherent features such as animacy and definiteness/specificity are not equally learnable. Notable is the finding that of those DP inherent features, animacy is easier to acquire – more learnable than

the discourse/pragmatics features definiteness and specificity (Guijarro-Fuentes, 2011, 2012; Lardiere, 2005, 2008). These findings support the Bottleneck Hypotheses (Slabakova, 2009).

In relation to the topic of this chapter, previous work on the bilingual acquisition of clitics and DOM in Amazonian and Andean bilingual varieties has found that there is little difference between Andean and Amazonian Spanish (Caravedo, 1999). Recent work on this topic has identified scalar clitic systems and variable expression of DOM emerging from functional convergence and ecological factors including a complex relationship and interaction of input, education access and contact (Mayer & Sánchez, 2016; Mayer & Sánchez, 2017). Building on these findings, we investigate in this chapter the similarities and differences in argument marking between the two Amazonian Bilingual Spanish varieties in view of the emergence of multiple evidence of a shared set of features and case marking in contact varieties.

The organization of this chapter is as follows. In Section 2 we introduce the typological differences in agreement systems and argument marking in Spanish, Shipibo and Ashéninka-Perené. In Section 3, we present the methodology employed, data information and research questions. Section 4 presents the data sets of the Shipibo-Spanish bilinguals and the Ashéninka-Perené-Spanish bilinguals followed by a discussion of our comparative results in relation to the research questions in (3). In Section 6, we present our proposal for each of the contact varieties analyzed. We end this chapter with concluding remarks in the final section.

## 2. Argument marking in Spanish, Shipibo and Ashéninka

### 2.1 Spanish case and object agreement system

Spanish is a nominative-accusative language with optional overt pronominal expression of the nominative subject pronoun in addition to compulsory representation in all transitive and intransitive verbal inflection. Direct object pronouns or clitics are different from subject pronouns and can replace a DP direct object argument as shown in (5).

Anaphoric

- (5) (*Ella*)     *la*     *v-io*  
 (PRO<sub>3FSG</sub>) CL<sub>3FSG</sub> see-PST.3SG  
 ‘She saw her.’

Spanish clitics in the previous literature have been analyzed as phonologically unstressed morphological markers bound to the verb (Ordóñez & Repetti, 2006;



Spencer & Luís, 2012; Zwicky, 1985, among others). Clitic features include person and number, with accusative clitics expressing gender, and dative clitics case. They have to be contiguous with their verbal host and can occur as proclitics with finite verbs as shown in (6a) and enclitics in non-finite contexts in (6b):

- (6) a. *Lo /la /le bes-a a él /ella /Juan/Ana*  
 CL3MSG/ CL3FSG/ CL3SG kiss-3SG DOM him/her /Juan/Ana  
 ‘S/He kisses him/her/Juan/Ana.’
- b. *Quier-o besarlo/la/le*  
 want-1SG kiss-INF.CL3MSG/CL3FSG/CL3SG  
 ‘I want to kiss him/her.’

At the syntactic level, they play an important part in verbal agreement. They have been analyzed as pronominal heads that move (Jaeggli, 1986; Kayne, 1991; Ormazabal & Romero, 2013; Roberts, 1991; Rooryck, 2000; Saab & Zdrojewski, 2010, among others) or as morphological agreement markers between the verb and an internal argument (Suñer, 1988). In clitic doubling constructions (7), clitic left dislocation (8) and clitic right dislocation (9), direct object clitics co-occur with the DOM marker *a*, also known as Kayne’s Generalization, creating a complex configuration of grammatical and semantic features. Clitics are subject to feature agreement with the referential DP and to agreement in definiteness/specificity constraints with DOM (Kayne, 1975; Leonetti, 2007, 2008; Mayer, 2010; Mayer & Sánchez, 2016; von Heusinger & Kaiser, 2003, among others).

- (7) *Lo v-i a él/Juan*  
 CL3MSG see-PST.1SG DOM him/Juan  
 ‘I saw him/Juan.’ [ +human/ +animate, definite]
- (8) *A Juan, lo v-i*  
 DOM Juan, CL3MSG see-PST.1SG  
 ‘As for Juan, I saw him.’ [ +human/ +animate, definite]

Note in (9) the strict necessity of clitics to be contiguous with their verbal host.

- (9) *Lo \*ayer v-i ayer a Juan*  
 CL3MSG \*yesterday see-PST.1SG yesterday DOM Juan  
 ‘I saw him yesterday, Juan.’

Finally, in language contact situations divergence at the interfaces may result in new systems, which exhibit considerable cross-dialectal variability dependent on language/dialect contact and ecological factors such as learnability and access to normative education (McCarthy, 2008, among others).

## 2.2 Shipibo case and agreement system

Shipibo is a Panoan language, spoken in the Huánuco, Loreto, Junín, Ucayali regions of Perú and more recently in the Cantagallo community in the city of Lima by approximately 30.000 speakers (Valenzuela, 2010). The Shipibo pronominal system differs in two important ways from Spanish. As shown in Example (10), the verb lacks overt 3rd person bound morphemes and the verb *kanake* shows no subject nor object agreement markers.

- (10) Lorient, Lauriault & Day (1993, p. 56)  
*Nímai oín-shon-ra, Jóse-kan kena-Ø-ke*  
 Nima see-SS.TR-PRT José-ERG call-3-PRF  
 ‘When he saw Nima, José called him.’

Shipibo has an ergative case system, namely, a system in which subjects of transitive sentences are marked differently from subjects of intransitive sentences and direct objects. The following examples illustrate the ergative nature of the Shipibo system. Sentence (11) shows the pronoun *jabo* as the subject of an intransitive sentence and in sentence (12) the same pronominal form is the direct object of a transitive sentence:

- (11) Faust (2008, p. 45)  
*Jabo-ra neno nocó-catit-ai*  
 PRO3PL-EVID always arrive-PAST-IMPERF  
 ‘In the past, they always used to arrive.’
- (12) Faust (2008: 39)  
*En-ra jabo bi-que*  
 PRO1SG-EVID PRO3PL receive-PERF  
 ‘I have received them.’

On the other hand, the pronominal subject of the transitive sentence (13) is *jabaon*:

- (13) Faust (2008, p. 39)  
*Jabaon-ra nocon huetsa bi-can-que*  
 PRO3PL-EVID my brother received-PL-PERF  
 ‘They have received my brother.’

## 2.3 Ashéninka-Perené argument marking

Ashéninka-Perené is an endangered Arawakan language with 1,000 speakers living in the Andean eastern foothills of the Chanchamayo Province, Junín Region in Perú (Mihas, 2014). It has been described as a polysynthetic VAO language

with nominative-accusative grammatical alignment combined with frequent split intransitivity conditioned by grammatical and pragmatic factors (Mihas, 2014). The data discussed here are fieldwork data from Spanish in contact with the Ashéninka-Perené dialect, which has more distinct pronominal forms than other Ashaninka dialects (Reed & Payne, 1986: 330). Unlike Shipibo and like Spanish, Ashéninka-Perené has rich subject and object pronominal agreement. Apart from a set of free personal pronoun forms, Ashéninka-Perené also has a set of 5 person-gender-number distinct bound morphemes as shown in Table 1. Different from Spanish, subject pronouns are verbal prefixes and object pronouns are affixes.

**Table 1.** Ashéninka-Perené bound and free pronouns

	Subject	Object	Free personal pronouns	
1	no-	-na	1 exclusive	naaka
1+2	a-	-ai	1 inclusive	aaka (aroka)
2	pi-	-mi	2	eeroka (aʷiroka)
3M	ir-	-ri	3M	irirori
3F	o-	-ro	3F	iroori

As shown in (14), in sentences with transitive verbs, all arguments in the main clause require obligatory pronominal agreement on the verb. In (14), the subject pronoun is a verbal prefix and the direct object pronoun *-ro* is a pronominal suffix marker with non-masculine gender resulting in the feminine as the default gender.

#### Transitive subject

(14) Mihas (2010, p. 73)

*n=a-ak-i=ro*

1SG.A=take-PRF-REAL=3N.M.O → 3F

'I took it.'

Third person plural distinctions do not play a major role in the Ashaninka languages as long as they are recoverable from the context (Reed & Payne, 1986: 325). Additionally, plural marking in the Ashéninka-Perené dialect may involve several possibilities including remaining unmarked as in the singular object suffix in (15a), adding two suffixes to the verbal inflection *-ay...-ni* which is a discontinuous suffix as in (15b), or adding the suffix *-ye* indicating either a partitive or a plural as in (15c).<sup>2</sup>

2. This example exhibits a regular morphophonemic process where /a/ between consonants epenthesizes at word boundaries. The same process applies to the partitive suffix *-ye*, which receives a /t/.

- (15) Reed & Payne (1986, p. 325)
- a. *no-kem-ak-e-ri*  
1-hear-PFTV-N-FUT-3M  
'I heard him.'
  - b. *no-kem-aiy-ak-e-ri-ni*  
1-hear-PL-PFTV-N-FUT-3M-PL  
'We (1+1) heard him.' 'I heard them.' or 'We (1+1) heard them.'
  - c. *no-kema-yet-ak-e-ri*  
1-hear-PART-PFTV-N-FUT-3M  
'I heard (each of) them.'

In absolutive constructions, the first and second person bound morphemes are syncretic with the object pronominal bound morphemes and used as subject suffixes for intransitive or intransitivized verbs as shown in (16a) and (16b). The other form in (16c) is zero.

#### Absolutive

- (16) a. *pok-ak-e-na*  
come-PFTV-N-FUT-1  
'I came.'
- b. *pok-ak-e-mi*  
come-PFTV-N-FUT-2  
'You came.'
- c. *pok-ak-e-Ø*  
come-PFTV-N-FUT-(1+2, 3M3F)  
'We (1+2), he, she, came.'

Further, the absolutive constructions in (16) covariate with nominative constructions as in (17), they are interchangeable possibly motivated by discourse structure.

- (17) Reed & Payne (1986, p. 326)  
*no-pok-ak-e*  
1-come-PFTV-N-FUT  
'I came.'

There is also a set of free pronouns. Its use is motivated by information structure, as in delineating or introducing new participants into the discourse (18), or as in introducing contrastive focus in (19).

- (18) Reed & Payne (1986, p. 326)  
*pok-ak=e*                      *kašekari irirori*  
come-PFTV-N-FUT=3M jaguar PRO3MSG  
'Then along came Jaguar himself.'

- (19) *p=a-ak-e=ro eeroKa*  
 2=get-PFTV-N-FUT=3F PRO2SG  
 ‘You get it.’ (=you get it, not me or anyone else)

In sum, the fact that some Ashéninka-Perené pronouns are syncretically specified for person, number and accusative gender could play a decisive role in the acquisition of Spanish clitics by Ashéninka-Perené-Spanish bilinguals. In the discussion, we will also link the free pronouns and their use to the high percentage of clitic right dislocation (CLRD) and clitic left dislocation (CLLD) structures in relation to clitic doubling (CLD) structures we find in the bilingual data, and argue that they could be motivated by discourse structure marking contrastive focus or introducing/delineating the major discourse participants.

Given the typological differences in feature configuration and in argument marking in Shipibo, Ashéninka-Perené, and in Spanish, and the fact that these are indigenous languages spoken in contexts in which their speakers have limited access to formal instruction in Spanish, we explore the following research questions:

1. How do the configurations of Spanish accusative clitics across clitic-related structures differ in Shipibo-Spanish and Ashéninka-Perené-Spanish bilinguals?
2. Are there significant differences between Shipibo-bilinguals and Ashéninka-Perené-bilinguals in relation to the expression of direct object pronouns and DOM?

### 3. Methodology

In order to investigate these questions, we analyze two sets of data from two typologically distinct and geographically distant bilingual speaking groups of Shipibo Spanish and Ashéninka-Perené-Spanish.<sup>3</sup>

#### 3.1 Shipibo Spanish bilingual data

Using an acting-out picture-based elicitation technique (Mayer & Mayer, 1976/2003) the Spanish data from the Shipibo group were obtained from interviews that were conducted with 24 Shipibo-Spanish bilingual adults (12 female, 12 male), ages 29–56 in 2002. All participants had Shipibo as their first language, and had migrated to an urban environment from a rural environment. All participants had primary level

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3. These data sets are also analyzed in a separate study that focuses primarily on clitic feature configuration from a feature pool perspective (Mufwene, 2001) in Mayer & Sánchez (in press).

schooling and some secondary level in Spanish. All transitive verbs with accusative clitics and null objects were coded with a total of 141 tokens.

### 3.2 Ashéninka-Perené-Spanish bilingual data

The Ashéninka-Perené-Spanish bilingual data set is based on an exploratory study through elicitation of oral production based on story-telling and conversational interaction of 4 Ashéninka-Perené-Spanish bilingual speakers (2 female, 2 male), ages 22–53 in 2006. Two had lower levels of formal instruction (primary level) and two had higher levels of formal instruction (secondary level). All participants stated that Ashéninka-Perené was their first language. Three lived in Pampa Michi, Perené Valley, Chanchamayo Province, Junín Region, and the participant with the highest level of education had moved to San Ramon, a city close by. This participant had additional exposure to Italian and English.<sup>4</sup> As in the Shipibo study, all transitive verbs with accusative clitics and null objects were coded, 124 tokens in total.

## 4. Data sets and results

In this section, we present the data and results from both groups studied. In previous work, we compared bilingual Shipibo-Spanish data with bilingual Quechua-Spanish data (Mayer & Sánchez, 2017) and we also advanced a proposal about bilingual Shipibo-Spanish data and bilingual Ashéninka-Perené data (Mayer & Sánchez, in press) focussing on the selection of clitic features from a feature-pool perspective (Mufwene, 2001). In this paper, we focus on an analysis of clitics and DOM that is based on the typological differences in case and agreement between Shipibo and Ashéninka-Perené.

### 4.1 Shipibo Spanish

The distribution of all clitic-related structures of the Shipibo-Spanish bilingual data is given in Table 2. The feature distribution across those structures reveals a strong preference of the *le* form (104 tokens, 83%) over *se* forms (11 tokens, 9%), *lo* (6 tokens, 5%) and *la* forms (4 tokens, 3%).

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4. It is possible that increased use of *lo* by this participant could be related to exposure to multiple languages. However, we would like to point out that this participant is not a functional speaker of neither Italian nor English.

**Table 2.** Accusative clitic distribution in clitic structures

Clitic structure	Tokens and percentages
Anaphoric	60 (43%)
CLD	62 (44%)
CLLD	1 (1%)
CLRD	5 (3%)
Null	13 (9%)
<b>Total</b>	<b>141 (100%)</b>

Overall, the clitic *le* is the preferred form in the distribution of all clitic forms in Table 2 and occurs preferably in CLD structures. In relation to gender marking, only 7 *le* forms correspond to feminine DPs, all others mark masculine DPs. There are also 10 tokens of *se*. The distribution of all clitic forms and structures is shown in Table 3 followed by examples.

**Table 3.** Clitic features in all clitic structures

Cl features + structure	Tokens and percentages
Le + CLD	53 (42%)
Lo + CLD	2 (2%)
Se + CLD	9 (6%)
La + CLD	1 (1%)
Le + CLLD	1 (1%)
Lo + CLLD	0 (0%)
Le + CLRD	4 (3%)
Lo + CLRD	0 (0%)
Le (anaphoric)	49 (39%)
Lo (anaphoric)	4 (3%)
La (anaphoric)	3 (2%)
Se (anaphoric)	1 (1%)
<b>Total</b>	<b>127 (100%)</b>

The next three examples illustrate clitic-doubling structures with the first two showing the clitic *le* doubling a DOM-marked animate masculine DP in (20) and an inanimate feminine DP without DOM in (21).

(20) *Y le bot-a al lor-o*  
 and CL3SG throw-3SG DOM.-DET.MSG parrot-MSG  
 ‘And he throws the parrot away.’ (S2)

(21) *Le abr-e es-a caj-a*  
 CL3SG open-3SG that-FSG box-FSG  
 ‘(He) opens the box.’ (S2)



Additionally, to *le*-doubling, there were some instances of *se*-doubling as in (22) which have no aspectual or reflexive meaning.

- (22) *Se muerde al lo (ro), al lor-o*  
 CL3SG bite-3SG DOM-DET.3SG parrot-MSG DOM-DET.3SG parrot  
 ‘(He) bites the parrot.’ (S13)

Examples (23) and (24) show again the clitic *le* in a clitic left dislocated and in a clitic right dislocated structure respectively. Both animate and masculine DPs are DOM-marked.

- (23) *Al perr-o le pate-a*  
 DOM-DET.3SG dog-MSG CL3SG kick-3SG  
 ‘(He) kicks the dog.’ (S13)

- (24) *Y le pate-ó también al lor-o*  
 and CL3SG kick-PERF.3SG too DOM-DET.MSG parrot-MSG  
 ‘And he kicked the parrot too.’ (S8)

Anaphoric uses exhibit both *le* and *se* in (25) and (26) respectively referring to a masculine singular DP.

- (25) *Después le muerd-e.*  
 after CL3SG bite-3SG  
 ‘After that, (he) bites him.’ (S15)

- (26) *El nío (niño) se busc-aba.*  
 the boy CL3SG look-IMP.3SG  
 ‘And the boy looked for him.’

Finally, there were also some instances of null arguments.

- (27) *El perro Ø bo(t-ó)*  
 the dog CL throw-PAST.3SG  
 ‘The dog threw it.’ (S16)

The overall results for the relationship of DOM and animacy in relation to the clitic structures across all Shipibo-Spanish bilinguals in Table 4 shows, apart from the clear preference for CLD, overall the highest number of unmarked animate DPs closely followed by marked animate DPs. There is one instance of extending DOM to inanimate DPs. An example of an unmarked inanimate CLD sentence would be (21) above.

**Table 4.** Differential Object marking of DP in CLD, CLLD and CLRD

	Animate DP		Total	Inanimate DP		Total
	+DOM	-DOM		+DOM	-DOM	
CLD	25 (46%)	29 (54%)	54 (100%)	1 (17%)	5 (83%)	6 (100%)
CLLD	1 (50%)	1 (50%)	2 (100%)	0	0	0
CLRD	3 (60%)	2 (40%)	5 (100%)	0	0	0
<b>Total</b>	<b>29 (47%)</b>	<b>32 (52%)</b>	<b>61 (100%)</b>	<b>1 (1%)</b>	<b>5 (8%)</b>	<b>6 (100%)</b>

The sole extension of DOM to an inanimate DP is an instance of locative doubling:

- (28) *Y le entr-a al carro*  
 and CL3SG enter-3SG DOM-DET.MSG car.MSG  
 ‘And he enters the car.’

To summarize, the Shipibo Spanish narratives in this data set exhibit a high frequency of CLD structures, found in all speakers in the sample. CLLD was found only in (2) speakers and CLRD in 4 speakers. Shipibo Spanish narratives show a strong preference for accusative *le* over *lo*. *Le* is the only form used with masculine and feminine DPs in all doubling constructions CLD, CLLD and CLRD. There are some instances of *se* in CLDs and there are animates without DOM.

## 4.2 Ashéninka-Perené Spanish

The distribution of proclitics is 83% to 14% of enclitics and 3% of null clitics, a surprising result given the morphological status of Ashéninka-Perené object pronouns as suffixes. Unlike Shipibo bilinguals, Ashéninka-Perené-Spanish bilinguals strongly prefer anaphoric structures (68.5%) over CLD and dislocated structures (21.7%). Across all clitic related structures *le* is preferred over *lo* (55.1% vs. 39.05%) but not as strongly as in the Shipibo-Spanish dataset, and there is some production of the feminine clitic *la* (5.85%). There is also some clitic reduplication (5%) and very low numbers for non-argumental and null clitics.

**Table 5.** Accusative clitics in all clitic structures

Clitic structure	Tokens and percentages
Anaphoric	85 (68.5%)
CLD	11 (9%)
CLLD	7 (5.7%)
CLRD	9 (7%)
Reduplication	6 (5%)
Non-argumental	2 (1.6%)
Null	4 (3.2%)
<b>Total</b>	<b>124 (100%)</b>

The distribution of clitic features across clitic structures is given in Table 6. Unlike the strong preference for *le* in the Shipibo-Spanish bilingual data, the Ashéninka-Perené-Spanish data exhibit equal numbers for *le* and *lo* followed by *la* in CLD structures. For CLLD *lo* is the preferred clitic and *le* is preferred in CLRD. Clitic reduplication and anaphoric structures prefer *le* > *lo*. Overall, *lo* is preferred for masculine DPs, *le* for feminine DPs with equal distribution of *la* referring to masculine and feminine DPs.

**Table 6.** Clitic features in all clitic structures including CL reduplication

CL features + structure	Tokens and percentages
Le + CLD	4 (3.4%)
Lo + CLD	4 (3.4%)
La + CLD	3 (2.5%)
Le + CLLD	2 (1.7%)
Lo + CLLD	4 (3.4%)
La + CLLD	1 (0.85%)
Le + CLRD	8 (6.8%)
Lo + CLRD	1 (0.85%)
La + CLRD	0 (0%)
Le + reduplication	4 (3.4%)
Lo + reduplication	2 (1.7%)
La + reduplication	0 (0%)
Le (anaphoric)	47 (39.8%)
Lo (anaphoric)	35 (29.7%)
La (anaphoric)	3 (2.5%)
<b>Total</b>	<b>118 (100%)</b>

The following examples represent the variability found in clitic production across all structures in Ashéninka-Perené-Spanish bilinguals. In (29) we find lack of differential object marking (DOM) of a human masculine DP topic, which is then first referred to by a feminine anaphoric clitic *la*, and next by a dative anaphoric *le* with a primary transitive verb. In the second clause, clitic reduplication shows *lo* and *le* referring to the topic:

- (29) *Que* Ø *el* Curaca<sub>i</sub> *la*<sub>i</sub> *agarr-aron*, *le*<sub>i</sub> *tortur-aron*, *pero*  
 that Ø DET.MSG Curaca CL3FSG catch-PST.3PL CL3SG torture-PST.3PL but  
*no lo*<sub>i</sub> *han pod-ido mat-ar-le*<sub>i</sub>  
 not CL3MSG have-3PL can-PARTIC kill-INF-CL3SG  
 ‘That they captured the Curaca, they tortured him but they could not kill him.’  
 (A3)

Clitic reduplication of the dative (30) also occurs with double use of *le*. There are no data with double *lo* and none at all with *la*. Note also a general loss of the plural feature with three exceptions in the overall data set.

- (30) *Le va-mos brindarle nuestro danzas*  
 CL3SG are-1PL giving-CL3SG POSS.MSG dance-FPL  
 ‘We are giving you our dances.’ (A3)

The null object in (31) refers to a singular, masculine DP, the discourse topic.

- (31) *Allí Ø ten-ían*  
 there him-Ø have-3PL  
 ‘That’s where they held him.’ (A4)

*Lo* in (32a) is used as a single anaphoric reference to a plural feminine object. In clitic clusters, as in (32b), *lo* takes the first slot. This is consistent with Ashéninka DO-IO cluster order and contrary to the Spanish order IO-DO.

- (32) a. *Lo limpi-an pa cultivar*  
 CL3MSG clean-3PL to farm  
 ‘They clean (las tierras) to grow crops.’ (A4)
- b. *Lo les desinfect-an*  
 CL3MSG CL3PL disinfect-3PL  
 ‘They disinfected them.’ (A4)

The following examples illustrate the lack of DOM for human and definite/specific direct objects in doubling and dislocated structures with CLD in (33), CLLD in (34), and CLRD in (35).

- (33) *Ingresaron por dos caminos para atacarle Ø los*  
 enter-PST.3PL through two ways to attack-INF.CL3SG Ø DET.MPL  
 Ashaninkas Campas  
 Ashaninkas Campas  
 ‘They came in through two ways to attack the Ashaninka Campa people.’ (A3)
- (34) *Ø esos chunches hay que matarles*  
 Ø those Indians have-IMPERS to kill-INF.CL3PL  
 ‘Those Indians have to be killed.’ (A3)
- (35) *Le jaló de su ropita Ø mi hijita*  
 CL3SG pull-PST.3SG PREP POSS clothes Ø my daughter  
 ‘She pulled her daughter by the clothes.’ (A2)

Finally, in Table 7 the relation between differential object marking and animacy is given with examples to follow. All marked and unmarked objects were definite.

Table 7. Differential Object marking of DP in CLD, CLLD and CLRD

	Animate DP		Total	Inanimate DP		Total
	+ DOM	– DOM		+ DOM	– DOM	
CLD	4 (67%)	6 (33%)	2 (100%)	1 (25%)	3 (75%)	4 (100%)
CLLD	1 (50%)	1 (50%)	2 (100%)	1 (25%)	3 (75%)	4 (100%)
CLRD	2 (25%)	6 (75%)	8 (100%)	1 (33%)	2 (67%)	3 (100%)
<b>Total</b>	<b>7 (44%)</b>	<b>9 (56%)</b>	<b>16 (100%)</b>	<b>3 (27%)</b>	<b>8 (73%)</b>	<b>11 (100%)</b>

Ashéninka-Perené bilingual Spanish exhibits some lack of DOM with animate/human direct objects and extension of DOM to inanimate DPs across all structures. Specifically, speaker (A4) uses invariant *lo* in anaphoric and invariant *lo* in combination with DOM in highly transitive constructions:

- (36) *Mi papá [...] lo conoc-íó a mi mamá*  
 my papa CL3MSG know-PST.3SG DOM my mama  
 ‘My father met my mother.’ (A4)

The data also show DOM<sup>5</sup> *a* replaced with the preposition *en* as in (37). Note also the lack of periphrastic *a*:

- (37) *Le iba Ø picar semejante culebra en su bebida*  
 CL3SG was going Ø bite-INF huge snake PREP POSS baby  
 ‘That huge snake was going to bite her baby.’ (A2)

To summarize, the data set from Ashéninka-Perené-Spanish narratives exhibits a very high number of anaphoric structures, low frequency of CLD constructions, preference for dislocated structures with similar numbers for CLD, CLRD and CLLD produced by all speakers. Clitic reduplication is not productive and restricted to Speaker 3. Further, the data show a slight preference of *le* over *lo* and some production of *la* in anaphoric clitics and CLD. *Le* is preferred for feminine DPs and *lo* for masculine DPs. Clitic reduplication shows a mix of *le* and *lo*. Some speakers exhibit some loss of number in clitics with three exceptions, 2 of those in Speaker 4, who also shows extensive use of invariant *lo*. There is evidence for lack of DOM with animate DPs and quite even numbers for production and omission of DOM. There are also instances of DOM where *a* is replaced by the preposition *en*.

5. Replacement of DOM *a* with the locative *donde* ‘where’ together with the relative *que* ‘that’, used to link clauses and topics has also been reported. Bosson (1991: 148) mentions that in Northern Peru *onde* which is equivalent to *donde* has been found to replace DOM *a* (*Buscaré onde l corderito más gordo*).

## 5. Discussion of comparative results

The expression of the specific objects under investigation in each of the three languages in Table 8 show that Shipibo is unlike Spanish and Ashéninka-Perené in relation to the type and features of the clitic morpheme and case typology. Ashéninka-Perené is closer to Spanish than Shipibo. In light of the existence of typological differences, we expect to find different scalar systems of feature expression in clitics and variable results in DOM with regard to animacy in the Spanish of both bilingual groups.

**Table 8.** Case and verbal agreement in Shipibo, Ashéninka-Perené and Spanish

	Shipibo	Ashéninka-Perené	Spanish
Type of 3rd person morpheme	None	Suffix	Proclitic (pre-verbal) or, enclitic (post-verbal)
Morpheme features	none	person, gender (number, case)	person, gender, number, case
Case typology	ergative-absolutive	nominative-accusative with split intransitivity	nominative-accusative

In answer to our first research question, about what kind of differences we would find in the configuration of accusative clitics across all clitic-related structures between the two contact varieties, we found that from a modular perspective, the results presented in Section 4 indicate that the core syntactic operations involved in the clitic-related structures have been acquired.<sup>6</sup> Table 9 shows that both contact varieties use all clitic related structures however with significant differences. Whereas Shipibo Spanish exhibits low numbers of anaphoric and clitic dislocated structures as well as high numbers of CLD, Ashéninka-Perené Spanish shows high numbers of anaphoric structures and low numbers for CLD and clitic dislocated structures with a preference for CLRD as well as some clitic reduplication.

**Table 9.** RQ1 comparative results

Shipibo Spanish	Ashéninka-Perené Spanish
– CLD: high frequency	– CLD, CLLD, CLRD: low, but CLRD preferred
– CLLD: low, 2 speakers	– CL reduplication: 1 speaker
– CLRD: low, 4 speakers	– Anaphorics: high
– Anaphorics: low	

6. Such evidence has also been found among Quechua-Spanish bilinguals (see Mayer & Sánchez, 2016).

In response to our second research question about significant differences in the expression of DOM and direct object pronouns, we find that for the latter, the configuration of both data sets confirms convergence of features in favor of the less marked form *le*<sup>7</sup> in Shipibo as well as in Ashéninka-Perené-bilinguals. There are however differences in accordance with the respective typological settings of each Amazonian language, as shown in Table 10.

Table 10. RQ2 comparative results

Shipibo Spanish	Ashéninka-Perené Spanish
Anaphorics and all CLD structures:	– Anaphorics and CLD: <i>le &gt; lo</i>
– absolute <i>le</i> in CLD	– fem DP: <i>le &gt; lo &gt; la</i>
– few <i>lo</i> , <i>la</i> in anaphorics	– masc DP: <i>lo &gt; le &gt; la</i>
– some instances of <i>se</i>	– clitic reduplication: <i>lo</i> , <i>le</i>
	– some use of <i>la</i>
Scalar system:	Scalar system:
<i>le &gt; se &gt; lo &gt; la</i>	<i>le &gt; lo &gt; la</i>
85% > 7% > 5% > 3%	55.1% > 39.05% > 5.85%
Animates without DOM	Equal numbers for lack and production of DOM;
	– Lack with animate DPs
	– Replacement of DOM <i>a</i> with preposition <i>en</i>

We propose that the clitic systems for both bilingual data sets show the scalar distribution in (38). The distribution for both groups differs substantially in terms of numerical values with the exception of *la*. While *le* is ranked higher than *lo* in both groups, the Shipibo-Spanish group ranks *le* considerably higher. This could be attributed to Shipibo being an ergative language unlike Ashéninka-Perené.

- (38) a. Ashéninka-Perené-Spanish  
 Anaphoric: *le* (55%) < *lo* (40%) < *la* (5%)
- b. Shipibo-Spanish  
 Anaphoric: *le* (85%) > *se* (7%) > *lo* (5%) > *la* (3%)

Further support for this comes from a study of Spanish in contact with Tikuna, a nominative-accusative Amazonian language (Montes, 2004), considered an isolate, in which Ramírez-Cruz (2018) reports a similar level of competition between *le* and

7. As pointed out by an anonymous reviewer, the existence of *le*-forms in Amazonian Spanish could be attributed to contact with Andean Spanish where *le*-forms are found. However, for both bilingual groups in the study, contact with Andean Spanish is minimal as the Shipibo group lives in the city of Lima in the Cantagallo community. The Ashéninka-Perené individuals on the other hand could potentially be in contact with Andean Spanish due to their location. However, they do exhibit feminine forms that are less frequent in Andean Spanish (Mayer & Sánchez, 2016).



*lo* as accusative clitics. These are also similar to our previous findings in a study on Quechua-Spanish bilinguals (Mayer & Sánchez, 2016). Not surprisingly, Quechua is also a nominative accusative language. Furthermore, for Tikuna-Spanish, Ramírez-Cruz (2018) does not report the existence of *se* in the Spanish-Tikuna data unlike what we found in the Shipibo-Spanish data.

Lack of DOM with animate, definite DPs is attested for both data sets. Ashéninka-Perené-bilingual Spanish differs from the Shipibo bilingual Spanish in that it shows replacement of DOM *a* with the preposition *en*.

To summarize our findings, both bilingual groups favor *le* over *lo* in clitic doubling structures and exhibit lack of DOM with animates in CLD in both groups up to 54% in the Shipibo group, and 33% for the Ashéninka-Perené bilinguals. The use of *le* is indicative of some level of gender neutralization. Both, gender neutralization and lack of DOM are evidence that crosslinguistic influence affect the syntax/semantics interface. We analyze this variability as the coexistence of two different argument-marking systems in these contact varieties of Spanish with Amazonian languages and propose some explanations in the next section.

## 6. Proposal

We would like to propose that some of the case marking characteristics observed in Spanish in contact with Shipibo and Ashéninka-Perené can be attributed to a process of feature reassembly and new morphological mappings that reflect some of the case marking properties of Shipibo and Ashéninka-Perené. In this section, we will discuss the proposals for each of the contact Spanish samples analyzed.

### 6.1 Ergativity in Shipibo and its consequences for Shipibo Spanish

We propose that these results are compatible with a hierarchy of direct object clitics that runs from lower to higher levels of morphological specification in Shipibo Spanish:

(39) *se* > *le* > *lo* > *la*

Shipibo Spanish, unlike other contact varieties, allows *se* because Shipibo is an ergative language that marks the subject of an intransitive verb in the same way as the direct object of a transitive verb, as previously shown in Examples (11)–(13). *Se* as the subject marker of an intransitive verb in Spanish can be generalized to the direct object clitic so that a form such as *se buscaba* ‘she looked for’ for *le buscaba* as in ‘looked for it’ is possible.

The following examples show the fact that *se* in Spanish occurs both as coreferential with the subject of intransitive verbs (40) and as a VP-internal modifier (41);

*Intransitive subject*

- (40) *Maria se corre del peligro-o*  
 Maria *se* run-3SG DET.MSG danger-MSG  
 ‘Maria runs away from danger.’

*VP-internal modifier*

- (41) *Maria se come una manzana*  
 Maria *se* eat-3SG INDEF.FSG apple-FSG  
 ‘Maria eats an apple (completely/for her benefit).’

This pattern may contribute to the generalization of *se* as a clitic that doubles a VP-internal direct object as shown in (42):

*Transitive object in Shipibo Spanish*

- (42) *El sapo se muerde al lor-o*  
 the toad ACC bite-3SG DOM-DET.MSG parrot-MSG  
 ‘The toad bites the parrot.’

The lack of DOM marking with animates is also consistent with Shipibo being an ergative language. In Shipibo, the DP subject of a transitive verb receives ergative marking whereas the object does not receive marking as illustrated by the following example (Faust, 1990):

- (43) *Ochiti-nin-ra baque nateshque*  
 dog-ERG-EVID bite boy  
 ‘The dog has bitten the boy.’

In this example, we see that the subject *ochiti* ‘dog’ is marked with the ergative marker *nin* but the object *nateshque* ‘boy’ receives no marking. This contrasts with generalized DOM marking in non-contact Spanish as shown in:

- (44) *El perro ha mordido al niño-o*  
 the dog has-3SG bite-PARTIC DOM-DET.MSG boy-MSG  
 ‘The dog has bitten the boy.’

Shipibo-Spanish bilinguals would be less sensitive to a special marker for the direct object in transitive sentences resulting in sentences such as:

- (45) *Le sacó un lor-o*  
 CL3SG take-out-PST-3SG INDEF.MSG parrot-MSG  
 ‘(S/he) took out a parrot.’ (S2)

## 6.2 Mixed properties and their effect on Ashéninka-Perené bilingual Spanish

The Ashéninka-Perené bilingual production data clearly reflect the structural and typological similarities between this language and Spanish in showing convergence with similar structures. The Ashéninka-Perené bilingual Spanish data demonstrate an important parallel to the Spanish third person paradigm, which allows to relate existence and expression of all gender-specifying clitics in Ashéninka-Perené Spanish bilinguals to person/gender/number specifying pro- and enclitics which are semantically motivated and highly grammaticalized. Specifically, the lack of plural marking in Ashéninka-Perené Spanish bilinguals can be linked to optional number marking in their L1.

With regard to clitic reduplication, Ashéninka-Perené has a mechanism whereby object suffixes can be doubled with the same verb to distinguish between direct and indirect object (Reed & Payne, 1986, p. 325; Payne, 1981; Payne, Payne, & Sánchez, 1982). This parallel is potentially reflected in bilingual Ashéninka-Perené Spanish sentences with clitic reduplication such as shown in (46).

- (46) *Pero no lo han podido mat-ar-le*  
 but not DET.MSG have-3PL can-PARTIC kill-INF-DEF.DAT  
 ‘But they could not kill him.’ (A2)

For the invariant clitic *lo* in (46) we propose to analyze it as a topic and transitivity marker based on the following parallel to Spanish. In the Ashéninka-Perené dialect, the third person pronoun stem *-ri* is shared with the demonstratives, distinguishing between anaphoric and cataphoric reference. Cataphoric references are expressed by attaching the prefix *h* to the anaphoric pronoun, for example, anaphoric near is *irika* (M) and *iroka* (F) vs. cataphoric *hirika* (M) and *hiroka* (F) (Reed & Payne, 1986, p. 330). This could account for invariant *lo* as cataphoric reference delineating a highly transitive event affecting a topical object in bilingual Ashéninka-Perené Spanish.

In relation to the relatively high percentage of CLRD and CLLD structures over CLD structures in Ashéninka-Perené Spanish bilinguals, we propose that these could be motivated by the existence of cleft constructions with free pronouns as in (47) and (48), marking contrastive focus or introducing/delineating the major discourse participants in Ashéninka-Perené.

- (47) Reed & Payne (1986, p. 326)  
*pok-ak=e kašekari irirori*  
 come-PFTV-N-FUT=3M jaguar he  
 ‘Then along came Jaguar himself.’

- (48) *p=a-ak-e=ro eeroka*  
 2=get-PFTV-N-FUT=3F YOU  
 ‘You get it.’ (=you get it, not me or anyone else)

Our final point is that the even numbers for marking and lack of marking of human/animate DPs raises doubts about animacy as the governing factor for DOM in Ashéninka-Perené Spanish bilingual speakers. Difficulties in identifying animacy as a trigger for DOM can be explained by the fact that both languages have a multifunctional case marker that also serves as a locative marker expressed in Spanish by *a* and in Ashéninka-Perené by the suffix *-ki* as in (49) (Bhat, 2004: 135; Mihas, 2010; Reed & Payne, 1986, p. 330).

- (49) Mihas (2010, p. 3)  
*i=tyaNk-ai-t-ak-i=na Irimashi-ki*  
 3MA=send-IMP.P-EP-PRF-REAL=1SG.O Lima-LOC  
 ‘They sent me to Lima.’

In addition, the Ashéninka-Perené dialect has possessive pronouns, which can show person, number and gender features and co-occur with the locative marker as in (50). In Ashéninka-Perené Spanish, the replacement of DOM *a* with the locative preposition *en*<sup>8</sup> in possessive constructions as in (51), repeated from (37) can be directly linked to the L1 structure.

- (50) Mihas (2010, p. 93)  
*n=ako-ki kar -ak-i=na*  
 1SG.POSS=ARM-LOC break-PRF-REAL=1S.O  
 ‘I broke my arm.’

- (51) *Le iba Ø picar semejante culebra en su*  
 CL3SG is-PST-3SG going Ø bite-INF huge snake PREP POSS  
*beb-ita*  
 baby-DIMIN.FSG  
 ‘That huge snake was going to bite her baby.’ (A2)

In sum, Ashéninka-Perené Spanish bilinguals exhibit convergence of functional features and their mapping onto morphology available in both languages.

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8. In the literature cited, Ashéninka-Perené bilinguals also replace DOM *a* with the preposition *de*, however there is no evidence for this in the AS data investigated here.

## 7. Concluding remarks

Our findings are consistent with previous work in relation to scalarity of clitic systems dependent on a proficiency continuum (Mayer & Sánchez, 2016). Both bilingual groups exhibit a scalar clitic system, and convergence of argument marking systems, with the individual configuration in both groups reflecting the respective typological settings. Bilingual speakers seem to be able to acquire multiple clitic-related structures. On the other hand, acquisition of functional morphology expressing features such as gender, number and case for clitics and semantic features such as animacy/definiteness for DOM is not straightforward and shows divergence between both groups. The contact specific results for feature assembly and new morphological mappings reflect the typological properties of the contact languages Shipibo and Ashéninka-Perené. Nevertheless, both contact varieties share a set of features and case marking informed by existence of similar structures in the contact languages.

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We use the following abbreviations:

A	Agent	PRO	pronoun
O	object	POSS	possessive
S	subject	TR	transitive
SS	same subject	PRT	participle
LOC	locative	ERG	ergative
F	feminine	PRF/PFTV	perfective
M	masculine	IMPERF/IMP	imperfective
N.M	non-masculine	PAST	past tense
1	first person	FUT	future
2	second person	N-FUT	non future
3	third person	EP	epenthesizer
SG	singular	IMP,P	impersonal passive
PL	plural	REAL	realis
PART	partitive	EVID	evidential

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# Emerging ethnolinguistic varieties in the Amazon

## The case of Yagua Spanish

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We analyze a handful of morphosyntactic features of Yagua Spanish (YS), a contact variety of Spanish spoken in the Amazon. Our results, from sociolinguistic interviews and film narrations conducted with 10 YS speakers from Comandancia, located along Peru's Orosa River, suggest that YS is characterized by significant occurrence of *leísmo*, null direct objects, and non-canonical use of the Present Perfect. Analyses based on language proficiency reveal that the Yagua-dominant bilinguals, who learned Spanish primarily as adults, show higher rates of these non-pan-Latin American forms as compared to the Spanish-dominant bilinguals who acquired Spanish earlier in life. We explore the origins of these linguistic features and add to what is known of emerging varieties of Spanish in the Amazon region.

**Keywords:** Amazonian Spanish, Yagua, bilingualism, language contact

### 1. Introduction

In the Amazon, a number of indigenous languages exist alongside more dominant languages, such as Spanish (Aikhenvald, this volume; Dixon & Aikhenvald, 1999). One of these minority languages is Yagua, spoken in the Colombian and Peruvian Amazon with about 3,500 remaining speakers (Crevels, 2012). Yagua is in a state of generational decline and is best placed between definitively and severely endangered following UNESCO's Language Vitality Assessment (Brenzinger et al., 2003). These Yagua communities have been slowly integrating with *campesino* communities with mixed populations of mestizo and indigenous backgrounds and the adoption of Spanish, particularly among the younger generations, is spreading throughout the Yagua communities (p.c. J. Riach & D. Graham of Project Amazonas). Given this language contact situation, and the typological dissimilarities between Yagua and

Spanish (see below), a primary goal of this chapter is to document the resulting Spanish of these bilingual speakers.

Little documentation of the Spanish spoken by bilinguals in Yagua communities is available. Furthermore, the extent to which the Yaguas may have adopted features of other local contact varieties of Spanish is unknown. For example, Ramírez-Cruz (2018) holds that population movements resulted in the spread of dialect features from Andean Spanish to current-day Amazonian Spanish in Colombia. Moreover, the author claims that a number of these linguistic properties passed through the Peruvian Amazon. Similarly, a number of authors have attributed the non-standard features of Peruvian Amazonian Spanish to influence from Andean Spanish (see Emlen, this volume; Escobar, 1978; Marticorena, 2010; Ramírez, 2003). However, Henriksen and Fafulas (2017) point out that a number of features of Amazonian Spanish may be more generally associated with processes of naturalistic second language acquisition (SLA). Thus, there are a number of alternate hypotheses for the sources of potential contact-features in Yagua Spanish (henceforth, YS): (i) direct influence from the source language, Yagua; (ii) indirect and independent outcomes resulting from bilingualism, naturalistic L2 acquisition and/or interaction with speakers of other contact-varieties of Spanish in the Amazon region; and (iii) features imported from Andean Spanish. While these possibilities are not mutually exclusive, we will attempt to explore them individually in this paper.

To investigate these hypotheses, we examined our data for a number of linguistic variants commonly cited in studies of Andean Spanish and Amazonian Spanish to see the extent to which they surfaced in our corpus of bilingual YS speech. Our results show that YS is characterized by a constellation of features that have been termed ‘innovative’ or ‘contact-induced’ in other Latin American Spanish-speaking communities, such as high rates of *léismo*, including feminine and inanimate direct objects, high instances of null direct objects, and extended uses of the Present Perfect across all lexical aspectual classes.

