

CONTACT-INDUCED SUBJECTIVIZATION IN  
THE COMPOUND PAST: AN EXAMINATION  
OF PP/PRET VARIATION IN CUSCO  
SPANISH

by

BETHANY D. BATEMAN

(Under the Direction of Chad Howe)

ABSTRACT

This dissertation examines PP/PRET variation among monolingual and bilingual speakers of Andean Spanish in Cusco, Peru. Using purported motivations for innovative Andean PP behavior as a backdrop for investigation, i.e. influence from the Quechua verbal system (Bustamente, 1991; Klee and Ocampo, 1995; Escobar, 1997; Sánchez, 2004) and natural subjectivization processes (Howe, 2013; Jara Yupanqui, 2013; Azpiazu, 2018), the current study explores explanatory variables related to contact and subjectivization in Cusco PP use. In line with García Tesoro and Jang (2018), I argue innovative Cusco PP behavior is rooted in contact-induced subjectivization, a claim substantiated in questionnaire data (24 participants) and sociolinguistic interviews (26 participants) with monolingual and bilingual speakers.

That innovative PP behavior is rooted in contact is supported via the following results: (i) there is a statistically significant negative correlation between Spanish-dominance and PP use in the interview data; (ii) PP use was favored across demographic factors characterizing Quechua-dominant bilinguals (e.g. older, rural, little to no education); and (iii) the PP was conditioned by education level, whereby those with less education favored PP use, according to a logistic regression. That the Cusco PP is undergoing subjectivization is supported by the following: (i) Emotive Proximity is a significant conditioning factor in PP selection in the questionnaire data, whereby an increase in the emotional/psychological impact of an event increases the likelihood of PP selection; and (ii) PP use is conditioned by grammatical subject in the interview data, whereby its use is favored with 1st person subjects, according to a logistic regression.

A qualitative analysis on bilinguals' interview data exhibits comparable morphological strategies in marking noteworthy events for the speaker in intra-speaker Spanish and Quechua narratives; these involve the PP in Spanish and non-marked forms in Quechua. Additionally, upon investigating Quechua past tense strategies in natural speech, the Spanish PP and the Quechua past tense system appear commonly linked by epistemic features, though not via two Quechua morphemes (*-r(q)a-*, *-sqa-*) as previously claimed. Overall, these results suggest that the Cusco PP has strengthened in speaker-subjective meaning and that this development is rooted in shared epistemic values in Spanish and Quechua, viz., contact-induced subjectivization.

INDEX WORDS: [Andean Spanish, PP/PRET variation, contact-induced subjectivization, language contact, compound past, Quechua past tense]

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B.A, Miami University, 2012  
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# DEDICATION

This work is dedicated to my parents, **Mark** and **Lecia Bateman**.

There are not enough words to express my gratitude for your unwavering love, hard work, encouragement, guidance, and sacrifice throughout my life. So I wrote you this very long dissertation about something completely unrelated instead.

To my beautiful son **Nolan** and wonderful husband **Jake** (without both of whom I would have finished this two years ago and attained a high-paying job already): you are hands down the best part of my day.  
Every. Single. Day.

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Finally, to all the **first-generation and non-traditional students and researchers** out there breaking the glass ceiling in Academia. This one is dedicated to us.

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# CHAPTER I

## INTRODUCTION

### 1.1 Goals and justification for the study

This dissertation project investigates variable simple and compound past use among monolingual and bilingual speakers of Andean Spanish in Cusco, Peru. Present Perfect (PP) use in Andean Spanish has been widely studied due to its innovative behavior (Kany, 1951; Toscano Mateus, 1953; Vidal de Battini, 1964; Schumacher de Peña, 1980; Martín, 1981; Hardman, 1986; Westmoreland, 1988; Mendoza, 1991; Stratford, 1991; Bustamente, 1991; Klee and Ocampo, 1995; Escobar, 1997; Howe and Schwenter, 2008; Kempas, 2008; Jara Yupanqui, 2011a, 2011b; Dumont, 2013; Howe, 2013; Jara Yupanqui, 2013; García Tesoro and Jang, 2018; among others). That the Andean PP, and particularly the Peruvian Andean PP, showcases such innovative behavior is largely evidenced by its prominent distribution (Westmoreland, 1988; Caravedo, 1989; DeMello, 1994; Klee and Ocampo, 1995; Howe, 2013; García Tesoro and Jang, 2018) and its use in perfective contexts (DeMello, 1994; Howe and Schwenter, 2003; Kempas, 2008; Rojas Sosa, 2008).

In quantitative terms, for example, studies have shown that certain varieties of Mexican Spanish show a PP rate of 15% vs. PRET 85% (Schwenter and Torres Cacoullos, 2008), and Rioplatense Argentine Spanish exhibits an even lower rate of PP use at 6% (Rodríguez Louro, 2009). According to Caravedo (1989), the PP rate in Peruvian Spanish is much higher than that of its Latin American counterparts, at 27%. Similarly, Howe's (2013) data of Cusco and Lima speakers saw PP rates of 27% and 23%, respectively. These high rates suggest there are additional functions of PP use in Andean Spanish.

Indeed, the Andean PP has been observed in temporal-aspectual contexts canonically reserved for the Preterit (PRET) in Spanish, marking bounded past actions (DeMello, 1994; Westmoreland, 1988; Kempas, 2008; Rojas Sosa, 2008).

Consider the examples below, which demonstrate use of the Peruvian PP (in bold) in perfective contexts, substantiated by the speaker's explicit temporal contextualization (underlined):

- (1) a. *Bueno, yo **he vivido** y **he nacido** en Lima, pero ya, estoy en Cusco hace siete años.*  
 'Well, I **lived/have lived** and I **was born/have been born** in Lima, but now, I have been in Cusco for seven years.' (Howe, 2006, p. 125, as cited in Howe and Schwenter, 2008, p. 101)
- b. *Yo no **he estado** en aula ayer.*  
 'I **have not been** in class yesterday.' (Howe, 2006, p. 124, as cited in Howe and Schwenter, 2008, p. 101)
- c. *Bueno, desde ahí, esto **ha sido** en el setenta y dos, hasta la fecha sigo en esto y espero terminar este año.*  
 'Well, from there, this **has been** in 1972, even today I continue in this and I hope to finish this year.' (Caravedo, 1989, p. 114, as cited in Howe and Schwenter, 2008, p. 101)

Whereas Peninsular Spanish exhibits comparable behavior to the Andean variety, viz., a high frequency (i.e. 54%, according to Schwenter and Torres Cacoullós, 2008) and use in perfective contexts (Moreno de Alba, 1978; Schwenter, 1994; Serrano, 1994; Copple, 2011), studies show there are stark differences in their distributional and functional patterns of use, rendering Andean PP behavior novel compared to other Spanish varieties. For instance, previous accounts of the Peninsular PP propose its grammaticalization path of development, whether rooted in an extension of temporal distance (Schwenter, 1994), unanchored temporal reference (Schwenter and Torres Cacoullós, 2008; Copple, 2011), or strengthened notions of speaker subjectivity (Azpiazu, 2018), has resulted in its default use to mark general past. It also appears to be governed by a temporal distance effect, such that the PP is used in hodiernal contexts, and the PRET is used in prehodiernal contexts (Howe and Schwenter, 2003; Schwenter and Torres Cacoullós, 2008). On the other hand, the Andean PP is not the preferred variant, nor does it display sensitivities to temporal distance (Klee and Ocampo, 1995; Rojas Sosa, 2008; Howe, 2013; García Tesoro and Jang, 2018). As illustrated in example (1), for instance, Howe (2013) claimed that the PP can collocate with a wide range of definite adverbials unrestricted by temporal distance.

### 1.1.1 Innovative Andean PP behavior as a result of contact

Given the language contact situation that characterizes the Andean region, much research of the compound past in Peruvian Andean Spanish attributes novel behavior to Quechua influence. In Rojas Sosa's (2008) study of Lima Spanish speakers, the highest rates of innovative<sup>1</sup> past tense verbal use were observed among Quechua-speaking migrants in Lima, and rates of innovative past tense use gradually declined among second-generation migrants and monolingual Spanish-speaking Limeños. These findings broadly suggest innovative PP functions in Peruvian Spanish are rooted in the linguistic consequences of Quechua-Spanish contact in the Andes.

To date, there are approximately 10 million speakers of Quechua throughout Peru, Bolivia, Ecuador, northern Argentina, southern Colombia, and northwestern Chile (Escobar, 2011). Escobar (2011) describes Andean Spanish as 'the result of daily contact in the last century between Quechua-Spanish bilinguals (second-language speaking and two-first-language speaking) and Spanish monolinguals' (p.324), highlighting the influence of long-term bilingualism and intense contact in the regional Spanish variety. Bearing this in mind, it is generally maintained that regional PP/PRET variation is governed by an evidential distinction in the Quechua verbal system (Schumacher de Peña, 1980; Klee and Ocampo, 1995; Escobar, 1997; Sánchez, 2004; among others).

Dumont (2013) operationalized the identification of evidential uses of the Andean PP in Quito Spanish by examining the effect of clause type, among other factors, in a multivariate analysis. She predicted that, since 'complement clauses function as main clauses modified by epistemic/evidential/evaluative predicates' (Dumont, 2013, p. 284; based on the work of Thompson, 2002), evidential PP use should be favored in nominal clauses. Indeed, her findings showed that the Quito PP was strongly favored in nominal clauses (.71), suggesting that the regional PP has acquired evidential interpretations.

Broadly speaking, the 'direct past' marker *-r(q)a-* in Quechua indicates a past action for which the speaker was a direct participant, and the 'indirect past' *-sqa-* marks past actions for which the speaker did not participate or was not a direct witness (Cusihuamán Gutiérrez, 2001). Therein the evidential interpretations that distinguish use of these two Quechua morphemes are allegedly transposed onto the past temporal system in Andean Spanish (Stratford, 1991; Klee and Ocampo, 1995; Escobar, 1997; Sánchez, 2004).

Crucially, however, my preliminary data exhibit additional morphological strategies, beyond *-r(q)a-* and *-sqa-*, to mark past tense in Quechua. Consider the Quechua examples below, which demonstrate 'zero tense' marking (in bold) to refer to past actions:

<sup>1</sup> Throughout the current investigation, I use the term 'innovative' in reference to diachronic innovation of the compound past in the Spanish language. For similar treatment of this term in previous research on Andean PP behavior, see Escobar, 1997; Howe and Schwenter, 2003; Dumont, 2013; Jara Yupanqui, 2013; García Tesoro and Jang, 2018; among others.

- (2) Interviewer: *Ehh yachay wasi-man ri-ra-ni. Ehh,*  
 Ehh learn house-LOC go-PSTI-I.SG eh  
*ri-ra-nki-chu?*  
 go-PSTI-2.SG-INT  
 ‘Ehh, did I–uhh, did you go to school?’
- Participant: ***Ri-ni***  
**go-I.SG**  
**‘I go/went.’**
- Interviewer: *Ari. Ima-taq nivelnisqa-ta tuku-ra-nki, ehh,*  
 yes what-INT level-ACC finish-PSTI-2.SG ehh  
*tuku-ra-nki-chu?*  
 finish-PSTI-2.SG-INT  
 ‘Okay. And what level did you finish, ehh, did you finish?’
- Participant: *Mana tuku-ni-chu.*  
 no.NEG finish-I.SG-NEG  
**‘I don’t/didn’t finish.’**
- (3) Interviewer: *Ari. Kusa. Hayk’a wawa-yki,*  
 yes good How.many child-2.SG.POSS  
*mam-ita?*  
 mother-DIM  
 ‘Yes. Alright. How many children do you have, ma’am?’
- Participant: *Wawa-y chunka pisqa-yuq. Quince.*  
 Child-I.SG.POSS ten five-POSS fifteen  
*Chunka pisqa-yuq.*  
 ten five-POSS  
 ‘I have fifteen children. Fifteen. Fifteen.’
- Interviewer: *Chunka pisqa-yuq wawa-yki. Wawa-yki*  
 ten five-POSS child-I.sg.poss child-POSS  
*chunka pisqa-yuq?!*  
 ten five-POSS?!  
 ‘You have fifteen children. Fifteen children?!’

Participant: *Mhm. Wawa-y pues chunka. Pisqa*  
 mhm child-I.SG.POSS pues ten five  
*wañu-n*  
**die- sc 3.sg**  
 ‘Mhm. Well I have ten children. Five **die/died.**’

(4) Interviewer: *...prueba de Papanicolaou-ta ruwa-sqa-nki-chu?*  
 ...exam of Pap-ACC do-PST2-2.SG-INT  
 ‘Did you get a Pap exam?’

Participant: *Mhm. Ruwa-chi-ku-ra-ni-puni sapa*  
 mhm do-CAUS-REFL-PSTI-I.SG-CERT: each  
*wata.*  
 year  
 ‘Mhm. I got it done every year.’

Interviewer: *Sapa wata*  
 each year  
 ‘every year’

Participant: *Aha.*  
 aha  
 ‘aha’

Interviewer: *Ari, kusa! Resultado-s-ta chaski-sqa-nki-chu?*  
 yes good result-PL-ACC get-PST2-2.SG-INT  
 ‘Yes, good! Did you get the results?’

Participant: *Mmm mana-n chaski-ni-chu.*  
 mmm no.NEG-EVID **get-1SG-NEG**  
 ‘Mmm I **don’t/didn’t** get (them)’

Interviewer: *Ah, mana?*  
 ah no.NEG  
 ‘Ah, no?’

Participant: *Mana kutimu-wa-n-chu.*  
 No.NEG **return-1O-3.SG-NEG**  
 ‘It **doesn’t/didn’t** return to me.’

- Interviewer: *Mmm. Ari.*  
Mmm yes  
‘Mmm. Yes.’
- Participant: *Qayna watapis ruwa-chi-ku-ni Santa*  
Last year do-CAUS-REFL-1.SG Santa  
*Barbara-pi mana kutimu-n-chu.*  
Barbara-LOC no.NEG **return-3.SG-NEG**  
‘And last year I got it done in Santa Barbara it **doesn’t/**  
**didn’t return** to me.’

Given these examples from my data set, an analysis of innovative Andean PP use that assumes evidential transfer via a two-term morphological system (*-r(q)a-* and *-sqa-*) of past temporal reference in Quechua is insufficient. Furthermore, Howe (2013) doubts evidential PP use is rooted in the convergence of evidential features from the verbal system, given that it is not the primary source of evidentiality. Rather, evidentiality is its own grammatical category in Quechua, whereby distinctions in information source are specified morphologically (Cusi-huamán Gutiérrez, 2001; Aikhenvald, 2004).

### 1.1.2 Innovative Andean PP behavior as a result of subjectivization

Departing from the perspective that novel Andean PP use is predominantly contact-induced, other studies posit its behavior is explained by a development path of subjectivization (Jara Yupanqui, 2011a, 2011b; Howe, 2013; Jara Yupanqui, 2013; Azpiazu, 2016; García Tesoro and Jang, 2018), whereby ‘relevance’ in discourse becomes an increasingly subjective notion based on the speaker’s point of view and extends to include epistemic notions of (temporal, spatial, discourse) relevance. In this way, deictic differences between PP and PRET are not temporal-aspectual but psychological, communicating different degrees of the speaker’s emotional involvement (Hernández, 2013; Company Company, 2002; Jara Yupanqui, 2011a; García Tesoro and Jang, 2018).

Whereas grammaticalization of the PP (e.g. Aoristic Drift in Peninsular Spanish) is characterized by semantic reduction, viz., a gradual erosion of ‘relevance’ and temporal requirements (Traugott and König, 1991; Bybee et al., 1994; Howe, 2013), the subjectivization path of the Andean PP is characterized by semantic extension. Its use to denote speaker-oriented notions of relevance is conventionalized via pragmatic strengthening, resulting not in an erosion but in an expansion of epistemic domains in which it can be used (Traugott, 1989,

1995; Hernández, 2013; Howe, 2013). Consider the example below from García Tesoro and Jang's (2018) Cusco data, in which the speaker uses the PP to narrate the event of his father's murder, which took place during the speaker's adolescence (spelling and transcription notations theirs, boldface and translations mine):

- (5) *Y parece que esas cosas la gente estaría acumulando y de la chacra siempre se van pues un poco mareados a caballo. Y parece que lo **han esperao** en algúuun sitioo oscuro y lo **han golpeao** y lo **han subío** al caballo. Lo **han llevao** hasta la puerta (( )) y de ahí lo **han soltao** a mi papá pero ya estaba reventao, ya...Él posiblemente...las páncreas, los intestinos...*

'And it seems that those things the people would be accumulating and from the fields they always leave well a little dizzy on horse. And it seems that they **waited/have waited** for him in some dark place and **knocked/have knocked** him **out** and **mounted/have mounted** him on the horse. They **took/have taken** him up to the door (( )) and from there they **released/have released** my father but already he was busted up, already...He possibly...the pancreas, the intestines...'

(García Tesoro and Jang, 2018, pp. 108–109)

In this example, García Tesoro and Jang (2018) claim use of the PP communicates the emotional/psychological impact of the events on the speaker personally. Overall, they claim the Andean PP has acquired three modal functions: it brings past events to the foreground in the discourse; it marks past events that carry importance for the narrator; it marks the narrator's commentary or evaluation of the events in the discourse. These modal functions serve the same purpose: the PP marks past events as a discursive strategy to highlight their importance for the speaker, bringing them closer and making them more vivid to the hearer (García Tesoro and Jang, 2018). Similarly, Ritz and Engel's (2008) study of Australian English identified a 'vivid narrative use' of the PP. It was used in contexts generally reserved for the simple past (i.e. as a narrative tense, referring to a sequence of events, with definite past time adverbials) to attract and sustain listeners' attention. They claim that the effect of using narrative PP in discourse places the hearer(s) in a virtual present, causing the narrated events to feel closer and more vivid.

Further support for the argument that the Andean PP is developing along a path of subjectivization comes from the way in which the PP is inherently a more subjective, affective variant than the PRET (Alarcos Llorach, 1947; J. M. Lope Blanch, 1991) and is cross-linguistically an unstable form prone to se-

mantic change (Fløgstad, 2017). Additionally, it has been attested that Perfects are not strictly temporal-aspectual markers but also encompass modal features (Company Company, 2002; Portner, 2003; Hernández, 2013; Jara Yupanqui, 2013). According to Portner (2003), for instance, the Perfect inherently contains a pragmatic component (in addition to its semantic component), whereby presupposition is required to unify non-temporal relations. Consequently, this has led to canonical (epistemic) perfect functions like ‘current relevance’ and ‘result state’.

### 1.1.3 Contact-induced subjectivization?

Where current analyses of the Andean PP, which attribute its novel behavior to subjectivization, could benefit is in a more encompassing approach that expressly includes speech patterns of bilingual speakers from the Andean region. While Jara Yupanqui’s (2013) data come from Lima speakers, her data arguably do not reflect an Andean variety of Spanish, being that Lima is located on the Pacific coast. Additionally, although Howe’s (2013) study examines Cusco speakers, his data come from monolingual Spanish speakers and do not capture the prominent nuances of bilinguals’ Spanish in the regional variety. Given that over half of the population in Cusco self-identified as a Quechua-speaker in 2017 (57%, according to the Peruvian National Census<sup>2</sup>), it seems an accurate exploration of PP use in Andean Spanish—particularly of Peruvian Andean Spanish—can not overlook the speech patterns, and possible influence, of bilingual Spanish speakers in regional PP use.

<sup>2</sup> Census data was obtained via the *Instituto Nacional de Estadística e Informática* database, accessible online at <http://www.inei.gob.pe/>.

Additionally, whereas current proposals of a subjectivized PP argue that it has acquired novel epistemic features (e.g. speaker-based perspectives, attitudes and judgments) to highlight salient events for the speaker in discourse (Howe, 2013; Jara Yupanqui, 2013; García Tesoro and Jang, 2018), these same epistemic features are in fact widely available in the Quechua verbal morphological system (Kalt, 2015; Manley, 2015; Peng, 2020), albeit not necessarily in the two verbal morphemes (*-r(q)a-*, *-sqa-*) examined in the aforementioned studies. According to Kalt (2015), Quechua verbal morphology includes numerous directional morphemes which are multi-functional, sharing semantic values at the intersection of spatial, temporal, and psychological/social domains. Therein, in taking a thorough look at the Quechua morphological strategies involved in past temporal reference (beyond two verbal markers *-r(q)a-* and *-sqa-*), I seek to discover the extent to which language contact and the subjectivization process are both possible—and not mutually exclusive—motivations for innovative Andean PP development. This, I consider, is a useful point of departure in an effort to achieve a more precise understanding of the past temporal reference system and

its nuances in the regional Spanish variety. To my knowledge, this investigation of the Andean PP is also the first of its kind as it incorporates natural speech data by monolingual and bilingual Andean speakers of both Spanish and Quechua.

## 1.2 Research questions of the current study

Data for the current study were gathered during a 2019 data collection project in the Region of Cusco. All participants were (i) a native speaker of Spanish and/or Quechua, (ii) native to Cusco, Peru, and (iii) 18+ years old. Participants completed a Language Background Questionnaire and at least one of two data elicitation tasks: (i) a PP/PRET questionnaire and/or (ii) a sociolinguistic interview. (Seeing as the PP/PRET questionnaire tested for a Spanish variation phenomenon, monolingual Quechua speakers were automatically tasked with the sociolinguistic interview.) The data set of the current investigation include 41 participants: 15 completed the PP/PRET questionnaire, 17 completed the audio-recorded sociolinguistic interview, and 9 completed both tasks. Using the data obtained from these instruments (i.e. questionnaire data and oral speech data), I address the following research questions:

**Research Question 1:** What is the overall distribution of PP/PRET among monolingual and bilingual speakers from Cusco, Peru, and how do these findings compare to previous research of PP/PRET use in Peru?

**Research Question 2:** What are the language-internal and language-external factors that determine regional PP/PRET use, and how do they condition its distribution?

**Research Question 3:** Is there evidence to suggest the subjectivization of the compound past in Peruvian Andean Spanish is grounded in language contact? What verbal morphology is used in past temporal narratives in Quechua, and how do they compare to PP/PRET distribution in the regional Spanish variety?

Taken together, these research questions broadly explore Andean PP use among monolingual and bilingual speakers, encompassing previously submitted claims, i.e. that innovative PP behavior is motivated by language contact or subjectivization, as a backdrop for investigation. On their own, each question treats a singular goal relevant to this study of Andean PP use.

Research Question 1 aims to compare PP distribution in Peruvian Andean Spanish against that of other varieties. While it has been attested that PP distribution differs across Spanish varieties (e.g. DeMello, 1994), and that the Peruvian PP use is higher than in other Latin American varieties but lower than

Peninsular varieties (Westmoreland, 1988; Caravedo, 1989; DeMello, 1994; Rojas Sosa, 2008; Howe, 2013; García Tesoro and Jang, 2018), a proper statistic of Peruvian Andean PP use—and particularly of Cusco PP use—remains unclear. The numbers offered by Caravedo (1989) and Rojas Sosa (2008) come from Lima Spanish, a non-Andean Peruvian variety. Additionally, the percentages found in Howe's (2013) work come from monolingual Spanish speakers and thereby only reflect PP use among a little less than half of the Cusco population (per Peruvian National Census data of 2017). Along the same vein, it is worth investigating whether there is a prominent difference in PP frequency between monolingual and bilingual speakers, as it could shed light on whether the elevated PP rates that characterize Peruvian Spanish are rooted in effects of language contact.

The goal of Research Question 2 is two-fold. Firstly, I seek to compare the functional behavior of the Cusco PP against that of other Spanish varieties. If the Andean PP is indeed developing along a path of semantic change unlike Peninsular and non-Andean Latin American varieties (Howe, 2013), this should be apparent via differences in the factors conditioning its use. For this reason I apply a multivariate analysis that incorporates temporal-aspectual conditioning factors examined in previous studies of PP use (Schwenter and Torres Cacoullós, 2008; Dumont, 2013; Rodríguez Louro, 2016).

Secondly, with Research Question 2 I strive to capture Cusco PP behavior using operationalized factors that test specifically for signs of semantic development motivated by contact and/or subjectivization. Quantifiable indications of contact-motivated development are explored via the inclusion of participants' demographic profiles as conditioning factors in multivariate analyses of the questionnaire and interview data. For example, as the participants are classified according to a gradient scale of language dominance in Spanish and/or Quechua, a gradual weakening in the conditioning effect of speakers' Spanish dominance on PP use would suggest elevated PP use is rooted in the language patterns of (Quechua-dominant) bilinguals. Concerning signs of subjectivization, these are measured via an exploration of Emotive Proximity in the PP/PRET questionnaire data (Emotive Proximity is a conditioning factor created by the author to quantify subjectivity and will be explained in detail in Chapter 4.) and of grammatical subject on PP use in the interview data. To clarify, if the PP has acquired speaker-subjective functions, it should be favored in contexts of close Emotive Proximity and with 1st person subjects (Schwenter and Torres Cacoullós, 2008; Hernández, 2013; Rodríguez Louro, 2016).

Research Question 3 attempts to reconcile diverse positions behind what motivates Andean PP semantic development, exploring the notion that lan-

guage contact and subjectivization are similarly involved in the semantic development path of the Andean PP, in line with the work of García Tesoro and Jang (2018). In response to this question, I carry out a multifaceted qualitative analysis of the Spanish and Quechua interview data. I provide a comprehensive examination of morphological strategies of the Quechua past tense system and show how speaker-oriented epistemic notions are prevalent in the verbal system via markers other than *-r(q)a-* and *-sqa-*. Specifically, I posit use of zero-tense marking and directional suffixes are an integral component of the Quechua past tense system and show how their uses are highly subjective. I also provide contextualized, real-world examples of epistemic uses of PP in the Spanish data, whereby the compound form highlights the importance of the event according to the speaker, keeping with previous claims that the PP can be used this way (see García Tesoro and Jang, 2018 for Cusco Spanish; Hernández, 2013 for Salvadoran and Mexican Spanish; Ritz and Engel, 2008 for Australian English). This modal PP behavior is then compared to analogous morphological strategies in the Quechua data that convey an emotional/psychological connection between the speaker and a past event. Ultimately, I argue that the broader notion of epistemicity, which is paramount to the Quechua verbal system and inherent in the meaning of the Spanish PP, has resulted in the subjectivization of the Andean PP, and that this process was activated and reinforced by Spanish-Quechua contact. Therein, semantic change in this case appears to be rooted in effects of language contact with Quechua (as argued by Klee and Ocampo, 1995; Escobar, 1997; Sánchez, 2004, for example) and the internal development process of subjectivization (as argued by Howe, 2013; Jara Yupanqui, 2013; Azpiazu, 2018, for example).

### **1.3 Outline of the dissertation**

The current investigation is organized as follows. Chapter 1 has provided an introductory look into the goals and justification of the study and briefly presented previous claims regarding the topic of investigation, i.e. innovative Andean PP behavior as observed in regional PP/PRET variation. Whereas accounts of language contact and the subjectivization process are largely purported to motivate semantic change of the Andean PP, I have pointed out certain methodological obstacles facing these studies and argued that these two approaches need not be mutually exclusive in an analysis of the Andean PP. Next, the research questions of the current study were listed, followed by a short explanation of how they will be treated in the study.

In Chapter 2, I provide an overview of previous literature concerning the simple and compound past forms in Spanish. After discussing general notions that characterize the Preterit and Present Perfect cross-linguistically, I describe standard uses of the Preterit and Present Perfect in Spanish. Their frequencies and functional uses are specified cross-dialectally in Spanish, at which point I detail previous research of PP/PRET variation and the innovative behavior of the PP in Andean Spanish specifically.

Chapter 3 is an overview of previous research on Quechua past temporal reference, intended to provide the reader with a general idea of primary forms and functions in the Quechua past tense system. I begin with a brief description of the typological and geographical context and the evidential system of Cusco Quechua. Next, I discuss previous, discordant claims concerning the morphological strategies and their functions that are involved in the Quechua past tense system. This is presented for Cusco-Collao Quechua and Central Peruvian Quechua varieties.

A presentation of the data and methodological procedures of the current investigation are laid out in detail in Chapter 4. After a short examination of my findings from preliminary data collection projects, I describe each component of the data set used in the current study; I discuss the setting, recruitment procedures, participants, and data elicitation instruments used. Next, I provide an overview of the data analysis procedures used to respond to each research question. These procedures, and my respective hypotheses, are provided for each research question individually and consecutively.

Chapter 5 presents the results and an analysis of my findings concerning the PP/PRET questionnaire data set. I provide participants' PP selection rates and examine the distribution of PP/PRET selection across participants' demographic factors and across the questionnaire factors related to Emotive Proximity. This is followed by a binomial logistic regression analysis run on the questionnaire data set, in search of conditioning factors governing participants' PP/PRET selection. After interpreting these results, I provide a short summary of the overall findings from the questionnaire data.

In Chapter 6, I present the results and an analysis of my findings of the Spanish interview data. First, I provide the distribution statistics of PP/PRET use in the interview data and determine whether the distribution is affected by speakers' Spanish/Quechua language dominance. Next, the frequencies and proportions of PP/PRET use are provided across non-linguistic and linguistic factors, separately. After some preliminary observations, I perform a binomial logistic regression on the data, in search of conditioning factors governing PP/PRET use. This regression analysis is run on the data of all participants and compared

to a second regression analysis run on the data of participants grouped according to their language dominance. After interpreting these results, I provide a short summary of the overall findings from the interview data.

Chapter 7 provides an overview of how subjectivity is manifested in the Quechua past tense verbal system and explores how this notion of subjectivity, being a shared feature in the Spanish PP, has led to use of the Andean PP to mark salient (e.g. emotionally proximal) events according to the speaker. I begin the chapter by introducing the notion of subjectivity and discussing its prevalence in the spatio-temporal domain in Quechua—a domain which, I show, does not adhere to the Western cosmological schema. I then discuss how notions of subjectivity (e.g. evidentiality, epistemicity) are communicated in various morphological suffixes, including but not limited to *-r(q)a-* and *-sqa-*. In particular, directional suffixes are presented, and their multifunctional uses are exemplified, whereby it is observed that these directional morphemes encode meanings of temporal-aspectual and psychological-social deixis. Similarly, I then show how comparable notions of subjectivity can be found in the Spanish PP.

In the second half of Chapter 7 I perform a qualitative analysis on the Spanish and Quechua interview data. I begin by analyzing PP uses in the Spanish data, whereby it is observed that the PP can occur on a sequence of (prehodieral) events and as a marker of emotionally proximal events for the speaker. Then, I explore morphological strategies used in Quechua narrative discourse (i.e. zero-marking, directional morphology, non-evidential uses of *-r(q)a-*) and show how *-r(q)a-* and *-sqa-* are not the only two strategies available in past tense marking. Lastly, I compare intra-speaker narratives in Spanish and Quechua interview data and illustrate how comparable treatment of verbal morphology in both languages highlights events in the narrative that are emotionally or psychologically relevant for the speaker.

Finally, Chapter 8 is reserved for main conclusions of the investigation overall. I summarize my findings and their implications for research on the Andean PP, and on the Spanish-Quechua language contact situation more generally. I close the chapter with some suggestions for future research.

# CHAPTER 2

## SIMPLE & COMPOUND PAST IN SPANISH

The aim of this chapter is to inform the current project by addressing open questions in the literature regarding contrastive PP/PRET use in Spanish. To accomplish this, I will review previous theoretical claims regarding the simple and compound past and provide an overview of literature concerning cross-linguistic and cross-dialectal variation in the quantitative distribution and functional behavior of the two forms in Spanish. The organization of the current chapter begins with a broad overview of PP/PRET use (i.e. universal notions) and gradually concentrates more singularly on PP/PRET use in Andean Spanish, the regional variety pertinent to the current project.

In section §2.1 I introduce universal notions of the simple and compound past. First, I discuss temporal-aspectual contrasts between perfect and perfective morphology (§2.1.1). Next, I summarize various theoretical models that have been put forward to reconcile and reflect variable behavior of Present Perfects cross-linguistically (§2.1.2). In §2.2 I discuss language-particular behavior of the PP and PRET forms in Spanish. I first describe PP and PRET morphology in Spanish and give a general account of how these two forms are used in the language. In §2.2.1 I discuss the Latin origins of the Spanish PP and explain its variable development across the Romance Languages in §2.2.2. Section §2.3 focuses on the variable use of the Spanish PP. In particular, I begin by describing Aoristic Drift grammaticalization of the PP in Peninsular Spanish, as well as its consequent distribution of PP and PRET forms in §2.3.1. In §2.3.2 I discuss PP/PRET distribution and functional use in American Spanish varieties, and in §2.3.3 I explore the unique behavior of PP/PRET distribution in Peruvian Andean Spanish specifically.

As will be illustrated in this chapter, previous claims concerning novel Present Perfect<sup>3</sup> use in Peruvian Andean Spanish, remain insufficient for two reasons. Firstly, Andean Spanish is a contact variety whose unique features are rooted in diachronic, cross-linguistic influence that occurs as a result of Quechua-Spanish language contact<sup>4</sup>. Research of this particular variety is lacking, which is problematic for our understanding of Perfect behavior, in the Andes specifically and across the Spanish language more broadly. Secondly, much of the existing literature examining innovative Perfect use in Andean Spanish claims Quechua is influencing the regional variety but does not explore Quechua verbal morphology in detail (see for example Schumacher de Peña, 1980; Bustamente, 1991; Klee and Ocampo, 1995; Escobar, 1997; Rojas Sosa, 2008; Dumont, 2013; Jara Yupanqui, 2013; García Tesoro and Jang, 2018). The current project is the first of its kind as it examines intra-speaker Spanish and Quechua oral data to understand the nuances of the Andean PP.

<sup>3</sup> Language-specific temporal and aspectual categories are capitalized; general references to TAM functions are not.

<sup>4</sup> In addition to Spanish, there has also been contact with other indigenous languages in the Andes (e.g. Aymara), though the degree to which there are observable effects attributable to these other languages is open for discussion. For more on this topic, I refer the reader to Escobar's (2012b) chapter 'Spanish in Contact with Amerindian Languages' in Hualde et al.'s (2012) *Handbook of Hispanic Linguistics*.

## 2.1 General notions of the Preterit & Present Perfect

The overall aim of this section is to elucidate the general behavior and semantic interpretations of the simple and compound past forms and to summarize its treatment in theoretical literature. I begin by discussing temporal-aspectual differences between perfect and perfective morphology and highlight different uses of canonical Present Perfects (§2.1.1). In §2.1.2 I provide a brief overview of different theoretical models, which attempt to capture variable semantic interpretations and temporal-aspectual restrictions of the PP cross-linguistically.

### 2.1.1 Perfect/perfective opposition

Tense is a deictic category that situates an event relative to an external time of evaluation, the deictic center of which is usually the moment of speech. Event placement is based on temporal relations before, during, or after the moment of speech, resulting in three absolute tenses, respectively: past, present, and future (Comrie, 1976; Zagona, 2012). Consider example (6) below:

- (6) a. Jake **made** a sandwich. (Past)  
 b. Jake **makes** a sandwich. (Present)  
 c. Jake **will make** a sandwich. (Future)

Illustrated in (6[a]), past tense morphological marking places the event ('making a sandwich') prior to the moment of speech. The sandwich-making event is temporally simultaneous to the moment of speech in (6[b]), and in (6[c]) it is placed in an undisclosed temporal location after the moment of speech.

Aspect describes the internal temporal constituency of an event and 'characterizes the boundaries of an event—its beginning and end—relative to an external temporal frame' (Zagona, 2012, p. 355). Perfective aspect, for example, views an event as temporally closed. It can focus on a particular time interval (i.e. beginning or end) of an event, or it can view an event in its entirety as a bounded whole, for which there is no concern for the situation's internal constituency. In opposition to perfective aspect, imperfective aspect views an event from within, fixating on the internal structure of a situation. It does not make reference to an event's boundaries or its completion, as in habitual or progressive readings, for instance. The example below illustrates a perfective/imperfective aspectual opposition:

- (7) a. Jake **washed** the laundry. (Perfective)  
 b. Jake **was washing** the laundry. (Imperfective: progressive)  
 c. Jake **used to wash** the laundry. (Imperfective: habitual)

An analysis of the Present Perfect presents a particularly difficult challenge. Perfects are temporally and aspectually unique because of the way tense and aspect intersect with each other in the compound tenses (Comrie, 1976; Zagona, 2012). In English, the Present Perfect temporally locates an event prior to the moment of speech, but what remains is a general, abstract notion of 'presentness'. This is made more obvious upon comparing examples of the same event using the simple and compound past:

- (8) a. Jake **drank** a Miller High Life<sup>5</sup>. (Preterit)  
 b. Jake **has drunk** a Miller High Life. (Present Perfect)

The English simple past conveys a perfective event that occurred prior to the moment of speech and for which there is no notion of current relevance between the past event and the moment of speech (Comrie, 1976; Kempas, 2008). In (8[a]), the event of Jake having drunk a Miller High Life is aspectually bounded and temporally past; it occurred in its entirety prior to the moment of speech. On the other hand, the Present Perfect in (8[b]) does not convey information regarding the internal constitution of drinking a Miller High Life. Instead, it expresses a relation between two time-points, one in the past and another in the

<sup>5</sup> Miller High Life is a refreshing American lager beer brewed and bottled in the great city of Milwaukee, Wisconsin by the Miller Brewing Company. Known for its crisp, effervescent flavor, the all-American alcoholic beverage is called 'The Champagne of Beers' and is, arguably, a general favorite among beer-drinkers, brewers and bartenders. When asking for the time in a Milwaukee dive-bar, you may find yourself with a resounding 'It's Miller Time', accompanied by fun-spirited badinage and unsolicited updates on local sports.

present (Comrie, 1976). The action of beer-drinking occurred in the past and remains relevant at the moment of speech (e.g. *Jake has drunk a Miller High Life, so now we're one bottle short.*).

The Reichenbachian theory of tense proposed three time-points exist in all verb manifestations accounting for a temporal-aspectual interaction in the verbal system. Reichenbach's (1947) universal ternary tense structures involve an ordered relationship between Speech Time, Event Time, and Reference Time. Speech Time (S) refers to the moment during which an utterance takes place, that is, the moment of speech. The time interval during which an eventuality occurs is the Event Time (E). Reference Time (R) is the time interval about which an utterance is stated. Under this Reichenbachian view, the difference between the simple past and the Present Perfect is captured by the relation between R and E. In the simple past, R and E are simultaneous times ordered prior to the S. As for the Present Perfect, E is ordered prior to the S and R, which are cotemporaneous. The tense structures relevant for the simple past and Present Perfect are exemplified below:

- (9) a. Jake **drank** a Miller High Life.  
Simple past: R,E\_S
- b. Jake **has drunk** a Miller High Life.  
Present Perfect: E\_S,R

Comrie (1976) discussed the differences between the simple past and the perfects in terms of contrastive aspectual values. In particular, the present perfect expresses a relation between a present state, that is, the moment of speech, and a past situation. Consider (10[a]) below (Comrie, 1976, p. 52):

- (10) a. I **have lost** my penknife.
- b. I **lost** my penknife.

By using the Present Perfect in (10[a]), it is inferred that the penknife is still lost at the moment of speech. This is because the past situation (i.e. losing the penknife), per the interpretation of the present perfect, must be relevant in some way to the present moment. Comrie (1976) claims this 'present relevance' of a past situation is the general primary trait that characterizes the present perfect. On the other hand, it is not necessarily the case in (10[b]) that the penknife is still lost at the moment of speech. This is because the simple past conveys the past situation (i.e. losing the penknife) as a bounded event that occurred in its entirety prior to the moment of speech.

According to Comrie (1976), there are four types of present perfect: (1) perfect of result, (2) experiential perfect, (3) perfect of persistent situation, and

(4) perfect of recent past. Each of these are exemplified below (Comrie, 1976, pp. 56–61):

- (11) a. John has arrived. (Perfect of result)
- b. Bill has been in America. (Experiential perfect)
- c. We've lived here for ten years. (Perfect of persistent situation)
- d. Bill has just (this minute) arrived. (Perfect of recent past)

In the perfect of result, the interpretation requires that the state during the moment of speech is the result of a past situation. In (11[a]), the past situation (i.e. John's arrival) is the resulting state during the moment of speech. In other words, it remains true that John is still 'here'. The experiential perfect indicates that a particular situation must have occurred at least once any time between the moment of speech and the past. In (11[b]), the experiential perfect indicates that Bill has at least one time been in America, regardless of his location during the moment of speech. The perfect of persistent situation describes a situation that began sometime in the past and continues into the moment of speech. This is illustrated in (11[c]), in which 'our' living in a particular location began ten years prior to the moment of speech and persists into the present moment. Finally, the perfect of recent past is rooted in temporal proximity of a past situation to the moment of speech. For this reason, adding a temporally-proximal adverbial such as *recently* or *this minute*, as seen in (11[d]), renders the utterance a semantically appropriate option. Temporal closeness is not a prerequisite of present relevance, although the former may be a sufficient condition for the latter.

Portner (2003) examined the English Present Perfect and distinguished its semantic notions from its pragmatic ones. He proposed that the truth-conditional (i.e. semantic) meanings of the Present Perfect display its temporal character, whereby an eventuality is dissociated from its Reference Time, similar to the Reichenbachian view of perfects. On the other hand, modal notions of the English Present Perfect involve pragmatic 'relevance effects'. It presupposes the existence of an epistemic relationship whereby the PP-marked eventuality is 'currently relevant' to the topic of discourse, similar to Comrie's (1976) notion of 'present relevance'.

### 2.1.2 Theoretical models of the Present Perfect

Previous research shows the notion of temporal closeness available for perfect use varies across languages. Consider the example below (Rothstein, 2007, p. 89), in which *yesterday* appears to lie within the range of temporal recency in German (12[a]) but not in English (12[b]):

- (12) a. *Sigurd ist gestern gekommen.*  
 Sigurd is yesterday come  
 b. \*Sigurd has come yesterday.

According to Rothstein (2007), whereas the English Present Perfect cannot be modified by the adverbial ‘yesterday’, among others, the German Present Perfect can. This example illustrates what Klein (1992) refers to as the ‘present perfect puzzle’, in which the use of certain temporally-specific past adverbials (e.g. *yesterday*) renders the Present Perfect ungrammatical in some languages but not in others.

Rothstein (2007) examines the Present Perfect using a modified *Extended-Now* (XN) approach (see McCoard, 1978; Dowty, 1979; McCawley, 1993; Vlach, 1993; Iatridou et al., 2001), which combines a syntactic and semantic analysis to reflect cross-linguistic differences demonstrated in present perfect puzzles. Similar to Reichenbach’s (1947) work, Rothstein (2007) distinguishes between the same three time-points: Speech Time (S), Event Time (E), and Reference Time (R). According to Rothstein (2007), the English Present Perfect is represented as follows (adapted from Rothstein, 2007, p. 93):

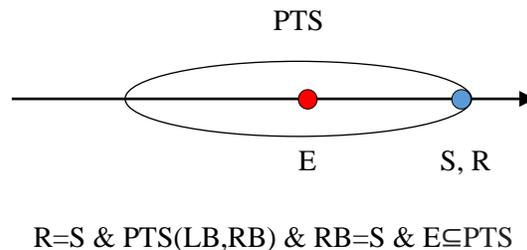
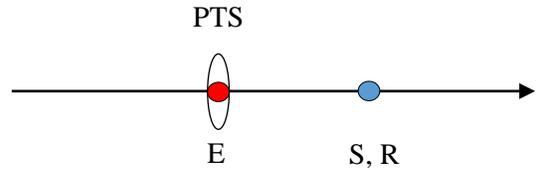


Figure 2.1: English Present Perfect

In the figure above, the *perfect time span* (PTS) (see McCoard, 1978; Iatridou et al., 2001) is a time interval that falls within the limits of a right boundary (RB) and left boundary (LB). The notation for this is provided as follows: PTS(LB, RB). Traditionally, the time interval in XN theory ends at the moment of speech (S), which is why the RB in the figure above is simultaneous to S (RB=S). S and R are simultaneous time-points in the present perfect (R=S), in alignment with the aforementioned Reichenbachian approach. The LB remains underspecified because the start of the time interval is not defined. The event time (E) lies somewhere within the PTS time interval ( $E \subseteq PTS$ ) and is in a preceding relation to S,R.

Rothstein (2007) claims cross-linguistic differences are due to variability in languages’ PTS lengths and further posits there may be more than one repre-

sentation of the PTS within a language. An example of this is provided by the German Present Perfect, whose PTS is illustrated in the figure below (adapted from Rothstein, 2007, p. 96):



$$R \neg < S \ \& \ PTS(LB, RB) \ \& \ LB \leq RB \ \& \ RB < | R \ \& \ E \subseteq PTS$$

Figure 2.2: German Present Perfect

The PTS is still an interval limited by a RB and a LB (PTS(LB,RB)). Unlike the English PTS, the positions of the LB and RB of the German PTS are dynamic. They are necessarily unfixed to permit a future perfect reading, exemplified in (13) below (Rothstein, 2007, p. 93):

- (13) *Morgen hat die Konferenz bereits aufgehört*  
 Tomorrow has the conference already ended  
 ‘The conference will have ended by tomorrow.’

Hence, R can be located after S but not before it ( $R \neg < S$ ). Also unlike English, the universal perfect (also called ‘perfect of persistent situation’, see Comrie, 1976) in German does not require E to hold into S. See (14) below (Rothstein, 2007, p. 94):

- (14) *Er hat immer in Deutschland gewohnt, aber vor kurzem ist er nach England gezogen.*  
 He has always in Germany lived but before recently is he to England moved  
 ‘He always lived in Germany, but he has moved to England recently.’

In this case, living in Germany (E) no longer holds S. To account for this, the German PTS must be permitted to vary. E may hold throughout the entire PTS, although S or R should also be allowed to lie outside of the PTS boundaries. Thus, Rothstein (2007) claims the default length of the German PTS is identical to E. Specifically, ‘the right boundary (RB) is simultaneous with the final subinterval of the event time (E)’ (Rothstein, 2007, p. 95), and the RB can be stretched if necessary to some point time after E, no later than R ( $RB < | R$ ).

Likewise, the default LB is simultaneous with the initial subinterval of E but can be stretched if necessary to any time prior to E ( $LB \leq RB$ ).

Because the default setting of the RB in the German PTS is simultaneous to the final subinterval of E, time-specific adverbials that place E before S (e.g. *yesterday*) are compatible with perfective uses of the German Present Perfect. Additionally, the flexibility of the LB and RB in the PTS interval account for additional uses of the perfect, including a customary non-perfective resultative reading, exemplified below (Rothstein, 2007, p. 91):

- (15) *Jetzt, wo Sigurd angekommen ist, feiern wir*  
Now where Sigurd arrived is celebrate we  
'Now that Sigurd has arrived, we'll celebrate'

In English, however, the only permissible temporally specific adverbials must also include S (and consequently, R) (e.g. *this week*). Any temporal adverbial that situates E prior to S (and consequently, R) is rendered ungrammatical because, according to this XN approach, the RB of the English PTS is always simultaneous to R (and consequently, S).

More recently Azpiazu (2018) argued semantic variation of Present Perfects is explained by cross-linguistic differences in the relationship between simultaneity and anteriority. Her theoretical analysis is based on the previous work of Rojo (1974) and Rojo and Veiga (1990), who introduced the notion of simultaneity as a means of explaining the temporal coincidence between a past event and the moment of speech in the Present Perfect. They put forth a schematic representation of the simple and compound past as follows:

- (16) a. Simple past: (O-V)  
b. Compound past: (OoV)-V

The simple past is an expression of an earlier event, such that the moment of speech (Origin 'O') expresses an event ('V') which occurred in the past ('-'). The compound past is slightly more complex in that it includes an element of simultaneity ('o'). Therefore the past event (-V) and the moment of speech (O) are two temporal situations related by simultaneity (o).

Azpiazu (2018) furthers this idea and claims this notion of simultaneity can hold different relationships with anteriority along a path of development by which each consecutive stage is an extension, and therefore retention, of the prior stage(s). The three relationships are, consecutively: equivalence, addition, and inclusion. The Portuguese Perfect is an example of the equivalence relationship, which expresses a continuative or iterative situation. This is illustrated below (adapted from Azpiazu, 2018, p. 126):

Equivalence:

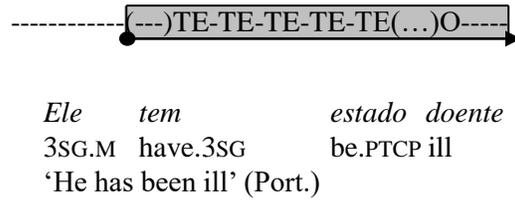


Figure 2.3: Portuguese Present Perfect

In this case, the Perfect ‘means the persistence by continuity...or repetition...of a situation with a past origin’ (Azpiazu, 2018, p. 126). The simultaneity vector is provided by the grey area. TE stands for Time of Event and occurs in succession in this case, per the interpretation of a Portuguese Perfect. O refers to the moment of speech. The direction of simultaneity is indicated by the arrow, which originated prior to the first past event in this example, illustrated by the dot. Here, the coincidence that exists between the origin and development or repetition of past events, which may be telic or atelic, also lies within the simultaneity vector. Therein, both vectors indicate a persistent situation. Additionally, the simultaneity vector is dynamic. That the box and arrow extend beyond O in the representation indicates that the simultaneity vector can optionally begin before the first TE and/or extend beyond O. The box lines mark the ‘whole semantic framework’ of the Portuguese Perfect.

Unlike Portuguese but similar to English, Azpiazu (2018) offers the following diagram of the American Spanish Perfect, which she claims can also appear with telic past events, so long as their temporal reference is left unspecified. Her analysis assumes the American Spanish Perfect cannot be modified by time-locating adverbials.

Addition:

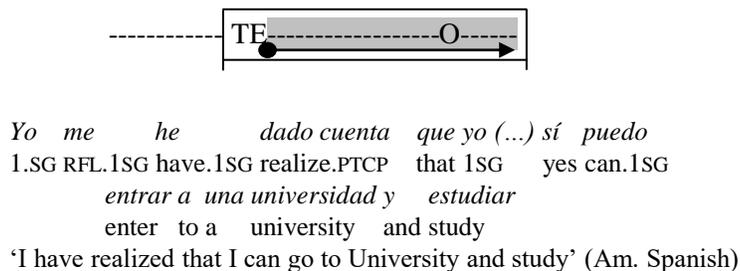
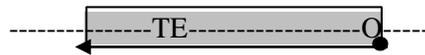


Figure 2.4: American Spanish Present Perfect

The example here portrays a telic, resultative Perfect in American Spanish. The simultaneity vector is no longer equated to anteriority as in Portuguese. Instead, it is added after anteriority, as seen by the fact that the origin of simultaneity (represented by the dot) is located after the single event (TE). Additionally, the whole semantic framework (represented by the box) does not coincide with the simultaneity vector as it did in the Portuguese example. This indicates that although there exists a relationship between the two vectors, it is not one of equivalence.