## 2. Background

### 2.1 Language contact and evolution

Languages are constantly changing and evolving, which can be augmented or redirected when languages (i.e. their speakers) come in contact (Geeslin & Evans-Sago, this volume; Winford, 2003). Typically, in situations of unstable, and non-societal, bilingualism, one language is dominant in the media, school system, and government, which may eventually lead to language shift and loss of the minority language (Potowski, 2013; Romaine, 2010). While minority languages are steadily

losing ground to more dominant languages in the Amazon region (Aikhenvald, this volume), Adelaar & Muysken (2004) note that despite centuries of increasing uniformity, there remains considerable language diversity along the Amazonian rivers. Lyon (1974) refers to the linguistic situation of South America as ‘the least known continent’. Thus, our study, like the others in this volume, targets a relatively underexplored area of the Americas and documents an emerging ethnolinguistic variety of Spanish in the Amazon basin.

Clements (2009) reminds us that the type and frequency of the input (naturalistic vs. tutored), age of acquisition for each language and typological (dis)similarities impact the outcomes of the bilingual grammar/community. In situations of intense and prolonged language contact, input ambiguity, transfer and convergence may lead to the restructuring or creation of linguistic features (see Lim & Ansaldo, 2016; Thomason & Kaufman, 1988; Winford, 2003). In our investigation, we follow an evolutionary approach to account for the contact-induced features apparent in our YS corpus (Croft, 2000; Lim & Ansaldo, 2016; Mufwene, 2001). Lim and Ansaldo (2016, p. 5) state that in the formation of new linguistic varieties, speakers make selections from a pool of linguistic variants that emerge based on the specific ecology of the contact situation, including extralinguistic and intralinguistic factors. Given the typological differences between Yagua and Spanish, the previous period of bilingualism in the Comandancia community, and the recent shift toward Spanish dominance by the younger generation, we expect the emerging Spanish in this community to show influence from the substrate language while also revealing a number of independent innovations or structural changes due to processes of SLA (see Geeslin & Evans-Sago, this volume). Furthermore, frequent population shifts in the region may have resulted in the spread of Andean and non-pan-Hispanic features throughout the Amazon region (see below), thereby adding to the possible linguistic variants available to the Yagua community under observation.

## 2.2 Amazonian Spanish

Spanish has been in contact with indigenous languages in the Americas for centuries (Aikhenvald, 2002, 2012) resulting in a number of distinctive features characteristic of Latin American Spanish (Díaz-Campos & Milla-Muñoz, this volume; Lipski, 1994, 2014). Peruvian Amazonian Spanish has been identified as a distinct variety among the Spanish varieties spoken in Peru (see Escobar, 1978; Jara Yupanqui, 2012; Marticorena, 2010; Ramírez, 2003) and is often regarded as ‘non-standard’, ‘non-native-like’, ‘different’, ‘uneducated’ (Arias, 2014; Fafulas, Rodríguez-Mondoñedo, & O’Rourke, 2016; Vallejos, 2014). However, it is still not clear to what extent these perceptions reflect social bias as opposed to observable linguistic properties.

The overarching aim of the current study is to document a particular variety of Amazonian Spanish (in this case, YS) and compare a handful of morphosyntactic properties in our corpus to what has been attested in other Amazonian communities as well as Andean Spanish.

Given that Yagua communities have been in constant migration between Colombia and Peru, we also include a review of some salient morphosyntactic properties of Colombian Amazonian Spanish. Montes Rodríguez (2009) includes the following as characteristic of Colombian Amazonian Spanish: *leísmo* (1), extended to feminine and inanimate objects (2); object topicalization, and post-verbal double object marking (3); and extension of inalienable possession (4).

- (1) *Le* dejó la mujer. (Montes Rodríguez, 2009, p. 110)  
'His wife left him.'
- (2) O sea *la hermana de ellos* le taparon [...]. (Montes Rodríguez, 2009, p. 111)  
'And they covered their sister.'
- (3) *Lo* pintó a su bebé. (Montes Rodríguez, 2009, p. 110)  
'She drew him [her baby].'
- (4) Preparo *mi* arroz. (Montes Rodríguez, 2009, p. 114)  
'I prepare rice for me' (lit. 'I prepare my rice.')

While we acknowledge that these properties have been observed in non-contact and monolingual communities of the Spanish-speaking world, in our judgement, what sets apart the bilingual from the non-bilingual populations, at least in the study of Peruvian Amazonian Spanish, is frequency of use of the actual linguistic features, as well as the strength of effect of the independent variables influencing their use.

Ramírez-Cruz (2012, 2018) analyzes bilingual communities in Leticia and Puerto Nariño, Colombia. His data are from narratives elicited from 68 adult Tikuna-Spanish bilinguals. In the corpus, the author found the following distribution of third person pronominal objects: *le* 76% (2192/2888), *lo* 21% (619/2888), and *la* 3% (77/2888). 37.5% of all uses of *le* (822/2192) were *leísmo*. *Leísmo* was found to occur more with feminine co-referents than with male co-referents. Although much less frequent, the author did find cases of *loísmo*. Ramírez-Cruz holds that dialectal features (i.e. *leísmo* and *loísmo*) of Andean Spanish were brought to the Colombian Amazon by Peruvian *mestizos* during the rubber boom in the late 19th and early 20th centuries. Moreover, the author claims that these features arrived in Leticia and Puerto Nariño from Iquitos, Peru, which was the main enclave of the rubber industry in the Amazon (see Alexiades, 2009, for more on the history of this region).

Relevant to the current study, these population movements also impacted smaller communities, like Comandancia, resulting in the transition of Yagua speakers across Peru and Colombia. As such, similar morphosyntactic phenomena have been observed in contact varieties of Spanish in Peru. In their study of morphosyntactic properties of Amazonian Spanish among indigenous bilinguals who were living in Lima, Falcón Ccenta et al. (2012) also attest mismatches between the (direct) object and its co-indexed pronoun, including *leísmo* and lack of gender and number agreement between the pronominal clitic and the doubled object phrase. Caravedo (1997) conducted a comprehensive investigation of direct objects with 12 literate and illiterate monolingual Spanish speakers from the Loreto region. Results indicated that almost half (48%) of the total uses of *le* were instances of *leísmo* (120/249). However, of the 120 instances of *leísmo* in the corpus, 85% of these were from the illiterate group. Caravedo noted uses of *loísmo* but these were less common than *leísmo*. Sánchez & Mayer (this volume) test direct object marking and direct object pronouns among two bilingual Peruvian Amazonian Spanish groups, revealing the following distribution: for Ashéninka-Perené-Spanish Anaphoric: *le* (55%), *lo* (40%), *la* (5%) and for Shipibo-Spanish Anaphoric *le* (85%), *se* (7%), *lo* (5%), *la* (3%). These authors advance a proposal of feature reassembly and new morphological mappings that reflect the case marking properties of the indigenous languages.

In the current investigation, we analyze YS to explore the possibility that migration patterns have led to the spread of linguistic features from the Andes to the Peruvian Amazon, as well as within the Amazon from Colombia to Peru. While less work has been done on null objects and the present perfect in varieties of Amazonian Spanish, we included these in our investigation of YS given the geographical proximity and migration patterns noted between the Andes and Colombian, Brazilian, and Peruvian Amazon communities.

### 2.3 Andean Spanish

Within Peru, the variety of Spanish spoken in the Andes has drawn considerable attention (Coronel-Molina & Rodríguez-Mondoñedo, 2012). Escobar (2011, p. 331) provides an overview of morphosyntactic features of Andean Spanish. Among the more salient features are: omission of third person object clitics, particularly when answering questions or when the direct object (DO) undergoes left dislocation (5); animate *leísmo* (6); and the presence of a possessive determiner with its genitive phrase (7).

- (5) Al maestro Ø saludó en la plaza.  
 ‘He/she greeted the teacher in the plaza.’



- (6) Gritó que *les* había visto.  
‘He/she shouted that he/she had seen them.’
- (7) *Mi* chacra *de mí*.  
‘my ranch of me’.

Regarding the Present Perfect (PP) with non-canonical uses, Escobar (1997, pp. 861–863) notes that these can be spatial or temporal. For example, she includes the following excerpt (8) to show how the speaker uses the PP when reporting past events in their home community (Peruvian Andes) while they use the preterite for events relating to their current place of residence (Lima).

- (8) **yo he venido** de allá el año 72 / o sea pues ya estoy un poquito tiempos acá [más de 15 años] /.../ después que **he venido** m’ (he) ido de entre [después de] ocho años /siete años/ habré ido por allí / y así estuve allá / de allí todavía hasta ahora no voy.  
*‘I have come from over there in the year 72/ that is I am a little while here [more than 15 years at the time of the recording].../ after I have come I have gone between [after] eight years / seven years / I must have gone that way / and then I was over there /from then I still until now do not go.’*

Jara Yupanqui and Valenzuela (2013) also document a number of instances in which their participants from the Peruvian Amazon employed the PP in situations which would normally call for the preterite in other varieties of Peruvian Spanish. Given the aforementioned claim by Ramírez-Cruz (2012, 2018) that Spanish in the Peruvian Amazon shares properties with Spanish from the Andean region, we include these features in our analysis of YS, with the exception of double possession which we leave open for future investigation.<sup>1</sup>

## 2.4 Yagua language

Yagua is an indigenous language of the isolate Yaguan family (Payne, 1985). Payne and Payne (1990, p. 251) estimate that there are 30 communities of Yagua speakers in the Peruvian Amazon, scattered across 70,000 square miles extending slightly west of Iquitos to the eastern limits with Colombia and Brazil, and from the Putumayo river north of the Amazon to the Yavari south of the Amazon. According to Crevels (2012), there are about 3,500 remaining Yagua speakers; most of these speakers also speak Spanish to varying degrees. While a few isolated communities may still be monolingual, social and educational pressure has prescribed the use of Spanish

1. For a recent account of possessive doubling constructions in Peruvian Amazonian Spanish see Rodríguez-Mondoñedo & Fafulas (2016).

by the youngest generation. In particular, those communities in close proximity to major rivers and towns are increasingly bilingual or monolingual in Spanish (Payne, 2007). Thus, while there was a period of stable bilingualism, language shift toward Spanish is well underway in most communities. Recent fieldwork (p.c. D. Graham, Project Amazonas) suggests that the percentage of truly monolingual speakers of Yagua in Peru is approximately 10% (see below and Henriksen & Fafulas (2017) for more on bilingualism in the Yagua community observed in this study). Interviews obtained during fieldwork conducted by the first author in 2011 revealed that many Yaguas were marrying spouses from other cultures and were in relatively frequent contact with non-Yaguas in the Amazon. There is no clearly-established written system for Yagua.<sup>2</sup>

Yagua is highly inflectional, allows compounding, and multiple suffixes are frequently attached to a single verbal root. These suffixes typically mark features such as aspect, location, tense, and a number of semantic functions, such as potential and causative (Payne & Payne, 1990). Yagua is typically cited as a VSO language (Dryer, 1991). However, Payne notes that Yagua shares some properties which are typical of VO languages and others typical of OV languages (1986: 441).

Payne (2007) analyzes the Yagua nominal system and identifies 40 classifiers or morphemes (infix and suffix) that depict relationships such as animacy, shape, function and consistency. They are not obligatory nor must they agree inflectionally. Payne's data suggest that more than 70% of Yagua classifiers are derivational in nature and, thus, Yagua makes little use of independent syntactic adjectives or modifiers.

In a study of clitic doubling constructions in Yagua, Everett (1989) analyzed the word order of arguments in those utterances in which an object or a subject clitic doubles the respective overt phrase. Everett found that while a preverbal object occurs in clitics (i.e. object enclisis), when an overt object surfaces in the sentence it always follows the verb. In other words, Everett claims that overt preverbal objects are not attested in Yagua.

Free pronouns are rarely used given the preference for clitics in Yagua, a phenomenon also observed by Everett (1989). Yagua has Type I and Type II clitics. Type I clitics reference subjects and Type II clitics reference objects. Many forms overlap across these sets of clitics although the functions and distributions are different. A summary of the relevant object clitics for Yagua appear in Table 1 below.

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2. A Spanish-based orthography was developed by Paul Powlison in conjunction with the Peruvian Ministry of Education (Payne, 1985, p. 31).

Table 1. Object clitics in Yagua (Payne, 1985, p. 44)

	Singular	Dual		Plural	
		Inclusive	Exclusive	Inclusive	Exclusive
1st person	-ráy	-vúúy	nááy	-vúúy	núúy
2nd person	jíy		saadá		jiryéy
3rd person	-níí		naadá		ríy
Other	-rá	inanimate with no number distinction			
	-yú	index determined by co-reference with another participant in clause; not used for 1st person or 2nd person singular			
	-va or -íva	separate suffix to mark dative (DAT)			

Payne notes that objects are not mandatory in clauses with sufficient surrounding context (1985, p. 17). We interpret this to mean that object drop is relatively common in Yagua, as compared to Spanish. Third person singular object clitics are not differentiated for masculine vs. feminine gender (Payne, 1985, pp. 42–44). If Yagua speakers shifting to Spanish transfer these properties we would expect higher rates of non-expressed objects than typical of most Spanish varieties, as well as a lack of prototypical gender encoding of the referent in object clitics. When an object clitic precedes the object noun phrase it is attached to the preceding element thereby forming a phonological constituent with the preceding word and a syntactic constituent with the object noun phrase (NP) (9). Further, the dative (DAT) may be marked with a separate suffix *-va* or *-íva* (10). A single clitic (*-rá*) with no number distinction is used for all inanimate referents in Yagua (11). A number of pragmatic and syntactic factors create subject-object asymmetries in Yagua (Payne, 1985, p. 235). For example, *-yú* is not coded for person/number but takes its index from something else inside the clause.

- (9) sa-suuta Rospita-[níí Anita].  
 3SG-wash -3SG  
 ‘Rospita washes Anita.’ (Payne, 1985, p. 47)

- (10) Sų́tachiíva, munuuñu sííva ...  
 sa-jų́tay sa-íva, sa-íva  
 3SG-say 3SG-DAT savage 3SG-DAT  
 ‘He said to him, the savage (said) to him...’ (Payne, 1985, p. 129)

- (11) Sasąąñííra.  
 sa-sąąy-níí-ra.  
 3SG-give-3SG-INAN  
 ‘He gives it (to) him.’ (Payne, 1985, p. 50)

According to Payne (1985), reference to action previous to speech time is indicated by one of five suffixes: (i) immediate past, within a few hours of speech time *-jásiy* (PROX1), (ii) one day ago *-jáy* (PROX2), (iii) one to several weeks ago *-siy* (PAST1), (iv) between one to two months ago and one to two years ago *-tíy* (PAST2), and (v) distant or legendary past *-jada* (PAST3). Some clitics have aspectual overtones in Yagua. For example, the enclitic *-maa* is a true ‘perfect’; in the present tense it indicates a past situation with present relevance (12) and in the past tense it indicates a relation between a past state and an earlier situation (13). There is no morpheme in Yagua which is a true ‘perfective’, construing the situation as complete including beginning, middle and end. There is a morpheme that indicates an action is completed, the *-muuy* ‘completive’ suffix.

- (12) Naadasuutamuumyaa.  
 naada-suuta-muuy-maa  
 3SL-wash-COMPLT-PERF  
 ‘She has finished washing.’ (Payne, 1985, p. 249)
- (13) Rijyootaadaamaa murraayanu  
 riy-joota-jada-maa murraay-janu  
 3PL-begin-PAST3-PERF sing-INF  
 ‘They had begun to sing (long ago).’ (Payne, 1985, p. 249)

This brief review of morpho-syntax in Yagua makes clear the typological dissimilarities between this language and Spanish, thereby adding to the possible linguistic outcomes we might expect after a period of prolonged contact between these languages.

## 2.5 Yagua-Spanish contact

YS is a variety of Spanish with features of the substrate language as well as influence from other contact and monolingual varieties of Amazonian Spanish. In the area of the Amazon we observe, community members typically attend school until the eighth-grade level and have very limited access to monolingual speakers of more standard varieties of Spanish. Thus, YS speakers interact and receive input from speakers who have acquired Spanish naturalistically, at different ages, with varying degrees of education, most of whom come from a community where other languages are spoken (see O’Rourke & Fafulas, 2015, for a similar situation among Bora-Spanish bilingual communities in Peru). Further, the local, target variety of monolingual Spanish spoken in the Peruvian Amazonian hub of Iquitos, is characterized by a number of ‘non-standard’ morphological and phonological properties

(Escobar, 1978; Jara Yupanqui, 2012). Jara Yupanqui (2012) confirms that speakers in this region have little or no access to the more ‘standard’ or pan-Hispanic linguistic variants of Spanish dialects prevalent in the media, social, or political spheres of Peru. Thus, YS is the language used for interaction with non-Yagua communities which may share, reinforce, or introduce other non-pan-Hispanic features into the possible collection of available linguistic variants in the feature pool. Therefore, the origins of non-pan-Latin American features in YS are not easily teased apart. However, we will make a first attempt in this paper at detailing the linguistic properties of YS, and at uncovering their origins.

Henriksen and Fafulas (2017) compare measures of prosodic timing (i.e., segment-to-segment durational variability) among YS bilinguals living in Comandancia, Peru with those of monolingual Spanish speakers from the hub of the Peruvian Amazon, Iquitos. The authors explain that Yagua and Spanish have been in close contact for decades in the Peruvian Amazon, although the use of Yagua is currently declining. For the analysis, the authors separated their bilingual cohort based on proficiency in each language. Results showed that the Yagua-dominant bilinguals displayed greater segment-to-segment durational variability than Spanish-dominant bilinguals, who in turn evidenced greater durational variability than the Spanish monolinguals. In a subsequent study, Henriksen, Fafulas, and O’Rourke (to appear) explored intervocalic phonemic stop realization by Yagua-Spanish bilinguals. Their results showed that the Spanish-dominant bilinguals patterned more closely with Spanish monolingual controls from Iquitos, Peru than did the Yagua-dominant bilinguals. Both studies suggest that ethnically-dominant Yagua communities are shifting toward Spanish-like patterns of temporal variability and lenition of /p t k b d g/. We add to this previous work by observing the same group of speakers and analyzing several salient morphosyntactic features in the speech of Yagua-dominant and Spanish-dominant bilinguals in Comandancia. This might help us understand the extent to which shift has resulted in language change in this community, across the phonological and morpho-syntactic systems.

### 3. Methodology

#### 3.1 Research questions and hypotheses

We set out to test the extent to which morphosyntactic features of YS resemble other bilingual Spanish varieties in the Amazon basin and whether speakers with greater proficiency in Yagua evidence higher rates of Yagua-like grammatical patterns. The research questions guiding our investigation were as follows:

1. What are some salient morphosyntactic properties of YS, and are these evenly distributed among speakers with greater and lesser degrees of proficiency in Yagua?
2. To what degree does YS compare with what we know about other contact varieties of Spanish in the Amazon and Andes?
3. Are there common generalities among these contact varieties of Spanish and, if so, what are the possible origins of these similarities?

Given the typological differences between Yagua and Spanish<sup>3</sup> as well as the bilingual situation in Comandancia we formulated two main hypotheses for YS. *Hypothesis 1* predicts transfer from the substrate language, Yagua, in the outcomes of four linguistic variables in YS:

- *Hypothesis 1a (Object pronouns)*. 3rd Person object clitics in YS will display variable gender marking. While most standard Spanish dialects show distinction between masculine and feminine gender in the accusative (Table 2), we know from previous research that this distinction is not held in the Amazon region nor is it prevalent in Yagua (Payne, 1985, p. 44). Further, a single clitic with no number distinction is used for all inanimate referents in Yagua.

**Table 2.** Spanish object clitics (adapted from Montrul, 2004, p. 184)

	Accusative		Dative	
	Singular	Plural	Singular	Plural
1st person	me	nos	me	nos
2nd person	te	os	te	os
3rd person (masc.)	lo	los	le	les
3rd person (fem.)	la	las		
3rd person	se	se	se	

- *se* is used in singular or plural and as a reflexive or dative
- *os* is typical of European Spanish but not Latin-American varieties
- *Hypothesis 1b (Null direct objects)*. YS will show higher rates of null direct objects than typical of other Spanish varieties as Yagua does not mandatorily express objects when discourse would allow their recoverability.
- *Hypothesis 1c (Word order)*. YS will show more object fronting than commonly reported for Spanish given that Yagua shares properties typical of VO and OV languages (Payne, 1986).

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3. For overviews of Spanish morphosyntax see Díaz-Campos (2011), Hualde, Olarra & O'Rourke (2012), Silva-Corvalán & Enrique-Arias (2017).

- *Hypothesis 1d (Present Perfect)*. YS will show non-canonical uses of the PP given that in Yagua five distinct suffixes encode past time reference (from a few hours ago to distant past) but no suffix acts as a ‘perfective’ as in the Spanish preterite.

*Hypothesis 2* predicts that these morphosyntactic properties will be more evident among the Yagua-dominant bilinguals as compared to the Spanish-dominant bilinguals. This hypothesis finds some support in the work of Klee (2009) for Spanish in contact with indigenous languages in the Andes, Yucatan, and Paraguay, in that the younger generations were found to adopt more pan-Hispanic variants (see also Michnowicz, 2009, 2011). This is likely due to increased access to pan-Hispanic varieties of Spanish and higher levels of education among the younger generations in Latin America (e.g., Díaz-Campos, Fafulas, & Gradoville, 2011). While access to education is limited in the Peruvian Amazon due to its geographic location, schooling is primarily in Spanish and Spanish is taking over as the dominant language among the younger generation in this ethnically-Yagua bilingual community (see Henriksen & Fafulas, 2017; Henriksen, Fafulas, & O’Rourke, to appear).

### 3.2 Methods and participants

We analyzed 10 sociolinguistic interviews from bilingual YS speakers living in Comandancia, Peru, located along the Orosa river (or Río Orosa) approximately 150 river km. east of the capital city of the Loreto region, Iquitos (see Figure 1). Interviews were obtained by the first author as part of fieldwork conducted in the Peruvian Amazon in 2011. Loreto, in the Amazon lowlands of north-eastern Peru, is roughly the size of California, with a population approaching 1 million people. Iquitos is the largest city in the Peruvian Amazon with a population of approximately 500,000 people (see Project Amazonas website for further details: <http://www.projectamazonas.org/>).

Transportation and initial contact with participants for the study were facilitated through collaboration with Project Amazonas (<http://www.projectamazonas.org/>), a USA-Peruvian humanitarian, conservation, education, and non-profit organization. Since about 1994, members of Project Amazonas have been engaged in various collaborative efforts with Yagua communities in this region. Project Amazonas operates four field sites in the Peruvian Amazon. The data from this study come from the area surrounding their Madre Selva Biological Station (see Figure 2).

A survey conducted in 2010 by anthropologist Jim Riach (personal communication), working with the Yagua on a language revitalization project, indicated that there were 127 members living in the area which we visited for the current study (Figure 3). Thus, our sample of 10 Yagua-Spanish bilingual speakers, albeit a relatively small cohort, represents nearly 8% of the Comandancia population.





**Figure 1.** Map of the greater geographic area where data collection occurred. Bilingual data are from Comandancia, an ethnically-Yagua community, marked with a blue-filled star found along the Orosa River to the east of Iquitos in the Peruvian Amazon



**Figure 2.** Map of the four Project Amazonas field sites. Data for the current study come from the area surrounding their Madre Selva Biological Station (orange oval)

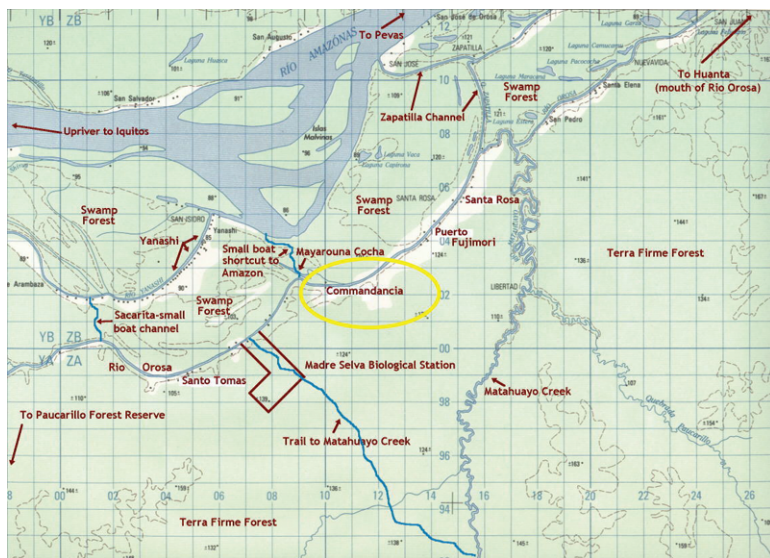


Figure 3. Map of the geographic area where Comandancia (yellow oval) is located

The data from the current study consist of sociolinguistic interviews, oral film narrations, and language profiles. Interviews were obtained by the first author, in collaboration with the president of the Federation of the Yagua People from Río Orosa, who is a Yagua-Spanish bilingual and native of the Loreto Amazon region. All interviews were conducted in Spanish and lasted between 15 and 45 minutes, covering a range of topics, including: community norms; problems and changes in the past 10 to 20 years; educational opportunities; languages spoken in the home and community; as well as attitudes toward other indigenous communities and languages. All participants orally answered questions related to their age of acquisition, daily use, and schooling in each language, leading to the creation of language profiles. After each sociolinguistic interview, participants were invited to narrate the Pear Stories Film (Chafe, 1980) in Spanish and Yagua. Interviews were recorded with a Tascam digital recorder and a Dynex DX-840 head-mounted microphone. All interviews were transcribed, coded for the linguistic variables listed in the next section, and analyzed using SPSS statistical software.

Our sample for the current study includes 8 male and 2 female speakers, ranging from 29 to 67 years of age, with an average age of 46. These participants represent diverse years and situations of schooling; however, most speakers have received an eighth-grade level of education or less. Following procedures established in Henriksen and Fafulas (2017), Henriksen, Fafulas, & O'Rourke (to appear), as well as guidelines on language dominance in Flege (2007) and Silva-Corvalán

& Treffers-Daller (2016), we separated our speakers into two cohorts: “Yagua-dominant” and “Spanish-dominant”. These classifications were based on participants’ self-reports of their ages of acquisition of Spanish and Yagua, reports of proficiency in each language, and educational backgrounds. In general, the older speakers in our group are those more dominant in Yagua (2 females and 3 males; age range = 51–67 years old) while the younger speakers are more dominant in Spanish (5 males; age range = 29–38 years old), reflecting ongoing language shift in the community. The Yagua-dominant speakers reported regular use of Yagua with similarly-aged community members and Spanish with younger generations, whereas the Spanish-dominant group learned both languages in childhood but retained only receptive knowledge of Yagua and used Spanish almost entirely in every-day interactions. In what follows, we include excerpts from two different interviews which are representative of the information that speakers offered about their language use and that of the community as a whole.

(14) 29-year-old Spanish-dominant bilingual male:

Interviewer (I) ¿Y allá aprendiste yagua, en la escuela?

Speaker (S) En la escuela no

I ¿No? ¿No te enseñaban?

S No

I ¿Tus padres hablan yagua?

S Sí, mij padre hablan yagua

I ¿Tú hablas yagua?

S Hablo un, un, un poco

...

I Y hoy en día, ¿con quiénes hablas castellano?

S Yo ahorita hablo con cualquiera. El q.. el que le entiende. Con lo que entiende yo hablo

I Pero digamos, la gente de tu edad o joven, más jóvenes, ¿hablan yagua?

S No, no. No, no, no, no, /no, n.. /

Interviewer (I) *And your learned Yagua there, in school?*

Speaker (S) *No, not in school.*

I *No? They didn't teach you (Yagua)?*

S *No*

I *Do your parents speak Yagua?*

S *Yes, my parents speak Yagua.*

I *Do you speak Yagua?*

S *I speak a little bit.*

I *A little bit.*

...

*I And nowadays, who do you speak Spanish with?*

*S Now I speak (Spanish) with anybody. Whoever understands it. With whoever understands it, I speak it.*

*I But, let's see, people your age or younger, do they speak Yagua?*

*S No, no. No, no, no, no, /no, n.. /*

(15) 60-year-old Yagua-dominant bilingual male:

*Interviewer (I) Tú no recuerdas el momento en que toditos hablaban puro Yagua?*

*Speaker (S) Sí. Así er(a) antes.*

*I Antes. ¿Cuándo?*

*S Ahora, ya pue(s) no- todo(s) los... los yagua(s), ya- ya tiene sus mujere(s) que no, no, no hablan el idioma, ya. De esa manera cambio. Ya no... a vec(es) no se habla Yagua con mi enseña... ya con nuestro(s) hijos en idioma. D(e) esa maner(a) no... no aprenden po(co).*

...

*I Y ¿Dónde aprendiste el castellano?*

*S Acá mi(s)ma, ya. Cuando me ido- cuando yo estaba en el colegio recién priende un poco.*

*I Pero no terminaste con la primaria.*

*S No.*

*I Secundaria, no, nada.*

*S Primera gradita, no má(s) me queda, no podía más.*

*I Y allí, aprendiste un poco.*

*S Un poco, po(co).*

*Interviewer (I) Do you remember the time when everybody spoke Yagua?*

*Speaker (S) Yes, that's how it was before.*

*I Before. When?*

*S Now, not anymore. All the Yaguas are married to women who do not speak the language. That's how it changed. Not anymore... sometimes nobody speaks Yagua, and it is not taught to our children. So, they cannot learn, very little.*

...

*I And where did you learn Spanish?*

*S Right here. When I went, when I was in school, I learned a little.*

*I But you didn't finish grade school.*

*S No.*

*I And you didn't go to high school.*

*S Just first grade, only; I couldn't study more.*

*I And there you learned a little bit.*

*S A little bit.*

As is evident from these exchanges, speakers in Comandancia encompass a broad continuum of Yagua-Spanish proficiency. Older speakers learned Spanish more often as adults and naturalistically while younger speakers received more formal input and exposure during childhood.

### 3.3 Linguistic factors

Based on our review of the previous literature, as well as the typological differences between Spanish and Yagua, we selected a number of linguistic factors to explore in our preliminary investigation of YS. These factors and an explanation of the coding for each follows.<sup>4</sup>

#### 3.3.1 *Direct objects*

For the analysis of direct objects (DOs), we coded all expressed objects (NPs and pronominal clitics) for their surface form (e.g. *le, lo, la*), syntactic function, as well as animacy, definiteness, and specificity of the object. Animate DOs are human or non-human animate referents. Definite DOs refer to an animate or inanimate entity that is previously defined and delimited within the context of the discourse (von Heusinger & Kasiser, 2003); definite DOs are often introduced by a definite determiner. All definite DOs are considered specific. Indefinite DOs refer to entities that are not defined or delimited within the context of the discourse; indefinite DOs usually consist of plural bare nominals or are introduced by an indefinite determiner. Indefinite DOs are further distinguished according to specificity: specific indefinite DOs are entities that although not previously delimited in the discourse refer to a concrete referent, while non-specific indefinite DOs refer to entities not delimited in the previous discourse, lacking a concrete referent. Those instances in which the DO surfaces as a pronominal clitic are coded as definite (and thus specific), since Spanish, as opposed to other Romance languages, lacks an object clitic to refer to non-definite referents.

The following examples from our corpus of YS illustrate the coding of DOs used in the study.

(16) Animate object:

A mí tengo tres hijos.

‘Me, I have three children.’

(Male, 31)

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4. See chapters and references in Clements & Yoon (2006), Díaz-Campos (2011), and Hualde, Olarrea, & O’Rourke (2012) for further discussion of the linguistic factors discussed here.

- (17) Inanimate object:  
Un profesor que enseñe nuestro lingüística. (Male, 29)  
'A teacher who teaches our language.'
- (18) Definite object:  
Ahí está cosechando sus frutas. (Male, 29)  
'There he is, harvesting his fruits.'
- (19) Indefinite object:  
Vamos a tener algunos puntos que nosotros necesitamos. (Female, 46)  
'We will have some issues that we need.'
- (20) Specific object:  
Y eso van a venir (a) co[c]inar. (Female, 46)  
'And they are coming to cook this.'
- (21) Non-specific object:  
Hacemos una asamblea, este, general. (Male, 37)  
'We are having a general meeting.'

### 3.3.2 Null direct objects

Null DOs are infrequent in monolingual varieties of Spanish except in instances where the pronominal is directly recoverable or serves as the DO of bare plurals and mass nouns (Clements & Yoon, 2006). Null DOs are permissible in Brazilian Portuguese (Schwenter & Silva, 2002) and have been reported as characteristic of bilingual or contact-varieties of Spanish (e.g., Choi, 2000 for Paraguayan Spanish). Reig (2009) also observed the behavior of anaphoric DOs in corpora from Spain and Mexico and found considerable null DOs in the analysis of Mexican Spanish due to a number of fixed phrases such as *no (lo/Ø) sé* 'I don't know'. Reig discovered that the presence of a dative pronoun, monotransitive clauses, and an interrogative antecedent all favored null DOs.

We first isolated all transitive clauses. Next, we reviewed each Verbal Phrase (VP) and created a category for null DOs when no pronoun or NP was expressed, and another category for expressed DOs. Lastly, we coded all expressed DOs for [+/-] animacy, definiteness, and specificity. In Brazilian Portuguese, [+animate] and [+specific] anaphoric DOs are commonly expressed phonologically, while DOs lacking these linguistic features are more readily dropped (Schwenter, 2006). In standard Spanish, the determining linguistic factor is [+/-] specific whereby only non-specific DOs should allow non-overt realization (Clements & Yoon, 2006; Schwenter, 2006). Therefore, we assumed that if the expressed DOs were highly specific in our corpus of YS, it was likely that the non-expressed DOs were much lower on the specificity scale.

The following are examples of non-expressed DOs from our corpus of YS.



- (22) Todos necesitamos trabajo para poder tener. (Male, 29)  
 ‘We all need work so we can have [Ø].’
- (23) Cuando no tienen ya. (Male, 38)  
 ‘When they don’t have [it] anymore.’

### 3.3.3 *Object topicalization*

While not rigid, canonical Spanish word order is (S)VO. A number of reports of higher than expected object initial phrases for contact-varieties of Spanish, particularly Andean Spanish, have been given (e.g., Clements, 2009; Escobar, 2011; Muysken, 1984; Ocampo & Klee, 1995). In monolingual varieties of Spanish, the movement of objects to preverbal position is pragmatically motivated (Ocampo, 1994). DOs whose referent is focal, topic or the focus of a contrast are more likely to be fronted, resulting in OV order. In bilingual communities in which Spanish and Quechua are in contact, the main reason given for OV order is the underlying word order of Quechua, an OV language (see Klee, Tight, & Caravedo, 2011). Thus, while OV order is not restricted in Spanish, high OV frequencies have been attributed to contact-induced change.

We tallied all NPs and pronominal forms with their corresponding VPs. If the object was found in initial position and preceded the verb we coded it as object topicalization. Further, following the work of López Meirama (2006) who suggests that animacy and specificity are key factors in word order variation of two-argument constructions in Spanish, we checked whether animacy and specificity of the referent were influential in those instances where the object was moved to preverbal position.

The following is an example of a topicalized object from our corpus of YS.

- (24) Eso les enseñan. (Male, 60)  
 ‘They teach them this.’

### 3.3.4 *Extended/non-canonical use of present perfect*

The Present Perfect (PP) in Peruvian Spanish shows a high rate of non-typical uses (Examples (25) and (26) below) as compared to other varieties of Latin American Spanish. This behavior has been posited as a result of contact with Quechua (Caravedo & Klee, 2012; Escobar, 1997; Jara Yupanqui, 2013; Rodríguez Louro & Howe, 2010). For the analysis, we first identified all morphological verbal endings in the past tense (e.g. preterite, imperfect, present perfect, etc.). Next, we isolated all instances of the PP and determined whether each was more canonical or less canonical based on previous accounts of standard Spanish and typological research (e.g., Bybee, Perkins, & Pagliuca, 1994; Comrie, 1976). These references indicate that perfective aspect conveys a situation viewed as temporally bounded, and thus



more easily paired with the preterite in Spanish, while perfect aspect encodes a past situation viewed as currently relevant, more typically associated with the PP in Spanish. A number of authors have pointed to the non-canonical and ‘extended use’ functions of the PP in Peruvian Spanish (see references in Dumont, 2013; Escobar, 1997, 2011; Howe, 2013; Jara Yupanqui, 2013). Based on this previous scholarship, we coded those instances in which the participants in the study use the PP to refer to events that fall beyond the immediate past, delimited by the same time frame as the moment of speech, as non-canonical or ‘extended use’. This is similar to the type of PP use found in Spain, the Andes, and other parts of Peru; thus, we coded for this variable in our corpus in order to see how YS compares to these other varieties of Spanish. Further, we coded for the inherent semantics of the VP, using Vendler’s (1967) categorization of stative, activity, accomplishment, and achievement, to evaluate the extent to which these extended functions of the PP have spread across all lexical aspectual classes.

The following examples taken from our YS corpus illustrate non-canonical/extended uses of the PP. In (25), the simple past or preterite would be more common for delimiting a specific action (*terminar*, ‘finish’) in the past. In (26), the participant uses *he tenido edad de once años* ‘I have had eleven years old’, instead of the more anticipated imperfect form *tenía*.

- (25) Solamente **hemos terminado** tres nuestra secundaria. (Male, 38)  
 ‘Only three of us finished high school.’
- (26) Interviewer Y hoy en día ¿cuándo aprendiste el castellano tú?  
 ‘And nowadays, how did you learn Spanish?’  
 Participant Bueno yo aprendí el castellano cuando **he tenido** edad de once años, sí. (Female, 46)  
 ‘Well, I learned Spanish when I was eleven.’

#### 4. Results

We now present our results for the previously-described morphosyntactic variables. First, we highlight the production of *leísmo* in this YS speech community. Next, we briefly discuss the non-expression of direct objects in the data. From there, we move to an analysis of object topicalization. Finally, we document the extension of the present perfect (PP) in YS. For each of these linguistic characteristics, we present the results from the two sub-groups surveyed in our study, Yagua-dominant and Spanish-dominant bilinguals. For this preliminary observation of findings, we present token counts, percentages, and results of chi-squares to show the level of significance for each factor and subgroup. In future analyses, we plan to incorporate regression models to explore the results in greater detail.

#### 4.1 Object expression and *leísmo*

Table 3 reveals the overall occurrence of 3rd person objects according to syntactic function in our YS corpus. 35 of the 46 (76.1%) appearances of the pronominal clitic *le(s)* were used with an accusative function by the Yagua-dominant group, and 92 of 115 (80%) instances of *le(s)* were used with an accusative function by the Spanish-dominant group. There were no instances of *laísmo* in our YS corpus and very few instances of *loísmo* (a single instance by each group). Regardless of syntactic function, *le(s)* is the predominant object clitic among the Yagua-dominant bilinguals (46/51, 90.2%), while the Spanish-dominant group has a more extensive pronominal system which includes *le(s)* (115/152, 75.7%) and *lo(s)* (35/152, 23%).

**Table 3.** 3rd person object pronouns (singular and plural combined) by semantic function, Yagua-dominant vs. Spanish-dominant bilinguals, percentages in parentheses (%)

Group	Case	LO	LA	LE
Yagua-dominant	Dative	1/2 (50)	0	11/46 (23.9)
	Accusative	1/2 (50)	3/3 (100)	35/46 (76.1)
Spanish-dominant	Dative	1/35 (2.9)	0	23/115 (20)
	Accusative	34/35 (97.1)	2/2 (100)	92/115 (80)

Table 4 presents the distribution of object pronouns by accusative case only. We combined instances of *lo(s)* and *la(s)* into a single category given the low overall rate of *la(s)* in the corpus. Table 4 confirms that *leísmo* is quite robust among the YS speakers in our sample, with an overall rate of 76% (127/167). *Leísmo* appears to be the default DO pronoun among the Yagua-dominant speakers, reaching a rate of nearly 90%, while canonical uses of *lo* and *la* with a DO function are higher among the Spanish-dominant bilinguals.

**Table 4.** 3rd person pronouns (singular and plural combined) by accusative case only, Yagua-dominant vs. Spanish-dominant bilinguals, percentages in parentheses (%)

	LO/LA	LE
Yagua-dominant	4/39 (10.3)	35/39 (89.7)
Spanish-dominant	36/128 (28.1)	92/128 (71.9)

A chi-square reveals a statistically significant association between bilingual group (Yagua-dominant vs. Spanish-dominant) and DO form by accusative case (*lo(s)/la(s)*, *le(s)*),  $X^2(1, N = 167) = 5.240, p = .022$ .

Lastly, Table 5 displays the distribution of accusative object pronouns and the animacy of the referent by bilingual group. The Yagua-dominant speakers employ

*le(s)* categorically with [+] animate referents and 81.8% of the time with inanimate referents. The Spanish-dominant speakers used *le(s)* at a rate of 80.5% with animate referents and 67.8% with inanimate referents.

**Table 5.** 3rd person accusative object pronouns (singular and plural combined) by animacy, Yagua-dominant vs. Spanish-dominant bilinguals, percentages in parentheses (%)

Group	Referent	LO/LA	LE
Yagua-dominant	Animate	0	17/17 (100)
	Inanimate	4/22 (18.2)	18/22 (81.8)
Spanish-dominant	Animate	8/41 (19.5)	33/41 (80.5)
	Inanimate	28/87 (32.2)	59/87 (67.8)

#### 4.2 (Non)expression of direct objects

Table 6 presents the findings for expressed vs. non-expressed DOs, including pronouns and NPs, for transitive VPs. In our YS corpus, the DO did not surface phonologically in 31.9% (544/1707) of the transitive phrases.

**Table 6.** Transitive verbs and (non)expressed DOs, Yagua-dominant vs. Spanish-dominant bilinguals, percentages in parentheses (%)

	Expressed	Non-expressed
Yagua-dominant	422/636 (66.4)	214/636 (33.6)
Spanish-dominant	741/1071 (69.2)	330/1071 (30.8)

Although the Yagua-dominant group shows a slightly higher rate of non-expressed DOs than the Spanish-dominant bilinguals, a chi-square reveals that the association between bilingual group and object expression is not significant.

Table 7 displays the results for expressed DOs based on specificity of the referent. For both groups, expressed DOs are more likely to be specific than non-specific. Thus, we assume that non-expressed DOs in YS are more likely to be those with a non-specific referent.

**Table 7.** Specificity of expressed DOs, Yagua-dominant vs. Spanish-dominant bilinguals, percentages in parentheses (%)

	Specific	Non-specific
Yagua-dominant	325/422 (77)	97/422 (23)
Spanish-dominant	620/741 (83.7)	121/741 (16.3)

A chi-square reveals a statistically significant association between bilingual group (Yagua-dominant, Spanish-dominant) and specificity of the object referent (specific, non-specific),  $X^2(1, N = 1163) = 7.822, p = .005$ .

### 4.3 Direct object placement and topicalization

Table 8 presents the findings for object topicalization in our YS corpus. Of the total 958 DO phrases, 899 (93.8%) surfaced in post-verbal position. In contrast, only 59 (6.2%) expressed DOs appeared in preverbal position.

**Table 8.** Object topicalization, Yagua-dominant vs. Spanish-dominant bilinguals, with percentages in parentheses (%)

	Topicalized	Non-topicalized
Yagua-dominant	22/354 (6.2)	332/354 (93.8)
Spanish-dominant	37/604 (6.1)	567/604 (93.9)

Table 9 reveals that object topicalization is much more likely to occur when the DO is [+] definite. This trend is consistent across the Yagua-dominant (81.8%) and Spanish-dominant (83.3%) cohorts.