Both of the above examples portray a Perfect which denotes ‘an actual situation with origin in the past and persistence in the present whereby the notion of simultaneity prevails over anteriority’ (Azpiazu, 2018, p. 127). In contrast, the Peninsular Spanish Perfect can mark a unique past event reachable at any time that lies within the simultaneity vector. According to Azpiazu (2018), ‘it always falls within the scope of an increased Present conception’ (p. 128). Consider the figure below:

Inclusion:



*He vuelto de España esta semana*  
 have.1SG return.PTCP from Spain this week  
 ‘I returned from Spain this week’ (Pen. Spanish)

Figure 2.5: Peninsular Spanish Present Perfect

In this case, the simultaneity vector neither equates nor is added to anteriority. Instead, it encompasses it. Similar to the other cases, the event is simultaneous to the moment of speech (O), indicated by the gray simultaneity vector. This captures the abstract notion of temporal coincidence available in Perfect readings cross-linguistically. What makes the Peninsular Spanish Perfect unique among varieties of Spanish is that the temporal boundaries of this Perfect are established in the past, and the simultaneity vector cannot extend beyond the moment of speech. Rather, it originates at O and moves toward the left, into the past. Azpiazu (2018) specifies that this change of direction is ‘symbolic and indicates that simultaneity is now a more subjective notion, linked to the speaker’s opinion of what should be considered simultaneous to the speech act’ (p. 128). The notion that speaker subjectivity is influential in Perfect use is germane to the current work and will be discussed in more detail in Chapter 7.

To summarize, perfect/perfective marking is broadly distinguished according to the notion of current relevance, a characteristic of the compound past.

The theoretical approaches to Perfects that were discussed include XN theory and simultaneity, both in terms of temporal coincidence (Rojo, 1974; Rojo and Veiga, 1990) and its relationship with anteriority (Azpiazu, 2018). Together these frameworks illustrated the temporal-aspectual ambiguity (e.g. ‘puzzles’) and variable behavior in Perfect systems cross-linguistically and examined semantic contrasts between the simple past and the present perfect. The following section will address language-particular nuances of the Present Perfect and Preterit in Spanish.

## 2.2 Present Perfect & Preterit in Spanish

Generally speaking, normative use of the simple and compound past in Spanish exemplifies prototypical perfective and perfect functions. The simple, perfective past in Spanish is realized via Preterit (Sp. *pretérito*, (*pretérito*) *perfecto simple*) morphology. There is a morphological distinction in the Preterit system, such that of the three verb classes that exist in Spanish, *-ar* verbs are inflected differently from *-er* and *-ir* verbs. Excepting irregular forms, the verbal paradigms below illustrate regular Preterit endings<sup>6</sup> for all three verb classes (*cantar* ‘to sing’, *comer* ‘to eat’, *vivir* ‘to live’):

<sup>6</sup> The 2 PL forms include a regional distinction. *-aron/-ieron* morphology is used primarily throughout Latin America in agreement with the subject pronoun *ustedes*; *-asteis/-isteis* morphology is used primarily in Peninsular Spanish in agreement with the subject pronoun *vosotros*.

	S G	P L
1	cant-é	cant-amos
2	cant-aste	cant-aron / cant-asteis
3	cant-ó	cant-aron

	S G	P L
1	com-í	com-imos
2	com-iste	com-ieron / com-isteis
3	com-ió	com-ieron

	S G	P L
1	viv-í	viv-imos
2	viv-iste	viv-ieron / viv-isteis
3	viv-ió	viv-ieron

These Preterit forms typically describe punctual situations and refer to situations whose beginning and end, simultaneous or otherwise, occurred prior to the moment of speech. The *Real Academia Española* provide the following description of the simple past in Spanish (Real Academia Española, 2010, p. 441, translation mine):

*El pretérito perfecto simple localiza una situación en un punto de la línea temporal que es anterior al momento del habla. Con CANTÉ las situaciones se presentan completas o acabadas. Debe, pues, suponerse que se alcanzan los límites inicial y final del evento con los predicados internamente delimitados.*

The simple past locates a situation at a point in the timeline that is before the moment of speaking. With CANTÉ the situations are presented as complete or finished. It is assumed, then, that the initial and final boundaries of the event with internally delimited predicates are achieved.

Consider the reading of the simple past in the following examples:

- (17) a. *Jake **com-ió** la hamburguesa ayer.*  
 Jake **eat-3.SG.PRET** the hamburger yesterday  
 ‘Jake **ate** the hamburger yesterday.’
- b. *Yo **habl-é** con Jacobo por teléfono la semana pasada.*  
 I **talk-1.SG.PRET** with Jake by phone the last week  
 ‘I **spoke** with Jake on the phone last week.’

Use of the Preterit presents each event (i.e. eating a hamburger, speaking on the phone) as a completed action. This aspectual boundedness is made more apparent when placed in contrast with its imperfective counterpart. Imperfective morphology presents an event without regard to its boundaries. Consider the examples in (18) below, which use the same events as (17):

- (18) a. *Jake **com-ía** la hamburguesa ayer.*  
 Jake **eat-3.SG.IMP** the hamburger yesterday  
 ‘Jake **was eating** the hamburger yesterday.’
- b. *Yo **habl-aba** con Jacobo por teléfono la semana pasada.*  
 I **talk-1.SG.IMP** with Jake by phone the last week  
 ‘I **was speaking** with Jake on the phone last week.’

Similar to the Preterit, the Imperfect (Sp. (*pretérito imperfecto*) form denotes anteriority of an event. Unlike the Preterit, the Imperfect focuses on the internal development of an event and does not allude to a beginning or end time interval (Real Academia Española, 2010, p. 444).

The Spanish perfects are a compound, or periphrastic, past involving an inflected form of the auxiliary verb *haber* ('have') coupled with a past participle. The participle is formed by the verb root inflected with *-ado* or *-ido*, depending on verb class. The morphological forms<sup>7</sup> of the Present Perfect (Sp. *(pretérito) perfecto compuesto, presente perfecto*) are exemplified below for all three verb classes (*cantar* 'to sing', *comer* 'to eat', *vivir* 'to live'):

<sup>7</sup> The 2 PL form *habéis* is used primarily in Peninsular Spanish in agreement with the subject pronoun *vosotros*.

	S G	P L
1	he cantado	hemos cantado
2	has cantado	habéis cantado
3	ha cantado	han cantado

	S G	P L
1	he comido	hemos comido
2	has comido	habéis comido
3	ha comido	han comido

	S G	P L
1	he vivido	hemos vivido
2	has vivido	habéis vivido
3	ha vivido	han vivido

The auxiliary verb in the Present Perfect is inflected with present tense morphology. It is this morphological inflection of *haber* 'have' in the TMA domain that distinguishes temporal-aspectual interpretations of perfects. For example, the auxiliary verb is conjugated in the Imperfect for a Past Perfect—also called 'Pluperfect' (Sp. *pluscuamperfecto*)—interpretation. The examples below illustrate various perfect forms, in which their readings are distinguished via the conjugation of *haber* 'have':

- (19) a. *Jacobo **ha** com-ido la hamburguesa.*  
 Jake **have.3.SG.PRES** eat-PTCP the hamburger  
 'Jake **has** eaten the hamburger'
- b. *Jacobo **hab-ía** com-ido la hamburguesa.*  
 Jake **have.3.SG.IMP** eat-PTCP the hamburger  
 'Jake **had** eaten the hamburger'
- c. *Jacobo **hab-rá** com-ido la hamburguesa.*  
 Jake **have.3.SG.FUT** eat-PTCP the hamburger  
 'Jake **will have** eaten the hamburger'

- d. *Jacobo hab-ría com-ido la hamburguesa.*  
 Jake **have.3.SG.COND** eat-PTCP the hamburger  
 ‘Jake **would have** eaten the hamburger’

With respect to these perfect forms, I primarily treat the Present Perfect in what follows, due to its contrastive relationship with the Preterit across Spanish varieties. As mentioned earlier, a fundamental notion of the Present Perfect is current relevance. This appears to be the broadly accepted consensus regarding the semantic meaning of present perfects, that is, that its temporal-aspectual features convey a past event that is relevant in some way to the moment of speech (Comrie, 1976; Kempas, 2008; Penny, 2010). Fløgstad (2017) emphasized this point in her examination of forty Romance varieties, stating that ‘the semantic space of past is divided as to whether the past events are presented as having current relevance or not’ (p. 199). According to her, a perfect is a past with current relevance, whereas a preterit is one without. This characterization appears to be generally true also of the Present Perfect in Spanish. It marks situations which may or may not be completed but which are always connected in some way to the moment of speech. Penny (2010) states that the Reference Time of the Spanish Present Perfect always includes the moment of speech. This naturally lends itself to the way in which, unlike perfective aspect, perfect aspect is not compatible in narrative contexts that relay two or more consecutive events (*First...then...later...*). According to Penny (2010), a speaker’s choice between the Preterit and Present Perfect in Spanish is rooted in whether the speaker considers the time period of which an utterance is made (i.e. Reference Time) to be completed or not. Consider the examples below from Kempas, 2008, p. 243:

- (20) a. *Ayer me encontré con Juan*  
 yesterday REFL.I.SG **find.I.SG.PRET** with Juan  
 ‘Yesterday I **met up** with Juan.’
- b. *Mi mujer me ha llamado*  
 My woman DO.I.SG **have.AUX.3.SG.PRES call.PTCP**  
*hace dos minutos*  
 make.3.SG.PRES two minutes  
 ‘My wife **called me (lit. has called me)** two minutes ago’

According to Carrasco Gutiérrez (2000) (as cited in Kempas, 2008), although both events occurred prior to the moment of speech, the PRET-marked event in (20[a]) is temporally located along a line belonging to the semantic

sphere of the past. In (20[b]), the Perfect-marked event is located within a temporal sphere of the present.

The Perfect in Spanish is generally used in accordance with the aforementioned prototypical functions of a perfect laid out by Comrie (1976). Current relevance of a past event is the central function of the Spanish Perfect, and sub-functions of the Perfect include resultative, experiential, continuative (or ‘persistent past’ according to Comrie, 1976), and hot news (or ‘recent past’ according to Comrie, 1976) interpretations (Schwenter, 1994). The hot news interpretation is similar to Comrie’s (1976) ‘recent past’, since it refers to an event that is being conveyed for the first time, which often occurs in the very recent past. Each of these Perfect functions are exemplified in Spanish below:

(21) a. Resultative

*Ha* *lleg-ado* *Jacobo a la fiesta.*  
 have.AUX.3.SG.PRES arrive-PTCP Jake to the party  
 ‘Jake has arrived to the party.’

b. Experiential

*Jacobo ha* *visit-ado* *Machu Picchu.*  
 Jake have.AUX.3.SG.PRES visit-PTCP Machu Picchu  
 ‘Jake has visited Machu Picchu.’

c. Continuative/persistent past

*Jacobo ha* *viv-ido* *en Georgia desde el*  
 Jake have.AUX.3.SG.PRES live-PTCP in Georgia since the  
*año 2013.*  
 year 2013  
 ‘Jake has lived in Georgia since 2013.’

d. Hot news/recent past

*Nolan ha* *nac-ido* *esta mañana a*  
 Nolan have.AUX.3.SG.PRES be.born-PTCP this morning at  
*las cuatro y media.*  
 the four and half  
 ‘Nolan was (just) born this morning at four thirty.’

In addition to these prototypical functions, the Spanish Perfect can be used discourse-pragmatically to emphasize actions in narrative discourse (Alarcos Llorach, 1947; Fleischman, 1983; J. M. Lope Blanch, 1991; Jara Yupanqui, 2013; García Tesoro and Jang, 2018). This is illustrated in (22) below (Bentivoglio

and Sedano, 1992, pp. 790–791, as cited in García Tesoro and Jang, 2018, p. 97, translation mine):

- (22) *y de repente vino una persona, vino una mano y le **ha dado** un golpe tan duro en la espalda que le quedó la marca de la mano.*  
‘and all of a sudden a person came, a hand came and struck (lit. ‘has struck’) him so hard on the back that it left a mark on their hand.’

By using the compound past form, speakers highlight narrated events. This occurs often in contexts that are relevant to the discourse (e.g. expressions of courtesy, exclamations, reiterations, closing a sequence of events) and is derived from the Perfect’s current relevance interpretation. Westmoreland (1988) claims use of the Present Perfect in exclamations ‘makes the action more vivid’ (p. 381),<sup>8</sup> in which case the Present Perfect may behave aoristically with perfective past events (see also J. Lope Blanch, 1972; Moreno de Alba, 1978). Company Company (2002) and Hernández (2013) claimed the Mexican PP is used discourse-pragmatically to reinforce the past event’s current relevance and enhances the speaker’s involvement in discourse. Jara Yupanqui (2013) and García Tesoro and Jang (2018) corroborated this in Lima and Cusco varieties, respectively, and claimed that the PP in these varieties is highly epistemic given that its use is dependent upon the speaker’s subjective point of view concerning the related events.

<sup>8</sup> More recent literature has expanded on the notion of ‘vividness’ with respect to the perfect. See for example Ritz and Engel’s (2008) work on the compound past in Australian English.

Speaker-subjective uses of the PP in discourse to highlight current relevance of a past event are central to the argument of the current project. The position that the Andean PP is developing along a subjectivization path hinges on its use in discourse as a marker of speaker-based impressions. This will be discussed further in §2.3, in which I provide an overview of Present Perfect variation in Spanish, and in §2.3.3, in which I discuss previous claims concerning PP development in Andean Spanish.

### 2.2.1 Historical origins of the Spanish Perfect

The perfective/perfect inflectional distinction in Modern Spanish is the result of a diachronic grammaticalization process that took place during Latin-to-Spanish development. Latin originally lacked this morphological distinction. The verbal system only included an aspectual distinction between perfective and imperfective morphology. In the past temporal system, aorist and perfect aspect were expressed using the same simple forms (CANTĀVĪ, CANTĀVERIM), distinguished according to indicative and subjunctive mood, respectively. It was possible to specify perfect aspect syntactically via *consecutio temporum*, by which

the temporal conjugation of a subordinate verb could elucidate a specific aspect. A present tense conjugation indicated a perfect interpretation, and a past tense conjugation provided an aorist reading (Penny, 2010).

The Perfect system in Modern Spanish originated from the Latin construction [HABEŌ ‘I have’ + participle]. Consider example (23) below:

- (23) a. *HABEŌ CULTELLUM COMPARĀTUM*  
 I.have knife bought  
 ‘I have the bought knife’ (Penny, 2010, p. 193)
- b. *HABEŌ VACCĀS COMPARĀTĀS*  
 I.have cows bought  
 ‘I have the bought cows’ (Penny, 2010, p. 193)
- c. *MULTA BONUS BENE PARTA HABEMUS*  
 many goods well obtained have.1.P L  
 ‘We possess many well obtained goods’  
 (Squartini and Bertinetto, 2000, p. 404)
- d. *TE AURATAM ET VESTITAM BENE HABET*  
 you jewelled and dressed well has.3.S G  
 ‘He keeps you jewelled and well dressed’  
 (Squartini and Bertinetto, 2000, p. 404)

The semantic interpretation of the Latin verb HABEŌ indicated possession and can be translated as ‘I have’ or ‘I possess’. A direct object was obligatory in this Latin construction, given the possession interpretation of the verb, and was accompanied by an adjectival participle with a strict resultative interpretation. In (23[a]) for example, the direct object *CULTELLUM* is modified by the adjectival participle *COMPARĀTUM*. The participle is inflected for gender and number agreement with the direct object and indicates the result of a past action associated with the object. In the case of (23[a]), the state of the knife—that it is ‘bought’—is the result of a past action, that is, the buying event. This resulting state is captured semantically in the participle. That HABEŌ is marked in the present tense indicates that the overall event of possession is still relevant during the moment of speech. This structure was a logical means of conveying current relevance of a past action, hence its widespread use instituted a stable aorist/perfect opposition in Medieval Spanish.

Over time, the verb HABĒRE (Lat. HABĒRE ‘to have’, ‘to possess’) grammaticalized from a transitive verb denoting possession to an auxiliary verb (Sp. *haber* ‘to have’, ‘to be’). The semantic weakening process began when the

[HABEŌ + participle] construction was used with participles that were incompatible with possession. This is exemplified by the participle *oído* ('heard') in (24[a]) (glossing mine):

(24) a. *HABEŌ ILLUD AUDĪTUM*  
 tengo/he lo oído  
 'Lo he oído'

b. *HABEŌ INTELLECTUM*  
 he entendido  
 'He entendido'

(Penny, 2010, p. 193)

Further grammaticalization of the verb is evident in (24[b]), in which the construction lacks a direct object altogether. Without a direct object, the notion of possession is lost entirely. Additionally, number and gender agreement between the participle and object ceased during the 13th and 15th centuries (Penny, 2010). As this [*haber* (< Lat. HABĒRE) + participle] construction was beginning to take root as a perfect in Medieval Spanish, speakers distinguished perfect aspect according to verb transitivity. The [*haber* + participle] construction was used for transitive verbs, and perfect aspect of intransitive verbs was conveyed using [*ser* + participle]. In both cases, that the verbs *haber* and *ser* were in the present tense and were collocated with a past participle served as the 'bridge between present and past meaning' (Ranson and Lubbers Quesada, 2018, p. 282). It was during the sixteenth century that use of [*haber* + participle] to mark perfect aspect, regardless of valency, was generalized and became the stabilized norm in Spanish (Penny, 2010). As a result, by the sixteenth century, Modern Spanish encompassed a past temporal verbal system that distinguished aorist and perfect past situations via Preterit and Present Perfect morphology, respectively.

### 2.2.2 Present Perfect development across Romance

The aorist/perfect opposition continued to develop across Common Romance varieties, and the compound past grammaticalized to varying degrees in each variety resulting in the cross-Romance differences that exist to date. Grammaticalization is a process by which 'an element *in a specific construction* takes on a grammatical or more grammatical meaning' (Fløgstad, 2017, p. 197, emphasis hers). According to Bybee et al. (1994), it is a universal, unidirectional process from lexical to grammatical meaning. They identified a cross-linguistic perfect-to-perfective grammaticalization path, whereby the meaning of the Present Per-

fect undergoes semantic extension and gradually results in a less specific meaning of general past temporal reference. Their proposed path is illustrated below:

<sup>9</sup> Also called *anterior* in Bybee et al.'s (1994) terms

*be/have* + participle > resultative > perfect<sup>9</sup> > perfective/general past

This grammaticalization process is a diachronic universal involving semantic expansion from a current relevance reading to interpretations that do not involve current relevance at all. Therein the defining feature of the Present Perfect gradually extends beyond strictly perfect-compatible contexts. In line with Bybee et al.'s (1994) proposed development path, Harris (1982) identified four classificatory stages of Perfect/Preterit distribution in Romance, whereby functions of the Perfect range from a strict resultative reading (Stage I), as in the case of Sicilian and Calabrian, to a general past form replacing the Preterit altogether (Stage IV). This last stage is exemplified by spoken Modern French, in which the simple past form has been replaced by the compound past (i.e. *passé composé*). The table below illustrates each of Harris's (1982) developmental stages of Present Perfect and Preterit functions in the Romance Languages (adapted from Harris, 1982; Fleischman, 1983, as cited in Schwenter, 1994, p. 77):

Table 2.1: Developmental stages of Present Perfect and Preterit in Romance

	PP gram	PRET gram	Current usage in:
Stage I	Present states from past actions	All past perfectives	Calabrian, Sicilian
Stage II	Certain anterior functions	Most past perfectives	Galician, American Spanish, Portuguese
Stage III	Anterior: past actions with current relevance	Preterit: past actions without current relevance	Castilian, Spanish, Catalan
Stage IV	All past perfectives: preterit and anterior	Restricted to formal registers and writing	French, Northern Italian, Romanian

Squartini and Bertinetto (2000) call these universal development stages 'Aoristic Drift', defined as a language-internal grammaticalization process in

which the semantic function of the compound past form begins as a true perfect and gradually transforms into a perfective, or ‘aorist’, past. Contrary to Squartini and Bertinetto’s (2000) claim of the Aoristic Drift in Romance, Drinka (2017) argued that preterital use of the compound past is explained by the geographically contiguous spread of speech patterns across Western and central Europe. She posits this is a contact–motivated change likely facilitated by the influence of Carolingian juridical documents in the Early Medieval Period and the appearance of perfective Present Perfect use in Parisian literature and poetry as early as the 12th century.

Fløgstad (2017) examined Preterit/Perfect instability and its synchronic variation across the Romance Languages. She distinguished three categories of Romance varieties in which there exists a Preterit/Perfect opposition: (1) ‘expanding/expanded Preterit’, (2) ‘expanding/expanded Perfect’, and (3) ‘opposition alive’. The importance of this work rests in the claim that there exists a second path involved in Preterit/Perfect development. On the one hand, Perfects may undergo semantic expansion into general past contexts per Bybee et al.’s (1994) perfect-to-perfective path and Squartini and Bertinetto’s (2000) Aoristic Drift. On the other hand, she claims it is possible for Preterits to acquire functions traditionally attributed to Perfects.

Most of the European Romance varieties (e.g. French, Catalan, Northern Italian, Occitan, Romanian) belong to the first category of expanding/expanded Perfects. The Perfect in these varieties ‘[have] made inroads into the functional domain previously occupied by the Preterit’ (Fløgstad, 2017, p. 199). Five of the eighteen Latin American varieties examined in the study were placed in this ‘expanding/expanded Perfect’ category: Bolivian, Chilean, Guatemaltecan, Puerto Rican, and Salvadorian Spanish. An example of an expanded/expanding Perfect is provided below, in which the Perfect is ‘used to express a past action without temporal specification’ (Howe and Schwenter, 2003, p. 71, as cited in Fløgstad, 2017, p. 202):

- (25) *Ah de mi infancia bueno ah cosas juguetes eh yo*  
 ah of my childhood well ah things toys eh I  
*solía ser ... bueno yo he sido*  
 use.TO.IMP.I.SG be.INF ... well I AUX.PRES.I.SG be.PTCP  
*muy enfermiza*  
 very sickly  
 ‘Of my childhood well ah, things, toys, eh, I used to be, well I was very sickly’



## 2.3 Present Perfect variation in Spanish

That the Present Perfect functions as a perfective has been claimed mostly in Peninsular Spanish varieties (Moreno de Alba, 1978; Westmoreland, 1988; Schwenter, 1994; Serrano, 1994; Schwenter and Torres Cacoullós, 2008; Copple, 2011), notwithstanding that this does not appear to be the case for all Peninsular varieties. Although perfective Perfects have also been attested in a few American varieties in the Andean region (Godenzzi, 1986; Mendoza, 1991; DeMello, 1994; Howe and Schwenter, 2003; Kempas, 2008), Latin America is generally characterized by a conservative use of the Present Perfect; it is employed in contexts canonically associated with the perfect (i.e. past actions that are relevant during the moment of speech) and has not extended its meaning to perfective contexts. Penny (2004) claims further that Latin American Spanish speakers prefer to use the Preterit even in canonically perfect contexts, suggesting that the Preterit is used to such a degree that it takes on Perfect functions in American Spanish, in line with Fløgstad's (2017) account of the 'expanding/expanded Preterit'.

The general consensus therein is that Peninsular Spanish largely favors the Present Perfect, and American Spanish largely favors the Preterit (Penny, 2004; Fløgstad, 2017). Tentative explanations for perfective uses of the Spanish Perfect include stylistic motivations such as subjectivity and emotional importance (Otálora Otálora, 1970; Gómez Torrego, 1989, as cited in Kempas, 2008), grammaticalization (Schwenter, 1994; Serrano, 1994; Fløgstad, 2017), socioeconomic variation (Gili y Gaya, 1964, as cited in Kempas, 2008), and hypercorrection (Alarcos Llorach, 1994, as cited in Kempas, 2008). In what follows, I explore this variable use of the PP in Spanish, first in Peninsular Spanish, then in Latin American Spanish, including Non-Andean and Andean varieties.

### 2.3.1 Present Perfect/Preterit distribution in Peninsular Spanish

It is widely recognized that the high frequency and apparent temporal flexibility of the Present Perfect in Peninsular Spanish illustrate its unique behavior compared to other Spanish varieties (Rothstein, 2007; Azpiazu, 2018). Schwenter and Torres Cacoullós's (2008) study showed that of their Present Perfect and Preterit tokens, 54% were the former, and the Preterit was used to a lesser degree (46%). Peninsular Spanish appears to favor the Present Perfect, notwithstanding northwestern varieties (i.e. Galicia, Leon, Asturias, Cantabria), which appear to favor the Preterit. Gili y Gaya (1960), for example, found the Preterit was the preferred form in Galician and Asturian varieties to denote recent past events,

and Penny (2004) described the Perfect as ‘rare’ or ‘absent’ in these varieties (see also Zamora Vicente, 1967; Lapesa, 1980).

Excepting the northwestern varieties, the Present Perfect in Peninsular Spanish maintains the aforementioned subfunctions: resultative, experiential, continuative, recent past/hot news. Unlike canonical perfects, however, the Peninsular PP can convey past events for which there is no current relevance, evidenced by the accompaniment of a definite temporal adverbial (*esta mañana a las siete* ‘this morning at seven’) in (27) below (Howe and Schwenter, 2003, p. 63):

- (27) *Me he levantado esta mañana a las siete.*  
 REFL.I.SG have.AUX.PRES.I.SG get.up.PART this morning at the seven  
 ‘I got up (lit. have gotten up) this morning at seven.’ (uttered at three in the afternoon)

This example demonstrates Perfect use to denote a perfective past event, a function traditionally ascribed to the Preterit. Schwenter (1994) argued that the Present Perfect in Peninsular Spanish is developing along the grammaticalization pathway of change and further posited that Present Perfect/Preterit variation in this variety is determined by a hodiernal/prehodiernal distinction. The perfective Perfect is employed when referring to situations that occurred within the ‘today’ of the speech event, and the Preterit form is used to indicate past actions realized prior to the ‘today’ of the speech event.

In this way, the functional extension of the Peninsular Perfect is temporally motivated along a linear distance between the moment of speech and the reference time of the past event (see also Schwenter, 1994 for Alicante speakers; Serrano, 1994 for Madrid speakers). Howe and Schwenter (2003) posit that the past temporal context of the Peninsular Perfect is extending even into hesternal (‘yesterday’) boundaries of a past event. This is illustrated in the example below (Howe and Schwenter, 2003, p. 64):

- (28) *Lo he visto ayer en el supermercado.*  
 DO.3.SG have.PRES.I.SG see.PTCP yesterday in the supermarket  
 ‘I saw (lit. have seen) him yesterday at the supermarket.’

According to Penny (2004), the primary contrast between the Preterit and Perfect forms in Peninsular Spanish –barring northwestern areas– ‘lies in the

speaker's perception of the connection between the past situation described and the moment of speaking' (p. 158). The Preterit form is used to convey a past action that belongs to a time period distinct from the utterance time, according to the speaker. On the other hand, the Perfect is used 'to convey that the past situation belongs to a period of time which, at the moment of speaking, is still current' (Penny, 2004, p. 158). According to this definition, Preterit/Present Perfect use in Peninsular Spanish is not dependent on any objective temporal recency. Evidence for this claim is provided in (29) below, in which the Preterit is used for an action in the recent past (29[a]), and the Present Perfect conveys a past action in an extended past (29[b]) (Penny, 2004, p. 159).

- (29) a. *La vi hace un momento*  
 her.D O.3.S G see.I.S G.PRET make.3.S G.PRES a moment  
 'I saw her a moment ago'
- b. *Siempre la he escuchado con atención, pero nunca más*  
 always her.I O.3.S G have.I.S G.PRES listen.P T C P with  
 attention but never more  
 'I have always listened to her attentively, but never again.'

According to Penny (2004), it is the speaker who decides the currency or non-currency of a past action. He claims that the notion of currency is achieved more explicitly via temporal adverbials. This is illustrated in the examples below (glosses mine):

- (30) a. *La semana pasada la vi dos veces*  
 The week last her.D O.3.S G see.I.S G.PRET two times  
 'Last week I saw her twice' (Penny, 2004, p. 158)
- b. *Esta semana la he visto dos veces*  
 This week her.D O.3.S G have.I.S G.PRES see.P T C P two  
 times  
 'This week I have seen her twice' (Penny, 2004, p. 159)

In (30[a]), *la semana pasada* 'last week' locates the event outside a realm which the speaker considers current. The opposite is true in (30[b]), in which case *esta semana* 'this week' demonstrates the speaker's perspective that the past event retains the notion of currency.

In the case that temporal adverbials, being optional, do not appear, Penny (2004) claims interlocutors can determine the speaker's view morphologically. Consider the example below:

- (31) a. *Lo hice otra vez*  
 it.DO.3.SG do.I.SG.PRET another time  
 'I did it again'
- b. *Lo he hecho otra vez*  
 it.do.3.sg have.I.SG.PRES do.PTCP another time  
 'I have done it again' (Penny, 2004, p. 159)

In using Preterit morphology in (31[a]), the speaker indicates that they view the past action as one belonging to a time frame distinct from the moment of speech. Employing the Present Perfect (31[b]), on the other hand, indicates that the speaker keeps the past action within a time frame for which the present tense has been extended. Although this description of variable Present Perfect/Preterit opposition in Penny's (2004) work is effective in broadly highlighting geographical variation in Spanish, it does not align with particular variationist theories concerning the existing opposition.

In an effort to capture sensitivities and restrictions that descriptive analyses cannot diagnose, recent studies have applied multivariate analyses to examine Present Perfect/Preterit variation. Schwenter and Torres Cacoullos (2008), for instance, compared Preterit/Perfect distribution in Peninsular and Mexican Spanish. Their findings showed that in addition to its low overall frequency, the Mexican Present Perfect was favored in canonical Perfect-favoring contexts (e.g. with frequency and proximate temporal adverbials, plural objects, durative Aktionsart). The Peninsular Present Perfect showed a near-categorical temporal distance effect in which the Present Perfect was strongly favored (.93) in hodiernal contexts and strongly disfavored (.13) in prehodiernal contexts.

To account for large frequency differences between the two data sets, Schwenter and Torres Cacoullos (2008) reanalyzed the data according to a combined effect of corrected means. Their results showed the majority variant in Mexican Spanish was the Preterit in all factors groups (e.g. temporal reference, temporal adverbial, Aktionsart). In Peninsular Spanish, the majority variant was the Perfect. Additionally, Schwenter and Torres Cacoullos (2008) found the Peninsular Present Perfect was highly favored in irrelevant, indeterminate, and hodiernal temporal reference contexts. Based on these findings, they claim that the path of development toward a default use of the Perfect is not dependent on temporal distance (i.e. hodiernal/hesternal) but on indefinite, non-specific

temporal reference. This research suggests the non-specified past was the locus of change for the Peninsular Perfect, in which it was free to behave perfectly.

Continuing variationist work on the matter, Copple (2011) examined more closely the role of temporal reference in the perfect-to-perfective functional extension of the Perfect. She used a multivariate analysis to compare Peninsular Preterit/Perfect variation in dramatic texts during the 15th, 17th and 19th centuries to identify a diachronic change in factors constraining Preterit/Perfect use. Each token was coded for various linguistic factors related to Perfect use and general past temporal reference (e.g. temporal distance, Aktionsart, semantic class of verb, co-occurrence with *ya* 'already', polarity<sup>10</sup>).

Her results found that in the 15th century, the Perfect was favored in very recent and irrelevant contexts. Perfect-favoring temporal reference contexts expanded over time to include indeterminate reference in the 17th century and hodiernal contexts in the 19th century. Based on these findings that the effect of temporal reference strengthened over time, she claims there is continued emergence of the Perfect in perfective contexts. Additionally, Copple (2011) found that the magnitude of effect of subject expression and Aktionsart diminished over time, suggesting the Perfect's aspectual values weaken over time while its temporal values strengthen.

Ultimately, Copple (2011) argued the Perfect extended its use into contexts of irrelevant and indeterminate temporal reference, consecutively. The Perfect was customarily used in irrelevant temporal reference due to its association with iterative or durative situations. Indeterminate temporal reference is linked to telic, perfective events for which the speaker is more or less indifferent to temporal specificity (Copple, 2009; Azpiazu, 2018). Consequently, use of the Perfect in this way likely led to a gradual, mutual understanding between interlocutors that the Perfect could function as a default past. She proposed an updated grammaticalization path of the Peninsular Present Perfect, based on simultaneous and staggered evolutionary paths of temporal reference:

<sup>10</sup> Factors related to perfect(ive) aspect will be discussed in detail in Chapter 4, in which I explain the methodological procedures and motivations for the current study.

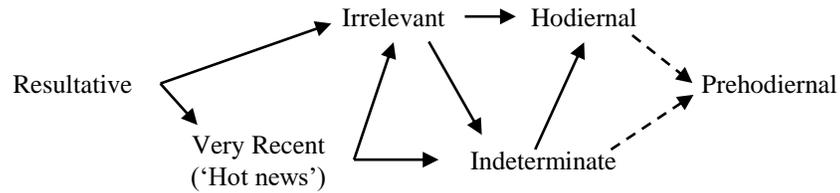


Figure 2.6: Grammaticalization path of Peninsular Present Perfect (adapted from Copple, 2011, p. 185)

Concerning the figure above, Copple (2011) explained, ‘[t]he development of each function on the proposed path overlaps with and aids in the development or solidification of other functions’ (p. 185). The resultative origins of the Perfect gradually extended and allowed for a pragmatically-motivated Hot News reading, which conveyed ‘unexpected perfective events generally of recent occurrence’ (Copple, 2011, p. 169). This event-salient use of the Hot News Perfect contributed to the gradual erosion of the Perfect’s aspectual value and strengthens its use as a perfective. An additional and simultaneous development of the resultative Perfect is continuative use in durative or iterative contexts for which temporal reference is often unspecified (i.e. irrelevant, indeterminate). Initially, the continuative Perfect was used in temporally unspecified contexts with resultative-compatible semantic classes of verbs (e.g. cognition, perception, communication) before accepting all semantic classes. According to Copple (2011) (see also Schwenter and Torres Cacoullós, 2008), non-specified temporal reference was paramount to the Perfect’s development into a perfective. Propagated by its use as a Hot News marker, Perfect-marking with irrelevant temporal reference solidified its event-focusing function. Additionally, Perfect use with indeterminate temporal reference strengthened its value as a default perfective marker. This association between nonspecific temporal reference and perfectivity naturally gave way to a perfective Perfect that was compatible with, if not a prerequisite for, specific temporal reference including hodiernal and prehodiernal contexts.

In the theoretical work of Azpiazu (2018), she claims the Perfect in Peninsular Spanish developed along a cross-linguistic grammaticalization path rooted in a dynamic relationship between simultaneity and anteriority, in which there exist three consecutive stages: equivalence, addition, and inclusion. The Peninsular Perfect belongs to the third stage, in which simultaneity encompasses ante-

riority. That is, the past event is considered to be simultaneous to the moment of speech. The notion of simultaneity is a subjective projection established at the moment of speech and because of which any past event can be expressed by the Perfect, regardless of its temporal-aspectual behavior.

Given these previous accounts, it is clear that the diachronic development of the Peninsular Present Perfect, whether rooted in an extension of temporal distance (Schwenter, 1994), unanchored temporal reference (Schwenter and Torres Cacoullós, 2008; Copple, 2011), or strengthened notions of speaker subjectivity (Penny, 2004; Azpiazu, 2018), has so far resulted in a default use of the Present Perfect to mark general past. Latin American varieties display different uses of the Present Perfect, in terms of its frequency and function, and therein of the Present Perfect/Preterit opposition more broadly. These regional distinctions are explored next.

### **2.3.2 Present Perfect and Preterit distribution in American Spanish**

Whereas the Perfect appears to be the preferred form in Peninsular Spanish to mark past events, it is used to a much lesser degree in American Spanish. In his review of Present Perfect and Past Perfect use in American Spanish, Westmoreland (1988) compared previous works to identify a general nature of the American Perfects. His findings show that, relative to its use in Peninsular Spanish, the Present Perfect is used less frequently in American Spanish and holds more narrow functions. That the Preterit is more widespread than the Perfect has been demonstrated in Spanish varieties spoken in Mexico (see Boyd-Bowman, 1960; Cárdenas, 1967; J. Lope Blanch, 1972), Costa Rica (see Arroyo Soto, 1971), El Salvador (Lincoln Canfield, 1960), the Dominican Republic (see Jorge Morel, 1978), Puerto Rico (see Alvarez Nazario, 1972), Cuba (see Padrón, 1949), Argentina (see Vidal de Battini, 1964; Donni de Mirande, 1967), and Chile (see Oroz, 1966).

Penny (2004) explains this Peninsular/American distinction is rooted in transatlantic migration and settlement during colonization, when Spanish settlers from northwestern areas of the Iberian Peninsula traveled and settled to the Canary Islands. Beginning in the fifteenth century, then, Canarian Spanish was diffused during American colonization and explains the comparable Preterit-favoring behavior in northwestern Spain and Latin America.

Concerning functional differences between the two forms, Vidal de Battini (1964) and Schumacher de Peña (1980) argued the simple and compound past have neutralized, claiming there is no functional difference in their data

of Argentine and Peruvian data, respectively. In contrast, most research argues against this neutralization position and instead posits their functional differences in American Spanish lie in aspectual notions involving a past event and its relationship to the present moment, that is, the moment of speech. Birschin (1975) posits, in the case of Colombian Spanish, the opposition lies in whether an action includes/does not include the present moment. The Perfect is used for the former, while the Preterit is reserved for the latter. In Mexican Spanish, J. Lope Blanch (1972) and Moreno de Alba (1978) posit the simple/compound past distinction is aspectual, whereby the Preterit marks completed, punctual (i.e. perfective) past actions; the Perfect expresses ongoing or iterative actions which lead in some way into the present. In Moreno de Alba's (1978) study, for instance, 90% (n=364/404) of Present Perfect tokens were used in durative or iterative contexts.

It is generally agreed that American Spanish varieties preserve the distinction between perfect and perfective aspect (J. Lope Blanch, 1972; Schwenter, 1994; Fløgstad, 2017). Recall that Schwenter and Torres Cacoullos (2008) corroborated this for Mexican Spanish in their multivariate analysis, which examined conditioning factors of the Present Perfect and Preterit in Peninsular and Mexican Spanish. Their results showed that, in addition to a lower frequency relative to the Peninsular Present Perfect, the Mexican compound past was conditioned by factors compatible with prototypical Present Perfect functions (e.g. Aktionsart restrictions, temporal reference restrictions, temporal adverbial restrictions). The example below demonstrates the purported aspectual distinction in Present Perfect/Preterit use in Mexican Spanish (Schwenter and Torres Cacoullos, 2008, p. 6):

- (32) a. *Lo*            *ha*                            *atendido,*    *y*    *lo*  
 ACC.3.SG    have.3.SG.PRES    treat.PTCP    and    ACC.3.SG  
*sigue*    *atendiendo*  
 continue.3.SG.PRES    treat.GER  
 'He [the doctor] has treated him and he continues treating him'

- b. *en mi casa también yo lo he*  
 in my house also I ACC.3.SG have.I.SG.PRES  
*visto. Bueno, lo vi, porque también*  
 see.PTCP well ACC.3.SG see.I.SG.PRET because also  
*mi abuela ya murió hace*  
 my grandmother already die.3.SG.PRET make.3.SG.PRES  
*unos seis años*  
 some six years  
 ‘at my house I have seen it [the problem] also. Well, I saw it, because  
 my grandmother also died about six years ago’

In (32[a]), the context in which the Present Perfect is used is continuative, which is made explicit by the addition of *y lo sigue atendiendo* (‘and he continues treating him’). The doctor began treating the patient at some point in the past, and the treatment continues up to the moment of speech. Interestingly in (32[b]), the speaker self-corrects from the Present Perfect to the Preterit upon specifying that the situation no longer persists into the present moment.

In her multivariate analysis of Perfect/Preterit variation in River Plate Spanish in Argentina, Rodríguez Louro (2016) found that, in line with previous claims of Latin American Spanish, the Present Perfect appeared to a much lesser degree than the Preterit. Of 1,560 total tokens, only 10% of the data set was Present Perfect (n=162); the Preterit represented 90% of the data (n=1,398). Unlike previous claims, the River Plate Present Perfect did not resemble that of Mexican Spanish in terms of its conditioning factors. Whereas the Mexican Perfect is classified as a marker of durative, iterative past situations that carries ‘present’ value (J. Lope Blanch, 1972; Harris, 1982; Schwenter, 1994; Squartini and Bertinetto, 2000), Rodríguez Louro (2016) showed that the Argentinian Perfect ‘is unconstrained by verb telicity, polarity, clause type, and grammatical person but its occurrence is statistically predicted in the absence of temporal adverbials and with plural objects’ (Rodríguez Louro, 2016, p. 637). It appears that the Perfect in this variety is preferred in temporally unanchored contexts, and an aspectual connection between a past event and the present moment is not a requisite for Perfect use. She suggests this is likely indicative of a widespread use of the Present Perfect in experiential contexts. She further posits the Perfect in this variety is ‘specializing to encode indefinite past’ (Rodríguez Louro, 2016, p. 623) functions, which are prerequisite to aorist interpretations in perfect-to-perfective development.

Additionally, she argues cross-linguistic differences in Perfect/Preterit use are rooted in notions of (in)definiteness and, consequently, in the type-/token-

focusing character of the compound past (see Dahl and Hedin, 2000 for type-/token-focusing event reference). Type-focusing event reference is concerned only with the general existence of an event, providing no information related to the event's temporal specifics. Token-focusing event reference refers specifically to the number of events involved in a situation and encodes temporal definiteness. This distinction between type-focusing and token-focusing event reference is provided below, encoded by the Present Perfect and Preterit respectively (Rodríguez Louro, 2016, p. 638):

- (33) a. *Yo he hecho linda cerámica, linda para mí, no?*  
‘I have made beautiful ceramics, at least beautiful for me, you know?’
- b. *La última pieza que a vos decís que te gusta, la hice en este mismo taller.*  
‘The last piece that you always say you like, I made it in this very workshop.’

The Present Perfect in (33[a]) encodes the event (‘making beautiful ceramics’) as a type of situation, whereas the Preterit (33[b]) specifies a single event of making a particular ceramic piece. Rodríguez Louro (2016) suggests the Argentinian Perfect behaves according to this distinction; it is used as an indefinite past marker expressing type-focusing event reference.

Whereas the Present Perfect/Preterit opposition in Latin America is characterized by Preterit-favoring rates (Schwenter and Torres Cacoullós, 2008; Rodríguez Louro, 2016) and largely canonical uses of the Present Perfect, Perfect behavior in the Andean region noticeably deviates from the American norm in that modal functions of the PP are used to a greater degree in Andean Spanish. Also, its overall distribution, relative to PRET use, is higher in Andean Spanish than in other Latin American varieties. In what follows, I review previous research of the distribution and behavior of the Andean PP and its contrastive use with the Preterit. My primary geographic focus is the Peruvian highlands, due to its relevance for the current examination of monolingual and bilingual speakers from Cusco, Peru.

### **2.3.3 Present Perfect/Preterit distribution in Peruvian Andean Spanish**

Notwithstanding a preference for simple past in northern and coastal areas of the Andean region (Westmoreland, 1988), speakers in the Andean highlands behave uniquely. Innovative Present Perfect use in this variety has been examined for parts of Bolivia (Kany, 1951; Martín, 1981; Hardman, 1986; Mendoza, 1991;

Stratford, 1991), Ecuador (Toscano Mateus, 1953; Bustamente, 1991; Dumont, 2013), Argentina (Vidal de Battini, 1964; Kempas, 2008), and Peru (Schumacher de Peña, 1980; Klee and Ocampo, 1995; Escobar, 1997; Howe and Schwenter, 2008; Jara Yupanqui, 2011a, 2011b; Howe, 2013; Jara Yupanqui, 2013; García Tesoro and Jang, 2018).

DeMello's (1994) examination of Perfect use across eleven Spanish varieties<sup>11</sup> identified perfective uses of the Perfect in two Peninsular varieties (i.e. Madrid, Seville) and two Andean varieties (i.e. La Paz, Lima). His work was the first of its kind to recognize comparable Perfect behavior in Andean and Peninsular Spanish, in which the Present Perfect in these varieties indicated bounded past actions, often accompanied by specific temporal adverbials.

Further evidence of the Peruvian Perfect's unique behavior is noticeable in the overall frequencies of the Perfect in Present Perfect/Preterit distribution. Howe (2013) found that the Present Perfect in his Peruvian data sets occurred at a higher frequency than other Latin American varieties and lower than that of Peninsular Spanish, which corroborated previous findings (Westmoreland, 1988; Manley, 2007; Schwenter and Torres Cacoulllos, 2008; Dumont, 2013). In his Cusco and Lima data sets, the Present Perfect/Preterit distributions were 23%/77% and 27%/73% respectively. The table below compares PP/PRET distributions across Spanish varieties:

<sup>11</sup> The Spanish varieties examined in his work include the following: Bogotá, Colombia; Buenos Aires, Argentina; Caracas, Venezuela; Havana, Cuba; Mexico City, Mexico; San Juan, Puerto Rico; Santiago, Chile; La Paz, Bolivia; Lima, Peru; Madrid, Spain; Seville, Spain.

Table 2.2: PP and PRET rates cross-dialectally (adapted from Dumont, 2013)

Country	PP	PRET
Argentina (Rodríguez Louro, 2009)	6%	94%
Mexico (Schwenter and Torres Cacoulllos, 2008)	15%	85%
Ecuador	22%	78%
El Salvador (Hernández, 2004)	22%	78%
Peru (Caravedo, 1989)	27%	73%
Spain (Schwenter and Torres Cacoulllos, 2008)	54%	46%

The rates of Perfect distribution in Ecuadorian and Peruvian Spanish (22% and 27% respectively) appear more frequently than their Argentine and Mexican counterparts (6% and 15% respectively). Examples of the Andean Perfect in contexts of bounded past actions are provided below (boldface and translations mine):

- (34) a. *Tè **he soñado** anoche*  
 'I dreamed/have dreamed of you last night'  
 (Bustamente, 1991, p. 215)

- b. *En Lince, yo **he nacido** en Lince...*  
 ‘In Lince, I **was born/have been born** in Lince...’  
 (Rojas Sosa, 2008, p. 273)
- c. *Ya cuando **ha llegado** Reforma Agraria [en 1969]  
**hemos tenido** que...separarnos...*  
 ‘Already when the Agrarian Reform **arrived/has arrived** [in 1969]  
 we **had/have had** to get separated’  
 (Klee and Ocampo, 1995, p. 61)

In example (34[a]), the compound past marks an event of dreaming, which occurred the night prior to the moment of speech. That it is collocated with the definite past temporal adverbial (*anoche* ‘last night’) further suggests the action was completed in the past and should therefore be marked in the PRET. In example (34[b]), the beginning and end points of the event of ‘being born’ are realized in the (very distant) past, because of which the simple past is expected to mark the verb *nacer* ‘to be born’. Additionally, the events marked by the compound past in (34[c]), *llegar* ‘to arrive’ and *tener* ‘to have’, are temporally situated in a specific moment in the past. This is evidenced by the speaker’s reference to the *Reforma Agraria* ‘Agrarian Reform’, which was a federal effort to reform the nation’s agrarian infrastructure via land redistribution in the summer of 1969.

Howe and Schwenter (2003) compared perfective Perfect behavior from two Peninsular varieties (i.e. Alicante, Madrid) and two South American varieties (i.e. Lima, La Paz). Their study showed that there exists a functional extension of the Perfect across each variety into the semantic domain of the Preterit. Although the Perfect may behave perfectly in each of these varieties, the Peninsular Perfect is limited according to hodiernal/hesternal restrictions and can be found in foregrounded clauses in narrative contexts. On the other hand, Perfect use in Lima and La Paz data displayed no temporal restrictions, and it was highly disfavored in narrative contexts to mark foregrounded, temporally sequenced events. Such events were marked strictly by the Preterit. This study elucidated functional distinctions in Perfect use in Peninsular and American Spanish varieties, despite comparable perfective features.

Howe (2013) posited that Peninsular Spanish varieties (i.e. Madrid, Valencia, Alicante) exemplify one group of Present Perfect/Preterit usage (Group I), in which the perfect form is developing via the Aoristic Drift, acquiring preterital functions and generally replacing the simple past as the default form. In a second group of Present Perfect/Preterit distribution (Group II), the simple past remains the default past form, as is generally the case for Latin American vari-

eties. As for Peruvian Spanish, Howe (2013) designates the Present Perfect into a third classification (Group III), in which development is rooted in present tense features associated with the Present Perfect.

Peruvian Spanish is comparable to Group II Spanish varieties (e.g. Mexican Spanish) in that the simple past remains the preferred variant overall, the Present Perfect is not used in sequenced narratives, the Present Perfect is not disfavored in continuative contexts, and the simple past is the preferred variant in Hot News situations. Group I varieties (e.g. Peninsular Spanish) contrast with this, such that the Present Perfect is the preferred variant overall, the Present Perfect can be used in sequenced narratives—albeit with limited compatibility—, the present tense is preferred in continuative contexts, and Hot News situations prefer the Present Perfect (Howe, 2013).

Akin to Group I and unlike Group II, the Peruvian Perfect displays compatibility with definite past adverbials suggesting increased perfectivity, as previously demonstrated by DeMello (1994). Crucially, Howe's (2013) investigation suggests the limitations constraining adverbial compatibility are different for Peninsular and Peruvian Spanish. Peninsular Perfects are generally compatible with definite past adverbials denoting hodiernal and hesternal time intervals (e.g. *hoy* 'today', *esta mañana* 'this morning', *ayer* 'yesterday'). As for Peruvian Spanish, Howe (2013) found that, although the Preterit remained the preferred variant in the presence of a definite past adverbial, instances in which it appeared with definite adverbials displayed a wide range of adverbials unrestricted by temporal proximity (e.g. *ayer* 'yesterday', *durante mi juventud* 'during my youth', *en 1972* 'in 1972', *el año pasado* 'last year').

Most researchers suggest the Andean Perfect is not the result of perfect-to-perfective development, as in Peninsular Spanish; it is developing along a different path of semantic change (Howe, 2013; Howe and Schwenter, 2008). A primary position in previous research argues that innovative Perfect use in Andean Spanish is contact-motivated. Particularly, its use is rooted in evidential features of the Quechua verbal system (Schumacher de Peña, 1980; Bustamente, 1991; Klee and Ocampo, 1995; Escobar, 1997).

Evidentiality is narrowly defined as a grammatical category that encodes a speaker's source of information or mode of knowledge for their utterance (Aikhenvald, 2004; Cabedo Nebot and Figueras Bates, 2018). Many non-Indo-European languages obligatorily require morphological encoding of evidential distinctions and are categorized as E1-languages. E2-languages are those which optionally allow for various other devices, morphosyntactic or not, to encode evidential readings (Cabedo Nebot and Figueras Bates, 2018). Generally speaking, the past tense system in Quechua, an E1-language, contains a two-way morpho-

<sup>12</sup> The notation *-r(q)a-* denotes both orthographic and phonetic regional variants of the same past tense morpheme (*-ra-*, *-rqa-*) (Salas Cruz and Aráoz de Guevara, 1993, p. 22)

logical distinction grounded in evidential interpretations between direct or indirect participation by the speaker. The ‘attested past’ or ‘direct past’ morpheme *-r(q)a-*<sup>12</sup> indicates a past action that was realized ‘with the direct participation or under conscious control of the speaker’ (Cusihuamán Gutiérrez, 2001, p. 156, as cited in Sánchez, 2004, p. 149). In contrast, the ‘reportative past’ or ‘narrative past’ marker *-sqa-* conveys a past action or event in which the speaker did not participate and/or did not personally witness (Cusihuamán Gutiérrez, 2001). More on this will be discussed in the next chapter, in which I provide an overview of the Quechua past tense system (see Chapter 3).

In their work on Bolivian Andean Spanish, Mendoza (1991) and Stratford (1991) argue the past tense system has adopted evidential interpretations from Aymara and Quechua. Mendoza (1991) posited the Pluperfect is used to mark mirativity, a consequence of contact with Aymara, while the Present Perfect refers to remote past situations. Stratford (1991) argues the Present Perfect in Altiplano Spanish shares part of its semantic value with Preterit in that both forms are used to express personal knowledge or personal experience. Bustamente’s (1991) investigation of innovative Present Perfect use in Quito Spanish in Ecuador posits that Quechua has influenced the compound past form which is used in the variety to mark speakers’ surprise, historical events, mythological or fantastical states (e.g. dream states), and actions unwitnessed by the speaker or which lie outside of the speaker’s knowledge. All of these are functions prescribed to *-sqa-* in Quechua.

For Peruvian Andean Spanish, Klee and Ocampo (1995) analyzed past temporal reference among Quechua-Spanish bilinguals in Cusco and posited that Present Perfect/Preterit/Pluperfect distribution is governed by an evidential distinction acquired from the Quechua past tense system. They claimed that in addition to its prototypical functions, the Present Perfect in this variety indicates that the events were directly witnessed or experienced, contrasting with the Pluperfect form and its reportative reading. The simple past was infrequently used, which Klee and Ocampo (1995) took to mean the Preterit is evidentially ‘neutral’, holding no evidential significance.

Escobar (1997) described a 3-way semantic contrast between the Present Perfect, Preterit, and Pluperfect forms in Andean Spanish which is based on a spatio-temporal ‘Here-and-Now’ semantic parameter. She claimed there is a spatial contrast that coincides with switches in the Present Perfect and Preterit: events that take place in the location of the speaker at the moment of speech are marked by the Present Perfect; the Preterit is used for past events that occurred in a different location. When a past event is realized in the same location as the speaker during the moment of speech, Escobar (1997) argued the spatial contrast

indicated by Present Perfect/Preterit distribution is not a physical one. In this case, the Present Perfect denotes a subjective notion of closeness or relevance of the past event for the speaker, and the simple past indicates a lack of emotional proximity. This is illustrated in her example below, in which the speaker in this instance has resided in Lima for more than thirty years and is discussing his first years in the city:

- (35) ...[mi esposa] no es acá mi paisana, con ella así que **conocimos** a su trabajo, [yo] hacía jardín, y ella **trabajó** ama, **cuidó** bebé casa ingeniero, y yo **trabajó** [sic] allí, allí **conocimos** [hicimos] amistad, y de allí **hemos juntado**, **hemos casado** en 1953
- ‘...[my wife] is not [from] here [i.e. his native area] my countrywoman, with her like this we **met** at her work, I did gardens, and she **worked** [as a] nanny, she **cares** [for the] baby [in the] house [of an] engineer, and I **worked** there, there we **met** [we developed a] friendship, and from then we **have gotten together**, we **have married** in 1953’
- (Escobar, 1997, p. 863)

To explain contrastive Present Perfect/Preterit distribution in this example, Escobar (1997) argues these past events ‘are subjectively seen by him as having taken place at another location, since it was a long time ago, hence in a different Lima’ (p. 863). If the past event were to take place in a location other than where the speaker is during the moment of speech, there is a Present Perfect/Pluperfect contrast grounded in an evidential distinction. The Present Perfect indicates that the speaker witnessed, directly participated in, or personally experienced the event. The Preterit is merely descriptive and refers to events more generally. The Pluperfect works in contrast to the Present Perfect by marking that the speaker was not present or did not witness the event.

Although this proposed 3-way contrast is criticized for its subjective methodology, it raises further curiosity concerning the influence of Quechua evidentiality in the Spanish verbal system. In line with Klee and Ocampo (1995) and Escobar’s (1997) work, Sánchez (2004) also claimed that the past tense system in Peruvian Andean Spanish is influenced by evidential features of Quechua, particularly among Quechua-Spanish bilinguals.

According to the Functional Convergence Hypothesis (see Sánchez, 2004), when a cross-linguistic divergence of features in the same functional category is received as input and produced, it is liable to activate syntactic convergence. Whereas the matrix features of the functional category Tense in Spanish includes aspectual and discursive features, the matrix features in Quechua include evidentiality (Cusihuamán Gutiérrez, 2001; Sánchez, 2004). In her Spanish

data set of children’s story re-telling tasks, which is a reportative task by nature, Sánchez (2004) found a higher frequency of imperfective morphology (i.e. Imperfect, Pluperfect) among bilinguals than monolinguals. Additionally, the average number of imperfective forms used by both monolinguals and bilinguals was higher than the original story and replaced perfective forms in the input. Moreover, Sánchez (2004) found that some bilinguals used the Present Perfect and Preterit with foregrounded information. Based on these findings, she posits imperfective morphology has acquired reportative values. She further suggests the Present Perfect and Preterit may be used evidentially to convey attested information and discursively to convey foreground information.

Similarly, Manley’s (2007) Spanish data from bilingual Quechua-Spanish speakers in Cusco showed participants generally preferred to use the Present Perfect and Imperfect when discussing past events. Although these findings contradict previous claims that there exists an evidential distinction between Present Perfect and Past Perfect morphology (for example Klee and Ocampo, 1995; Escobar, 1997; De Granda, 2001), it could lend support to Sánchez’s (2004) broader claim that reported and attested evidential functions are conveyed by imperfective (i.e. Imperfect, Past Perfect) and non-imperfective (i.e. Present Perfect, Preterit) morphology, respectively.

In the case of Past Perfect, Manley’s (2007) study found that only four of seventy participants used the Pluperfect during their interview. Of these four participants, the Pluperfect was used a total of six times and each time indicated first-hand accounts and information that was personally experienced. This is illustrated in her example below, in which the speaker recounted a personal conversation with an acquaintance:

(36) *Sí, una vez he escuchado hablar con quechua con su mamá.  
Por gusto me **había dicho**; **se había mentado**, decir, ‘No hablo  
cas...quechua’.*

‘Yes, one time I have heard him speak in Quechua with his mom. For no good reason he **had told** me; he **had lied**, saying, “I don’t speak Spa...Quechua”.’ (Manley, 2007, p. 7)

This general avoidance of the Past Perfect, coupled with its use in first-hand accounts, suggests that previous claims attributing Andean PP/PRET/Pluperf variation to distinctions in information source are insufficient. For example, whereas Klee and Ocampo (1995) posited the Present Perfect and Past Perfect in Andean Spanish indicate direct and indirect information source, respectively, Manley’s (2007) investigation does not corroborate such a claim.

Howe and Schwenter (2003, 2008), Howe (2013), and Jara Yupanqui (2011a, 2013) examine Present Perfect/Preterit use among monolingual speakers. Howe's (2013) work examines monolingual speakers of Cusco and Lima varieties of Peruvian Spanish, and Jara Yupanqui (2011a, 2013) focuses on the Lima variety. In opposition to the Peninsular path of change, they argue that the compound past form is developing such that the "increased co-occurrence with past-denoting adverbials in Peruvian Spanish arises as a result of the extension of the presupposition of discourse relevance" (Howe, 2013, p. 152). Speakers of this variety are using and adopting a Present Perfect that entertains a wider concept of relevance. Howe (2013) argues that the Andean Present Perfect is undergoing semantic change due to the extension of the subjective notion of (temporal, spatial, discourse) relevance. This subjectivization<sup>13</sup> process offers an alternative proposal to the Aoristic Drift-type grammaticalization and language-contact theoretical accounts of Perfect development in the Andes.

<sup>13</sup> Alternative spellings include 'subjectification' or 'subjectivisation'

Azpiazu (2016) slightly diverges from Howe's (2013) position, claiming that the internal development processes at work in Andean Spanish and Peninsular Spanish are one and the same. She assumes the process of subjectivization, which Howe (2013) attributes to the development path of the Cusco Perfect, is not exclusive to Andean Spanish, since grammaticalization and semantic change (i.e. aoristization) cannot occur without subjectivization (see Langacker, 1990; Traugott, 1995; Azpiazu, 2014). Her work argues that Present Perfect use in narrative discourse is a discursive strategy employed cross-dialectally. Interpreting the Present Perfect requires inferentially linking a state of things present with a state of things past. Conventionally, the past event and its currently-relevant circumstances are anchored in an objective reality. However, Azpiazu (2016) argues this peculiar use of the Present Perfect anchors the state of things past and present in a subjective reality, that is, the reality according to the speaker. Present Perfect use in narrative discourse is employed to indicate the speaker's 1st person presence in the narration. Indirectly, then, this subjective presentation of the 1st person perspective in narrative discourse entails an epistemic meaning of the Perfect, such that '*el hablante ha sido el protagonista o experimentante de los hechos narrados o se encuentra especialmente interesado o afectado por ellos* (the speaker has been the protagonist or experiencer of the narrated events or is especially interested or affected by them)' (Azpiazu, 2016, p. 318).

Of particular interest is the way in which Azpiazu (2016) cited Bustamente's (1991) study of the Quito Present Perfect and suggested language-contact is indeed the root of its semantic change in the Ecuadorian Andean variety. In contrast, she considered the development of the Perfect in Escobar (1997) and Klee and Ocampo's (1995) data, which is also of an Andean Spanish contact

variety, unaffected by contact with Quechua. This discrepant characterization of the Present Perfect requires clarification, and further region-specific investigation is needed. The current study aims to address this issue by identifying external and internal forces at work in Andean PP development and the degree to which Quechua may be influencing past temporal reference in the contact Spanish variety.

More recently, García Tesoro (2015) and García Tesoro and Jang (2018) examine innovative use of the perfects by Quechua-Spanish bilinguals from Chinchero, a town located within the region of Cusco. García Tesoro and Jang (2018) corroborate previous claims that the Present Perfect form has acquired new discursive interpretations including but not limited to direct witness and/or participation by the speaker. They adhere to a wider definition of evidentiality, which includes speakers' judgments on the truth value of an utterance (i.e. epistemicity), and claim that the Present Perfect is an epistemic marker used to encode '*que un hecho ha sido vivido o experimentado y que subjetivamente se considera veraz* (that an event has been lived or experienced and that it is subjectively considered true)' (García Tesoro & Jang, 2018, p. 117). They adhere to the position taken by Faller, 2002, 2004 and Manley, 2007 that evidentiality in Quechua is not restricted semantically to refer to information source, particularly, to experienced and/or witnessed events. Instead, they claim Quechua verbal markers (*-r(q)a/-sqa-*) and evidential enclitics (*-mi/-n, -si/-s*) are validationals subsumed under epistemic modality (and therefore, evidentiality) which encode '*la evaluación del hablante sobre la veracidad de la información y la fiabilidad de la fuente, así como su compromiso o distanciamiento frente al evento narrado* (the speaker's evaluation concerning the truth of the information and the trustworthiness of the source, as much as their commitment or distance facing the narrated event)' (García Tesoro & Jang, 2018, p. 115). In this way they posit the Present Perfect serves to (i) bring information to the foreground to make it feel closer or more vivid to the interlocutor, (ii) call attention to experiences that were important for the narrator, and (iii) summarize, evaluate, or close the narration. They argue that these novel uses of the Present Perfect in Andean Spanish are grounded in the (widely-defined) evidential interpretation of *-r(q)a-* but activated by an inherently subjective value of the Perfect in Spanish.

## 2.4 Summary

To summarize, I have provided a detailed account comparing the uses of the simple and compound past in Spanish and focused my attention more particularly

on PP/PRET variation in Andean Spanish. Beginning with a broad overview of temporal-aspectual distinctions between simple and compound past meanings cross-linguistically (§2.1), I then discussed the historical origins and modern-day uses of the Preterit and Present Perfect in Spanish in §2.2. Specifically, I addressed the Latin roots of the Spanish PP in §2.2.1 and its variable development across the Romance Languages in §2.2.2. In §2.3, I reviewed previous accounts of PP/PRET variation in Spanish.

It was discussed in §2.3.1 that the Peninsular PP is developing along a grammaticalization pathway of change, whereby the semantic function of the compound past began as a true perfect and has gradually acquired perfective past meanings. It is purportedly the preferred variant to mark general past. Most Latin American varieties, however, do not exhibit aorist uses of the compound past (as discussed in §2.3.2). Instead, it seems original, archetypal meanings of perfects have been preserved in Latin American Spanish, rendering PP/PRET variation dependent on canonical temporal-aspectual distinctions in perfect and perfective morphology.

In §2.3.3, I provided an overview of findings concerning PP/PRET use in Peruvian Andean Spanish and showed that it is unique from other Spanish varieties. In terms of its quantitative distribution, the Andean PP is used more frequently than in other Latin American varieties and less frequently than in Peninsular Spanish. Additionally, the Andean PP has been observed in perfective contexts (i.e. bounded past actions), for which the simple past would be expected. It appears to be unrestricted by temporal proximity, collocating with definite adverbials that signal remote or distant past, for instance.

Although the general consensus is that the Andean PP exhibits innovative behavior and hence novel semantic development, the origins and development paths of the regional compound past remain a topic of discussion. Most research has claimed novel PP use in Andean Spanish is contact-induced; its semantic change is rooted in the transfer of evidential features in the Quechua past tense verbal system. Many of these claims rely heavily on the notion that the Quechua verbal system contains two evidentially-distinct past tense morphemes: the Direct Past *-r(q)a-* and Indirect Past *-sqa-*. On the other hand, current research also posits semantic change of the Andean PP is rooted in internal processes of subjectivization, whereby the compound past is acquiring new discourse-pragmatic meanings that encode speakers' judgments and attitudes. Furthermore, the degree of influence that Quechua has had on the alleged subjectivization process remains unclear.

Overall, the current chapter has identified some open questions in the working knowledge of variable simple and compound past use in Andean Spanish.

Illustrated by the prevalent use and novel semantic behavior of the Peruvian Andean PP attested in previous studies, PP/PRET variation in the contact variety is certainly a linguistic phenomenon that warrants further investigation. In particular, in the current project I explore the ways in which the Cusco PP is indeed unique to other Spanish varieties, in terms of its quantitative distribution and semantic behavior. Furthermore, I seek to specify the path of development taking place in the compound past, and I aim to resolve discordant claims regarding the extent to which Quechua is impacting its semantic change.

Concerning the latter point, I discuss evidentiality and the Quechua past temporal verbal system in the following chapter (Chapter 3). I do so in response to the claims that novel PP use in Andean Spanish is primarily contact-induced. Since, according to such approaches, PP development is rooted in evidential transfer from the Quechua past tense verbal system, a thorough examination of the past tense system is in order. Crucially, I show that our current understanding of the Quechua verbal system remains obscured, and that there is greater morphological variability in the past tense system than what has been accounted for in previous research attributing Quechua influence to novel PP use.

# CHAPTER 3

## PAST TEMPORAL REFERENCE IN QUECHUA

In this chapter, I provide a broad overview of the past tense verbal system in Quechua. I explore various alleged past tense morphemes in previous research and discuss their encoded meanings across a variety of semantic categories (e.g. temporal reference, evidentiality, modality, mirativity). There are two main goals of this chapter: Firstly, I aim to provide the reader with a general description of the forms and functions involved in the Quechua past tense system. This is paramount if we are to examine a purported Quechua-Spanish interaction in the past tense system of Andean Spanish. Since previous research claims novel features of Present Perfect/Preterit opposition, and more generally of the past verbal system, in Andean Spanish are due to influence of the Quechua verbal system (see for example Schumacher de Peña, 1980; Bustamente, 1991; Klee and Ocampo, 1995; Escobar, 1997; Sánchez, 2004; García Tesoro, 2015; García Tesoro and Jang, 2018), a comprehensive account of Quechua past temporal reference is in order. Secondly, I intend to show that our current understanding of Quechua past temporal reference, and particularly of the Cusco-Collao variety, remains insufficient, given the discordant and confusing accounts available to us at present.

The organization of this chapter is as follows: I begin with a brief introduction of the Quechua language in §3.1 to contextualize the current project by expounding on the typological classification and geographic distribution of the Cusco variety (§3.1.1). Additionally, I provide a general description of the evidential system in Quechua in §3.1.2, given that there exists, uncontroversially, a connection between evidentiality and past temporal reference in Quechua (see for example Cerrón Palomino, 1987; Cusihamán Gutiérrez, 2001; Aikhenvald, 2004; Faller, 2004). In sections 3.2 and 3.3 I provide a comprehensive overview

of attested morphological forms in the past tense system. The former (§3.2) concerns past temporal reference in the Cusco variety, and the latter (§3.3) addresses past tense morphology in non-Cusco Quechua (i.e. Central Peruvian) varieties. Using the comprehensive research discussed in these two sections as a point of reference, I conclude the chapter by summarizing current knowledge of the Quechua past tense system and list some obstacles inhibiting a satisfactory understanding of it in §3.4.

## **3.1 Introduction**

### **3.1.1 Typological & geographic context of Cusco Quechua**

Quechua is an agglutinative language of the Andes whose verbal (and nominal) morphology comprises a wide range of inflectional and derivational affixes, as well as various clitic-like free-syntactic elements that attach to a verbal stem (or nominal base). The term ‘Quechua’ is generally used in reference to numerous regional varieties that belong to the Quechua language family, even though many Quechua varieties are mutually unintelligible. Quechua is spoken primarily in the Andean region in Ecuador, Peru, and Bolivia but extends also into parts of Argentina, Chile, Colombia, and Brazil (Faller, 2002). The map below illustrates the geographic distribution of Quechua speakers in South America:



Figure 3.1: Geographical distribution of Quechua varieties (adapted from Klee & Ocampo, 1995)

Previous classifications of Quechua have divided the language family into two separate groups, which Cerrón Palomino (1987) calls ‘Huáihuash’ Quechua or ‘Quechua A’ (also known as ‘Quechua II’) and ‘Huámpuy’ Quechua or ‘Quechua B’ (also known as ‘Quechua I’)<sup>14</sup>. This classification distinguishes cen-

<sup>14</sup> The terms ‘Quechua A’ and ‘Quechua B’ were set forth by Parker, 1969; the terms ‘Quechua I’ and ‘Quechua II’ were set forth by Torero, 1964.

tral Peruvian varieties ('Huáihuash Quechua' or 'Quechua I') from northern varieties and southern varieties ('Huámpuy Quechua' or 'Quechua II'). Huámpuy Quechua is further divided geographically into three sub-groups: Yungay Quechua (QII-A), Northern Quechua (QII-B) and Southern Quechua (QII-C). Yungay Quechua (QII-A) is spoken in northern Peru around Cajamarca; Northern Quechua (QII-B) is found in northernmost areas of Peru and includes Kichwa in Ecuador and Inga Kichwa in Colombia; Southern Quechua (QII-C) is spoken primarily in southern Peru, Bolivia, and in parts of Chile and Argentina.

The current study examines speakers of Cusco-Collao Quechua, a term which refers to the Collao Quechua variety spoken in the Department of Cusco, Peru. Cusco-Collao Quechua belongs to the Southern Quechua (QII-C) branch, although I include previous research of other Quechua varieties in this chapter, since there is relatively little information that specifically treats the Cusco-Collao variety.

Peru is the country with the highest geographic distribution of Quechua speakers in that it is spoken, at least in part, in all twenty-five of the country's regions and in the Lima province. Whereas Cerrón Palomino (1987) claimed Quechua is not spoken in the northernmost regions of Tumbes, Piura, and La Libertad and in the southernmost region Tacna, Peru's Ministerio de Educación, 2013 (henceforth 'MINEDU, 2013') asserts Quechua speakers are found in these regions as a result of recent migration patterns. MINEDU, 2013 classified Peruvian Quechua varieties into four branches: Amazonian Quechua, Northern Quechua, Central Quechua, and Southern Quechua. These four branches correspond to Torero's (1964) QII-B, QII-A, QI, and QII-C classifications, respectively. The table below identifies the different branches of Peruvian Quechua, which are subdivided into regional varieties.

Table 3.1: Peruvian Quechua varieties (based on MINEDU, 2013)

Branch	Varieties	Departments spoken
Amazonian Quechua (QII-B)	Amazonian Kichwa	Loreto, Madre de Dios, San Martín
Northern Quechua (QII-A)	Cajamarca Quechua	Cajamarca
	Lambayeque Quechua	Lambayeque
Central Quechua (QI)	Ancash Quechua	Áncash
	Huánuco Quechua	Huánuco
	Pasco-Yaru Quechua	Cerro de Paco
	Junín Quechua	Junín
Southern Quechua (QII-C)	Chanca Quechua	Huancavelica, Ayacucho, Apurímac
	Collao Quechua	Apurímac, Cusco, Puno, Arequipa, Moquegua

According to the Peruvian National Census in 2017, there are approximately 3,799,780<sup>15</sup> native Quechua speakers in Peru, comprising 13.6%<sup>16</sup> of the total population. Consider the population statistics of Spanish and Quechua speakers in Peru in the table below:

Table 3.2: Spanish- & Quechua-speaking population in Peru

Speakers (3+ yrs.)	1993 (% of total)	2007 (% of total)	2017 (% of total)
Quechua	3,177,937 (16.5%)	3,360,331 (13.0%)	3,799,780 (13.6%)
Spanish	15,405,014 (79.8%)	21,713,165 (84.1%)	23,178,478 (82.9%)
Other	725,652 (3.8%)	736,835 (2.9%)	967,802 (3.5%)
Total population	19,308,603	25,810,331	27,946,060

The raw number of Quechua speakers has risen over the last two decades by more than half a million speakers, but relative to the national Spanish-speaking population, the percentage of native Quechua speakers has dropped slightly, from 16.5% in 1993 to 13.6% in 2017. Crucially, the census data are misleading as they do not report information on monolingualism, bilingualism, or multilingualism. We can only assume the number of bilingual Quechua-Spanish speakers is subsumed in the statistical accounts demonstrated in the table above.

In the Department of Cusco, 623,188 out of 1,147,188 Cusco residents 3+ years (54.3%) are native Quechua speakers. The following table displays the

<sup>15</sup> All census data was obtained via the *Instituto Nacional de Estadística e Informática* database, accessible online at <https://www.inei.gob.pe/>. Population statistics that measure the number of Quechua speakers include individuals 3+ years old.

<sup>16</sup> This percentage is calculated by dividing the total number of Quechua speakers 3+ years old (3,799,780) by the total population aged 3+ years (27,946,060). The total population 0+ years is 29,381,884.

population frequency of native Spanish and Quechua speakers in Cusco over the past couple decades:

Table 3.3: Spanish- & Quechua-speaking population in Cusco

Speakers (3+ yrs.)	1993 (% of total)	2007 (% of total)	2017 (% of total)
Quechua	560,101 (63.2%)	566,581 (51.4%)	623,188 (54.3%)
Spanish	307,920 (34.8%)	516,516 (46.9%)	490,978 (42.8%)
Other	17,807 (2.0%)	19,139 (1.7%)	33,022 (2.9%)
Total population	885,828	1,102,236	1,147,188

Again, we are left to assume that the number of bilingual Quechua-Spanish speakers are subsumed in the statistics above. In any case, the current rate of Quechua speakers in Cusco is much greater than the national projection (54.3% vs. 13.6% as of 2017). Additionally, the rate of Spanish speakers in Cusco is much lower than the national rate (42.8% vs. 82.9% as of 2017). In terms of diachronic change in Quechua speaker rates in Cusco, the raw number of speakers has risen over the past 20 years. Additionally, as of 2017 a little more than half of Cusco residents are Quechua speakers<sup>17</sup>, comprising 54.3% of the total population. Although this rate is lower than recorded numbers of the 1993 census (63.2%), it increased slightly from 51.4% in 2007.

<sup>17</sup> This data reports on individuals 3+ years old.

These statistics elucidate the high distribution of Quechua speakers in Cusco, especially relative to the national population, and suggest Quechua remains a dominant language in the area alongside Spanish. Given that the linguistic environment in Cusco is characterized by such prominent Quechua use, these numbers suggest there is a regional proclivity to language contact effects. That Cusco Spanish is particularly susceptible to Quechua influence, inasmuch as it concerns extensive regional bilingualism, is further justification for the current exploration of contact motivations in PP development in Cusco Spanish.

### 3.1.2 Evidentiality in Quechua

Evidentiality is ‘a linguistic category whose primary meaning is source of information’ (Aikhenvald, 2004, p. 3), that is, how a speaker acquires information or knowledge for their utterance. Types of information source distinguished via evidentiality differ cross-linguistically and vary in degree of complexity. Evidential distinctions may involve a simple two-way distinction, which generally distinguishes firsthand from secondhand information. More complex systems may include six, or more, terms (Aikhenvald, 2004).

Although all languages contain strategies for making reference to information source, not all languages display grammatical evidentiality, in which ev-

identical distinctions are achieved morphologically. According to Aikhenvald (2004), true evidential systems constitute their own grammatical category and are obligatory (e.g. Quechua, Tariana). In languages that do not encode evidentiality morphologically (e.g. English, Spanish), information source can be made explicit using lexical means, such as adverbial expressions (e.g. *apparently, reportedly*) or introductory clauses (e.g. *I hear that..., They say..., I guess...*). These such uses of linguistic categories whose interpretations emit evidential-like meanings are termed ‘evidential strategies’ (Aikhenvald, 2004).

Closely related to evidentiality is epistemic modality (Aikhenvald, 2004; Courtney, 2015), which encodes the degree of speaker certainty, that is, their attitude or degree of commitment to the veracity of their proposition. The details of this relationship between evidentiality and epistemic modality remain a topic of debate among linguists. According to Aikhenvald (2004), evidentiality and epistemic modality are separate but interrelated categories, in which the latter is related to evidentiality inasmuch as it can be inferred indirectly from the evidentials’ primary meanings of information source. According to this view, epistemic extensions may fall out as a secondary meaning of an evidential, but epistemology proper belongs to a category of its own. This position is adopted also by Faller (2002), whose work was a comprehensive examination of the semantics and pragmatics of evidentials in Cusco-Collao Quechua.

Other linguists (Trask, 1999; Palmer, 2001) suppose evidentiality is a subset of epistemic modality. Mushin (2000) and Nuckolls (2008) examine evidential markers in narrative discourse and posit that evidential markers equally encode information source and speaker attitude. They determined that speakers use evidential markers to shift perspectives and narrative discourse in the storytelling event. In the current investigation, the term *evidentiality* is used according to a narrow definition, as used by Aikhenvald (2004), and refers to the source of information by which a speaker makes a proposition. *Epistemic modality* (or *epistemicity*) is treated as a category related to but apart from evidentiality and is defined as the degree of speaker certainty or the speaker’s attitude(s) toward the veracity of their utterance (Faller, 2002).

In consideration of the interactive relationship between evidentiality and past temporal reference in Quechua, which will be treated in the following sections, I present the following three evidential enclitics<sup>18</sup> that purportedly indicate information source in Cusco Quechua<sup>19</sup>: attested<sup>20</sup> *-mi/-n*, reportative *-si/-s*, and conjectural *-chá/-cha* (Calvo Pérez, 1993; Floyd, 1996; Cusihuamán Gutiérrez, 2001; Faller, 2002; Courtney, 2015). The example below illustrates the use and accompanying evidential interpretations of each morpheme:

<sup>18</sup> Whereas some researchers consider these to be independent suffixes, I use the term ‘enclitic’ throughout the current work in line with previous studies of the topic, which are referenced throughout (see for example Faller, 2002). In using this term, it is not my intention to make any particular claims regarding the morphosyntactic or phonological behavior of these morphemes.

<sup>19</sup> This description of the evidential enclitics holds only for certain varieties of Quechua; the set described here is characteristic of Cusco-Collao Quechua and is not necessarily universal across varieties. In Huallaga Quechua, for example, the evidential enclitics include *-mi*, *-shi*, and *-chi* (Weber, 1989). Additionally, not all Quechua varieties display the same patterns of use of evidential enclitics.

<sup>20</sup> Courtney (2015) considers this morpheme to indicate ‘direct evidence’ and therefore offers the abbreviation *DIREV* for this morpheme in her interlinear glosses, as in example (37[a]).

- (37) a. *Xwan-mi* *chaya-mu-n*.  
 Juan-DIREV arrive-CIS-3.SG  
 ‘(SPEAKER has witnessed that) Juan has arrived.’
- b. *Xwan-si* *chaya-mu-n*.  
 Juan-REP arrive-CIS-3.SG  
 ‘(SPEAKER has been told that) Juan has arrived.’  
 (Courtney, 2015, p. 106)
- c. *Xwan-chá* *chaya-mu-n*.  
 Juan-CNJ arrive-CIS-3.SG  
 ‘(SPEAKER infers/supposes that) Juan has arrived.’

As illustrated in (37) above, the three evidentials *-mi* (and its allomorph *-n*), *-chá*, and *-si* (and its allomorph *-s*) indicate different sources of information. In (37[a]), the direct evidential *-mi* encodes a firsthand account (i.e. personal observation) by which the speaker became aware of Juan’s arrival. In (37[b]), the conjectural evidential *-chá* is used to convey that the speaker’s information source is rooted in inference and/or the speaker’s own reasoning. For example, it could be the case that the speaker sees Juan’s car parked outside, because of which the speaker infers that Juan has already arrived. In (37[c]), use of the reportative evidential *-si* indicates the speaker received knowledge of Juan’s arrival via secondhand information.

It has been shown that overt evidential marking is not obligatory in Southern Peruvian Quechua (Faller, 2002; Courtney, 2015). Courtney (2015), for example, claims that ‘in informal discourse, Cuzco<sup>21</sup> Quechua speakers often produce sentences lacking evidential morphology’ (p. 107). That evidential marking is not obligatory supports Faller’s (2002, 2004) position that these markers are illocutionary operators that ‘modify the basic sincerity condition associated with assertions’ in Quechua (Faller, 2004, p. 49). According to her, unmarked utterances ‘convey the same evidential value as that encoded by the Direct enclitic *-mi*’ (Faller, 2004, pp. 49–50), the difference being that it arises via conversational implicature. For this reason, Faller (2002) supposes the addition of Direct *-mi/-n* establishes specifically or emphatically that the speaker has the ‘best possible grounds’ for their information source.

Other examinations that delve into semantic and discourse-pragmatic particularities of these evidential enclitics describe them as focus (or focalizing) markers (Muysken, 1995; Cusihamán Gutiérrez, 2001; Sánchez, 2010) or multidimensional markers that communicate evidential, epistemological and mirative stance (Manley, 2015). For the purposes of the current project, I leave

<sup>21</sup> Whereas I use the orthographic variant ‘Cusco’ throughout this dissertation, I preserve the spelling ‘Cuzco’ here given that it is provided in a direct quote.

singular interpretations of these evidentials open for discussion. An in-depth analysis of the semantic and/or discourse-pragmatic particularities of Quechua evidential markers is beyond the scope of the current project. Rather, my aim in describing Quechua evidentials is to familiarize the reader with the notion of evidentiality as a grammatical system and its applications in Quechua morphology.

### 3.2 Past temporal reference in Cusco Quechua

In this section, I review previous accounts of the past tense system in Cusco-Collao Quechua, since my data were elicited in Cusco, Peru. In the next section (§3.4), I will discuss past tense systems previously observed in Central Peruvian (Quechua I) varieties, whose accompaniment will be helpful since there is little comprehensive linguistic research on past temporal reference in the Cusco-Collao variety. It is worth noting that although I will identify all past tense verb forms mentioned in each work, I focus my attention on forms whose functions are candidates of potential influence in Present Perfect and Preterit use in Spanish. This qualification is determined in part by previous claims of Present Perfect/Preterit use in Andean Spanish (see Chapter 2) and in part by my own discernment. Specifically, I do not delve into particularities of the Habitual Past or Pluperfect forms in Quechua. Their semantic functions are comparable to the Habitual Past and Pluperfect system in Spanish because of which I do not consider them prime candidates of influence in Present Perfect/Preterit use in Andean Spanish.

Diego González Holguín was a Spanish Jesuit priest and Quechua scholar during Colonization. His work *Gramática y arte nueva de la lengua general de todo el Peru: llamada lengua qquichua o lengua del inca* was one of the first written grammars of the Quechua language. It documents Classical Quechua, a Southern Quechua variety spoken in the Incan court during the 16th and 17th centuries. According to this work, there are three primary categorical divisions in the indicative past tense system: (i) Imperfect (*Pretérito Imperfecto*), (ii) Simple Past (*Pretérito Perfecto*), and (iii) Pluperfect (*Pretérito Pluscuamperfecto*). The author divided the Simple Past into two categories, labeling them ‘First Simple Past’ (*Primero pretérito perfecto*) and ‘Second Simple Past’ (*Segundo pretérito perfecto*). These verbal categories and respective examples and translations are recorded in González Holguín’s (1843[1607]) descriptive grammar, which I illustrate in the table below (glosses and English translations mine):

Table 3.4: Quechua past tense system, based on González Holguín, 1842 [1607]

Category	Morphology	Example	Translation
Imperfect	V-q + ka-rqa-P/N V-rqa-P/N-raq-EV V-q + ka-rqa-P/N-raq-EV	munaq karqani munarqaniraqmi munaq karqaniraqmi	<i>yo amaba / estaba amando</i> (Imperfect)
Simple Past #1 (definite)	V-rqa-P/N	munarqani	<i>yo amé</i> (Preterit)
Simple Past #2 (indefinite)	V-sqa-EV + ka-Ø-P/N V-sqa-POSS + ka-3SG-EV V-sqa-POSS-EV V-Ø-ñā-P/N-EV V-Ø-P/N-EV	munasqan kani munasqay kanmi munasqaymi munaniñam munanim	<i>yo he/fui amado</i> (Present Perfect)
Pluperfect	V-sqa-EV + ka-rqa-P/N V-sqa-POSS-EV + ka-rqa	munasqan karqani munasqaymi karqa	<i>yo había amado</i> (Pluperfect)

According to the author, the difference between the First and Second Simple Past categories lies in definite and indefinite temporal reference. Additionally, González Holguín, 1842 [1607] comments that the present tense can denote past events that fall within an indefinite time (hence the zero-marking ‘Ø’ notation provided in the Simple Past #2 row). Consider the quote<sup>22</sup> below, in which González Holguín, 1842[1607] explicitly associates Quechua Present Tense morphology with the Spanish Present Perfect:

<sup>22</sup> Orthographic changes were made to the original quote, which was written in Early Modern Spanish, to reflect Modern Spanish conventions. Additionally, the use of italics and the accompanying English translation are mine.

...hay gran uso en esta Lengua de poner el presente por pretérito...que no se pone en lugar de este primero pretérito (*yo amé*) sino del segundo (*he amado*) como, *Rinkichis? Has ido? Riniñam. Ya he ido. y no ya fui, y aunque parece todo uno, no es, porque con esta distinción lo usan para hablar de tiempo determinado o indeterminado.* (p. 48)

...there is a great use in this Language of putting in the present for the preterit...it is not used in place of this first simple past (*I loved*) but of the second (*I have loved*) like, *Rinkichis? Have you gone? Riniñam. I have already gone.* and not *I already went*, and even though it seems like the same thing, it is not, because with this distinction they use it to speak of definite or indefinite time. (p. 48)

Furthermore, as illustrated in the following quote<sup>23</sup>, González Holguín, 1842[1607] made an explicit parallel between the definite Simple Past (-rqa-) in Quechua and the Preterit form in Spanish. He additionally reinforced the notion that present tense marking of past events in Quechua exclusively encodes an indefinite past, which he compares to the Spanish Present Perfect:

<sup>23</sup> Orthographic changes were made to the original quote, which was written in Early Modern Spanish, to reflect Modern Spanish conventions. Additionally, the use of italics and the accompanying English translation are mine.

Para tiempo determinado como (*ayerfui*) usan del primer pretérito (*kbaynam rircani*) y no (*rini*) como en romance no decimos (*ayer he ido*) sino

(*ayer fui*) más para tiempo indeterminado como es (*he ido*) que es el segundo pretérito, usan del presente (*ñam rini*, o, *riniñam*, *ya he ido*) y no es forzoso poner (*ña*) que también usan (*rinquichu*) como, *ñachurinqui? has ido?* y (*riñim*) tanto como, *riniñam*, *ya he ido*. Así que, *Munaniñam*, o *munanim*, dice, *ya he amado*. (p. 48)

For definite time like (*yesterday I went*) they use the first simple past (*khaynam rircani*) and not (*rini*) like in Romance we do not say (*yesterday I have gone*) but (*yesterday I went*) and for indefinite time as it is (*I have gone*) that is the second simple past, they use the present (*ñam rini*, or, *riniñam*, *I have already gone*) and it is not obligatory to put (*ña*) since they also use (*rinquichu*) like, *ñachurinqui? have you gone?* and (*riñim*) as well as, *riniñam*, *I have already gone*. So, *Munaniñam*, or *munanim*, means, *I have already loved*. (p. 48)

Based on this description, the Quechua past tense system includes an aspectual distinction between imperfective and perfective past events (Imperfect vs. Simple Past). Additionally, it suggests there is a morphological distinction in the simple past based on determinate and indeterminate temporal reference and is associated with Preterit and Present Perfect readings, respectively. This is supported by the way in which the indeterminate Simple Past, which is translated via the Spanish Present Perfect, also permits present tense morphology, unlike the definite Simple Past form in Quechua (*-rqa-*). Crucially, this work does not mention that the opposition between the two past categories in Quechua is aspectually rooted in a perfect/perfective distinction.

According to Cusihuamán Gutiérrez (2001), whose work is one of the most well known and oft-cited grammars of Cusco-Collao Quechua, there are three past tense forms in the verbal system: the Simple Past (*pasado perfecto*), the Pluperfect or Reportative (*pasado pluscuamperfecto o reportativo*), and the Habitual Past (*pasado habitual*). The Simple Past form is marked with *-rqa-* and refers to ‘the concrete and finished action, that was realized with the direct participation or under the conscious control of the speaker, in a definite time after their infancy and before the moment of speaking’ (Cusihuamán Gutiérrez, 2001, p. 159, English translation mine). Consider the examples and their Spanish translations provided by Cusihuamán Gutiérrez, 2001, p. 159 in (38) below (glosses and English translations mine):

- (38) a. *llank'a-rqa-ni*  
work-PTI-1.SG  
‘Yo trabajé.’ (‘I worked.’)
- b. *llank'a-rqa-nki*  
work-PTI-2.SG  
‘Tú trabajaste.’ (‘You worked.’)

- c. *llank'a-rqa-n*  
work-PSTI-3.SG  
'Él trabajó.' ('He worked.')
- d. *llank'a-rqa-nchis*  
work-PSTI-1.PL.INCL  
'Nosotros hemos trabajado.' ('We worked. / We have worked.')
- e. *llank'a-rqa-yku*  
work-PSTI-1.PL.EXCL  
'Nosotros hemos trabajado.' ('We worked. / We have worked.')
- f. *llank'a-rqa-nkichis*  
work-PSTI-2.PL  
'Uds. trabajaron.' ('You all worked.')
- g. *llank'a-rqa-nku*  
work-PSTI-3.PL  
'Ellos trabajaron.' ('They worked.')

Notably, although Cusihamán Gutiérrez (2001) makes it clear that *-rqa-* encodes concrete, finished past actions, akin to the Spanish Preterit form, the translations provided for the 1PL forms in (38[d,e]) apply Spanish Present Perfect morphology. Discordant mapping of this sort exemplifies obscure depictions of the Quechua verbal system available to us and the precarious state of our working knowledge of it.

The second Quechua past tense form is the Pluperfect/Reportative Past, which is marked with *-sqa-* and refers generally to 'any action real or supposed that has occurred without the direct participation, or under an unconscious state, of the speaker at any time before the present moment' (Cusihamán Gutiérrez, 2001, p. 160, English translation mine). This is illustrated in Cusihamán Gutiérrez's (2001) examples provided in (39) below, which were all translated in the Spanish Pluperfect (p. 162, English translations mine):

- (39) a. *macha-sqa-ni*  
get.drunk-PST2-1.SG  
'Yo me había emborrachado.' ('I got drunk. / I had gotten drunk.')
- b. *macha-sqa-nchis*  
get.drunk-PST2-1.PL.INCL  
'Nosotros nos habíamos emborrachado.' ('We got drunk. / We had gotten drunk.')

- c. *macha-sqa-nku*  
 get.drunk-PST2-3.PL  
 ‘Ellos se habían emborrachado.’ (‘They got drunk. / They had gotten drunk.’)

Occurrences that tend to fall under this reportative category include storytelling events, fables, events that took place during a drunken state or dream state, and unwitnessed events. Additionally, moments that were unexpected or surprising generally take *-sqa-* (Cusihuamán Gutiérrez, 2001, p. 162, glosses and English translation mine):

- (40) *Rupha-n kay kafi-y-qa ka-sqa!*  
 hot-DIREV this coffee-I.SG.POSS-TOP be-PST2  
 ‘¡Este café había estado muy caliente!’ (‘This coffee was/had been very hot!’)

Lastly, the Habitual Past encodes repeated past actions. It is a compound form, in which the principal verb is inflected with *-q* and is accompanied by the auxiliary *ka-y* ‘to be’, which is conjugated according to grammatical subject in person and number inflection. The auxiliary verb (*ka-y* ‘to be’) can receive zero-marking or take past tense marking with *-r(q)a-* or *-sqa-* (except for third-person forms, for which the auxiliary verb is removed altogether). According to Cusihuamán Gutiérrez (2001), the choice between *-r(q)a-* or *-sqa-* depends on whether the event was experienced by the speaker. This evidential distinction is illustrated in his example below (glosses, English translations, and boldface mine):

- (41) a. Repeated activities, personally experienced  
*Chikucha kaspayqa khuchita michi-q kani,*  
 little.child be.GER.POSS.TOP pig.ACC graze-HAB be.ISG,  
*erqekunawan ima **pukllayu-q ka-ra-yku***  
 child.PL.with CONJ **play-HAB be-RQA-IPL.EXCL**  
 ‘Cuando yo era pequeño **solía** pastear chanchos y **jugar** con otros niños’ (‘When I was little I **used to** graze pigs and **play** with other children.’)

- b. Foreign tradition, not personally experienced

*San Pablopiqa kawallupin kinsa reykuna yallinaku-q*  
 San Pablo.LOC.TOP horse.LOC three king.PL **compete-HAB**  
*ka-sqa-ku Reyes p'unchaypi*  
**be-PST2-3.PL** King.PL day.LOC

‘En San Pablo **acostombran correr en concurso** tres reyes a caballo en el Día de Reyes’ (‘In San Pablo three kings **used to race** on horse on Kings’ Day.’) (Cusihuamán Gutiérrez, 2001, pp. 163–164)

This description leads us to assume *-rqa-* and *-sqa-* are distinguished according to temporal-aspectual as well as evidential properties. Concerning the former, *-r(q)a-* marks complete, bounded actions in the past just like a perfective marker. Although *-sqa-* is designated as a Pluperfect, its description entails an evidential interpretation exclusively. That is, it does not locate a past event prior to another past event, as a traditional Pluperfect (Real Academia Española, 2010). Instead, *-sqa-* marks past events that were unwitnessed by the speaker or from which the speaker was surprised or caught off guard, and *-r(q)a-* marks firsthand accounts.

Salas Cruz and Aráoz de Guevara (1993) corroborate Cusihuamán Gutiérrez’s (2001) three verbal categories and further specify explicitly that the Reportative/Pluperfect Past *-sqa-* ‘is translated as the Pluperfect in Spanish: *había...*’ (p. 23, English translation mine). They illustrate this in the examples provided in (42) below (glosses, English translations, and boldface mine):

- (42) a. *Qayna p'unchay-si wikch'aku-sqa-ni*  
 last day-REP fall-**pst2**-I.SG  
 ‘Antes de ayer **me había caído (desmayado)**’ (‘Before yesterday I **had fallen (fainted)**.’)
- b. *Pana-y-wan rima-sqa-nki*  
 sister-I.SG.POSS-with talk-**pst2**-2.SG  
 ‘**Habías hablado** con mi hermana’ (‘You **had spoken** with mi sister.’)
- c. *Pay-si quri-ta tarimu-sqa*  
 He-REP gold-ACC find-**pst2**  
 ‘Dicen que él **había encontrado** oro’ (‘They say that he **had found** gold.’) (Salas Cruz and Aráoz de Guevara, 1993, p. 23)

The designation of *-sqa-* as a Pluperfect marker alludes to the marker as a prototypical carrier of *consecutio temporum* ‘sequence of tenses’, ordering a past event prior to another (Quartararo, 2020). However, although the authors

claim reportative evidentiality and Pluperfect readings are jointly and simultaneously encoded in *-sqa-* and make up its distinguishing feature against *-r(q)a-*, their examples with *-sqa-* do not illustrate any notion of the kind of temporal sequencing characteristic of a Pluperfect. It should be noted that, although it is certainly the case that Pluperfect morphology has been found to encode reportative evidentiality in some Spanish varieties, they are related insofar as reportativity is one subfunction of the Pluperfect (Quartararo, 2020). Therein, the degree to which the semantic features distinguishing *-sqa-* and *-r(q)a-* are temporal-aspectual and/or evidential remains unclear.

In the short description of the verbal system in Pacheco Farfán's (2006) work *Lingüística y Quechua Inka*, there is no mention of a morphological distinction in the past tense. The author states the Quechua past tense is conveyed via verbal inflection with *-ra-*. The reason I include this at all is to illustrate contemporary impediments to our understanding of the Quechua past tense system, especially of the Cusco-Collao variety.

The past tense verbal system as presented by Tunque Choque's (2014) grammar displays morphological and semantic variability not recorded elsewhere. According to the author, *-rqa-* can encode either Preterit or Imperfect readings<sup>24</sup>, which is to be expected assuming *-rqa-* diverges from other verb forms via evidential properties, not aspectual ones. Additionally, *-sqa-* is labeled a Pluperfect marker and is characterized by its reportative function. Furthermore, a Present Perfect interpretation is captured via adjoining morphemes *-ra-* and *-mu-* (*-ramu-*), and the use of *-mu-* alone allegedly encodes an indefinite past. This is demonstrated in the table below (adapted from Tunque Choque, 2014, p. 145, English translations mine):

<sup>24</sup> I assume that the author refers to two separate categories—'Imperfect' and 'Simple Past'—in the third column of his table (*Pretérito imperfecto pasado simple*), which I provide below. I have included the Spanish label in order to preserve transparency for the reader(s).

Table 3.5: Quechua past temporal verb forms (adapted from Tunque Choque, 2014, p. 145)

<i>Pronombre</i> 'Pronoun'	<i>Raíz de verbo</i> 'Verb root'	<i>Preterito imperfecto</i> <i>Pasado simple</i> 'Imperfect' 'Simple past'	<i>Preterito pluscuamperfecto</i> 'Pluperfect'	<i>Preterito perfecto</i> 'Present Perfect'	<i>Preterito indefinido</i> 'Indefinite past'
NOQA	PUJLLA	+RQA+NI <i>jugué</i> 'I played.'	+SQA+NI <i>había jugado</i> 'I had played.'	RAMU+NI <i>he jugado</i> 'I have played.'	MU+NI <i>jugué</i> 'I played.'
QAN	PUJLLA	+RQA+NKI	+SQA+NKI	RAMU+NKI	MU+NI
PAY	PUJLLA	+RQA+N	+SQA+	RAMU+N	MU+NKI
NOQANCHIS	PUJLLA	+RQA+NCHIS	+SQA+NCHIS	RAMU+NCHIS	MU+NCHIS
NOQAYKU	PUJLLA	+RQA+YKU	+SQA+YKU	RAMU+YKU	MU+YKU
QANKUNA	PUJLLA	+RQA+NKICHIS	+SQA+NKICHIS	RAMU+NKICHIS	MU+NKICHIS
PAYKUNA	PUJLLA	+RQA+NKU	+SQA+YKU	RAMU+NKU	MU+NKU

After a few more paradigmatic visuals in Tunque Choque’s (2014) text, which were unaccompanied by contextual explanations or instructional descriptions, the morpheme *-rqa-* appeared again in another paradigm called ‘Experienced Past Tense’ and was distinguished from the ‘Non-Experienced Past Tense’ marker *-sqa-*. Both paradigms are provided below (adapted from Tunque Choque, 2014, pp. 148–149, English translations mine):

Table 3.6: Verbal paradigm of *-r(q)a-*, adapted from Tunque Choque, 2014, p. 148

EN TIEMPO PASADO EXPERIMENTADO = RIKUSQA RIPUQ PACHAPI RUWACHIQKUNA CON LA VARIANTE -RQA-					
Person	CH’ULLA		SINGULAR		
1ra	Noqa	llank’a-rqa-ni	Yo	trabajé	(‘I worked’)
2da	Qan	llank’a-rqa-nki	Tú	trabajaste	(‘You worked’)
3ra	Pay	llank’a-rqa-n	El [sic]	trabajó	(‘He worked’)
	ASHKHA		PLURAL		
1ra	Noqanchis	llank’a-rqa-nchis	Nosotros/as	trabajamos (I)	(‘We worked’)
1ra	Noqayku	llank’a-rqa-yku	Nosotros/as	trabajamos (E)	(‘We worked’)
2da	Qankuna	llank’a-rqa-nkichis	Ustedes	trabajaron	(‘You all worked’)
3ra	Paykuna	llank’a-rqa-nku	Ellos/as	trabajaron	(‘They worked’)

Table 3.7: Verbal paradigm of *-sqa-*, adapted from Tunque Choque, 2014, p. 149

EN TIEMPO PASADO EXPERIMENTADO = MANA RIKUSQA RIPUQ PACHAPI CON LA VARIANTE -SQA-					
Person	CH’ULLA		SINGULAR		
1ra	Noqa	llank’a-sqa-ni	Yo	había trabajado	(‘I had worked’)
2da	Qan	llank’a-sqa-nki	Tú	habías trabajado	(‘You had worked’)
3ra	Pay	llank’a-sqa-n	El [sic]	había trabajado	(‘He had worked’)
	ASHKHA		PLURAL		
1ra	Noqanchis	llank’a-sqa-nchis	Nosotros/as	habíamos trabajado (I)	(‘We had worked’)
1ra	Noqayku	llank’a-sqa-yku	Nosotros/as	habíamos trabajado (E)	(‘We had worked’)
2da	Qankuna	llank’a-sqa-nkichis	Ustedes	habían trabajado	(‘You all had worked’)
3ra	Paykuna	llank’a-sqa-nku	Ellos/as	habían trabajado	(‘They had worked’)

Interestingly, the past tense form with *-r(q)a-*, although it is given the title ‘Experienced Past Tense’, is translated into Spanish using strictly the Preterit form. On the other hand, the paradigm using *-sqa-* is given the title ‘Non-experienced Past Tense’ and is provided with Spanish translations strictly in the Pluperfect form. These representations suggest that (i) the semantic differences distinguishing the two forms are not strictly evidential, and/or (ii) evidential

notions of Experienced and Non-Experienced events are linked to Preterit and Pluperfect morphology, respectively.