**Table 9.** Object topicalization by definiteness, Yagua-dominant vs. Spanish-dominant bilinguals, percentages in parentheses (%)

	Definite	Indefinite
Yagua-dominant	18/22 (81.8)	4/22 (18.2)
Spanish-dominant	31/37 (83.8)	6/37 (16.2)

The results for specificity of the referent were identical to those in Table 9 for definiteness, given that in our corpus all definite referents were also specific.

Table 10 shows that, regardless of language dominance, inanimate DO phrases are much more likely to be moved to pre-verbal position than are animate DO phrases.

**Table 10.** Object topicalization by animacy, Yagua-dominant vs. Spanish-dominant bilinguals, percentages in parentheses (%)

	Animate	Inanimate
Yagua-dominant	1/22 (4.5)	21/22 (95.5)
Spanish-dominant	2/37 (5.4)	35/37 (94.6)

#### 4.4 Present Perfect

Table 11 indicates that speakers in the YS corpus employed the Present Perfect (PP) form in 27.5% of all contexts encoding past time reference. The Spanish-dominant group used this form for 35% of all events referenced in the past, while the Yagua-dominant group used the PP form in 17.1% of all events referenced in the past.

**Table 11.** Present Perfect vs. other past tense forms, Yagua-dominant vs. Spanish-dominant bilinguals, percentages in parentheses (%)

	Present perfect	Other past-tense forms
Yagua-dominant	39/228 (17.1)	189/228 (82.9)
Spanish-dominant	111/317 (35)	206/317 (65)

A chi-square reveals a statistically significant association between bilingual group (Yagua-dominant, Spanish-dominant) and past-tense form (PP, other),  $X^2(1, N = 545) = 21.326, p = .000$ .

Table 12 indicates that 52.7% (79/150) of the total PP instances included an extended reference meaning. The Yagua-dominant speakers employed the PP with an extended reference meaning at a rate of 69.2% and the Spanish-dominant group at a rate of 46.8%.

**Table 12.** Instances of PP by (non)extended use, Yagua-dominant vs. Spanish-dominant bilinguals, with percentages in parentheses (%)

	Extended	Non-extended
Yagua-dominant	27/39 (69.2)	12/39 (30.8)
Spanish-dominant	52/111 (46.8)	59/111 (53.2)

A chi-square reveals a statistically significant association between bilingual group (Yagua-dominant vs. Spanish-dominant) and PP use (extended, non-extended),  $X^2(1, N = 150) = 5.801, p = .016$ .

Table 13 displays the distribution of PP with an extended function by lexical aspectual type in YS. The Yagua-dominant bilinguals use the PP form with an extended reference meaning more than 50% of the time across all lexical aspectual classes, with Activity and Achievement predicates being the highest at 75% and 78.9% respectively. Conversely, the Spanish-dominant bilinguals only show extended uses of the PP more than 50% of the time with Stative and Accomplishment verbs, and only 13.3% and 31.4% with Activity and Achievement predicates respectively.

**Table 13.** Extended-use PP by lexical aspectual type, Yagua-dominant vs. Spanish-dominant bilinguals, extended use percentages in parentheses (%)

	Stative	Activity	Accomplishment	Achievement
Yagua-dominant	3/6 (50)	3/4 (75)	6/10 (60)	15/19 (78.9)
Spanish-dominant	14/22 (63.6)	2/15 (13.3)	25/39 (64.1)	11/35 (31.4)

A chi-square for the Yagua-dominant group reveals that the association between lexical aspectual type and PP meaning (extended, canonical) is not significant. A chi-square for the Spanish-dominant group reveals a statistically significant association between lexical aspectual type (stative, activity, accomplishment, achievement) and PP meaning (extended, canonical),  $X^2(3, N = 111) = 17.261, p = .001$ .

## 5. Discussion

Our study documents a number of morphosyntactic phenomena in a corpus of YS, produced by 10 bilinguals from an ethnically-Yagua community in the Peruvian Amazon. Specifically, we observed (i) pronominal distribution by syntactic function, (ii) the (non-) expression of direct objects (DOs), (iii) DO topicalization and, finally, (iv) extended reference uses of the Present Perfect (PP). The findings will now be discussed in light of the research questions, hypotheses, and previous scholarship on contact varieties of Spanish, particularly those from the Amazon basin and Peruvian Andes.

Our findings classify YS as a *leísta* dialect. 78.9% (127/161) of all instances of *le(s)* in the YS corpus surfaced with an accusative function. Further, a chi-square revealed that the Yagua-dominant bilinguals employed significantly more instances of *leísmo* than the Spanish-dominant speakers. *Lo(s)/la(s)* with a DO function surfaced significantly more among the Spanish-dominant bilinguals indicating that this group incorporates more of a prototypical pronominal system while the Yagua-dominant bilinguals default to *le* for most functions. However, even the rate of *leísmo* among the Spanish-dominant bilinguals is higher than what has been recorded for most other contact varieties of Spanish in Latin America. We also observed that the Yagua-dominant speakers showed categorical use of *le(s)* with animate DOs and up to 81.8% with inanimate referents. The Spanish-dominant speakers used *le(s)* at a rate of 80.5% with animate DOs and 67.8% with inanimate referents.

*Leísmo* is more prevalent in European varieties of Spanish than those across continental Spanish America which typically follow the etymological system (Klee & Caravedo, 2006, p. 105). *Le* with animate male referents is accepted by the Real

Academia de la Lengua Española, while its use with inanimate and feminine referents is deemed non-standard. Parodi, Luna & Helmer (2012) assert that since the 20th century *leísmo* has become non-standard in Latin-American Spanish, in both oral and written form, except in bilingual rural zones and those in contact with indigenous languages, such as in the Andes and Amazon. YS shows frequent non-standard uses of *le*:

- (27) With feminine direct objects:

*Y le maltrata a la persona que trae esas cosas.* (Female,46)

‘And he mistreats the person who brings those things.’

- (28) With inanimate direct objects:

*Algunas palabras sí les pronuncian, pero no todo(s).*

‘They can speak a few words, but not many.’ (Male, 38)

Andean Spanish is known for a high presence of *leísmo* (Paredes & Valdez, 2008). In addition, contact varieties of Spanish in the Amazon basin, both in Peru and neighboring countries, manifest this phenomenon (Jara Yupanqui, 2012; Montes Rodríguez, 2009). In a corpus of 15 speakers of Andean Spanish living in Lima, as well as the speech of their children and a control group of limeño Spanish speakers, Klee & Caravedo (2006) found that *le* was never used by native limeño Spanish speakers with inanimate DOs while it occurred at a rate of 22% among the Andean Spanish group and 11% among their children. *Leísmo* reached an overall rate of 4% among the native limeños, 22% for the Andean Spanish speakers, and 20% among their children. In the Amazon region, reports of *leísmo* have been higher than those for Andean Spanish. Ramírez-Cruz (2012, 2018) reported a 37.5% rate of *leísmo* in his corpus of 68 adult Tikuna-Spanish bilinguals in the Colombian Amazon. Caravedo (1997) indicated that *le* was used 48% of the time by monolingual Spanish speakers from Loreto Peru.

Klein-Andreu (1992, p. 171) holds that in certain varieties of Peninsular Spanish *leísmo* is virtually complete for masculine animate DOs and very advanced for masculine inanimate DOs (as cited in Clements & Yoon, 2006, p. 139). In the oral speech of professional women, there was a 92% use of *le* with animate referents and 43% with inanimate referents. Among the rural speakers in the corpus, rates reached 100% with animate and 76% with inanimate referents. Thus, the rates of *leísmo* found in our analysis of YS are more in line with those reported for Spain than Latin America.

The high percentage of *leísmo* in YS could be reflective of Spanish varieties that are situated in more remote locations of the Amazon than those observed by previous scholars (e.g., Caravedo, 1997). We leave this open for future investigation. A confounding factor is influence from the substrate language, Yagua,



which does not differentiate for gender in third person singular object clitics and has an invariant clitic (-rá) with no number distinction for all inanimate referents (Payne, 1985). Yagua uses a separate suffix to mark dative case (-*va* or -*íva*). Regarding the influence of Spanish from the Andes, while it is possible that *leísmo* was introduced in the Peruvian Amazon by speakers of Andean Spanish, it is noteworthy that neither *loísmo* (*lo(s)* as a dative), nor the archmorpheme *lo*, appear to be widespread in this region, which are commonly reported for Andean Spanish (Klee & Caravedo, 2005).

The next variable that we examined was null DOs in YS. In our corpus of YS, 31.9% of all transitive verbs did not surface with an overtly expressed DO. This rate of null DOs is higher than that reported for other varieties of Spanish in South America, and more closely resembles rates of DO drop in Brazilian Portuguese (Clements & Yoon, 2006; Lipski, 1994; Schwenter, 2006). Paredes (1996) observed that Quechua-Spanish bilinguals omitted DOs in relation to their overall proficiency in Spanish. Overall results showed a 16% rate of object drop. Null DOs have also been reported in the Peruvian Amazon for Shipibo Spanish (9%) and Ashéninka-Perené-Spanish (3%) (Sánchez & Mayer, this volume). Still, these rates are lower than those observed in YS.

Our results for specificity of the referent in expressed DOs revealed that 78.4% of all expressed DOs were [+ specific]. This is in line with the predictions of Schwenter (2006) in that the more specific the referent the more likely it is for the DO to be expressed. Also, there is an important link between the high rate of DO drop in YS and its classification as a strong *leísta* dialect. Schwenter (2006, p. 27) observes that null objects frequently arise in *leísta* dialects as the ditransitive pronominal construction *se lo(s)/la(s)* is commonly expressed as *le*  $\emptyset$  with a null DO clitic. Schwenter holds that this is part of a process whereby the dative clitic pronoun *le* claims the accusative function and brings *leísmo* to conclusion. Regarding influence from other languages, we have already mentioned the typological distinction between Spanish and Yagua, potentially leading to the high rates of DO drop in YS. Still, another consideration has to do with the relatively close proximity of Yagua communities to Brazil. While we do not have specific numbers as to the extent of contact between the Comandancia community and Brazilian Portuguese speakers, we do know that Portuguese was among the languages that played a role in the formation of Peruvian Amazonian Spanish (Jara Yupanqui, 2012).

Regarding object topicalization, YS displayed a low rate of OV(S) order (6.2%). Ocampo (1989) found that in monolingual Spanish from Buenos Aires, OV order surfaced about 6 percent of the time. In their analysis of bilingual Spanish spoken in Calca, Peru, where Quechua co-exists alongside Spanish, Ocampo and Klee (1995) reported that OV order occurred at a rate of close to 13% among the

Spanish-dominant bilinguals and 38% among the Quechua-dominant bilinguals. The frequency of OV order in our corpus of YS is much more in line with that reported for monolingual Spanish than Andean/bilingual Quechua-Spanish. As well, it appears that YS speakers are following some of the same discourse motivations highlighted in the literature. Our analysis showed that 83.1% of all topicalized phrases in our YS corpus were in reference to a [+ specific], [+ definite] NP. Previous work (see Givón, 1984, 1990; López Meirama, 2006) has pointed to the tendency for definite referents to occupy a more topical position in discourse. Everett (1989) claims that Yagua is SVO, not VSO. Thus, it may be that this word order typology contributed to the lower object topicalization than that reported for other contact-induced Spanish varieties (e.g., Clements, 2009; Muysken, 1984).

The last morphosyntactic variable that we analyzed in the YS corpus was extended use of the Present Perfect (PP), in referencing events in the remote past across all lexical aspectual classes (statives, activities, accomplishments, achievements). The extended use of the PP in YS, in which this form serves as a marker of completed action in the past, and replaces the preterite and imperfect forms, has been one of the primary features used to distinguish dialects within the Spanish-speaking world (see Howe & Schwenter, 2008; Schwenter & Torres Cacoullos, 2008, and references therein). Peruvian Spanish, and in particular Andean Spanish, has already been highlighted as a variety that shows non-canonical uses and advanced grammaticalization of the PP as compared to other South American Spanish dialects (Howe & Schwenter, 2003).

In Andean Spanish, as a result of contact with Quechua, the PP is used with non-canonical functions (e.g., Escobar, 1997). In YS, we also find PP uses that are not typical of non-contact varieties of Spanish:

- (29) *Yo he conoci(d)o...*  
 ‘I have known...’ (Male, 60)
- (30) *Desde allá yo he empezado de hablar*  
 ‘Since then I started speaking’ (Male, 66)

Klee and Ocampo (1995) studied data from Quechua-Spanish bilinguals living near Cuzco, Peru and found that the PP was often used to highlight events that the speaker had witnessed or experienced him or herself. They posited that the evidentiality requirements coded in the Quechua verbal system had been transferred to the Spanish of these bilingual speakers. YS manifests a high frequency of extended uses of the PP (79 of 150 PP tokens, 52.7%). In the data analyzed, YS speakers employed PP forms to refer to remote past events (with no relevance to the present) (cf. Howe & Schwenter, 2003), as well as with telic predicates (i.e. achievements and accomplishments) that would normally favor the preterite. These extended uses of the PP were more frequent among the Yagua-dominant bilinguals and more

robustly spread across the entire lexical aspectual paradigm as compared to their Spanish-dominant counterparts.

In a corpus of sociolinguistic interviews with first generation, second generation, and native limeños, all living in Lima, Peru, Rojas-Sosa (2008) found that 62.5% of all past-tense tokens by the first-generation group were uses of the PP where the preterite or the imperfect would be expected in other non-contact Latin American Spanish dialects. By the second generation this use decreased to 29.2% and the native limeños only showed 5.6% of these non-standard PP uses. It is possible, as suggested by Ramírez-Cruz (2012, 2018), that the higher than average rate of the PP in Andean Spanish has influenced the Spanish of the Peruvian Amazon. While we do not have data as to the extent of contact between YS speakers from Comandancia and Andean Spanish speakers, we do know that the PP has been reported with extended functions in other investigations of Peruvian Amazonian Spanish (Jara Yupanqui & Valenzuela, 2013). Further, a number of authors have pointed to the influence of Quechua in the formation of Peruvian Amazonian Spanish (Emlen, this volume; Marticorena, 2010; Ramírez, 2003; Zariquiey, 2006). Another potentially confounding factor has to do with the substrate language of the bilingual YS speakers, Yagua, which employs derivational affixes with distinct time references in the past (Payne, 1985). While we are not able to discern with certainty which of these factors accounts for the high PP use in YS, we did show that the Yagua-dominant bilinguals employed these extended functions of the PP more than the Spanish-dominant bilinguals in our corpus.

We now return to the research questions and hypotheses which guided the current investigation. Regarding the first research question that sought to identify some of the most prominent features of YS morphosyntax, we can include *leísmo*, null DOs, relatively strict (S)VO order, and extended uses of the PP in our inventory. The second research question examined the extent to which YS differed from, or mirrored, other Spanish varieties in the Amazon basin. To this, we can assert that restructuring of the pronominal system, including *leísmo*, and null DOs, have been reported for other varieties in the Amazon region as well as for bilingual varieties of Spanish near Brazil (e.g., Montes Rodríguez, 2009; Schwenter, 2006). At the same time, differences in word order set YS apart from Andean Spanish. Hypothesis 1 predicted influence from the substrate language Yagua in shaping the linguistic variables under analysis in the corpus of YS. Hypothesis 2 predicted that these effects would be stronger among the Yagua-dominant bilinguals with the Spanish-dominant bilinguals showing more use of pan-Hispanic variants. Table 14 summarizes our results.

These findings suggest that the substrate language, Yagua, has possibly shaped the YS dialect for three out of four variables. We see weaker evidence (two out of four variables) for an effect based on language dominance, although the trend is in the

Table 14. Summary of findings in corpus of YS based on research questions and hypotheses

	Yagua-dom. bilinguals	Spanish-dom. bilinguals	Substrate influence	Proficiency influence	Description
<i>Leísmo</i>	89.7%	71.9%	Yes	Yes	Yagua lacks gender ref. in clitics
Null DOs	33.6%	30.8%	Yes	Some	Yagua allows object drop; Spanish-dominant: stronger influence of [+] specific and expressed DOs
OV order	6.2%	6.1%	Maybe	No	Yagua word order is in debate; some claim variable order, others SVO
Extend PP	69.2%	46.8%	Yes	Yes	Yagua marks past differently; Yagua-dom. widespread use of PP

direction of more pan-Hispanic norms among the Spanish-dominant bilinguals. As pointed out by a reviewer, these two factors, Yagua transfer and Yagua proficiency, are correlated. We propose that transfer or adoption of contact-induced features exists in YS and without educational standards or higher proficiency in Spanish to weaken their strength, they continue to be shaped by processes of naturalistic SLA, such as simplification, over-generalization, etc. thereby resulting in higher uses of these features by the Yagua-dominant bilinguals in Comandancia. These results are similar to those found for the YS phonological system by Henriksen and Fafulas (2017) who explained that prolonged contact between Yagua and Spanish, as well as lower levels of education and lessened access to pan-Latin American variables by Yagua-dominant bilinguals has resulted in traces of the substrate language in YS.

While much work remains, we can begin to answer our final research question, which focused on the commonalities and origins of contact varieties of Spanish in Peru. Based on our results and survey of the previous literature, there appears to be a constellation of morphosyntactic properties among these varieties. A number of the features found in Peruvian Amazonian Spanish align with those reported for Andean Spanish. We can, thus, partially support the claim that properties of Andean Spanish would be among the feature pool of variants available in the formation of Peruvian Amazonian Spanish (see Emlen (this volume) for further discussion on migration patterns and the influence of Quechua in the Amazon region). However, we must also point out that *loísmo* was relatively scarce as compared to reports for Andean Spanish, as was the rate of object topicalization. Furthermore, *leísmo* is common in other bilingual varieties of Spanish outside of Peru, and null DOs may have a correlation with the history of Portuguese in the Peruvian Amazon (Jara Yupanqui, 2012).

## 6. Summary and conclusions

In this paper, we analyzed some salient morphosyntactic features of Yagua Spanish (YS), an emerging ethnolinguistic variety of Spanish in the Peruvian Amazon. YS surfaces in an area of the Peruvian Amazon where there is little exposure to the more formal, pan-Hispanic variants of Latin American Spanish. Further, in the community we observed, Spanish has co-existed with Yagua, a language which is typologically dissimilar from Spanish, for a prolonged period of time. In Comandancia, Peru where our speakers reside, Spanish is progressively replacing Yagua, and speakers manifest varying degrees of proficiency depending on their level of contact with other Spanish speakers, their age, and their access to education. YS shows influence from the substrate language Yagua, and is spoken as a native dialect by monolingual and bilingual speakers, similar to other ethnolinguistic varieties (see Lamanna, this volume), such as Chicano English (Fought, 2003) and African American English (Wolfram & Schilling-Estes, 2006).

YS manifests extensive use of *leísmo*. YS also displays an unexpected occurrence of null DOs and recurrent use of the Present Perfect to refer to past events that are temporally bounded and, thus, show no direct correlation with the present. However, YS does not display some of the features observed in other contact varieties of Spanish in the surrounding area or Andes, as the corpus revealed few instances of object topicalization and very rare use of *loísmo*. Additionally, Yagua-dominant speakers, those who reportedly learned Yagua as a first language and began to acquire Spanish later in life, in a predominantly untutored setting, displayed a higher occurrence of non-pan-Hispanic linguistic variants. Many of the features that YS shares with Andean Spanish are commonly reported for second language grammars, particularly by naturalistic learners in more rural settings where exposure to pan-Hispanic variants are limited (Clements, 2009; Geeslin & Evans-Sago, this volume). Thus, while we believe that Andean Spanish is among the varieties that have contributed to the formation of Peruvian Amazonian Spanish, it may only account for some of the properties more generally.

In sum, YS is an ethnolinguistic microvariety that belongs to a larger Amazonian Spanish macrodialect, which encompasses the different contact Spanish varieties in the Amazon basin. This difference between YS and surrounding varieties is attributable to the specific sociohistorical contact situation and pool of linguistic variants available for selection in ethnically-Yagua bilingual communities. Future studies will help us uncover further similarities and/or differences among these microvarieties of Amazonian Spanish.

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# Interrogative intonation in monolingual Amazonian Spanish

## The case of Spanish spoken in the cities of Pucallpa and Iquitos

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This article studies the interrogative intonation of Peruvian Amazonian Spanish spoken by monolinguals in the cities of Pucallpa and Iquitos. Despite the fact that the varieties have different linguistic substrata and that they are located hundreds of miles apart, both behave alike intonationally. In contrast to other varieties of Spanish, they have a strong preference for a rising-pitch accent with an early peak that occurs in both pre-nuclear and nuclear positions. When the rising-pitch accent with a late peak occurs, it is restricted mostly to the first non-nuclear position. The results also confirm Garcia's (2011) finding about the existence of a rising-pitch accent with an extended peak in Pucallpa Spanish. Both dialects employ four heights in their tonal boundaries.

**Keywords:** Peruvian Amazonian Spanish, urban monolingual Spanish, interrogative intonation, Sp\_ToBI

### 1. Introduction

Generally speaking, Peruvian Spanish is divided into three varieties: Coastal, Andean and Amazonian (A. Escobar, 1978; A. M. Escobar, 2000; Merma Molina, 2008). To date, the intonation of Peruvian Spanish has been little studied. O'Rourke (2005) examines the intonation of Peruvian Andean Spanish spoken in the city of Cusco and compares it to the Spanish spoken in the capital Lima, a coastal variety that Peruvians regard as standard. I only know of two other studies on Peruvian Amazonian Spanish intonation: Garcia's (2011, 2016) pioneering work on the intonation of declaratives in Pucallpa Spanish, and Elias-Ulloa's (2015) study on the intonation of absolute questions in the Amazonian Spanish of Shipibo-Konibo speakers, who live in the Ucayali region of Peru where the city of Pucallpa is located. Although Garcia's (2011, 2016) work concentrates on declarative sentences in

Pucallpa Spanish, it also describes the intonation of declarative sentences in Iquitos Spanish. In contrast to the focus of Garcia's work on declarative sentences, in this article I explore the main intonational patterns of questions in the Amazonian Spanish spoken in Pucallpa (Ucayali region) and Iquitos (Loreto region). This article examines the variety of Spanish spoken in the two cities, the most populated in the Amazonian rainforest of Peru.

An important characteristic of the research presented here is that it studies the Amazonian Spanish of monolingual speakers. Thus, the patterns that will be described are not the result of bilingualism in which native speakers have an indigenous language as an L1 and Spanish as an L2. The language consultants interviewed were born and raised either in Pucallpa or Iquitos by monolingual parents who speak Spanish and were born and raised in the same city. This does not discount the influence on their Spanish from other languages that are part of the linguistic substratum in each case (see Section §2 and discussion in Section §7).

In this article, I survey three types of interrogatives: (i) yes-no questions (also known as absolute questions), (ii) Wh-questions (also known as pronominal questions) and (iii) echo questions that have the Wh-word in-situ. Absolute questions require the listener to confirm or deny the truth of the proposition contained in the question, for example, 'did you see Marina at the party?', triggers a 'yes' or 'no' response. In contrast, pronominal questions cannot be answered with a 'yes' or 'no'. They seek information from the listener in order to reveal to what the Wh-words (e.g. who, what, where, when, how, etc.) refer. Thus, a Wh-question like 'what did you buy?' requires the listener to reveal the identity of the item bought. While yes-no questions confirm information, Wh-questions are information-seekers. Both absolute and pronominal questions can be used in more specialized pragmatic contexts. For example, a yes-no question like 'would you like some cake?' while somebody is slicing a cake at a birthday party is a way to offer you a piece of cake. Finally, echo-questions with a Wh-word in-situ is the third category of interrogatives to be examined. They are used to ask the interlocutor to repeat the information just given because it could not be heard properly: 'Sorry, I couldn't hear. John bought what?'

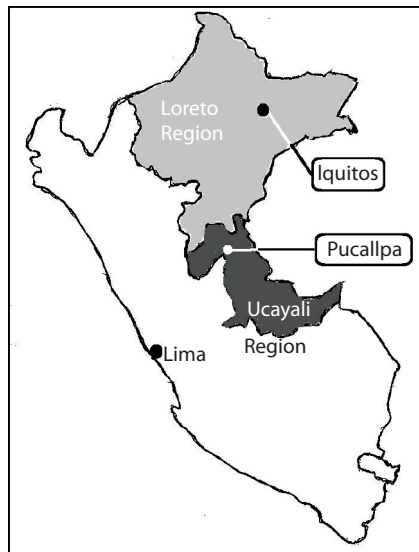
The study is organized as follows. Section §2 presents basic information about the cities of Pucallpa and Iquitos, sociolinguistic information about the native speakers interviewed, and the methodology employed during the process of data collection. Section §3 provides the general tenets of autosegmental intonational phonology assumed and presents a general overview of the intonation of declarative sentences as a point of comparison with the subsequent sections that focus on the intonation contours of interrogatives. Sections §4, §5 and §6 describe the different patterns discovered for absolute questions, pronominal questions and echo questions. Finally, Section §7 discusses the results and offers conclusions.

## 2. Socio-linguistic background, language consultants and data collection

Iquitos is the capital city of the Loreto region. It is the geographically largest and most populated urban center in the Peruvian Amazonian region with a population of about 371,000 people (see INEI, 2012). Iquitos is located in the territory of the Iquito people, whose language from the Zaparoan linguistic family is currently highly endangered, with around 35 speakers left (Lewis, Simons & Fennig, 2016). As in the case of Pucallpa, Iquitos underwent significant social and economic change during the rubber boom at the end of the 19th century, and the oil boom in the first half of 1940s. It expanded quickly and received a wave of migration from the Andean region and from foreigners who went there to colonize (Mayor & Bodmer, 2009; San Román, 1994). Nowadays only 2.5% of the Iquitos population speaks an indigenous language, and in half of the cases, that language is Quechua (INEI, 2012).

Pucallpa is the capital city of the Ucayali region in Peru and the second most important urban center in the Peruvian Amazonian region with a population of about 212,000 people (see Instituto Nacional de Estadística e Informática [INEI], 2012). Pucallpa is located in the territory of the Shipibo-Konibo people, a still dominant group in the Ucayali region. Their language belongs to the Panoan linguistic family. During the rubber boom in the final decades of the 19th century and beginning of the 20th century, the Shipibo-Konibo people, together with other indigenous peoples, were exploited as a workforce for rubber extraction. Entire indigenous communities were displaced and destroyed. Pucallpa was first mentioned as a small village that attracted mainly migrants from the neighboring San Martín region who came because of the rubber boom. Pucallpa upgraded from a village to a city between the 1940s and the 1970s due to lumber extraction, an uplift in commerce related to the construction of highways connecting to the national capital Lima, and also due to migration, especially from Loreto and the Andean region whose inhabitants escaped the violence of armed groups like the Shining Path. During that period, many Shipibo-Konibo families also relocated to the outskirts of Pucallpa looking for better economic and educational conditions (García, 1971; Guevara, 2009; Solís Fonseca, 2003). In the Peruvian national census of 2007 (INEI, 2008), 88% of the population living in the city of Pucallpa declared themselves speakers of Spanish only, 7% Shipibo-Konibo, 4% Ashaninka and 1% other indigenous languages (including Quechua). The map in Figure 1 displays the locations of Pucallpa and Iquitos, as well as their positions in the Ucayali region and in the Loreto region, respectively.

For this project, eighteen native speakers of Pucallpa Spanish (ten men and eight women) and twenty of Iquitos Spanish (ten men and ten women) were interviewed in 2012. In both groups, ages ranged from eighteen to twenty-nine. Most



**Figure 1.** Peru – Cities of Pucallpa and Iquitos

speakers were around twenty-two years old at the time of the interview. They were all monolingual in Spanish as were their parents. They were born in the city of Pucallpa or Iquitos, where they also attended primary school and high school. At the time of the interview, they were all students at the National University of Ucayali (Pucallpa), or at the National University of the Peruvian Amazon (Iquitos).

All participants were asked to carry out a task of ‘rehearsed narrative’; that is, they read stories that contained a number of target phrases: declarative sentences, absolute questions, pronominal questions and echo questions. The stories were previously reviewed by two native speakers of Pucallpa Spanish and two of Iquitos Spanish, who did not participate in the interviews for data collection. The reviewers’ task was to make sure there was no word or wording unfamiliar to the regional dialect. First, the participants read the stories in silence, and then they were asked whether they had questions about them. When they stated that they had understood the story and had no questions, I asked them to read each story aloud as if they were experiencing the events narrated. Since the target phrases were inside the story plots, the participants could not tell the task was only interested in the intonation they assigned to certain phrases. Their attention was fixed on the stories themselves.

In (1), I present a sample extracted from one of the stories. The interviewees only had access to the Spanish version. In the English version, I have underlined three examples of the target phrases collected using this methodology.



- |   |  |
|---|--|
| <p>(1) ... el abuelo ve que su familia ha venido en un carro nuevo. Entonces, les pregunta:<br/>       – ¿quién compró el carro? ¡Es muy bonito!<br/>       Su hija, Mari, le responde:<br/>       – ¡Fue Beni, papá! El carro lo compró Beni. ¿Tè gusta el color?<br/>       El abuelo le responde:<br/>       – Sí, sí, me gusta. Es un color rojo muy bonito. ¿Qué modelo compraron? ...</p> | <p>... grandpa realized his family came in a new car. So, he asked them:<br/>       – <u>Who bought the car?</u> It's really nice!<br/>       His daughter, Mari, replies:<br/>       – It was Beni, Dad! Beni bought it. <u>Do you like the color?</u><br/>       Grandpa replies:<br/>       – Yes, I do. It's a really nice red color. <u>What model did you buy?</u> ...</p> |
|---|--|

Below is the list of interrogative target phrases used in the study. They consist of a nuclear pitch accent and two pre-nuclear pitch accents. As for stressed syllables, the study mainly controlled for them by having them separated from one another by at least one unstressed syllable. Thus, as long as no metrical clash occurred, stress was allowed to fall on the final, penultimate or antepenultimate syllable of the words that make up the phrases. As much as possible, there was a preference for open stressed syllables. Except for the word *tienes* 'you have' in (2d) and the Wh-word *quién* 'who' in (4c) and in (4e), stressed syllables have a monophthongal vowel. Stressed syllables appear underlined below.

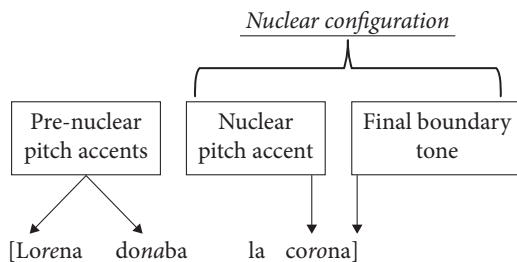
- |   |   |
|---|---|
| <p>(2) List of absolute questions</p>                                       |   |
| a. ¿ <u>Lorena</u> <u>olvidó</u> la <u>guaraná</u> ?                        | 'Did Lorena forget the guarana?'        |
| b. ¿ <u>Lalo</u> <u>ganó</u> el <u>regalo</u> ?                             | 'Did Lalo get the present?'             |
| c. ¿ <u>Me</u> <u>acompañas</u> a <u>comprar</u> <u>limones</u> ?           | 'Would you come with me to buy lemons?' |
| d. ¿ <u>Tienes</u> <u>muchos</u> <u>años</u> ?                              | 'Are you very old?'                     |
| <p>(3) List of pronominal questions</p>                                     |   |
| a. ¿ <u>Quién</u> <u>compró</u> <u>guaraná</u> ?                            | 'Who bought guarana?'                   |
| b. ¿ <u>Qué</u> <u>miraba</u> <u>Bernabé</u> ?                              | 'What was Bernabe looking at?'          |
| c. ¿ <u>Qué</u> <u>miraba</u> <u>Débora</u> ?                               | 'What was Debora looking at?'           |
| d. ¿ <u>Qué</u> <u>robó</u> <u>Benigno</u> ?                                | 'What did Benigno steal?'               |
| e. ¿ <u>Quién</u> <u>donó</u> el <u>regalo</u> ?                            | 'Who donated the present?'              |
| <p>(4) List of echo questions</p>   |   |
| a. ¿ <u>Lorena</u> <u>trabajaba</u> <u>dónde</u> ?                          | 'Lorena was working where?'             |
| b. ¿ <u>Bernabé</u> <u>devoraba</u> <u>qué</u> ?                            | 'Bernabe devoured what?'                |
| c. ¿ <u>El</u> <u>carro</u> <u>lo</u> <u>maneja</u> <u>quién</u> ?          | 'Who was driving the car?'              |
| d. ¿ <u>Tu</u> <u>papá</u> <u>me</u> <u>ha</u> <u>comprado</u> <u>qué</u> ? | 'Your dad has bought me what?'          |
| e. ¿ <u>La</u> <u>víbora</u> <u>devoraba</u> a <u>quién</u> ?               | 'The snake was devouring whom?'         |

The interviews with the 18 native speakers of Pucallpa Spanish yielded 252 interrogative sentences recorded (18 native speakers  $\times$  4 absolute questions + 5 pronominal questions + 5 echo questions). However, a total of 13 audio recordings were discarded for reasons that range from the speaker sneezing in the middle of the phrase, or a phone ringing loudly, to too much creaky voice making the tonal analysis unreliable. The remaining 239 interrogatives correspond to the data on which this study is based: 70 absolute questions, 86 pronominal questions and 83 echo questions. In the case of Iquitos Spanish, the interviews yielded 280 interrogative sentences (20 native speakers  $\times$  4 absolute questions + 5 pronominal questions + 5 echo questions). In this case, only 10 audio files were discarded for similar reasons to those already mentioned. The remaining files had the following distribution: 76 absolute questions, 99 pronominal questions and 95 echo questions.

The recordings were carried out in a quiet classroom at the respective university campuses using a Zoom H4n digital recorder and a head-worn cardioid unidirectional Shure microphone with a minimal frequency response of 40 Hz. The audio files were recorded in PCM WAV format in 16 bits with a sampling frequency of 44.1 kHz. After recording, the target phrases were transcribed using Praat (Boersma & Weenink, 2015). For the tonal analysis, a Praat script extracted each target phrase and then it determined the pitch floor and ceiling for each phrase. The pitch line was then slightly smoothed to neutralize micro-prosodic effects and to make the identification of the tonal units (pitch accents and boundary tones) easier.

### 3. Basic theoretical assumptions

In intonational phonology (Beckman, Díaz-Campos, McGory & Morgan, 2002; Beckman & Pierrehumbert, 1986; Ladd, 2008; Pierrehumbert, 1980), an intonational contour is understood as a number of tonal targets associated with specific positions within a phrase: stressed syllables and phrase edges. Tones associated with stressed syllables are known as *pitch accents* and those linked to phrase edges are called *boundary tones*. In the literature, a distinction is usually drawn between the pitch accent that appears on the last stressed syllable of a phrase, called a *nuclear accent*, and the pitch accents that occur on other stressed syllables (*pre-nuclear accents*). Together the nuclear accent and the final boundary tone are referred to as the *nuclear configuration* since it is usually there where languages encode the distinctions among different types of sentences like the opposition between declaratives versus interrogatives. In a declarative sentence like *Lorena donaba la corona* ‘Lorena was donating the crown’, the proper noun *Lorena* and the verb *donaba* occupy the pre-nuclear positions of the phrase. The noun *corona* holds the nuclear pitch accent and hosts the phrase final boundary tone, as well. This is schematically illustrated in Figure 2.



**Figure 2.** Distribution of tonal units in a intonational phrase

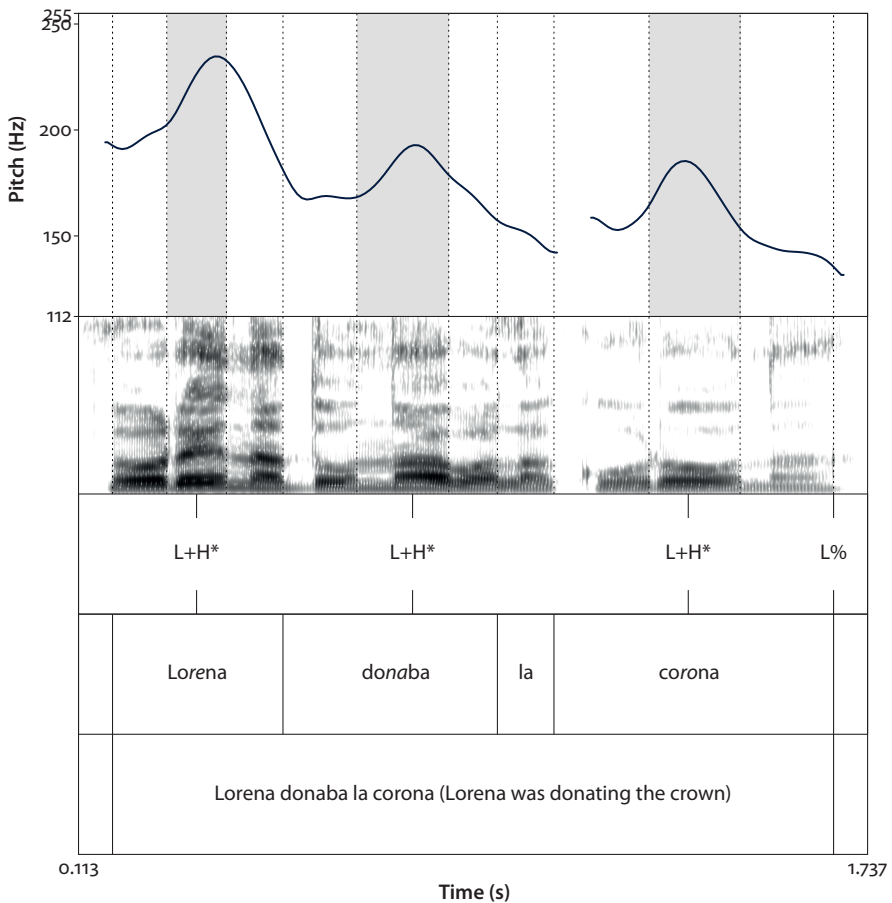
Intonational phonology is usually supplemented by a transcription system called Tones and Break Indices (ToBI – Beckman, et al., 2002; Beckman, Hirschberg, Shattuck-Hufnagel, 2005; Estebas Vilaplana & Prieto, 2008; Face & Prieto, 2007; Frota & Prieto, 2015; Hualde & Prieto, 2015; Prieto & Roseano, 2010; Sosa, 2003). In ToBI, high pitch accents are represented as H\* and low pitch accents, as L\*. Complex pitch accents are represented by linking L and H with a plus symbol. For example, a rising pitch accent whose peak occurs within the stressed syllable can be represented as L+H\*. This is also known as a rising pitch accent with an early peak. The star not only shows the tonal unit is a pitch accent but also indicates which tone is more strongly associated with the stressed syllable. Not all raising pitch accents reach their peak within the stressed syllable. A rising pitch can reach its peak after the stressed syllable. When this happens, it is referred to as having a late peak and it can be represented as L+>H\*. Boundary tones are indicated by a percentage symbol. In the case of final boundary tones, if there is a pitch fall, we can represent it as L%; but if the pitch rises, we can represent it as H%.

As an example, let us see how intonational phonology together with ToBI represents the intonational contour of a declarative sentence, like the one in Figure 2, as spoken in Pucallpa and Iquitos Spanish. Using a ToBI representation, the intonational pattern of declarative sentences in both varieties can be symbolized as shown in Figure 3. The square brackets indicate the nuclear configuration. In declaratives, the initial pre-nuclear pitch accent roughly alternates equally between a rising pitch with a late peak (L+>H\*) and a rising pitch accent with an early peak (L+H\*).

$$\left. \begin{array}{l} L+>H^* \\ L+H^* \end{array} \right\} L+H^* [L+H^* L\%]$$

**Figure 3.** ToBI representation of declaratives in Pucallpa and Iquitos Spanish

The tendency for Pucallpa Spanish declaratives in broad focus to show rising pitch accents with early peaks – that is, pitch accents whose peaks occur within stressed syllables followed at the end of the phrase by a pitch fall – was already reported by Garcia (2011, 2016). Here, in Figure 4, I show a case from Garcia’s (2016) data illustrating the sentence: *Lorena donaba la corona* ‘Lorena was donating the crown’. Stressed syllables appear in italics in the word tier and their location is indicated in grey-shaded columns in the F0 panel. Figure 5, which depicts the intonational contour of the statement *Lorena vende guarana* ‘Lorena sells guarana’, illustrates the equivalent behavior in Quito Spanish for declarative sentences.



**Figure 4.** Intonational contour in Pucallpa Spanish declaratives (from Garcia’s (2016) data)

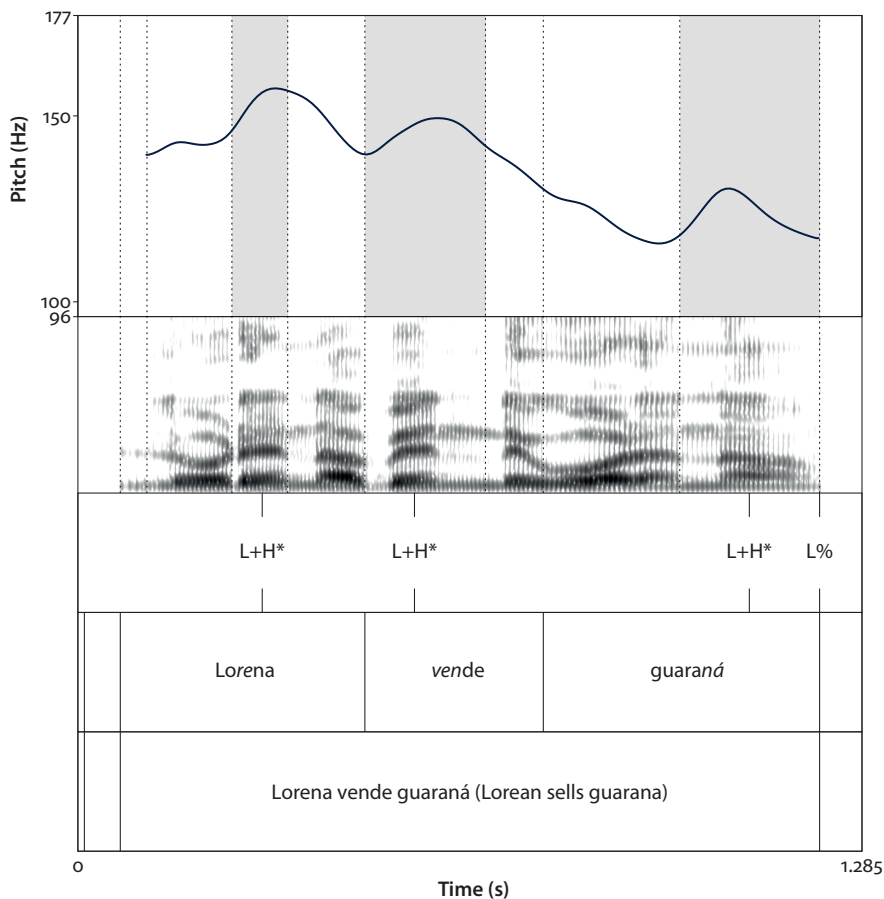


Figure 5. Intonational contour in Iquitos Spanish declaratives

Figure 6 shows an example from Iquitos Spanish (*Manolo robó la bodega* 'Manolo robbed the grocery store') in which the initial pre-nuclear position of the phrase is occupied by a rising pitch accent with a late peak; that is,  $L+>H^*$ . In the data collected from both Pucallpa and Iquitos Spanish, this pattern generally occurs half the time. I have not found any difference in meaning associated with the use of  $L+H^*$  or  $L+>H^*$  in the initial position of declarative sentences in either of the varieties.