Of the most notable contributions to non-prescriptive, linguistic work concerning past temporal reference in Cusco-Collao Quechua is the formal semantic work of Faller (2002, 2004), whose model-theoretic analysis (2004) investigates ‘Non-Experienced Past’ *-sqa-* in Cusco<sup>25</sup> Quechua. She mentioned three morphemes in past tense morphology: ‘Experienced Past’ *-rqa-*, ‘Non-Experienced Past’ *-sqa-*, and a ‘Non-Past’  $\emptyset$ . Faller (2002, 2004) argues that the past tense morphemes *-r(q)a-* and *-sqa-* are both simple past tense markers that give rise to evidential meanings indirectly.

<sup>25</sup> Faller adheres to the orthographic variant ‘Cuzco’ in her work.

As discussed in §3.1.2, evidentiality proper is encoded in three enclitics: direct *-mi(/-n)*, reportative *-si(/-s)* and conjectural *-chá*. These enclitics encode propositional-level evidentiality since they operate on the embedded proposition, communicating an evidential relation between the speaker and the proposition. On the other hand, the tense markers operate on the event *within* the proposition, encoding event-level evidentiality, which is deictically induced.

Previous works have associated *-sqa-* with various interrelated functions, such as reportative past, resultative/non-experienced past, reporting dreams, and sudden discovery/mirativity (see for example Cerrón Palomino, 1987; Cusihuamán Gutiérrez, 2001; Sánchez, 2004). It has also been argued that *-sqa-* is a perfect marker (see Lefebvre and Muysken, 1988). This claim is based on the connection between resultative uses of finite *-sqa-* (see (43[a])) and its nonfinite use to form participles (see (43[b])), as seen in the example below (gloss and translation mine):

- (43) a. *Marya-qa llugsi-sqa-n*  
 Marya-TOP leave-**PST2**-BPG  
 ‘Marya **left**.’ (Faller, 2004, p. 66)
- b. *Pi-taq chay macha-sqa runa-ri?*  
 who-CONTR that drink-**PTCP** man-TOP  
 ‘And who is that **drunk** man?’  
 (Cusihuamán Gutiérrez, 1976, p. 225, as cited in Faller, 2004, p. 66)

Faller (2004) renders this analysis of *-sqa-* as a perfect marker ‘not implausible’ (p. 66) considering its finite resultative use in sentences like (43) resemble result-state perfects in English (‘Marya has left’). Ultimately, however, she assumes this is not the case, since perfects by definition place Reference Time (R) after Event Time (E). In result-state perfects, the perfect makes an assertion about the Speech Time (S), such that the posttime properties of the result state encoded in the verb must be true at S. Thus, the utterance is felicitous if and

only if the result state is sustained at S. Contrarily, *-sqa-* can be used in situations in which the result state is not sustained at S, which implies that it is not a result-state perfect.

In particular, Faller (2004) defines *-sqa-* as ‘a spatio-temporal deictic which specifies that the described eventuality *e* is not located within the speaker’s perceptual field at topic time’ (p. 46). This view sheds light on the broader status of *-sqa-* and explains its use in various contexts. Paramount to its use is the notion of distance, since the morpheme is ‘a specification of the location of the event with respect to the speaker’ (p. 62).

Moreover, Faller (2004) points out that *-sqa-* is regularly used in narrative sequences and does not require R to be included in the moment of speaking, the reverse of which are definitive features of perfects. Therein, *-sqa-*, like *-rqa-*, is analyzed as a basic past tense marker, differentiated according to an eventuality’s spatio-temporal positioning relative to the speaker’s perceptual field. In this way, the evidential interpretations of *-sqa-* fall out indirectly from its encoded meaning. They are accessible in the reportative use of *-sqa-* in myths and folktales, since spatial location is an imaginary space and therefore outside of the speaker’s perceptual field. In resultative uses, *-sqa-* is used for situations in which the speaker was not a direct witness of the event itself but of its result; the eventuality occurred outside of the speaker’s perceptual field. In situations for which the speaker was unconscious or lacked a physiological ability to personally recall (e.g. dream states, infancy, drunkenness), the eventualities again lie outside of the speaker’s perceptual sphere, which includes recollections based on memory-perception. Mirative uses of *-sqa-*, which indicate speaker surprise or sudden discovery of a situation, are also explained via Faller’s (2004) analysis, since the act of feeling surprised is a byproduct of the way in which the eventuality was not accessible to the speaker in their own perceptual field.

Manley (2007, 2015) proposed the interpretations of the verbal morphemes *-rqa-* and *-sqa-* include epistemic extensions of certainty and doubt, respectively. In her research of Quechua speakers in bilingual communities in Cusco, Manley (2015) claims that the evidential enclitics and verbal markers *-rqa-* and *-sqa-* are ‘multidimensional markers of stance’ that may encode notions of evidentiality, epistemic modality, and—in the case of *-sqa-*—mirativity. Such a view adds to the working theories of the Cusco-Collao past temporal reference system, of which the general consensus seems to be that both tense morphemes are temporally past and linked to notions of evidentiality and/or epistemicity.

Based on this overview of divergent representations of the past tense system in grammars of Cusco-Collao Quechua, it is clear that a consensus has yet to be reached concerning the morphological and semantic intricacies of the past tem-

poral reference system. According to the aforementioned descriptions, it seems to be roughly the case that *-r(q)a-* is the default marker of definite, experienced past events. This explains its association with the Spanish Preterit. Additionally, it seems generally true that *-sqa-* marks past events for which the speaker was not a direct participant and reportativity, a discourse function also conveyed by the Spanish Pluperfect. Moreover, although it is unsurprising that there is no clear one-to-one mapping of Quechua morphology to Spanish translations, these discordant accounts and variable representations of Quechua past expression require further investigation. This is especially true as we seek to understand the interaction between Spanish and Quechua verbal systems in Andean Spanish.

### 3.3 Central Peruvian Quechua

In this section, I present research of past temporal reference in Central Peruvian Quechua varieties, which fall under the Quechua I classification. The purpose of this section is to supplement our working knowledge of Quechua past tense. Although the past tense systems between Quechua II (e.g. Cusco-Collao Quechua) and Quechua I are distinct, understanding these related systems will provide a more comprehensive picture of Quechua past tense. Since these varieties belong to the same language family and were comparably susceptible to socio-political and historical factors via Spanish colonization, their verbal systems have likely been privy to similar, if not the same, developments.

Howard-Malverde (1988) examined past temporal reference in Quechua narrative discourse and identified six verbal morphemes across two ‘modes of description’. These modes of description in discourse include an ‘historical’ or ‘non-personalized’ mode, in which the speaker reports or narrates an objective description of past events, and an ‘experienced’ or ‘personalized’ mode, which is characterized by the speaker’s subjective involvement (e.g. direct participation). The functional differences among the verbal morphemes used in past temporal reference are not rooted in temporal-aspectual distinctions but on the mode of description, that is, on non-personal or personal involvement of the speaker in the events described. From the start, it appears these modes of description coincide with evidential categories described in the previous sections. The personalized and non-personalized modes share properties of experienced and non-experienced (or ‘reportative’) evidentiality, respectively.

The table below provides an overview of Howard-Malverde’s (1988) description of Quechua past tense verbal morphology:

Table 3.8: Past Tense Morphemes in Pariarca Quechua, based on Howard-Malverde (1988)

Morpheme	Use in Non-Personalized Mode	Use in Personalized Mode
<i>-rqa-</i>	–	Defined Past
<i>-naa</i>	Narrative Past (#1)	Sudden Discovery Modality
<i>-shqa kashqa</i>	Narrative Past (#2)	Stylistic contrast with <i>-shqa-</i> to mark key moments in narrative (rarely used)
<i>-shqa-</i>	–	Proximal Past
∅ (preferred in Exp. Mode)	Narrative Present	Narrative Present
<i>-q ka-</i>	Reiterative, Habitual Past	Reiterative, Habitual Past

The ‘Defined Past’ marker *-rqa-* ‘indicates the pastness of an event where there is relatively specific reference to the point in time at which it occurred’ (Howard-Malverde, 1988, p. 128). It appears exclusively in the personalized mode of description and refers to events ‘at which either the speaker or the addressee (or both) was present’ (Howard-Malverde, 1988, p. 128). In this way, *-rqa-* contrasts with *-naa*, whose function depends on the discursive mode of description.

When used in a non-personalized mode, *-naa* is a ‘Narrative Past’ marker used to recount traditional stories and events removed from the speaker’s experience. Alternatively, when *-naa* is used in personalized discourse, such as a first person account of a past experience, it signals an event for which the speaker was ‘unaware at its moment of inception, of which he/she became suddenly aware’ (Howard-Malverde, 1988, p. 129). According to the author, this same mirative function of *-naa* is performed by *-sqa-* in Cusco-Collao Quechua.

A second ‘Narrative Past’ marker is *-shqa kashqa*, which is reserved almost exclusively for the non-personalized mode of description. This form may alternate in the discourse with the ‘Proximal Past’ marker *-shqa* for stylistic reasons. Whereas *-shqa kashqa* marks crucial moments in the narrative, *-shqa* is used with events of lesser significance. Additionally, Howard-Malverde (1988) points out that any assumption such that the translation of *-shqa kashqa*, as well as the other Narrative Past marker *-naa*, into the Spanish Pluperfect is due to temporal-aspectual properties is an erroneous one; the use of the Narrative Past markers is primarily evidential. Consider her quote below:

Bilingual speakers translating from Quechua to Spanish generally render these narrative tenses [-*shqa kashqa* and -*naa*] as the pluperfect, where standard Spanish would employ the preterit. However...their use reflects a category for which Spanish has no equivalent: lack of personal knowledge of the past event on the part of the speaker. (p. 130-131)

According to Howard-Malverde (1988), there are three distinct functions of the Proximal Past marker *-shqa-*, all of which fall under prototypical functions of a perfect. Because of this, the Proximal Past *-shqa-* is often termed a ‘perfect tense’. Firstly, *-shqa-* marks events in the recent past, for which reason it is given the title ‘Proximal Past’ marker. Secondly, this morpheme refers to past events whose temporal locations are generally undefined. In this way, *-shqa-* works in contrast to Defined Past *-rqa-*. Thirdly, the Proximal Past marker can function as a ‘past in the present’ marker, in which case the effects of the marked past event are ‘still to be felt in the present’ (p. 130), similar to the prototypical resultative or current relevance function of the Present Perfect. Additionally, when used in the historical mode of description, although this is not generally the case, *-shqa-* ‘invites a particular interpretation of the significance of the story for the individual narrator’ (p. 130). This use is similar to use of the Present Perfect as a marker of subjective notions of current relevance or of spatio-temporal, discursive, and/or emotional proximity between the speaker and the events in question (see Chapter 2).

Additionally, Howard-Malverde (1988) found that  $\emptyset$  (zero-tense) marking functions akin to the historical present and ‘occurs with the highest frequency in narrative discourse about past events’ (p. 128), especially in the personalized mode and where the verb is marked for first person.

Hintz (2007) examines the past tense system of South Conchucos Quechua (SCQ) in central Peru, specifically, in the Department of Ancash. According to her work, there exist five past tense morphemes in SCQ, which belong to four past tense categories: Past *-r(q)a-*, Narrative Past *-na:*<sup>26</sup>, Recent Past markers *-sb((q)a)* and *-r(q)u*, and the Habitual Past *-q*. Additionally, Hintz (2007) recognized a zero-marked present as an historical present and described an existing Pluperfect system.

According to Hintz (2007), most of the SCQ tense forms ‘are used in relation to each other to code relative time’ (p. 29). This is particularly true of Past *-r(q)a*, Narrative Past *-na:*, the Recent Past markers *-sb((q)a)* and *-r(q)u*, and the Pluperfect forms. The figure below illustrates her proposed temporal relativity of events in verb tense marking.

<sup>26</sup> The colon here indicates a long vowel and is an orthographic convention used by Hintz (2007).

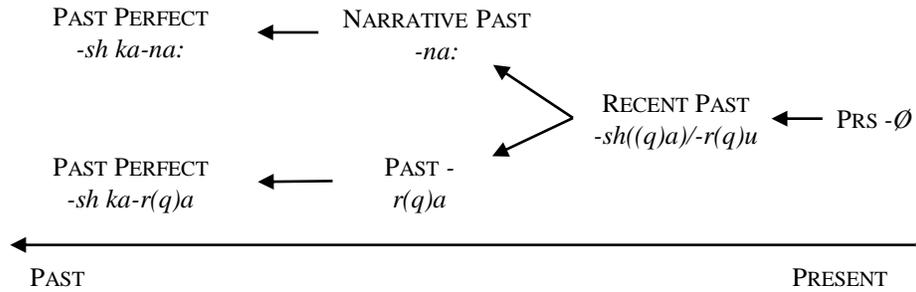


Figure 3.2: Relative past tense forms in SCQ (adapted from Hintz, 2007, p. 64)

The Recent Past markers *-r(q)u* and *-sb((q)a)* ‘locate events in recent time’ and are in complementary distribution according to grammatical person. For 3rd person subjects, the variant *-sb((q)a)* is applied; 1st and 2nd person subjects take *-r(q)u*. Hintz (2007) argues that the former perfect *-sb((q)a)* developed into a (recent) past marker, evidenced by its use in narrating sequences of past events and its collocation with temporally-specific adverbials, underlined in example (44) below (underline and boldface mine):

- (44) *Tsa waray-nin qoya-q mama-ntsi:-qa ari,*  
 then tomorrow-3 morning-AG mom-I-TOP yes,  
*tsaka-q-lla-na ashi-q sharku-sb*  
 darkness-AG-DLM-NOW seek-PRMT stand.up-**PST.R3**  
 ‘Then the next morning mother, sure enough, **got up** at dawn to search’  
 (Hintz, 2007, p. 29)

That *-sb((q)a)/-r(q)u* marks a recent past is evidenced in contexts where two or more tenses are used to code relative temporal locations of past events. Consider the following example (Hintz, 2007, pp. 30–31), in which *-r(q)a* signals that Guillermo’s conversation with Martha is more temporally distant than Martha’s selling of alcohol, marked with *-sb((q)a)*:

- (45) Rita: *Marta-pis shinqiru-ta-m isbke: tsakay*  
 Martha-even hot.drink-ACC-DIREV two night  
*rantiku-sb*  
 sell-**PST.R3**  
 ‘Martha also **sold** alcohol drink two nights’

- Guillermo: *A rantiku-sb-ra:-chi.*  
oh sell-**PST.R3**-yet-CNJ.  
'Oh, she really **did sell** it?'
- Rita: *wamra-n-kuna-ta*  
child-POSS.3.SG-PL-ACC  
*punu-yka-tsi-r-yan,* *aw*  
sleep-PFV.O-CAUS-SS-DISTR yes  
'after putting her children to sleep. Yes.'
- Guillermo: *Alla=. Allaw Marta*  
poor.thing poor.thing Martha  
'Poor thing. Poor thing, Martha.'
- Rita: *Aw ari*  
yes yes  
'Yes, yes.'
- Guillermo: *"Ama rura-nki-tsu" ni-ra:-cha: ari noqa-qa*  
no do-2-NEG say-**PST-I-MUT** yes I-TOP  
'"Don't do it," I **had said** to her.'
- Rita: *Ni-ka-pti-ki-chir rantiku-sb*  
say-PASS-DS-2-APP sell-**PST.R3**  
'Even though you may have said that, she **sold** it any-way.'

As exemplified above, the past marker *-r(q)a* 'locates situations in time as previous to those marked with the recent past markers *-r(q)u* and *-sb((q)a)*' (Hintz, 2007, p. 42). Furthermore, Hintz (2007) clarifies that *-r(q)a* is not a Pluperfect marker because it 'can be used to narrate a sequence of events and with temporal references' (p. 30). Therein *-r(q)a* marks past events in general, and when used in conjunction with the Recent Past (*-sb((q)a)/-r(q)u*), it locates events as having occurred prior to those marked in the recent past.

Similarly, the Narrative Past *-na:* narrates past events and locates relative events in the timeline. Just like *-r(q)a*, it places events prior to those marked with Recent Past morphology. The difference between the Past markers *-r(q)a* and *-na:* is evidential. Whereas *-r(q)a* is principally used in personally experienced narrative discourse, the Narrative Past marker is termed as such because it is used to narrate tales of folklore and legends. However, *-na:* is not exclusive to legends and folktales. It can also appear in accounts of past events in real life.

This is illustrated in (46) below, in which the speaker uses *-na:* in a personal account of past events:

- (46) *Ta:yan gocha-la:-pa ari, qeshpi-pa-ma-sha-qa*  
 Ta:yan lake-side-GEN yes escape-BEN-1.OBJ-PST.R3-TOP  
*Huamparan-pita kachitsinan-la:-pa. Tsay-la:-chu:-na-sh*  
 Huamparán-ABL Kachitsinan-side-GEN that-side-LOC-NOW-REP  
*punta-ta-si tari-ya:-na:*  
 first-OBJ-EVEN find-PL-PST.N  
 ‘It (a cow) **escaped** from me near Huamparán, heading toward Tayan Lake and Kachitsinan. They **had found** it in that area on previous occasions.’  
 (Hintz, 2007, p. 38)

Additionally, notice in (46) above how the Narrative Past marker is used with the recent marker *-sh((q)a)* to locate events in relative time. Specifically, that the cow was found in the area on previous occasions is marked with *-na:*, and the cow’s subsequent escape is marked with Recent Past morphology.

Hintz’s (2016) later investigation on discourse replication in Andean Spanish examines Quechua and Andean Spanish narrative speech segments by bilingual speakers. She claims *-r(q)a-* is a perfective past marker used in discourse to introduce and conclude speech segments and give explanations. In contrast to her previous analysis (2007), Hintz (2016) considers *-sha* a ‘past from perfect’ marker and proposes that it developed from a present perfect into a marker of perfective past, in line with Bybee et al.’s (1994) proposed grammaticalization<sup>27</sup> path. In terms of its discourse-pragmatic function, *-sha* is used with main events of a narrative and marks surprise or ‘Hot News’ events, a function originally attributed to the Past Perfect forms (*-sh ka-na:* and *-sh ka-r(q)a*) in her (2007) work.

<sup>27</sup> Hintz (2016) uses the term ‘grammaticization’.

The author points out that the structure of narrative discourse in Quechua is generally framed such that the temporal setting of past tense is morphologically explicit at the beginning and end of the narrative. Other tenses (e.g. historical present) are used throughout the body of the narrative. This type of framing is found in other varieties of Quechua<sup>28</sup>. In Hintz’s (2016) analysis, she found that *-rqa-* was used to introduce and conclude Quechua narratives, and main events were marked with the Historical Present ‘Ø’ and perfective Past-from-Perfect marker *-sha*.

<sup>28</sup> Specifically, Tarma Quechua (see Adelaar, 1988), Corongo Quechua (see Hintz, 1996), Huamalíes Quechua (see Howard-Malverde, 1988), and Lambayeque Quechua (see Shaver, 1996).

The past tense verbal morphology in the Central Peruvian Quechua varieties described above involve features of temporal relativity. In Pariarca Quechua, *-shqa-* is a Proximal Past marker used in the personalized mode of discourse that behaves in line with prototypical functions of a Present Perfect. In this way, it

contrasts with the Defined Past *-rqa-*; distal past events are marked with *-rqa-*, and *-sbqa-* marks proximal past events. This temporal relativity is more explicit in SCQ, in which past events can be located relative to each other via Recent Past markers *-sb((q)a)-/r(q)u-* and Past markers *-r(q)a-* and *-na:*. To my knowledge, this use of past tense morphology as indicators of temporal relativity has not been observed in Cusco-Collao Quechua.

As shown by Howard-Malverde (1988) for Pariarca Quechua, the function of certain verb forms varies according to the mode of discourse in which they are used. An analysis that factors mode of discourse into account would be valuable in examining Cusco-Collao past tense morphology. To my knowledge, there has been no analysis of this sort conducted to date.

Additionally, Hintz's (2016) analysis elucidates the benefit of examining Quechua verbal morphology as it relates to their functions and placement in narrative discourse. In particular, her study demonstrated prevalent use of the Historical Present and Past-from-Perfect marker *-sha* to mark main events. As for Cusco-Collao Quechua, few researchers (i.e. González Holguín, 1842[1607]; Faller, 2004) mention the existence of an unmarked past, and none examine its distribution in the variety. Doing so could inform our understanding of the regional past temporal system and, moreover, contribute to a proper analysis of its potential effects in Andean Spanish.

### 3.4 Summary

Regarding Cusco-Collao Quechua past temporal reference, the very general consensus appears to be that there exists an interaction between semantic notions of past tense, evidentiality, epistemic modality, mirativity, and definiteness/indefiniteness, all manifested—to a controversial degree—in the past tense verbal morphology. The figure below summarizes the aforementioned claims regarding the past tense verbal system in Cusco-Collao Quechua, as detailed in Section §3.2:

Table 3.9: Summary of Past Tense Morphology Claims in Cusco-Collao Quechua

Morpheme	Description	Citation
-r(q)a-	Simple Past #1 (Determinate)	González Holguín, 1842[1607]
	Simple Past	Cusihuamán Gutiérrez, 1976, 2001; Salas Cruz and Aráoz de Guevara, 1993
	Past tense	Pacheco Farfán, 2006
	Simple past / Imperfect / Experienced past	Tunque Choque, 2014
	Evidentially neutral Simple Past	Faller, 2004
∅	Perfect Past #2 (Indeterminate)	González Holguín, 1842[1607]
	Non-Past	Faller, 2002, 2004
-ra-mu-	Present Perfect	Tunque Choque, 2014
-mu-	Indefinite Past	Tunque Choque, 2014
-sqa-	Pluperfect, Reportative	Salas Cruz and Aráoz de Guevara, 1993; Cusihuamán Gutiérrez, 2001
	Pluperfect / Inexperienced past	Tunque Choque, 2014
	Reportative / non-experienced / sudden discovery (with pragmatic extensions)	Faller, 2004

Whereas previous contact analyses of Andean Spanish presuppose the potential influence of *-rqa-* and *-sqa-* in Andean Preterit/Present Perfect use (see for example Bustamente, 1991; Klee and Ocampo, 1995; Escobar, 1997; Rojas Sosa, 2008), this chapter has illustrated that the Quechua verbal system offers more optionality than two morphological variants, although the specifics of this complexity remain unclear. An accurate analysis of potential language contact effects in Andean Spanish from Quechua necessitates a comprehensive understanding of the Quechua verbal system as a whole. Although our current understanding remains limited, this chapter has elucidated that, in the Quechua-Spanish language contact situation, *-rqa-* and *-sqa-* are likely not the only morphemes in play. It is for this reason that the current investigation examines intra-speaker bilingual Spanish-Quechua data. By examining speakers' Quechua and Spanish iterations of the the same past experiences, this study seeks to account for potential morphological variability in past temporal reference in Cusco-Collao Quechua, that is, forms beyond *-rqa-* and *-sqa-*.

As demonstrated in this chapter, there exist inconsistencies in the literature of Cusco-Collao Quechua verbal morphemes, both in terms of the inventory of existing forms and of their functional use. For example, whereas Pacheco Farfán (2006) identifies a single past tense morpheme: *-rqa-*, the work of González Holguín (1842[1607]) recorded eleven morphological variants in four past tense

categories. Additionally, of the seven descriptions of Cusco-Collao past tense systems, only two (i.e. González Holguín, 1842[1607]; Faller, 2002, 2004) recognize the existence of a ‘zero-marked’ past tense variant.

Moreover, whereas most research on Andean Spanish recognizes an evidential distinction between *-rqa-* and *-sqa-*, the previous literature discussed in this chapter illustrate that it remains unclear (i) exactly how many verbal forms exist in the past temporal reference system, (ii) how these forms behave in different modes of discourse, and (iii) what are the semantic features (e.g. evidentiality, epistemicity, temporal-aspectuality, determinacy) that characterize them.

It is worth noting that the current chapter does not aim to resolve discordant claims regarding Cusco-Collao past temporal reference. Such a task lies outside the scope of the current investigation. This chapter is intended to provide a comprehensive overview of current proposals of the past tense system, since it will inevitably inform our examination of the current data set. However, it is my hope that, as a byproduct of the comparative analysis of intra-speaker bilingual data, the current work will help clarify our understanding of the Cusco-Collao past tense system.

# CHAPTER 4

## DATA & METHODOLOGY

In this chapter I provide a detailed description of the data sets examined in the current project and the methodological procedures by which I explore PP/PRET variation among monolingual and bilingual speakers of Andean Spanish in Cusco, Peru. The organization of this chapter is as follows: Section §4.1 provides preliminary observations from previous data collection projects, in 2017 and 2018, that motivated the current project. These projects were performed in conjunction with researchers working with CerviCusco, a Cusco-based women’s health clinic, which I introduce in §4.1.1. In §4.1.2, I describe the procedures by which Dr. Pamela Orpinas and I collected data in 2017, and in §4.1.3, I detail the procedures of the data collection project with Dr. Venice Haynes in 2018. Inductive observations from the 2017 and 2018 data sets that highlight variable behavior of the Andean PP are provided in each respective section. Section 2 (§4.2) presents the data collection procedures of the data sets analyzed in the current project. Specifically, I discuss the setting (§4.2.1), recruitment operations (§4.2.2), participant demographics (§4.2.3), and data elicitation instruments (§4.2.4) involved in the current study. In Section 3 (§4.3), I describe the methodological procedures of the current investigation and address their application to each research question in separate subsections. The data coding and analysis procedures of Research Question 1 are provided in §4.3.1. Those of Research Questions 2 and 3 are laid out in §4.3.2 and §4.3.3, respectively.

### 4.1 Preliminary data

Preliminary data that inspired this research come from collaborative data collection projects conducted in Cusco, Peru during the summers of 2017 and 2018. In both instances, I worked alongside public health researchers who collected questionnaire data from patients of CerviCusco, a local women’s health clinic

in Cusco, Peru. In 2017, I collaborated with Dr. Pamela Orpinas from the University of Georgia, and in 2018 I worked with Dr. Venice Haynes from the University of South Carolina. In §4.1.1 through §4.1.3, I describe CerviCusco and each data collection project in detail.

#### **4.1.1 CerviCusco**

CerviCusco is a Peruvian non-profit organization dedicated to cervical cancer prevention through screening, diagnostic, and treatment services. Cervical cancer is the second most common type of cancer among women worldwide, and one of the highest rates of cervical cancer in the world is among Peruvian women. With a national incidence rate of 32.7/100,000 population and a mortality rate of 12.0/100,000 population, cervical cancer was the leading cause of cancer-related deaths for Peruvian women between 15-44 years old, according to 2012 data (Luque et al., 2016). In an effort to combat these high cervical cancer rates in Peru, CerviCusco provides affordable healthcare services in a local clinic in Cusco and conducts education and healthcare outreach campaigns throughout the area. Outreach campaigns include prevention efforts free-of-charge by vaccinating under-served youth against Human papillomavirus (HPV) infection and offering screening and diagnostic exams (e.g. pap smears, ultrasounds) to disadvantaged indigenous women in resource-poor areas.

#### **4.1.2 Preliminary data collection: 2017**

In 2017, I worked with Pamela Orpinas, a professor in the College of Public Health at the University of Georgia, in a collaborative data collection project. Dr. Orpinas and I administered needs-assessment questionnaires to patients and their family members in the CerviCusco clinic and during rural outreach campaigns. The primary objectives of the needs-assessment questionnaires were to: (i) identify obstacles that impede women from receiving a pap test, returning to collect test results, and receiving follow-up treatment if necessary, and (ii) identify factors that would encourage parents to ensure their children receive the HPV vaccine. All questionnaires were conducted orally between the researcher (i.e. Pamela Orpinas or me) and the participant and were audio-recorded and transcribed. All participants were given identification numbers, and no personal information was elicited so as to safeguard participants' anonymity. Each transcription was submitted to Pamela Orpinas following our return to the University of Georgia in Athens, Georgia. The content of the questionnaire data was specifically intended for her use in public health research, and I was granted access to all transcriptions as preliminary data for linguistic research.

For monolingual Quechua-speaking participants, I was the sole researcher to administer the questionnaire, which I also transcribed and translated into English for further analysis by Pamela Orpinas.

I administered 18 questionnaires, of which 4 participants were Quechua monolinguals. One recording was unintelligible and was discarded. It was from this 2017 data set that I initially observed Present Perfect/Preterit use that warranted further investigation. Consider the transcription excerpts below, which illustrate Present Perfect/Preterit variation in past temporal contexts:

- (47) *Mm sí me **dijeron** que todo estaba normal, so-solo **he recibido** dos veces nomás, dos. Una: pero eso **ha sido** hace dos años ya.*  
(2017.P15)

‘Mm yes they **told/have told** me that everything was normal, onl–I **(have)** only **received** [it] two times, two. One: but that **has been/was** two years ago now.’ (2017.P15)

- (48) *Le tocaba su control. Por eso **he venido**. Y la do-la señora-doc-la señora recién me **dijo**, ‘Hoy día vamos al Papanicolaou. Vamos’, me **dijo**. ‘¿Y qué cosa es eso?’ le **dije**. ‘Te van a-te van a mirar de tu parte’, me **ha dicho**. ‘Ah, pero estoy menstruando’, le **dije**. ‘Normal’, me **ha dicho**. (2017.P17)*

‘It was time for her birth control. That’s why I **came/have come**. And the doc–the woman–doc–the woman just now **told/has told** me, “Today let’s go to the Pap smear. Let’s go”, she **told/has told** me. “And what thing is that?”, I **told/have told** her. “They’re going to–they’re going to look at your parts”, she **told/has told** me. “Oh, but I’m menstruating”, I **told/have told** her. “It’s normal”, she **told/has told** me.’ (2017.P17)

Of particular interest is the appearance of Present Perfect forms denoting temporally specific past events. In (47) for example, *ha sido* (‘has been’) is collocated with the definite past adverbial *hace dos años* (‘two years ago’). Additionally, (48) exemplifies Present Perfect/Preterit variation within the same temporal context. The compound and simple forms of *decir* (‘to say/tell’) both encode events belonging to the same time frame, that is, that there is no temporal distinction in the use of these forms.

#### 4.1.3 Preliminary data collection: 2018

In the summer of 2018, I was part of a collaborative data collection project with Venice Haynes, then a Ph.D. Candidate in Public Health at the University

of South Carolina. We conducted interviews with community members and healthcare providers in the CerviCusco clinic and during rural outreach campaigns in various locations around the greater Cusco area. Haynes' research objective was to identify sociocultural factors influencing local views and practices in cervical cancer prevention. Her interview questionnaires specifically addressed participants' (i) knowledge of HPV and cervical cancer, (ii) sociocultural influences in receiving healthcare, (iii) social networks, and (iv) preferred formats of communication of health-related topics.

In total, we conducted 41 interviews from three different participant groups: 21 females, 13 males, and 7 CerviCusco clinicians. I conducted each interview in the preferred language of the participant (i.e. Spanish or Quechua), and each interview was audio-recorded. The recording was transcribed and subsequently translated into English for Venice Haynes to use as data in public health research. All participants were given identification numbers, and no personal information was elicited so as to safeguard participants' anonymity.

In exchange for my translation/interpretation services during the data collection process, Haynes granted me access to all recordings and transcriptions to use as data for my linguistic research. Below I provide excerpts from these interviews that showcase speakers' novel uses of the Present Perfect in past temporal contexts and from which I base the current study:

(49) *Justamente yo tengo un problema con mi nuera. En Puerto Maldonado, hace dos semanas atrás le **han sacado** – dice le bajaba descenso – y le **han sacado** una muestra que es un...raspaje—cómo es ese qué examen es—mm, no recuerdo el examen ...Para detectar si tiene cáncer o no. ...Ya. Esa prueba le **han hecho** y le **han encontrado** que tiene cervicitis crónica. (F04, 104-116)*

'Right now I have a problem with my daughter-in-law. In Puerto Maldonado, two weeks back, they **have taken**—they say she was discharging – and they **have taken** a sample which is a...scrape—how is that, what test is it—mm, I don't remember the test...to detect if she has cancer or not. ...Yeah. They **have done** that test on her and they **have found** that she has chronic cervicitis.' (F04, 104-116)

- (50) *Nosotros trabajamos t-tiempo completo. Por ejemplo, ayer salí dos de la mañana y no nos **han dejado** trabajar, porque nos **han botado** el municipal. Y **hemos estado** hasta las seis sin vender nada, y de ahí estoy viniendo.* (Fo7, 43-46)

‘We work f-full time. For example, yesterday I left at two in the morning and they **have** not **let** us work, because they **have kicked** us out of the municipal. And we **have been** until six o’clock without selling anything, and from there I’m coming.’ (Fo7, 43-46)

- (51) *Pero hace poco también yo me hice hacer acá en Coya. También así vienen del extranjero así, ¿no? Y yo fui pagando, fue entonces. Me **han sacado** y me dijo, ‘Vas a regresar tal fecha.’ **He vuelto** a ir porque hay que viajar, y hasta ahorita no tengo el resultado.* (Fo7, 85-88)

‘But a little while ago also I got it done here in Coya. They also come from abroad like this, no? And I went paying, it was then. They **have done** [the pap smear] and she told me, “You’re going to return on such-and-such date.” I **have come back** to go because you have to travel, and as of right now I don’t have the result.’ (Fo7, 85-88)

- (52) *Mm, cáncer he escuchado muchas veces, porque tengo tíos así lejanos que tienen cáncer – al colón había tenido. Y le **han cortado**. Y tiene una bolsa ahora, en Lima.* (Fo7, 129-131)

‘Mm, cancer I’ve heard many times, because I have uncles far away that have cancer—he had had it in his colon. And they **have cut** it out. And he has a bag now, in Lima.’ (Fo7, 129-131)

- (53) Interviewer: *Ah ya, muy bien, muy bien. ¿Alguna vez ha recibido usted una prueba de Papanicolau?*  
 ‘Ah okay, very good, very good. Have you ever received a Pap smear?’
- Participant: *Hmm, sí.*  
 ‘Hmm, yes.’
- Interviewer: *¿Sí? ¿Y cuándo fue eso?*  
 ‘Yes? And when was that?’

Participant: *Hmm. **Ha sido** dos mil once.*  
 ‘Hmm. It **has been** 2011.’

(F09, 26-33)

(54) *Y eso no me **ha gustado** cuando yo **be visto**. Y no me han dado resultado. Y a mí no me habían dicho que es gratis o tienes que pagar. (F09, 89-90)*

‘And I **haven’t liked** that when I **have seen** it. And they haven’t given me the result. And they hadn’t told me if it’s free or you have to pay.’  
 (F09, 89-90)

These excerpts from my preliminary data set from 2018 exemplify innovative use of the PP by speakers of Andean Spanish; the compound past in these examples (in bold) mark temporally specific past events evidenced also by their co-occurrence with definite past adverbials (underlined in the examples above). After extracting all PRET and PP tokens from the 2018 interviews, it was clear methodological improvements needed to be made in order to secure a reliable data set of PP/PRET variation. See the frequency table of the 2018 PP/PRET data set below:

Table 4.1: 2018 PP/PRET Data

	Tokens (#)	%
PP	890	61.9
PRET	548	38.1
Total	1,438	100

A total of 1,438 tokens were extracted from the 2018 interview data set, of which almost 62% were Present Perfect tokens. Although I expected a high percentage of Present Perfect tokens relative to other Latin American varieties of Spanish (e.g. 6% in Argentine Spanish, 15% in Mexican Spanish; see Chapter 2), I believe these frequencies do not reflect Present Perfect/Preterit variation in past temporal contexts. I surmise this high rate of the Present Perfect is explained by the methodological approach of the data collection project. Since the interview questionnaires were designed to ask participants about their previous experiences receiving healthcare services, the discourse heavily involved experiential uses of the Present Perfect, as in (55) below:

- (55) *Ehhh. Tengo muchos conocidos que tienen cáncer. Actualmente. Que **han tenido** cáncer. Mis tías, amigos, personas cercanas. ¿No? Ehh, es una enfermedad, no sé cómo será, nunca **he visto** tampoco (\*se ríe), es más, no-no me acerco mucho a ese ámbito, ¿no? Pero, **he visto** las consecuencias del cáncer. ¿No? de las personas que sufren de cáncer, y el tratamiento también. ¿No? Tienen quimioterapia, radioterapia—o bueno, tienen unas—ehm, no son muy buenas. ¿No? Y que—yo **he visto** en casos de otras personas, que **se han curado** de manera natural. (Fo8, 157-165)*

‘Uhhh. I have many acquaintances that have cancer. Currently. Who **have had** cancer. My aunts, friends, people close to me. No? Uhh, it’s a disease, I don’t know what it would be like, I **have** never **seen** it either (\*laughs), what’s more, I don’t—I don’t approach that field very much, no? But, I **have seen** the consequences of cancer. No?, of people who suffer from cancer, and treatment too. No? They have chemotherapy, radiotherapy—or well, they have some—uhm, they’re not very good. No? And that—I **have seen** in cases of other people, they they **have been cured** in natural ways.’ (Fo8, 157-165)

In this example, the Present Perfect is experiential in that it refers to general, unspecified experiences in the past. As such, this type of Perfect does not compete with the Preterit. A data set of PP/PRET tokens taken from interview discourse that is heavily comprised of this type of Perfect is misleading and would lead to an inaccurate reflection of Present Perfect/Preterit variation. Taking this into account, the data of the current investigation were collected using an interview protocol that elicited narrations of specific past events in participants’ lives. This, and other methodological measures, will be explained in detail in what follows.

## 4.2 Data set of the current study

Section §4.2 characterizes the data sets and methodological procedures applied in the current analysis. Motivated by the aforementioned preliminary observations, the data sets of this investigation are the product of a data collection project in Cusco in 2019. In what follows, I detail the setting (§4.2.1), recruitment operations (§4.2.2), participant demographics (§4.2.3), and data elicitation instruments (§4.2.4) involved in the 2019 data collection project.

### 4.2.1 Setting

The data for the current investigation were elicited in Cusco, Peru during the summer of 2019. This data collection project was conducted jointly with my colleague Sarah Hubbel, a Ph.D. Candidate in Spanish Linguistics at the University of Georgia at the time of writing. We recruited participants in various locations throughout the Region of Cusco. Below is a list of our participant recruitment sites:

Table 4.2: 2019 Recruitment Sites in Cusco Region

Site	District	Province
Town square	Santiago	Cusco
Museo del Café	Cusco	Cusco
Town square	Cusco	Cusco
Residence	Urcos	Quispicanchi
Residence	Santiago	Cusco
Town square	Sicuni	Canchis
Town square	Chinchero	Urubamba
Inkas Garden Hostal	Cusco	Cusco
Real Plaza Mall	Santiago	Cusco
Residence	San Jerónimo	Cusco
Residence	Huancaro	Cusco

### 4.2.2 Recruitment

Participant recruitment was achieved via in-person contact and by word-of-mouth communication through participants' social networks. Sarah Hubbel and I approached community members in local public spaces (e.g. town plazas, marketplaces, parks). Many of the interviews were completed *in situ* upon meeting a participant, taking place on a bench in a nearby plaza, for example. Other questionnaires and/or interviews were administered in participants' homes or in designated locations (e.g. coffee shop, restaurant, local market) and were planned ahead. In all cases, it was the participant who decided when and where they desired to complete the data collection tasks. This was done to ensure participants' comfort and safety and to respect their time, given the impromptu nature of our initial meetings with the participants.

The criteria to participate in the study were the following: the participant (i) must be a native speaker of Spanish and/or Quechua, (ii) must be native to Cusco, Peru, and (iii) must be 18 years of age or older. Any and all individuals who met this criteria and who explicitly expressed interest in participating in the

study were recruited. Anyone who did not meet the criteria or who expressed disinterest was not included in the study.

Participants were given a consent form which explained the purpose of the data collection project (i.e. to collect audio recordings of Spanish and/or Quechua natural speech in the Andean Region) and how the data will be collected. Each participant completed a Language Background Questionnaire (LBQ) and at least one of two data elicitation tasks: (i) a Present Perfect/Preterite (PP/PRET) questionnaire and/or a (ii) sociolinguistic interview. That the data elicitation materials specifically targeted regional PP/PRET variation was not disclosed to the participants to prevent skewing the data. In the case that the participants asked for this information, it was indeed disclosed after the completion of their respective tasks.

The decision of which task(s) would be completed was left up to each participant and the discretion of the researcher. Both tasks were not made compulsory to lighten the work load for the participants. Additionally, not all participants had enough time to complete the tasks, a consequence of on-site, in-person recruitment. Furthermore, because the PP/PRET questionnaire required participants to respond in Spanish, monolingual Quechua speakers who could not complete the questionnaire were only given the sociolinguistic interview. All participants who completed the LBQ and one additional task were compensated 20 Peruvian soles (approximately \$5.48 USD) for their time and participation. Participants who completed a sociolinguistic interview and responded to the PP/PRET questionnaire were compensated 30 Peruvian soles (approximately \$8.21 USD) for their time. Each task will be discussed in detail in section §4.2.4.

### 4.2.3 Participants

From this joint data collection project in 2019, a total of 56 participants completed one, or more, data elicitation tasks. However, the audio-recordings and respective transcriptions used in the current investigation are from the interviews conducted solely by the author (n=43). The data of one participant was discarded, since it was disclosed during the interview that she grew up in Buenos Aires, Argentina before moving to Cusco. Consequently, her speech featured characteristics of Porteño Spanish (e.g. voseo, sheísmo) and did not reflect linguistic features of the Andean Spanish variety. A second participant's PP/PRET questionnaire data was discarded because she was a resident of Lima visiting Cusco on vacation.

In the current investigation, there are 41 participants: 15 completed the PP/PRET questionnaire, 17 completed the audio-recorded sociolinguistic interview, and 9 completed both data elicitation tasks.<sup>29</sup> The tables below display

<sup>29</sup> For a complete list of participants' demographic profiles, see Appendix B.

the breakdown of participants' demographic information according to their sex (male/female), language use (monolingual/bilingual), and place of residence (urban/rural), for each data elicitation task:

Table 4.3: Participant Demographics of Questionnaire Data

	Monolinguals (Spanish)	Bilinguals (Quechua-Spanish)	Total
Males	3	4	7
Urban	3	3	6
Rural	0	1	1
Females	2	15	17
Urban	2	13	15
Rural	0	2	2
Total	5	19	24

Table 4.4: Participant Demographics of Interview Data

	Monolinguals (Spanish)	Bilinguals (Quechua-Spanish)	Total
Males	4	8	12
Urban	3	5	8
Rural	1	3	4
Females	2	12	14
Urban	1	7	8
Rural	1	5	6
Total	6	20	26

### Sex

Of the 24 participants who completed the PP/PRET questionnaire, 7 self-identified as 'male' in the LBQ, and the remaining 17 self-identified as 'female', as indicated in Table 4.3. For the interview data set, 12 participants self-identified as 'male', and 14 indicated they were 'female' (Table 4.4).

### Monolinguals/Bilinguals

Of the 41 participants, 31 indicated they were bilingual, and 10 indicated they were monolingual Spanish speakers. Participants were classified as 'monolingual' or 'bilingual' according to self-reported information personally communicated

to the researcher. As displayed in Table 4.3, five of the 24 participants who completed the PP/PRET questionnaire were monolingual Spanish speakers. The remaining 19 participants were bilingual Quechua-Spanish speakers. For the interview data set, six participants were monolingual Spanish speakers, and the remaining 20 were Quechua-Spanish bilinguals (Table 4.4).

### Language Dominance Score

To complement participants' self-reported classifications as monolingual or Quechua-Spanish bilingual, participants were ascribed a Language Dominance Score (LDS). The purpose of this score was to quantitatively represent participants' self-reported language dominance and, particularly in the case of bilinguals, to offer a measurable indication of their language dominance in Spanish and Quechua. This score was calculated using participants' responses in sections III and IV of the LBQ (see Appendix C). Section III of the LBQ examined participants' current language use and contained the following four questions: (1) *What language(s) do you use with your friends?* (2) *What language(s) do you use with your family?* (3) *What language(s) do you use at school/work?* (4) *In what language do you think?* The response options of these four questions were scored in the following way: (a) *only Quechua*: -2 points, (b) *mostly Quechua*: -1 point, (c) *both equally*: 0 points, (d) *mostly Spanish*: 1 point, (e) *only Spanish*: 2 points.

In section IV, three questions addressed participants' language proficiency. First, participants were asked to rate their current overall language abilities in Spanish and Quechua on a scale of 0-5: 0 = *I cannot understand, nor can I speak*, 1 = *I understand but I cannot speak at all*, 2 = *I understand but it is very hard for me to speak*, 3 = *I understand but it is a little hard for me to speak*, 4 = *I understand and I speak fine with little difficulty*, 5 = *I understand and speak very well without any problems, as a native speaker*. In terms of scoring, participants' ratings for Quechua proficiency were converted into negative integers (i.e. scale = -5 to 0). The third question in Section IV was: *In general, what language do you prefer?*, to which participants circled one of the following options (whose scores are provided in parenthesis): *Spanish* (1 point), *Quechua* (-1 point), *both* (0 points), *no preference* (0 points).

The response scores in Sections III and IV were added together for a possible range of -14 to +14. This number was divided by two for simplicity and offered a smaller range (i.e. -7 to +7). The resulting number was used as the participant's LDS. A score of -7 indicated full Quechua dominance/monolingualism, and +7 indicated full Spanish dominance/monolingualism. The histogram be-

low displays the distribution of participants' language dominance scores in the questionnaire and interview data subsets:

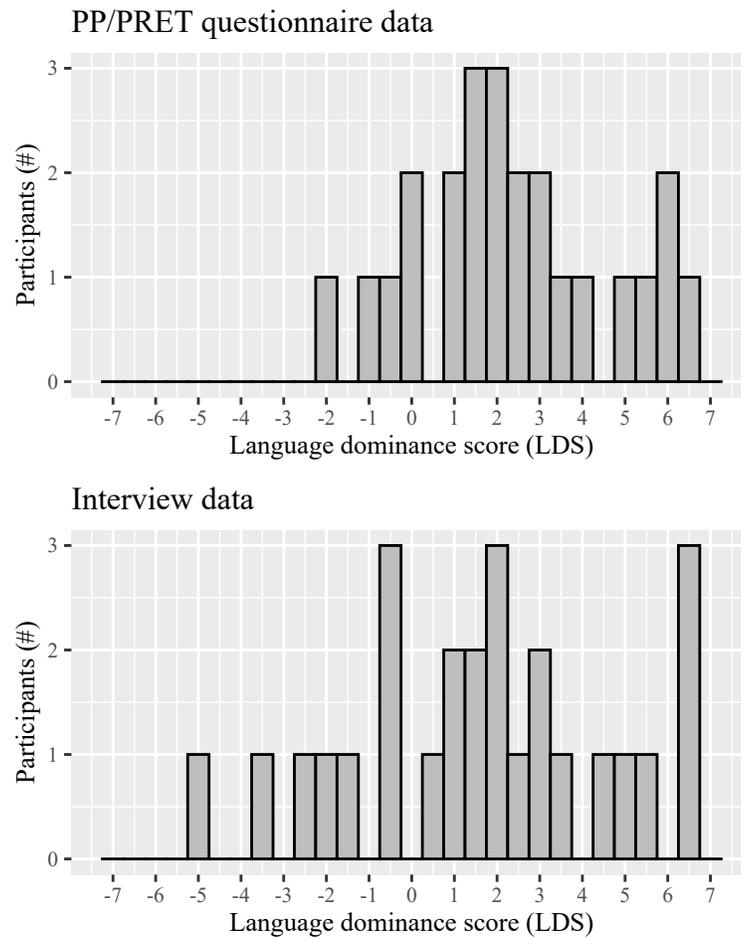


Figure 4.1: Distribution of Participants' Language Dominance

As indicated in the histograms above, most of the participants were Spanish-dominant ( $LDS > 0$ ). Of the 24 participants in the PP/PRET questionnaire data subset, there were 5 Quechua-dominant participants ( $LDS < 0$ ). Considering the lowest LDS was -2, it should be noted that the most Quechua-dominant participant was still competent in Spanish and would not be considered a Quechua monolingual given these results. The remaining 19 participants were Spanish-dominant with scores ranging from 1 to 6.5. Five of the 19 Spanish-dominant participants had previously indicated that they were Spanish monolinguals. Although the 'monolingual' participants' LDS scores indicate they are not fully monolingual, being lower than 7, this discrepancy is due to the difference in reporting: whereas participants self-identified as being 'monolingual' or 'bilingual', the LDS score was calculated by the interviewer and replicated

for each participant, resulting in a more consistent representation of speakers' language use. Additionally, the 5 'monolingual' speakers indeed had the highest LDSs overall, ranging from 5 to 6.5, which suggests their Spanish use was indeed the most dominant, likely to the point of considering oneself a monolingual speaker, compared to all the other participants.

For the 26 interview participants, the LDS range (-5 to 6.5) was slightly larger overall. Eight interview participants were Quechua-dominant with their LDSs ranging from -0.5 to -5. Again, most participants were Spanish-dominant (LDS ranging from 0.5 to 6.5). Six of the 18 Spanish-dominant participants indicated that they were Spanish monolinguals prior to completing the LBQ. Again, although the measure of participants' language dominance as per the LBQ calculation indicates these speakers are not fully monolingual, they indeed had the highest LDSs, ranging from 4.5 to 6.5.