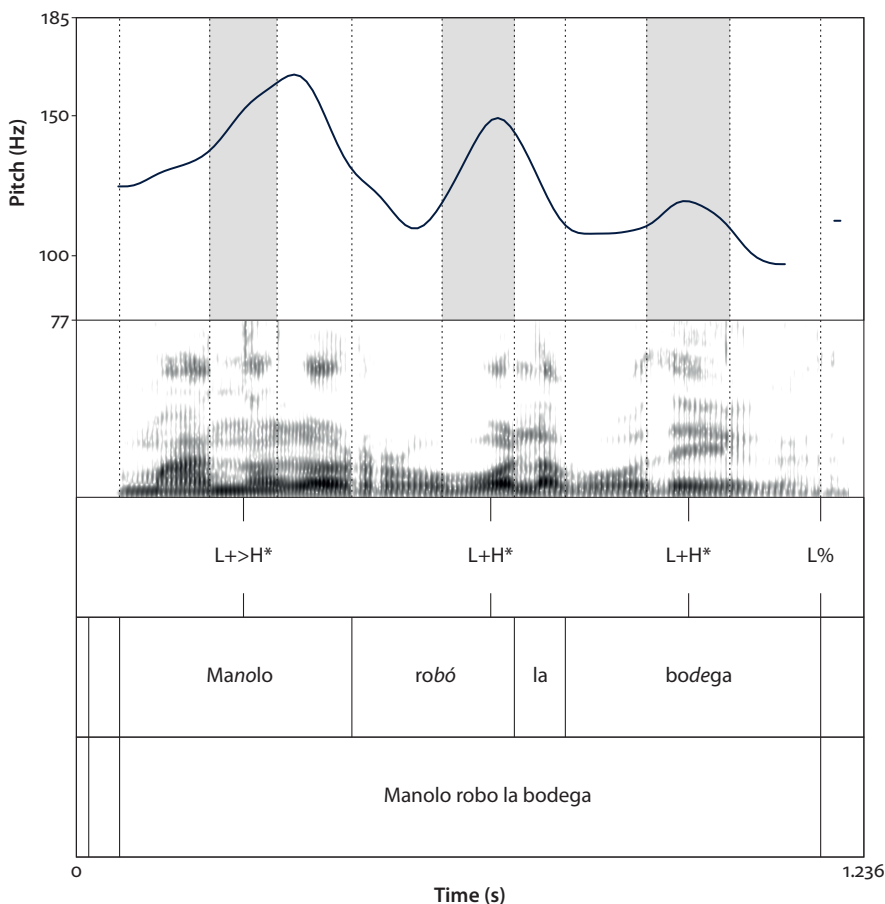
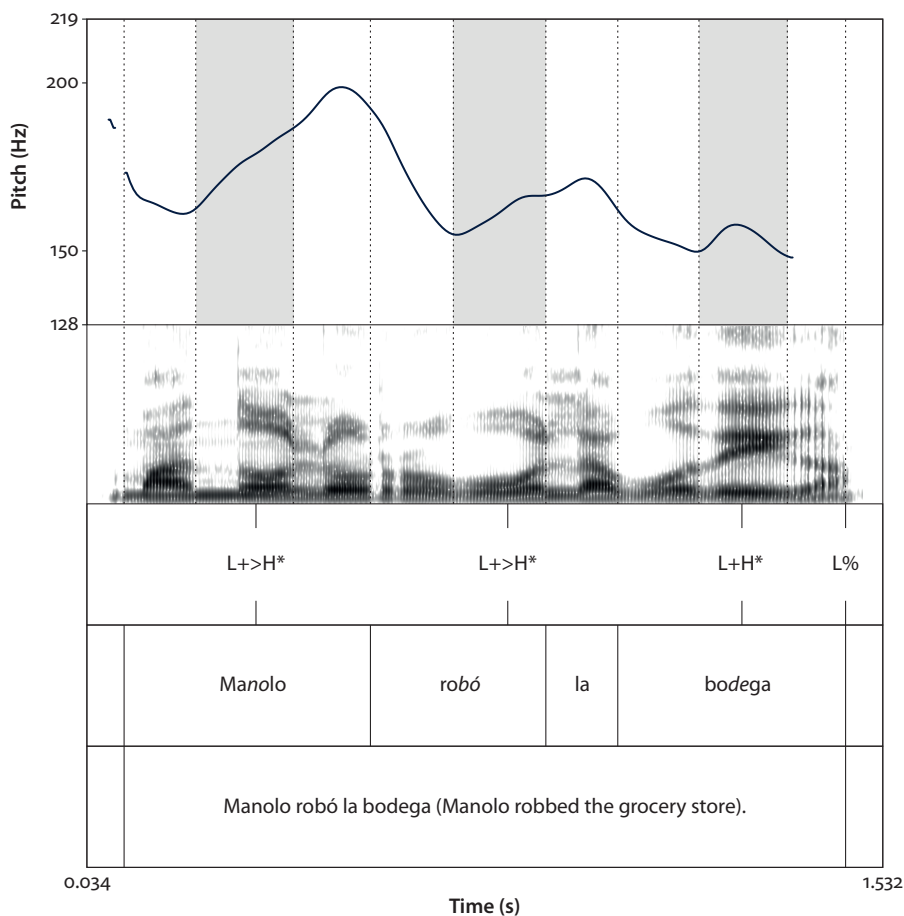


Figure 6. Iquitos Spanish declaratives with initial L+>H\* pitch accent

Spanish is not unfamiliar with the occurrence of rising pitch accents with a late peak. Many varieties of Spanish show this type of rising pitch accent, particularly, in pre-nuclear positions (Beckman, et al., 2002; Hualde, 2005; Hualde & Prieto, 2015; Prieto & Roseano, 2010; Sosa, 2003, among others). For example, this behavior can be observed in the Spanish spoken in Lima, the capital city of Peru where L+>H\* pitch accents generally occur in pre-nuclear positions of broad focus declarative sentences while L+H\* occurs in the nuclear position. See Figure 7.

Before ending this section, it is worth mentioning that Garcia (2011) found a special type of pitch accent in the declarative sentences of Pucallpa Spanish. This is the case of a rising pitch accent that reaches its peak within the stressed syllable but then the F0, instead of falling, remains flat usually well into the following syllable. I call this tonal unit, which also occurs in Iquitos Spanish, a rising pitch accent with

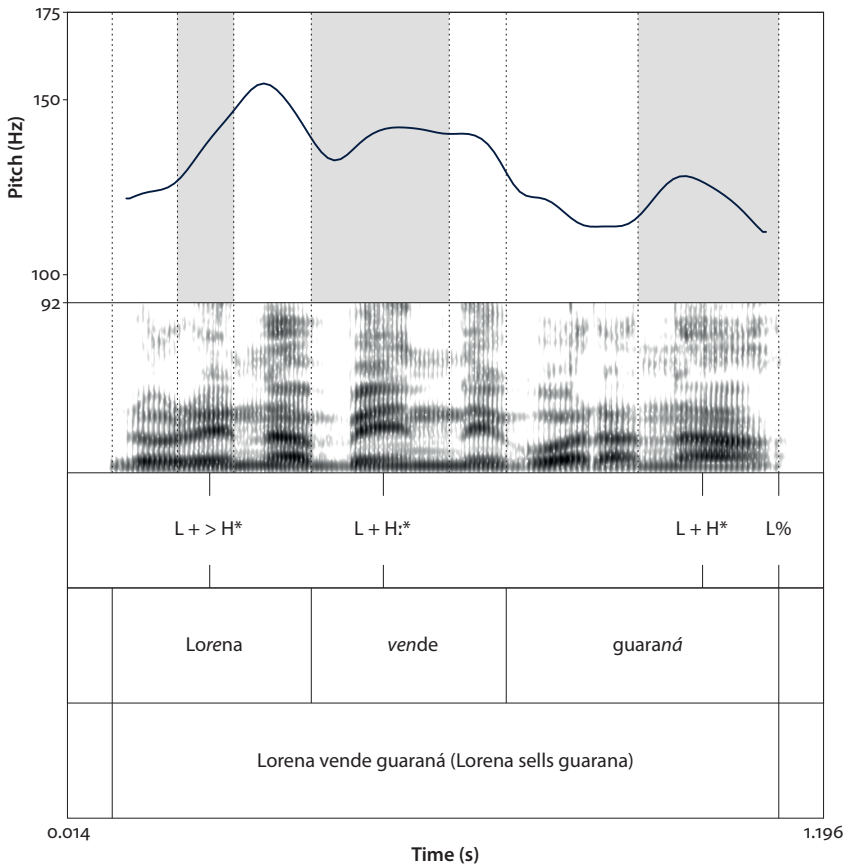


**Figure 7.** Intonational contour in Lima Spanish declaratives

an extended peak. I will represent it with a L+H:\* label. In the data collected for the study, this pitch accent overwhelmingly occurs in the second pre-nuclear position. Although possible, it rarely appears in the first. It never occurs in nuclear position. Figure 8 illustrates a case of L+H:\* associated with the non-initial pre-nuclear position of the phrase.<sup>1</sup>

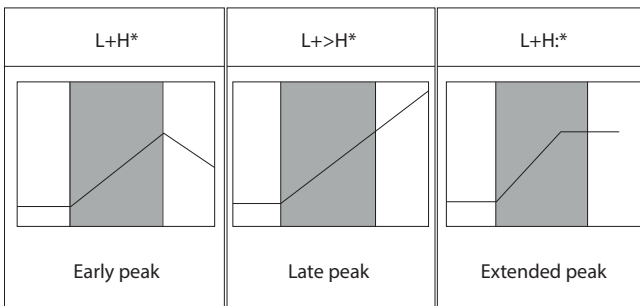
1. The analysis of the rising pitch accent with an extended peak, L+H:\*, is still a matter of controversy. Its high tone could be analyzed as having two alignment requirements that force it to stretch or, as argued by Garcia (2011), it could be analyzed as a tritonal unit whose first high tone is aligned with the stressed syllable pushing the other high tone onto the following syllable. Section §7 presents another alternative: the tonal unit can be analyzed as a regular rising pitch accent with an early peak, L+H\*, followed by the high boundary tone of a lower intonational domain.





**Figure 8.** A rising pitch accent with an extended peak in Pucallpa and Iquitos Spanish

The graphs in Figure 9 schematically depict the three realizations of rising pitch accents we find in Pucallpa and Iquitos Spanish. The grey areas present the location of stressed syllables. The graphs are based on Aguilar et al. (2009).



**Figure 9.** Rising pitch accent realizations in Pucallpa and Iquitos Spanish

#### 4. Intonation of absolute questions

Absolute questions in both Pucallpa and Iquitos Spanish are characterized by showing a nuclear configuration that consists of a low pitch accent associated with the nuclear position, followed by a rising boundary. Using ToBI, we can represent it as: L\* H%. Rarely, instead of L\*, both Pucallpa and Iquitos Spanish can show L+H\* as an alternative nuclear pitch accent. As in the case of declaratives, the initial pre-nuclear position of absolute questions generally shows either a rising pitch accent with a late peak, L+>H\*, or one with an early peak, L+H\*. In contrast, there is a strong tendency for the second pre-nuclear position to show a rising pitch accent with an early peak, which is typically realized downstepped (i.e. L+!H\*).<sup>2</sup> The frequency of occurrence of pitch accents and boundary tones in pre-nuclear, nuclear and phrase edges of absolute questions is shown in Table 1 for Pucallpa Spanish and in Table 2 for Iquitos Spanish. They are quite similar. Grey cells show alternative tonal units with lower occurrence.

**Table 1.** Pucallpa: Pitch accents and boundary tones in absolute questions ( $N = 70$ )

Initial pre-nuclear		Non-initial pre-nuclear		Nuclear		Boundary	
L+>H*	60%	L+!H*	79%	L*	97%	H%	100%
L+H*	39%	L+!H:*	14%	L+H*	3%		
L+H:*	1%	L+>!H*	7%				

**Table 2.** Iquitos: Pitch accents and boundary tones in absolute questions ( $N = 76$ )

Initial pre-nuclear		Non-initial pre-nuclear		Nuclear		Boundary	
L+>H*	63%	L+!H*	88%	L*	99%	H%	100%
L+H*	37%	L+!H:*	7%	L+H*	1%		
		L+>!H*	5%				

2. The peaks of an intonational contour usually decrease in height. Thus, a high tone at the beginning of an utterance is higher than a high tone at the end of an utterance. This phenomenon is known as declination and is considered a phonetic phenomenon (Beckman, et al., 2002; Cantero, 2002; Ladd, 1988). We can observe it, for instance, in Figure 5 to Figure 7. Each peak of a rising pitch accent is slightly lower as the utterances approach their end. I am not transcribing cases of declination in this article. In contrast to declination, downstepping is when the speaker purposely decreases the peak height. Downstepping is a phonological mechanism. In the data collected for this project, downstepped peaks are recognized because they are unexpectedly much lower than the previous peak. Compare, for example, the first and second peaks in Figure 10 and Figure 11. I consider them downstepped. In ToBI, downstepping is indicated by an exclamation mark (!). Thus, a rising pitch accent with a downstepped early peak is represented as: L+!H\*.

The pitch contour in Figure 10 shows the preferred intonational contour of absolute questions. In this case, we observe an initial pre-nuclear rising pitch accent with a late peak. Figure 11 shows the second most recurrent pattern; that is, one with an initial pre-nuclear position associated with a rising pitch accent with an early peak. In both cases, we have the same sentence uttered by different speakers of the same Spanish variety: Pucallpa Spanish. The same alternation is also observed in Iquitos Spanish.<sup>3</sup>

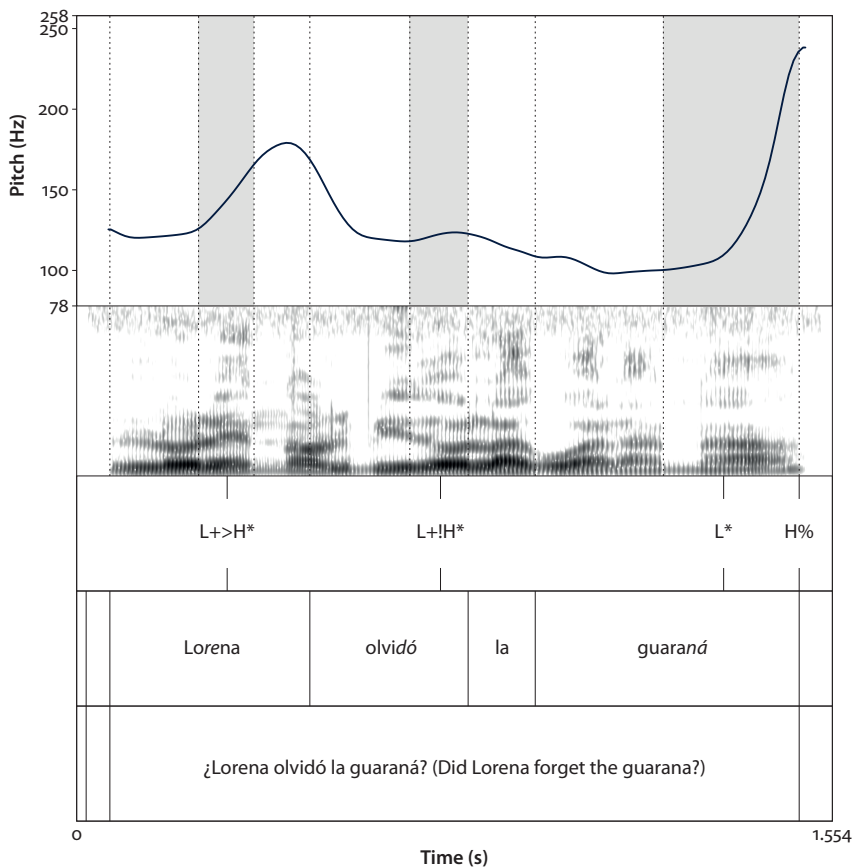


Figure 10. Preferred intonational contour in absolute questions

3. An anonymous reviewer points out that absolute questions like *¿Lorena olvidó la guaraná?* (Did Lorena forget the guarana?) have a marked word order since usually the subject is omitted: *¿olvidó la guaraná?* The reviewer's idea is that the marked word order could be affecting the intonation found in yes-no questions. The interaction between word order and intonation was not part of the objectives of this research but it is a valid point that should be researched further. However, it is worth mentioning, preliminarily, that the same intonational patterns described in this section were found in the yes-no question *¿Tienes muchos años?* (Are you too old?) that omits the subject.

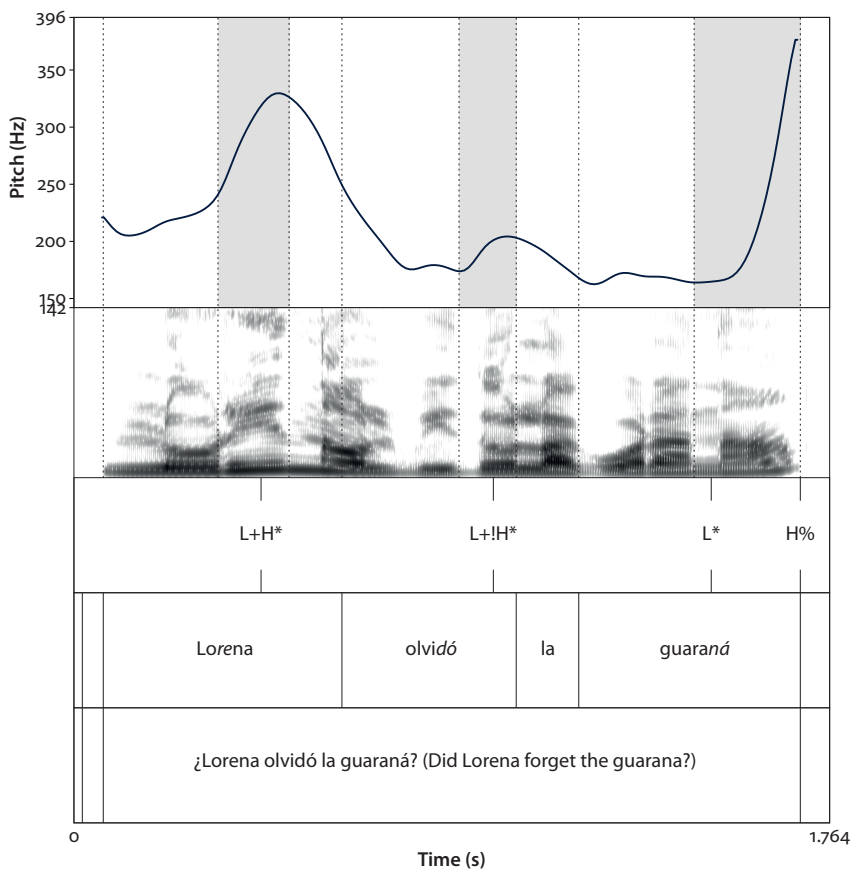


Figure 11. Initial pre-nuclear L+H\* pitch accent in absolute questions

The pitch contour in Figure 12 shows an instance of a rising pitch accent with an extended peak: L+H:\*. This pitch accent mostly appears associated with the second pre-nuclear position of the phrase where it attains its peak during the stressed syllable and then it extends onto the next unstressed syllable where it turns downwards.

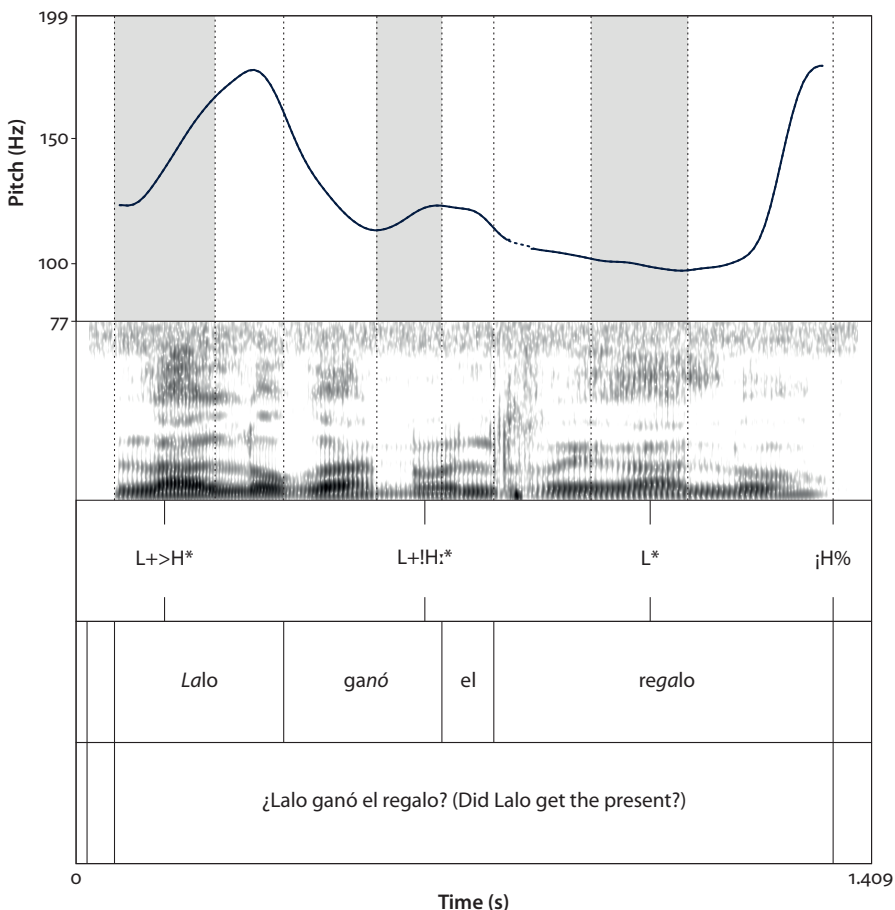


Figure 12. Rising pitch accent with an extended peak, L+H:\*, in pre-nuclear position

## 5. Intonation of pronominal questions

In the case of pronominal questions, roughly half the time the speakers interviewed, of both Pucallpa and Iquitos Spanish, used an L% boundary tone and half the time, they used an !H% boundary tone. However, there is a distinction between a pronominal question that ends in an L% and one that ends in !H%. Pronominal questions that end in an L% boundary tone are just regular information-seeking queries while pronominal questions that end in an !H% boundary tone are perceived as pragmatically marked. Table 3 and Table 4 show the tonal units of pronominal questions that were uttered with a low boundary tone: L%. When this occurs, the

nuclear position of the phrase as well as its pre-nuclear positions strongly prefer being associated with L+H\* pitch accents. This yields an almost identical intonational contour as the one found in declarative sentences. However, there is a difference. The height of the non-initial pre-nuclear pitch accent tends to be noticeably smaller than the same pitch accent when it occurs in the non-initial pre-nuclear position of declarative sentences. I represent this behavior as a downstepping L+!H\*.

**Table 3.** Pucallpa: Intonational contours in pronominal questions ( $N = 35$ )

Initial pre-nuclear		Non-initial pre-nuclear		Nuclear		Boundary
L+H*	80%	L+!H*	74%	L+H*	86%	L%
L+>H*	20%	L*	17%	L*	14%	
		L+!H:*	9%			

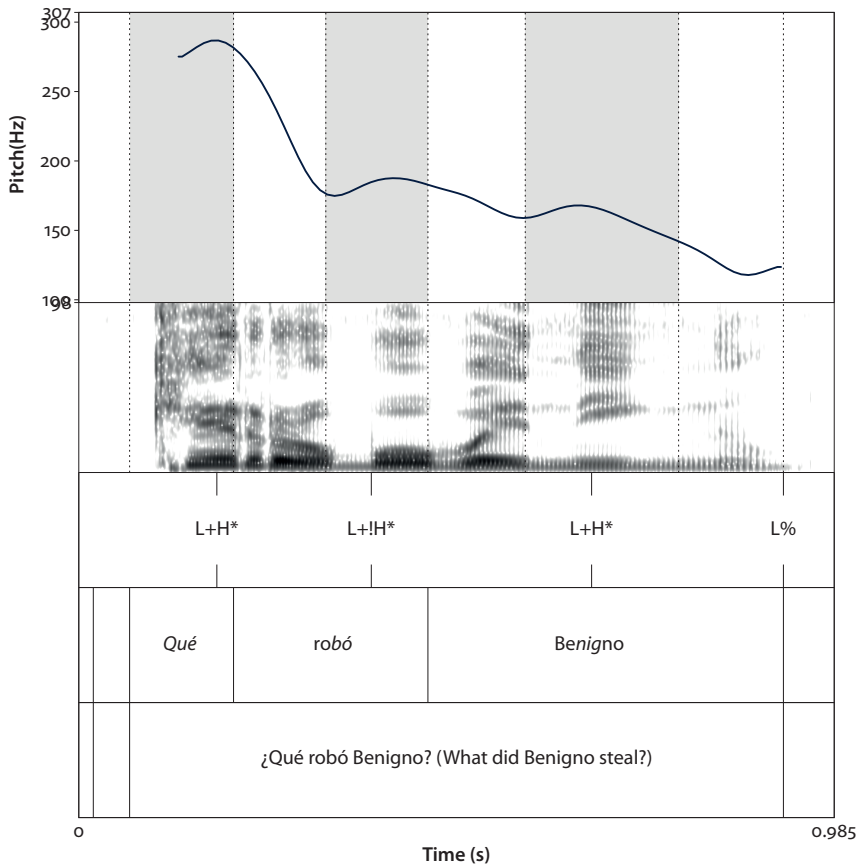
**Table 4.** Iquitos: Intonational contours in pronominal questions ( $N = 58$ )

Initial pre-nuclear		Non-initial pre-nuclear		Nuclear		Boundary
L+H*	86%	L+!H*	69%	L+H*	83%	L%
L+>H*	14%	L*	25%	L*	17%	
		L+!H:*	6%			

Figure 13 illustrates the most characteristic intonational contour of pronominal questions in Pucallpa and Iquitos Spanish. It shows an L+H\* L% nuclear configuration. Observe the peak of the second rising pitch accent, associated with the non-initial pre-nuclear position, is considerably less prominent than the first one. Compare this behavior with what happens in Figure 4 to Figure 6, where the peak of the second pitch accent, although shorter in height due to declination, is not downstepped.

Sometimes instead of observing an L+!H\* associated with the non-initial pre-nuclear position, we see a falling pitch accent or a downstepped rising pitch accent with an extended peak, L+!H:\*. The latter case can be seen in Figure 14. Compare its L+!H:\* to the one that occurs in Figure 8 where no downstepping occurs.

Table 5 and Table 6 show the tonal units that occurred in Pucallpa and Iquitos Spanish, respectively, in the cases in which the pronominal questions were uttered with a final high boundary tone. Those are cases in which the speakers decided to assign a pragmatically marked meaning to the interrogative. With regard to the boundary tone, it is worth emphasizing that it is not the same high tone that occurs in the final boundaries of absolute questions. The height of the high boundary tone in pronominal questions is much shorter than in the case of absolute questions. It is usually half the size of the highest peak in the phrase. In contrast, in absolute



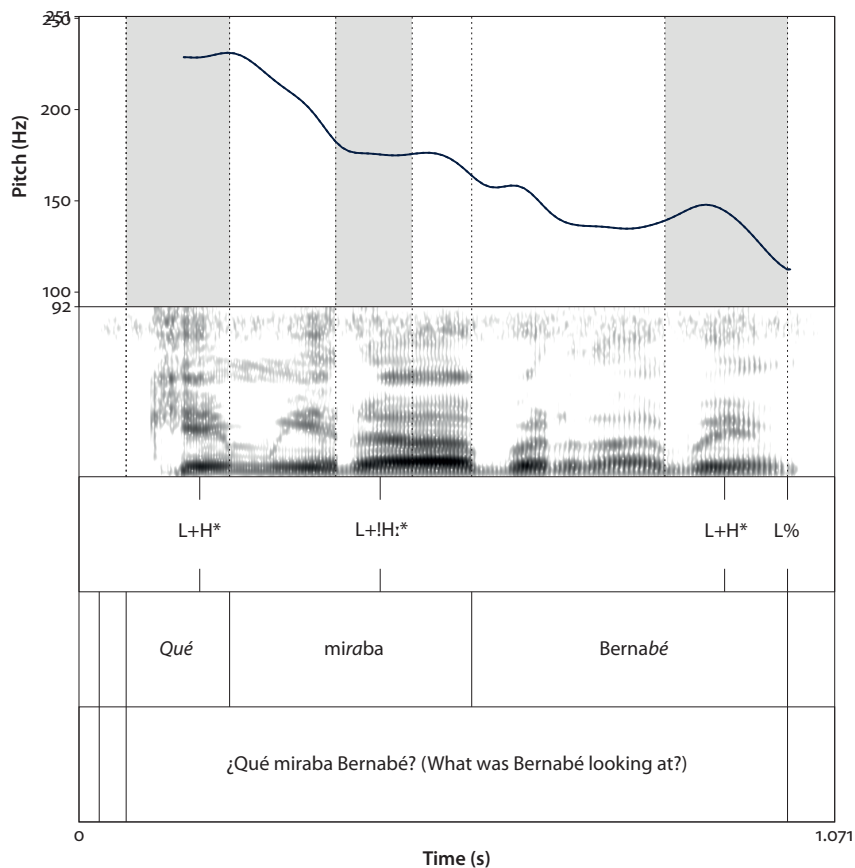
**Figure 13.** Typical intonation of pronominal questions with a  $L+H^* L\%$  nuclear configuration

questions, an  $H\%$  goes as high as the highest previous peak in the phrase (see Figure 10 to Figure 12). That is why I analyze it as downstepped,  $!H\%$ , in pronominal questions (see, for instance, Figure 15) but as a regular high boundary tone,  $H\%$ , in absolute questions. Every time an  $!H\%$  occurred in a pronominal question,

**Table 5.** Pucallpa: Intonation in pragmatically marked pronominal questions ( $N = 51$ )

Initial pre-nuclear	Non-initial pre-nuclear	Nuclear	Boundary
$L+H^*$ 73%	$L+!H^*$ 63%	$L^*$ 100%	$!H\%$
$L+>H^*$ 27%	$L^*$ 29%		
	$L+!H:^*$ 8%		





**Figure 14.** A pitch accent with a downstepped extended peak in a non-initial pre-nuclear position

the nuclear position, in both Pucallpa and Iquitos Spanish, was occupied by a low pitch accent:  $L^*$ . The pitch accents in the pre-nuclear positions follow the same preference of occurrence as the one we found in pronominal questions that end in an  $L\%$  boundary tone.

**Table 6.** Iquitos: Intonation in pragmatically marked pronominal questions ( $N = 41$ )

Initial pre-nuclear		Non-initial pre-nuclear		Nuclear		Boundary
$L+H^*$	81%	$L+!H^*$	69%	$L^*$	100%	$!H\%$
$L+>H^*$	19%	$L^*$	21%			
		$L+!H^*$	10%			

Figure 15 displays an instance of the typical intonational contour of a pronominal question with a final !H% boundary tone. In this case, we have the interrogative *¿Qué robó Benigno?* ‘What did Benigno steal?’. Uttered with an !H% boundary tone, the speaker seems to be incredulous Benigno has stolen something.

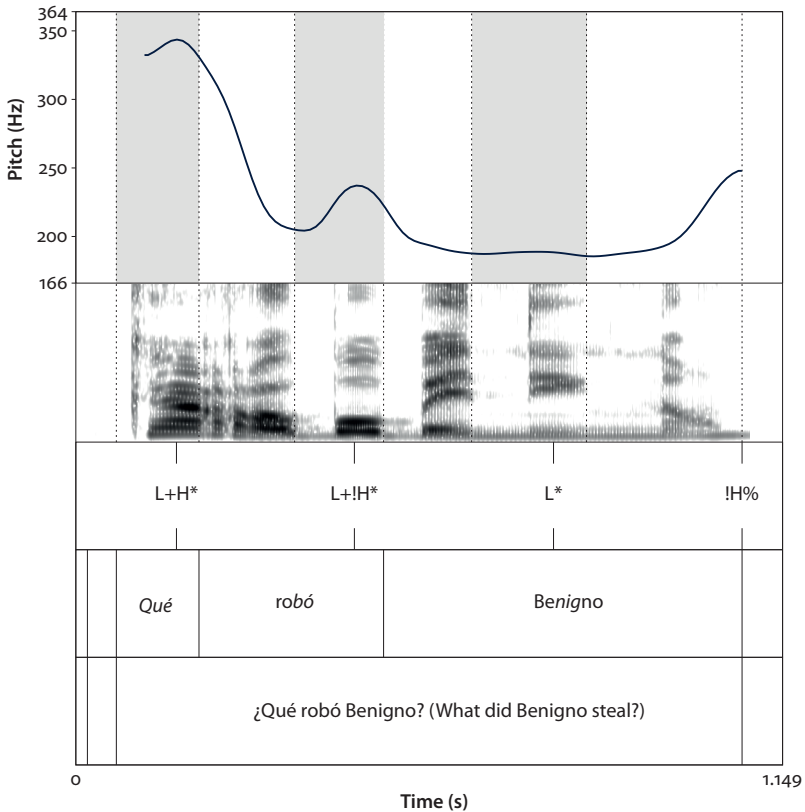


Figure 15. Pronominal questions with an L\* !H% nuclear configuration

The second choice in initial pre-nuclear positions for pronominal questions that show an !H% is to have a rising pitch accent with its peak occurring after the stressed syllable: L+>H\*. Moreover, stressed syllables in non-initial pre-nuclear positions can also show a low pitch accent, L\*. Both behaviors can be observed in Figure 16. L\* can be realized completely flat near the speaker’s pitch floor or, as in the case in Figure 16, it can show a continuous falling until it reaches the pitch floor. In all the cases examined, every time an L\* appears in a non-initial pre-nuclear position, the nuclear pitch accent was also L\* and the boundary tone was !H%.

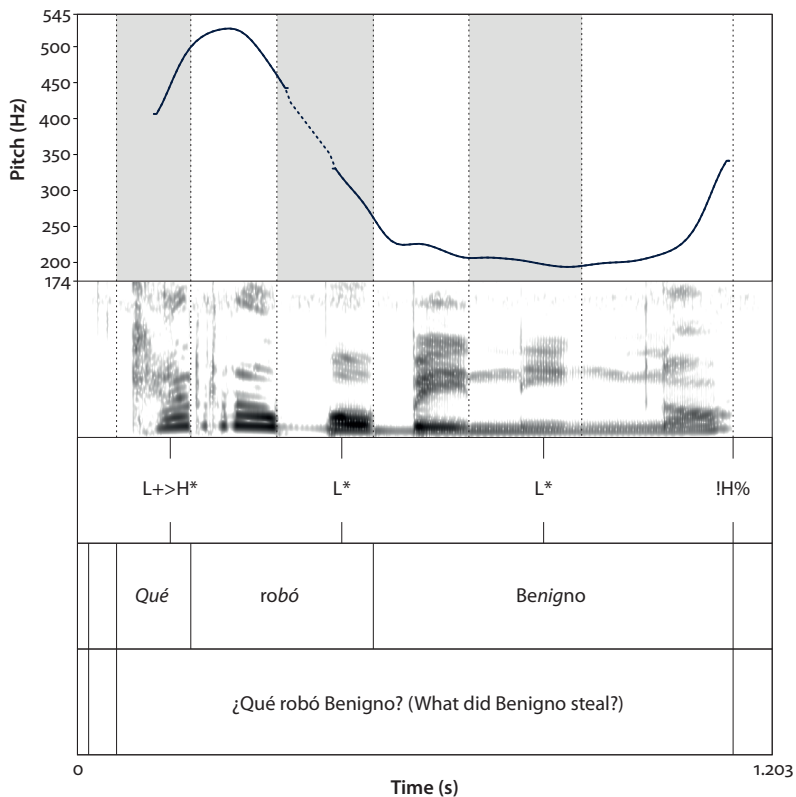


Figure 16.  $L+>H^*$  and  $L^*$  pitch accents in pre-nuclear positions

## 6. Intonation of echo questions

The nuclear configuration of echo questions in Pucallpa and Iquitos Spanish is similar to the one in absolute questions, that is a low pitch accent associated with the nuclear position followed by a high boundary tone:  $L^* \uparrow H\%$ . However, while in absolute questions we see a regular high boundary tone,  $H\%$ , and in pronominal questions we usually see an  $L\%$  or, if they are pragmatically marked, an  $!H\%$ , in echo questions we usually find an upstepped high tone:  $\uparrow H\%$ . In non-initial pre-nuclear positions, echo questions favor a rising pitch accent with an early peak:  $L+H^*$ . See Table 7 and Table 8.

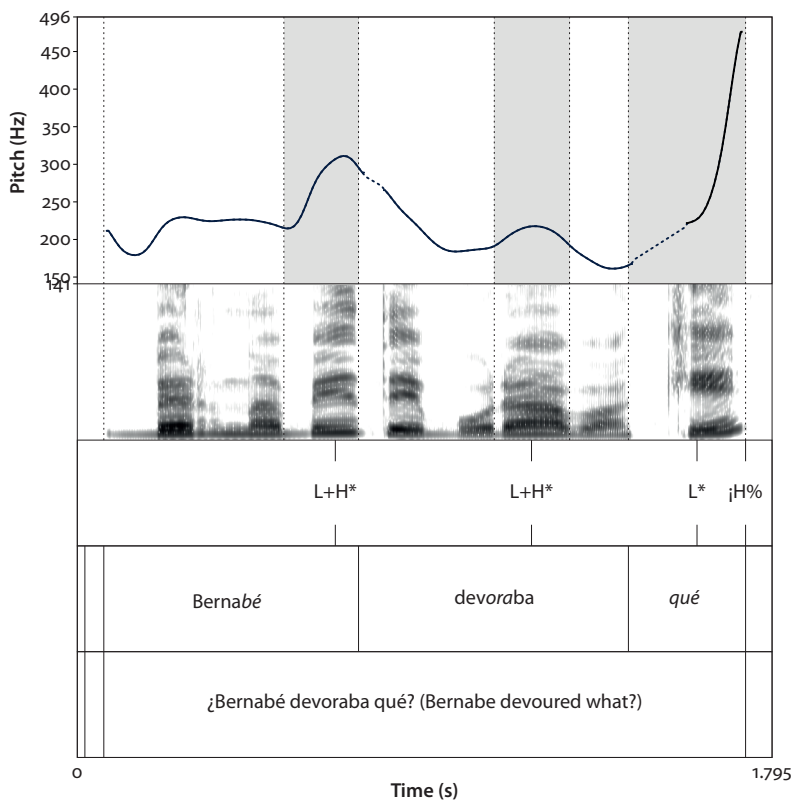
Table 7. Pitch accents and boundary tones in echo questions of Pucallpa Spanish ( $N = 83$ )

Initial pre-nuclear		Non-initial pre-nuclear		Nuclear		Boundary	
$L+H^*$	60%	$L+H^*$	85%	$L^*$	100%	$\uparrow H\%$	100%
$L+>H^*$	27%	$L+>H^*$	4%				
$L+H:*$	13%	$L+H:*$	3%				
		$L^*$	8%				

**Table 8.** Pitch accents and boundary tones in echo questions of Iquitos Spanish ( $N = 95$ )

Initial pre-nuclear		Non-initial pre-nuclear		Nuclear		Boundary	
L+H*	63%	L+H*	77%	L*	100%	¡H%	100%
L+>H*	33%	L+>H*	7%				
L+H:*	4%	L+H:*	7%				
		L*	9%				

Figures 17 and 18 below provide instances of the characteristic intonational contour of echo questions in Pucallpa and Iquitos Spanish. The nuclear configuration  $L^* ¡H\%$  can be more clearly appreciated in the graph in Figure 18 where the Wh-word has two syllables and offers enough room for the nuclear low tone,  $L^*$ , to appear independently of the high boundary tone,  $¡H\%$ . In the case of Figure 17, both pre-nuclear stressed syllables appear associated with rising pitch accents with early peaks:  $L+H^*$ .

**Figure 17.** Typical intonation of echo questions with a nuclear configuration:  $L^* ¡H\%$

Pucallpa and Iquitos Spanish echo questions also have a slight preference for showing an  $L+>H^*$  pitch accent as the initial tonal unit of the phrase (see Table 7 and Table 8). This is illustrated in Figure 18.

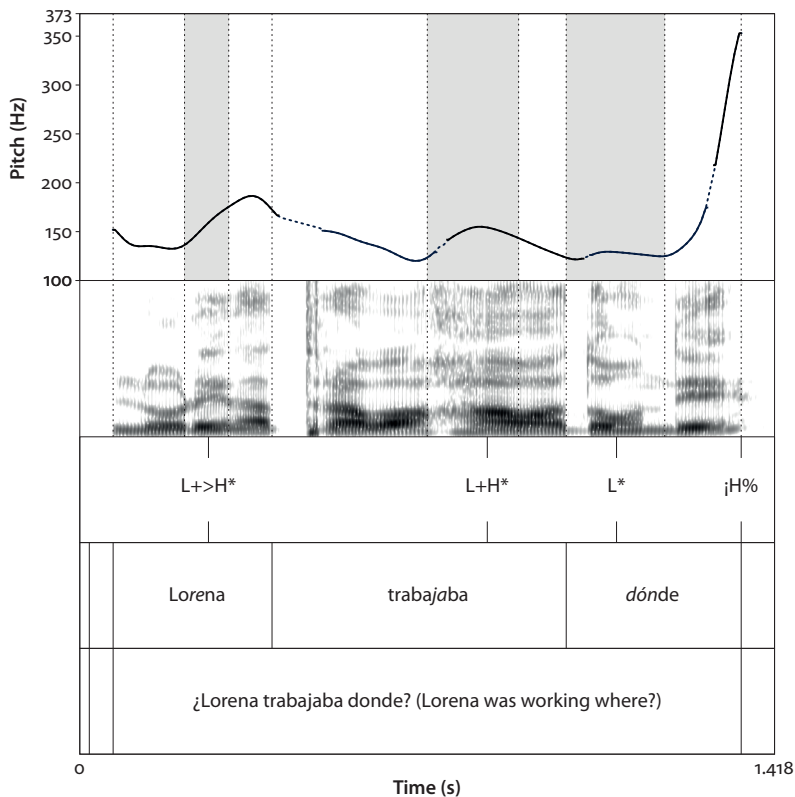


Figure 18. Initial pre-nuclear  $L+>H^*$  pitch accent realized with a late peak

It is worth mentioning that there were some instances of in-situ Wh-questions speakers uttered with a different nuclear configuration not counted in Table 7 and Table 8. In those cases, instead of using  $L^* ¡H\%$ , speakers used  $L+H^* L\%$ . However, when this happened, the question did not sound any longer as an echo question but as a regular information-seeking pronominal question with an in-situ Wh-word.

## 7. Discussion and conclusion

The intonational patterns presented in Sections §4, §5 and §6 can be summarized in three generalizations about: (i) the nuclear configurations, (ii) the height of boundary tones in questions, and (iii) the distribution of downstepping in non-initial

pre-nuclear pitch accents. The following paragraphs present and discuss each generalization.

In Peruvian Amazonian Spanish as spoken in the cities of Pucallpa and Iquitos, absolute, marked pronominal, and echo questions have a low tone as their nuclear pitch accent followed by a high boundary tone:  $L^* H\%$ . This contrasts with neutral pronominal questions and declarative sentences in which the preferred nuclear configuration is a rising nuclear accent with an early peak and a low boundary tone:  $L+H^* L\%$ . This can be seen in Table 9, which also includes information about pre-nuclear accents and tonal downstepping and upstepping. The shaded area corresponds to the intonational contours of interrogatives.