### **Place of residence**

The urban/rural classification was determined according to participants' responses to the question *Where do you live?* in the LBQ. Participants who indicated they live outside the Province of Cusco were classified as 'rural'. Participants who indicated they reside anywhere within the Province of Cusco were classified as 'urban'. In the PP/PRET questionnaire data subset, 21 participants were from urban areas, and 3 participants were from rural areas (Table 4.3). For the interview data, 16 participants were from urban areas, and 10 participants were from rural areas (Table 4.4).

### **Age**

Of the 41 participants from both data elicitation tasks, ages ranged from 18-72 years old. Age groupings differed between data elicitation tasks due to the disparate distribution of participants' ages in each task. For the PP/PRET questionnaire data, participants were divided across three age groups: 'youth' 18-22 years old (n=9), 'adults' 23-32 years old (n=10), and 'middle aged' 33-55 years old (n=5; Table 4.5). Concerning the interview data, participants were divided into the following four categories: 'youth' 18-21 years old (n=7), 'adults' 22-30 years old (n=7), 'middle aged' 31-50 years old (n=7), and 'older' 51+ years old (n=5; Table 4.6).

Table 4.5: Participant Age Groups of Questionnaire Data

Age group	Males	Females	Total
Youth (18-22 yrs.)	4	5	9
Adults (23-32 yrs.)	2	8	10
Middle Aged (33-55 yrs.)	1	4	5
Total	7	17	24

Table 4.6: Participant Age Groups of Interview Data

Age group	Males	Females	Total
Youth (18-21 yrs.)	4	3	7
Adults (22-30 yrs.)	3	4	7
Middle Aged (31-50 yrs.)	3	4	7
Older (51+ yrs.)	2	3	5
Total	12	14	26

## Education

Participants' education levels were recorded from their responses to Question 5, *What is the highest level of education that you've reached?*, in Section I of the LBQ, which recorded participants' biographical information. The categorization of education level was determined according to whether participants received at least one year of the education level. For example, an individual who completed at least one year of high school was classified as having a 'secondary' level of education<sup>30</sup>. The 'post-secondary' classification subsumes various post-secondary education options (i.e. technical school, institute, college/university). Tables 4.7 and 4.8 display participants' education levels across place of residence for each data elicitation task:

<sup>30</sup> Given that 'secondary school' in the U.S. refers to high school levels, and 'escuela secundaria' in Latin America is equivalent to middle school grades in the U.S., participants' education levels were elicited with an open question in the LBQ to prevent confusion: *¿Cuál es el nivel de educación más alto que Ud. ha alcanzado?*

Table 4.7: Participant Education Levels of Questionnaire Data

Education level	Rural	Urban	Total
Primary	0	0	0
Secondary	1	9	10
Post-secondary	2	11	13
No response	0	1	1
Total	3	21	24

Table 4.8: Participant Education Levels of Interview Data

Education level	Rural	Urban	Total
None	0	1	1
Primary	2	0	2
Secondary	2	3	5
Post-secondary	6	12	18
Total	10	16	26

In the PP/PRET questionnaire data set, most of the participants (13 of 24) completed at least one year of post-secondary education. Ten participants completed at least one year of secondary school, and one participant did not provide a response in their LBQ, because of which their education level was classified as ‘No response’. In the sociolinguistic interview data set, most of the participants (18 of 26) completed at least one year of post-secondary education. Five participants completed at least one year of secondary education, two participants completed at least one year of primary school, and one participant received no formal education.

### Shortcomings in participant data

The unequal distribution of participants across factors groups (i.e. language dominance, sex, residence, age) is a limitation for the current study. This discrepancy is rooted in the spontaneous nature of the fieldwork in Cusco, in which data elicitation is principally dependent upon individuals’ willingness and availability to engage with the researcher(s) and participate in the study of their own accord.

An additional obstacle for obtaining a representative distribution of participants across data sets is the high non-literacy rates, typically among Quechua-dominant bilinguals or Quechua monolinguals in rural areas (INEI, 2018). A methodological weakness in the current study is that, by using written tasks (i.e. LBQ, PP/PRET questionnaire) when dealing with potentially non-literate populations, literate populations will be favored. In this case, literate populations are generally Spanish-dominant bilinguals and Spanish monolinguals in urban areas (INEI, 2018). Although the LBQ and PP/PRET questionnaire were conducted orally for non-literate participants who chose to participate, I observed that they had a more difficult time completing the tasks than formally educated participants. This difficulty in completing the tasks could be due to a number of reasons: there is mutual unintelligibility between researcher and participant due to L1 and/or L2 differences; the degree of cognitive processing is

greater for Quechua-dominant bilinguals completing tasks in Spanish than for Spanish-dominant bilinguals; and/or the question-answer format of the written tasks resemble assessments used in formal education, an experience to which non-literate populations are generally not exposed.

Further shortcomings of the participant data come from the way in which it is entirely self-reported and lacks more objective measures that minimize influence of subjective reflection (e.g. sentence repetition task, lexical diversity scores, lexical recall, grammatical judgment tasks, read-aloud speed). Despite these (and undoubtedly, other) limitations, my intention for the current study holds: this project will contribute to our dynamic understanding of past temporal reference by monolingual and bilingual Andean Spanish speakers in Peru. Additionally, in recognizing the methodological weaknesses of this study, I hope they can be addressed and reconciled in future studies that execute fieldwork research, particularly of minority language speakers and in rural areas.

#### **4.2.4 Data elicitation instruments**

Three data elicitation instruments were used throughout the data collection process: a Language Background Questionnaire (LBQ), a Present Perfect/Preterit Questionnaire, and a semi-structured sociolinguistic interview. The LBQ was useful for retrieving participants' demographic profiles, which was necessary to examine whether PP behavior is influenced by extra-linguistic factors. The PP/PRET Questionnaire provided a means by which subjective uses of the PP could be operationalized and detected. The interviews elicited natural speech in Spanish and Quechua, whereby PP/PRET variation could be examined in Spanish, and past temporal verbal morphology could be examined in Quechua more generally. An additional advantage of the interview was that the Spanish and Quechua speech data were elicited in the same discursive context, that is, oral narratives of personal experiences. Each of the three instruments are detailed below.

##### **Language Background Questionnaire (LBQ)**

According to Gertken et al., 2014, language assessment of bilinguals, in contrast to that of L2 learners in the classroom, warrants an evaluation of their language dominance, rather than language proficiency. Whereas the latter refers to speakers' linguistic abilities against standardized and/or educated norms of language use (Leclercq and Edmonds, 2014), language dominance is 'a multifaceted, gradient and dynamic construct that includes but is not equivalent to language proficiency' (Gertken et al., 2014, p. 210). Due to the non-literacy rates

that characterize bilinguals in the Andean highlands, particularly Quechua-dominant bilinguals, it was not my objective to examine participants' literacy-related modalities (i.e. reading, writing). Moreover, proficiency-related scales of language assessment (i.e. American Council on the Teaching of Foreign Languages (ACTFL), Common European Framework of Reference for Languages (CEFR)) measure proficiency of language learners and are based on the formal classroom setting. This type of assessment is problematic for measuring native monolingual and bilingual speakers' language dominance in the current study.

Accordingly, instead of administering a proficiency assessment, participants' initial task was to complete a Language Background Questionnaire (see Appendix C), which was greatly influenced by Montrul's (2012) *Bilingual background questionnaire for Spanish/English speakers*<sup>31</sup> and Birdsong et al.'s (2012) Bilingual Language Profile (BLP). The BLP is a self-reported questionnaire that assesses language dominance in bilinguals in three components: (i) competence, (ii) processing ability, and (iii) language attitudes. In particular, the LBQ addressed five areas of speakers' language background: (i) biographical information, (ii) language history, (iii) current language use, (iv) language proficiency, and (v) language attitudes. Participants recorded their answers in the LBQ document. Non-literate participants were administered the questionnaire orally by the researcher.

<sup>31</sup> This bilingual background questionnaire was retrieved from UCLA's National Heritage Language Resource Center, <https://nhlrc.ucla.edu/nhlrc/research#researchproficiency>

### **Present Perfect / Preterit (PP/PRET) Questionnaire**

The purpose of the PP/PRET questionnaire (see Appendix C) was to measure whether a connection between a speaker and an event played a role in PP/PRET distribution in Cusco Spanish. In the questionnaire instructions, participants were asked to imagine themselves in various hypothetical, contextualized situations and circle the verb form (i.e. Preterit or Present Perfect) that they felt best completed each statement. Next, participants were asked to indicate (i) the degree of each situation's impact on the person(s) or object(s) involved in the contextualized situation (*there is no impact, slightly impactful, impactful, completely impactful*) and (ii) the degree of familiarity between the situation and the participant's personal experiences (*not familiar, slightly familiar, familiar, very familiar*). An example of a hypothetical contextualized situation is provided below:

**Situación 5:** Cada año su familia entera se junta y come mucho para celebrar Inti Raymi. Sus hermanos no pueden asistir este año. Cuando Ud. les habla la semana siguiente, ellos le piden detalles de la reunión.

Ud. les cuenta, “Papá (preparó / ha preparado) papa a la huatia.”

GRADO DEL IMPACTO: no hay ningún impacto / poco impactante / impactante / completamente impactante

¿QUÉ TAN FAMILIAR ES UNA SITUACIÓN PARECIDA?:  
no es familiar / poco familiar / familiar / muy familiar

**Situation 5:** Every year your entire family gets together and eats a lot to celebrate Inti Raymi. Your siblings can't attend this year. When they talk to you the following week, they ask you for details of the gathering.

You tell them, “Dad (prepared / has prepared) *papa a la huatia*.”

DEGREE OF IMPACT: there is no impact / slightly impactful / impactful / completely impactful

HOW FAMILIAR IS A SIMILAR SITUATION?:  
not familiar / slightly familiar / familiar / very familiar

There were 30 hypothetical situations, each of which encoded two variables that I use to calculate *Emotive Proximity* (EP). This term is inspired by the work of Escobar (1997) and Howe (2013) and used in the current project to describe the emotional connection between the speaker and a past event. The two variables encoded in each question were: (i) the speaker's relationship with the person or entity affected in the situation, and (ii) the anticipated emotional impact of each event. The 30 hypothetical situations were divided into five groups of six questions, according to the speaker's (i.e. the participant's) relationship with the person or entity affected in the situation as indicated explicitly in each context. Each situation's 'affected entity' was related to the speaker (i.e. the participant) with varying degrees of closeness, which are, in descending order: self > family/loved one > friend/acquaintance > stranger > non-human. Secondly, each group of six questions was coded for the emotional impact that I anticipated to exist in the hypothetical situation: small > moderate > great. Table 4.9 displays

the organizational structure of the 30 contextualized hypothetical situations according to the variables mentioned.

Table 4.9: Distribution of Hypothetical Situations in PP/PRET Questionnaire

Affected Entity	# of Questions
Self	6
Small impact	2
Moderate impact	2
Great impact	2
Family/loved one	6
Small impact	2
Moderate impact	2
Great impact	2
Acquaintance	6
Small impact	2
Moderate impact	2
Great impact	2
Stranger	6
Small impact	2
Moderate impact	2
Great impact	2
Non-human	6
Small impact	2
Moderate impact	2
Great impact	2
Total	30

The anticipated degree of impact that each event had on the speaker was based on my own judgments. To account for this subjective interpretation, each participant was also asked to indicate the degree of impact that each situation had, of which their options were: *there is no impact*, *slightly impactful*, *impactful*, *completely impactful*. I hypothesized that situations which are more impactful to the speaker will be marked with the Present Perfect. Additionally, I hypothesized situations in which the affected entity is more closely related to the self will be marked with the Present Perfect. These hypotheses lie in the premise that the Peruvian Andean Present Perfect encodes subjective proximity between a speaker and a past temporal event (Escobar, 1994; Howe, 2013; Jara Yupanqui, 2013; García Tesoro and Jang, 2018). The contextualized situations were randomized, by performing a random sort via the `RAND()` function in

<sup>32</sup> It is worth mentioning that present and imperfect tenses are commonly used for backgrounding in narratives, and the preterit is used to signal the beginning of the action of a story. It is possible that there may be an effect of narrative structure on the data: use of the Present to contextualize the situations may have primed selection of the Preterit.

Excel, to prevent priming effects. Also, in order to control for temporal proximity, it was explicit in each contextualized situation that the event in question occurred one week prior to the moment of speaking. Moreover, all verb forms in the contextualized situations were provided in the present tense to further prevent priming effects in PP/PRET selection<sup>32</sup>.

After selecting each verb form and rating the degree of impact of each situation, participants were also asked to indicate how familiar the contextualized role-play situation was in their own lives. Their optional responses were: *not familiar, slightly familiar, familiar, very familiar*. I initially included this question to examine whether participants' familiarity with a given event was relevant to Emotive Proximity. Although the current project does not explore this factor at great length, I aim to examine it in future studies of PP/PRET variation, especially as it relates to the role of Emotive Proximity in the use of the Present Perfect.

For participants who (i) expressed interest in completing the questionnaire and (ii) disclosed that they had difficulties reading and/or writing, the investigator administered the questionnaire to the participant by reading aloud each context and optional responses. Participants indicated their responses orally to the investigator, who recorded each response in the questionnaire document accordingly. Overall, there were 717 responses from the 24 participants: 259 tokens of PP selection (36%) and 458 tokens of PRET selection (64%).

### **Sociolinguistic interviews**

The sociolinguistic interviews were conducted using an interview protocol (see Appendix C) which consisted of various questions that elicited personal accounts of past experiences (e.g. childbirth, a frustrating day at work, a happy memory with parents, a moment of illness). For monolingual Spanish participants, the interview was conducted in Spanish. For bilingual participants, the interview was conducted two times, once in Spanish and once in Quechua. To control for priming effects of verbal production due to the order in which the interviews took place (i.e. the first interview in Spanish, the second interview in Quechua, or vice versa), the language in which the interview was conducted first alternated for each participant. Each interview was audio-recorded using a digital voice recorder and saved as a .wav file. The purpose of conducting the same interview in both languages by the same speaker was to capture Quechua and Spanish iterations of the same narrative. This intra-speaker bilingual data will be invaluable as I seek to compare whether Preterite/Present Perfect variation in Andean Spanish is influenced by past temporal reference in Quechua.

Each audio-recorded interview was first segmented and transcribed using ELAN software<sup>33</sup>. From these transcriptions, I manually extracted all tokens of PRET and PP forms, broadly circumscribing the envelope of variation similar to the work of Schwenter and Torres Cacoullós (2008). In doing so, all meanings that exist along the perfect-to-perfective grammaticalization path of development (i.e. Aoristic Drift) are captured in the current analysis for comparison's sake, ranging anywhere from resultative to perfective meanings of the simple and compound past forms.

<sup>33</sup> ELAN is a professional annotation tool created by The Language Archive at the Max Planck Institute for Psycholinguistics, retrieved from <https://archive.mpi.nl/ta/elan>

In line with the multivariate analyses of Schwenter and Torres Cacoullós (2008) and Rodríguez Louro (2016), phrasal preterits (i.e. copula/intransitive verb + gerund) were not considered in the current investigation in order to prevent data analysis problems. Consider the example from my data set below:

- (56) *Eh, en Día de la Madre yo—cuando **estuve estudiando** ya aquí en Cusco hace dos años atrás*  
 ‘Uh, on Mother’s Day I—when I **was studying** here in Cusco two years back’  
 (Participant #18, lines 62-65)

Phrasal verbs of this type pose a particular challenge for lexical aspect coding; it remains unclear whether the conjugated form or gerund should be coded for lexical aspect. The presence of a gerund can also manipulate lexical-aspectual flavors, adding progressive or imperfective notions to the predicate, for example (Rodríguez Louro, 2016).

Also not included in the data set were ambiguous verb forms. Given that the inflectional morphology of regular *-ar* and *-ir* verbs in the IPL Present Indicative is identical to that of the IPL Preterit (see (57)), instances of this sort were not considered for analysis.

- (57) *Y allí este, me, hablé con una amiga y me dice, ‘Sí, tú vas a ingresar a docencia’, y **nos acercamos** al grupo y **comenzamos** a saludar y allí lo vi a mi esposo, la primera vez.*  
 ‘And there uhm, to me, I spoke with a friend and she says to me, “Yeah, you’re going to enroll in teaching,” and we **approach/approached** the group and we **start/started** to wave and there I saw my husband, the first time.’  
 (Participant #03, lines 774-777)

Overall, there were 3,645 tokens in the interview data set: 1,114 PP (31%) and 2,531 PRET (69%). Compared to the selection rates of the questionnaire data set, in which PP/PRET selection rates were 36%/64% (n=259/n=458), the rate of PP use was slightly lower in the oral data than in the questionnaire data. Additionally, compared to the preliminary data set of 2018 (§4.1.3), the PP/PRET

distribution in the interview data was much lower. Most of the tokens in the preliminary data set were PP (61%, n=890), while only 38% were PRET tokens (n=548). Again, I gather this discrepancy is due to differences in data collection procedures. Whereas the interviews of the current data set asked participants to relate personal past experiences, the interview questions of the preliminary data set asked participants about any previous experiences receiving healthcare services, eliciting heavy use of experiential Perfects as a result.

### 4.3 Data Analysis

In what follows, I discuss the methodological procedures of the current study. I begin by revisiting the research questions and accompany them with corresponding hypotheses. Additionally, I provide a detailed account of how the data elicitation instruments (i.e. LBQ, PP/PRET questionnaire, and interview), coding procedures, and analytical methods are utilized to test each hypothesis.

#### 4.3.1 Data coding & analysis: Research Question 1

The research questions of the current investigation were introduced in the first chapter. The first research question treated the quantitative distribution of PP/PRET in Andean Spanish. It is repeated here for convenience:

**Research Question 1:** What is the overall distribution of PP/PRET among monolingual and bilingual speakers from Cusco, Peru, and how do these findings compare to previous research of PP/PRET use in Peru?

In response to the first part of this research question (i.e. what is the overall distribution among monolinguals and bilinguals), I pose the following null and alternative hypotheses:

**Null Hypothesis 1(a):** There is no difference in overall rates of PP use between monolingual and bilingual speakers from Cusco, Peru. Therefore, there will be no difference in PP rates between monolingual and bilingual participants in the current study.

**Alternative Hypothesis 1(a):** Overall rates of PP use by monolingual and bilingual speakers of Andean Spanish are different. Therefore, PP use will be lower among monolinguals than among bilinguals in the current study. Additionally, I anticipate there will be differences in PP use across bilinguals according to the scale of language dominance: the more Quechua-dominant a speaker is, the higher their rate of PP use will be; the more Spanish-dominant a speaker is, the lower their rate of PP use will be.

The questionnaire and interview data both provide insight into the overall distribution of PP/PRET use in past temporal contexts by monolinguals and bilinguals, as well as more broadly by bilingual speakers with varying degrees of language dominance. I compare monolinguals' and bilinguals' rates of PP/PRET selection in the questionnaire data set and determine whether there is a statistically significant difference between their PP/PRET rates using an independent, one-tailed *t*-test<sup>34</sup>.

<sup>34</sup> The *t*-test was performed using the *t.test* function in R.

Additionally, participants' LDSs were calculated from their responses in the LBQ, as previously mentioned (see *Language Dominance Score* in §4.2.3). Participants were then grouped according to their LDSs in each data set following the divisions shown in Table 4.10:

Table 4.10: LDS groups by data subset

LDS Group	Questionnaire Data (n=24)		Interview Data (n=26)	
	Scale	# Speakers	Scale	# Speakers
LDS 1	$-2 \leq \text{LDS} \leq 0$	5	$\text{LDS} < 0$	8
LDS 2	$0 < \text{LDS} \leq 2$	8	$0 \leq \text{LDS} < 3$	9
LDS 3	$2 < \text{LDS} \leq 4$	6	$3 \leq \text{LDS}$	9
LDS 4	$4 < \text{LDS}$	5	–	–

LDS groupings differed between data elicitation tasks due to the varying distribution of participants' LDSs in each task. Using these LDS groups and overall PP rates in the questionnaire and interview data sets, I test my first hypothesis (i.e. higher rates of the Present Perfect will be observed among more Quechua-dominant speakers, and vice versa) by determining whether there exists a statistically significant correlation between participants' LDSs and their respective PP rates. This will be achieved using a parametric one-way ANOVA test in R (R Core Team, 2016). Additionally, given the small sample size of speakers in each LDS group of both data sets, I will examine more broadly the correlations, if any, between all participants' PP rates and their individual LDSs. In particular, this will be determined by the correlation coefficients, calculated via the *cor* function in R, the statistical significance of which will be determined by a test for association via the *cor.test* function.

In the PP/PRET questionnaires, I anticipate the Quechua-dominant participants will select PP forms at a rate higher than the Spanish-dominant participants. Likewise, in the interviews, I expect that higher PP rates will be produced among Quechua-dominant participants than Spanish-dominant participants. These predictions are grounded in previous research attributing high rates and nonstandard uses of the Andean PP to Quechua influence (see for example Klee

and Ocampo, 1995; Escobar, 1997; Rojas Sosa, 2008; Dumont, 2013). In particular, if it is the case that innovative PP behavior is rooted in Spanish-Quechua contact in the Andes (Rojas Sosa, 2008, p. 271), and bilingualism is the ‘key mechanism’ of contact-induced change by which novel features extend into monolingual speech (Dumont, 2013, p. 282), we would expect more instances of PP use from bilinguals than monolinguals.

Concerning the second part of Research Question 1 (i.e. how does PP/PRET distribution in Cusco compare to that of previous research of Peruvian Spanish), I offer a second null and alternative hypothesis:

**Null Hypothesis 1(b):** PP use in Andean Peru (i.e. Cusco) is comparable to that of non-Andean Peru (i.e. Lima, 27%, according to Caravedo, 1989). Therefore, PP rates in the current data sets will be comparable to 27%.

**Alternative Hypothesis 1(b):** PP use in Andean Peru (i.e. Cusco) are higher than that of non-Andean Peru (i.e. Lima, 27%, according to Caravedo, 1989). Therefore, PP rates in the current data sets will be higher than 27%.

It has been widely observed in previous research that in terms of distributional differences across Spanish varieties, the overall use of the PP in Andean Spanish is higher than that of other Latin American varieties. I predict that the rate of PP over PRET will be higher than what has been observed previously in Peruvian Spanish (approximately 27%, according to Caravedo, 1989), since Caravedo’s (1989) approximation comes from Limeño Spanish. Given that the sample population of the current study includes mostly bilinguals and exclusively examines speakers from an Andean—therefore, a contact—area, I expect participants will use the PP at a higher rate than what we would expect from their coastal counterparts.

Given the controlled, artificial nature of the questionnaires, these data do not sufficiently contribute to a cross-dialectal comparison of PP/PRET distribution. The instrument that is most useful in testing the second hypothesis of Research Question 1 is the sociolinguistic interview. Upon coding PP and PRET tokens in the interview data set, the ratio of PP/PRET use will be calculated and compared to rates observed in previous research.

### 4.3.2 Data coding & analysis: Research Question 2

In line with Howe’s (2013) claim that there exist variable mechanisms of change in periphrastic past development in Spanish, I aim to shed light on the unique behavior of the Peruvian Andean PP compared to other Spanish varieties. Whereas

PP development in non-Andean Spanish varieties appears to be conditioned largely by temporal-aspectual constraints, albeit in variable ways (see for example Schwenter, 1994; Schwenter and Torres Cacoullos, 2008; Rodríguez Louro, 2016), I suspect the conditioning factors of the Andean PP are distinct. Along these lines, the second research question of the current investigation, repeated below, seeks to identify conditioning factors of PP use in the current data set:

**Research Question 2:** What are the language-internal and language-external factors that determine regional PP/PRET use, and how do they condition its distribution?

In response to this research question, I put forth the following null and alternative hypotheses:

**Null Hypothesis 2:** Peruvian Andean PP/PRET distribution is comparable to at least one other Spanish variety (e.g. late stages of grammaticalization in Peninsular Spanish; early stages of grammaticalization in Latin American Spanish). Therefore, PP use in the current data sets will be comparatively sensitive to temporal-aspectual conditioning factors.

**Alternative Hypothesis 2:** Peruvian Andean PP/PRET distribution is uniquely conditioned. Specifically, I hypothesize the Cusco PP is developing along a path of subjectivization, an internal process that I presume is triggered and accelerated by language contact with Quechua. Therein, I postulate PP/PRET distribution in the current data sets will be governed accordingly:

- (i) PP/PRET distribution will show sensitivity toward, but not an outright conditioning by, temporal-aspectual factors of the traditional simple and compound past dichotomy (e.g. temporal reference, adverbials, lexical aspect, telicity);
- (ii) The PP will be favored by notions of speaker subjectivity (e.g. 1st person grammatical subjects, close Emotive Proximity).

I suspect the perfect in the data sets will comply with temporal-aspectual restrictions to a certain extent, given that it must inevitably show signs of its original behavior, regardless of whether it is generalizing into something more (Schwenter and Torres Cacoullos, 2008). However, I predict the PP will also behave distinctively, given previous claims that Andean PP/PRET distribution is undergoing the process of subjectivization (Howe, 2013; Jara Yupanqui, 2013; García Tesoro and Jang, 2018). Therefore, I anticipate the PP will display sensitivities to epistemic, speaker-subjective notions (i.e. emotionally proximal events, 1st person grammatical subjects).

According to García Tesoro and Jang (2018), whose analysis hinges on contact-induced grammaticalization (see Heine, 1994; Kuteva, 2000; Heine and Kuteva, 2003) and the theory that perfect forms grammaticalize toward evidentiality (see Aikhenvald, 2004; Bermúdez Wachtmeister, 2005), innovative Andean PP use is ‘motivated by contact with Quechua, which triggers linguistic change and accelerates its evolution in the process of grammaticalization of forms of the perfect towards evidentiality’ (p. 94). Likewise, I maintain the position that contact-induced language change and internal development are not mutually exclusive processes and therefore explore possible internal and external forces in the same study.

Although the claim that the Andean PP behaves uniquely is not a novel one (see for example Klee and Ocampo, 1995; Sánchez, 2004; Escobar, 2007; Rojas Sosa, 2008; Howe, 2013; García Tesoro and Jang, 2018), the current analysis is the first of its kind, to my knowledge, to operationalize a subjective, emotional connection between a speaker and an event in PP/PRET variation. This is achieved in the questionnaire instrument, which measures an Emotive Proximity (EP) score. Additionally, I explore possible conditioning effects of other linguistic and extra-linguistic factors via a regression analysis on PP/PRET distribution in the interview data. The regression analysis uses a logistic regression model with mixed effects in R.

Despite the fact that the current investigation differs from previous studies of PP/PRET variation in terms of the specific inferential statistical approach (i.e. Schwenter and Torres Cacoullós (2008) and Copple (2011) performed variable rule analysis with GoldVarb X; Dumont (2013) performed variable rule analysis with Rbrul; Rodríguez Louro (2016) performed chi-squared analysis), it partly replicates previous variationist research by including linguistic variables that were examined in previous studies, to ensure comparability. The following subsections address each extra-linguistic and linguistic variable included in the current project as well as their conditioning effects on canonical uses of the PP/PRET opposition.

### **Extra-linguistic variables in the LBQ**

As for the extra-linguistic factors conditioning PP selection, all participants, regardless of the task(s) they completed, were coded for the following extra-linguistic variables via their responses in the LBQ: (i) age, (ii) sex (male/female), (iii) mono-/bilingual, (iv) education level (none, primary, secondary, or post-secondary), (v) language dominance score (-7 to +7), and (vi) residence (rural/urban).

I anticipate PP rates will be higher among participants whose demographic characteristics are generally correlated with Quechua-dominance. These characteristics include low (vs. high) education levels, older (vs. younger) populations, and speakers in rural (vs. urban) areas. I suspect the strongest correlation pertinent to PP use and extra-linguistic factors will exist between the rate of PP use and participants' LDSs: the more Quechua-dominant a speaker is, the higher their PP use will be. Since the inclusion of LDS as a variable is unique to the current investigation, I will be unable to compare the results to previous findings. However, the other extra-linguistic variables are comparable to the ones examined in previous variationist studies and therefore will inform Research Question 2 regarding which extra-linguistic factors, if any, condition PP use.

### **Variables in the PP/PRET questionnaire**

As previously discussed, each hypothetical situation in the PP/PRET questionnaire was assigned an EP score, which was calculated in terms of (i) the relationship between an affected entity and the speaker, and (ii) the degree or magnitude of an event's impact. I anticipate that an increase in the EP score of a situation will have a favoring effect on PP selection.

Furthermore, in examining 'affected entity-speaker relationship' and 'degree of impact' separately, I predict PP selection will be higher in contexts in which the relationship of the affected entity is closer to the self (e.g. self, family/loved one) and lower in contexts in which the relationship is more distant (e.g. stranger, nonhuman). That is to say, as the proximity of the relationship between the affected entity and the 'self' (i.e. participant) increases, PP selection will increase. Additionally, I anticipate that PP selection will be higher in contexts in which the degree of impact is greater and lower in contexts in which the degree of impact is lower. That is, as the degree of impact increases, the selection rate of PP will increase.

A third factor examined in the PP/PRET questionnaire that was related to an emotional link between speaker and event, although it was not used to calculate the EP score, is the 'degree of familiarity' that existed between the speaker and an event. I suspect familiarity is pertinent to emotional proximity, such that the more familiar an event is to a speaker, the more likely they are to feel an emotional or psychological closeness to it. I predict this is especially true when dealing with impactful events. I suspect that highly impactful events which have also been personally experienced by the participant will evoke an emotional connection between the speaker and past event and will therefore favor PP selection. Although the questionnaire data set was coded for this factor,

the current project does not focus on it. I will provide preliminary findings, but a deeper analysis of this factor is reserved for future exploration.

### **Linguistic variables in the interview data**

Whereas the language-internal conditioning factors examined in the PP/PRET questionnaire data were related to Emotive Proximity, the interview data was coded for linguistic variables explored in previous studies. As such, my findings regarding these variables will be compared against previous studies. Each token was coded according to the following eight linguistic variables: (i) clause type, (ii) sentence type, (iii) polarity, (iv) lexical aspect, (v) temporal reference, (vi) temporal adverbial, (vii) direct object number, and (viii) grammatical subject. Each of these variables will be addressed and exemplified in the following sections. In addition to describing each variable, I review previous claims regarding how each variable conditions canonical PP/PRET distribution.

CLAUSETYPE. All PP and PRET tokens were coded for clause type, including: main clause, interrogative clause, relative clause, subordinate *si* ('if') clause, subordinate *cuando* ('when') clause, and 'other' subordinate clause. These are exemplified in (58) using tokens from the current data set.

(58) a. Main clause

*Después de eso la administradora nos, nos riñó a nosotros todo eso.*

'After that the administrator **scolded** us for all of that.'

(Participant #13, lines 364-365)

b. Interrogative clause

*Pero los otros compañeros entienden quechua entonces, se burlaron de lo que estaba hablando ella y ella ¿qué hizo?*

'But the other schoolmates understand Quechua so, they made fun of what she was saying and what **did** she **do**.'

(Participant #18, lines 39-41)

c. Relative (adjectival) clause

*En los varios trabajos que he tenido en el anterior trabajo, el dueño del trabajo era mi familia mi padrino.*

'In the various jobs that I **have had** in previous work, the owner of the work[place] was my family my godfather.'

(Participant #49, lines 407-409)

d. Subordinate *si* clause

*No sé si **conoció** un Machu Machu.*

‘I don’t know if you **met** a *Machu Machu*.’

(Participant #52, lines 228-229)

e. Subordinate *cuando* clause

*Las almas en pena son-son personas que han hecho mucho  
daño en-en la Tierra, y cuando **han muerto**, no se han ido  
ni al Cielo ni al Infierno.*

‘The “souls in pain” are people who have done a lot of damage on-on  
the Earth, and when they **have died**, they haven’t gone neither to  
Heaven nor to Hell.’

(Participant #03, lines 1299-1301)

f. ‘Other’ subordinate clause

*te diría que **he sufrido** un accidente hac-cuánto hace, cuatro  
años*

‘I would tell you that I **have suffered** an accident–how long ago,  
four years ago.’

(Participant #13, lines 377-380)

Because perfects are ‘canonically unfit to encode discrete, narrative events’ (Rodríguez Louro, 2016, p. 636), they are expected to be disfavored by main clauses. Given the relational nature of perfects, they are expected to be more common in relative (adjectival) and subordinate clauses, which generally encode background information. Additionally, since experiential perfects generally do not specify a period of time in which an event was realized, they should be favored in interrogatives, which encode non-assertive contexts.

Furthermore, I chose to examine *si*-clauses and *cuando*-clauses separately from other subordinate clauses because of their modal differences. Whereas the former encodes irrealis notions that an event did not take place, the latter encodes the realis mood by which it is mutually understood between interlocutors that an event took place. Where irrealis and realis moods are relevant for PP/PRET distribution is in the temporal anchoring, or lack thereof in the case of the irrealis mood, of an event. Therefore, a canonical PP should be favored in subordinate *si*-clauses and disfavored in *cuando*-clauses, since the latter are more temporally anchored than the former.

SENTENCE TYPE. All PP/PRET tokens were coded for sentence type, for which factor levels included: declarative, open interrogative (*wh*-question), or closed interrogative (*yes/no* question) sentences.

- (59) a. Declarative  
*Cuando estuve gestando ella me **ha cuidado**, en su lado estaba cuando **he dado luz**.*  
 ‘When I was pregnant she **has taken care** of me, I was by her side when I **have given birth**.’ (Participant #39, lines 346-348)
- b. Open (*wh*-) interrogative  
*Normalmente me levanto y yo, ‘¿A quién **me he soñado**?’*  
 ‘Normally I get up and I’m like, “Who **have I dreamed** of?”’  
 (Participant #13, line 449)
- c. Closed (*yes/no*) interrogative  
 ‘...¿Tu plata me **has dado**?’ así yo le he dicho  
 ‘ “...You **have given** me your money?”, I have told him like that.’  
 (Participant #57, line 394)

Since declarative sentences are assertive contexts, they should favor the simple past. Additionally, since open interrogatives (*wh*-questions) are more temporally anchored than closed questions (*yes/no* questions), they are expected to favor the PRET more so than closed questions.

POLARITY. Tokens were coded for affirmative or negative polarity, as exemplified below:

- (60) a. Affirmative  
*Y, y ya no hemos querido subir, **hemos comenzado** a correr de miedo.*  
 ‘And, and we haven’t wanted to climb anymore, we **have started** to run out of fear.’ (Participant #03, line 1416)
- b. Negative  
*le iban a sacar la-el pie. Y él no **ha querido**.*  
 ‘They were going to remove his-his foot. And he **hasn’t wanted** it.’  
 (Participant #55, line 940)

Negation should favor canonical perfects for a couple of reasons. Firstly, negation can have an atelicizing effect on predicates, leading to a continuative meaning, as illustrated in the example below:

- (61) *Yo no he ido a la costa. No he ido todavía.*  
 ‘I haven’t been to the coast. [I] haven’t been yet.’  
 (Rodríguez Louro, 2016, p. 635)

Additionally, negated statements are non-assertive contexts, which are particularly consonant with experiential perfects. Therein, it is anticipated that affirmative polarity will more readily favor the PRET, while negative polarity will more readily favor the PP.

LEXICAL ASPECT. Lexical aspect was included as an explanatory variable to examine telicity effects on PP use. In coding for lexical aspect, all tokens were considered in the infinitive form. Nominal complements were not considered in classifying verbs for lexical aspect, although their effects on telicity, and on lexical aspect moreover, are accounted for via a separate explanatory variable, direct object number. Where traditional Vendlerian categories distinguish between Accomplishments and Achievements (Vendler, 1967), these two categories were collapsed into a single category of ‘telic’ predicates. This three-way classification, wherein Accomplishments and Achievements are collapsed into a single category due to their shared telicity, falls in line with the methodological treatment and theoretical considerations of lexical aspect in previous studies (see for example Dowty, 1986; Verkuyl, 1993; Collins, 2002; Salaberry, 2011; among others).

(62) a. Telic

*ehm el último está en superior también ya recién **comenzó** el superior*

‘uhm the last one is in college too he just **started** college’

(Participant #50, lines 211-212)

b. Activity

*Y **he crecido**, hasta ahorita me sigo viendo con ellos.*

‘And I **have grown**, up until right now I continue to see them.’

(Participant #13, line 117)

c. State

*como siempre **he vivido** acá, eh tengo recuerdos más de la sociedad.*

‘as I **have** always **lived** here, uh I have memories more of the society.’

(Participant #50, lines 211-212)

According to Schwenter and Torres Cacoullós (2008) and Rodríguez Louro (2016), ‘present perfects undergoing anterior-to-perfective grammaticalization should display less Aktionsart restrictions’ (Rodríguez Louro, 2016, p. 631). This reduction in Aktionsart restrictions is due to the way in which, as per the tendencies of Aoristic Drift, original, resultative perfects must include more

verb classes by extension along the grammaticalization path, as in Peninsular Spanish.

TEMPORAL REFERENCE. All PP and PRET tokens were coded for temporal reference, including: hodiernal, prehodiernal, indeterminate, and irrelevant temporal reference. In the case of hodiernal and prehodiernal reference, an event is specifically, temporally anchored to a reference point prior to the moment of speaking—‘today’ and ‘pre-today’, respectively. On the other hand, the temporal anchoring of an event whose temporal reference is irrelevant or indeterminate remains unspecified. Consider the examples below:

- (63) a. Hodiernal  
*¿Te **he contado** bien ah señorita?*  
 ‘**Have I told** you well ah miss?’ (Participant #44, line 578)
- b. Prehodiernal  
*Ah cuando tenía ahn ocho años, **me enfermé** con—estaba mal del estómago, durante un mes*  
 ‘Uh when I was uhm eight years old, I **got sick** with—my stomach was not well, for a month.’ (Participant #55, lines 1074-1075)
- c. Irrelevant  
*Nunca me **ha criado** mi mamá, desde niñez*  
 ‘My mom **has** never **raised** me, since childhood.’  
 (Participant #37, line 69)
- d. Indeterminate  
***He vivido** por momentos muy difíciles en la vida.*  
 ‘I **have lived** through very difficult moments in life.’  
 (Participant #32, line 390)

In the case of irrelevant temporal reference, the temporal location of an event cannot be queried by an interlocutor, as in (63[c]). Such instances are often observed with negative polarity, for example, because negated statements generally denote that an event never occurred. Similar to irrelevant reference, the temporal location of an event with indeterminate reference is unknown based on the context of the speech data. However, unlike irrelevant temporal reference, indeterminate temporal reference can be resolved by asking the speaker *when?*, hypothetically or actually.

As observed in Schwenter and Torres Cacoullos’ (2008) investigation, it is anticipated that hodiernal and prehodiernal reference, being indicators of a specific past location, will disfavor a canonical PP. On the other hand, non-

specific temporal reference–irrelevant and indeterminate reference–will have a favoring effect on the PP.

TEMPORAL ADVERBIAL. Temporal adverbials for which PP and PRET tokens were coded include: specific, general, connective, proximate, durational, frequency, other, or none.

(64) a. Specific

*Sí. **Vino** hace una semana.*

‘Yes. He **came** a week ago.’ (Participant #30, line 694)

b. General

*Mm, enfermo enfermo casi yo no, no me enfermo. ¿Yah? Pero, un día sí un caso **ha habido**.*

‘Mm, sick sick I don’t really, I don’t get sick. Yeah? But, one day yeah there **has been** a case.’ (Participant #34, lines 376-377)

c. Connective

*Y el Eric no sé, me **trató** de ayudar entonces*

‘And Eric I don’t know, he **tried** to help me then’ (Participant #34, line 265)

d. Proximate

*Y no ves muchos turistas como ahora **has visto***

‘And you don’t see many tourists like you **have seen** now’ (Participant #13, line 664)

e. Durational

*Es algo que, el estado ha implementado, el estado peruano **ha implementado**, hasta el dos mil veintiuno.*

‘It’s something that, the state has implemented, the Peruvian state **has implemented**, until two-thousand twenty-one.’ (Participant #35, lines 100-102)

f. Frequency

*Siempre **han sido** así mis papás unidos*

‘My parents **have** always **been** united like so’ (Participant #50, line 205)

g. Other

*como yo soy peruana, cusqueña, aún no **he salido** a otros países, eh, ¿Ud. de dónde es?*

‘As I am Peruvian, Cusqueña, not yet **have I left** to other countries, uh, where are you from?’ (Participant #18, 554-555)

h. None

*Es muy interesante y me **encantó** que Ud. me haga esas entrevistas en quechua.*

‘It’s very interesting and I **loved** that you do those interviews to me in Quechua.’ (Participant #18, lines 576-577)

Specific and general adverbials should disfavor perfects. Specific adverbials are those which denote an explicit temporal location, and the anchoring that results from temporal specificity is presumed to detract from the perfect notion of current relevance. General adverbials are those which, although they do not specify temporal location outright, indicate that an action occurred within a bounded time frame in the past. Connective adverbials ‘tend to accompany narrative tenses’ (Rodríguez Louro, 2016, p. 633), for which reason they should also favor the simple past.

Canonical perfects are expected to collocate more readily with temporal adverbials encoding temporal closeness, duration, and frequency/repetition. Proximate adverbials locate an event within the ‘current temporal frame’ (Schwenter and Torres Cacoullos, 2008, p. 15), a time period extending into the utterance time. These are consonant with perfects of current relevance. Additionally, durational and frequency adverbials should favor experiential and continuative interpretations of the Present Perfect.

DIRECT OBJECT NUMBER. All PP and PRET tokens were coded according to the type of object accompanying the verb form: none, singular, or plural.

(65) a. None

*Pero sí **he participado** cuando era pequeño.*

‘But yes I **have participated** when I was little.’

(Participant #13, line 490)

b. Singular

*Mi papá me dice, ‘Yo sí **he visto** una persona así, como con traje de enfermera, blanco.’*

‘My dad tells me, “I **have seen** a person like that, like with a nurse outfit, white”.’ (Participant #03, lines 1335-1336)

c. Plural

*Muchas cosas **bice** en mi locura cuando tenía, esa edad cuando cumplés diecinueve veinte ya*

‘I **did** many things in my craziness when I was, that age when you turn nineteen, twenty.’ (Participant #37, lines 44-45)

Noun plurality is related to the notion of telicity. Specifically, plural object complements have an atelicizing effect on predicates because they reflect multiple occurrences of an event, similar to the role of frequency adverbials. This is illustrated in (66) below:

(66) *bueno, yo ya he comprado ya por ahí cadenas de ésas*

‘well, I already have bought (PP) by there chains of that kind’

(Schwenter and Torres Cacoullós, 2008, p. 17)

Plural objects used in this way are consonant with experiential and continuative perfects and so should favor canonical perfects. Singular objects, on the other hand, have a telicizing effect and are predicted to disfavor perfects.

GRAMMATICAL SUBJECT. Each token was coded for grammatical subject, including all singular forms (1st, 2nd, 3rd) and all plural forms (1st, 2nd, 3rd). Grammatical subject is pertinent to PP/PRET distribution in that it speaks to ‘the role of subjectivity in speakers’ choice of the PP’ (Schwenter and Torres Cacoullós, 2008, p. 19). This position is based on the premise that first person contexts signal the highest degree of subjectivity, that is, that they express meanings ‘based in the speaker’s internal belief or attitude’ (Schwenter and Torres Cacoullós, 2008, p. 19). Accordingly, they posit that 1st person subjects will favor PP use over PRET use, if it is the case that perfects encode subjectivity more than the PRET.

### 4.3.3 Qualitative analysis: Research Question 3

In response to various claims that nuances in Andean Spanish verbal morphology are rooted in evidential and/or epistemic distinctions in Quechua verbal morphology (see for example Schumacher de Peña, 1980; Bustamente, 1991; Mendoza, 1991; Stratford, 1991; Klee and Ocampo, 1995; Escobar, 1997; De

Granda, 2001; Sánchez, 2004; Manley, 2007; García Tesoro and Jang, 2018), and that Quechua influence activated PP subjectivization in Peruvian Andean Spanish (Jara Yupanqui, 2013; García Tesoro and Jang, 2018), I posed Research Question 3, which queries if/how Quechua could have influenced the subjectivization of the regional PP:

**Question 3:** Is there evidence to suggest the subjectivization of the compound past in Peruvian Andean Spanish is grounded in language contact? What verbal morphology is used in past temporal narratives in Quechua, and how do they compare to PP/PRET distribution in the regional Spanish variety?

In response to this question, I will carry out a multifaceted qualitative analysis on the bilingual interview data (Chapter 7). First, I will show how subjectivity is a semantic category shared by the spatio-temporal domains of Spanish and Quechua: the compound past in Spanish is used epistemically to highlight speaker perspective in discourse, and the Quechua verbal system is replete with spatio-temporal and ‘psychological/social’ (using Kalt’s (2015) term) meanings that encode speaker-centric orientation and evaluations. Additionally, the qualitative analysis will demonstrate instances of the PP encoding Emotional Proximity. Whereas the quantitative analysis of the PP/PRET questionnaire data (Chapter 5) argues speakers use the PP to mark an emotional connection between the self and the past event (i.e. Emotional Proximity), such uses are exemplified in the qualitative analysis (Chapter 7) using the oral data set of the current investigation.

Thirdly, I will examine the Quechua oral data to substantiate the extent to which Quechua verbal morphology has affected regional PP use, if at all. I suspect there is greater morphological variability in the Quechua past tense system than what has been accounted for in previous studies of Andean PP development (i.e. there are two evidentially-distinct past tense verb forms: Direct *-r(q)a-* and Indirect *-sqa-*). If verbal marking encompasses semantic or discourse-pragmatic notions beyond temporal-aspectual interpretations and information source, such as directionality/movement and epistemic evaluations (Faller, 2004; Manley, 2007; Kalt, 2015), or if there are additional morphemes that encode Past, such as zero-marking or directional suffixes (González Holguín, 1842[1607]; Howard-Malverde, 1988; Faller, 2004; Tunque Choque, 2014; Kalt, 2015), an investigation of novel uses of the Andean PP must take these into account. Therefore, in the qualitative analysis, Quechua verbal morphology will be presented as it is actually used in discourse.

Finally, I will compare the structural and functional distribution of Quechua and Spanish verb forms used in intra-speaker retellings of the same past event.

Whereas most research has attributed innovative PP use in Andean Spanish to Quechua influence, such claims have not been evidenced in Quechua oral data (see for example Bustamente, 1991; Klee and Ocampo, 1995; Escobar, 1997; Sánchez, 2004; Jara Yupanqui, 2013). Therefore, I will examine whether speaker subjectivity is issued similarly in Quechua and Spanish oral narratives, that is, whether subjective notions that purportedly govern PP use, such as Emotive Proximity, are likewise reflected in Quechua morphology. If the Quechua verbal system is indeed contributing to subjective PP use (Jara Yupanqui, 2013; García Tesoro and Jang, 2018), I anticipate there will be morphological alterations in corresponding Quechua data. Thus, I will compare the morphological behavior of Quechua and Spanish past tense forms in ‘emotionally proximal’ narratives.

The data for this qualitative analysis come from the Spanish-Quechua bilingual participants, who conducted the sociolinguistic interview in both languages. The interviews were completed in their entirety in one language before switching to another. This was done to preserve the natural, conversational flow of the interview as best as possible, despite the inevitable consequences due to the Observer’s Paradox (Labov, 1972) and the interviewer’s non-native status, being a native speaker of English from the United States (Samarin, 1967; Feagin, 2004). The purpose of administering intra-speaker interviews was to control both Quechua and Spanish data elicitation environments for interspeaker variability, personal or sociolinguistic (Hansen and Bořil, 2018). To my knowledge, no previous research on the Andean PP has examined intra-speaker Spanish and Quechua speech. I intend for this methodological approach to be a valuable contribution to the area of research; it will elucidate our current (mis)understanding of the degree to which Quechua is influencing the Andean PP. Specifically, I posit that the Quechua past tense system has generally been oversimplified in research of the Andean PP, because of which ensuing investigations on the topic have led to insufficient, possibly erroneous, conclusions.

#### **4.4 Summary**

Throughout this chapter, I have described the data sets and methodological procedures by which I intend to perform a detailed investigation of PP/PRET variation, and particularly of a subjectivized PP, in Cusco Spanish. To summarize, in collaboration with public health researchers and the CerviCusco clinic in Cusco, Peru, I collected preliminary data that showcased novel PP uses, which ultimately motivated the current investigation. The data collected in 2019 for the current project is from monolingual and bilingual speakers in the Cusco

Region, who completed a Language Background Questionnaire in addition to a PP/PRET questionnaire and/or a sociolinguistic interview. Those data elicitation tasks were instrumental as they will inform the research questions of the current investigation, repeated below:

**Research Question 1:** What is the overall distribution of PP/PRET among monolingual and bilingual speakers from Cusco, Peru, and how do these findings compare to previous research of PP/PRET use in Peru?

**Research Question 2:** What are the language-internal and language-external factors that determine regional PP/PRET use, and how do they condition its distribution?

**Research Question 3:** Is there evidence to suggest the subjectivization of the compound past in Peruvian Andean Spanish is grounded in language contact? What verbal morphology is used in past temporal narratives in Quechua, and how do they compare to PP/PRET distribution in the regional Spanish variety?

Each of these research questions will be treated in the following chapters. The results and quantitative analyses of the PP/PRET questionnaire data are provided in the next chapter (Chapter 5), followed by a presentation of the results and quantitative analyses of the sociolinguistic interview data in Chapter 6. Taken together, these two chapters simultaneously inform Research Questions 1 and 2, which broadly seek to reveal distributional and functional nuances of the Peruvian Andean PP. Research Question 3 will be addressed in Chapter 7, in which I perform a qualitative analysis that exhibits subjective PP use in Cusco Spanish data and explores if/how the subjectivization of the regional compound past could be a contact-induced development.

# CHAPTER 5

## RESULTS & ANALYSIS: PP/PRET QUESTIONNAIRE TASK

In this chapter, I provide descriptive and statistical results of the PP/PRET questionnaire task and analyze my findings, addressing Research Questions 1 and 2, repeated below for convenience:

**Research Question 1:** What is the overall distribution of PP/PRET among monolingual and bilingual speakers from Cusco, Peru, and how do these findings compare to previous research of PP/PRET use in Peru?

**Research Question 2:** What are the language-internal and language-external factors that determine regional PP/PRET use, and how do they condition its distribution?

In Section §5.1, I report and analyze descriptive and inferential statistical findings centered on participants' PP selection rates, as they pertain to: the entire sample population, monolingual/bilingual participants, and participants' classifications along the language dominance scale. This will inform Research Question 1, speaking to the general distribution of PP/PRET use in Peruvian Andean Spanish and distributional differences, if any, across speakers' monolingualism/bilingualism and/or their language dominance. These findings are relevant for comparison of previous research insofar as the nature of the data are elicited from a questionnaire task, supplementing the comparison of PP/PRET distribution using the interview data (in Chapter 6).