**Table 9.** Preferred intonational patterns in Pucallpa and Iquitos Spanish

	Initial pre-nuclear accent	Non-initial pre-nuclear accent	Nuclear accent	Boundary tone
Declarative:	$L+>H^* \sim L+H^*$	$L+H^*$	$L+H^*$	$L\%$
Pronominal: (neutral)	$L+H^*$	$L+!H^*$	$L+H^*$	$L\%$
Pronominal: (marked)	$L+H^*$	$L+!H^*$	$L^*$	$!H\%$
Absolute:	$L+>H^* \sim L+H^*$	$L+!H^*$	$L^*$	$H\%$
Echo:	$L+H^*$	$L+H^*$	$L^*$	$\grave{!}H\%$

An intonational feature used by Pucallpa and Iquitos Spanish as a cue to distinguish among types of phrases is the height of their boundary tones. In fact, we find that both dialects of Amazonian Spanish distinguish between four heights. Declarative sentences and neutral pronominal questions have an  $L\%$  boundary tone (see Figure 4 to Figure 6 for the former; and Figure 13 and Figure 14, for the latter). Absolute questions tend to end in a high one,  $H\%$ , that is, a tone as high as the highest peak of the phrase (see Figure 10 to Figure 12). Echo questions tend to end in a high tone that is in general noticeably higher than the highest peak of the phrase (see Figure 17 and Figure 18). I analyze it as an upstepped boundary tone:  $\grave{!}H\%$ . Although pronominal questions end in a low boundary tone, when they are pragmatically marked (see Section §5), they show a high boundary tone that tends to be much lower than the highest peak of the phrase (see Figure 15 and Figure 16). I analyze this type of high boundary tone as being downstepped:  $!H\%$ .<sup>4</sup>

In the case of pre-nuclear positions, the most frequent pitch accent found is  $L+H^*$ . In the case of pronominal and echo questions,  $L+H^*$  is definitely the most

4. Estebas Vilaplana (2009) found that Peninsular Spanish also distinguishes four heights in its boundary tones. However, these distinctions in tonal height have been reported with regard to declaratives ( $L\%$ ), unfinished enumeration ( $M\%$ ), calling contours ( $H\%$ ) and reiterative questions ( $HH\%$ ).

frequent pitch accent found in both initial and non-initial pre-nuclear positions. However, in the case of absolute questions, we find a different behavior. In the initial pre-nuclear position, although  $L+>H^*$  is preferred, it can robustly alternate with  $L+H^*$ . In contrast, in the non-initial pre-nuclear position,  $L+H^*$  is undeniably the norm and  $L+>H^*$  hardly occurs. This is the same pattern we find in declarative sentences (see also Garcia, 2011, 2016). Although declarative sentences and absolute interrogatives share the same distributional pattern of pitch accents in pre-nuclear positions, there are two intonational differences between them. The most important is the nuclear configuration:  $L+H^* L\%$  versus  $L^* H\%$  (see Table 9). The second distinction is that the  $L+H^*$  pitch accent of the non-initial pre-nuclear position has a strong preference for appearing downstepped,  $L+!H^*$ , in absolute questions but not in declaratives<sup>5</sup> (compare Figure 6 and Figure 10). We find similar behavior between pronominal questions and echo questions. That is, they have different nuclear configurations and they both prefer the same pitch accent in the initial pre-nuclear position,  $L+H^*$ , but in the non-initial one, pronominal questions favor a downstepped rising pitch accent,  $L+!H^*$  while echo questions have the same pitch accent but with no downstepping,  $L+H^*$  (compare Figure 13 and Figure 17).

The rising pitch accents deserve some additional discussion. Let us start by saying that  $L+H^*$  and  $L+>H^*$  are the most widely reported pitch accents that occur in many varieties of Spanish (Beckman, et al., 2002; Hualde & Prieto, 2015; Prieto & Roseano, 2010; Sosa, 1991, 2003, among others). In some dialects, it has been argued that they oppose each other (Face, 2006; Face & Prieto, 2007; Willis, 2003). In most varieties, both pitch accents appear in complementary distribution in broad declarative sentences: the rising pitch accent with an early peak occurs in nuclear positions of declarative sentences while the one with a late peak appears in pre-nuclear positions (Face, 2006; Face & Prieto, 2007; Hualde, 2005; Sosa, 1999, 2003). As in other dialects of Spanish, in Pucallpa and Iquitos Spanish, rising pitch accents with a late peak do not occur associated with syllables in nuclear positions. They are confined to pre-nuclear positions. However, in contrast to other varieties reported, it is clearly the initial pre-nuclear position that prefers to host an  $L+>H^*$  pitch accent. The non-initial pre-nuclear position prefers to have an  $L+H^*$  pitch accent. This opens the following analysis that remains to be tested in

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5. Nevertheless, the similar pattern observed in declaratives and absolute questions for pre-nuclear pitch accents must still be tested with different word orders. That is, for this study, absolute questions did not have subject-verb inversion. They had the same word order as a regular declarative sentence but with the intonation of a yes-no question. We do not know whether by fronting the verb to the beginning of the sentence (e.g. ¿miraba Marina la moneda?), we would obtain the same behavior with regard to pre-nuclear pitch accents.



future research. In this study, the data collected contains phrases that host three pitch accents. The non-initial pre-nuclear position is always adjacent to the nuclear one. It could be possible that there is an intermediate boundary tone that tends to occur just before the nuclear configuration in declaratives and questions in Pucallpa and Iquitos Spanish. This intermediate boundary tone pushes the alignment of the peak of  $L+>H^*$  making it surface as  $L+H^*$ . In other words, the reason why we observe  $L+H^*$  in non-initial pre-nuclear position in the data collected for this study would be due to tonal crowding (Ladd, 2008). We could postulate that in the case of pronominal and absolute questions, there is a downstepped low boundary tone,  $!L-$  while in the case of declaratives and echo questions we just have a regular low boundary tone,  $L-$ . This would account for why the  $L+!H^*$  we observed in the non-initial pre-nuclear position of pronominal and absolute questions appears downstepped. The presence of an intermediate boundary tone before the nuclear configuration could also explain the nature of the rising pitch accent with an extended peak,  $L+H^*$ . This tonal unit also occurs mostly in the non-initial pre-nuclear position of the phrases examined. We could interpret its contour as indicating the presence of an intermediate high boundary tone,  $HL-$ , which is responsible for the  $F_0$ 's extension beyond the stress syllable of the non-initial pre-nuclear position and its subsequent fall.

I would like to finish by highlighting one of the most striking findings made by this study. From an intonational point of view, Pucallpa Spanish and Iquitos Spanish are alike. This finding is, in principle, unexpected not only because the cities of Pucallpa and Iquitos are about 334 miles of rainforest apart with no easy ground or fluvial transportation access between them but also because different indigenous languages from distinct linguistic families were spoken in the area where those cities are currently located. Under this situation, one might expect that given the geographical distance and the expected dissimilar linguistic substratum, the result should be different intonational systems, which was the original expectation of this study. An option to consider is to look at the history of each city for an explanation. As mentioned in Section §2, Iquitos emerged as a city because of the rubber boom at the end of the 19th century and beginning of the 20th century. This economic activity triggered migration not only from other towns and cities in the Peruvian Amazon but also from the Andean and Coastal regions of Peru in addition to a considerable number of foreigners. Iquitos Spanish emerged from those waves of migration. This period of time was disastrous for indigenous populations. They were forced to work in the extraction of rubber. They were effectively enslaved and relocated to the rubber extraction areas. Thousands were killed. The Iquito community was almost wiped out. Nowadays their language is dying, with only 35 speakers remaining (Lewis, et al., 2016).

Pucallpa was still a small village at the time. It was not until the boom in lumber extraction and the construction of the highways connecting Lima and Pucallpa from the 1940s to the 1970s that Pucallpa grew from a small town into a city. As in the case of Iquitos, this economic activity triggered a great wave of migration. Two of the most important sources of this migratory wave were Iquitos and the Andean region. The expansion of Pucallpa also meant the pushing away of the local indigenous communities, in this case the Shipibo-Konibos.<sup>6</sup> Only at the end of the 1970s, due to the prosperity of Pucallpa, did some Shipibo-Konibos decide to establish themselves on the outskirts of the city as they looked for a better future. Nowadays, in spite of being the most important indigenous group around the Ucayali river, they only represent 7% of the population living in the city of Pucallpa (INEI, 2008, 2012). Both Iquitos and Pucallpa received a big migratory influx from the Andes in the 1980s and 1990s when people sought to escape the violence of armed groups like the Shining Path (García, 1971; Guevara, 2009; Mayor & Bodmer, 2009; San Román, 1994; Solís Fonseca, 2003). These great migratory movements from the Andes to both Iquitos and Pucallpa, and from Iquitos to Pucallpa together with the pushing away of indigenous communities from those areas and their relocation to sites of rubber and lumber extraction can account for why linguistically both cities present similar intonational systems with little influence from the local Amazonian languages as a linguistic substratum.

Thus, the similarity of the intonational system found in the cities of Pucallpa and Iquitos points out that unlike what is usually assumed to be the case, Amazonian Spanish does not always emerge from an intimate contact between Spanish and local Amazonian languages. At least, this does not seem to be the case for the urban varieties of Amazonian Spanish found in the cities of Pucallpa and Iquitos. If Iquitos Spanish were the result of the contact between Iquito (a Zaparoan language) and Spanish, and Pucallpa Spanish, the result of contact between Spanish and Shipibo-Konibo (a Panoan language), then both varieties of Spanish would show different intonational properties. The similarity of their intonational system is due to sharing common migratory movements exogenous to both cities.

In order to contextualize this finding properly, we must also reflect on what is implied by the term ‘Amazonian Spanish.’ In the case of Iquitos and Pucallpa Amazonian Spanish, it is necessary to distinguish at least between three different

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6. In this respect, it is telling that when I ran the interviews for this project in Pucallpa, initially I got twenty-four volunteers. However, six indicated in the sociolinguistic questionnaire that although they were monolingual in Pucallpa Spanish, they have at least one of their parents or grandparents living with them that was a speaker of Quechua. None of the twenty-four volunteers indicated having a parent or grandparent speaker of Shipibo.

categories embodied by that term: urban monolingual Amazonian Spanish, rural monolingual Amazonian Spanish, and bilingual Amazonian Spanish. Each represents a different linguistic population. This article focuses on the first category, that is, speakers that have been brought up in the city, immersed in monolingual Spanish. They are monolinguals themselves and have not had any substantive contact with speakers of the Amazonian communities that used to rule the lands where the city is now located. The results presented here comes from that particular population. There is another type of monolingual of Amazonian Spanish, though: those that live in communities where the local Amazonian language is ubiquitously spoken. In the case of the Ucayali region, for instance, this type of monolingual speaker of Amazonian Spanish is typically found in rural areas. Although they usually refuse to learn the indigenous language, they have had enough contact with it to be able to recognize words, phrases and even have a certain degree of understanding of what is being said. For them, the local indigenous language is a strong linguistic substratum. The third type of Amazonian Spanish is that spoken by bilinguals, whose L1 is the local Amazonian language.<sup>7</sup> A pertinent future research trajectory should analyze and compare those other two variants of Amazonian Spanish.

There are still many crucial questions that need to be addressed with regard to the monolingual Amazonian Spanish spoken in the cities of Iquitos and Pucallpa. The results found in this research, do not necessarily mean both dialects are identical. An examination of other phonetic and phonological properties is still required as well as an investigation into their morphology and syntax in order to gain a better sense of whether we are dealing with a single dialect. Now that we have a general sense of what tonal units are involved in the intonational contours of these two Peruvian Amazonian Spanish, we need to gain a better understanding of why we observe the tonal behavior reported in this article, what is the phonological analysis of those patterns, what happens with the intonational contours when we take into account the different types of information structure that phrases can convey (narrow focus, contrastive focus, topicalization, etc.). We need to have a better understanding as to whether Pucallpa and Iquitos Spanish are indeed identical varieties of Amazonian Spanish beyond their intonational aspects.

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7. On a study of rhotics in the Spanish spoken by Shipibo-Konibo speakers, Elias-Ulloa (2020) shows that even within the category of bilingual Amazonian Spanish, we find important differences related not only to the amount of exposure to Spanish but also to the type of exposure bilinguals have. His study shows that there is differentiation between the Shipibo-Spanish of speakers who have had a long exposure to urban monolingual Amazonian Spanish and those that had a long exposure to rural Amazonian Spanish.

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## Phonological processes in flux

### Variation in palatal lateral production in the Ecuadorian Amazon

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In this study, we examine the production of the palatal lateral in Spanish, represented orthographically as <ll>, as produced by bilinguals in the Ecuadorian Amazon. The purpose of this study is first to observe what changes may have taken place in the acoustic production of palatal /ʎ/ by Quichua-Spanish speakers in comparison to related segments /l/ and /j/ which may be due to indigenous language contact, and second to determine if extralinguistic influences may have contributed to this change (e.g., differences in gender). While males appear to maintain a distinct palatal lateral and females demonstrate a move towards delateralization, both genders demonstrate cases of depalatalization due to allophony, as in their native language.

**Keywords:** Amazonian Spanish, Quichua bilinguals, Ecuador, palatal lateral, language contact

## Introduction

The palatal lateral is a sound which has historically been used to characterize Spanish dialects and differentiate between them (Canfield, 1962; Lipski, 2012). The sound itself is the result of evolution of several sound sequences found in Latin, including palatalization of geminates, and simplification of initial consonant clusters (e.g., GALLU > *gallo* ('rooster'), CLAVE > *llave* ('key')), such that /ʎ/ is an innovation in Spanish (Lapesa, 1981; Penny, 2005). However, the sound has continued to evolve in that several dialects of Spanish no longer have this sound in their phonemic inventory, including most Latin American varieties of Spanish and southern Peninsular Spanish varieties, such as Andalusian Spanish (Lapesa, 1981, pp. 500–502; Lipski, 1994; Hualde, 2005). An internal tendency towards 'progressive fusion' via depalatalization may be considered part of a more general trend towards



simplification and dephonologization of the sound system (Moreno-Fernández, 2011, pp. 61–62). Even central-northern varieties of Peninsular Spanish which have historically employed this phoneme (Lapesa, 1981) have evinced change in recent years (Molina, 2006), moving towards *yeísmo* or usage of variants of /j/ for both orthographic <ll> and <y>. Within Latin America, varieties that have been in contact with indigenous languages which also contain the palatal lateral phoneme have demonstrated prolonged maintenance of the phoneme in Spanish amidst the ongoing change in neighboring Latin American varieties. Such is the case with Quechua-Spanish contact in the Andean region of Peru and Ecuador: “it is probable that the maintenance of the /ʎ/ in the Spanish of the Andean regions had received support from the Quechua and Aymara adstrata, given that both languages contain the palatal sonorant phoneme”<sup>1</sup> (Lapesa, 1981, p. 552, also cited in Lope Blanch, 1989, p. 136), although Ecuadorian Andean Spanish also has undergone additional change through fricativization to [ʒ] among northern Spanish dialects, (e.g., as in Quito) (Argüello, 1978; Canfield, 1981, pp. 48–51).

Lowland Spanish in Ecuador, in contact with Quichua in the Amazon, is the focus of this study. While the Quichua dialect spoken in Tena is considered to include the palatal lateral in its phonemic inventory, some allophonic variation is observed in the usage of the palatal lateral (O'Rourke, to appear). Specifically, the palatal lateral /ʎ/ before a high front vowel [i] undergoes a process of depalatalization to [l]. This is explained as a type of dissimilatory process in these contexts to distinguish the consonant from the palatal vowel. This phonological process is reported to be present in the Tena Quichua dialect, whereas a neighboring Pastaza Quichua dialect does not show this phenomenon (Orr, 1978). However, this process is not typical of varieties of Spanish in general and may be due to the bilingual nature of these speakers.

In the present study, our purpose is first to observe any changes in the acoustic production of the palatal lateral /ʎ/ by Quichua-Spanish bilinguals in comparison to related segments lateral /l/ and palatal /j/ which may be due to indigenous language contact, and second to determine if extralinguistic influences may have contributed to this change, in particular those related to gender. This article is presented as a continuation and elaboration of a prior pilot examination of the data (O'Rourke, to appear), which is further described in the Background section below. While one potential outcome is the maintenance of the palatal /ʎ/, preliminary examination has also shown cases of depalatalization to [l], while another possibility is delateralization to [j] or *yeísmo* as has occurred in other Spanish dialects (Lispki,

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1. Original: “Es probable que la conservación de la /ʎ/ en el español de regiones andinas haya tenido apoyo en los adstratos quechua y aimara, ya que ambas lenguas poseen el fonema palatal lateral sonoro” (Lapesa, 1981, p. 552, also cited in Lope Blanch, 1989, p. 136).

2012). The aim of this study is to answer the following questions: (1) Do speakers distinguish etymological /ʎ/ from /l/ and /j/ acoustically? And if so, which feature(s) are employed? (e.g., changes in formant structure; duration); and where are these distinctions made? (i.e., during the closure portion of the lateral, the transition, or both combined (in the case of duration)); (2) Is there acoustic evidence of depalatalization of /ʎ/ to [l] in certain contexts, and how does that compare to related segmental sequences [lj] and [li]?; and (3) Do males and females behave differently in their realization of etymological /ʎ/ in comparison to /l/ and /j/? We note that Colantoni (2004, cited in Colantoni, 2011, p. 15) reports higher first formant (F1) values in cases of delateralization in Argentine Spanish with continued maintenance of the following glide transition, while duration tends to remain unaffected across Spanish varieties. Therefore, it is important to investigate how the palatal lateral /ʎ/ may be realized differently (or not) from a lateral followed by a palatal glide [j] and a lateral followed by a high front vowel [i], especially in cases of depalatalization of /ʎ/ to [l] as in *gallinas* ('hens').

## Background

This study addresses the issue of sound change that may result from language contact, with a focus on words that seem to be undergoing a change in a specific context, and the acoustic correlates that demonstrate that change. In this section we review relevant literature on language contact and sound change, including change occurring via lexical diffusion. We then turn our attention to findings from prior acoustic studies on the sounds of interest – palatal lateral /ʎ/ and related segments /l/ and /j/.

### Language contact and sound change

When discussing language contact, the individual and not the language is often cited as the deciding factor for which changes of the possible ones given actually take place. Similar to Thomason and Kaufman's (1988, p. 19) emphasis on social factors over linguistic structure in determining the degree and direction of interference, Boretzky (1991) asserts:

It is my deep conviction that there do not exist absolute structural constraints on interference, and that it is the extralinguistic factors which determine in nearly all cases what is possible and what not... We should bear in mind that structures are shaped according to the needs of the language users, and not the other way around.  
(pp. 1–2)

However, in his review of advances in sociolinguistic research on sound change, Kerswill (2011) describes as part of a first wave approach the implication of the variationist Labovian perspective that “if language is the property of the group, then change should be explained at the level of the group” (p. 4); next, in a second wave, emphasis is placed on how linguistic behavior is assigned meaning from social categories drawn from the local context, including their connections within a specific social network (Eckert, 2005; L. Milroy, 1980; J. Milroy, 1992), citing how looser networks may promote change while tighter networks may inhibit it; last, the third wave examines how styles and identities may be indexed by certain variants and assigned meaning (Eckert, 2005, cited in Kerswill, 2011, p. 4). Hernández-Campoy (2014) describes the development of the concept of indexicality within sociolinguistics, and the use of a linguistic variant by a speaker as a way to construct identity and social meaning. In sum, Clyne (2003, p. 69) states that “Language use reflects people’s multiple identities, different constituent parts of which may be emphasized at various times and in different places” and notes individual factors (e.g., age, exogamy, socioeconomic mobility), group factors (e.g., size of community, cultural distance), and general factors (e.g., time, language shift) may all play a role in language use.

The aforementioned term ‘interference’ and related term ‘borrowing’ have been distinguished in different ways in the literature. Myers-Scotton (2002) discusses lexical borrowing and other terminology, including the presence of a lexical gap which promotes incorporation of a term into the recipient language, and highlights Thomason and Kaufman’s (1988) distinction between borrowing, in which the L1 is still maintained, and interference, in which the speakers are shifting (rapidly) to the target language. Winford (2005) adopts the distinction made by Van Coetsem (1988) between borrowing and interference along the lines of agentivity, where borrowing occurs into the recipient language (RL) by RL-dominant speakers, while interference or ‘imposition’ occurs from the source language (SL) by SL-dominant speakers when learning the RL (i.e., in both cases the transfer is from SL to RL, but the agents of borrowing are RL speakers while the agents of imposition are SL speakers). As Winford indicates, the complexity of the language contact situation dictates that since “bilinguals with fluency or near-fluency in two languages may be linguistically dominant in one or the other at different times”, then “the same agent may employ either kind of agentivity, and hence different transfer types, in the same contact situation” (Winford, 2005, p. 378).

Regarding sound change, Winford (2003, pp. 46–48) characterizes the different types of phonological integration of loanwords into a language, such as the substitution of sounds by perceived native language equivalents (as in English /f/ to Indic /p<sup>h</sup>/). Studies have shown this type of rule application for L1 learners when producing sounds in the target language, such as final obstruent devoicing

by German learners of Swedish and other transfer of syllabification rules (pp. 212–213). Boretzky (1991) offers a number of scenarios in which ‘interference’ from a substrate language by speakers shifting to a new language may occur, including: slight changes in sounds which do not modify the phonemic inventory, transfer of new sounds with loanwords which bring new phonemes with restricted loanword status or with spreading to other words, and transfer of a process via triggering a possible language-internal sound change along with the new sound. In discussing on-going questions related to sound change, Kerswill (2011, p. 7) highlights the following issues to consider: the gradual or abrupt nature of sound change, lexically abrupt vs. gradual change through lexical diffusion, the ability to ‘observe’ change, change as a feature of the individual or group, and change due to structural properties or via contact (i.e., internally or externally motivated change). While each of the components, and others noted by Kerswill, such as sociopolitical and economic factors, may contribute to the promotion of sound change, for this study the role of the lexicon and language contact will be considered in more detail here, even though the other factors likewise warrant additional consideration.

Sound change has been hypothesized to proceed in at least two ways, occurring with great regularity with some exceptions or as an incipient change that propagates through a language via lexical diffusion (Labov, 1981, cited in Mier, 1987). As described by Wang (1969), ‘lexical diffusion’ occurs when a sound change affects a word (or group of words) one at a time as the change spreads through the lexicon (cited in Mier, 1987, p. 72). In a study of lexical diffusion of Catalan in contact with Spanish, Mier (1987) shows how younger speakers, males, and those with poorer writing ability in Catalan demonstrate affrication of /ʃ/ in a set of words, in particular those with Castilian cognates and those likely to be frequently used in advertising and outside the home (e.g., *xocalata* ‘chocolate’, *xampany* ‘champagne’, compared with *xemeneia* ‘chimney’, *xuilet* ‘whistle’, and *xarxa* ‘net’). Often in sound change, a phonetic reduction is observed which for more frequent words can occur without cost in understanding by the hearer (Wang, 1979, pp. 365–366, cited in Mier, 1987, p. 80).

In their examination of factors that lead to and contribute to sound change, Garrett and Johnson (2013) consider factors that create bias in the production and perception of a speech sound, such as aerodynamic constraints and perceptual parsing, among others. However, they also note the potential role of word frequency and that of lexical irregularities which can become salient later in the change process and acquire social meaning (pp. 82–83). Garrett and Johnson then offer a model of actuation in which there is an initial individual who deviates from the community norm, followed by ‘early adopters’ or ‘innovators’ as described in Milroy and Milroy (1985) who are perceptually more attuned to phonetic variants and more divergent exemplars stored in memory. For these individuals bias factors creating

phonetic variants are not completely filtered out but rather participate in sound change via the creation of exemplar clouds. Garrett (2015) likewise discusses the actuation of sound change, asking why a potential change may occur at one time but not another, and offers both psychological and social approaches to address this issue, ultimately stating that “Every change must originate with individuals, but if it is to be observed it must diffuse in a speech community” (p. 18). Kerswill (2011, p. 8) similarly states “we must ask why the changes happened just when they did and not at some other time, given that they were phonetically motivated and hence ‘natural’, and so should apply whenever the phonological conditions were right” but also notes the common saying “each word has its own history” (p. 7). A possible path to change is that common everyday speech characteristics motivated by “connected speech processes” found in fluent speech become fossilized in more formal speech and then part of the phonological representation (pp. 8–9) while the social evaluation of these processes may determine which words undergo these changes via lexical diffusion, leading to exceptions to the rule (pp. 16–17). Finally, Blevins and Wedel (2009) consider situations in which sound change is inhibited. In their examination, they describe both ‘apparent’ and ‘real’ exceptions to sound change regularity, including the former apparent type in which a regular sound change is followed by contact or mixture with another language or dialect, creating apparent exceptions, and the latter real type in which change would create homophony between previously distinct words, which is deemed a ‘pure’ inhibited sound change. These issues will be returned to upon discussion of the findings.

### Acoustic analysis of Spanish palatal lateral and related segments

In this study we conduct an acoustic analysis of the palatal lateral /ʎ/ and related segments lateral /l/ and palatal /j/, in order to observe any similarities which may demonstrate a sound change in progress. In this section we summarize prior findings on /ʎ l j/ to provide context for the data reported in the present study. One of the ways in which consonants can be distinguished is through their formant frequencies, which correlate with the characteristic resonating cavities created by the articulators during the production of a consonant (or vowel). The first two formants, F1 and F2, reflect the height of the tongue in the oral cavity and the horizontal position of the tongue, respectively. The third formant, F3, reflects other characteristics, such as the shape of the lips, and lowering of the velum; for example, for velars /k g/ there is a characteristic pinching together of a raised F2 with a lowered F3 during the transition from the consonant to the adjacent vowel (D’Introno, del Teso Martín, & Weston, 1995; Hayward, 2000; Quilis, 1988a). Also, F3 is modulated to create different voice qualities which may be heard at higher frequencies

(e.g., by singers) (Story, 2016). Acoustic comparison of /ʎ/ and /l/ by Quilis (1988a, pp. 282–288) finds an average longer duration for /ʎ/ at 7.32 centiseconds (cs) versus 6.03 cs for /l/ (or 73.2 ms vs. 60.3 ms). Also, the average F1 is lower for /ʎ/ than /l/ at 291 cycles-per-second (cps) or hertz (Hz) vs. 333 Hz, while the average F3 is higher for /ʎ/ than /l/ at 2661 Hz vs. 2565 Hz. However, Quilis (1988a, p. 286) suggests that these differences are not decisive enough to distinguish between consonants, and that the duration of the transition, and the F2 frequency during the consonant and the following transition are more descriptive in differentiating these consonants:<sup>2</sup> e.g., the average transition duration for /ʎ/ at 33.1 ms was almost twice as long as that for /l/ at 18.6 ms; the average F2 for /ʎ/ at 2060 Hz was considerably higher than the average F2 for /l/ at 1555 Hz. In sum, Quilis describes *palatalization* as characterized by “a considerable increase in the frequency of F2, a small increase in the F3, and a slight decrease in the F1” (p. 152, my translation).<sup>3</sup> Comparing palatals, Thomas (2011) describes /ʎ/ and the non-lateral counterpart (shown as /j/) as having similar F2 frequencies, both of which are higher than /l/, whereas Colantoni’s (2004) review of research on /ʎ/ in Romance indicates F1 and F3 of /ʎ/ may vary from having similar to somewhat higher values compared to /j/ (cited in Thomas, 2011, p. 128). Therefore, a shift towards delateralization may be signaled by higher F1 and/or F3 values, whereas maintenance of /ʎ/ would not necessarily appear as a change in F2 (compared to /j/). However, depalatalization towards /l/ could be observed with changes in the F2.

Prior research on /ʎ/ has taken segmental context and other extralinguistic factors into account. Quilis, Esqueva, Gutiérrez Araus, and Cantarero (1979) report findings for laterals /ʎ/ and /l/ according to stress, following vowel, and position within the word, based on over 2000 tokens extracted from a carrier phrase recorded by six Spaniards and one Colombian speaker. Differences in consonant realization according to the following vowel are also reported in Quilis (1988a, pp. 286–288). Elsewhere, Quilis finds there is *lleísmo*, or the maintenance of the <ll-y> contrast in the Andean and Eastern regions of Ecuador (1988b, pp. 353–354) where /j/ is described as a ‘central palatal’ which also appears as

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2. It is important to note, as pointed out by one reviewer, how these claims are made, i.e., how the measurements were taken. The data summarized in Quilis (1988a) are drawn from the work by Quilis et al. (1979); however, the nature of the measurement does not appear to be specified, whether the F2 was measured at the midpoint or if an average was taken of the F2 for the duration of the segment. In any case, the values reported are averages over several tokens and multiple speakers.

3. Original: “La palatalización se caracteriza por un considerable aumento de las frecuencias del F2, un pequeño aumento del F3 y un ligero descenso del F1” (Quilis, 1988a, p. 152). Note, a specific acoustic measurement of /j/ was not given in Quilis (1988a).

a variant of /ʎ/ along with prepalatal fricative [ʒ] and affricate [dʒ] to varying degrees depending on the dialect. Additionally, Colantoni (2004, p. 89) notes acoustic and auditory constraints against the /ʎi/ sequence which make it a likely candidate for change.

In a study of Argentine Spanish as spoken in Corrientes, Colantoni (2004) analyzes 270 tokens from semi-spontaneous recordings of eight speakers and reports that while significant differences for F1, F2, and F3 were not found for /ʎ/ based on following vowel quality, significantly higher formant values were observed in unstressed vs. stressed position for F1 but not F2 and F3; duration was not found to vary significantly under either condition (change in following vowel quality or stress). Regarding the transition from the consonant to the vowel, significant differences were observed for F1 and F2 according to vowel quality, but not F3, and according to stress for all three formants, whereas transition duration was not shown to vary under these conditions. Analysis of extralinguistic factors of location within Corrientes and gender showed interspeaker differences such that higher F2 was correlated with higher rates of /ʎ/ maintenance while higher F1 was not, and formant differences for the transition were also observed for location and gender within location. Later, Colantoni (2011, p. 15) describes delateralization to be a decrease in the lateral constriction while the glide is maintained, whereas duration is unaffected. Given the potential importance of the glide transition in development of sound change for /ʎ/, comparison of glide /j/ with high front vowel /i/ may be helpful also. Reetz and Jongman (2009, p. 187) note that formants frequencies for /j/, described as a palatal approximant, are similar to the /i/ in that both show a low F1 and high F2 and F3, although the transitions for the glide are more pronounced with respect to range and duration. Last, Colantoni (2011) cites other research on the effects of language contact and dominance on laterals by Simonet (2008), which did not find Catalan-like velarization of /l/ in Spanish via contact, although Simonet (2015) does show some differences according to gender and language-dominance.

Preliminary findings from six Quichua-Spanish bilinguals in Tena Ecuador (O'Rourke, to appear) based on approximately 250 tokens suggest that gender differences may be present in the production of /ʎ/ when compared to /l/ and /j/. In this pilot study, the entire segment (including any transition) was measured according to the F2, duration, and change in intensity of the consonant compared to the following vowel (C/V ratio). While both groups produced depalatalized tokens, specifically in the context of /i/, one female showed a high degree of overlap between laterals /ʎ l/ with regard to F2, and another showed overlap between palatals /ʎ j/; only two speakers (one male and one female) show duration differences between /ʎ/ and /l/ with the former being shorter than the latter, which is distinct from prior



research (cf. Quilis, 1988b). Constriction in the C/V ratio was found to be greater for /k/ than /l/ for only two other speakers (one male and one female). While these findings show, on the one hand, how multiple cues may be employed by these bilinguals to differentiate between the palatal lateral and related segments, more investigation of all formants and their relative distance within a speaker's acoustic space is needed, along with further examination of the transition itself.

## Present study

### Setting and participants

The recordings for the present study were collected in the Ecuadorian Amazon in the Quichua-speaking community of Venecia Derecha, located on the Napo River. The closest large urban area is Tena, which is the capital of the Tena Cantón, and part of the Napo Province. While Tena Cantón consists of 60,880 residents (2010-INEC Census), the majority (37573, 62%) live in rural areas, where there is a nearly even division between males and females (51% vs. 49%), and average years of schooling for those 10 and older is approximately 4.4 years for both genders. In the rural areas of Tena, the majority of residents identify as indigenous (29666, 79%). When asked which languages they spoke, similar rates were reported for speaking a native language by both genders (12664, 65.5% males; 12361, 63.9% females), whereas males reported higher rates for Spanish than females (12289, 63.5% males; 11294, 58.4% females), which may demonstrate differences in bilingualism. In both cases, rural residents who spoke a native language predominantly spoke Quichua at equal rates for both genders (12469, 98.5% males, 12215, 98.8% females).

The participants in this study were all residents of Venecia Derecha at the time of the study. The findings reported here are based on recordings from three male and three female speakers (coded as m1–m3 and f1–f3, respectively). A written language history questionnaire was given in Spanish, to which they responded orally. Questions regarding domains of language use and literacy were included (based on Büttner, 1983 and Haboud, 1998), but no self-reports were gathered on proficiency level. However, participants were able to successfully complete reading tasks in Spanish as described below, along with speaking tasks in Quichua, such that a functional level of ability was found for all participants in these areas. Additionally, some completed reading tasks in Quichua, although these are not analyzed for this study.

From this questionnaire we see that all participants reported speaking and learning Quichua as their first language in the home and then learning Spanish



upon entering the school system, as in (1). Nonetheless, both languages are spoken in the community, shown in (2).

- (1) *Mi papá, mi mamá no sabía español. Solo quichua. Entonces nosotros desde chiquito aprendemos quichua. De allí ya cuando entramos a la escuela, allí aprendemos español.* (f2, 42-year-old Quichua-Spanish bilingual)  
 ‘My father, my mother didn’t know Spanish. Only Quichua. So we (children) from (the time we were) little we learned Quichua. From there when we went to school, there we learned Spanish.’
- (2) *En mi comunidad todos hablan dos idiomas, castellano y quichua.* (f1, 23-year-old Quichua-Spanish bilingual)  
 ‘In my community, everyone speaks both languages, Spanish and Quichua.’

Participants were within the age range of 20–45 (mean for males = 36 years; mean for females = 33 years). Regarding profession, males reported working in the agriculture and forestry sectors; females indicated agriculture as the main industry in the region and/or a direct professional connection, while one female (f2) reported being a homemaker. Overall higher levels of educational attainment were reported for males than females: secondary education was completed by three speakers (m1, m2, f2) while primary education was completed by three speakers (m3, f1, f3).

Regarding language use and domains, nearly all participants reported having parents who spoke Quichua or only Quichua, and siblings with whom they speak in Quichua and Spanish. One female speaker (f3) reported having a father who spoke Spanish, while another female speaker (f2) reported speaking a different (local) variety of Quichua than her husband even though she was born in Tena Cantón and had lived in Venecia Derecha for over twenty years. All participants describe using Quichua in the home, and four additionally report using Spanish. One of the males in particular notes using mostly Spanish with his children. In the community, Quichua is widely used, with several reporting its use in *la minga* (‘communal work’), at *la feria* (‘the market’), *la asamblea* (‘community meetings’), and *la iglesia* (‘church’). Spanish was also described as being used in church by one male, and in the market by two females. It appears that the generation of monolingual Quichua speakers are the parents of the study participants, the participants themselves are bilingual in both languages, whereas their children may be more likely to use Spanish in more contexts.

## Materials and data elicitation

For the recording task, speakers were asked to read a series of question-and-answer pairs written in Spanish on index cards. For each pair, a prompt question was given

which focused on either the truth value or the subject or object of the utterance.<sup>4</sup> For one female speaker (f3), instead of read sentences the data are taken from a picture description task of rural images drawn from Bills, Vallejo, and Troike (1969) (e.g., these included images of a rooster, a hen, a broom made of straw, a clay pot, among others).<sup>5</sup> Recordings were made with a Shure 512 head-mounted microphone and Sharp MD-SR60 minidisc recorder. Next the recordings were digitized at a 44.1 kHz sampling rate and acoustic analysis was conducted in *Praat* version 6.0.19 (Boersma & Weenink, 1992–2016).

Words were then segmented and labeled according to the following criteria. For <ll>, intervocalic <ll> was measured, as in *castellano*, *gallina*, and *tallarines* ('Spanish', 'chicken', and 'noodles'). For <l>, intervocalic <l> was measured, as in *Camilo*, *animales*, and *ilumina* ('Camilo' – proper name, 'animals', and 'illuminates'). For <y>, only word-initial tokens were present in the corpus, as in *Yolanda*, and *Yo* ('Yolanda' – proper name, and 'I'). As previously indicated, the elicitation materials were initially designed for a different study, and therefore are limited in terms of the tokens that can be extracted, similar to using materials from semi-spontaneous speech. Because of this, the position of the segment in relation to the stressed syllable, the phonetic context (e.g., following vowel quality), and position within the utterance were not controlled for. However, as found in prior acoustic research, variation in formant frequency and duration may be affected by these factors, depending on the acoustic correlate under analysis (Quilis et al., 1979; Quilis, 1988a; Colantoni, 2004). These and other issues are addressed in Kerswill and Watson (2014), who describe some of the potential environmental effects to phonological variation, including segmental effects, syllable structure, and other systemic

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4. The test materials were initially used for a separate study and therefore are not balanced in terms of number of tokens. This issue was accounted for with the type of statistical analysis used, as described later. The following are examples of these question-and-answer pairs, both of which were read aloud by each participant:

- (1) *¿Qué cuidaba su familia? – Su familia cuidaba las gallinas.*  
'What did his/her family keep? – His/her family used to keep chickens (hens).'
- (2) *¿Quién domina el castellano? – Yolanda domina el castellano.*  
'Who speaks Spanish (well). – Yolanda speaks Spanish (well).'
- (3) *¿Marleni salía temprano? – No, José salía temprano.*  
'Did Marleni used to leave early? – No, José used to leave early.'

5. The speaker described the pictures in Quichua and then offered a translation or additional commentary in Spanish. The Spanish tokens for this speaker (f3) are drawn from this session, during which it could be argued that both languages were activated (and in use). Due to time limitations and speaker availability, a recording session of sentences in Spanish on a separate day, as was the case with other participants, was not conducted.

changes, as well as issues related to use of naturally occurring data, including lower instances of tokens in some contexts, which may make results less comparable to other studies. Subsequent research is needed to account for these additional variables. Therefore, the current study is presented as exploratory in nature such that the findings should be interpreted with due caution.

A total of 750 tokens were measured, including 228 tokens of <ll>, 295 tokens of <l> and 81 tokens of <y>. <sup>6</sup> In order to compare the production of these sounds to similar sequences, two additional measurements were made: first of <li> realized as a lateral followed by a glide [lj], as in the diphthong in *familia* ('family') and *Amalia* ('Amalia' – proper name) ( $N = 114$ ), and second of the hiatus sequence <lí> when followed by another vowel, as in *salía* ('used to leave') ( $N = 32$ ). In this way, the acoustic realization of the transition of <ll> can be isolated and compared to that of a glide or vowel following <l>. The number of tokens per speaker appears in the Appendix in Table A1.

## Data analysis

The analysis of the recordings proceeded as follows. Sounds were segmented using the waveform and spectrogram, along with the intensity contour, in order to determine the beginning and end of the consonantal sequences (e.g., for <l> and <y>.) In the case of <ll>, the closure corresponding to the lateral portion was labeled at the end of the steady-state of the formants. If a transition to the following vowel was present, this was labeled as T.

Next, each segment <ll>, <l>, <y> or T was examined in *Praat* (Boersma & Weenink, 1992–2016) to find the midpoint, which was marked and then used to take measurements of the first three formants – F1, F2, F3 (see example in Figure 1; see Figure 2 for example without a transition). As indicated previously, while the first and second formants relate specifically to tongue height and backness respectively, the third formant provides additional quality information (for example such as that related to lip rounding and lowering of the velum) and may help to distinguish between a high front vowel [i] and an approximant [j] (Reetz & Jongman, 2009). That is, a higher F1 value represents a lower tongue (i.e., less constriction), whereas a higher F2 value represents a more retracted tongue (i.e., greater backness, and a move towards palatalization). Analysis of duration consisted of measurement of the closure portion of the consonant <ll>, <l>, <y>, the transition T, and the following glide or vowel, in the case of <li> and <lí>.

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6. Hereafter, orthographic <ll>, <l>, and <y> will be used as a proxy coding to refer to phonemes /ʎ/, /l/, and /j/ respectively, since the presence of /ʎ/ (and *lleísmo*) in the phonological inventory of these speakers is an empirical question, and the data were elicited via a reading task.

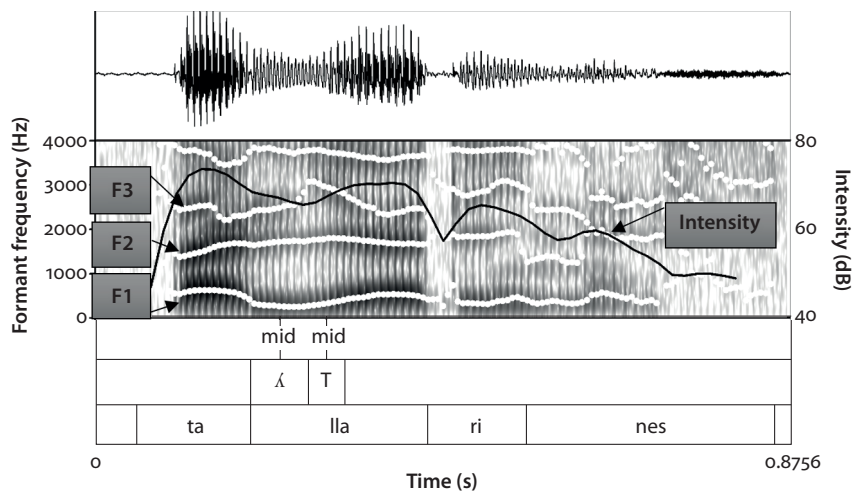


Figure 1. Sample segmentation of word with transition (*tallarines* ‘noodles’, speaker m2); formants shown in white, intensity shown in solid black

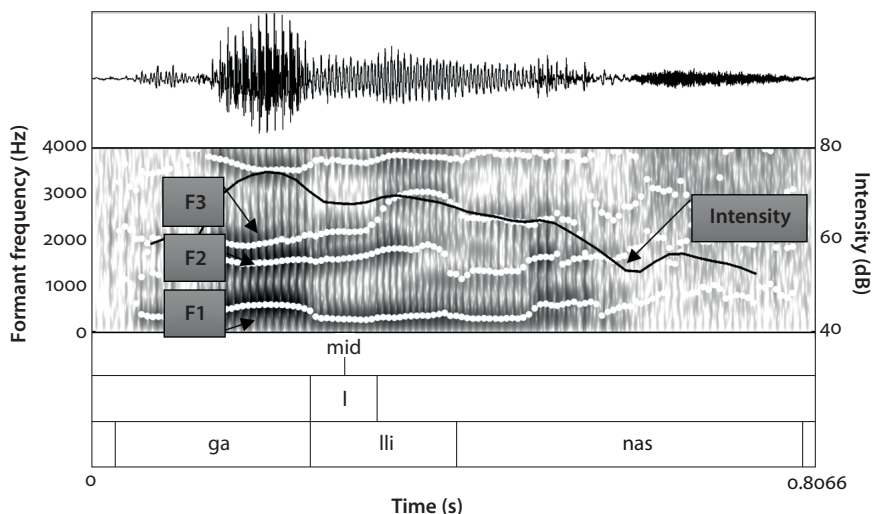


Figure 2. Sample segmentation of word without transition (*gallinas* ‘hens’, speaker m2); formants shown in white, intensity shown in solid black

The distance between the first and second formants also was calculated as  $F2-F1$  as another indication of changes in place of articulation and constriction. In Simonet (2010) and references therein, it was noted that ‘darker’ laterals (i.e., pronounced farther back) also show smaller  $F2-F1$  distances due to a lower  $F2$  and higher  $F1$ . Similarly, if productions of <ll> without a transition are becoming depalatalized

to [l] and are articulated closer to the alveolar region, these may show a similar F2-F1 distance to other tokens of <l>. In Table 1 we see a summary of the acoustic measurements taken.

**Table 1.** Summary of acoustic measurements, their correlate and interpretation

Measure	Correlate	Interpretation
F1	Tongue height	Higher values correspond with lowered tongue height
F2	Tongue backness	Higher values correspond with retracted tongue
F3	Rounding, velum	Lower values correspond with other features (e.g., more lip rounding, lower velum)
F2-F1	Constriction	Smaller values correspond with more constriction
Duration	Time	Larger values correspond with longer segments

Formant frequency values were extracted in hertz (Hz). These were then converted to the Bark scale that better represents psychoacoustic distances, using the formula given in *Praat* (also employed in Simonet, 2010, 2015). Ideally, speaker results would be further normalized in order to account for interspeaker differences (e.g., in vocal tract length) as is the case with the s-normalization procedure in Simonet (2015). However, given the nature of the materials used in the recording task this type of procedure was not possible due to lack of both <ll> and <l> tokens in the necessary vocalic contexts. The findings for male and female speakers are therefore kept separate in order to mitigate some of these physiological differences related to gender. See Labov (2006) for further discussion of complex normalization models which separate vocal track differences and social factors in the normalization of sociophonetic findings from males and females. Therefore, for the present study while the range of formant values may differ between males and females, the relationship between phones is still of interest in terms of how they are similar or different between groups.