Secondly, in Section §5.2 I report and analyze the descriptive and inferential statistics examining overall token counts of PP and PRET selection in the questionnaire data. In §5.2.1, I report on the overall frequencies and proportions of PP/PRET tokens as well as their distribution across between-subjects

demographic variables (i.e. age group, sex, residence, education, LDS group), participants, within-subjects questionnaire variables (i.e. affected entity-speaker relationship, anticipated impact rating, observed impact rating, familiarity rating), and individual task questions. After presenting these token frequencies and PP/PRET proportions, I calculate Emotive Proximity scores for each question, using the Affected Entity-Speaker Relationship and Anticipated Impact factors, to determine whether there is a positive correlation between PP selection rate and Emotive Proximity. Additionally, I used participants' averaged Impact ratings to calculate Adjusted EP scores, since their ratings are more reliable than mine to reflect their subjective attitudes toward an event's degree of impact, and moreover an EP score.

Following the presentation of PP/PRET token frequencies and proportions in §5.2.1, I perform a binomial logistic regression with mixed effects in §5.2.2 to determine which of the aforementioned factors, if any, are statistically significant in participants' selection of the PP. In the model, PP/PRET selection was the dependent variable, and participants were included as a random variable. Viewing frequencies and proportions (§5.2.1) and running a generalized linear mixed-effects model on PP/PRET selection (§5.2.2) across the demographic and questionnaire variables informs Research Question 2. Specifically, in addition to language-external factors, the findings of the questionnaire task data will elucidate whether language-internal factors conditioning Cusco PP use include epistemic, subjective factors (i.e. Emotional Proximity—as comprised of Affected Entity-Speaker Relationship and Degree of Impact—and Familiarity).

## 5.1 Participants' PP selection rates

Of the total 717 PP/PRET responses in the questionnaires from 24 participants, there were 259 tokens of PP (36%) and 458 tokens of PRET (64%). The rate of PP selection, which is calculated as the number of participants' PP responses divided by their total number of responses<sup>35</sup>, was calculated for each participant. Overall, the mean rate of PP selection was approximately 36%. The overall amount of spread in PP selection rates was great; one individual selected PP approximately 3% of the time, and the highest PP selection rate was approximately 83%, as seen in the central tendency statistics summary below:

<sup>35</sup> Although each questionnaire consisted of 30 questions, some participants did not respond to every question.

Table 5.1: Overall PP selection rates

Min.	1st Qu.	Median	Mean	3rd Qu.	Max.
3.33	25.83	30.00	35.98	45.29	83.33

Half of the participants' PP selection rates remained within the range of approximately 25-45%. Consider the density plot below, which displays the general distribution of participants' PP selection rates:

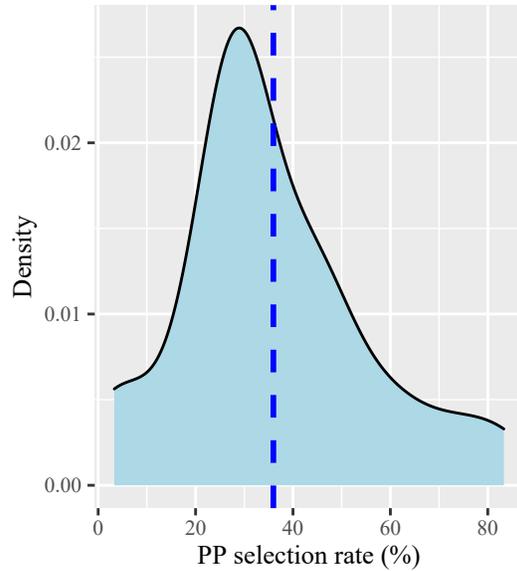


Figure 5.1: Density plot of PP selection rates

As seen in the bell curve of Figure 5.1, the data was normally distributed. This is supported by the Shapiro-Wilk test for normality ( $W = 0.94387$ ,  $p\text{-value} = 0.1988$ ), which was performed in R. The box plot of the questionnaire data displays the interquartile ranges (IQR) of participants' PP selection rates and identified one outlier: 83.3% (Participant ID #22).

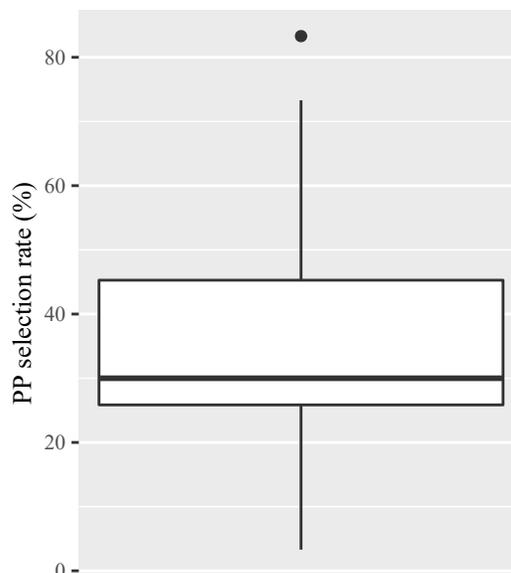


Figure 5.2: Boxplot of PP selection rates

For the remainder of this analysis of the questionnaire data, I include the outlier data point because it is not the result of a coding or sampling error. Additionally, that the PP selection rate was markedly high does not justify its exclusion, given that the participant indeed selected the compound form 83.33% of the time. To exclude the legitimate data point from the analysis would be misrepresentative of the sample population.

Across monolinguals and bilinguals<sup>36</sup>, the rate of PP selection was higher among the bilingual participants. The average rate of PP selection for monolinguals was 28%; the average rate of PP selection for bilinguals was approximately 38%. Consider the central tendency statistics summary below, which was obtained in R:

<sup>36</sup> Recall that the ‘monolingual’ or ‘bilingual’ classification is self-reported information, that is, based on how participants identified themselves.

Table 5.2: Overall PP selection rates

	Min.	1st Qu.	Median	Mean	3rd Qu.	Max.
Monolinguals	3.33	23.33	26.67	28.00	30.00	56.67
Bilinguals	3.33	28.33	31.03	38.08	45.75	83.33

As illustrated in Table 5.2, the minimum PP selection rate is the same (3.33%) for both monolinguals and bilinguals. The maximum PP selection rate reaches approximately 83% for the bilingual participants, whereas the maximum PP selection rate was 57% among the monolinguals. Additionally, the distribution of the bilinguals’ PP selection rates was more greatly dispersed than that of the

monolinguals; whereas the IQR of the bilinguals is 18, it is 7 for the monolinguals<sup>37</sup>. It should be noted, however, that this difference may also be attributed to the overall small number of monolingual Spanish participants. Below I provide a box and whisker plot with data points to display the spread of mean PP selection rates in the questionnaire data by language group.

<sup>37</sup> These values were calculated by subtracting the first quartile from the third quartile:  $46-28=18$  for the bilinguals;  $30-23=7$  for the monolinguals.

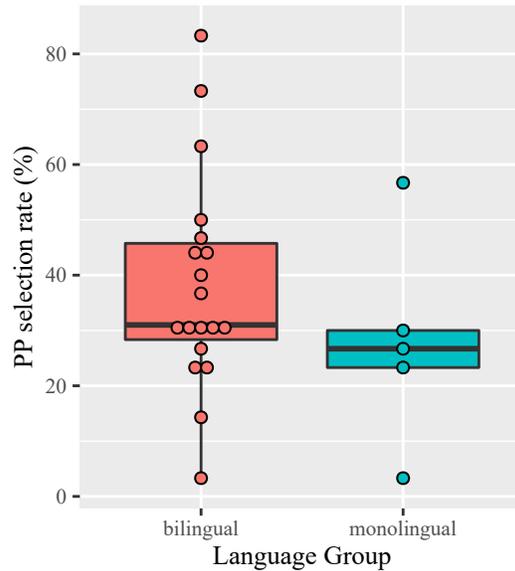


Figure 5.3: Box plot of PP selection rate by group

Although only five monolingual participants completed the questionnaire, the data are normally distributed according to the Shapiro-Wilk test for normality ( $W = 0.94197$ ,  $p = 0.6799$ ). This was also the case for the bilinguals' average rates of PP selection ( $W = 0.9431$ ,  $p = 0.2996$ ). Results of an independent, one-tailed  $t$ -test in R determined the two groups' average rates of PP selection are not statistically significant ( $t = -1.0451$ ,  $p = 0.8331$ ). I assume this is due, at least in part, to the fact that only five monolingual Spanish participants completed the questionnaire.

Given the small sample of monolingual participants, I decided to categorize the participants according to their language dominance in Quechua and/or Spanish, that is, using their LDSs. The purpose of this was two-fold. Firstly, this accounted for the disparity in sample sizes between monolingual and bilingual participants. Secondly, that speakers were classified along a gradient captures the way in which the discrete labels 'monolingual' and 'bilingual' do not account for native bilingual speakers' language dominance, which is both dynamic and scalar. Participants were grouped into one of the four following categories according to their language dominance scores: LDS 1 ( $-2 \leq LDS \leq 0$ ), LDS 2 ( $0$

$< \text{LDS} \leq 2$ ),  $\text{LDS}_3$  ( $2 < \text{LDS} \leq 4$ ), and  $\text{LDS}_4$  ( $4 < \text{LDS}$ ). The distribution of mean PP selection rates across language dominance scores is displayed in the central tendency statistics summary below, which is followed by corresponding box and whisker plots:

Table 5.3: PP selection rates by LDS group

	Min.	1st Qu.	Median	Mean	3rd Qu.	Max.
$\text{LDS}_1$	3.30	30.00	30.00	36.66	46.70	73.30
$\text{LDS}_2$	23.30	29.18	38.35	44.16	53.33	83.30
$\text{LDS}_3$	14.30	24.98	30.50	31.12	40.23	44.80
$\text{LDS}_4$	3.3	23.3	26.7	28.0	30.0	56.7

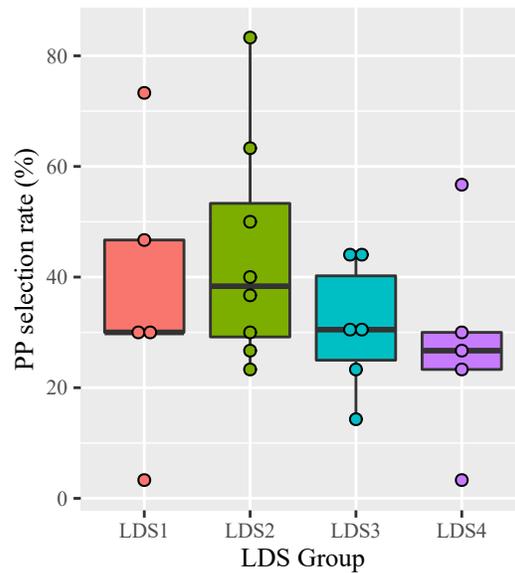


Figure 5.4: Box plot of PP selection rate by LDS group

As indicated in the statistics summary and illustrated in the box plots above, it was not the case that the highest median PP selection rate belonged to the first LDS group ( $\text{LDS}_1$ ). Instead, the  $\text{LDS}_1$  group and  $\text{LDS}_3$  group shared the second-highest median rate of approximately 30%. The highest PP selection rate belonged to the second LDS group ( $\text{LDS}_2$ ), for whom the median rate was approximately 38%. The  $\text{LDS}_2$  group also had the greatest spread of dispersion, which may be due to the fact that this group also had the greatest sample size of participants. Although the most Quechua-dominant group ( $\text{LDS}_1$ ) did not have the highest median rate of PP selection, it is interesting to note that there

is a gradual decrease in median PP selection rates starting from the LDS2 group and ending with the most Spanish-dominant group (LDS4).

The box and whisker plots indicate there were outlier values belonging to the most Quechua-dominant and most Spanish-dominant groups (LDS1 and LDS4, respectively). As before, I do not discard these outlier values from the data set because they are not the result of a coding or sampling error. After performing a parametric one-way ANOVA in R, results showed that there was no significant difference between LDS groups. This is illustrated in Table 5.4 below:

Table 5.4: Parametric one-way ANOVA results

	Df	Sum Sq	Mean Sq	F value	Pr(>F)
LDS.group	3	0.10	0.03	0.86	0.4779
Residuals	20	0.77	0.04		

In spite of these results, the scatter plot below displays that a weak negative correlation exists between participants' PP selection rates and their individual language dominance scores:

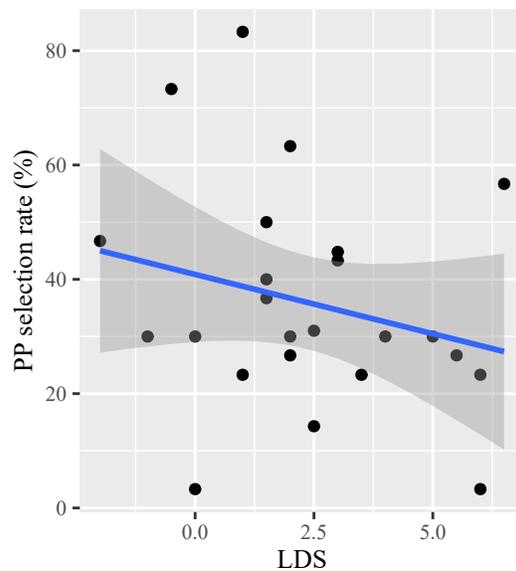


Figure 5.5: Scatter plot of PP selection rate and LDS

The correlation coefficient of the relationship between participants' language dominance scores and PP selection rates was  $-0.245$ , which signals a weak, negative correlation. However, this correlation was not statistically significant

according to Pearson’s product-moment correlation test ( $t = -1.1831$ ,  $df = 22$ ,  $p\text{-value} = 0.12$ ), performed in R.

Additionally, I executed a multiple linear regression analysis in R to model the relationship between participants’ PP selection rates and five independent variables. The purpose of this was to identify which demographic factors, if any, were involved in participants’ PP selection rates. I began by creating a model that included all five variables: age group, sex, residence, education, and LDS group. As observed in the summary output of the model, none of the explanatory variables were statistically significant. Moreover, the model itself was not statistically significant ( $p > 0.05$ ). The summary output of the model is provided below:

Table 5.5: Linear regression model (all variables) summary

	Estimate	Std. Error	t value	Pr(> t )
(Intercept)	0.4391	0.1635	2.69	0.0178 *
age.groupmiddle	0.1397	0.1666	0.84	0.4160
age.groupyouth	-0.0622	0.1174	-0.53	0.6044
sexmale	0.0302	0.1087	0.28	0.7850
residenceurban	-0.0114	0.1590	-0.07	0.9438
educationsecondary	-0.1358	0.1163	-1.17	0.2625
LDS.groupLDS2	0.0278	0.1408	0.20	0.8461
LDS.groupLDS3	-0.0724	0.1840	-0.39	0.6997
LDS.groupLDS4	-0.0741	0.1642	-0.45	0.6585

Signif. codes: 0 ‘\*\*\*’ 0.001 ‘\*\*’ 0.01 ‘\*’ 0.05 ‘.’ 0.1 ‘ ’ 1

Residual standard error: 0.2072 on 14 degrees of freedom

R-squared: 0.2706, Adjusted R-squared: -0.1461

F-statistic: 0.6493 on 8 and 14 DF, p-value: 0.7258

Next I carried out the F-test to apply single term deletions for model comparison in R. The function dropped one variable at a time from the original model and output the following:

Table 5.6: Output summary of single term deletions

	Df	Sum of Sq	RSS	AIC	F value	Pr(>F)
<none>			0.60	-65.82		
age.group	2	0.10	0.71	-66.14	1.21	0.3263
sex	1	0.00	0.60	-67.70	0.08	0.7850
residence	1	0.00	0.60	-67.82	0.01	0.9438
education	1	0.06	0.66	-65.69	1.36	0.2625
LDS.group	3	0.03	0.63	-70.68	0.24	0.8686

Signif. codes: 0 '\*\*\*' 0.001 '\*\*' 0.01 '\*' 0.05 '.' 0.1 ' ' 1

Based on the high p-values (in the far-right column), in which all p-values are greater than 0.05, these results show that none of the variables contribute significantly to the explanatory power of the model. From these inferential statistics, the data do not substantiate the hypothesis that there exists a correlation between participants' PP selection rates and their demographic profiles based on age, sex, education, residence, and language dominance.

According to my findings thus far, the overall median distribution of PP selection rates in the questionnaire data was 30%. As for the monolingual speakers, this median dropped slightly to 27%; it rose slightly for bilingual speakers (31%). Additionally, when classified according to language dominance scores, the most Quechua-dominant speakers had a median score of 30%. The LDS2 group had the highest median PP selection rate of 38%. While my original hypothesis was that the most Quechua-dominant group would have the highest rate of PP selection, there was a gradual decrease in the median rate of PP selection starting from the LDS2 group. The median PP selection rates of the last two groups, LDS3 and LDS4, were 31% and 27%, respectively. Therein, the most Spanish-dominant speakers had the lowest rate of PP selection, as anticipated.

Concerning the conditioning factors of PP selection, the demographic factors (i.e. age, sex, education, residence, language dominance) were not statistically significant in participants' PP selection rates. However, although there was no statistically significant difference between LDS groups—or between the discrete classifications of 'monolinguals' and 'bilinguals'—the data do show that there exists a correlation, albeit a weak one, between PP selection rates and language dominance. Generally, the more Quechua-dominant a speaker was, the higher their rate of PP selection was in the questionnaire. On the other hand, the more Spanish-dominant a speaker was, the lower their rate of PP selection was.

In what follows, I change my focus in the questionnaire data from participants' PP selection rates to overall token frequencies of PP/PRET responses. I begin with descriptive statistics of PP/PRET token frequencies and continue with a logistic regression analysis. The logistic regression analysis explores PP and PRET selection across the same between-subject, demographic factors examined previously and, crucially, includes within-subject, questionnaire factors used to encode 'Emotive Proximity' (i.e. Degree of Impact and Affected Entity-Speaker Relationship) as well as the degree of Familiarity.

## **5.2 Participants' questionnaire responses**

### **5.2.1 Raw frequencies and proportions of PP/PRET tokens**

Prior to performing a logistic regression analysis in R, all data rows in which there existed at least one missing ('NA') value were discarded. This was done as a preemptive measure to ensure successful execution of the statistical model, given any procedural barriers due to empty cells in the data frame. In total, 77 tokens were discarded: 29 PP tokens and 48 PRET tokens. Thus, the overall frequency of data points examined in this analysis of PP/PRET tokens came from 22 participants and resulted in a total of 640 tokens, of which 230 were PP (36%), and 410 were PRET (64%).

The contingency table below displays the raw frequencies and proportions of each verb form across the between-subject, demographic explanatory variables.

Table 5.7: PP/PRET counts across between-subject variables

	PP	PP(%)	PRET	PRET(%)	Total
<b>Age group</b>					
Youth	81	31%	177	69%	258 (100%)
Adult	97	41%	138	59%	235 (100%)
Middle-aged	52	35%	95	65%	147 (100%)
Total	230	36%	410	64%	640 (100%)
<b>Sex</b>					
Male	70	34%	133	66%	203 (100%)
Female	160	37%	277	63%	437 (100%)
Total	230	36%	410	64%	640 (100%)
<b>Residence</b>					
Urban	204	37%	349	63%	553 (100%)
Rural	26	30%	61	70%	87 (100%)
Total	230	36%	410	64%	640 (100%)
<b>Education</b>					
Secondary	80	31%	181	69%	261 (100%)
Post-secondary	150	40%	229	60%	379 (100%)
Total	230	36%	410	64%	640 (100%)
<b>LDS group</b>					
LDS 1	27	23%	89	77%	116 (100%)
LDS 2	93	39%	144	61%	237 (100%)
LDS 3	69	48%	76	53%	145 (100%)
LDS 4	41	29%	101	71%	142 (100%)
Total	230	36%	410	64%	640 (100%)

As demonstrated in Table 5.7, the proportion of PP/PRET tokens was similar across all levels of the age group factor, although the raw frequencies of tokens were lowest among the middle-aged age group. There were 9 youth participants, 8 adult participants, and only 5 middle-aged participants. Among youth and adult speakers, 258 and 235 overall tokens were collected, respectively. This number was much lower for the middle-aged group at 147. Concerning speakers' sex, there were overall more tokens from females: 7 male participants provided 203 overall tokens, and 15 female participants more than doubled that number with 437 overall PP/PRET tokens. Proportionally, males' and females' PP/PRET distributions were comparable. Males selected PP 34% of the time and PRET 66% of the time; for females, these numbers were 37% and 63%, respectively.

Most of the participants were categorized as belonging to an urban residence, which explains the stark difference between raw PP/PRET frequencies among urban and rural participants. There were 553 overall tokens from 19 urban speakers, comprising 86% of the data, whereas 87 tokens were collected from only 3 rural participants. Bearing in mind this contrast in sample size, it was observed that the urban speakers selected the PP form 37% of the time; rural speakers selected the PP less frequently relative to the PRET (30%). As for PRET, urban participants selected the form 63% of the time, and rural participants selected PRET more frequently at 70%.

Most of the 22 participants had reached, at least partially, the post-secondary education level. While 9 speakers completed at least some secondary education, 13 speakers had completed some or all post-secondary education. Because most speakers belonged to the 'post-secondary' education category, the raw frequency of PP/PRET tokens for this group is also higher: 150 PP tokens and 229 PRET tokens. As for the participants who completed at least some secondary education, they provided 80 PP tokens and 181 PRET tokens. Contrary to expectations, the participants who reached the secondary level of education selected PP at a lower rate than those who reached post-secondary level of education, as indicated by their respective percentages: 31% and 40%.

With respect to language dominance, the LDS group with the highest number of participants was LDS 2 (n=8), which resulted in their having the highest raw frequency of PP and PRET tokens: 93 and 144, respectively. Because Participant #1 and Participant #7 had to be discarded from the current data set prior to this section of the analysis, both of which belonged to LDS 1, tokens of only three LDS 1 speakers remained. Of these three LDS 1 speakers, they produced 116 tokens overall: 27 PP tokens and 89 PRET tokens. As for LDS 3 and LDS 4, the sample size of these speakers was 6 and 5 participants, respectively. The LDS 3 group provided 69 PP tokens and 76 PRET tokens, 145 tokens overall, and the LDS 4 group provided 41 PP tokens and 101 PRET tokens, 142 tokens overall.

In terms of these groups' PP/PRET proportions, the LDS groups are, in descending order: LDS 3 > LDS 2 > LDS 4 > LDS 1. The most Quechua-dominant group (LDS1) selected the PP at the lowest rate (23%), in comparison with the other groups. The highest proportion of PP selection comes from the LDS3 group (48%), followed by 39% from the LDS2 group and 29% from the most Spanish-dominant group (LDS4). That the lowest PP selection rate comes from the LDS1 group was unexpected, since the LDS1 group is the Quechua-dominant group and therefore was expected to select the PP more so than the other groups. Additionally, that the second most Quechua-dominant group

(LDS<sub>2</sub>) selected PP at a rate lower than LDS<sub>3</sub> was not anticipated. I suspect that these unexpected results are due, at least in part, to the small sample size of participants, particularly in the case of the LDS<sub>1</sub> group.

The proportions of PP/PRET tokens for these explanatory, between-subjects variables (i.e. age group, sex, residence, education, LDS group) are captured visually in the bar plots below:

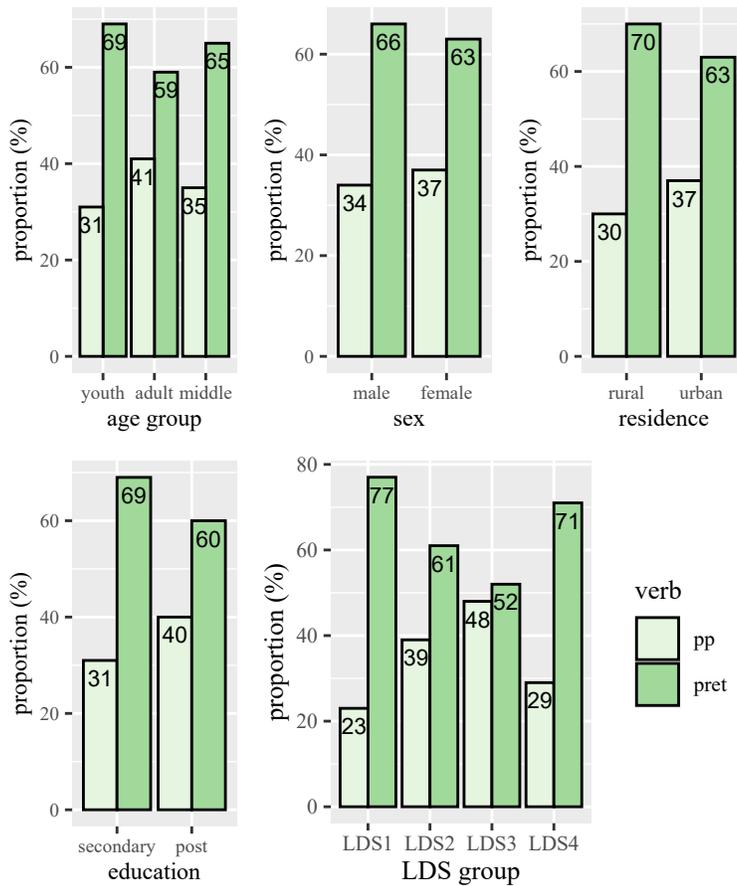


Figure 5.6: Proportions of PP/PRET across between-subjects variables

These bar plots display that, while the PRET was selected with more frequency overall, as expected, the proportions of PP to PRET selection varied for each factor level, as detailed above. Across these demographic variables of age group, sex, residence, education and LDS group, the proportion of PP selection was highest among adults, females, urban speakers, those with post-secondary education, and speakers of the LDS<sub>3</sub> group. As for the lowest proportion of PP selection, these belong to the youth, males, rural speakers, those with at least some secondary education, and Quechua-dominant speakers in the LDS<sub>1</sub> group.

Additionally, I identified inter-speaker frequencies and proportions of participants' PP/PRET responses in the questionnaire data. The results are provided in the contingency table below, followed by a corresponding bar plot:

Table 5.8: PP/PRET counts across speakers

Participant ID#	PP	PP(%)	PRET	PRET(%)	Total
Participant 5	9	31%	20	69%	29 (100%)
Participant 8	7	24%	22	76%	29 (100%)
Participant 9	1	3%	28	97%	29 (100%)
Participant 10	7	24%	22	76%	29 (100%)
Participant 11	19	63%	11	37%	30 (100%)
Participant 12	12	41%	17	59%	29 (100%)
Participant 13	17	61%	11	39%	28 (100%)
Participant 14	1	3%	28	97%	29 (100%)
Participant 20	7	26%	20	74%	27 (100%)
Participant 21	9	31%	20	69%	29 (100%)
Participant 23	9	31%	20	69%	29 (100%)
Participant 26	9	31%	20	69%	29 (100%)
Participant 29	9	31%	20	69%	29 (100%)
Participant 30	8	28%	21	72%	29 (100%)
Participant 33	8	27%	22	73%	30 (100%)
Participant 47	11	37%	19	63%	30 (100%)
Participant 48	7	23%	23	77%	30 (100%)
Participant 50	12	46%	14	54%	26 (100%)
Participant 51	25	83%	5	17%	30 (100%)
Participant 52	13	43%	17	57%	30 (100%)
Participant 53	15	50%	15	50%	30 (100%)
Participant 54	15	50%	15	50%	30 (100%)
Total	230	36%	410	64%	640 (100%)

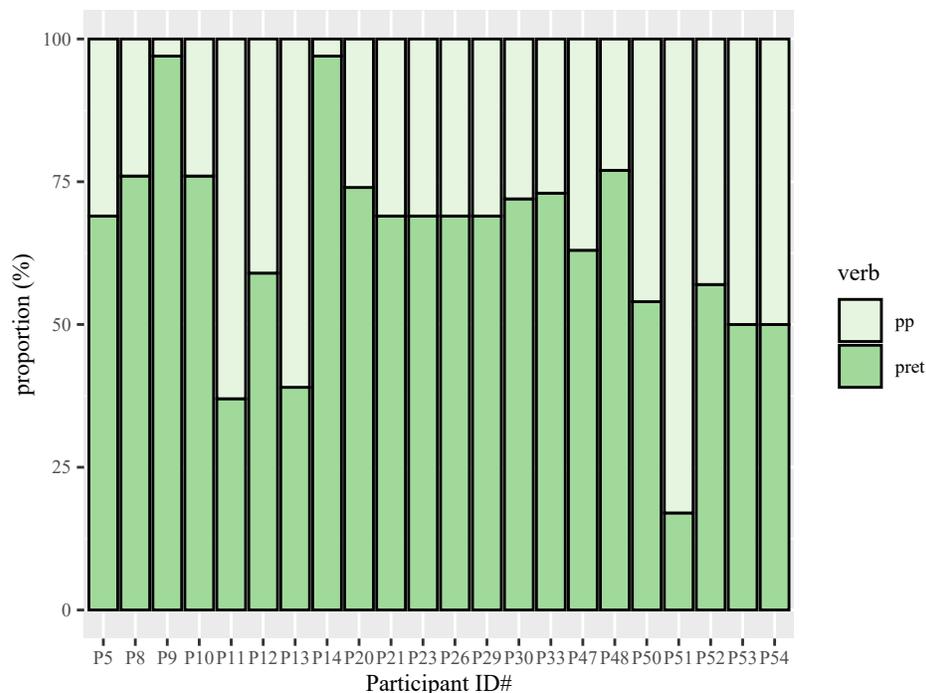


Figure 5.7: Proportions of PP/PRET per speaker

As demonstrated in Table 5.8 and the corresponding Figure 5.7, not all of the participants selected PP/PRET within the expected rate of approximately 30%/70%, respectively. Specifically, those participants who selected the PP at a lower rate than expected were P9 and P14, both of whom selected the PP only 3% of the time; 97% of their questionnaire responses were PRET. For three participants, the PRET and PP were chosen at approximately the same rate. P53 and P54 selected PRET and PP 15 times each, resulting in an even split of 50%/50% PP/PRET selection. Similarly, 46% of P50's responses were PP: of their 26 total responses, 12 were PP and 14 were PRET. Participants with unusually high PP selection rates were P11, P13, and P51, whose PP selection rates were 63%, 61%, and 83%, respectively.

Upon closer examination of these particular participants' performance, the contributing factors that govern their PP selection remain unclear. I explored the demographic information of these participants in search of any pattern that would explain their PP/PRET selection and was unable to detect any noticeable pattern. For instance, although Participants 9 and 14 selected PP only once in the questionnaire, their LDS scores were 0 and 6, respectively. Given this disparity in language dominance, I suspect language dominance does not affect these two participants' PP/PRET selection rates. These and other individual discordant selection rates might be explained by the disadvantageous methodological

nature of questionnaire data (i.e. that it requires literacy, that speakers' LDSs are self-reported, etc.). The supplemental analysis of interview data, which will be discussed in the next chapter, will further elucidate our understanding of PP/PRET use in Andean Spanish.

In addition to the between-subjects, demographic variables just discussed, I calculated the frequencies and proportions of PP/PRET tokens across four within-subjects, questionnaire variables associated with each of the thirty questions in the questionnaire: Affected Entity-Self Relationship, Anticipated Impact, Observed Impact, and Familiarity rating. Each of the variables was created to encode an emotional/psychological relationship between the speaker and a past event, and their factor levels capture the range of this connection from distal to proximal. Recall that the factor 'Affected Entity-Speaker Relationship' refers to how close the affected entity in each hypothetical situation is to the 'self', which, in the case of the questionnaire task, is the participant. The relationship factor levels are, in ascending order from distal to proximal: non-human > stranger > acquaintance > family/friend > self. I expect that PP selection will increase as the degree of the relationship between the affected entity and the self increases, that is, as it approximates the self.

Recall also that 'Anticipated Impact' refers to the degree of impact that the author assumes the event in question will have upon the affected entity in each context. In ascending order, from distal to proximal, I rated each context as: small > moderate > great. Given that my judgments concerning the degree of impact an event will have are inevitably subjective, participants were also tasked with selecting their own impact rating (i.e. Observed Impact) on a scale of, in ascending order: none > small > moderate > great. I expect that PP selection will increase as the degree of impact between the event and the affected entity increases. Additionally, the contexts in each task question were not familiar to the participants to the same degree. Whereas some contexts relayed a common experience by all participants (e.g. a parent cooking a meal), others rendered a situation that perhaps was completely unfamiliar (e.g. a bird stealing your food). Therein participants rated the degree of familiarity for each context, in ascending order from distal to proximal: none > small > moderate > great. Given my hypothesis that familiarity is correlated with Emotive Proximity, I expect that PP selection will increase as the degree of familiarity increases.

In accordance with my expectations, it appears that PP selection generally increased as the emotional/psychological connection, measured via the four questionnaire variables (i.e. relationship, anticipated impact, observed impact, familiarity), strengthened. Table 5.9 below displays the raw frequencies and corresponding percentages of PP/PRET selection across the questionnaire factors:

Table 5.9: PP/PRET counts across within-subject variables

	PP	PP(%)	PRET	PRET(%)	Total
<b>Relationship</b>					
Non-human	34	29%	85	71%	119 (100%)
Stranger	44	34%	87	66%	131 (100%)
Acquaintance	44	34%	85	66%	129 (100%)
Family/friend	56	43%	73	57%	129 (100%)
Self	52	39%	80	61%	132 (100%)
Total	230	36%	410	64%	640 (100%)
<b>Anticipated Impact</b>					
Small	74	34%	144	66%	218 (100%)
Moderate	77	36%	139	64%	216 (100%)
Great	79	38%	127	62%	206 (100%)
Total	230	36%	410	64%	640 (100%)
<b>Observed Impact</b>					
None	13	23%	44	77%	57 (100%)
Small	77	36%	138	64%	215 (100%)
Moderate	90	35%	165	65%	255 (100%)
Great	50	44%	63	56%	113 (100%)
Total	230	36%	410	64%	640 (100%)
<b>Familiarity Rating</b>					
None	36	29%	90	71%	126 (100%)
Small	75	37%	129	64%	204 (100%)
Moderate	68	33%	137	67%	205 (100%)
Great	51	49%	54	51%	105 (100%)
Total	230	36%	410	64%	640 (100%)

In the factor Affected Entity-Speaker Relationship, PP selection was highest (43%) in contexts in which the relationship was ‘family/friend’. Whereas ‘self’ was expected to have the highest rate of PP selection, this factor level was second (39%), followed by ‘acquaintance’ and ‘stranger’ at 34% each. As expected, the lowest rate of PP selection was 29% in contexts in which the affected entity was ‘non-human’.

As for an event’s Degree of Impact, it appears to be generally the case that the rate of PP selection increased as the degree of impact increased. In terms of the anticipated impact, the PP selection rate increased slightly from 34% in cases of small impact to 38% in contexts with a great impact. Concerning participants’ impact ratings, the PP selection rate was more disparate between contexts rated

as having no impact and those with great impact: 23% ('no impact') and 44% ('great impact'). Although the PP selection rate was higher in contexts with a small impact than a moderate one, their percentages hardly varied. In contexts with a small degree of impact, the PP was selected 36% of the time; the PP selection rate in contexts with a moderate impact was 35%.

In the same way, it appears to be generally the case that PP selection rates increased as participants' familiarity with each situation increased. In contexts in which participants rated the situation as not at all familiar, the PP was selected at the lowest rate (29%); the highest rate of PP selection occurred for contexts rated as having a high degree of familiarity (49%). Similar to what was observed in the Anticipated Impact factor, the PP selection rate was higher when the degree of familiarity was small than when it was moderate, although the difference was small (37% and 33%, respectively). The proportions of the PP/PRET response frequencies are captured visually in the bar plots below:

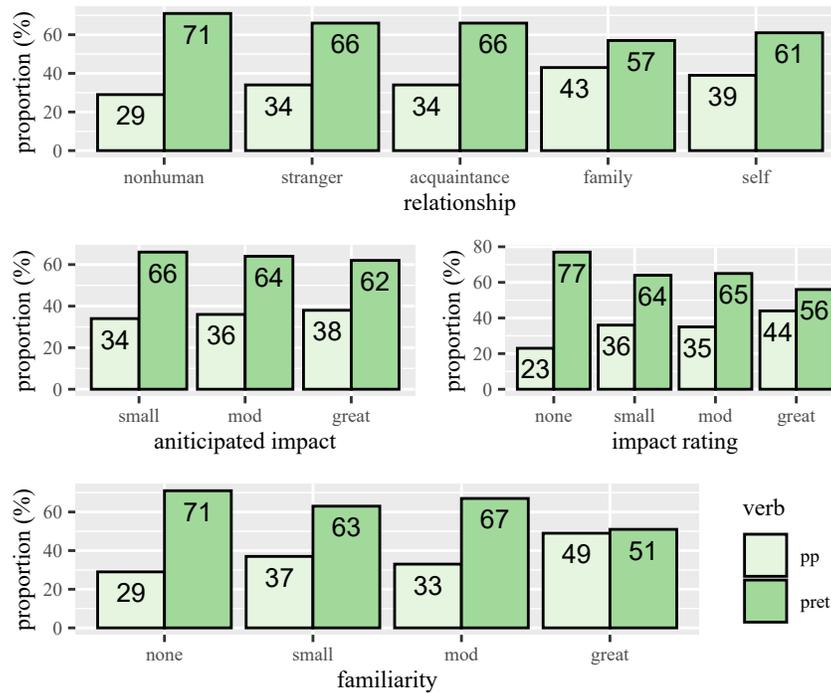


Figure 5.8: PP/PRET responses across questionnaire variables

Additionally, the counts and proportions of PP and PRET responses were recorded for each of the thirty task questions in the questionnaire. These numbers are provided in the contingency table below:

Table 5.10: PP/PRET counts by question

Question #	PP	PP(%)	PRET	PRET(%)	Total
Question 1	9	41%	13	59%	22 (100%)
Question 2	8	40%	12	60%	20 (100%)
Question 3	17	81%	4	19%	21 (100%)
Question 4	8	36%	14	64%	22 (100%)
Question 5	7	33%	14	67%	21 (100%)
Question 6	5	24%	16	76%	21 (100%)
Question 7	11	50%	11	50%	22 (100%)
Question 8	8	36%	14	64%	22 (100%)
Question 9	10	45%	12	55%	22 (100%)
Question 10	8	36%	14	64%	22 (100%)
Question 11	10	45%	12	55%	22 (100%)
Question 12	12	55%	10	45%	22 (100%)
Question 13	7	32%	15	68%	22 (100%)
Question 14	7	32%	15	68%	22 (100%)
Question 15	3	14%	19	86%	22 (100%)
Question 16	7	32%	15	68%	22 (100%)
Question 17	8	36%	14	64%	22 (100%)
Question 18	11	50%	11	50%	22 (100%)
Question 19	7	32%	15	68%	22 (100%)
Question 20	12	55%	10	45%	22 (100%)
Question 21	5	23%	17	77%	22 (100%)
Question 22	8	36%	14	64%	22 (100%)
Question 23	3	33%	6	67%	9 (100%)
Question 24	8	36%	14	64%	22 (100%)
Question 25	8	36%	14	64%	22 (100%)
Question 26	2	9%	20	91%	22 (100%)
Question 27	9	41%	13	59%	22 (100%)
Question 28	3	14%	18	86%	21 (100%)
Question 29	5	23%	17	77%	22 (100%)
Question 30	4	19%	17	81%	21 (100%)
Total	230	36%	410	64%	640 (100%)

As illustrated in Table 5.10 above, the PP/PRET response distribution varied across individual task questions. In particular, the questions for which PP selection rates were considerably lower than the average selection rate (36%) include Question 6, 15, 21, 26, 28, 29, and 30. For these questions, the PP was selected at a rate at least 10% below the average selection rate: 24%, 14%, 23%,

9%, 14%, 23%, and 9%, respectively. There were four questions in which the PP and PRET were selected at a comparable rate. In Question 7 and 18, the PP and PRET were each selected exactly half of the time, at 50% each. For Question 12 and 20, the PP was selected slightly more than half of the time, at 55% in each case. Additionally, the PP was selected at the highest rate in Question 3 at 81%. See the bar plot below, which illustrates the proportion of PP/PRET distribution for each question number in the questionnaire task:

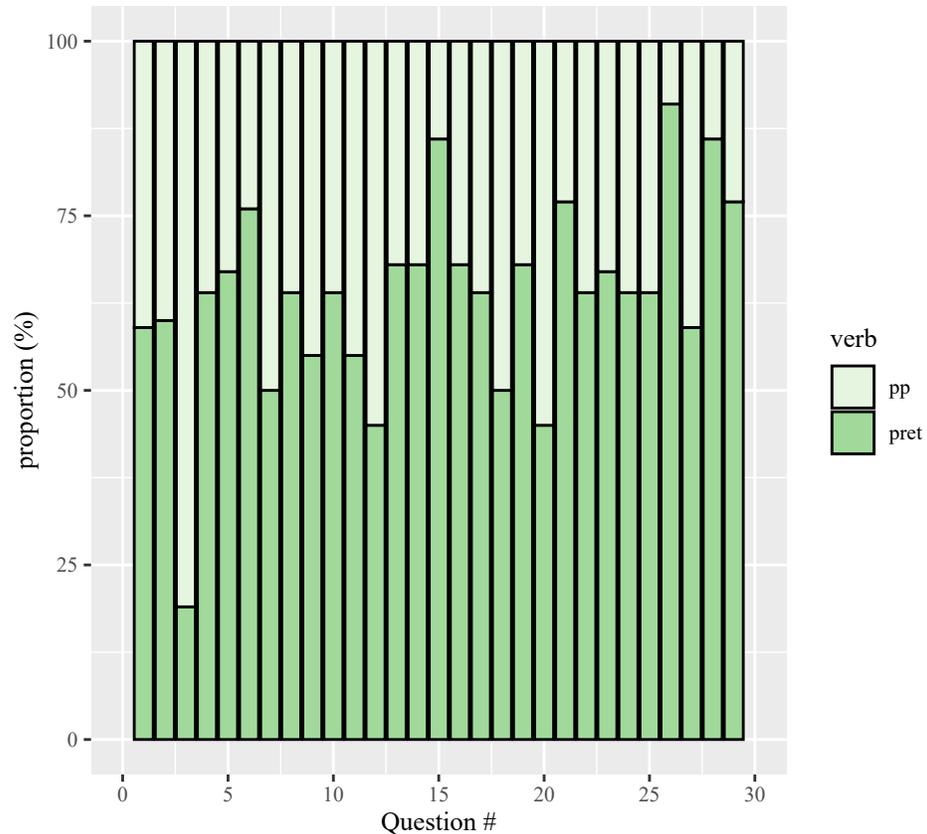


Figure 5.9: Proportion of PP/PRET responses by question

That the PP/PRET selection distribution varies across individual questions is not surprising, given that I expected each question to encode differing degrees of Emotive Proximity. To explore the correlation between the expected and observed response distribution in the questionnaire, I first ascribed each task question an Emotive Proximity (EP) score. The EP score took into account the factors Affected Entity-Speaker Relationship and Anticipated Impact and provided me with a quantitative means of determining the extent to which each task question encoded an emotional and/or psychological link between a speaker and an event.

To calculate EP scores, the numeric values of corresponding levels of the ‘relationship’ and ‘anticipated impact’ factors were added, the sum of which was divided by two to determine the average. The scores for the levels of ‘relationship’ are as follows: nonhuman = 1, stranger = 2, acquaintance = 3, family/friend = 4, self = 5. For the factor ‘anticipated impact’, the point scale is the following: small = 1, moderate = 2, great = 3. In this way, the task questions’ EP scores ranged from 1-4; 1 encodes (the furthest) emotive distance, and 4 denotes (the closest) emotive proximity. Recall that it is hypothesized that the PP selection rate will increase as emotive proximity increases– the higher the EP score, the higher the PP selection rate will be. Below is a scatter plot that illustrates the overall PP selection rates against each question’s EP score. Since the standard deviation of PP selection rates was 14.28, any rate that was at least 14 percentage points above or below the mean selection rate (36%) was highlighted in dark red and labeled with the question number.

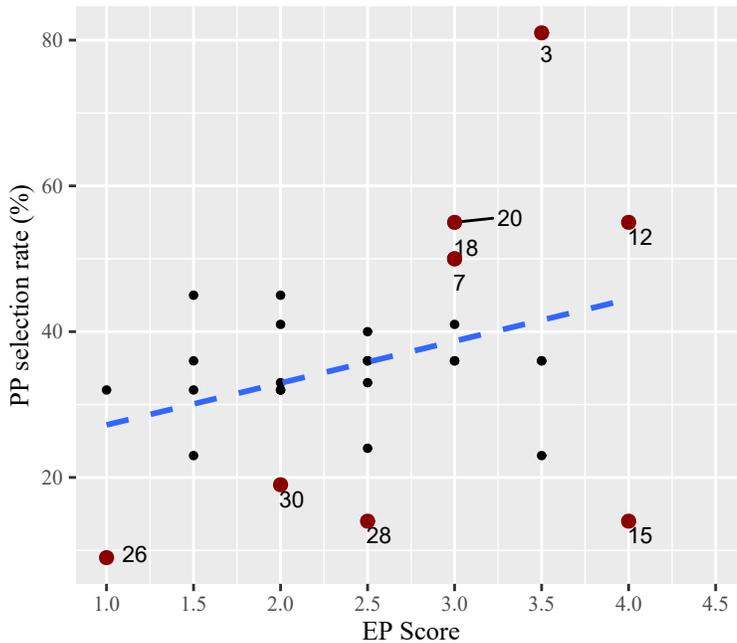


Figure 5.10: Scatter plot of PP selection rate by EP score

As illustrated in the scatter plot, there was a moderate positive correlation between PP selection rates and questions’ EP scores, indicated by the trend line (dotted blue line). The Pearson product-moment correlation coefficient was 0.33 and was statistically significant according to the correlation test performed in R ( $t = 1.8771$ ,  $df = 28$ ,  $p\text{-value} = 0.035$ ). Despite the large amount of scatter, it appears that the questions for which the PP was selected at an unexpectedly

<sup>38</sup> By ‘unexpected’, I am referring to any rate that is at least 14 percentage points  $\pm$  the mean rate of 36%. Therein ‘unexpectedly high’ refers to any value  $\geq 50\%$ ; ‘unexpectedly low’ refers to any value  $\leq 22\%$ .

high rate<sup>38</sup> were also ones for which EP scores were high. Similarly, three of the four questions for which PP selection rates were unexpectedly low also had relatively lower EP scores. There was only one question for which the PP selection rate was unexpectedly low and EP score was high: Question 15. It is possible this unexpected result is due to a discrepancy between its EP score, which is partially rooted in my subjective judgments and does not encode an actual degree of impact, and participants’ impact ratings rooted in their own personal experiences. To investigate this, I compared all anticipated impact scores against participants’ ratings and found that, overall, the anticipated and observed impact ratings were comparably rated by me and the participants, respectively. In the tables below, I show the counts and percentages of participants’ impact ratings for each question. The questions are grouped according to their anticipated ratings (*small, moderate, great*), and each question’s most highly selected impact rating (*none, small, moderate, great*) is highlighted in light gray. The first table below indicates all participants’ impact ratings on the questions which I ascribed a ‘small’ impact rating:

Table 5.II: Overall ratings for questions with anticipated ‘small’ impact

Anticipated impact: small				
Question #	None	Small	Moderate	Great
Question 1	6 (27%)	11 (50%)	4 (18%)	1 (5%)
Question 5	4 (19%)	11 (52%)	6 (29%)	0 (0%)
Question 6	6 (29%)	6 (29%)	9 (43%)	0 (0%)
Question 9	4 (18%)	11 (50%)	7 (32%)	0 (0%)
Question 11	2 (9%)	13 (59%)	3 (14%)	4 (18%)
Question 14	4 (18%)	9 (41%)	4 (18%)	5 (23%)
Question 19	2 (9%)	13 (59%)	5 (23%)	2 (9%)
Question 20	3 (14%)	13 (59%)	4 (18%)	2 (9%)
Question 26	3 (14%)	9 (41%)	10 (45%)	0 (0%)
Question 29	8 (36%)	6 (27%)	6 (27%)	2 (9%)

The group of questions ascribed a small impact rating were mostly rated as having either no impact or a small impact by the participants. There were only two instances in which the rating that occurred the most was higher than a ‘small’ rating: Question 6 and Question 26 were mostly rated as having a ‘moderate’ impact. However, if we conflate the ‘none’ and ‘small’ categories, given that the anticipated impact scores are based on three categories and do not include ‘none’ as a factor level, the percentages for these two questions are higher than that of ‘moderate’: 58% for Question 6 and 55% for Question 26.

Among the group of questions that were ascribed a ‘moderate’ impact rating, participants rated most of them as also having a ‘moderate’ degree impact. This is displayed in Table 5.13 below:

Table 5.12: Overall ratings for questions with anticipated ‘moderate’ impact

Anticipated impact: moderate				
Question #	None	Small	Moderate	Great
Question 2	1 (5%)	10 (50%)	9 (45%)	0 (0%)
Question 4	4 (18%)	6 (27%)	9 (41%)	3 (14%)
Question 7	1 (5%)	9 (41%)	8 (36%)	4 (18%)
Question 13	1 (5%)	8 (36%)	13 (59%)	0 (0%)
Question 17	1 (5%)	14 (64%)	7 (32%)	0 (0%)
Question 18	1 (5%)	6 (27%)	15 (68%)	0 (0%)
Question 22	2 (9%)	4 (18%)	11 (50%)	5 (23%)
Question 27	1 (5%)	10 (45%)	11 (50%)	0 (0%)
Question 28	1 (5%)	11 (52%)	9 (41%)	0 (0%)
Question 30	0 (0%)	7 (33%)	13 (62%)	1 (5%)

Four of the ten questions were most often rated as having a ‘small’ degree of impact (Question 2, Question 7, Question 17, Question 28), although the second highest rating for each of these questions was ‘moderate’. The difference between these ‘small’ and ‘moderate’ impact ratings for Question 2, Question 7, and Question 28 was small: 50% vs. 45%, 41% vs. 36%, and 52% vs. 41%, respectively. Put another way, the ‘small’ impact rating was selected only once more than the ‘moderate’ rating for Question 2 and Question 7 and only twice more for Question 28. This leads me to speculate that the ‘moderate’ degree of impact with which I described the the events in question was not far off from participants’ observed ratings. In the case of Question 17, however, the difference between my anticipated ‘moderate’ impact and participants’ observed ‘small’ impact was much greater. Whereas 7 participants rated the event as having a ‘moderate’ degree of impact (32% overall), twice as many participants rated the impact as ‘small’ (64% overall). Thus, it appears my ‘moderate’ impact rating in Question 28 does not reflect that of the participants’ general sentiments.

Of the questions for which I rated the degree of impact as ‘great’, most were ascribed a ‘moderate’ degree of impact by the majority of the participants. See the table below:

Table 5.13: Overall ratings for questions with anticipated ‘great’ impact

Anticipated impact: great				
Question #	None	Small	Moderate	Great
Question 3	1 (5%)	3 (14%)	6 (29%)	11 (52%)
Question 8	0 (0%)	3 (14%)	12 (55%)	7 (32%)
Question 10	0 (0%)	4 (14%)	10 (45%)	8 (36%)
Question 12	0 (0%)	2 (9%)	5 (23%)	15 (68%)
Question 15	0 (0%)	1 (5%)	15 (68%)	6 (27%)
Question 16	1 (5%)	3 (14%)	16 (73%)	2 (9%)
Question 21	0 (0%)	7 (32%)	3 (14%)	12 (55%)
Question 23	0 (0%)	0 (0%)	3 (33%)	6 (67%)
Question 24	0 (0%)	1 (5%)	11 (50%)	10 (45%)
Question 25	0 (0%)	4 (18%)	11 (50%)	7 (32%)

Still, for those questions whose ratings were mostly ‘moderate’, the difference in frequency between the ‘moderate’ rating and the second most highly selected ‘great’ rating was not very disparate: 12 vs. 7 for Question 8, 10 vs. 8 for Question 10, 11 vs. 10 for Question 24, and 11 vs. 7 for Question 25. This suggests that the degree of impact for these questions remained on the higher end of the gradient category, in accordance with my expectations. However, there were two instances in which my anticipated degree of impact clearly did not reflect participants’ overall ratings. For Question 15, only 6 of the 22 ratings (27%) indicated a ‘great’ degree of impact; the number of ‘moderate’ impact ratings was more than double that amount (15, 68%). This difference was even more disparate for Question 16, in which 73% of impact ratings were ‘moderate’, and only 9% of participants’ ratings indicated a ‘great’ impact. In fact, the second highest impact rating for Question 16 was ‘small’ (14%). These findings indicate that Question 15 and Question 16, unlike my expectations, generally encoded a ‘moderate’–instead of ‘great’– degree of impact.

Furthermore, it is notable that, although Question 21 was most highly rated as having a ‘great’ impact–in line with my expectations–the second most frequent impact rating for this questions was ‘small’ (32%). In contrast, in all other instances in which the most frequent impact rating was ‘great’, the second most frequent rating was always ‘moderate’. In the case of Question 21, it seems participants’ responses diverge into two separate categories belonging to opposite sides of the spectrum: whereas most participants view the event as having a great impact, others predominantly consider its impact as ‘small’. In terms of how my anticipated impact ratings measure up to participants’ overall ratings, it appears

that my ‘great’ impact rating is comparable to only one of the participants’ two prevailing judgments.

To examine how disparate my anticipated impact ratings were from those provided by the participants, I converted the participants’ impact ratings into numerical values and used the average of their scores to reflect an overall rating by the participants. To accomplish this, participants’ ratings were scored using the following point scale: none = 0, small = 1, moderate = 2, great = 3. For each question, participants’ ratings were added together using these numerical values, and the sum was divided by the number of ratings provided, resulting in an average score. Because my Anticipated Impact ratings were provided in integers, and participants’ Observed Impact ratings were calculated via their average scores, the latter more accurately reflected impact ratings along a continuum.

My ratings seem to align with the participants’ ratings generally. For questions for which I ascribed ‘small’, ‘moderate’, and ‘great’ ratings, participants’ average ratings were also relatively low, moderate, and high. The figure below displays a plot of my impact ratings (Anticipated Impact Score on the y-axis) against participants’ averaged impact ratings (Observed Impact Score on the x-axis).

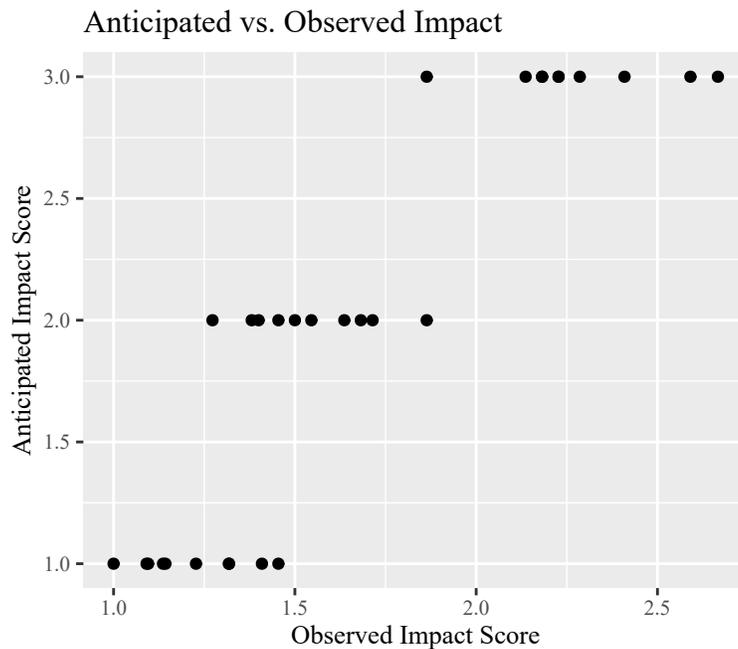


Figure 5.11: Plot of Anticipated vs. Observed Impact Scores

The central tendency of the participants’ ratings was approximately 1.5. In terms of the IQR, 50% of the averaged ratings were between 1.3 and 2.2. In

contrast, the first and third quartiles of my anticipated impact ratings were the lowest possible value (1 = 'small') and the highest possible value (3 = 'great'). Participants' ratings were lower overall than my anticipated ratings, which is likely due in part to the fact that participants' rating options included 'none'. I scored them as having 0 points in my calculations of participants' average impact rates, which naturally caused the calculated average to gravitate toward a value lower than the anticipated scores.

Given these differences, I re-examined the PP selection rate for each question using Adjusted EP scores<sup>39</sup>, which replaced my anticipated impact ratings with participants' average ratings. Overall, there does not appear to be much of a difference between the two, although the Adjusted EP scores better reflect the scalar nature of the EP factor itself. The scatter plot below shows PP selection rates across the questions' Adjusted EP scores:

<sup>39</sup> Whereas EP scores were calculated via Affected Entity-Speaker Relationship and *Anticipated* Impact ratings, Adjusted EP scores are comprised of Affected Entity-Speaker Relationship and *Observed* Impact ratings, that is, participants' averaged Impact scores.

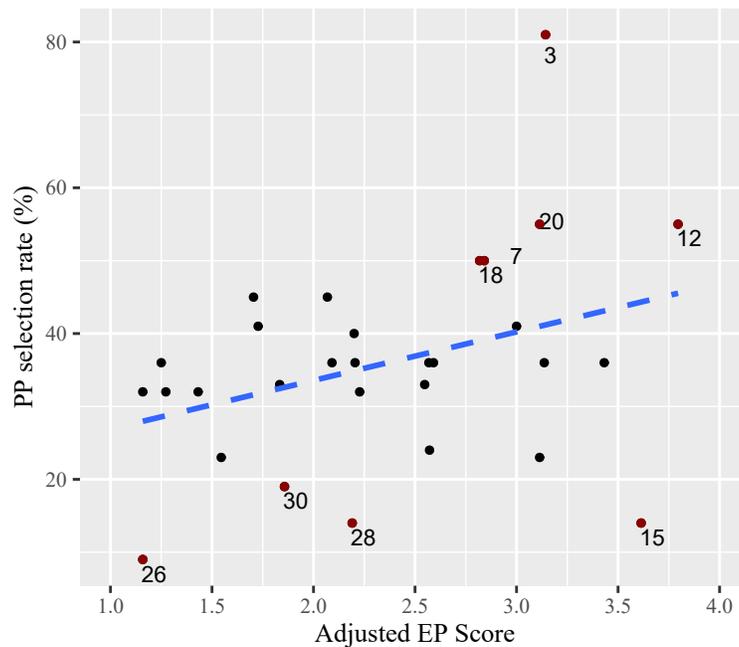


Figure 5.12: Scatter Plot of PP Selection by Adjusted EP Scores

As before, Adjusted EP scores are slightly lower than the original EP scores. Additionally, Question 15 had an unexpectedly low PP selection rate given its high EP score. As I initially categorized this questions as having a 'Great' Degree of Impact (3 points), the Relationship score for Question 15 (self = 5 points) led to an Original EP score of 4. In contrast, participants' averaged Impact Rating was 2.2; the corresponding Adjusted EP score was 3.6. Despite this lower Adjusted EP score (4 vs. 3.6), it remains unclear why the PP was selected

at such a low rate (14%) for this particular question. The context of Question 15 is provided below for further exploration:

(67) Question 15:

*Ud. sale caminando del trabajo. Mientras camina, un hombre muy agresivo le asalta y le roba todo. Una semana después Ud. le cuenta a su mejor amigo sobre la experiencia traumática. Ud. le dice, 'Un hombre más terrible me (asaltó / ha asaltado) en la calle!'*

'You leave your job on foot. While you are walking, a very aggressive man assaults you and steals everything. A week later you tell your best friend about the traumatic experience. You tell them, 'A terrible man (assaulted / has assaulted) me in the street!'

I anticipated that, given the physical and psychological trauma associated with being personally assaulted and robbed (relationship = 'self' (5 points); anticipated impact = 'high' (3 points)), participants would select the PP at a higher rate than the PRET. Instead, Question 15 does not follow the same trend as the other questions (i.e. the higher the EP score, the higher the PP selection rate). Potential reasons for this discrepancy will be discussed further in Chapter 8.

### 5.2.2 Binomial logistic regression with mixed effects

I ran a binomial logistic regression with mixed effects using the function *glmer* in R. A generalized linear mixed-effects model (GLMM) was fit using Maximum Likelihood (ML). The dependent variable was PP/PRET selection across each question in the questionnaire task, and participants were included as a random variable. The explanatory variables that were initially included for consideration are the following: education level, residence, sex, LDS, LDS group, age group, Anticipated Impact ratings, individual Observed Impact ratings<sup>40</sup>, averaged Observed Impact ratings<sup>41</sup>, Affected Entity-Speaker Relationship, Familiarity, original EP scores<sup>42</sup>, individual Adjusted EP scores<sup>43</sup>, and averaged Adjusted EP scores<sup>44</sup>.

To determine which variables to include in the model, I began by creating a null model that included only the random variable (participants) with no predictors. I then slowly built upon the initial model by adding variables one by one until all variables were included. I also created numerous additional models that included different iterations of the aforementioned factors in search of the best fit model. I compared each model's AIC scores and used the *anova* function in R to locate any statistically significant differences between models.

<sup>40</sup> Individual Observed Impact ratings are those provided by each participant for each hypothetical situation.

<sup>41</sup> Averaged Observed Impact ratings refer to the mean score of all participants' individual Observed Impact ratings per question

<sup>42</sup> Original EP scores were calculated via Affected Entity-Speaker Relationship and Anticipated Impact scores.

<sup>43</sup> Individual Adjusted EP scores refer to the Adjusted EP scores ascribed to each question number by each participant.

<sup>44</sup> Averaged Adjusted EP scores were calculated via Affected Entity-Speaker Relationship and participants' averaged Impact ratings.

One model in particular had the lowest AIC and BIC scores and showed a statistically significant difference from all other models, for which reason it was selected for analysis.

The best fit model included participants' averaged EP score as the only predictive fixed-effects variable in PP/PRET selection. The estimated coefficient, which was statistically significant, is approximately 0.32 and indicates the expected change in log odds of PP selection per a one-unit increase in participants' averaged EP score. The change in log odds (0.32) was converted into the change in (simple) odds via exponentiation:  $\exp(0.32)=1.377$ . These odds indicate that for a one-unit increase in averaged EP scores, we can expect to see about a 38% increase in the odds of PP (vs. PRET) selection. Therein, the task questions with higher averaged EP scores were more likely to take the PP form over the PRET, and PP selection was less likely as the averaged EP score decreased. The output summary below displays the regression coefficients of this model:

Table 5.14: Logistic Regression Output Summary

	Model
(Intercept)	-1.43*** (0.35)
EP_avg	0.32** (0.12)
AIC	793.23
BIC	806.61
Log Likelihood	-393.61
Num. obs.	640
Num. groups: partID	22
Var: partID (Intercept)	0.65

\*\*\* $p < 0.001$ ; \*\* $p < 0.01$ ; \* $p < 0.05$

According to the statistically significant intercept (-1.43), which is the estimated log odds of PP when the average EP score is *hypothetically* 0, the simple odds of PP vs. PRET in such a context is 0.24<sup>45</sup>. Therefore the probability of PP selection is smaller than that of PRET selection when the average EP score is, hypothetically, zero.

With these logistic regression results and the statistical findings concerning frequencies and proportions of participants' questionnaire responses, I now return to my first two research questions: (1) What is the overall distribution of PP/PRET among monolingual and bilingual speakers from Cusco, Peru, and

<sup>45</sup> The simple odds were calculated by exponentiating the coefficient of the intercept using the *exp* function in R.

how do these findings compare to previous research of PP/PRET use in Peru?  
(2) What are the language-internal and language-external factors that determine regional PP/PRET use, and how do they compare to its distribution?

Firstly, with respect to the overall distribution of PP/PRET tokens, 36% of the responses were PP (230/640); 63% were PRET (410/640). This percentage is within my expected rate of PP selection. It is higher than what has been observed in Latin American varieties (e.g. 15%/85% in Mexico (Schwenter and Torres Cacoullós, 2008); 6%/94% in Argentina (Rodríguez Louro, 2009)) and remains slightly higher than 27%, the proposed rate of PP/PRET distribution in non-Andean Peruvian Spanish (Caravedo, 1989). Concerning how this distribution is realized according to speakers' language dominance, the Quechua-dominant speakers (LDS 1) selected PP the least (23%). I expected the reverse (i.e. Quechua-dominant speakers will select PP the most). Instead, the highest rate of PP selection was observed among the LDS 3 group. The Spanish-dominant and Spanish-monolingual speakers (LDS 4) selected PRET at the second highest rate (101/142, 71%). I leave open the possibility that these unexpected results are due, at least in part, to the small sample size of participants, especially Quechua-dominant ones. I expect the analysis of the interview data will inform this question in greater detail.

As for the conditioning factors of PP selection, the following eleven questionnaire and demographic variables were examined: Affected Entity-Speaker Relationship, Anticipated Impact, participants' individual Impact ratings, participants' averaged Impact ratings, Original EP scores (which used my Anticipated Impact ratings), individual Adjusted EP scores (which used participants' individual Impact ratings), participants' averaged Adjusted EP scores (which used the average of participants' Impact ratings), Familiarity ratings, age group, sex, residence, education level, LDS, and LDS group. Of these variables, the only statistically significant variable that transpired in the best fit model was participants' averaged Adjusted EP score. These findings demonstrated that there exists a positive correlation between Emotive Proximity, as measured by the relationship between an affected entity and the 'self' and the degree of impact encoded by an event<sup>46</sup>, and PP selection. That EP conditions PP selection in the questionnaire data suggests more broadly that the PP among the speakers encodes subjective notions related to the relevance or importance of an event for a speaker. That is, my results suggest the PP can denote completed past actions about which a speaker feels some kind of emotional connection. This notion will be explored further and illustrated in Chapter 7.

<sup>46</sup> Recall that the degree of impact encoded in each task question in this case was calculated using participants' averaged Impact ratings.

### 5.3 Summary

This chapter has explored the PP/PRET questionnaire data set. From 24 completed questionnaires, there were 717 PP/PRET responses: 259 PP tokens (36%) and 458 PRET tokens (64%). In Section §5.1, I analyzed participants' individual PP selection rates in order to determine whether there was a correlation between participants' PP selection and their demographic characteristics. These characteristics included: language dominance (in terms of a mono-/bilingual classification and an LDS group), age group, sex, residence, and education level.

The average rate of PP selection was higher among bilinguals ( $n=19$ , 38%) than monolinguals ( $n=5$ , 28%), although no statistically significant difference was observed between the two groups. I also examined participants' PP/PRET selection according to an LDS group to account for the disparate sample sizes between the monolingual and bilingual speaker groups. It additionally recognizes the dynamic, scalar character of bilingualism, eschewing the discreteness betokened in the terms 'monolingual' and 'bilingual'. After placing participants across four language dominance groups along a scale of Quechua-dominant (LDS 1) to Spanish-dominant (LDS 4), it was observed that the median rates of PP selection by each LDS group were, in descending order: LDS 2 (38.4%,  $n=8$ ) > LDS 3 (30.5%,  $n=6$ ) > LDS 1 (30.0%,  $n=5$ ) > LDS 4 (26.7%,  $n=5$ ). Although there was no statistically significant difference between LDS groups, these findings show PP selection rates generally decreased as Spanish dominance increased, despite the unexpected result that the Quechua-dominant group (LDS 1) selected the PP at a rate similar to that of the LDS 3 group.

I plotted participants' LDSs against their individual PP selection rates and observed a weak negative correlation between them: the more Quechua-dominant a speaker was, the higher their rate of PP selection, and vice versa. This correlation, however, was not statistically significant. I also ran a multiple linear regression to determine which demographic factors, if any, conditioned participants' PP selection rates. The demographic factors that were examined in the regression analysis were: age group, sex, residence, education, and LDS group. None resulted in statistical significance.

In Section §5.2, I considered individual questionnaire responses as data points. First, I investigated the raw frequencies and proportions of PP/PRET tokens across five demographic variables (i.e. age group, sex, residence, education, LDS group) and four questionnaire variables (i.e. Affected Entity-Speaker Relationship, Anticipated Impact<sup>47</sup>, Observed Impact<sup>48</sup>, Familiarity). Additionally, the distribution of PP/PRET selection was examined across each speaker and each question number in the questionnaire.

<sup>47</sup> This variable is comprised of my Impact ratings

<sup>48</sup> This variable is comprised of participants' Impact ratings

Concerning PP/PRET selection across demographic variables, the proportion of PP selection was highest among adults<sup>49</sup> (41%; vs. middle-aged<sup>50</sup>: 35%, youth<sup>51</sup>: 31%), females (37%; vs. males: 34%), urban speakers (37%; vs. rural: 30%), speakers with post-secondary education (40%; vs. secondary education: 31%), and LDS 3 (48%; vs. LDS 2: 39%, LDS 4: 29%, LDS 1: 23%). These results did not align with my expectations, given that I hypothesized PP selection would be higher among the factors that generally characterize Quechua-dominant speakers, that is, older speakers in rural areas having little access to formal education. Unexpectedly, the highest proportions of PP selection to PRET selection were observed among factors that generally characterize Spanish-dominant speakers: adults (23-32 yrs.) in urban areas having (at least some) post-secondary education. It is very possible that these results are explained by hypercorrection, that is, participants' overuse of perceived standardized forms (DeCamp, 1972; Hubers et al., 2020). Additionally, I suspect these unexpected findings are also due to the biased nature of the data elicitation task, skewing the results. A precondition of completing the questionnaire task was literacy. Given that non-literacy rates are observed among Quechua-dominant speakers in rural areas typically (INEI, 2018), their participation was automatically disfavored. As a result, the sample sizes of participants across factor groups are not only small—which is problematic in itself—but also disparate. For instance, whereas 19 participants were from an urban residence, only 3 were from a rural area. Additionally, most of the participants (n=13) had (at least some) post-secondary education, and there were no participants who had no education. Therein, it seems the results are more reflective of PP/PRET distribution by Spanish-dominant speakers than by all speakers. Consequently, although PP rates appear higher across factors attributed to Spanish-dominant speakers (i.e. adults, urban speakers, post-secondary education levels, LDS 3), I suggest a task that ensures equitable participation by Quechua-dominant and Spanish-dominant speakers alike will more accurately and more appropriately reflect PP/PRET distribution in the region. In this respect, I believe the interview task supplements the current analysis of the questionnaire data and, moreover, improves upon it.

Concerning PP/PRET selection across the questionnaire variables, the proportion of PP selection was highest when the Affected Entity-Speaker Relationship was Family/Friend (43%; vs. Self: 39%, Acquaintance: 34%, Stranger: 34%, Nonhuman: 29%), the Anticipated Impact was 'Great' (38%; vs. Moderate: 36%, Small: 34%), the Observed Impact was 'Great' (44%; vs. Small: 36%, Moderate: 35%, None: 23%), and the Familiarity rating was 'Great' (49%; vs. Small: 37%, Moderate: 33%, None: 29%). Furthermore, in consideration of that fact that each of these factors was gradient, it appears to be generally the case that

<sup>49</sup> The age range for 'adults' was 23-32 years old.

<sup>50</sup> The age range for 'middle-aged' speakers was 33-35 years old.

<sup>51</sup> The age range for 'youths' was 18-22 years old.

the proportion of PP to PRET selection decreased as each factor's proximity level decreased, albeit not without the conflation of some factor levels.

According to my proposed hierarchy of Emotional Proximity encoded in the factor Affected Entity-Speaker Relationship, the level of emotional closeness felt by the speaker would be highest when the 'Self' was affected. Therefore, I hypothesized the PP selection rate would be highest in this context. According to my results, the highest rate of PP selection took place when the affected entity was a family member or friend (43%), although the selection rate when the affected entity was the self came in a close second at 39%. The selection rates for 'Acquaintance' and 'Stranger' levels were identical, at 34%, and the lowest rate was observed when the affected entity was not human (29%). Despite the fact that PP selection was higher when affected individuals were family members and friends, vs. the self, there does appear to be a distributional pattern, whereby PP selection decreased as emotional closeness decreased. This is especially true if the levels were conflated in the following way: Family/Friend/Self (41%) > Acquaintance/Stranger (34%) > Non-human (29%). With the factors Anticipated Impact, Observed Impact, and Familiarity, the highest and lowest PP selection rates occurred in the levels that I proposed encoded the highest and lowest levels of emotional closeness, respectively. As expected, the relationship between PP selection and Anticipated Impact is positively correlated, whereby PP selection increased as Anticipated Impact increased. The differences between the selection rates, however, are slight, each one differing from the other by 2%: 'Great Impact' 38% > 'Moderate Impact' 36% > 'Small Impact' 34%. For both factors Observed Impact and Familiarity, PP selection rates were lowest when the factor level was 'None', as expected. However, selection rates were slightly higher among 'Small' ratings than 'Moderate' ratings (i.e. 'Small Observed Impact' 36% > 'Moderate Observed Impact' 35%; 'Small Familiarity' 37% > 'Moderate Familiarity' 33%). I suspect a conflation of these two factor levels 'Small' and 'Moderate' would render a more straightforward presentation of the degree to which Emotional Proximity is encoded by these factors. After conflating the factor levels in this way, a positive correlation is observed between PP selection rates and the purported hierarchy of Emotional Proximity encoded in each of these factors. That is to say, PP selection rates increased as Observed Impact increased: None 29% > Small/Moderate 36% > Great 44%. Additionally, PP selection rates increased as Familiarity ratings increased: None 29% > Small/Moderate 35% > Great 49%.

Crucial for investigating whether the regional PP is acquiring epistemic meanings, I used the Affected Entity-Speaker Relationship and (Anticipated and Observed) Impact factors to ascribe Emotive Proximity (EP) scores to each

question. An Original EP score was ascribed to each of the thirty questions in the questionnaire, using the Affected Entity-Speaker Relationship value and my Anticipated Impact rating. Plotting Original EP scores by PP selection rates, the trend line indicated a moderate positive correlation between them, which was statistically significant.

Interestingly, there were four questions for which the PP selection rates were ‘unexpectedly’ low, that is, the selection rates for these four questions were at least fourteen percentage points below the mean rate of 36%. Three of these questions with unexpectedly low selection rates also had EP scores of 2.5 or below. On the other hand, there were five questions with ‘unexpectedly’ high selection rates, that is, their selection rates were at least fourteen percentage points above of the mean rate. Each of these five questions had EP scores of 3.0 or higher. Based on these findings, it seems that questions for which PP selection rates were lower or higher than usual<sup>52</sup> also had EP scores belonging to the lower and higher ends of the scale. These results highlight a correlative relationship between PP use and EP, although there was one instance in which the PP selection rate was unexpectedly low and had a corresponding EP score on the higher end of the scale, at 4.0.

In further examining this correlation between PP use and EP, I compared my Impact ratings with those of the participants to see how accurately my Impact ratings, and thus my EP scores, reflected participants’ impressions. The results showed that, in general, Anticipated Impact scores reflected participants’ Observed Impact scores. Broadly speaking, the hypothetical situations in the questionnaire for which I ascribed Small, Moderate, and Great Impact ratings were also rated by the participants as having a Small, Moderate, and Great impact. I then calculated Adjusted EP scores, which replaced my subjectively labeled Anticipated Impact ratings with Observed Impact ratings. Plotting Adjusted EP scores by PP selection rates, findings were similar to what was observed in the scatter plot of Original EP scores by PP selection rates. Specifically, questions for which PP selection rates were lower or higher than usual<sup>53</sup> also had EP scores belonging to the lower and higher ends of the scale, respectively.

Next, I ran a binomial logistic regression analysis with mixed effects to determine which of the demographic and questionnaire factors, if any, conditioned PP/PRET selection. According to the model of best fit, there was one conditioning factor of PP/PRET selection in the questionnaire data: participants’ averaged Adjusted EP score. Recall that the averaged Adjusted EP score was calculated using Affected Entity-Speaker Relationship and the mean score of participants’ Observed Impact ratings. Each of thirty questions in the questionnaire encoded a degree of Emotional Proximity, which was measured by (i) the

<sup>52</sup> By ‘usual’, I am referring to the mean rate of PP selection by all participants who completed the questionnaire, which was 36%.

<sup>53</sup> By ‘usual’, I am referring to the mean rate of PP selection by all participants who completed the questionnaire, which was 36%.

degree of closeness in the relationship between the ‘speaker’ (i.e. participant) and the entity affected in the hypothetical situation and (ii) the average score of the participants’ impressions concerning the degree of Impact that characterized each hypothetical situation. Crucially, according to the logistic regression analysis, it was this EP score that predicted PP/PRET selection; the higher the EP score, the higher the likelihood of PP selection. Put another way, as the emotional/psychological link between the speaker and the past event strengthened, the chances of PP selection increased.

In closing, the results of my analysis of the questionnaire data suggest innovative PP use by these participants may be a product of Quechua-Spanish bilingualism in the contact region. Specifically, a negative correlation was observed, albeit a weak one, between participants’ Spanish language dominance and their PP selection rates; as participants’ Spanish dominance increased, their respective PP selection rates decreased. Additionally, upon investigating which demographic and questionnaire factors, if any, condition PP/PRET selection, it appears PP/PRET selection was predictable according to the degree of EP that each question encoded. In other words, as the degree of Emotional Proximity increased, the chances of PP selection increased. Overall, these findings lend support to the hypothesis that the PP in Peruvian Andean Spanish is acquiring epistemic meanings as it undergoes subjectivization, an internal development process accelerated by contact. In the next chapter (Chapter 6), I continue this investigation of PP/PRET variation in Cusco Spanish by conducting statistical analyses on oral Spanish data from sociolinguistic interviews.

# CHAPTER 6

## RESULTS & ANALYSIS: SOCIOLINGUISTIC INTERVIEW DATA

Whereas the previous chapter (Chapter 5) examined PP/PRET selection in the questionnaire data and the epistemic use of PP to signal Emotional Proximity, the current chapter (Chapter 6) is supplemental to the investigation of PP use in Peruvian Andean Spanish as it explores the distribution and conditioning factors of PP/PRET use in the interview data. Similar to the quantitative analysis in Chapter 5, the current quantitative analysis of the interview data enhances our understanding of PP use in the regional variety, particularly how its conditioning factors compare to those ascribed to other Spanish varieties. Likewise, the results and analysis in the current chapter address Research Questions 1 and 2, repeated below for convenience:

**Research Question 1:** What is the overall distribution of PP/PRET among monolingual and bilingual speakers from Cusco, Peru, and how do these findings compare to previous research of PP/PRET use in Peru?

**Research Question 2:** What are the language-internal and language-external factors that determine regional PP/PRET use, and how do they condition its distribution?

In Section §6.1, I report and analyze the statistical findings in the interview data centered around participants' PP/PRET production rates. These production rates will be evaluated: for the entire sample population, across monolingual and bilingual participants, and for participants according to their language dominance. Doing so informs Research Question 1 inasmuch as it outputs a statistic representative of PP/PRET distribution by various monolingual and

bilingual speakers of Cusco Spanish and elucidates the distributional differences, if any, across speakers' monolingualism/bilingualism and/or their language dominance. This will be useful also as I compare the aggregate distribution of PP/PRET variation in the data set against that of other studies.

In Section §6.2, I examine the distribution of PP/PRET tokens across all non-linguistic and linguistic explanatory variables. Section §6.2.1 treats the raw frequencies and proportions of PP to PRET use across five extra-linguistic factors (i.e. age group, sex, residence, education, LDS group), and §6.2.2 treats the frequencies and proportions across eight linguistic factors (i.e. temporal reference, grammatical subject, polarity, sentence type, object type, lexical aspect, adverbial, clause type).

Following the descriptive presentation of frequencies and proportions of PP/PRET tokens in §6.2, I perform a binomial logistic regression with mixed effects in Section §6.3. In doing so, I determine which of the aforementioned factors, if any, determine participants' PP/PRET use in the interview data, in response to the queries posed in Research Question 2. Finally, Section §6.4 is reserved for a summary of my findings concerning the analysis of PP/PRET use in the interview data.

## 6.1 Participants' PP production rates and language dominance

Of the total 3,645 PP/PRET tokens, which were extracted from 26 sociolinguistic interviews, there were 1,114 tokens of PP (30.6%) and 2,531 tokens of PRET selection (69.4%). Consider the table below:

Table 6.1: PP/PRET counts in interview data

Past tense form	Frequency (#)	%
PP	1,114	30.56
PRET	2,531	69.44
Total	3,645	100

The rate of PP production, which is calculated as the number of participants PP tokens divided by their total number of PP and PRET tokens, was calculated for each participant. Overall, the mean rate of PP production was approximately 36%; the median rate was approximately 10 percentage points lower at 26%. See the summary of central tendency statistics below:

Table 6.2: Summary of Central Tendency Statistics: PP production rates (n=26)

Min.	1st Qu.	Median	Mean	3rd Qu.	Max.
0.00	10.83	26.38	36.11	53.01	100.00

Upon closer inspection, there were three participants who provided no more than four tokens in total. Participant #25 produced only one token (1 PP), which is due to the fact that our interview was entirely in Quechua. The participant used Spanish in one instance to repeat a question she was given by the interviewer (*¿Cuándo he nacido?*). Participant #43 produced two tokens (2 PP). His interview responses focused predominantly on present and habitual past actions, regularly eliciting present tense and Imperfect morphology. When asked to recount a specific memory of a special day during his youth, for instance, the participant spoke broadly of the happiness he felt regularly during various sports events and holiday celebrations with friends and family.

Additionally, Participant #44 produced only four tokens (4 PP) for a couple of reasons. Most of the allotted interview time with the bilingual participant took place in Quechua; not much time was reserved for the Spanish interview. Secondly, most of the participant's responses in the Spanish interview related habitual past actions and present tense narrations of community customs and traditions. For example, when asked to recount her wedding day, the participant largely described traditional wedding ceremony procedures in her town, eliciting present tense morphology. Given the low token frequencies (and consequent high PP rates) of these three participants, I discarded them from the data set to prevent skewed distribution of the data. The summary of the central tendency statistics of the updated interview data set is provided below:

Table 6.3: Summary of Central Tendency Statistics: PP production rates (n=23)

Min.	1st Qu.	Median	Mean	3rd Qu.	Max.
0.00	10.59	21.71	27.77	37.75	96.73

The updated mean of participants' PP rates is approximately 28%; the updated median is slightly lower around 22%. The density plot below displays the distribution of participants' PP production rates in this updated interview data set:

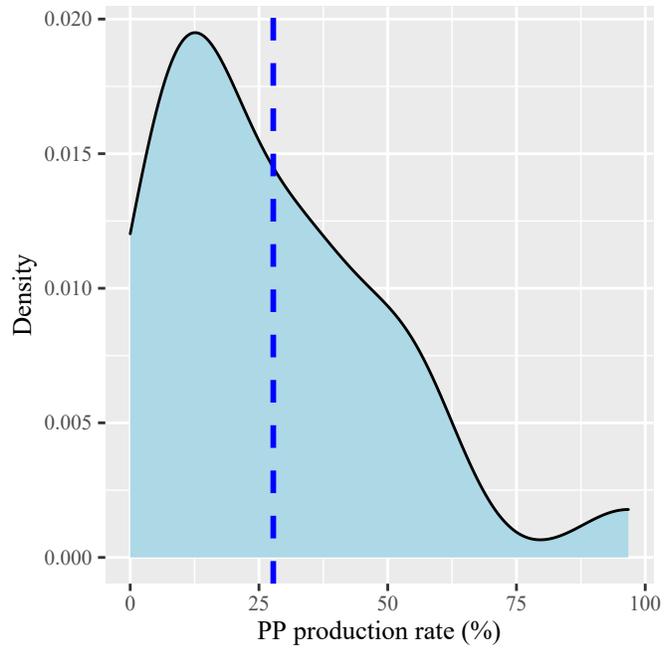


Figure 6.1: Density plot of PP production rates

The data was not normally distributed, according to the Shapiro-Wilk test for normality ( $W = 0.84605$ ,  $p\text{-value} = 0.001194$ ). The boxplot of the interview data displays the interquartile ranges (IQR) of participants' PP production rates and identifies one outlier (96.7%, Participant ID #56).

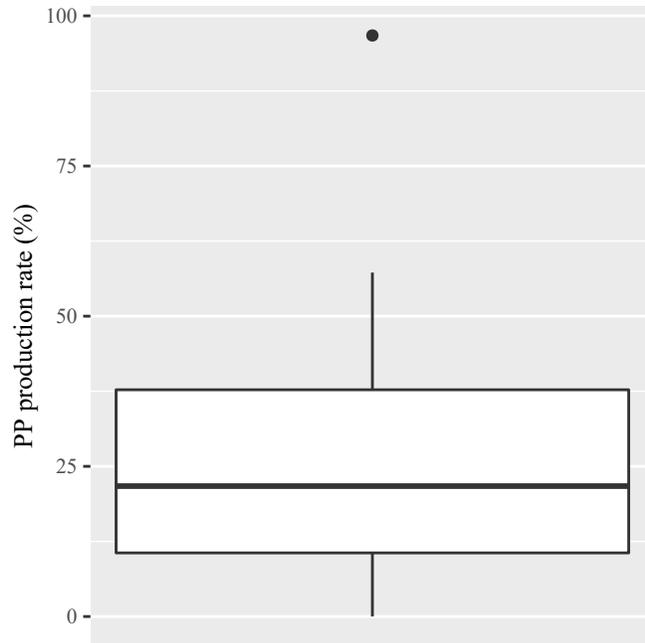


Figure 6.2: Boxplot of PP production rates

For the remainder of this analysis of the interview data, I include the outlier score because it is not the result of a coding or sampling error. Additionally, that the PP production rate was markedly high does not justify its exclusion, given that the participant indeed produced the compound form 96.7% of the time. To exclude the legitimate data point from the analysis would be misrepresentative of the sample population.

For the interview data, the participants were grouped into three separate categories according to their language dominance scores: LDS 1 ( $LDS < 0$ ), LDS 2 ( $0 \leq LDS < 3$ ), LDS 3 ( $3 \leq LDS$ ). According to the average PP production rates by each LDS group, it appears that as participants' Spanish dominance increased—as measured according to their LDS group placement, their PP production decreased. Consider the central tendency statistics summary:

Table 6.4: PP production rates per LDS group

	Min.	1st Qu.	Median	Mean	3rd Qu.	Max.
LDS1	10.47	27.75	49.11	47.67	54.30	96.73
LDS2	2.82	9.68	19.31	23.83	37.20	54.76
LDS3	0.00	11.19	15.34	20.66	25.00	57.26

According to Table 6.4, the central tendencies of PP production rates were the highest for the Quechua-dominant LDS 1 group, with median and mean pro-

duction rates of 49.1% and 47.7%, respectively. Both of these statistics dropped for the LDS 2 group, having a median rate of 19.3% and a mean rate of 23.8%. These values dropped slightly further for the Spanish-dominant LDS 3 group, whose median and mean PP productions rates were 15.3% and 20.7%, respectively. The distribution of PP production rates across LDS groups is illustrated further in the box plots below:

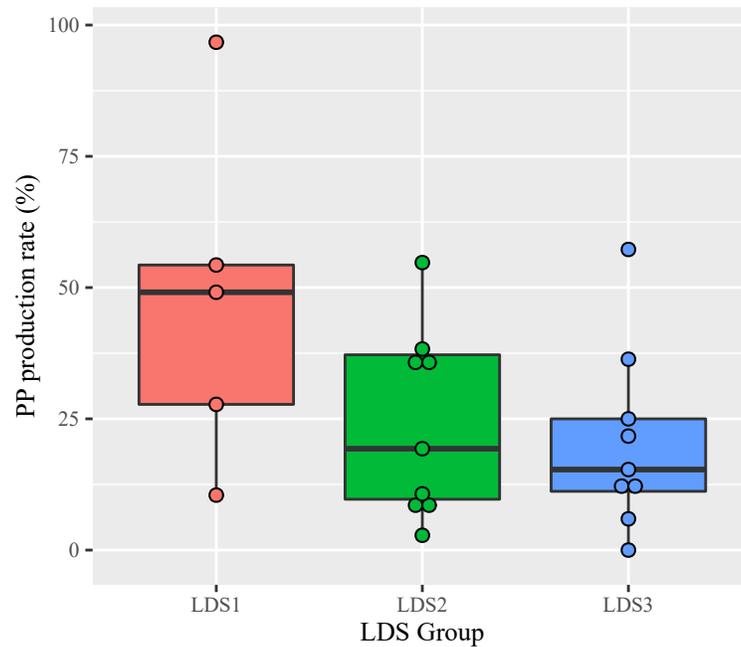


Figure 6.3: Boxplot of PP production rates by LDS group

Visualized in the box plots above, there appears to be a negative correlation between PP production rates and LDS groups; as Spanish dominance increases, the rate of participants' PP production decreases. According to a parametric one-way ANOVA<sup>54</sup>, however, the differences in PP use across LDS groups were not statistically significant ( $p > 0.05$ ).

<sup>54</sup> Per the assumptions of a parametric test, the data, when subset into LDS groups, were normally distributed according to a Shapiro-Wilk test for normality ( $p > 0.05$ ).

Table 6.5: Parametric one-way ANOVA results

	Df	Sum Sq	Mean Sq	F value	Pr(>F)
LDS.group	2	0.26	0.13	2.79	0.0851
Residuals	20	0.92	0.05		

Although PP production rates across LDS groups did not result in statistical significance, I also examined PP production across participants' individual

LDSs to determine whether there was a correlation between PP use and language dominance. Since the Quechua-dominant LDS 1 group consisted of five speakers, and the LDS 2 and LDS 3 groups consisted of nine speakers each, I suspect the small and disparate sample sizes emit a poor reflection of PP production by each LDS group. Therein, the scatter plot below displays the observed values and fitted regression line modeling participants' PP production rates according to their individual language dominance scores.

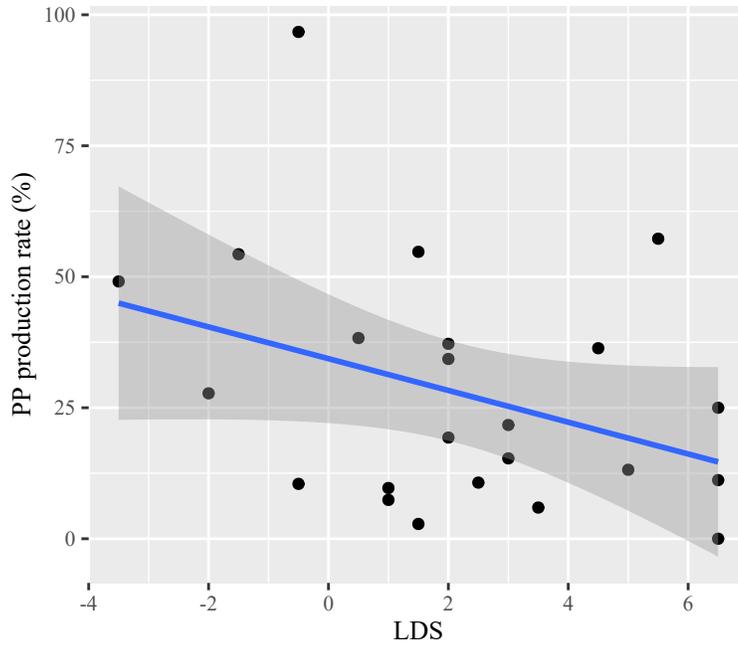


Figure 6.4: PP production rate by LDS

The Pearson product-moment correlation coefficient of the relationship between participants' language dominance scores and PP production rates was  $-0.36$ , which indicates a moderate, negative correlation. This correlation was statistically significant according to the test for association via the `cor.test()` function in RStudio ( $t = -1.7771$ ,  $df = 21$ ,  $p_{\text{one-tailed}} = 0.04502$ ). These results indicate that there is indeed a correlation between participants' language dominance and their PP production rates: as participants' Spanish-dominance increases, their PP production rates decrease, and vice versa.

## 6.2 Raw frequencies and proportions of PP and PRET tokens

In what follows, I change my focus in the interview data from participants' PP production rates to the overall distribution of PP/PRET tokens. I provide an account of the descriptive statistical findings of the data, addressing the raw frequencies and proportions of PP/PRET tokens across all non-linguistic factors in §6.2.1 and across all linguistic factors in §6.2.2. This is followed by a regression analysis using a generalized linear mixed model (GLMM) in Section §6.3 to explore predictive statistical findings concerning the (non-)linguistic conditioning factors on PP/PRET use.

### 6.2.1 PP/PRET distribution across non-linguistic factors

As stated previously, approximately 31% all PP/PRET tokens in the interview data were PP (1,114/3,645), and approximately 69% (2,531/3,645) tokens were PRET; these data come from 26 participants. Concerning participants' age group, the highest rate of PP production came from the older generation, who produced the PP most of the time, at 76%. The older participants produced a much lower overall frequency of PP/PRET tokens ( $n=491$ ) compared to the other speakers, which I attributed to the fact that there were only 5 participants in the 'older' (51+ yrs.) category. The other age group categories included 7 participants each. Given this small sample size, I presume the rate of PP production among the older generation is unusually high and may not reflect their actual performance. The second highest rate of PP production was observed in the middle-aged (31-50 yrs.) group, at a much lower rate of 36%. The lowest PP rates were observed among the adults (22-30 yrs.) and youths (18-21 yrs.) with comparable rates of 18% and 19%, respectively.

Of the 26 total participants, 12 were males, and 14 were females. The latter produced a greater overall frequency of PP/PRET tokens ( $n=2,046$  vs.  $n=1,599$ ) and a higher overall rate of PP. The males produced PP 23% of the time; the females' PP/PRET rate was 36%/64%.

That most of the participants were from an urban area (16/26 participants) explains why there were approximately 1,500 more PP/PRET tokens from urban participants than from rural participants. In terms of the proportion of PP/PRET production between urban and rural participants, the latter had a higher rate of PP production. Urban participants' PP rate was 28%; the rural participants' PP rate was 36%.

A large majority of participants reached post-secondary education levels. Specifically, 18 of the 26 participants had completed, at least partially, some post-secondary education. One participant had no education, two had completed at least one year of primary education, and five had reached the secondary level of education. Additionally, there were only 6 overall PP/PRET tokens from the two participants with a primary education. These discrepancies lead me to suspect that the current findings do not reflect actual PP/PRET performance in terms of speakers' education levels. However, it does appear to be the case that PP rates generally decrease as speakers' education levels increase. Participants with post-secondary education (n=18) produced PP 20% of the time; those with secondary education (n=5) produced PP almost half of the time (47%). Participants with primary education (n=2) and no education (n=1) greatly favored PP use over PRET: 100%/0% and 97%/3%, respectively.

With respect to PP/PRET production across LDS groups, there were 8 participants belonging to the LDS<sub>1</sub> group, and 9 participants each in LDS<sub>2</sub> and LDS<sub>3</sub>. The Quechua-dominant speakers (LDS<sub>1</sub>) used the PP most of the time (57%). The LDS<sub>2</sub> group produced the second highest PP rate (25%), followed by the Spanish-dominant group (LDS<sub>3</sub>) with the lowest PP rate (21%).

The contingency table below displays the raw frequencies and proportions of each verb form across each of the between-subjects, extra-linguistic explanatory variables.

Table 6.6: PP/PRET counts across between-subject variables

	PP	PP(%)	PRET	PRET(%)	Total
<b>Age group</b>					
Youth	220	19%	914	81%	1,134 (100%)
Adult	196	18%	912	82%	1,108 (100%)
Middle-aged	324	36%	588	64%	912 (100%)
Older	374	76%	914	24%	491 (100%)
Total	1,114	31%	2,531	69%	3,645 (100%)
<b>Sex</b>					
Male	371	23%	1,228	77%	1,599 (100%)
Female	743	36%	1,303	64%	2,046 (100%)
Total	1,114	31%	2,531	69%	3,645 (100%)
<b>Residence</b>					
Urban	716	28%	1,831	72%	2,547 (100%)
Rural	398	36%	700	64%	1,098 (100%)
Total	1,114	31%	2,531	69%	3,645 (100%)
<b>Education</b>					
None	266	97%	9	3%	275 (100%)
Primary	6	100%	0	0%	6 (100%)
Secondary	303	47%	344	53%	647 (100%)
Post-secondary	539	20%	2,178	80%	2,717 (100%)
Total	1,114	31%	2,531	69%	3,645 (100%)
<b>LDS group</b>					
LDS 1	477	57%	363	43%	840 (100%)
LDS 2	271	25%	819	75%	1,090 (100%)
LDS 3	366	21%	1,349	79%	1,715 (100%)
Total	1,114	31%	2,531	69%	3,645 (100%)

The proportions of PP/PRET tokens for these explanatory, between-subjects variables (i.e. age group, sex, residence, education, LDS group) are captured visually in the bar plots below:

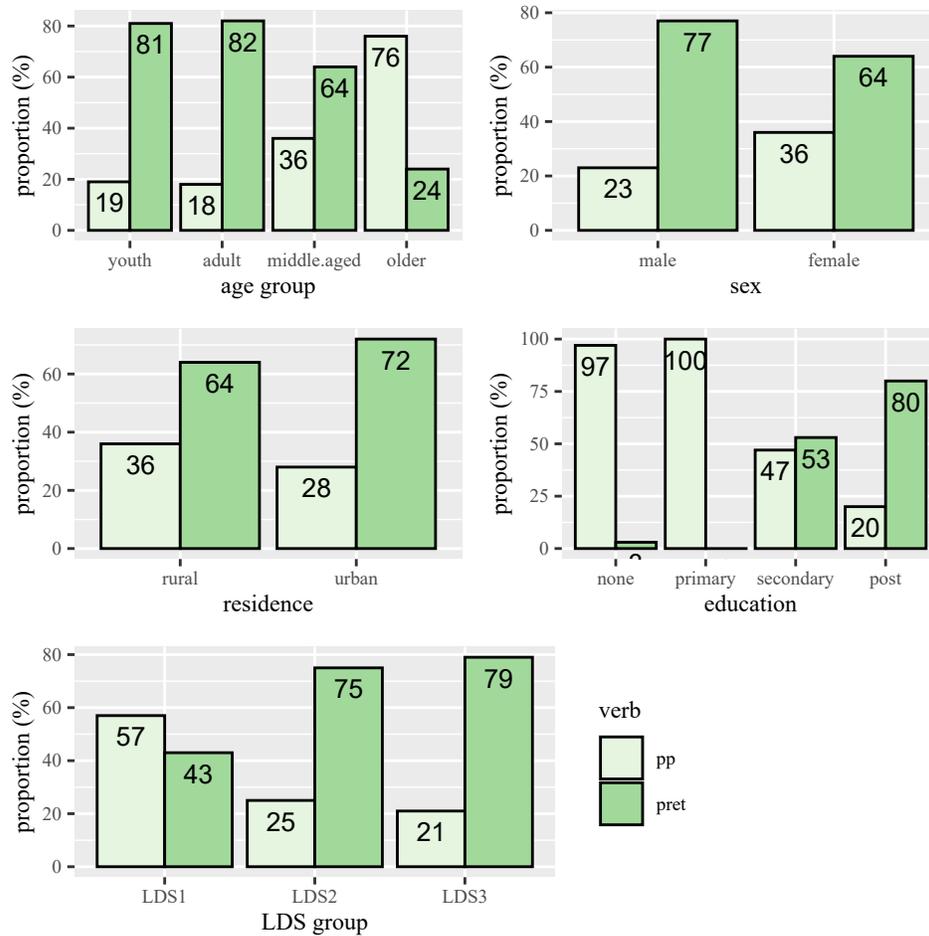


Figure 6.5: Proportions of PP/PRET across between-subjects variables

As illustrated in Figure 6.5 above, there appears to be a noteworthy difference in PP/PRET use rooted in these demographic factors. Concerning the quantitative distribution of the PP in the interview data set, my findings that it is more widely used among older generations, females, rural speakers, speakers with little to no access to formal education, and/or Quechua-dominant bilinguals. Crucially, these findings lead me to posit that the widely-recognized high rate of the Andean PP is rooted, at least in part, in language contact effects. This position is evidenced by the fact that the highest PP rates in the data set are observed among demographic features that characterize Quechua-dominant speakers (i.e. older, rural, low education). Furthermore, given that females produced the PP at a higher rate than males (36% vs. 23%), I wonder if this is illustrative of the Gender Paradox theory (Labov, 1990, 2001), according to which women use innovative forms more than men in contexts of language change from below, that is, language change below the level of a speaker's conscious

awareness. Change ‘from below’ is a widely attested motivation for language change in Andean Spanish research (see for example Godenzzi, 1995; Klee, 1996; Alvord et al., 2005; Klee and Caravedo, 2005; Paredes and Valdez, 2008; Klee and Lynch, 2009).