Statistical analysis was conducted in IBM SPSS version 23 with the following considerations. A linear mixed model procedure was used, which accounted for repeated measures for a given word, and an unequal number of observations per speaker and per phone. Significance was set at the  $p < 0.05$  level. The main effects for each analysis along with the post-hoc analysis appear in the results tables. A Type III estimate of the Standard Deviation was used with a Bonferroni correction for multiple comparisons.

Finally, the following planned comparisons were made. First, the quality of the lateral closure, the formant height (F1, F2, F3, and F2-F1) were compared for the palatal lateral closure in segments accompanied with a transition and without. These are represented as <ll> (T) and <ll> (NT) respectively with the transition component in parentheses to indicate that this was not the portion measured, but

rather the preceding lateral closure. These segments are compared to orthographic <l> and <y> respectively, which correspond to /l/ and /j/. Next, a similar analysis of formant height and duration was conducted of the transition portion when present in the <ll> T sequence, which was then compared to <y>, the glide in <li> diphthong sequences, and the vowel in <lí> hiatus sequences. In this way, we can observe if the transition is behaving like a glide or <y>, which may be a step towards delateralization and *yeísmo*. Last, an analysis of just the total duration of the palatal lateral, including cases with and without a transition <ll> T and <ll> NT, was compared to the total duration of <y>, <li> diphthong sequences and <lí> hiatus sequences in order to determine if the palatal lateral segments were tending towards delateralization with duration similar to <y> or depalatalization similar to <lí>, where <li> may be an intermediate phase. Data are divided according to gender in order to observe any differences in behavior between the two groups. Note that preliminary data for F2 were previously reported in O'Rourke (to appear). In that study, prior duration analysis was of total duration only; it did not include comparison with the diphthong or hiatus sequences, and the statistical analysis combined all instances of <ll>.

## Results

The results section is organized as follows. Based on the comparisons previously described, first the closure portion of the palatal lateral is compared with related palatal and lateral segments according to formant frequencies and duration. Next, the findings for measurement of frequency of the transition are given. Then the results for total duration which combine the lateral closure and any transition present are provided. In each section, the relevant statistical analysis is also reported.

### Analysis of closure

Figures 3–6 show the comparison between the closure portion of <ll> with palatal <y> and lateral <l> according to raw hertz (Hz) values; in these and all subsequent figures, error bars represent the standard error (SE) in Hz. Summary tables of mean values and statistical analysis appear in the Appendix Tables A2–A5, based on the Bark psychoacoustic scale. In the following discussion, the main comparisons of interest are centered around the two allophones of <ll> with and without a transition, in particular if <ll> (T) is becoming more <y>-like, if <ll> (NT) is becoming more <l>-like, and if allophones of <ll> are distinct from each other. Other differences, such as palatal <y> compared with alveolar lateral <l> may be noted but are less remarkable as these differences may be expected.

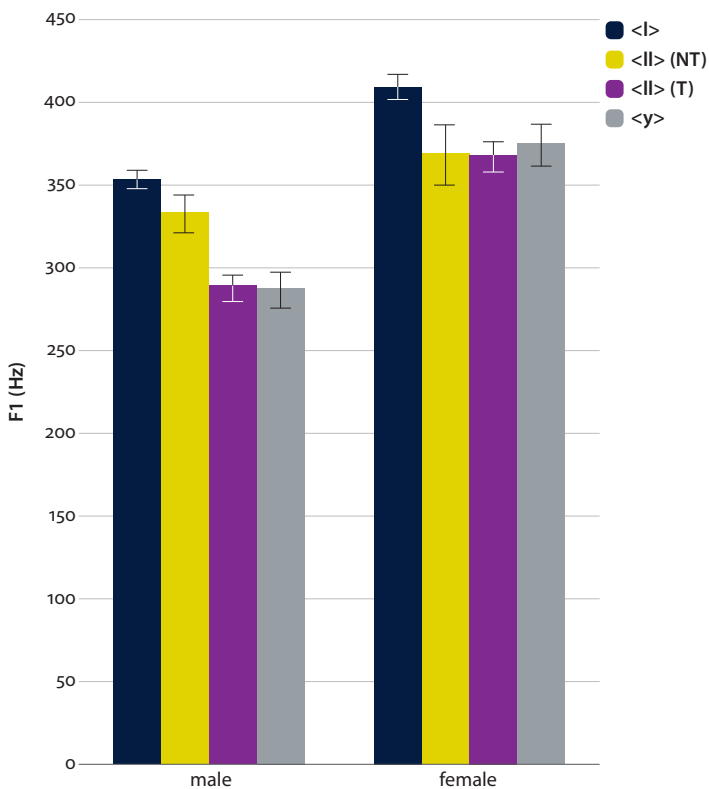


Figure 3. F1 (in Hz) for male and female speakers

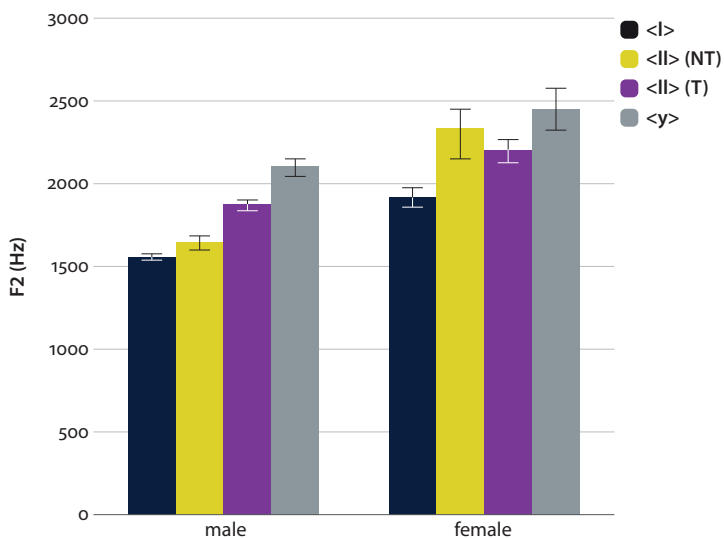


Figure 4. F2 (in Hz) for male and female speakers

Figure 3 and appendix Table A2 show that for F1 there is a two-way distinction made for males in that <l> and <ll> (NT) are not significantly different from each other ( $p > 0.05$ ), and form one subgroup of sounds occurring in the same F1 range, nor are <ll> (T) and <y> significantly different from each other ( $p > 0.05$ ) and form a second subgroup. However, other cross-comparisons do show significance: <ll> (T) vs. <l>, <y> vs. <l> (both at  $p < 0.001$ ); <ll> (NT) vs. <ll> (T) ( $p < 0.01$ ); <ll> (NT) vs. <y> ( $p < 0.05$ ). For females, the only significant distinctions are between <ll> (T) vs. <l>, and <y> vs. <l> (both at  $p < 0.01$ ). All other comparisons are not significantly different for females: <ll> (NT) vs. <l>, <ll> (NT) vs. <ll> (T), <ll> (NT) vs. <y> (all at  $p > 0.05$ ). The main difference for females (when compared to males) then is that overall the F1 for <ll> (NT) is not produced in a significantly different range from either <ll> (T) or <y>.

For F2, males distinguish between phones with the exception of <ll> (NT) which groups with <l> with no significant difference in backness ( $p < 0.05$ ), as shown in Figure 4 and Table A3. That is, <ll> (NT) is significantly different from <y> ( $p < 0.001$ ) and <ll> (T) ( $p < 0.01$ ); additionally <ll> (T) is significantly different from <l> ( $p < 0.001$ ) and <y> ( $p < 0.01$ ), and <y> is significantly different from <l> ( $p < 0.001$ ). Females show less of a separation in backness, which is differentiated significantly at the extremes between <y> and <l> ( $p < 0.01$ ), and similarly observed for <ll> (T) vs. <l> to a lesser degree of significance ( $p < 0.05$ ). Other comparisons show no significant difference: <ll> (NT) vs. <ll> (T), <ll> (NT) vs. <y>, <ll> (NT) vs. <l>, <ll> (T) vs. <y> ( $p > 0.05$ ). As with the analysis of F1, overall the F2 for <ll> (NT) is not significantly different from the F2 values for <ll> (T), <l>, <y> and therefore backness is not a distinguishing feature among females.

Analysis of F3 shows significant differences for males for the extreme <y> vs. <l> comparison, but also for <y> vs. <ll> (NT) and <y> vs. <ll> (T) (all at  $p < 0.001$ ) as appears in Figure 5 and Table A4. That is, <y> shows significantly higher values in comparison to all other phones. Recall that F3 correlates to acoustic features such as position of lips, lowering of the velum, and other changes in vocal quality. In particular for this set of sounds, the velum may be lower for <y> when compared to the other phones <l> and <ll>. Also, all other paired comparisons of phones are not significantly different: <ll> (NT) vs. <ll> (T), <ll> (NT) vs. <l>, <ll> (T) vs. <l> (all at  $p > 0.05$ ). These differences are not observed among females, such that all pairings of phones are not significantly different ( $p > 0.05$ ) during the closure portion of the consonant.

Examining consonant constriction, we see in Figure 6 and Table A5 that the distance between F2 and F1 for males is found not to be significant for <ll> (NT) vs. <l> ( $p > 0.05$ ), such that the <ll> realized without a transition is produced with the same relative distance between the two formants as alveolar <l>. In all other pairings of phones, the F2-F1 relative distance is significantly different: <ll> (NT)



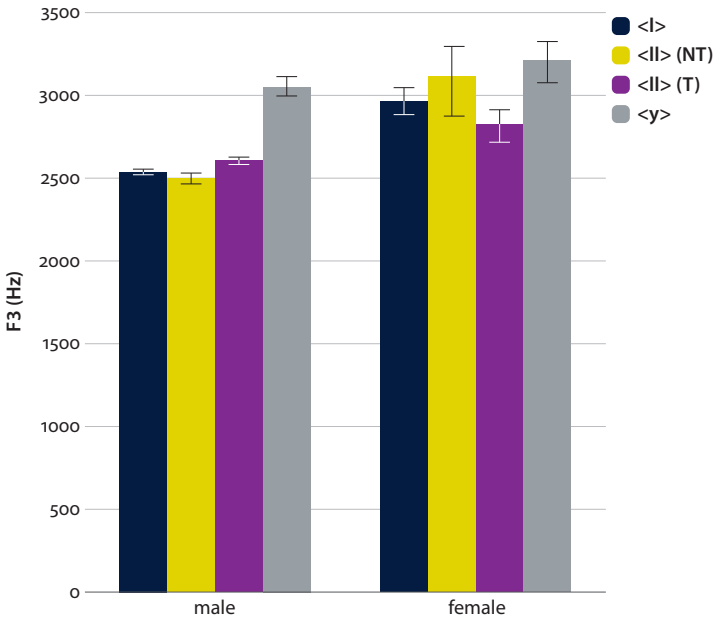


Figure 5. F3 (in Hz) for male and female speakers

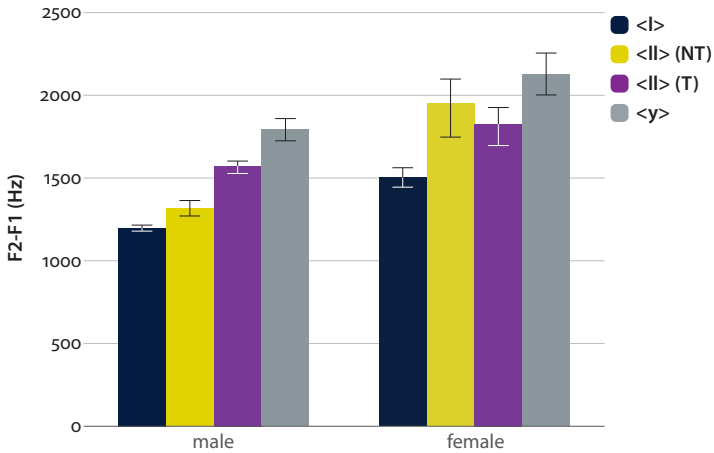


Figure 6. F2-F1 (in Hz) for male and female speakers

vs. <ll> (T), <ll> (NT) vs. <y>, <ll> (T) vs. <l> ( $p < 0.001$ ), and <ll> (T) vs. <y> ( $p < 0.05$ ). In this last paired comparison, we see that the <ll> produced with a transition is still significantly different from the palatal <y>, although less so than the other paired comparisons, and is actually the closest of the phones to this palatal

region. Females do not follow this pattern in that, while they do show significant differences between alveolar <l> and palatal <y> ( $p < 0.001$ ) similar to males, and <ll> (T) vs. <l> follows this distinction ( $p < 0.001$ ), there is also a significant difference between <ll> (NT) vs. <l> ( $p < 0.05$ ), although to a lesser degree. Instead there is more overlap between the variants of <ll> with each other and with <y>: no significant differences are found for <ll> (NT) vs. <ll> (T), <ll> (NT) vs. <y>, and <ll> (T) vs. <y> (all at  $p > 0.05$ ).

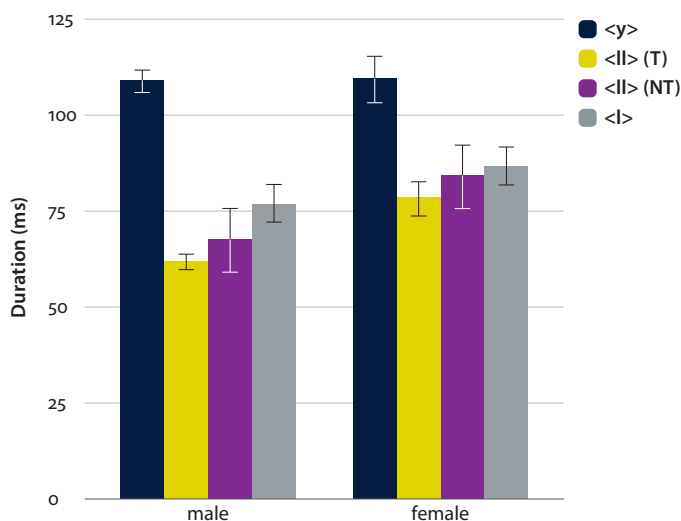


Figure 7. Duration (in ms) of lateral closure for male and female speakers

Regarding duration, as summarized in Figure 7 and Table 2, males show no significant difference in the duration of the lateral closure between the <ll> variants with and without a transition: <ll> (NT) vs. <ll> (T) ( $p > 0.05$ ), whereas all other

Table 2. Comparison of mean duration of lateral closure to other segments, according to gender

Segments	$p$ -value (males), Sig.	$p$ -value (females), Sig.
<ll> (NT) <ll> (T)	0.670 nsd	1.000 nsd
<ll> (NT) <y>	0.000 ***	0.156 nsd
<ll> (NT) <l>	0.017 *	1.000 nsd
<ll> (T) <y>	0.000 ***	0.001 ***
<ll> (T) <l>	0.000 ***	0.866 nsd
<y> <l>	0.000 ***	0.019 *

Males  $F(3, 103.160) = 64.838$   $p < 0.001$  \*\*\*

Females  $F(3, 31.927) = 5.858$   $p = 0.003$  \*\*

pairings of phones are significant: <ll> (NT) vs. <y>, <ll> (T) vs. <y>, <ll> (T) vs. <l>, <y> vs. <l> (all at  $p < 0.001$ ). Importantly, the duration of the <ll> (NT) closure is also significantly different from that of <l> ( $p < 0.05$ ), such that duration serves as a distinguishing feature between both variants of <ll> and the alveolar <l>. For females, this is not the case. Although like males there are no significant differences between variants of <ll> (NT) vs. <ll> (T) ( $p > 0.05$ ), this lack of duration distinction continues with other pairings: <ll> (NT) vs. <y>, <ll> (NT) vs. <l>, and <ll> (T) vs. <l> (all at  $p > 0.05$ ). The only significant duration differences found are for <ll> (T) vs. <y> ( $p < 0.001$ ) and <y> vs. <l> ( $p < 0.05$ ). Thus, while duration is used to distinguish between alveolar <l> and palatal <y> for both males and females, the closure portion of <ll> in variants with a transition is not significantly shorter than variants of <ll> without a transition. These results suggest that duration is less of a distinguishing feature for females than males. For example, while males show a significant difference between <ll> (T) and <l> ( $p < 0.001$ ), females do not ( $p > 0.05$ ).

### Analysis of transition

As previously stated, in this section the formant height during the transition in <ll> T is compared to that of <y>, the glide [j] in *familia* and *Amalia*, and the stressed vowel [i] in *salia*. Measurements are taken at the midpoint in all cases. Figure 8 below shows the results (in Hz) for formant measurement (see Table A6 for data summary). A mixed methods statistical comparison as previously described was conducted based on these values converted to a Bark scale. The results appear summarized in Table 3. The analysis includes males only since female speakers did not have enough instances of one or more segments to allow for comparison.

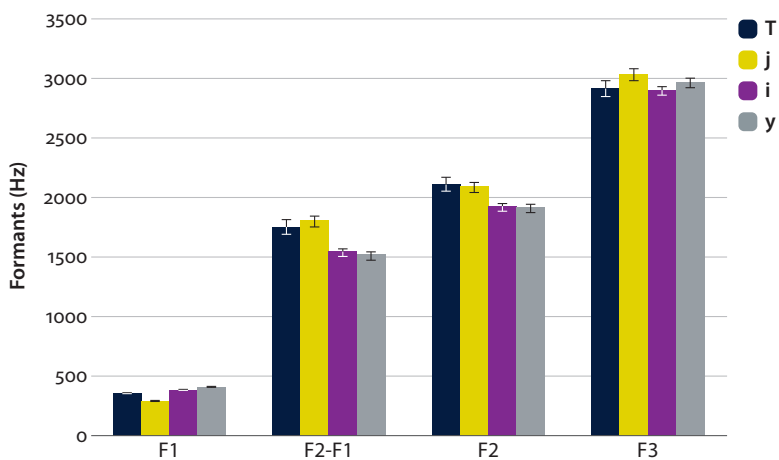


Figure 8. Comparison of transition (T) with other palatal segments (males only)

The transition following the lateral closure in <ll> is significantly different from the palatal consonant <y> for F1, F2, and F2-F1, but not for F3 ( $p < 0.001$ ,  $p < 0.001$ ,  $p < 0.05$ , and nsd respectively). There are no significant differences between T and the glide [j] for any of the formant measures (all  $p > 0.05$ ), whereas the transition is significantly higher than the vowel [i] for both F2 and the distance between the first two formants F2-F1 (both  $p < 0.05$ ). Comparison of the three remaining segments with each other shows that significant differences are observed in one or more of the formant measures, and that F3 is not a distinguishing factor in any of the comparisons (all  $p > 0.05$ ). This suggests, for example, that the velum height is similar across all segments.

**Table 3.** Comparison of formant transition (T) with other palatal segments (males only), using Bark scale

Segments	F1 (bark)		F2-F1 (bark)		F2 (bark)		F3 (bark)		
	<i>p</i> -value	Sig.	<i>p</i> -value	Sig.	<i>p</i> -value	Sig.	<i>p</i> -value	Sig.	
T	y	0.000	***	0.000	***	0.022	*	0.185	nsd
	j	0.190	nsd	1.000	nsd	1.000	nsd	1.000	nsd
	i	1.000	nsd	0.016	*	0.025	*	1.000	nsd
j	y	0.000	***	0.000	nsd	0.019	*	1.000	nsd
	i	0.037	*	0.002	**	0.022	*	1.000	nsd
i	y	0.000	***	0.176	nsd	1.000	nsd	0.957	nsd
	$F(3, 55.395) = 39.649$		$F(3, 44.224) = 24.129$		$F(3, 36.470) = 6.477$		$F(3, 46.689) = 1.742$		
		0.000	***	0.000	***	0.001	***	0.171	nsd

An analysis of duration, as summarized in Table 4, shows that these segments do demonstrate differences in duration: Both the transition and the glide are twice or nearly twice as long as the vowel [i] or consonant <y> (phonetically [j]). However, significant differences are still found between the longest segment, the glide [j] and the transition T ( $p < 0.05$ ). Similarly, the shortest segment [i] is significantly different from <y> ( $p < 0.01$ ). All other paired comparisons are also significantly different ( $p < 0.001$ ). These findings are presented with the caveat that more analysis is needed in order to control for factors such as position within the word and stress.

**Table 4.** Comparison of duration for transition (T) with other segments (males only)

Males		
Segment	Duration (ms)	SE
T	90	4
j	109	3
i	39	2
y	49	2

(continued)

Table 4. (continued)

Males			
Segments		<i>p</i> -value, Sig.	
T	y	0.000	***
	j	0.031	*
	i	0.000	***
j	y	0.000	***
	i	0.000	***
i	y	0.007	**

$F(3, 63.437) = 126.979$   $p < 0.001$  \*\*\*

### Analysis of total duration

In addition to the individual differences in duration for the lateral closure and the transition portion of the palatal lateral, a comparison is made for the full duration of the palatal lateral <ll> as produced with and without a transition, with the other segments under consideration. This comparison is made in order to observe if the palatal lateral <ll> T is significantly longer than <ll> NT, and if it is different from <y> (which would argue against *yeísmo* with respect to duration). Similarly, this analysis addresses whether or not <ll> NT is indistinct from <l>, and/or where it falls between other lateral sequences, such as those with a glide [lj] or a vowel [li].

A mixed methods analysis was conducted separately for males and females. The sequence <lí> was excluded from this analysis since the measurement was of two full segments (consonant + vowel), which was found by inspection to be in a separate range from the other segments, and due to a low number of <lí> tokens for female speakers (speaker f1,  $n = 5$ ). The results are shown in Figure 9 and Table 5.

For males, we see that <ll> without a transition shows no significant difference from the duration of <l> ( $p > 0.05$ ), and also approaches (but does not reach) significantly different levels when compared to <ll> with a transition ( $p = 0.067$ ). Both <ll> NT and <l> are significantly different from <y> and <li> ( $p < 0.001$ ); however, the duration of <ll> with a transition is significantly different from both <y> and <li> ( $p < 0.05$ ). Results from females are less revealing. Perhaps the most important finding is that while <ll> T is significantly different from <l> ( $p < 0.01$ ), <ll> NT is not significantly different from <l> ( $p > 0.05$ ). The duration of <l> compared to <y> is also significantly different ( $p < 0.05$ ) as is <l> vs. <li> ( $p < 0.05$ ) which may be expected since the comparison is the duration of one segment versus two. Nonetheless, other paired comparisons of <ll> NT vs. <ll> T, <li>, <y> and <li> vs. <y> show no significant differences ( $p > 0.05$ ). These

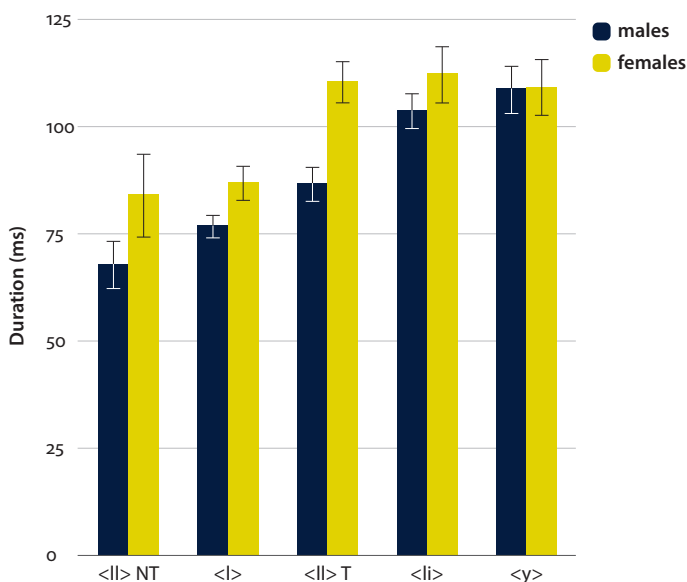


Figure 9. Segment duration (in ms) for males and females

results are interpreted with caution due to the lower number of tokens compared to males. The suggestion is that for females, nuances in duration differences do not assist in differentiating allophones of <ll> (e.g., <ll> NT compared with <ll> T or <l>), although basic oppositions between <l> and <ll> T, <l> and <y> do show significant differences.

Table 5. Comparison of total segment duration for males and females

Segments		Males		Females	
		<i>p</i> -value	Sig.	<i>p</i> -value	Sig.
<ll> NT	<l>	1.000	nsd	1.000	nsd
	<ll> T	0.067	(*)	0.178	nsd
	<li>	0.000	***	0.201	nsd
	<y>	0.000	***	0.341	nsd
<l>	<li>	0.000	***	0.020	*
	<ll> T	0.390	nsd	0.004	**
	<y>	0.000	***	0.046	*
<ll> T	<li>	0.031	*	1.000	nsd
	<y>	0.015	*	1.000	nsd
<li>	<y>	1.000	nsd	1.000	nsd

Males:  $F(4, 81.416) = 14.971$   $p < 0.001$  \*\*\*

Females:  $F(4, 48.433) = 5.856$   $p = 0.001$  \*\*\*

## Findings summary and discussion

### Summary

In returning to the main focus of the study, we investigated whether or not there was maintenance of etymological <ll> as a palatal lateral /ʎ/, depalatalization to /l/ or delateralization to /j/. Examination of formants (F1, F2, F3) as well as duration demonstrate the following. First, among males, there are cases of maintenance. While the F1 during the lateral closure of <ll> (T) is not significantly different from <y>, it is separate from both <l> and <y> for F2, from <y> for F3, and from both <l> and <y> for F2-F1. Duration of the closure during <ll> (T) is significantly different from both <l> and <y>. Analysis of the transition itself shows significant differences in formant height compared to <y> for F1, F2, F2-F1, but not F3. Rather, the formant frequencies for transition T are not significantly different from a glide [j] in any of these measures, nor from /i/ with respect to F1 or F3 (see Table 3). Transition duration is also significantly different from the fricative consonant /j/ (orthographically <y>), glide [j] or vowel /i/ (see Table 4). When duration of the entire segment <ll> T is compared with other sequences, significant differences are found with both <y> and <li> (see Table 5). Females, on the other hand, show fewer features to accompany evidence of maintenance of a distinct palatal lateral consonant: the lateral closure of <ll> (T) is significantly different from <l> for F1, F2, F2-F1, but not for F3. That is, there are no significant differences in formant height between the lateral closure in <ll> (T) and that found in <y> (which suggests a movement towards *yeísmo*). However, females did show a significant duration difference between the lateral closure in <ll> (T) and <y> (see Table 2). Yet, once the total segment duration (including the transition) is compared with <y>, these differences disappear (see Table 5). Figure 10 shows F1 and F2 for the lateral closure and other phones for males and Figure 11 shows these results for females.

With regard to depalatalization to /l/, tokens of <ll> preceding the high front vowel /i/ were produced without a transition by males (labeled <ll> NT). There was no significant difference in formant height between <ll> NT and <l> for F1, F2, and F2-F1. For males, <ll> NT is significantly different from <ll> (T) and <y> with respect to F1, F2, and F2-F1. The closure during <ll> NT was significantly shorter than <l> for males ( $p < 0.05$ ) when modeled with just the lateral closure of <ll> (T), <l> and <y> (see Table 2); when modeled with the total duration of <ll> T and other segments, this difference disappears ( $p > 0.05$ ) (see Table 5). Among females, there is more variation in that one speaker (f3) did not produce any tokens of depalatalized <ll> as [l]. For females <ll> NT is not significantly different from <l> according to F1, F2, F3, F2-F1 nor for duration. However, this finding is given with caution, since <ll> NT was also not significantly different from either <ll> (T) or <y> for any of these measures. In some cases, the relationship between phones

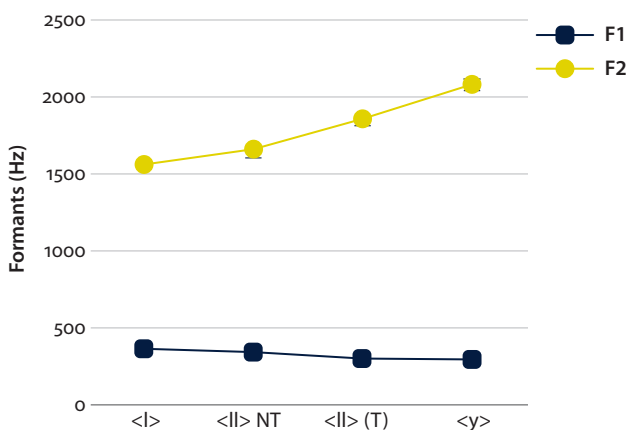


Figure 10. F1 and F2 for males according to phone

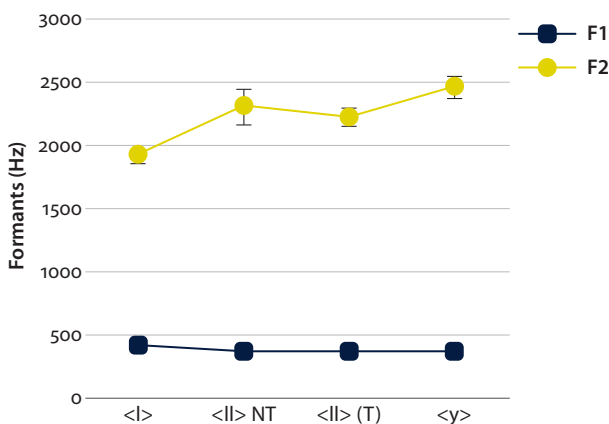


Figure 11. F1 and F2 for females according to phone

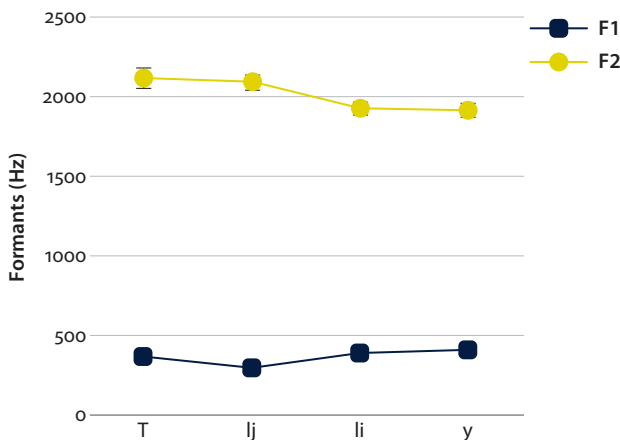
according to a given feature is similar to that of males (e.g., as seen in Figure 7 for the duration of the lateral closure), while in other cases a simpler binary distinction is more apparent for females between <l> and all other phones <ll> NT, <ll> (T), <y> when compared to males, as in Figure 6 for F2-F1. These differences can also be observed in Figure 10 for males and Figure 11 for females, where we see that the <ll> NT shows a decreased distance between F1 and F2 for males but not for females. More data may be needed to determine what acoustic cues (if any) females may employ in cases of apparent depalatalization of <ll>. In all, the allophonic process of depalatalization in the context of a palatal vowel /i/ does not appear to be as characteristic for the females as it is for the males. A summary of these observations is given in Table 6.



**Table 6.** Summary of results from comparison of phones according to acoustic features. Nsd indicates no significant difference (i.e., indistinct); ✓ indicates significance at  $p < 0.05$  or below (i.e., distinct)

Comparison	F1	F2	F3	F2-F1	Duration	Total duration
<ɪ> (T) closure (in)distinct from <y>						
Males	nsd	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓
Females	nsd	nsd	nsd	nsd	✓	nsd
<ɪ> (NT) closure (in)distinct from <ɪ>						
Males	nsd	nsd	nsd	nsd	✓	nsd
Females	nsd	nsd	nsd	✓	nsd	nsd
<ɪ> (NT) closure (in)distinct from <ɪ> (T)						
Males	✓	✓	nsd	✓	nsd	(✓)
Females	nsd	nsd	nsd	nsd	nsd	nsd
<ɪ> (T) closure (in)distinct from <ɪ>						
Males	✓	✓	nsd	✓	✓	nsd
Females	✓	✓	nsd	✓	nsd	✓

With respect to formant height of transition in comparison to other high vocoids and the palatal fricative, we see in Figure 12 that males surpass the F2 values for these other segments during the transition, so that greater distance between the first two formants is found during the transition and glide segments compared to the palatal vowel and consonant. In terms of backness (F2), this also shows that the transition is the farthest back compared to the other segments. Analysis of additional contributing factors to this finding such as following vowel quality and stress is still needed, as well as analysis of this behavior among females.



**Figure 12.** F1 and F2 for males according to palatal segments

Returning to the research questions, we find the following: (1) Speakers do distinguish acoustically between etymological palatal lateral <ll>, lateral <l>, and palatal <y> in the use of formant frequency cues F1, F2, F3, F2-F1, and duration, and these distinctions may occur at different points in the segment – the lateral closure, the transition, or when considering the entire segment as a whole; (2) There is acoustic evidence for depalatalization to [l] of <ll> found in tokens followed by /i/; and (3) Differences are observed between males and females in their use of acoustic cues to distinguish between segments in that:

- Males use more acoustic cues (both formant frequencies and duration) to maintain a contrast between <ll> with a transition and both <l> and <y>, whereas females use formant frequencies to distinguish between laterals and duration to distinguish between palatals.
- Regarding cases of depalatalization, males do not distinguish between <ll> without a transition and <l> according to formant frequencies (but only according to closure duration), whereas females still show some F2-F1 constriction differences between the two segments (and not in closure duration).
- In males, allophones of <ll> with and without a transition are distinguished via formant frequencies, but not in females.
- Comparison of total segment duration shows that <ll> with a transition is distinct from <y> for males and from <l> for females; also, while males show a duration distinction with the lateral-glide sequence <li>, females do not.

These findings suggest that males show maintenance of the <ll>-<y> contrast while females are tending towards delateralization (i.e., *yeísmo*). Additional investigation of the transition for males further supports this claim: while formant frequencies of the transition are similar to the glide [j], these remain distinct from other palatal segments <y> and /i/ (except for F3), although the duration of the transition is still significantly shorter than the glide and longer than the other palatal segments.

## Discussion

How these findings relate to the issue of language contact and sound change needs to be further considered. First, regarding the type of transfer as described in Van Coetsem (1988, cited in Winford, 2005), in the present study the Quichua-dominant Spanish bilinguals may ‘impose’ their phonological rules on *gallina* to produce *galina* and then the *galina* term is ‘borrowed’ into Quichua as is. That is, instead of a sound substitution (Winford, 2003) there appears to be an application of depalatalization before high front vowels, as in the native language, which is different from a substitution process, since a palatal lateral is still present in the native

language. In terms of agentivity, in this scenario it is the SL dominant speakers of Quichua that affect the RL. According to Haugen (1953, p. 383, cited in Winford, 2005, p. 384), when speakers borrow a word, it may be done so partially, so that some 'habits' of the recipient language are imposed by the RL agents. That being the case, we can presume that the RL-agents (who would be dominant in Spanish and thus not have the depalatalization process active), are not the initiators of a *galina* pronunciation in the Spanish sociolect of these Quichua-Spanish bilinguals. Whereas borrowing via imitation may not cause a restructuring of the RL, in imposition the rules of the RL are adapted to conform with the speaker's dominant source language (Winford, 2005, p. 381). Therefore, more investigation is needed of other tokens in the same context of /k/ before a high front vowel /i/ (e.g., related words such as *pollito* 'little chicken/chick', and other semantic categories such as *sillita* 'small chair') in order to determine how restricted or conversely widespread the process is in the lexicon.

In reference to Boretzky's (1991) different scenarios in which interference may take place, it appears that the term *galina* may have restricted loanword status, but some spreading to other words, as in *pollito* may be in progress at least for some speakers, such that eventually this could trigger a change in the phonological processes applied in this Spanish variety throughout the lexicon. The change of /k/ to [l] observed in this data set may be explained as a case of lexical diffusion (Wang, 1969, cited in Mier, 1987) in that there appears to be a change motivated by other semantic concerns (that of expressing biological gender via morphology): in Quichua, the term *atallpa* (or related *atallba*, *atallwa*, among others) for 'chicken' is used to refer to both a rooster and a hen, whereas Spanish masculine *gallo* 'rooster' distinguishes from feminine *gallina* 'hen'. In support of the idea of lexical diffusion, which is often the result of a reduction, we can consider this depalatalization a reduction since there is less formant movement due to the lack of sizable transition between the lateral closure and the following vowel. In addition, the role of frequency needs to be analyzed as potentially contributing to this reduction, since words *gallina* 'hen' or *pollito* 'chick' can be assumed to have some common usage given the rural setting and usefulness within the community.

With regard to the Blevins and Wedel (2009) study on inhibited sound change, we should also note that there may be contact-induced blocking of an on-going sound change in Spanish of /k/ to /j/. The loss of a <ll>-<y> distinction does have the potential to create homophony in Spanish, although the number of minimal pairs is limited, and neutralization of this contrast is a common feature in varieties of Spanish (Lipski, 2012, pp. 4–5). Lapesa (1981, pp. 500–501) notes *yeísmo*, present in Toledo, Andalucía, and America by the 16th century, to be characteristic of Andalucía by the 18th century and now in general use in that region, among others. The apparent inhibition of this neutralization via contact may be present in that the

/ʎ/ phoneme is present in the native language variety, Tena Quichua (O'Rourke & Swanson, 2013). Maintenance of the historical contrast reported for some Peninsular Spanish varieties has undergone further erosion in recent years, while maintenance in some Latin American Spanish varieties has been observed, including that of Paraguay, Bolivia, Ecuador, and Peru (Lipski, 2012, pp. 4–5). Lapesa (1981, p. 552), as cited previously, offers support for this claim of indigenous language influence. Comparing the types of inhibition of a sound change (Blevins & Wedel, 2009), it is more likely that there is an 'apparent' exception via language contact rather than a 'real' exception created by the very few instances of potential homophony in Spanish. Nonetheless, the female speakers show more movement towards neutralization and *yeísmo* when considering formants and duration. Overall, for both males and females the individual initial usage of depalatalization seems to have spread to several members of the group, although males and females appear to behave somewhat differently. Last, the indexicality of using one pronunciation over another needs to be examined.

## Conclusion

The main purpose of this study was to observe any changes in the acoustic realization of the palatal lateral /ʎ/ as produced by Quichua-Spanish bilinguals in comparison to related segments /l/ and /j/ which may be due to language contact, and also to examine the contribution of extralinguistic influences, specifically that of gender. As previously indicated, the study should be considered exploratory, given the number of speakers and tokens, and other confounding variables such as segmental position, context, and speaker language proficiency. Any conclusions are offered with the awareness that additional research is needed in order to make more definitive generalizations regarding the linguistic behavior observed. Based on the data analyzed, the main findings were that males demonstrate maintenance of a palatal lateral /ʎ/ phone for orthographic <ll> which is distinct acoustically from /l/ and /j/. This phone also includes a transition that is distinct when compared to the palatal consonant /j/ and vowel /i/ but more similar to the glide [j] in lateral-glide <li> sequences. However, these males demonstrate depalatalization of /ʎ/ before /i/, and produce a segment without a transition (coded as <ll> NT), which is indistinct acoustically from /l/ in the first two formants F1, F2, although this realization may still be significantly shorter than /l/. Females show no formant differences between how orthographic <ll> is realized in comparison to <y>, which suggests a move towards *yeísmo*, although some duration differences are still found. Although tokens of <ll> NT were noted for two female speakers, these did not prove to be significantly different according to formant structure or duration, which

indicates that depalatalization may not be as prevalent or characteristic of female speech within this community.

Thus, while males do show allophonic variation of /ʎ/, this process is less apparent among females, even though males reported somewhat higher education levels and may spend more time working outside the community and have increased contact with Spanish speakers of other varieties. Continued investigation of this process is needed among these Quichua-Spanish bilinguals as the Spanish in the Amazon continues to develop as a regional dialect. This study contributes to the discussion of language contact and how sound change may occur within a given context, in this case through the apparent imposition of native language processes by source language speakers. What remains to be seen is if female bilinguals, although potentially less proficient in Spanish, may promote use of the more pan-Hispanic trait in Latin American Spanish to employ *yeísmo*, or if the males will continue to use the allophonic depalatalized variant. If so, it remains to be seen if they will become aware of this feature and employ it indexically, as is done in Tena Quichua to distinguish between neighboring varieties. Finally, analysis of the Quichua spoken by these bilinguals is needed to further observe how this process is employed and may also undergo change in Quichua. In doing so, we can address how bilinguals use phonological processes in each of their languages and how one may affect the other in the development of dialects and sociolects.

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## Appendix

**Table A1.** Total number of tokens measured per speaker according to segment

Speaker	<ll> T	<ll> NT	<l>	<y>	<li>	<lí>	Total
m1	32	18	71	17	27	7	172
m2	31	17	73	17	23	10	171
m3	38	16	66	18	35	10	183
f1	18	9	38	8	9	5	87
f2	19	9	36	10	18	0	92
f3	21	0	11	11	2	0	45
<b>Total</b>	<b>159</b>	<b>69</b>	<b>295</b>	<b>81</b>	<b>114</b>	<b>32</b>	<b>750</b>



**Table A2.** Summary of mean F1 for lateral closure (Bark scale) in comparison to other segments, according to gender

Segment	Males		Females	
	Avg F1 (bark)	SE	Avg F1 (bark)	SE
<l>	3.64	0.05	4.19	0.07
<ll> (NT)	3.43	0.10	3.78	0.16
<ll> (T)	3.01	0.07	3.77	0.08
<y>	2.99	0.10	3.72	0.11

Segments		Males		Females	
		<i>p</i> -value, Sig.		<i>p</i> -value, Sig.	
<ll> (NT)	<ll> (T)	0.007	**	1.000	nsd
	<y>	0.023	*	1.000	nsd
	<l>	0.486	nsd	0.161	nsd
<ll> (T)	<y>	1.000	nsd	1.000	nsd
	<l>	0.000	***	0.002	**
<y>	<l>	0.000	***	0.006	**

Males:  $F(3, 73,794) = 21.655 p < 0.001$  \*\*\*Females:  $F(3, 44,894) = 7.141 p = .001$  \*\*\***Table A3.** Summary of mean F2 for lateral closure (Bark scale) in comparison to other segments, according to gender

Segment	Males		Females	
	Avg F2 (bark)	SE	Avg F2 (bark)	SE
<l>	11.23	0.08	12.58	0.17
<ll> (NT)	11.62	0.16	13.82	0.43
<ll> (T)	12.35	0.12	13.53	0.20
<y>	13.08	0.17	14.25	0.26

Segments		Males		Females	
		<i>p</i> -value, Sig.		<i>p</i> -value, Sig.	
<ll> (NT)	<ll> (T)	0.003	**	1.000	nsd
	<y>	0.000	***	1.000	nsd
	<l>	0.205	nsd	0.073	nsd
<ll> (T)	<y>	0.007	**	0.197	nsd
	<l>	0.000	***	0.004	**
<y>	<l>	0.000	***	0.000	***

Males:  $F(3, 38,350) = 45.352 p < 0.001$  \*\*\*Females:  $F(3, 39,284) = 11.136 p < 0.001$  \*\*\*

**Table A4.** Summary of mean F3 for lateral closure (Bark scale) in comparison to other segments, according to gender

Segment	Males		Females	
	Avg F3 (bark)	SE	Avg F3 (bark)	SE
<l>	14.47	0.06	15.56	0.17
<ll> (NT)	14.35	0.12	15.76	0.42
<ll> (T)	14.67	0.09	15.20	0.20
<y>	15.69	0.12	15.99	0.26

Segments	Males		Females		
	<i>p</i> -value, Sig.		<i>p</i> -value, Sig.		
<ll> (NT)	<ll> (T)	0.219	nsd	1.000	nsd
	<y>	0.000	***	1.000	nsd
	<l>	1.000	nsd	1.000	nsd
<ll> (T)	<y>	0.000	***	0.102	nsd
	<l>	0.323	nsd	1.000	nsd
<y>	<l>	0.000	***	0.990	nsd

Males:  $F(3, 77.610) = 27.416 p < 0.001$  \*\*\*

Females:  $F(3, 35.802) = 2.169 p = 0.109$  nsd

**Table A5.** Summary of mean F2-F1 for lateral closure (Bark scale) in comparison to other segments, according to gender

Segment	Males		Females	
	Avg F2-F1 (bark)	SE	Avg F2-F1 (bark)	SE
<l>	7.57	0.10	8.42	0.21
<ll> (NT)	8.16	0.22	10.05	0.53
<ll> (T)	9.35	0.15	9.77	0.25
<y>	10.11	0.22	10.68	0.32

Segments	Males		Females		
	<i>p</i> -value, Sig.		<i>p</i> -value, Sig.		
<ll> (NT)	<ll> (T)	0.000	***	1.000	nsd
	<y>	0.000	***	1.000	nsd
	<l>	0.108	nsd	0.044	*
<ll> (T)	<y>	0.042	*	0.153	nsd
	<l>	0.000	***	0.001	***
<y>	<l>	0.000	***	0.000	***

Males:  $F(3, 50.352) = 54.067 p < 0.001$  \*\*\*

Females:  $F(3, 40.658) = 13.660 p < 0.001$  \*\*\*

**Table A6.** Summary of formant frequency (in Hz) and duration of transition in comparison to other segments, males only

Segment	Mean F1 (Hz)	SE	Mean F2 (Hz)	SE	Mean F3 (Hz)	SE	Mean F2-F1 (Hz)	SE	Duration (ms)	SE
T	360	(12)	2111	(56)	2913	(66)	1752	(59)	90	(4)
[j] of <li>	285	(9)	2084	(43)	3030	(49)	1801	(45)	109	(3)
[i] of <lí>	379	(6)	1917	(30)	2895	(35)	1539	(32)	39	(2)
<y>	400	(7)	1909	(32)	2959	(37)	1512	(34)	49	(2)

# The many Spanishes of an Andean-Amazonian crossroads

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In the Southern Peruvian Amazon, agricultural migrants from the Andes have brought Quechua and Andean Spanish into the traditional Amazonian territory of Matsigenka speakers. This chapter offers an ethnographic and socio-historical view of Andean Spanish on one corner of this Amazonian frontier. The social life of Spanish in this region is illustrated through the lives of three community-mates, whose speech exhibits diverse contact effects reflecting the diversity of their frontier experiences. This case shows how, unlike Spanish in the Andes, which developed in the highlands without a major migratory influx from other regions, Amazonian varieties of Spanish emerged as more or less heterogeneous populations from other places migrated and came together with the speakers of dozens of local indigenous languages.

**Keywords:** Amazonian Spanish, Andean Spanish, migration, Quechua, Matsigenka

## 1. Introduction

The Southern Peruvian province of La Convención, in the Department of Cusco, covers a vast swath of the Amazon plain and tropical foothills east of the Andes (see map in Figure 1). It includes much of the traditional territory of the indigenous Matsigenka people, and since the 1950s it has also become home to tens of thousands of Quechua-speaking agricultural migrants from the nearby Andean highlands (locally known as *colonos* ‘colonists’). This demographic transformation, along with the patterns of intermarriage and interaction that have emerged among the region’s inhabitants, has created a complex sociolinguistic network in which people in different parts of the province speak Quechua, Matsigenka, and Spanish, in various combinations (the material presented here is part of a larger ethnographic project about multilingualism and economic change in La Convención; for more, see Emlen, 2015, 2017, 2019, 2020). In recent years Spanish has come to play an increasingly important role in this sociolinguistic ecology, particularly as

Andean migration has precipitated the region's incorporation into national institutions and broader Peruvian culture and society. Spanish also serves as a *lingua franca* between some speakers of Matsigenka and Quechua.

As people have migrated to the Amazonian lowlands of La Convención over the last several decades – nearly tripling the population since the 1960s (INEI, 1961, 2007) – they have brought their own forms of Spanish with them.<sup>1</sup> Most of these migrants have come from the neighboring Andean highlands, and speak varieties of Andean Spanish that have been influenced to various degrees by Quechua. Matsigenka speakers, for their part, have begun to adopt this variety of Andean Spanish as it has arrived in their territory, in some cases applying their own set of Matsigenka contact features (for instance, some minor phonological and grammatical effects discussed in Section 4) while supplying names for local plants, animals, and places to the speech of their non-Matsigenka neighbors. The province has also been blanketed with Spanish radio and television in recent years, bringing regional, national, and international programming (for instance, talk shows and soap operas from Lima, Colombia, Venezuela, and Cuba) into the homes of even the most remote Convencianos.

In this chapter, I discuss how people from different backgrounds speak Spanish in the rural, agricultural frontier society of La Convención. I begin with a general demographic introduction to the expansion of Andean Spanish into the Southern Peruvian Amazon, drawing on recent census data to contextualize my own case study (Section 2). Next, I examine this phenomenon at the micro-level by offering an ethnographic account of the Spanish spoken by three people in Yokiri, a trilingual frontier community in La Convención (Sections 3 and 4). These three people include an L1 speaker of Quechua and L2 speaker of Spanish; a 2L1 speaker of Matsigenka and Quechua and L3 speaker of Spanish; and a 2L1 Matsigenka-Spanish bilingual. These people came to inhabit the same community through very different circumstances, and their stories offer an illuminating perspective on the linguistic dynamics that have emerged among the different actors during the region's complex recent history. I give transcripts of interviews that I conducted with each of these three people about their life histories, and about the role that Spanish has played in their lives. I then use these transcripts to discuss some of the linguistic characteristics of each person's Spanish. In particular, all three of these people exhibit linguistic features that are typical of Andean Spanish, some of which can be attributed to Quechua contact. The two Matsigenka speakers also exhibit a few minor phonological and morphological features that may be due to Matsigenka

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1. Data from the 2017 Peruvian census are not used for specific information about La Convención in this paper, because tens of thousands of Convencianos boycotted that census as part of a territorial conflict with the neighboring province of Calca. The 2017 census data, however, are used for the national map in Figure 1.

contact, including the realization of /l/ as [r], the elimination of consonant clusters, and constructions that appear to be modeled on the use of the Matsigenka locative marker. One goal of this chapter is to draw attention to the diversity of the local forms of Spanish, which reflects the diversity and complexity of the region's recent social history. However, the chapter is primarily ethnographic, sociolinguistic, and historical, and the linguistic analysis is not exhaustive.

While Andean varieties of Spanish have received a great deal of scholarly attention in recent decades, research on Amazonian varieties of Spanish is still in its infancy. Most of this research been conducted in the Northern Peruvian Amazon, where recent migration from Quechua-speaking areas in the Andes has been minimal (a smaller amount has also been written about Spanish in the Central Peruvian Amazon, where Andean migration is more pronounced). By contrast, in the Southern Peruvian Amazon – which is very closely integrated with the Quechua-speaking highlands – it is necessary to consider some varieties of Amazonian Spanish in the context of their interregional connections. Indeed, migration is highly relevant for understanding the linguistic dynamics of the entire Peruvian Amazon: the population of the Peruvian Amazon, for instance, underwent a nearly nine-fold increase between the 1940 and 2017 censuses, as a result of intensive migration from an array of different places (INEI, 1940, 2017). This situation is quite unlike the rural Andes, where there has been little in-migration in a population that did not even double during the same period (*ibid.*). Thus, Andean Spanish presents some important sociohistorical differences from Amazonian Spanish: the former developed without a major influx of speakers from other regions, while the latter emerged among more or less heterogeneous migrant populations from other places – some speaking other languages from their places of origin – in addition to the indigenous inhabitants themselves.

For example, in the Amazonian province of Manu (Madre de Dios Department, Southern Peru), which is currently undergoing rapid frontier expansion, there was no majority region of birth in the 2007 census, only a plurality: 45.3% of the population was born in Madre de Dios, 35.3% in various parts of Cusco, 8.4% in Puno, and so on (INEI 2007). This 45.3% of Manu residents born in Madre de Dios was up from just 35.1% in the 1993 census (INEI 1993). Furthermore, the population of Manu Province includes a substantial number of indigenous Amazonians who speak more than a half dozen languages from three different language families. This province is thus a complex mix of backgrounds and languages. Other parts of Amazonia underwent similarly heterogeneous bursts of migratory influx at various periods since the mid-19th century, though the specific time frames, socioeconomic circumstances, and places of origin have varied greatly from one region to the next (for instance, the kind of frontier expansion currently under way in Manu and La Convención happened earlier in the Northern Peruvian region of Loreto; see Santos-Granero & Barclay, 2000).

This complexity is compounded by a second factor that distinguishes the histories of Spanish in the Andes and Amazonia: in the Andes, two widespread and typologically similar language families (Quechuan and Aymaran; see Adelaar, 2012) have led to the emergence of stable contact varieties of Spanish with large speaker populations and broad geographical ranges (see references for Andean Spanish below). On the other hand, in the Peruvian Amazon, Spanish has come into contact with dozens of small languages from several language families, which are more typologically diverse than the Quechuan and Aymaran languages (Adelaar & Muysken, 2004; Dixon & Aikhenvald, 1999, pp. 411–501). For instance, recent studies of Spanish in Amazonia have addressed multilingualism and language contact with Bora (O'Rourke & Fafulas, 2015; Rodríguez-Mondoñedo & Fafulas, 2016), Kokama (Vallejos, 2014), Shipibo-Konibo (Elias-Ulloa, 2015; Sánchez, Camacho, & Ulloa, 2010), Yagua (Mayer, 2017), and Ashéninka-Perené (*ibid.*), each of which have small population sizes relative to the Andean languages, and are more limited in geographical range. However, some features of those Amazonian Spanish varieties are shared more broadly in the area of Iquitos, and are not limited to speakers of particular indigenous languages (Jara Yupanqui, 2012; Vallejos, 2014).

In view of the heterogeneous historical nature of Spanish in Amazonia, the purpose of this chapter is to describe how Spanish has taken hold in one small corner of the region, where intensive migration has brought Andean Spanish, alongside Quechua, into the lives of Matsigenka speakers. As mentioned earlier, most research on Peruvian Amazonian Spanish has been conducted in the northern part of the country (and to a lesser extent, in the central Peruvian Amazon), where Andean influence plays a more minor role. This chapter offers a case study from the south, where the Andes and Amazonia are closely connected, and where Amazonian Spanish cannot be understood independently of Andean Spanish.

## 2. Andean Spanish in Amazonia

Most people in La Convención speak Andean Spanish, a cover term for a set of Spanish varieties in parts of Western South America where Quechua and Aymara are most widely spoken. The features of Andean Spanish that distinguish it from other Spanish varieties have largely developed as a result of contact with Quechua, as well as with Aymara in some places (Hardman, 1982).<sup>2</sup> Some are found primarily in the speech of L1 Quechua speakers who learned Spanish later in their lives,

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2. Since the Quechuan and Aymaran languages are very similar in both phonology and grammar (Adelaar, 2012; Cerrón-Palomino, 1994), and since they share at least a third of their lexicons (Emlen, 2017, p. 309), Quechua and Aymara contact effects in Spanish are probably similar and mutually reinforcing (Adelaar & Muysken, 2004, p. 590).

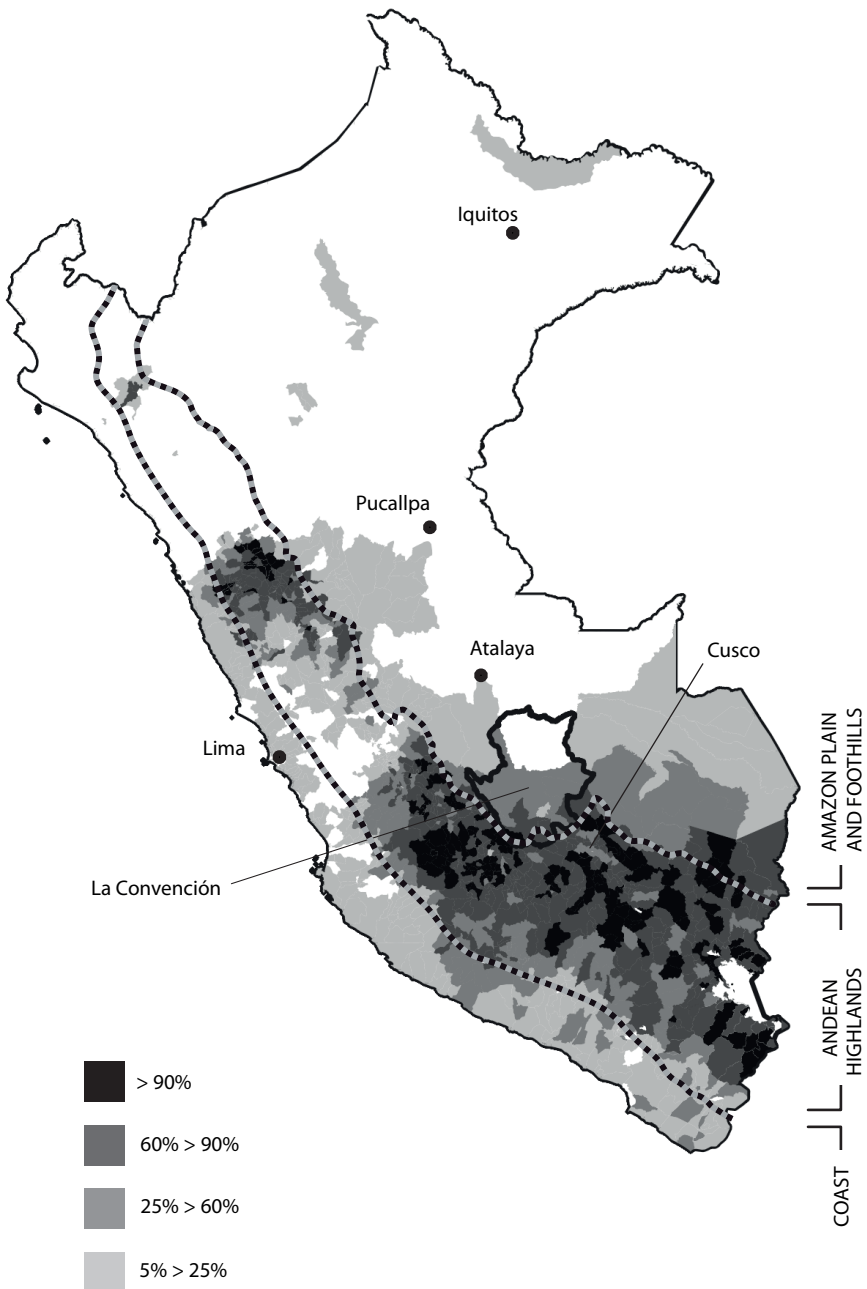
and of stable Quechua-Spanish bilinguals, such as the lowering and centralizing of high vowels (Lipski, 2015; Pérez-Silva, Palma, & Araujo, 2008). This pronunciation is sometimes referred to as *motosidad*, and is associated with negative racial stereotypes of Quechua speakers (Babel, 2018; Cerrón-Palomino, 1975; Huayhua, 2013; Mannheim, 1991, pp. 100–104). Other features are also used to varying degrees by monolingual Spanish speakers in the Andes, such as the reportative evidential particles *dice* or *dizque*, which also exist in varieties of Spanish beyond the Andes but may have become more frequent in Andean Spanish as a result of Quechua and Aymara contact (Babel, 2009). Overviews of Andean Spanish are given by A. Escobar (1978); A. M. Escobar (1994, 2000, 2011); de Granda (2001); Cerrón-Palomino (2003); and Adelaar & Muysken (2004, pp. 585–602). Specific features of Andean Spanish will be discussed in this chapter as they become relevant.

Andean Spanish has extended very far into the eastern lowlands as a result of Andean migration. While much has been written about rural-to-urban migration in Peru (e.g. Altamirano, 1984; Lloyd, 1980; Matos Mar, 1986; Ødegaard, 2010; Paerregaard, 1997), and about the linguistic dimensions of that urbanization (e.g. Klee & Caravedo, 2006; Marr, 1998; Myers, 1973), migration from the highlands to more remote parts of Amazonia has not received as much attention (cf. Emlen, 2020; Shoemaker, 1981; Skar, 1994). However, this demographic trend has been of comparable importance since the mid-20th century, as inexpensive land and work in extractive industries – both brought into reach by the expanding road network – have drawn Quechua-speaking highlanders to the lowlands. This trend has been particularly pronounced in Southern Peru. For instance, while the population of the city of Cusco grew by 287% between the 1961 and 2007 censuses, the population of the lowlands adjacent to the Cusco highlands (the province of La Convención and the Department of Madre de Dios) increased by 260% during the same period. By contrast, the population of the rural highlands of Cusco grew by only 40% between 1961 and 2007, far below the national average increase of 171% (INEI, 1961, 2007). Some rural highland provinces have even decreased in population over the last several decades, as the birth rate has decreased, and the residents have migrated to cities and to the lowlands.

Thus, an important question for research on Amazonian Spanish in Southern Peru is how the influx of Quechua speakers from the Andes has affected the varieties of Spanish spoken there.<sup>3</sup> The map in Figure 1 shows the proportion of the population in each district of Peru that declared Quechua or Aymara to be their first language in the 2017 census (INEI, 2017). Note that a version of this map was also published by Mannheim (2018).

3. Note that not all varieties of Quechua are Andean: Quechuan languages are spoken in the lowland Peruvian areas of Pastaza, San Martín, and Chachapoyas. However, these have small population sizes relative to the Southern Andean varieties.





**Figure 1.** Proportions of first-language Quechua and Aymara speakers, by district. Places mentioned in the text are also indicated. Data from INEI (2017) and [www.diva-gis.org/gdata](http://www.diva-gis.org/gdata). Map created with QGIS. Image designed by Sophia Nicolay. Used by permission

These figures do not, of course, tell us anything directly about the linguistic characteristics of the Spanish spoken in these places. Rather, they simply provide a rough demographic starting point for where we might expect to find contact effects that are characteristic of Andean Spanish, at least among some segments of the populations, since demographic factors are important predictors of language contact effects (Thomason & Kaufman, 1988).

The map in Figure 1 shows that Quechua and Aymara are most widely spoken in the rural highland districts of Southern and Central Peru, where in many places more than 90% of the population reported speaking Quechua or Aymara as their first language in the 2007 census, and where there are few migrants from other places. The southern third of Peru is the most interesting for the purposes of this chapter. Here, we see that Quechua and Aymara are not limited to the rural highlands, but rather that those languages radiate outward through both the Amazonian lowlands and the coast, leaving a gradient but unbroken stretch of Quechua and Aymara language use from the Brazilian border to the Pacific. These localized coast-Andes-Amazonia linkages follow the long-held Andean tendency to organize social networks across elevational gradients (Murra, 1972), a pattern that still operates today (Hirsch, 2018). On the Amazonian side, Andean migration has brought Quechua and Aymara into the territories of more than a dozen other indigenous languages – including Matsigenka, as I discuss in the remainder of this chapter. However, as we move north from the Southern Peruvian Amazon, and beyond the *ceja de selva* ‘tropical foothills’, we enter the great lowland river network that links the cities of Atalaya, Pucallpa, and Iquitos (and Brazil beyond). This constitutes an axis of economic and demographic interaction oriented toward the northern Peruvian lowlands (Santos-Granero & Barclay, 2000) – separate from the Purús and Madeira watersheds that drain much of the Southern Peruvian lowlands – and it signals an attendant decrease in the proportion of the population speaking Quechua and Aymara as first languages. Since Andean Spanish is associated with Quechua and Aymara, we would expect these to be the places where Andean Spanish predominates.

### 3. People and languages in La Convención

The province of La Convención (Cusco) comprises much of the Amazonian lowlands adjacent to the highlands of Apurímac, Eastern Cusco, and Ayacucho. Today, the region’s several thousand indigenous Matsigenka people are greatly outnumbered by Andean migrants, who make up most of the province’s 166,833 inhabitants counted in the 2007 census (INEI, 2007) (see Figure 2). The valley has served as a conduit between these highland areas and the lowland river system from the Inka period (and likely long before) to the present (Camino, 1977; Emlen, 2020; Gade,

1972; Gow, 1991), and it has long been a major destination for Andean agricultural migrants. It has also been the target of various extractive industries, from the rubber boom in the 19th century that drew on Matsigenka slave labor, to natural gas drilling since the 1990s that has upended life in many Matsigenka communities today (Smith, 2005).

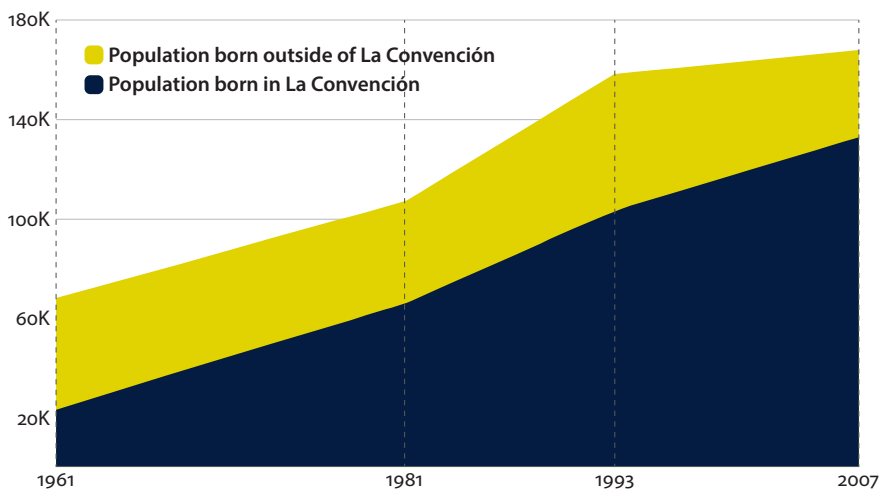
The arrival of Andean farmers in search of land for coffee plantations – a process locally called *colonización* ‘colonization’, which has been facilitated by state infrastructural investment since the 19th century (Sala i Vila, 1998) – has put migrant farmers into conflict over land and resources with the indigenous Matsigenka people that live there. However, in some places Matsigenka people and *colonos* have achieved a stable co-existence. One important fact about the interethnic dynamics of La Convención is that Andean migration is highly gendered: most *colonos* are young men. In recent decades, some of these men have formed romantic relationships with Matsigenka women, and many have either stayed with them in the lowlands near the *comunidades nativas*, or have brought those Matsigenka women back to the valley’s frontier settlements or to their home communities in the highlands. For this reason, it has become more difficult for Matsigenka men to find wives, and many must now travel to ever remoter areas further down the Urubamba Valley to start families. The result is a system of opposed migratory flows, in which men move downriver with Quechua, and women move upriver with Matsigenka (this dynamic is described in greater detail in Emlen, 2020). The result of this process has been a frontier society of notable interethnic contact and trilingualism. For more about Matsigenka people in La Convención, see Johnson (2003) and Rosengren (1987).

In the early 1930s, a great malaria epidemic swept through La Convención, killing thousands and causing many more to flee. This left only the Matsigenka inhabitants and 15% of the *colono* population remaining (Fioravanti, 1974, pp. 18, 58). Thus, almost all of the Andean migrants living in La Convención today arrived there, or descend from people who arrived there, since the 1940s. This demographic fact is crucial for understanding the variation in Spanish found in the province. Figure 2 illustrates the rapid population growth since the early 1960s, at the beginning of the province’s recovery, when only around 20,000 people who had been born in La Convención remained there.<sup>4</sup>

It is instructive to look deeper into these census data to note where the migrants to La Convención came from. In the 2007 census, 35,689 (21.4%) of Convencianos

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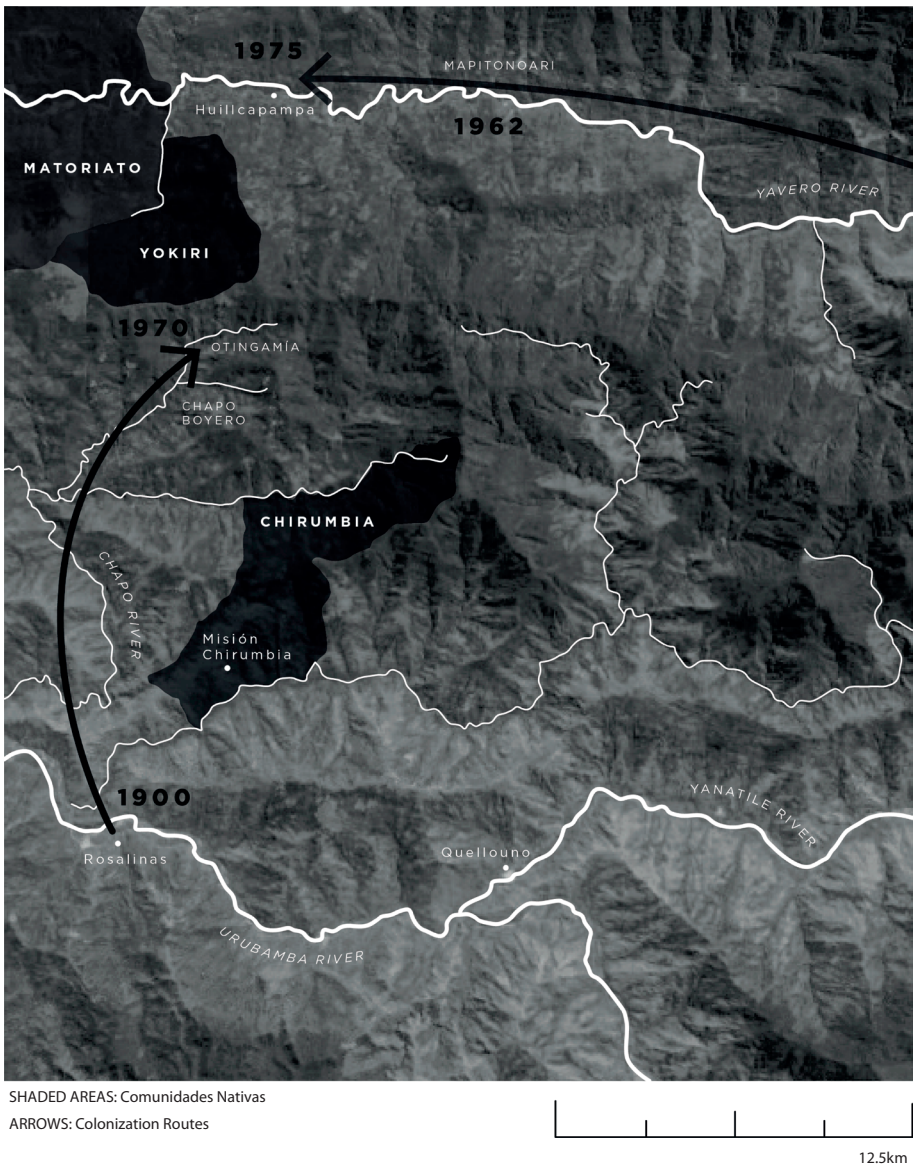
4. Data for place of birth are not available in the 1961 census, so this graph uses Fioravanti’s calculation (1974: 59) that one third of the province’s population in 1963–1964 was born there, and applies that proportion to the total population reported by the 1961 INEI census (61,901). Thus the 1961 figure is approximate. 2017 census data is not used because of the census boycott in La Convención. Note that these early census figures do not include most of the Matsigenka population.



**Figure 2.** Population of La Convención, 1961–2007. Data: INEI (1961, 1981, 1993, 2007) and Fioravanti (1974, p. 59)

reported that they were born outside of the province; of these, only 650 (1.8%) were born in the adjacent Amazonian areas (Madre de Dios, Ucayali, and the Province of Satipo), while 30,291 (84.9%) of those migrants came from the adjacent highlands of Ayacucho, Apurímac, and Cusco. La Convención is thus much more closely linked with the neighboring highlands than with the rest of Amazonia, both demographically and economically. The province's economic isolation from the rest of the lowlands is due in part to the Pongo de Mainique, a ravine full of treacherous rapids that separates the tropical foothills from the Amazon plain and limits the amount of passenger and commercial traffic that passes between the regions. Furthermore, the parts of the Amazon plain north and east of La Convención are part of the Purús and Madeira watersheds, a division that isolates the Southern lowlands from the rest of Peruvian Amazonia with the Ucayali and Amazon Rivers (among others) at its heart. As mentioned above, this relative isolation of Southern Peruvian Amazonia from the Amazonian river network of Central and Northern Peru explains why Quechua and Aymara have spread so much more widely spoken into the southern Amazonian regions of Peru (see Figure 1).

In order to assemble a more nuanced picture of the sociolinguistic ecology of La Convención, I now give an ethnographic account of Spanish in a small, trilingual frontier community called Yokiri (see the map in Figure 3). I focus on three people: Mario (an L1 speaker of Quechua and L2 speaker of Spanish), Edison (a 2L1 speaker of Matsigenka and Quechua, and an L3 speaker of Spanish), and Pedro (a 2L1 Matsigenka-Spanish bilingual). These people, who are neighbors on the same small hillside, represent different facets of the region's history and exhibit different



**Figure 3.** Urubamba and Yavero Valleys, with Matsigenka *Comunidades nativas* ‘indigenous Amazonian communities’ and Andean colonization routes (and approximate years of arrival). Map data: Google, Landsat, DigitalGlobe, author’s GPS data

lexical and structural characteristics in their Spanish, as I discuss in each case. The transcripts given below come from interviews that I conducted during 19 months of linguistic anthropological fieldwork in 2010–2012 (Emlen, 2020), and they are

part of a large, trilingual corpus of both naturally-occurring and elicited data. All names used in this chapter are pseudonyms. Some of the places mentioned in this section, and the routes of Andean colonization and their approximate dates of arrival, are shown in the map in Figure 3.

#### 4. Spanish in Yokiri

In the mid-1970s, when the *comunidades nativas* ‘indigenous Amazonian communities’ law first gave indigenous Amazonian people in Peru a framework for communal land titling, several Matsigenka families across La Convención who had been displaced by Andean *colonos* came together to claim land in the Yokiri Valley (the information in this section comes from my own fieldwork, and is described in greater detail in Emlen, 2015, 2017, 2020). All of these people spoke Matsigenka and at least a bit of Spanish, and some of them were raised on *colono* coffee plantations, where they also learned to speak Quechua. Interethnic couples were also grandfathered into the community; such unions in La Convención are primarily between Andean men and Matsigenka women, since (as described above) Andean migrants to the agricultural frontier are predominantly men. These families married together upon arriving in Yokiri, and most of the people who have been born in the community since its foundation are trilingual. Most families also include Matsigenka-speaking women who married nearby *colonos*, some of whom are near-monolingual Quechua speakers. All Yokiri families also have Matsigenka kin in more remote forested communities, some of whom are monolingual Matsigenka speakers. In this sense, communities like Yokiri mediate between the Quechua-speaking highlands and the Matsigenka-speaking lowlands.

As Yokiri has been drawn into broader Peruvian institutional and cultural life, Spanish has become an increasingly important part of the community’s sociolinguistic landscape. Some Matsigenka people in Yokiri did not interact much with non-Matsigenkas until a couple of decades ago, but now they listen to Spanish radio, travel to the provincial capital of Quillabamba, and meet periodically with Spanish- and Quechua-speaking agricultural extension agents, road crews, municipal officials, and other agents of the state. Most importantly, Yokiri’s new primary school has introduced Spanish instruction by teachers from the nearby highlands, all of whom speak Andean Spanish. In addition, Spanish is used almost exclusively in Yokiri’s *asamblea* ‘community meeting’, in which the members come together every few weeks to spend hours debating and discussing matters of community concern. Spanish is an important lingua franca in these meetings, but in addition to this functional role, it is also locally understood to be an ethnically neutral language, and thus appropriate for speech in the democratic public space of such interethnic



communities (Emlen, 2015). Participants in the *asamblea* carefully avoid speaking Matsigenka and Quechua, as this violates the ideology of the ethnically neutral public sphere.

#### 4.1 Mario

The first person to be discussed in this chapter is Mario, an L1 speaker of Quechua and L2 speaker of Spanish. Mario migrated to Yokiri from the highlands of Paucartambo, a heavily Quechua-speaking area to the southeast of La Convención, in the late 1970s. He was born in the Amazonian lowlands near what is now Manu National Park to an indigenous Huachipaeri mother and a Quechua-speaking father, but he lived with his father's family in the Paucartambo highlands after both of his parents died. There he grew up in a near-monolingual Quechua environment. He describes his early life in (1):

- (1) Mi padre es Paucartambiño.<sup>1</sup> Es de Challabamba.<sup>2</sup> Mi madre es de Cosñipata... tribu Huachipaeri.<sup>3</sup> Entonces lo que me comentan que- el año cincuenta y dos, cincuenta y tres, esa temporada, en tiempo hacendados, mi papá había sido un administrador de un hacendado.<sup>4</sup> NQE: Aha, en Paucartambo?<sup>5</sup> No no, en Manu, en la selva.<sup>6</sup> Entonces de lo cual hay- había sido era una muchacha, una empleada, como se llama, mi madre.<sup>7</sup> Se habían conocido con mi padre.<sup>8</sup> ... Entonces de allí cuando habían vivido con mi padre, mi padre la había llevado a mi mamá a Challabamba.<sup>9</sup> Dice Challabamba es abajito.<sup>10</sup> Ahora la ha llevado a mi madre, entonces mi madre, como no era acostumbrado con gente blanca [y] no hacía frío en la selva, se había chocado.<sup>11</sup> Se había muerto mi madre cuando estuve yo dos años.<sup>12</sup> También mi padre había muerto ya casi cuando estoy yo cinco años o cuatro años.<sup>13</sup> ... Allí me dejaron al lado de- de sus padres, o sea de sus familias de sus primos hermanos.<sup>14</sup> En su lado [me] habían dejado un niño pe.<sup>15</sup> Allí me he crecido.<sup>16</sup> Por eso yo domino mayormente casi Quechua, *qhiswa*.<sup>17</sup>

My father is Paucartambiño.<sup>1</sup> He is from Challabamba.<sup>2</sup> My mother is from Cosñipata ... Huachipaeri tribe.<sup>3</sup> So, what they tell me- in the year '52, '53, that time, in the time of hacendados (estate owners), my father was apparently a manager for an hacendado.<sup>4</sup> NQE: Aha, in Paucartambo?<sup>5</sup> No no, in Manu, in the jungle.<sup>6</sup> So there's apparently there was a girl, an employee, what's it called, my mother.<sup>7</sup> She and my father met.<sup>8</sup> ... Then when [my mother and] my father lived together, my father brought my mother to Challabamba.<sup>9</sup> They say Challabamba is a bit further down.<sup>10</sup> So he took my mother, and then my mother, since she wasn't accustomed to white people [i.e. Andean highlanders] [and] it wasn't cold in the jungle, she got sick.<sup>11</sup> Apparently my- my mother died when I was two years old.<sup>12</sup> Apparently my father also died when I was around five or four years old.<sup>13</sup> ... They left me there with their parents, I mean the relatives of his first cousins.<sup>14</sup> They left [me] with them as a child.<sup>15</sup> That's where I grew up.<sup>16</sup> That's why I'm mostly fluent in Quechua, *qhiswa*.<sup>17</sup>

Mario lived with his Quechua-speaking relatives in the highlands of Paucartambo for the rest of his childhood. As an adopted child in a poor family, he earned his keep by working in their homes and agricultural plots instead of attending school. Thus, because school is often the first context in which Quechua speakers in the rural Andes are exposed to Spanish, he did not learn Spanish until later. He worked odd jobs between the highlands of Paucartambo and the nearby lowlands of Manu during his childhood and early adolescence, and then at age fourteen he entered school and began to learn Spanish for the first time.

After leaving school, Mario gradually migrated down the Yavero Valley toward the Urubamba Valley, working as a seasonal laborer on coffee plantations and municipal construction projects. In the late 1970s, when he was in his 20s, he learned of a group of farmers whose land had been destroyed by a flood in Lares (a nearby highland valley), and who were planning to venture down the Yavero River in search of new land. At that point the reaches of the Yavero Valley below the colonization zone were inhabited exclusively by Matsigenka people who did not own legal title to the land, and the highland *colonos* could claim it and clear it for coffee plantations. Thus, as for many poor people in the rural Andes, the prospect of colonizing a remote patch of Amazonian forest represented a rare opportunity for Mario to acquire land of his own, something that was not possible in the more densely populated highlands. Mario describes his arrival in the Yavero Valley, where he later met his first Matsigenka wife and started a family (2):

- |  |  |
|--|--|
| <p>(2) Entonces yo bajé acá abajo más arriba de Lacco, más arriba.<sup>18</sup> Allí estuve una temporada ya jovencito así.<sup>19</sup> Después me iba hacia [donde] mis familias.<sup>20</sup> Ya estuve era diecinueve, veintidos años.<sup>21</sup> Escucho están coloni- entrando ya a colonizar a Yavero.<sup>22</sup> Ya habrán regresado pues “hay nativos pucha, ay!”<sup>23</sup> Yo pensaba que estaba mi raza pues.<sup>24</sup> Bajé junto con esos colonos pe en el setenta y nueve.<sup>25</sup> ... Entonces, bajé entonces, no había sido mi tribu sino había sido Matsigenka, aha.<sup>26</sup> ... Acá estaba mi señora anterior que es María.<sup>27</sup> Había estado ya madre soltera.<sup>28</sup> Con ella hemos conversado, ya hemos convivido con ella.<sup>29</sup> Así pues.<sup>30</sup></p> | <p>Then I came down here a little bit above Lacco, further up.<sup>18</sup> I was there for a while as a young man.<sup>19</sup> Then I went [further down] to where my relatives were.<sup>20</sup> I was nineteen, twenty-two years old.<sup>21</sup> I heard that some people were colonizing- entering [the forest] to colonize the Yavero.<sup>22</sup> [Some] must have come back, “there are Amazonians, damn, oh no!”<sup>23</sup> I thought they were my race.<sup>24</sup> I went down together with those colonos in ‘79.<sup>25</sup> ... So I went down, it turned out not to be my tribe, but rather it turned out to be the Matsigenkas, aha.<sup>26</sup> ... My previous wife was here, who was María.<sup>27</sup> She was a single mother.<sup>28</sup> She [and I] conversed, and then she [and I] lived together.<sup>29</sup> That’s right.<sup>30</sup></p> |
|--|--|

At this point Mario and several other families acquired legal title to the land in Yokiri, and he has lived there, with his first and then second Matsigenka wives (both of whom were L1 Matsigenka and L2 Spanish speakers), since then. He learned to



speak some Matsigenka, and his second wife learned to speak some Quechua, but they conduct their relationship primarily in Spanish (which she learned as a child while attending school in a nearby Dominican mission at Chirumbia). In this case, Spanish serves as a lingua franca among L1 speakers of different indigenous languages – interestingly, unlike other Quechua speakers who shift to Spanish upon migrating to a city, Mario only began speaking Spanish regularly upon moving from the rural highlands to the even more remote lowland valleys of La Convención. However, Mario and his wife each speak to their children in their own first languages, and the children are trilingual in Spanish, Matsigenka, and Quechua. Like many children in such interethnic families, they make a gendered association between Quechua and the broader world of men’s agricultural work and wage labor, and between Matsigenka and the domestic work mostly conducted by women. This association between Quechua and men on the Amazonian frontier is the reverse of the association between Quechua and women in the highlands.

In addition to their domestic communication, Mario and his wife speak Spanish in interactions with some of their fellow community members and neighbors. As mentioned earlier, the interethnic nature of the community, and the ideological regimentation of the *asamblea* as an ethnically neutral, public discursive space, have been mediated through the use of Spanish. Mario and his wife also speak Spanish with the many agents of the state (e.g. municipal officials, engineers, extension agents, construction crews) that have begun to visit Yokiri more and more frequently. They also spend their evenings listening to radio programming in both Spanish and Quechua.

### *Some linguistic features of Mario’s Spanish*

Mario’s Spanish exhibits a number of features typical of L1 Quechua speakers and stable Quechua-Spanish bilinguals in the Andes. For instance, he tends to produce the Spanish high vowels /i/ and /u/ lower and more centralized than L1 Spanish speakers do (what is known in Peru as *motosidad*). This can be seen in his pronunciation of *administrador* ‘manager’ as [aχministradør] in sentence 4. Additionally, some stops undergo lenition and uvularization in syllable codas, as can be seen in the [χ] in the same example. This is also a phonological characteristic of the variety of Southern Peruvian Quechua spoken by Mario (Mannheim, 1991, pp. 208–217).

Mario’s Spanish also exhibits inconsistent gender agreement (e.g. *mi madre, como no era acostumbrado...* ‘my mother, since she wasn’t accustomed...’, sentence 11) (Adelaar & Muysken, 2004, p. 598), and he frequently omits articles and prepositions (*en tiempo hacendados* ‘in the time of hacendados (estate owners)’, sentence 4). Another feature likely due to Quechua substrate influence, which I have not seen described in the literature on Andean Spanish, is the use of verbal plural inflection in clauses in which a singular subject is coordinated with other referents

indicated with *con* ‘with’. Examples include *cuando habían vivido con mi padre* ‘when [my mother and] my father lived together’ in sentence 9, and *con ella hemos conversado, ya hemos convivido con ella* ‘she [and I] conversed, and then she [and I] lived together’ (sentence 29). This appears to be a calque on a similar Quechua construction with the comitative suffix *-wan* ‘with’, as in (3), also collected in Yokiri.

(3) *Familiaykunawan hanpurayku.*

*familia-y-kuna-wan*                      *hanpu-ra-y-ku*

family.member-1-PL-COM      return-PA-1-PL

‘My family members [and I] came back here’ (lit. ‘we came back here with my family members’)

Mario’s speech exhibits a number of features that are also used by monolingual Andean Spanish speakers. These include frequent diminutives in nouns, adjectives (*jovencito* ‘young man’, sentence 19), and adverbs (*abajito* ‘a bit further down’, sentence 10) (A. M. Escobar, 2001, 2011, p. 332). He also uses the double possessive, as in *sus familias de sus primos hermanos* ‘the relatives of their first cousins’ (sentence 14). This is common in Andean Spanish and appears to be a Quechua contact feature (Adelaar & Muysken, 2004, pp. 593–595), and it is also found in the Northern Peruvian Amazon (Rodríguez-Mondoñedo & Fafulas, 2016; Vallejos, 2014). Some spatial and temporal deictic expressions are also calqued from Quechua, including *en allí* ‘there’ (cf. Quechua *chay-pi* / that-LOC) and *de allí* ‘then’ (cf. Quechua *chay-manta* / that-ABL) (Adelaar & Muysken, 2004, p. 599; Pfänder, 2009, pp. 201–202). He also frequently uses *ya* ‘already, at that point’ for a broad range of functions, sometimes twice in a single construction (Calvo Pérez, 2000; A. M. Escobar, 2000, p. 138), in a manner comparable to the Quechua completive enclitic *-ña* (Cerrón-Palomino, 2003, pp. 243–259).

Like many Andean Spanish speakers, Mario makes frequent use of the present perfect, though he also uses the preterit and the imperfect. He also uses the pluperfect to express a mirative or ‘non-experienced past’ meaning (A. M. Escobar, 1997; Sánchez, 2004), as in *no había sido mi tribu* ‘it turned out not to be my tribe’, in sentence 26, a function that resembles Quechua *-sqa* (Adelaar & Muysken, 2004, p. 601) (for more about *-sqa*, see Faller, 2004). Mario also frequently uses objects and adverbials in preverbal position (for references, see A. M. Escobar, 2011), a word order that is common in both Andean Spanish and Quechua (e.g. *con ella hemos conversado* ‘she [and I] conversed’, sentence 29; *en su lado [me] habían dejado un niño pe* ‘they left [me] with them as a child’, sentence 15). Mario’s Spanish also exhibits the typically Andean discourse marker *pues/pe* ‘affirmative’ (Manley, 2007; Zavala, 2001) and the reportative evidential particle *dice* ‘they say’ (Babel, 2009). Finally, he uses a wide range of Quechua agricultural terms in his Spanish, and he has borrowed many Matsigenka words for local flora, fauna, and cultural items

since arriving in Matsigenka territory. For example, one day when I visited Mario's house, he called out to his Matsigenka-speaking wife, *¡chagompitale!* 'tie up [the baby] in the sling!', from the Matsigenka verb *tsagompu-* 'to tie up a baby in a sling'.

## 4.2 Edison

Edison is a trilingual Matsigenka man who was born in the 1960s near the Mapitonoari River, a tributary of the Yavero some ten kilometers upstream from Yokiri (see map in Figure 3). He is a 2L1 speaker of both Matsigenka and Quechua, and an L3 speaker of Spanish. His parents and grandparents, who were monolingual Matsigenka speakers, had migrated to Mapitonoari from the Camisea watershed after fleeing slave raids some years earlier. At that point the nearest Andean *colonos* were still further up the Yavero Valley, but around the time that Edison was born (when his father was away, working in another valley), the Andean migratory wave finally arrived at the family's land. Edison explains this history in (4):

- |  |   |
|--|---|
| <p>(4) Era colono era arriba Pampa Blanca todavía.<sup>31</sup> Hasta arriba vivía Matsigenka, harto era.<sup>32</sup> Yo he nacido en mil novecientos sesenta y dos.<sup>33</sup> Este- cuando yo he nacido ya estaba ya donde Mapitonoari.<sup>34</sup> Como ese porte, casi yo estoy el porte de ese chivolito [points to a child], a ese porte ya.<sup>35</sup> Ya estaba colono, ya han venido- seguía colonizando.<sup>36</sup> Seguía colonizando hacia abajo, así pe.<sup>37</sup> Aha.<sup>38</sup> Volviendo mi papá, ya no había terreno para que trabaje.<sup>39</sup></p> | <p>The colonos were still up in Pampa Blanca.<sup>31</sup> Matsigenkas lived further up, there were lots of them.<sup>32</sup> I was born in 1962.<sup>33</sup> Um- when I was born, they were already around Mapitonoari.<sup>34</sup> Around that size, I was around the size of that little kid [points to a child], that size.<sup>35</sup> The <i>colonos</i> were already here, they came- they kept on colonizing.<sup>36</sup> They kept colonizing further down, that's right.<sup>37</sup> Aha.<sup>38</sup> When my father returned [from working in another valley], there was no more land for him to work.<sup>39</sup></p> |
|--|---|

As the *colonos* transformed the forest into coffee plantations, Edison and his family remained and worked in an *hacienda* 'estate' in exchange for the right to cultivate a plot of their own. Participating in the agricultural economy and local Andean social milieu meant speaking Quechua, and because Edison was a young child when the *colonos* arrived, he grew up bilingual in Matsigenka and Quechua. However, he did not attend school, so his exposure to Spanish was limited until the bilingual Quechua-Spanish *colono* society had consolidated in the Yavero Valley some years later. Edison explains (5):

- |   |  |
|---|--|
| <p>(5) No me han puesto escuela.<sup>40</sup> Como mi papá dice, "lejos es la escuela," lejos era pe.<sup>41</sup> Mis hermanos mayores, ellos han terminado primaria.<sup>42</sup></p> | <p>They didn't put me in school.<sup>40</sup> As my father said, "the school is far away," it was far away.<sup>41</sup> My older brothers, they finished primary school.<sup>42</sup></p> |
|---|--|

NQE: Seguías hablando Matsigenka también con tu familia?<sup>43</sup>

Sí, normal era pe.<sup>44</sup> A veces me prohibía pe, “para qué vas a hablar Matsigenka?” dicen.<sup>45</sup> Pero siempre hablaba Matsigenka, hasta ahora sigue estoy hablando Matsigenka.<sup>46</sup>

NQE: Did you also continue speaking Matsigenka with your family?<sup>43</sup>

Yes, it was just like normal.<sup>44</sup> Sometimes they prohibited me, “why would you speak Matsigenka?” they said.<sup>45</sup> But I always spoke Matsigenka, until now I continue to speak Matsigenka.<sup>46</sup>

After the families of Yokiri had banded together to claim the land, Edison left the *colono* estate where he had lived most of his life and traveled down the Yavero Valley to join them in Yokiri. At that time, the next wave of Andean colonization – of which Mario was a part (Section 3.1) – had advanced to the area around Yokiri, displacing many Matsigenka people to more remote valleys (6):

- (6) A treinta años, por allí, yo he venido acá ya también.<sup>47</sup> Ya también he venido abajo acá en Huillcapampa, así caminando así.<sup>48</sup> Nadies había gente- ya no había nativos.<sup>49</sup> En Matoriato sigue había.<sup>50</sup> Como están arreando gentes colonos, ya también algunos se ha ido pe Kirahateni.<sup>51</sup> Algunos se ha ido a Matoriato, algunos se ha ido- de acá se ha ido Chirumbia.<sup>52</sup> ... Despues ya he venido pues acá hasta Yokiri.<sup>53</sup> Había una chocita, casita.<sup>54</sup> Yo tenía treinta y dos años.<sup>55</sup>
- But at thirty years old, around there, I came here at that point.<sup>47</sup> At that point I came down here to Huillcapampa, walking.<sup>48</sup> There was nobody- there weren't any *nativos* [i.e. Matsigenkas] left.<sup>49</sup> In Matoriato, there still were.<sup>50</sup> Since *colonos* were displacing people, some went to Kirahateni at that point.<sup>51</sup> Some went to Matoriato, some went to- from here, they went to Chirumbia.<sup>52</sup> ... Then I came here to Yokiri.<sup>53</sup> There was a little hut, a little house.<sup>54</sup> I was thirty-two years old.<sup>55</sup>

At this point, the Yokiri Valley was surrounded by *colonos* on three sides, and bordered the Matsigenka community of Matoriato on the fourth (see map in Figure 3). As the road network advanced toward – and eventually through – Yokiri, the community's relationship to the surrounding agrarian society became increasingly close. For Edison, an important part of this gradual integration into the surrounding society was speaking Spanish more regularly. Furthermore, many of his close family members married Andean *colonos* that they had known on the estate near Mapitonoari, so Edison conducts close relationships with many of his kin in Spanish and Quechua.

### *Some linguistic features of Edison's Spanish*

Edison is an L1 speaker of both Quechua and Matsigenka, and he learned Spanish later; however, the target variety of Spanish that he learned was in fact the inter-language spoken by the L1 Quechua/L2 Spanish speakers from the highlands that came to surround him in the Yavero Valley. He shares with Mario a number of the Quechua contact features described above, as well as some possible Matsigenka contact features (note that a description of the relevant Matsigenka dialect does

not yet exist, but it is similar in most respects to the closely related Nanti language described by Michael, 2008).

Phonologically, Edison tends not to lower and centralize the Spanish high front vowel /i/ like Mario and other L1 Quechua speakers and bilinguals, perhaps because Matsigenka has this vowel. However, he often pronounces the Spanish high back rounded vowel /u/ as [o] (e.g. *pucha!* ‘damn!’ as [poʃa]), as Matsigenka lacks /u/, which might be reinforced by the tendency of Quechua speakers to lower Spanish /u/. Furthermore, as Matsigenka lacks /l/, he often realizes this as [r] (e.g. *colono* [korono], sentence 31). He also eliminates some initial consonant clusters, which do not exist in Matsigenka, through metathesis (e.g. *prohibía* [poriβia] ‘prohibited’ in sentence 45).

Edison’s Spanish also exhibits a number of morphosyntactic, semantic, and discursive features typical of both monolingual Andean Spanish and of the interlanguage of L2 Spanish-Quechua bilinguals. For instance, he uses the Spanish gerund to form subordinate clauses (e.g. *volviendo mi papá, ya no había terreno para que trabaje* ‘when my father returned, there was no more land for him to work’, sentence 39) (Adelaar & Muysken, 2004, pp. 599–600; Lipski, 2013). Objects and adverbials also often appear in preverbal position (e.g. *hasta arriba vivía Matsigenka* ‘Matsigenkas lived further up’, sentence 32). Gender and number agreement are inconsistent (e.g. *algunos se ha ido a Matoriato* ‘some went to Matoriato’, sentence 52) (Adelaar & Muysken, 2004, p. 598). Like many speakers of Andean Spanish, he uses the perfect more frequently and the preterit less frequently than in other Spanish dialects (Howe, 2013). He also uses the imperfect, but unlike other Andean Spanish speakers he does not use the mirative or non-experienced past function of the pluperfect. He also uses the same kinds of diminutive constructions mentioned above (e.g. *chocita* ‘little hut’, sentence 54; *chivolito* ‘little kid’, sentence 35), the familiar set of calques of Quechua enclitics such as *ya* ‘already’ (cf. Quechua *-ña*), and Andean constructions such as the pluralized form of *nadie* ‘nobody’, *nadies*, in sentence 49 (Pato, 2013), which may not be due to contact with Quechua.

In addition to these features of Andean Spanish, Edison’s speech also exhibits some apparent morphosyntactic contact features from Matsigenka. For instance, the omission of a preposition in [*algunos*] *se ha ido Chirumbia* ‘[some] went to Chirumbia’ (sentence 52) resembles the Matsigenka bare locative construction (Michael, 2008, p. 366), in which the locative case suffix *-ku* is omitted with verbs of motion (though in Matsigenka this is a postposition, while in Spanish it is a preposition). The Matsigenka example as in (7) also comes from Yokiri:

- (7) *Iatake Shimaa.*  
*i-a-t-ak-i*                      *shimaa*  
 3M-go-EP-PF-REAL    *shimaa*  
 ‘He went to Shimaa.’

Edison also frequently refers to plural human referents using singular constructions, which is common in Matsigenka when plural interpretation can be drawn from context (Michael, 2008, p. 268); take, for instance, *hasta arriba vivía Matsigenka* ‘Matsigenkas used to live further up’ (sentence 32) and *ya estaba colono* ‘the colonos were already here’ (sentence 36). Note that this is also common in Quechua. Edison’s Spanish also exhibits some other features that are not straightforwardly attributable to Matsigenka or Quechua influence, including *sigue* ‘s/he continues’ as a continuative particle instead of an auxiliary verb (e.g. *en Matoriato sigue había* ‘in Matoriato, there still were’, sentence 50; and *hasta ahora sigue estoy hablando Matsigenka* ‘until now I continue to speak Matsigenka’, sentence 46). I am not aware of comparable constructions in Matsigenka or Quechua. Several other people in Yokiri use *sigue* in this manner, though I have not seen it mentioned in the literature on Andean or Amazonian Spanish, so it may be a local innovation.

### 4.3 Pedro

The final Spanish speaker to be discussed in this chapter is a 2L1 Matsigenka-Spanish bilingual named Pedro. Pedro was born in the late 1960s in Otinganía (alt. Otingamía), the valley immediately south of Yokiri (see map in Figure 3). Pedro does not speak much Quechua. Like Edison’s family, Pedro’s parents and grandparents moved around the Urubamba Valley during the 20th century, first fleeing murderous slave raiders, and then struggling to stay ahead of the wave of Andean colonization. However, that is where their stories diverge: while Edison lived and worked among *colonos* for nearly all of his early life, Pedro always lived apart from *colono* society, which is why he never learned Quechua like Edison did. His family remained in the orbit of the Dominican mission at Chirumbia for decades, with successive generations attending the boarding school there for brief periods. Like many Matsigenka people in the region, they never lived in Chirumbia permanently, but visited frequently and sent Pedro there to attend school and learn Spanish. Thus, Edison’s and Pedro’s stories represent two sides of 20th century Matsigenka history: those who joined *colono* society, learned Quechua, and lived as agriculturalists in nucleated settlements, and those who remained relatively apart, living as horticulturalists and hunter-gatherers, and speaking Matsigenka and some Spanish.

In (8), Pedro describes his father’s early life in the forests of Anchihuay and Koviriari, where he occasionally worked for *colonos* along the Urubamba River and traded with the priests at the nearby Dominican mission at Chirumbia. Because of these relationships, Pedro’s father spoke some Quechua and some Spanish in addition to Matsigenka, his first language. While the mission at Chirumbia offered Matsigenka people in the region a measure of protection and stability, Pedro’s

father found it to be an oppressive social environment, and did not stay for long. Eventually, he retreated from the mission orbit and started a family in the more remote forests of Otinganía (8):

- (8) Mi papá ha nacido en Anchihuay.<sup>56</sup> ... En esos años no había nada, no sé en que año habrá sido, no había colonización pe.<sup>57</sup> ... Mi papá, como vivía en- por Anchihuay, Koviriari, antes incienso buscaba, y iba pe para que compre salcito, llevando incienso.<sup>58</sup> Hace cambio.<sup>59</sup> Así, según me contaban pe.<sup>60</sup> ... Los padres lo habían llevado hacia la misión.<sup>61</sup> Ha estudiado casi tres meses nomás.<sup>62</sup> Después hay uno, su familiar dice de mi papá, se habían escapado de noche, porque dice explotaban dice allá pe.<sup>63</sup> O sea había dice curaca, y después no les ha gustado, y se habían escapado de noche pe, mi papá, de Chirumbia.<sup>64</sup> ... Como digamos mi hijo así [points to child], así está trabajando en los colonos, allí ha aprendido a hablar Quechua.<sup>65</sup> Ya poco a poco se ha crecido ya, a tener su familia pe.<sup>66</sup> ... Ya después se ha buscado- se ha apartado de la gente, y se ha venido a la montaña pe, claro.<sup>67</sup>

My father was born in Anchihuay.<sup>56</sup> ... In those years there was nothing, I don't know what year it must have been, there was no colonization.<sup>57</sup> ... My father, since he lived there in- around Anchihuay, Koviriari, he used to gather incense, and he used to go [to Chirumbia] to buy a bit of salt, bringing incense.<sup>58</sup> He traded.<sup>59</sup> Like that, according to what they told me.<sup>60</sup> ... The priests took him to the mission.<sup>61</sup> He studied just around three months.<sup>62</sup> Then there was one [boy], apparently a relative of my father's, [and] they escaped at night, because apparently they exploited [them] there.<sup>63</sup> I mean, apparently there was a *curaca* (labor overseer), and they didn't like it, and they escaped at night, my father, from Chirumbia.<sup>64</sup> ... Like, let's say, around [the size of] my son [points to child], he was working [at that age] on the colonos' [land], that's where he learned to speak Quechua.<sup>65</sup> Then bit by bit he grew up, and had a family.<sup>66</sup> ... Then he looked for- he removed himself from the people, and he came to the forest, that's right.<sup>67</sup>

Pedro's father thus managed to establish a life for his family in Otinganía, which remained beyond the reach of Andean colonization until the mid-1970s. There they had little interaction with *colono* society, though they maintained a close relationship with the Dominican mission, and Pedro grew up speaking both Matsigenka and Spanish as a young child.

Though Pedro grew up speaking some Spanish, he had his most sustained introduction to the language while attending the Christian boarding school at Chirumbia. The Spanish priests there taught the Matsigenka children to live in nucleated settlements as sedentary agriculturalists, to abandon their Matsigenka animist ontologies in favor of Catholicism, and to speak Spanish. The Dominican priests taught the children exclusively in Spanish, and some former students I spoke to reported being punished for speaking Matsigenka. The children were also responsible for some aspects of Chirumbia's economic life, including tending to the mission's livestock on the grassy ridge that looms over the mission, creating handcrafts



for sale, and bringing the mission's products to market. This brought the children into regular contact with speakers of Spanish and Quechua outside of the mission, as well as with the many Andean workers that were employed within the mission. The increasingly intense interaction with non-Matsigenka speakers in the mission orbit – not to mention with the priests and nuns themselves, who largely came from the Basque region and other parts of Northern Spain – also meant a gradual shift from Matsigenka to Spanish among young people like Pedro. Furthermore, the constant interaction between Matsigenkas and neighboring Andean migrants led to a great number of interethnic unions between Matsigenka women and Andean men over the decades. Today Pedro has many *colono* family members, with whom he speaks Spanish. In this case as well, Spanish serves as a lingua franca between Matsigenka and Quechua speakers.

Eventually, Pedro left Chirumbia and returned to his family's land in Otinganía. However, at this point *colonos* had occupied the land there, so he and his family crossed over into the adjacent Yokiri Valley to help found the community of Yokiri. There, Pedro continued his education among *colonos* at a school in the nearby frontier settlement of Huillcapampa, as he explains in (9):

- (9) Después ya me he regresado ya, no me hallo, me he regresado ya.<sup>68</sup> En ochenta ya la colonización ya estaba lleno ya, por Huillcapampa, ya estaban ya colonizando ya todo.<sup>69</sup> Aquí esta parte de Yokiri era silencioso, no había gente, el único mi papá vivía pe.<sup>70</sup> ... Ya cuando había muerto mi papá en mil novecientos ochenta, ya después ya no he regresado a estudiar a Chirumbia, allí nomás me he quedado pe.<sup>71</sup> Ese año tendría doce años.<sup>72</sup> Después ya, como se llama, me he quedado allí, y en el año ochenta y dos ha habido acá escuela aquí en Huillcapampa, en la colonización pe, allí ha habido una escuela.<sup>73</sup> En allí he estudiado, doce años, hasta el cuarto año pe, primaria.<sup>74</sup> Después ya como ya no hay nadie que me apoya, mejor me dedico a trabajar.<sup>75</sup>
- Then I came back, I didn't like it, I came back.<sup>68</sup> In '80 the colonization was already full [i.e. advanced], around Huillcapampa, they were already colonizing everything.<sup>69</sup> This part of Yokiri was quiet, there was nobody, my father was the only one living [here].<sup>70</sup> ... After my father died in 1980, I didn't go back to study in Chirumbia after that, I just stayed there.<sup>71</sup> In that year I must have been twelve years old.<sup>72</sup> Then, what's it called, I stayed there, and in the year '82 there was a school here in Huillcapampa, in the settlement, there was a school there.<sup>73</sup> I studied there, twelve years old, until the fourth year, primary school.<sup>74</sup> Then since there wasn't anyone to support me anymore, [I thought] it's better that I dedicate myself to working.<sup>75</sup>

After leaving school in Huillcapampa, Pedro married a Matsigenka woman who grew up in the mission at Chirumbia and brought her to live with him in Yokiri. They speak Matsigenka together, but because she was born and spent much of her life in the mission, she is an 2L1 speaker of Matsigenka and Spanish. Like Mario and Edison, they speak Spanish frequently in their interactions with neighbors, kin, and visitors of all kinds.



## Some linguistic features of Pedro's Spanish

Although Pedro does not speak much Quechua, his Spanish includes a number of grammatical features typical of Andean Spanish (discussed below). However, he does not exhibit the Andean phonological characteristics discussed above. Some Andean Spanish features are to be expected, since his exposure to Spanish has largely been through the Quechua-Spanish bilingual Andean migrants around Chirumbia and Yokiri, the Andean mission employees, his trilingual parents, his Andean kin, and local radio broadcasts. His Spanish also exhibits possible limited Matsigenka influence, though these effects are not as pronounced as in Edison's speech. For instance, like Edison, he often produces Spanish /l/ as [r], and he metathesizes consonants to reduce some clusters. Both of these can be seen in his pronunciation of *explotaban* 'they exploited' in sentence 63 as [eksportaβan].

Andean Spanish morphosyntactic and discursive features in Pedro's speech (all of which have already been discussed in this chapter) include the double possessive (e.g. *su familiar dice de mi papá* 'apparently a relative of my father's', sentence 63), deictic expressions (e.g. *en allí* 'there', sentence 74), OV word order (e.g. *incienso buscaba* 'he used to gather incense', sentence 58), and the use of *ya*, in some cases doubled (e.g. *ya estaba lleno ya* '[the colonization] was already full [i.e. advanced]', sentence 69). He also omits articles (e.g. *ha habido acá escuela* 'there was a school here', sentence 73), uses frequent diminutive constructions (e.g. *salcito* 'a bit of salt', sentence 58), and organizes his discourse with *pues/pe* 'affirmative' and the reportative evidential particle *dice* 'they say'. He also uses the present perfect, as well as the mirative/non-experienced past function of the pluperfect.

Pedro also uses a few grammatical features that may be due to Matsigenka influence, though these are more difficult to interpret. First, his use of the preposition *en* to indicate a person's house or land (e.g. *está trabajando en los colonos* 'he was working on the *colonos*' [land]', sentence 65) may be a calque of a common Matsigenka construction using the locative suffix *-ku* (see Michael, 2008, pp. 286, footnote 240); though as mentioned earlier, this is a suffix in Matsigenka and a preposition in Spanish. There is no such construction in Quechua. Sentence (10) gives a Matsigenka example from another speaker in Yokiri, in which 'at our (inclusive) family's place' is expressed by suffixing the locative *-ku* to *atovaire* 'our family'.

(10) *Irirori itimi anta atovaireku.*

*iriro-ri i-tim-i anta a-tovai-re-ku*

he-CNTR 3M-live-REAL there 1.INCL-family-ALIEN.POSS-LOC

'He lives there, at our (inclusive) family's place.'

## 5. Conclusion

The three people discussed here represent different facets of the complex history of La Convención. Mario is an L1 Quechua and L2 Spanish speaker who migrated from the highlands in search of land; Edison is a 2L1 Matsigenka-Quechua speaker, and an L3 Spanish speaker who grew up within the Andean *colono* society that overtook his Matsigenka family's land; and Pedro is a 2L1 Matsigenka-Spanish bilingual who spent most of his life at the periphery of the Andean *colono* world as it expanded through the region. These three people live together in the same community, itself a complex product of intermarriage and migration. The purpose of this chapter has been to sketch some of the social and historical trends that have led to the current sociolinguistic position of Spanish in this small corner of La Convención, and to briefly outline some of the linguistic characteristics of the three people's Spanish. In particular, this chapter has shown that the variety of Spanish adopted by Matsigenka speakers in this region has many of the most commonly cited grammatical features of Andean Spanish, whether the Matsigenkas themselves speak Quechua (as in the case of Mario and Edison) or not (as in the case of Pedro). The L1 Matsigenka speakers, Edison and Pedro, also appear to have introduced some minor phonological and morphological contact effects of their own.

Clearly, Amazonian Spanish in this part of Peru can only be conceived in the context of the arrival of Andean Spanish, and Quechua, with the great migratory wave from the adjacent highlands. Other parts of Amazonia have also been the targets of intense migration in recent decades – as mentioned earlier, the population of the Peruvian *selva* has increased by nearly an order of magnitude since the 1940s, almost as quickly as the city of Lima (INEI, 1940, 2007) – though Quechua and Aymara linguistic influence is most pronounced in Southern Peru (see Figure 1). Indeed, this demographic transformation has taken hold differently across the various regions of Amazonia, and the migrants have come from a wide variety of places. Given this diversity of migration into Amazonia, and given that Spanish has come into contact with dozens of indigenous Amazonian languages with small geographical ranges (like Matsigenka), it is likely that Amazonia is home to a wealth of Spanish variation that has only begun to be recognized.

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## Morpheme codes used in this chapter

1	first person	EP	epenthetic
1.INCL	first person inclusive	LOC	locative
3M	third person masculine	PA	past
ABL	ablative	PF	perfective
ALIEN.POSS	alienable possession	PL	plural
CNTR	contrast	REAL	realis
COM	comitative		

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# Insights for contact linguistics and future investigations of Spanish in the Amazon region

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This closing chapter summarizes the main contributions of this volume and highlights areas of interest for scholars investigating Spanish in the Amazon region. We aim to show what can be gained from the study of Spanish in the Amazon, including insights for general linguistic theory, syntactic theory, phonological theory, etc., as well as for the specific subfields of contact linguistics and bilingualism. We start with a brief review of the existing work on the different Varieties of Amazonian Spanish (VAS) and tie this to the chapters in the current manuscript. Finally, we conclude with some directions for future explorations of Spanish in Amazonia.

**Keywords:** Amazonian Spanish, language contact, phonology, morphosyntax, typology

## 1. Introduction

During the last decade, linguists have begun to close the gap between the scant amount of research on Varieties of Amazonian Spanish (VAS) and the more sizable documentation of other Latin American varieties of Spanish. Fortunately, we now know much more about VAS intricacies than we knew just 10 years ago. There are, of course, many unresolved issues, but we should recognize that research on VAS is increasing, to the point that we now have not only academic meetings dedicated to it, but also theses, books, articles and volumes such as this one. In this concluding chapter, we offer a brief review of the most recent findings about what might be considered a macro-variety of VAS properties, and match these findings with the topics addressed in this volume, with an eye on the issues that need to be further explored. In this way, we intend to trace not only the scope of the present contributions, but also new lines in the horizon that is ahead of us. We will describe VAS



phonology, morphosyntax, and syntax, and include a discussion about how VAS research contributes to broader theoretical debates regarding language contact, language identity, and language documentation. We limit ourselves to the most recent literature, but we will mention some key foundational studies.

## 2. Amazonian Spanish phonology

The phonology of VAS has attracted much of the scholarly attention when compared to other branches of linguistics. VAS is one of the few varieties of Spanish known to be exempt from obligatory spirantization of post-vocalic voiced non-continuous consonants (as early observed by Escobar, 1978; see also O'Rourke & Fafulas, 2015) – another one being Yucatan Spanish (Michnowicz, 2011), also a contact variety. VAS intonation has also been of interest to researchers, especially sociolinguists investigating stigmatized intonational patterns (Arias, 2014; Jara Yupanqui, 2012).

The dynamics of VAS intonation have been examined in a number of works. According to García (2011), Peruvian VAS show a tritonal pitch accent  $L+H^*+L$  which marks narrow/contrastive focus, as opposed to the bitonal  $L+H^*$ , which marks broad focus. Examining data from Pucallpa monolingual speakers, García (2011) showed that for these speakers, in contrastive focus, the location of the  $F_0$  peak depends on the syllable type (earlier in CV than in CVC) and on the position of the focus word (earlier in final position). Vásquez Aguilar (2017) provides evidence of a tritonal onset in Iquitos Spanish declarative sentences. These findings suggest that the tritonal pitch accent should be included in the inventory of Spanish pitch accents, something that it is rarely done, especially given that it has been observed in other Spanish dialects, such as Argentinian Spanish (Gabriel et al., 2010). In addition, García (2011, 2016a, b) notes that Peruvian VAS intonation patterns support the Segmental Anchoring Hypothesis (Arvaniti, Ladd & Mennen, 1998), given that  $F_0$  peak is in the stressed syllable, aligned with the stressed vowel, which would act as the segmental anchor.

Koops and Vallejos (2014; Vallejos & Koops, 2016, 2017) reported two phonological features that should be taken into account when analyzing Peruvian VAS prosody: lengthening of the word-initial syllable in unstressed vowels, and deletion of word-final unstressed vowels. After comparing Kokama L1 speakers with monolingual Peruvian VAS speakers, they argued that these features, attributable to the Kokama substrate, contribute to the characteristic intonation of Peruvian VAS. Elías-Ulloa (this volume) adds to this line of research by analyzing monolingual Peruvian VAS in Iquitos and Pucallpa showing that interrogative sentences in these varieties also receive a rising pitch accent with an extended peak (the tritonal pitch accent of García (2011)). Elías-Ulloa also finds an intonation pattern for Peruvian

VAS interrogatives different from Limeño Spanish interrogatives, further contributing to the notion that Peruvian VAS are distinct from other varieties of Latin American Spanish.

As we can see from the previous discussion, the intonation patterns of monolingual Peruvian VAS speakers merit enough attention, since they might constitute a clearly independent variety based on this property alone. In addition, Peruvian VAS intonation is quite distinctive, and speakers of different Spanish dialects can easily identify these speakers, particularly speakers from other regions in Peru (Fafulas, Rodríguez-Mondoñedo & O'Rourke, 2016) where Peruvian VAS suffers some stigmatization (see Jara Yupanqui, 2012). How does the apparent stigmatization of Peruvian VAS intonation differ or resemble that of other VAS in neighboring countries? This is an area open to future investigation.

Another key point of the work set forth in the current volume is that VAS encompasses a number of acquisitional varieties that result from the extended contact between dozens of Amazonian languages, Quechua, and Spanish (Emlen, this volume). As such, the particular behavior of bilingual speakers, that is, speakers of Amazonian languages who also use Spanish in their daily lives, with varying degrees of fluency (see Henriksen & Fafulas, 2017), has been a particular topic of interest and will likely continue to be one. Elías-Ulloa (2015) compares the intonational patterns of yes/no questions in monolingual Peruvian VAS speakers and in bilingual Spanish spoken by L1 Shipibo-Konibo speakers, concluding that both have the same nuclear configuration, that is, low pitch in the final word's stressed syllable, to which it follows an upstepped high boundary tone ( $L^* \uparrow H\%$ ). For their part, Henriksen and Fafulas (2017) compare segment-to-segment durational variability between Yagua and Spanish, observing that, even when this variability is higher in Yagua, simultaneous bilinguals show a Spanish-like pattern, as opposed to L2 speakers of Spanish, who exhibit a Yagua-like one. Notice that so far we have presented evidence that the contact situation alters Spanish, but the opposite influence is also attested, and probably is far more prevalent, although it has been less studied – see for instance Elías-Ulloa (2017) for the claim that some loanwords retain their Spanish stress patterns in Shipibo-Konibo.

With respect to segmental phonological processes, contact with the corresponding Amazonian language has been argued as a possible explanation for the different behavior of Peruvian VAS. O'Rourke and Fafulas (2015) observe that Bora Spanish bilingual speakers show a significantly lesser degree of lenition for intervocalic voiced stops than monolingual speakers of Iquitos Spanish. However, there was a significant effect for gender whereby males in the Bora community seem to be approaching more of the monolingual norm than females. On the other hand, Bowman, Zariquiey and Tabain (2014) show that /s/ in coda position is generally retained in Kashibo-Kakataibo Spanish, contrary to what happens in monolingual

Lima Spanish. In turn, García (2014) claims that Peruvian VAS vowels are significantly longer than vowels in Limeño Spanish, in particular in stressed position. In addition, Vigil (1993) analyzes the wide variety of /r/ pronunciations in Iquitos Spanish, which ranges from total elision (at word endings), to sibilant, trill, tap, fricative and retroflex variants, including [l]–[r] alternations (as early observed by Chávez Villaverde, 1929 and as discussed in Mendoza & Cuba, 1976; Mendoza, Cuba & Kameya, 1977). Segmental phonological processes in VAS is an area of inquiry with much potential for future investigations.

Furthermore, a number of phonological processes have been observed for VAS (Caravedo, 1997; Escobar, 1978, among others); in particular, the affricatization of palatals /y/ and /ɲ/, the velarization of labiodental /f/, the spirantization of occlusive /p/ in closed unstressed syllables, the reduction of stressed diphthong /uo/ to [o], and the diphthongization of stressed /a/ to [ua] in closed syllables. The extension and distribution of these phenomena have not been sufficiently studied, though, and much work needs to be done to properly address if any of these features characterize VAS as a whole – see Ramírez (2003) for some discussion on this.

It is also worth noting that VAS encompasses the geographical area including contact between Spanish and Quechua which opens the possibility of observing contact-induced phonological phenomena in a more stable bilingual situation as well as in third language acquisition. O'Rourke (this volume) analyzes the palatal lateral /ʎ/ in Quechua-Spanish bilinguals in the Amazonian region of Ecuador. Given that Quechua is an Andean language, and there has been a long-standing bilingual zone including Quechua and Spanish in the Andes, we can expect that this variety of Amazonian Spanish more closely resembles the characteristics of Andean Spanish, as seems to be the case. Thus, we have an example of a distinct micro-variety of Amazonian Spanish in the region. Moreover, as already mentioned, in some areas Quechua and Spanish are in contact with a third language (an Amazonian language), which makes the contact situation in the area even more intricate. Emlen (this volume) discusses this state of affairs with respect to Matsigenka in the Amazonian region of La Convención. This makes the data from the different Amazonian Spanish varieties particularly suitable to discuss some important theoretical notions regarding bilingualism, second/third language acquisition and language contact, which are not easy to unravel, as shown by Geeslin and Evans-Sago (this volume).

### 3. Amazonian Spanish morphosyntax

The other major area in which the study of Amazonian Spanish has significantly advanced is morphosyntax. Some of the linguistic phenomena, in fact, have had a long tradition of research, whose pace has increased even more in the last years. A well-researched topic has always been clitics, quite possibly the issue in Spanish grammar showing the highest point of intricacies and variation across dialects. Arguably, the most remarkable feature of VAS clitics is the so called *leísmo*, that is, the tendency for direct objects to establish a dependency with the dative LE instead of the accusative LO. Even if this is a very old trait of European Spanish (see Bleam, 2000 for discussion and analysis), its presence in Latin American Spanish has been disputed, particularly in educated speech (De Mello, 2002). However, there is a wealth of research showing that Peruvian VAS exhibits *leísmo* both in monolingual and bilingual varieties, at least since Escobar (1978) and Caravedo (1997). Mayer (2017) is perhaps the most comprehensive study on Peruvian Spanish clitics, and she offers some insights on Peruvian VAS clitics, in particular, the observation that clitics behave differently depending on the contact language. In Ashaninka Spanish (Spanish in contact with varieties of Ashaninka), for instance, *leísmo* can trigger clitic reduplication (*Le estamos hablándole*, ‘We are talking to him’); this reduplication may happen even using an expletive *lo*, which Mayer (2017) considers a transitivity marker – this makes it similar to Andean Spanish clitic reduplication (see Rodríguez-Mondoñedo, 2019, pp. 261–268). On the other hand, VAS in Leticia, Colombia, where Spanish is in contact with Yagua, shows a lesser amount of clitic doubling although similar rates of *leísmo* (Mayer, 2017, pp 194–196) – see also Fafulas and Viñas-de-Puig (this volume) for a report of *leísmo* in VAS in Comandancia, Peru, where Spanish is also in contact with Yagua and rates of bilingual *leísmo* are on par with those reported for European varieties of Spanish. Following this line of study, Mayer and Sánchez (this volume) compare Ashaninka Spanish with Shipibo Spanish with respect to *leísmo*, and find that *lo* in the latter variety has been almost completely replaced by *le*, particularly in clitic doubling structures. *Leísmo* seems, then, to be a very salient property of VAS. Still, future studies of clitics and *leísmo* in VAS are needed before a more complete understanding of how VAS differs from other monolingual and bilingual varieties of Spanish globally.

Mayer (2017) also opened a new venue of research by exploring the complexities of Differential Object Marking (DOM) in VAS. She found several ways in which VAS DOM differs from Limeño DOM; it is especially interesting that in Ashaninka Spanish the DOM marker seems to be the preposition *en* ‘in’ instead of the usual *a* ‘to’. As she notes, this mimics Northern Andean Spanish, which, in some localities, uses the locative *onde* (*donde* ‘where’). Mayer and Sánchez (this volume) compare

the situation in Ashaninka Spanish with its DOM counterpart in Shipibo Spanish, finding that the latter drops the DOM marker considerably more.

Contact with aboriginal Amazonian languages is not the only source of variation in micro-varieties of VAS, because several VAS communities are also in contact with Brazilian Portuguese (BP), potentially adding to the large feature pool of linguistic properties (including the lexicon) pertaining to VAS. For instance, BP exhibits extensive object drop, a phenomenon also documented in some VAS varieties, as Mayer (2017) observes – see also Fafulas and Viñas-de-Puig (this volume) for a discussion of object drop in Yagua Spanish, which has potentially also been in contact with BP. In fact, the impact of BP seems to extend to other Amazonian countries, in particular, Colombia and Bolivia, where BP's impact on Spanish has also been documented (see Ramírez-Cruz, 2012). Of course, Amazonian languages have also affected Amazonian BP, a topic which warrants further exploration in its own right; and as we have already mentioned VAS is in contact with Andean Spanish, and in fact, they share several features, including *leísmo* (and several lexical items, as claimed by Falcón Ccenta, 2012). In other words, the contact situation in the Amazonian Basin offers an opportunity to study a complex cycle of linguistic contact, as explained by Aikhenvald (this volume). There has not been any comprehensive analysis of this contact situation, and the way its interactions shape VAS properties. Future studies in this area will be especially welcome.

Another feature of VAS that has been studied in the recent literature is the behavior of the Present Perfect (PP: *ha caminado* 'has walked'). As observed by Jara and Valenzuela (2013), in Jeberos Peruvian VAS, the PP has invaded several *pretérito* contexts (*caminó* 'walked'), including the possibility to mark temporal sequences in a narration, lessening its connection with the present, and making it a marker of finished action, regardless of the event's temporal distance. Interestingly enough, this is not necessarily the same development that the PP has undergone in Andean Spanish, where it has acquired the status of an evidential marker – as early noticed by Escobar (1997). Fafulas and Viñas-de-Puig (this volume) also find instances of non-canonical PP uses in Peruvian-Yagua VAS.

Two agreement properties of VAS have been highlighted in the literature: possessive agreement and lack of canonical nominal internal agreement. The first case is better known as *doble posesivo* (double possession or possessor doubling) and it involves the genitive agreement between the determiner and the internal possessor: *nuestra casa de nosotros* (lit: 'our house of us'), which has been extended to all person markers. This makes it different from some patrimonial Spanish varieties, which limit the agreement to third person. The phenomenon has extended to external possession (*Me tiemblan mis labios*, 'My lips are shaking') and the agreement may even cross the relative clause (*Mi carro que me compraste* lit: 'My car you bought me'). In addition, some varieties of VAS exhibit word orders that

greatly differ from Spanish canonical word order. Perhaps the most salient of all is the fronting of the possessor in nominal constructions, which triggers mandatory double possession: *De ella su nieta* (lit: ‘Of she, her granddaughter’); this can be understood as a form of clitic left dislocation inside the nominal – see Falcón Ccenta, Chumbile Vásquez & Canturín Narrea, (2012), Falcón Ccenta (2014) and Rodríguez-Mondoñedo and Fafulas (2016) for further discussion and references. It is worth noting that there are similar phenomena reported for Andean Spanish (Camacho, Parades & Sánchez, 1995).

The lack of internal nominal agreement can be understood as the presence of phi-features (person and plural) just once in the nominal. This usually happens in the determiner (*las canoa* ‘the-plural *canoas*’ meaning ‘the canoes’, *sus casa* ‘his-plural *casas*’ meaning ‘his houses’) or the noun (*canoas grande* ‘big canoes’, *casas grande* ‘big houses’) – see Falcón Ccenta et al. (2012) for a review of agreement patterns in Peruvian VAS. Since this pattern coexists with canonical agreement, it has been proposed that animacy could be the controlling factor (Vallejos, forthcoming). The lack of agreement, however, extends beyond the nominal domain to the verbal domain, at least in copula constructions: *Sus procesiones era bonito* lit: ‘His-plural processions was beautiful’ (Barraza de la Cruz, 1998, p. 93, as cited in Vallejos, 2014, p. 426).

One major syntactic feature used to characterize differences among Spanish dialects, including contact varieties, has been null subjects. Very little has been done in this respect in VAS, a notable exception being Sánchez, Camacho and Elías-Ulloa (2010), who analyze Shipibo-Peruvian VAS, documenting the extension of null subject licensing from third person subjects (the only one allowed in Shipibo) to first person subjects (in Shipibo-Peruvian VAS). This is another area worthy of future investigation in VAS research.

#### 4. Amazonian Spanish typology and future directions

As is by now obvious, Amazonian Spanish is a macro-dialect comprising a multifaceted system of dialects both with monolingual and bilingual speakers from a variety of language contact situations. VAS results from the contact between Spanish and several other languages, including Amazonian languages, Quechua, and Andean Spanish – see Díaz-Campos and Milla-Muñoz (this volume) for a review showing the place of Amazonian Spanish in the history of Spanish in contact with other languages. The task of unraveling the various threads of language contact in the region remains to be done. This state of affairs raises several issues with respect to the social dimension of VAS. We could ask, for instance, what kind of identity VAS speakers could be willing to claim. According to Lamanna (this volume), the

best way to address this issue is to invoke the notion of ethnolinguistic repertoire, that is, the idea that a speaker chooses the membership to the ethnic group most relevant for each situation from an array of possible ethnic identities. In this way, identity is a dynamic concept, since it adapts to specific sociolinguistic scenarios. This view seems particularly well suited for the intricate language contact situation in Amazonia, and deserves further exploration.

A different but related issue is the topic of language documentation. There is full agreement that Amazonian languages are under heavy external pressures, fighting for survival, and that it is necessary to document them, which in turn will feed the efforts for their revitalization – see Fitzgerald (this volume). However, we could raise a similar question with respect to VAS: Is it in danger? Is it in need of documentation? Notice that we have both monolingual and bilingual varieties of VAS, and we are not able as of yet predict if the monolingual ones will converge with the more standardized varieties or linguistic forms of Latin America (Limeño Spanish, for instance). However, if this does occur over time, and if these micro-varieties of VAS are not documented, then we will lose an important part of the history of Spanish in contact with other languages.

We have tried to depict the broadest possible scenario with respect to VAS research, as defined by the studies offered in the present volume. Far from being definite or final, the image described is blurred and incomplete. We hope, though, that the work done to date motivates others to make it clearer. By way of closing, and inviting the next volume, panel, dissertation, etc. on VAS, let us recapitulate a few themes that make this line of inquiry particularly valuable, in our opinion, for the greater linguistic community:

- *Origins and current identity of Spanish in the Amazon region.* What is the influence of the existing and extinct indigenous languages of the region? How much has Andean Spanish, Quechua, and Brazilian Portuguese shaped the Spanish of Amazonia? What are the shared L2 or contact features of these varieties? To what extent do they constitute a macro-dialect and continuum of micro/ethnic dialects? How does this add to our understanding of Global Spanish? Remember that there have been population movements and shifts from other zones in the Americas and contact with the settlers themselves. So, how can we tease apart contact-induced phenomena resulting from the substrate languages from the importations of other contact zones, even among indigenous communities themselves who frequently travel from one area to another (e.g., Yagua in Colombia and Peru)?
- *Language attitudes and identity.* How are speakers from the Amazonian region perceived by outsiders and speakers of other varieties of Spanish globally? How do Amazonian Spanish speakers perceive themselves?



- *Revitalization and documentation efforts*. Indigenous languages are becoming more severely endangered due to expansion of the national languages. What are the current documentation and revitalization efforts and how can researchers of more general linguistic theory engage with these efforts? These efforts can produce excellent research projects which are important for funding and national agencies wanting to increase accessibility and community access.
- *Linguistic features*. How is the Spanish of Amazonia different from and similar to what we know about other varieties of Spanish globally in terms of tone, phonological processes, morphosyntax, the lexicon, etc.?
- *Methodological advances*. How can the study of bidirectional influence and research of the Spanish varieties and the indigenous languages of the region advance our approach to bilingual and L2 or L3 investigations more generally? In other words, comparing multiple L2s or Spanish varieties with different L1s and including the substrate languages in the same research design as well as the bilingual speakers themselves in all languages under observation. How will this advance our understanding of multicompetence and multilingualism?

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*Amazonian Spanish: Language Contact and Evolution* explores the unique origins, linguistic features, and geo-political situation of the Spanish that has emerged in the Amazon. While this region boasts much linguistic diversity, many of the indigenous languages found within its limits are now being replaced by Spanish. This situation of language expansion, contact, and bilingualism is reshaping the sociolinguistic landscape of the Amazon by creating a number of Spanish varieties with innovative linguistic features that require closer scholarly attention. The current book documents this situation in detail. The chapters in this volume include work on distinct geographical regions of the Amazon, with primary data collected using different methodologies and language contact situations. The scholars in this volume specialize in an array of fields, including anthropological linguistics, bilingualism, language contact, dialectology, and language acquisition. Their work represents both formal and functional approaches to linguistics.

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