Additionally, I calculated inter-speaker frequencies and proportions of participants’ PP/PRET production in the interview data. The results are provided in the contingency table below, followed by a corresponding bar plot:

Table 6.7: PP/PRET counts across speakers

Participant ID#	PP	PP(%)	PRET	PRET(%)	Total
Participant 3	71	25%	213	75%	284 (100%)
Participant 13	16	11%	127	89%	143 (100%)
Participant 15	0	0%	124	100%	124 (100%)
Participant 18	8	7%	100	93%	108 (100%)
Participant 19	12	11%	100	89%	112 (100%)
Participant 23	28	19%	117	81%	145 (100%)
Participant 25	1	100%	0	0%	1 (100%)
Participant 30	58	28%	151	72%	209 (100%)
Participant 32	47	34%	90	66%	137 (100%)
Participant 34	61	37%	103	63%	164 (100%)
Participant 35	112	36%	196	64%	308 (100%)
Participant 37	82	54%	69	46%	151 (100%)
Participant 39	55	49%	57	51%	112 (100%)
Participant 41	67	57%	50	43%	117 (100%)
Participant 43	2	100%	0	0%	2 (100%)
Participant 44	4	100%	0	0%	4 (100%)
Participant 45	9	10%	77	90%	86 (100%)
Participant 48	4	3%	138	97%	142 (100%)
Participant 49	35	13%	231	87%	266 (100%)
Participant 50	10	6%	158	94%	168 (100%)
Participant 51	28	22%	101	78%	129 (100%)
Participant 52	6	10%	56	90%	62 (100%)
Participant 53	27	15%	149	85%	176 (100%)
Participant 54	69	55%	57	45%	126 (100%)
Participant 55	36	38%	58	62%	94 (100%)
Participant 56	266	97%	9	3%	275 (100%)
Total	1,114	31%	2,531	69%	3,645 (100%)

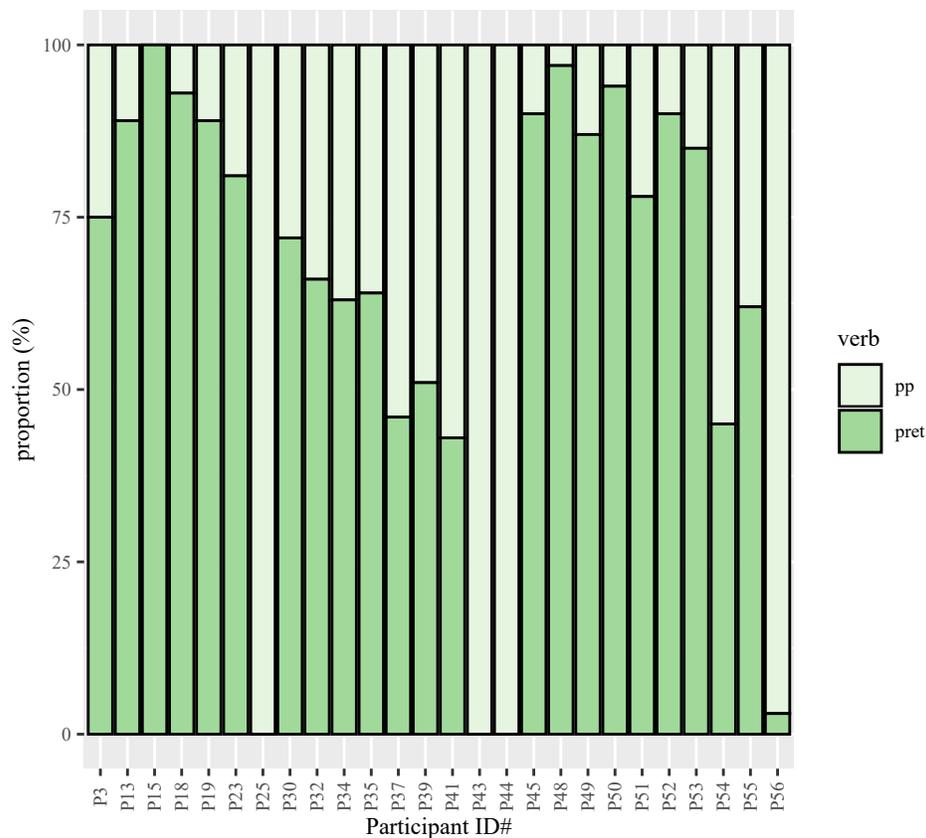


Figure 6.6: Proportions of PP/PRET across participants

As indicated in Table 6.7 and illustrated in Figure 6.6, there was great variability of PP/PRET use across participants. For instance, while Participant #15 exclusively used the PRET form (100%), Participant #56 almost never used the form (3%). Additionally, the PP rates by Participants #25, #43, and #44 were 100%, although their high PP use is explained by an overall low frequency of PP/PRET tokens: 1, 2, and 4, respectively. To account for this inter-speaker variability in PP/PRET distribution, I perform a logistic regression with mixed effects, in which participants are set as random variables (see §6.3). Additionally, I exclude the four participants whose responses were categorical. Given that the past verb tokens used by Participants 15, 25, 43, and 44 were categorically PP or PRET, these individuals' data are not factored into the regression analysis.

### 6.2.2 PP/PRET distribution across linguistic factors

In addition to the between-subjects factors just discussed, I examined PP/PRET distribution across eight linguistic variables: temporal reference, grammatical

subject, polarity, sentence type, object type, lexical aspect, adverbial, and clause type.

### Temporal Reference

Recall that temporal reference conditions the Peninsular perfect as a hodiernal past perfective, replacing the Simple Past in same-day contexts (Schwenter, 1994; Schwenter and Torres Cacoullós, 2008). Because prehodiernal and hodiernal contexts are temporally anchored to specific, past reference points, they should disfavor canonical perfects, as is observed in Mexican Spanish (Schwenter and Torres Cacoullós, 2008). Recall also that perfect functions should be favored when temporal reference can not be queried or is left unspecified, as in irrelevant and indeterminate temporal contexts, respectively. According to my hypothesis that the Andean PP is undergoing a subjectivization process, I anticipate that, unlike Peninsular perfects, the PP in the current data set will be favored in temporally unspecified contexts (i.e. indeterminate, irrelevant), similar to traditional functions of the perfect. However, I also expect that it will not be as strongly disfavored with temporally specific reference, as in Mexican Spanish for example.

Table 6.8 below displays the frequencies and proportions of PP/PRET production across temporal reference contexts:

Table 6.8: PP/PRET counts across temporal reference

Temporal Reference	PP	PP(%)	PRET	PRET(%)	Total
Prehodiernal	802	25%	2,419	75%	3,221 (100%)
Hodiernal	52	67%	26	33%	78 (100%)
Indeterminate	109	83%	23	17%	132 (100%)
Irrelevant	151	71%	63	29%	214 (100%)
Total	1,114	31%	2,531	69%	3,645 (100%)

Most of the temporal reference contexts were prehodiernal ( $n=3,221$ ), which is not surprising given that the participants were asked to recount various past experiences. This likely explains why, of all the PP tokens ( $n=1,114$ ) in the data set, most of them (72%) were observed in prehodiernal contexts. Relative to PRET use, the proportion of PP use was the lowest in these prehodiernal cases, at 25%. There were only 78 overall hodiernal PP/PRET tokens, of which the PP was favored at 67%; the PRET appeared 33% of the time. Concerning unspecified temporal reference, the PP was highly favored in both indeterminate and irrelevant contexts, at 83% and 71%, respectively. See Figure 6.7 below for a

visual of the proportions of PP/PRET distribution across temporal reference contexts:

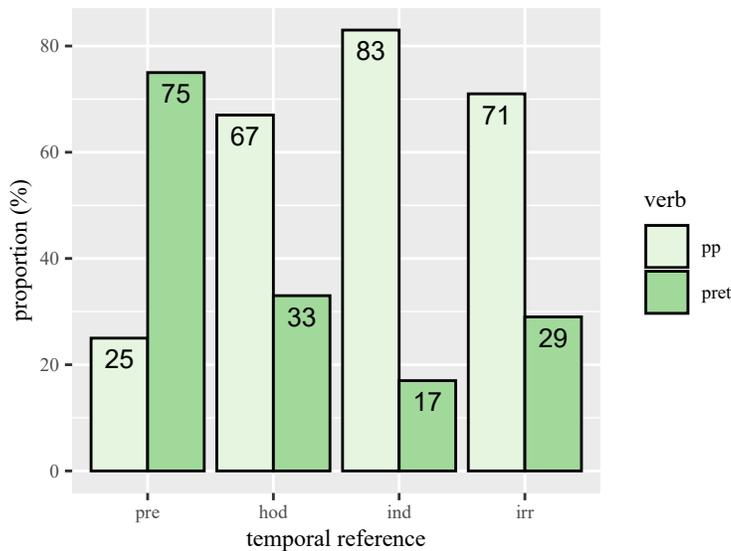


Figure 6.7: Proportions of PP/PRET across temporal reference

Consonant with my expectations, it appears the PP is indeed highly favored over the PRET in temporally unspecified contexts, an indication of its retention of perfect functions. That the high rate of PP to PRET use is observed in hodiernal contexts (67%/33%) suggests the semantic domain of the compound past has expanded, encoding temporally specific past events akin to the hodiernal perfective use of the Peninsular PP<sup>55</sup>. Unlike the Peninsular PP, however, there does not appear to be a distance effect (i.e. Aoristic Drift) determining PP/PRET variation in Cusco. Whereas Schwenter and Torres Cacoullós (2008) found the Peninsular PP was used nearly categorically in hodiernal contexts, the ‘near-obligatoriness’ witnessed in their study is not observed in the rate of the PP here, despite it being elevated from the overall PP rate, 31%, to 67%. Additionally, although the simple past is favored in prehodiernal contexts (75%) in the current data, the temporal reference encoded by the PP appears to be more flexible than in other Spanish varieties. It was used at a rate approximating the overall rate at 25% (vs. the overall rate: 31%); no strong disfavoring effect is observed. These results suggest that the Andean PP behaves uniquely in terms of its temporal reference. Compared to most Latin American Spanish varieties, it is used to encode past perfective events to a much greater degree, as evidenced by its predominant use in hodiernal (i.e. temporally specific) contexts. However, unlike Peninsular Spanish, contrastive PP/PRET use does not appear to be governed categorically between hodiernal/prehodiernal temporal contexts.

<sup>55</sup> To be clear, hodiernal contexts are not by themselves perfective. In accordance with the coding procedures by Schwenter and Torres Cacoullós (2008), hodiernal (and prehodiernal) events are considered temporally ‘specific’ given their definite anchoring to past time reference points. Temporal specificity was treated as a loose measure of perfectivity due to its definite temporal anchoring. (‘Non-specific’ events, being temporally unanchored, were classified as having Indeterminate or Indefinite reference.)

## Grammatical Subject

Recall that grammatical subjects were coded to examine the role of speaker subjectivity in PP/PRET use. According to Schwenter and Torres Cacoullos (2008) and Rodríguez Louro (2016), first person subjects should favor the PP if it encodes speakers' subjective attitudes and beliefs. Likewise, third person subjects should favor the PP if and when they refer to entities close to the speaker. Concerning this last point, third person subjects were not coded for proximity to the speaker in the interview data, although this relationship was captured in the questionnaire data via the factor Affected Entity-Speaker Relationship (see Chapter 5).

According to my results, PP/PRET tokens were largely from 1st person subjects ( $n=1,641$ ; 45%) and 3rd person subjects ( $n=1,506$ ; 54%). Concerning the former, the rate of PP was 34%, and the latter had a PP rate of 27%. Second person subjects comprised only 1% of the data ( $n=49$ ). The PP was favored in second person subjects (67%), which I assume is due to the nature of the interview data. Approximately half ( $n=24$ ; 49%) of the second person subjects were used in questions and 'if'-clauses. Speakers largely used these second person subjects in reference to the interviewer (i.e. the author) when asking about their (i.e. the author's) personal experiences in Cusco or Peru more generally (e.g. *Have you (ever) seen Machu Picchu?*, *Have you (ever) tried guinea pig?*). This such use falls in line with the experiential function of the PP, which likely explains the high PP rate with 2nd person subjects in the data set. Consider the table below, which displays the frequencies and proportions of PP/PRET distribution across all grammatical subjects:

Table 6.9: PP/PRET counts across grammatical person

Person	Number	PP(%)	PRET(%)	Total
1	S G	349 (27%)	937 (73%)	1,286 (100%)
	P L	210 (59%)	145 (41%)	355 (100%)
	S G+P L	559 (34%)	1,082 (66%)	1,641 (100%)
2	S G	32 (67%)	16 (33%)	48 (100%)
	P L	0 (0%)	1 (100%)	1 (100%)
	S G+P L	32 (65%)	17 (35%)	49 (100%)
3	S G	380 (25%)	1,126 (75%)	1,506 (100%)
	P L	143 (32%)	306 (68%)	449 (100%)
	S G+P L	523 (27%)	1,432 (73%)	1,955 (100%)

The PP with first person subjects is observed at a rate slightly higher than the overall PP rate, and it is more highly favored among first person plural subjects (59%) than first person singular subjects (27%). These proportions are illustrated in the bar plot below (I removed bars corresponding to 2nd person subjects, since those tokens make up only 1% of the data, and their PP use likely reflects experiential functions used in questions posed to the interviewer during the data elicitation task.):

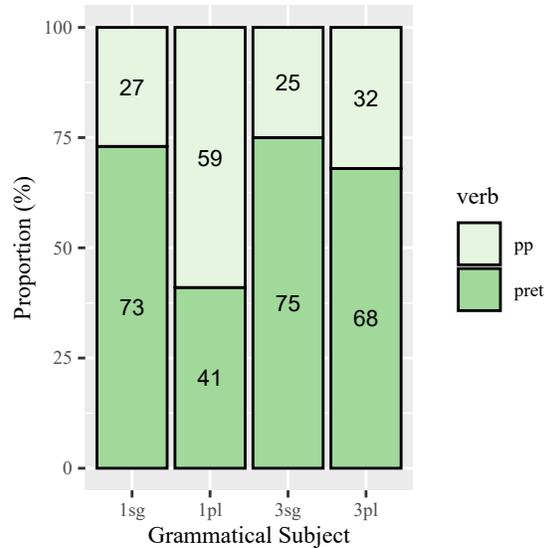


Figure 6.8: Proportions of PP/PRET across grammatical person/number

Although the difference in PP rates between 1st person subjects—a difference of 7%—suggests the compound past may be more subjective than the simple past, such a claim requires further substantiation. Since the PP rate for 1SG subjects resembles that of the overall PP rate, it is likely the case that the elevated PP rate for first person subjects is skewed by the inclusion of first person plural subjects; the latter demonstrate a favoring effect on PP use.

Differential use between 1SG and 1PL morphological forms is widely discussed in research on Spanish subject pronoun expression. There is general agreement among researchers that the widest distinction across variable subject pronoun use in Spanish exists between the 1SG and 1PL forms (Limerick, 2021). Overt pronouns are highly favored in the 1SG form and highly disfavored in the 1PL form (see for example Bentivoglio, 1987; Posio, 2012; Shin, 2012; Limerick, 2021). Posio (2011) credits the high use of overt subject pronouns with 1SG forms to the egocentric nature of discourse. Similarly, Morales (1986) claims

that explicit reference to the self fulfills the speaker's need to stay present in the discourse.

As for the high use of null subject pronouns with 1PL forms, Cameron (1993) posits that, when plural subjects are used, their referents are often present explicitly or inferably in the preceding discourse; this context thus favors null subjects. Bentivoglio (1987) argues the inflectional morphology of the 1PL form *-mos* is the longest and least ambiguous of the verbal forms and therefore does not require accompaniment of the subject pronoun. Likewise, Orozco and Guy (2008) claim that, given the morphological salience of *-mos*, explicit use of *nosotros* is redundant.

Considering these former proposals in the context of variable PP/PRET use, they do not appear to explain the phenomenon at hand. For instance, I do not suspect the structural salience of the 1PL form explains the high use of the PP, given that the inflectional morphology of the simple and compound past equally preserve the allegedly prominent *-mos* ending. Additionally, if it were the egocentricity of the discourse that was governing PP/PRET variation, we would expect to see deviant behavior from 1SG forms in particular. Instead, my results show that not only are the 1PL forms the ones that deviate from the rest, but the rate of PP/PRET use with 1SG forms (27%) is comparable to that of 3SG (25%) and 3PL (32%) forms, too.

From a cross-cultural pragmatic standpoint, this disparity in grammatical number for first person subjects leads me to wonder if the inclusion of other individuals in recounted memories strengthens the event's emotional impact on the speaker. Cultural constructs of Latin American communities are characterized in large part by *familismo*, whereby the needs of the family unit preside over those of the individual (Landale and Oropesa, 2007; Hartnett and Parado, 2012). This overarching value of Latin American relationship structures results in a strong connectedness with immediate and extended family members and an interdependent reliance on each other in decision making and for comfort and emotional support (see also Falicov, 2014; Lauricella et al., 2021). Bearing this prevailing cultural value in mind, it could be the case that an individual's emotional response to a past event is stronger when the subject of the utterance includes one or more individuals—particularly close family members and/or friends—in conjunction with the self, than when it is solely the self. Although I depart from this consideration for now, I return to this topic for further discussion in the Conclusions of the current project (see Chapter 8).

## Polarity

With respect to the potential effects of polarity in PP/PRET distribution, recall that the atelicizing properties of negative polarity are consonant with continuative uses of the Present Perfect. Therefore I anticipated that the PP in the current data set would be produced above the average rate in utterances with negative polarity. On the other hand, I suspected affirmative polarity PP tokens would fall within the average PP rate (31%). Indeed, this appears to be the case in the interview data set, as indicated in Table 6.10 below:

Table 6.10: PP/PRET counts across polarity

Polarity	PP	PP(%)	PRET	PRET(%)	Total
Affirmative	1,008	30%	2,407	70%	3,415 (100%)
Negative	106	46%	124	54%	230 (100%)
Total	1,114	31%	2,531	69%	3,645 (100%)

Overall, there were almost 10 times as many affirmative polarity tokens as negative ones: 1,008 and 106, respectively. The PP to PRET distribution in affirmative cases was exactly 30% to 70%, a distribution that nearly matches the average (31% to 69%). As for negative polarity, the PP rate jumped to almost half, at 46%. See the bar plot of PP/PRET proportion rates across polarity in Figure 6.9 below:

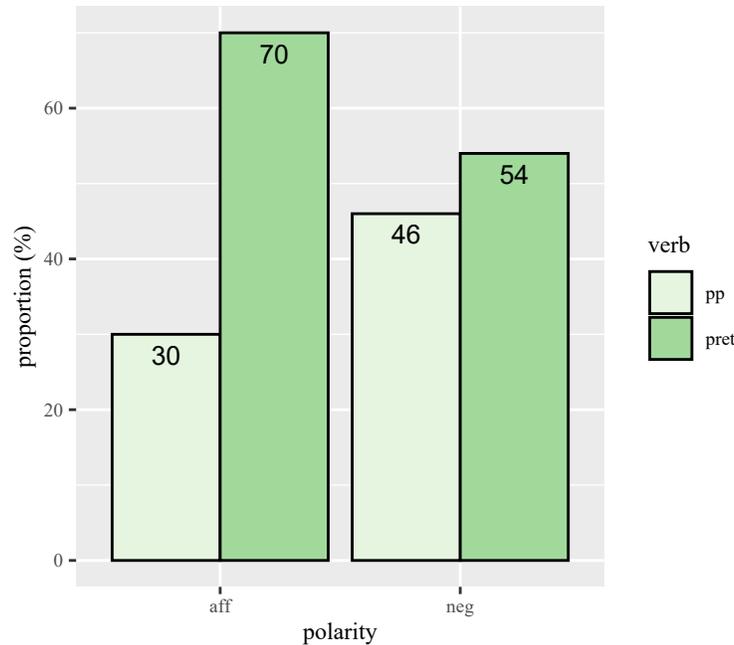


Figure 6.9: Proportions of PP/PRET across polarity

According to these findings in the interview data, it appears that negative polarity indeed favors participants' PP use, which I assume is due to its atelicizing effect. These results suggest PP use in Cusco Spanish remains vulnerable to temporal-aspectual functions of prototypical functions, although this claim will be explored further in the logistic regression analysis in §6.3.

### Sentence type

<sup>56</sup> Given that interview data is exclusively oral, 'sentence' in this case refers to a speaker's utterance, constituted by a complete communicative unit of speech, generally bounded by pauses.

All PP/PRET tokens were also coded for sentence<sup>56</sup> type, distinguishing declarative from interrogative tokens. Interrogative tokens were further classified as either closed (i.e. *yes/no* questions) or open (i.e. *wh-* questions). Questions should favor the PP in general, since they constitute non-assertive contexts (Dahl and Hedin, 2000). Because closed interrogatives are less temporally anchored than open interrogatives (Schwenter, 1994; Schwenter and Torres Cacoullos, 2008), I expect higher rates of PP use to occur in closed questions.

According to my results, there were very few interrogative tokens overall (n=53). Of all 3,645 PP/PRET tokens, 14 (0.4%) were classified as 'closed interrogative'; 39 (1.1%) were classified as 'open interrogative'. Despite this small sample size, there appears to be a favoring effect of interrogative contexts for PP use. Although the PP rate was lower in closed interrogative contexts than in open interrogative contexts (50% v. 74%, respectively), I suspect a greater sample

size of both of these categories is required before propagating any strong conclusions. As for declarative tokens (n=3,592), PP/PRET distribution behaved in accordance with expected distribution rates: 30% PP / 70% PRET. The contingency table and bar plot below illustrate these frequencies and proportion rates of PP/PRET distribution across declarative and interrogative sentences.

Table 6.II: PP/PRET counts across sentence type

Sentence type	PP	PP(%)	PRET	PRET(%)	Total
Declarative	1,078	30%	2,514	70%	3,592 (100%)
Interrogative: Closed	7	50%	7	50%	14 (100%)
Interrogative: Open	29	74%	10	26%	39 (100%)
Total	1,114	31%	2,531	69%	3,645 (100%)

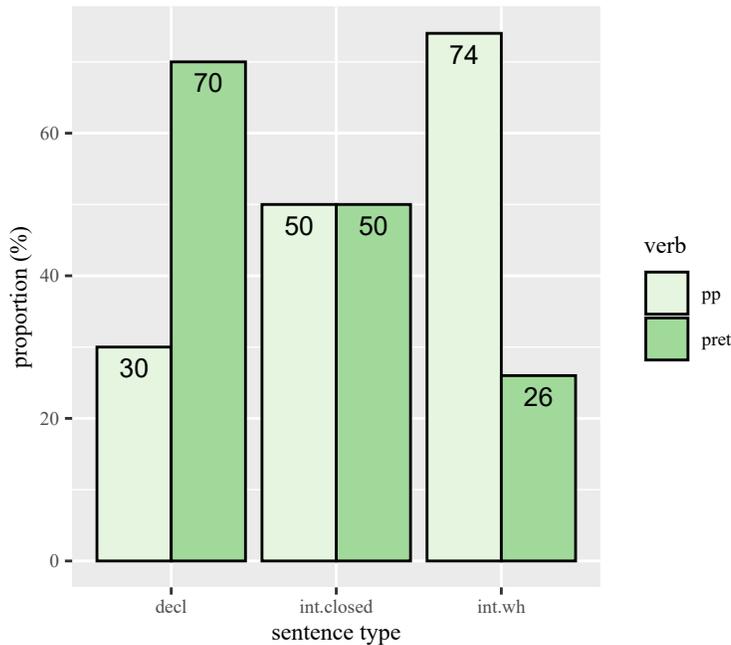


Figure 6.10: Proportions of PP/PRET across sentence type

That the PP is favored in interrogative contexts further demonstrates the favoring effect of non-assertive contexts on PP use, similar to its preference in negative polarity contexts. Again, these findings demonstrate ways in which the compound past has retained its temporal-aspectual behavior.

## Clause type

I coded each token for the following clause types: main clause, interrogative clause, and subordinate clause. As mentioned before, experiential perfects communicate that an event was instantiated some time prior to the moment of speaking. Given the lack of spatio-temporal specification in these perfects, experientials are commonly found in non-assertive contexts, which, as mentioned before, include interrogative clauses.

Recall that subordinate clauses—including relative clauses—should favor narrative uses of the Present Perfect, since they encode background information (Schwenter and Torres Cacoullós, 2008). Subordinate clauses were further classified as relative clause, *cuando*-clause, *si*-clause, or ‘other’ subordinate clause. I anticipated a higher rate of PP use with relative clauses than with other subordinate clauses (e.g. nominal and adverbial clauses) given the adjectival, descriptive function of the former. Additionally, I anticipated a higher use of the PP with *si*-clauses than with *cuando*-clauses, given their differences in spatio-temporal specification. The conditional *si* indicates the possibility of an event, rather than its realization. On the other hand, a *cuando*-clause in which the verb is conjugated for past tense likely encodes the manifestation of an event.

According to my results, approximately 79% of the clauses in the data set were main clauses (n=2,869). ‘Other’ subordinate clauses made up the second highest number of PP/PRET tokens, with 315 overall tokens. There were 235 relative clauses overall and 132 PP/PRET tokens in *cuando*-clauses. The two categories with the lowest number of overall PP/PRET tokens were interrogatives and *si*-clauses, with 79 and 15 overall tokens, respectively. The table below displays these token frequencies and proportions of PP/PRET distribution across clause types:

Table 6.12: PP/PRET counts across clause type

Clause type	PP	PP(%)	PRET	PRET(%)	Total
Main	859	30%	2,010	70%	2,869 (100%)
Interrogative	46	58%	33	42%	79 (100%)
Relative	95	40%	140	60%	235 (100%)
Subordinate- <i>si</i>	6	40%	9	60%	15 (100%)
Subordinate- <i>cuando</i>	22	17%	110	83%	132 (100%)
Subordinate-other	86	27%	229	73%	315 (100%)
Total	1,114	31%	2,531	69%	3,645 (100%)

Most of the PP tokens were observed in main clauses (n=859; 77%), likely due to the overall high proportion of main clauses to all other clause types.

Despite low instances of PP/PRET tokens non-main clauses, there appeared to be a favoring effect on PP use in interrogative clauses (58%)<sup>57</sup>, relative clauses (40%), and *si*-clauses (40%) and a disfavoring effect on PP use in *cuando*-clauses (17%). Consider the bar plot below, which displays the proportion of PP/PRET distribution for each clause type:

<sup>57</sup> The frequency of (closed and open) interrogative sentence tokens (n=53) is lower than that of interrogative clause tokens (n=79). This is not an error; recall that interrogative clauses include embedded interrogative clauses. Therein an utterance like *No sé dónde se fue mi primo entonces* (token #1,329) was classified as a Declarative Sentence and an Interrogative Clause.

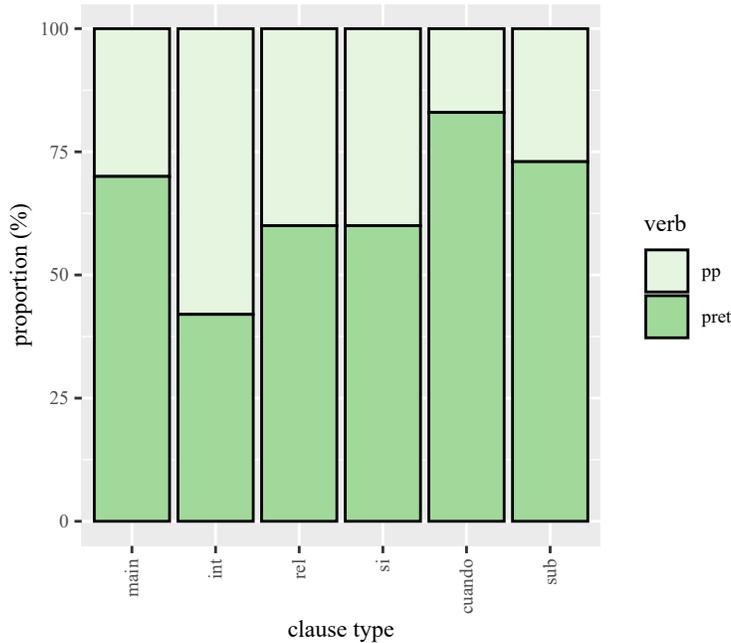


Figure 6.11: Proportions of PP/PRET across clause type

For the most part, these proportions are consonant with my expectations, save the comparable PP rate between ‘other’ subordinate clauses and main clauses (27% and 30%, respectively). If all subordinate clauses—including relative clauses—are collapsed into a single category of subordinate clauses, the rate of PP/PRET distribution is near identical to the overall PP/PRET rate at 30%/70% (subordinate PP: n=209, subordinate PRET: n=488). This leads me to suspect that clause type is not a conditioning factor in PP/PRET use, as attested in other regional Spanish varieties (see Rodríguez Louro (2016) for Argentine Spanish; Schwenter and Torres Cacoullós (2008) for Peninsular Spanish). Further substantiation of this claim will be addressed further in Section §6.3.

### Object type

All PP/PRET tokens were coded for object type, in which factor levels included a ‘singular’ object, ‘plural’ object, or ‘none’. Recall that plural objects can have

an atelicizing effect on a predicate’s aspectual value and usually co-occur with experiential perfects (Schwenter and Torres Cacoullos, 2008; Rodríguez Louro, 2016). Likewise, I anticipated instances of plural objects would favor the PP. This appears to be the case, as indicated in Table 6.13 below:

Table 6.13: PP/PRET counts across object type

Object Type	PP	PP(%)	PRET	PRET(%)	Total
None	826	30%	1,915	70%	2,741 (100%)
Singular	233	30%	532	70%	765 (100%)
Plural	55	40%	84	60%	139 (100%)
Total	1,114	31%	2,531	69%	3,645 (100%)

Three-fourths of the total data set did not have complements (n=2,741). Of the 904 PP/PRET tokens that did have objects, most were singular (n=765). There were 139 instances of plural objects, of which 40% occurred with the PP (n=55), and 60% occurred with the PRET (n=84). Instances of PP and PRET tokens without objects and with singular objects occurred at the same rate: 30%/70%. This rate is near identical to the overall average rate of PP/PRET. See the bar plot below for a visualization of the proportions of PP/PRET distribution across object types:

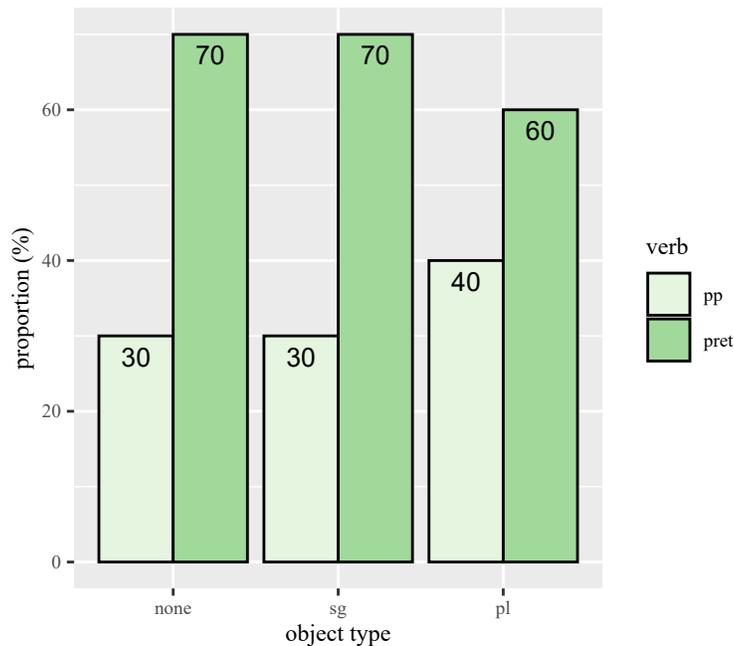


Figure 6.12: Proportions of PP/PRET across object types

In these results a small favoring effect is observed on PP use by plural objects, which I assume is rooted in their atelicizing nature. Plural objects were also found to favor PP use in Mexican Spanish, Peninsular Spanish, and Argentine Spanish (Schwenter and Torres Cacoullós, 2008; Rodríguez Louro, 2016). I interpret these findings to mean that, similar to what has been observed in the other Spanish varieties, PP/PRET use in Cusco is also motivated by (a)telicity effects and has retained diachronically older perfect functions.

### Lexical aspect

I also examined lexical aspect as a conditioning factor of PP/PRET distribution in the data set. In accordance with more recent tripartite treatments of lexical aspect (see for example Dowty, 1986; Verkuyl, 1993; Collins, 2002; Salaberry, 2011), I diverted from the traditional Vendlerian classification and collapsed accomplishments and achievements into a single ‘telic’ category. In this way, each token was coded as one of the following lexical aspect categories: telic, activity, or state. Recall that Aktionsart restrictions are expected to be weaker on present perfects developing toward perfectivity (i.e. Peninsular Spanish). On the other hand, canonical uses of the Present Perfect should display more lexical aspect restrictions, such that telic predicates should favor the PRET, while atelic predicates (i.e. activities and states) should favor the PP.

Approximately half of the overall 3,645 PP/PRET tokens in the current data set were telic verbs (n=1,946; 53%). There did not appear to be a favoring or disfavoring effect of telic verbs on PP/PRET distribution, supported by the fact that the rate of PP/PRET among telic verbs was near identical to the overall average distribution, at 30%/70%. This is indicated in the contingency table below:

Table 6.14: PP/PRET counts across lexical aspect

Lexical Aspect	PP	PP(%)	PRET	PRET(%)	Total
Telic	577	30%	1,369	70%	1,946 (100%)
Activity	358	38%	580	62%	938 (100%)
State	179	24%	582	76%	761 (100%)
Total	1,114	31%	2,531	69%	3,645 (100%)

In the case of activities, it seems they did slightly favor the PP. There were 938 overall instances of activity verbs; 38% were marked by the PP (n=358), and 62% were marked by the PRET (n=580). Of particular interest is the way in which stative verbs favored the PRET. Of the 761 overall stative tokens, 24%

were PP (n=179); 76% were PRET (n=582). These proportions are illustrated in the bar plot below:

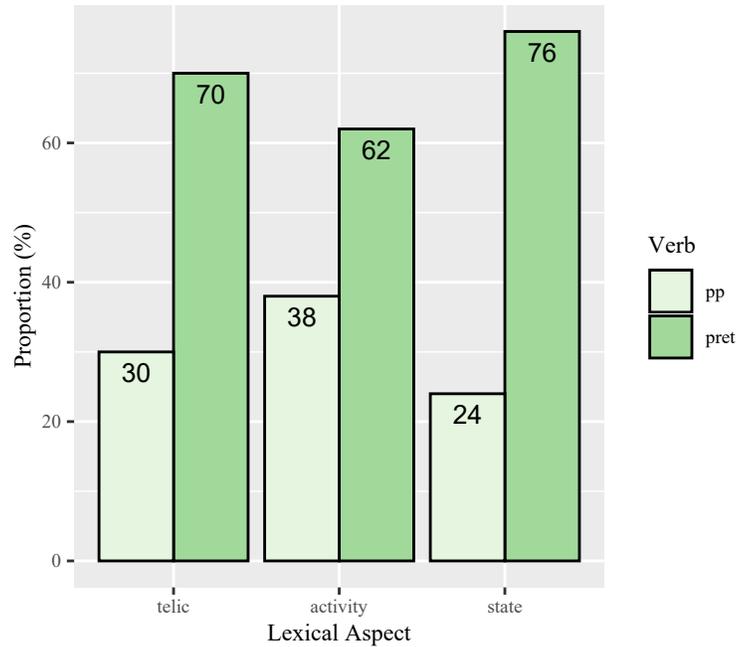


Figure 6.13: Proportions of PP/PRET across lexical aspect

The high PRET rate in stative verbs is surprising, given that stative verbs are characterized by durativity, rendering it an unlikely context for perfective morphology. These findings could be the result of a frequency effect, whereby the range of stative predicates is smaller and thus its use is fixed with high-frequency stative verbs (e.g. *ser*, *tener*). To explore this further, I examined the distribution of PP/PRET use across all stative verbs and found that three lexical items *ser* (n=279), *estar* (n=136), and *tener* (n=101) comprised 68% of all stative tokens. The token frequencies of the remaining 41 stative verbs was much lower. The verb *gustar* was used at the fourth highest frequency (n=35), followed by *vivir* (n=27). All other stative verbs were instantiated fewer than 20 times. Consider the contingency table below, in which *ser*, *estar*, and *tener* are categorized apart from the remaining 41 verbs, themselves having frequencies of 35 or fewer tokens:

Table 6.15: PP/PRET counts across stative verbs

Verb	PP	PP(%)	PRET	PRET(%)	Total
<i>ser</i>	52	19%	227	81%	279 (100%)
<i>estar</i>	18	13%	118	87%	136 (100%)
<i>tener</i>	39	39%	62	61%	101 (100%)
Other	70	29%	175	71%	245 (100%)
Total	179	24%	582	76%	761 (100%)

The bar plot below further illustrates the distribution of PP/PRET forms across *ser*, *estar*, *tener*, and ‘other’ stative verbs in the data set:

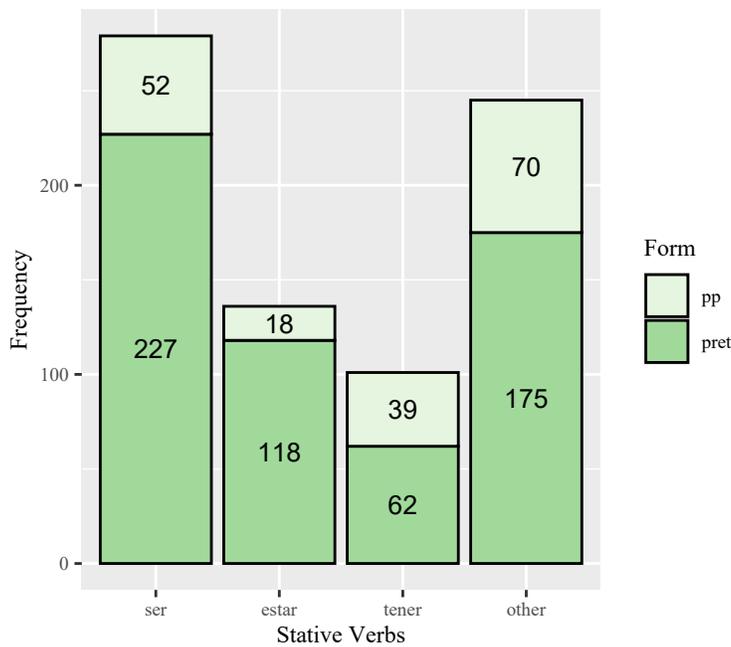


Figure 6.14: Distribution of PP/PRET across stative verbs

Overall, the PRET is favored across all stative verbs categories. This is not altogether surprising given that the average distribution of PP/PRET variation favors PRET at approximately 70%. What is interesting, however, is the way in which the rate of PRET use is highest among the two most commonly used verbs *ser* ( $n=279$ ) and *estar* ( $n=136$ ), which constitute over half of all stative tokens ( $415/761=55\%$ ) taken together. The PP/PRET distribution for *ser* and *estar* is 19%/81% and 13%/87%, respectively. The PRET rate is lowest for the third most commonly used verb *tener* at 61% (vs. PP 39%). With 101 tokens, this verb constitutes 13% ( $101/761=13\%$ ) of the stative verbs in the data set. As for the ‘other’ stative verbs ( $n=245$ ), the PP/PRET rate is comparable to the average

rate, at 29%/71%. This category, comprised of 41 verbs, makes up 32% of the data set.

These findings suggest that, whereas the highest distribution of PRET belonged to stative predicates (vs. telic and activity predicates), this is likely rooted in frequency effects, that is, that there were two highly frequent stative verbs (i.e. *ser, estar*) with notably high rates of PRET use. Still, given that PRET was favored across all ‘other’ stative verbs as well, at 71%, this leads me to suspect that even despite the frequency effects, the stative predicates in the current data set did not appear to favor PP use.

Additionally, that stative predicates largely favored PRET use could be rooted in the way that telicity is, more realistically, a cumulative result of an interaction in lexical aspect and object plurality, among other factors (Schwenter and Torres Cacoullós, 2008). To explore this further, I compared the rate of PP and PRET tokens across lexical aspect and object type together. As illustrated in the bar plots below, it seems there is no effect of object type on PP/PRET distribution among telic verbs:

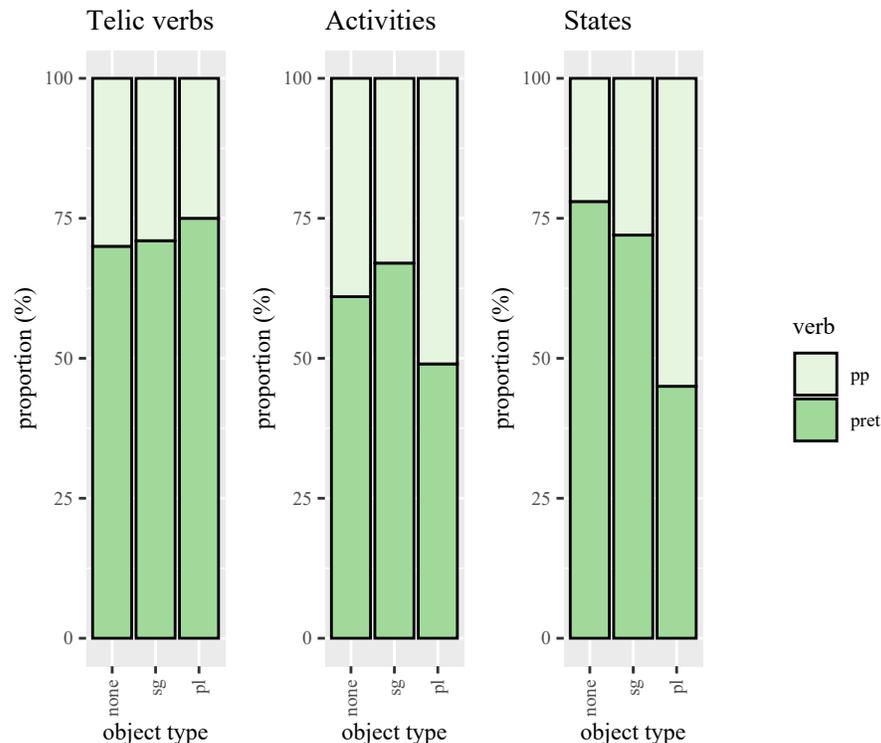


Figure 6.15: Proportions of PP/PRET across object type and lexical aspect

Telic PP rates were similar across all object types: 30% for no objects (435 / 1,450=30%), 29% for singular objects (126/432=29%), and 25% for plural objects

(16/64=25%). Concerning atelic verbs (i.e. activities and states), the PP was indeed favored when the objects were plural. Across all activity verbs (n=938), the proportion rate of PP with no objects over PRET with no objects was 39% (242/617=39%). It was slightly lower with singular objects at 33% (88/266=33%) but slightly favored with plural objects at 51% (28/55=51%). Similarly, the stative PP was favored with plural objects, with a proportion rate of 55% (11/20=55%), although there were only 20 stative PP/PRET tokens with plural objects overall. In occurrences of the stative PP with no object (n=674) and singular objects (n=67), PP proportion rates were 22% (149/674=22%) and 28% (19/67=28%), respectively. With this in mind, I speculate that, although the overall rate of PRET with stative verbs was surprisingly high (76%), this number does not reflect telicity effects, which are generated by an interaction between lexical aspect and object complements, among other factors (e.g. polarity).

### **Adverbial type**

The final linguistic variable examined as a conditioning factor of PP/PRET use in the data set was adverbial type. All tokens were coded according to the following factor levels: specific, general, connective, proximate, durational, frequency, other, none. Recall that specific and general adverbials are expected to disfavor perfects which encode situations that are durative, iterative, or continuative. Connective adverbials should also disfavor prototypical continuative perfects, since the former are largely reserved for specific temporal modification with narrative tenses (Rodríguez Louro, 2016). Durational and frequency adverbials are expected to favor the compound past. Proximate temporal adverbials should also favor a canonical PP, since they often indicate a past event whose effects are felt during the present moment, that is, the moment of speaking.

Of the overall PP/PRET tokens in the current data set, 75% of the tokens were not accompanied by a temporal adverbial (n=2,720). Of the temporal adverbials that did occur, the category with the highest number of tokens was connective adverbials (n=330; 36%). This was unsurprising, given the narrative structure of the oral data elicited by the interview task. Of the 330 connective adverbials, 95 accompanied PRET tokens, and 235 accompanied PP tokens, rendering an identical PP/PRET proportion rate of 29%/71%. There were 55 specific temporal adverbials overall, of which 16 were used with a PP-marked verb (29%) and 39 with a PRET-marked verb (71%). General adverbials favored the PRET even higher at 77% (n=164). These frequencies and proportions are indicated in the table below:

Table 6.16: PP/PRET counts across adverbials

Adverbial	PP	PP(%)	PRET	PRET(%)	Total
Specific	16	29%	39	71%	55 (100%)
General	49	23%	164	77%	213 (100%)
Connective	95	29%	235	71%	330 (100%)
Proximate	14	44%	18	56%	32 (100%)
Durational	51	44%	65	56%	116 (100%)
Frequency	66	66%	34	34%	100 (100%)
Other	31	39%	48	61%	79 (100%)
None	792	29%	1,928	71%	2,720 (100%)
Total	1,114	31%	2,531	69%	3,645 (100%)

As for the proximate, durational, and frequency adverbials, all of which favor canonical perfects, a favoring effect for the PP is indeed observed. There were more than triple the overall occurrences of durational adverbials than proximate adverbials ( $n=116$  and  $n=32$ , respectively), but the PP/PRET proportion rates across these two adverbial types were the same, at 44%/56%. Of the 100 instances of frequency adverbials, it appears they favored use of the PP even greater at 66%. In the case of ‘other’ adverbials, the preference for the PP was slightly higher than the average; 39% of the ‘other’ adverbials were collocated with PP tokens. When no explicit adverbials were present, the PP/PRET distribution aligns closely with the overall rate, at 29%/71% (vs. the overall rate: 31%/69%). See the proportions of PP/PRET distribution across temporal adverbials illustrated in Figure 6.16 below:

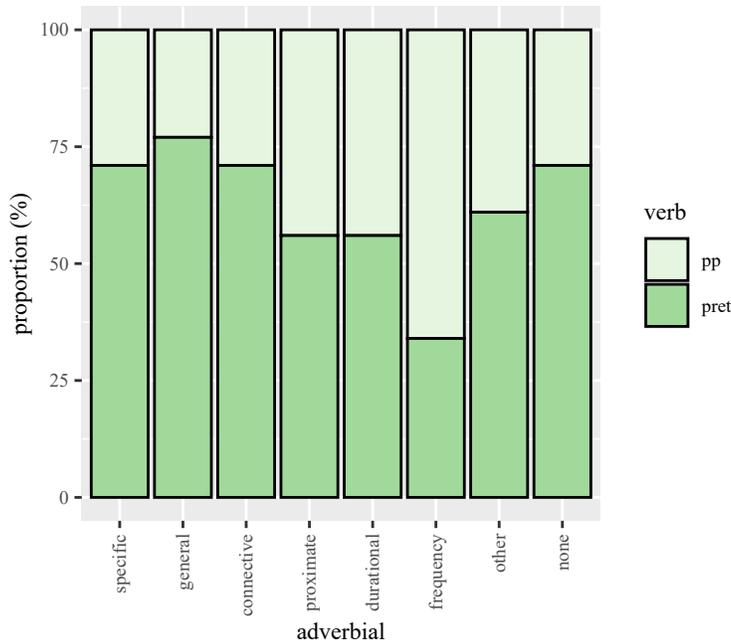


Figure 6.16: Proportions of PP/PRET across adverbials

Concerning the adverbial types that were expected to collocate with the PRET, namely, specific, general, and connective adverbials, the PRET was indeed favored in such contexts. Similarly, for adverbial types expected to collocate with the PP (i.e. proximate, durational, and frequency adverbials), a favoring effect for the PP was observed. These findings are comparable to attested adverbial effects on Mexican and Peninsular PP/PRET distribution (Schwenter and Torres Cacoullos, 2008). Therefore, I posit the compound past in Cusco Spanish retains diachronic functions of prototypical perfects, exemplified by the effects of adverbial type on PP/PRET distribution.

### 6.2.3 Summary

To summarize, I have explored PP/PRET distribution in the interview data set across various non-linguistic and linguistic factors. Concerning the non-linguistic factors explored in the current study (i.e. age group, sex, residence, education, LDS group) in §6.2.1, PP use behaved according to my hypotheses. There was a positive correlation between PP use and age: PP rates increased as speakers' age increased. PP rates were higher among females than males, and among participants from rural areas than urban areas. Additionally, there was a negative correlation between PP use and education level: PP rates decreased as participants' education level increased. This trend was also observed in the

factor LDS group, whereby participants' PP rates decreased as their Spanish dominance increased. Overall, these findings suggest novel PP use that characterizes the Andean region is broadly rooted in the language contact situation between Spanish and Quechua speakers and the consequent areal bilingualism.

In §6.2.2, I investigated PP/PRET distribution across eight linguistic factors: temporal reference, grammatical subject, polarity, sentence type, clause type, object type, lexical aspect, and adverbial type. As anticipated, the compound past was favored in temporally non-specific contexts, and the simple past was favored in prehodiernal contexts. Interestingly, the PP was favored in hodiernal contexts, hinting at its semantic extension into temporally specific contexts (e.g. as a hodiernal perfective). However, the distribution of PP and PRET in hodiernal and prehodiernal contexts, respectively, did not suggest a contrastive use of the simple and compound past forms rooted in a distance effect, as with the Aoristic Drift in Peninsular Spanish.

Concerning grammatical subject, there was a clear favoring effect on PP use by first person plural subjects, which led to a slight favoring effect overall by first person subjects. This finding is crucial as it supports the claim that the Cusco PP is subjectivizing, acquiring novel semantic features that encode epistemic meanings and notions of speaker perspective. As for the temporal-aspectual factors polarity, sentence type, clause type, object type, lexical aspect, and adverbial type, it seems the behavior of the compound past aligned with canonical perfect behavior. In particular, PP use was proportionally higher than PRET use in: negative (vs. affirmative) polarity, interrogative (vs. declarative) sentences, and interrogative and subordinate (vs. main) clauses; and with plural (vs. singular and 'none') objects, activities (vs. telic predicates), and PP-favoring adverbials (i.e. proximate, durational, frequency).

These results signal that the PP has retained various perfect functions. Given that functional retention is characteristic of semantic development (Schwenter and Torres Cacoullós, 2008), I maintain these findings support the current proposal, such that the Cusco PP is acquiring novel semantic functions along the path of subjectivization. This claim, I point out, was substantiated by the favoring effect of first person subjects on PP use. Its uniqueness was further demonstrated by the way in which there was no temporal distance effect observed in PP/PRET distribution.

Now that I have presented the descriptive analysis of various conditioning factors of PP/PRET use in the interview data set, I focus my attention on inferential statistical findings. A logistic regression model fit to the data will have explanatory and predictive implications for the independent variables on speak-

ers' choice of the past temporal variants, that is, the simple and compound past forms.

## **6.3 Binomial logistic regression with mixed effects**

I used R to run a binomial logistic regression with mixed effects. A generalized linear mixed-effects model (GLMM) was fit using Maximum Likelihood (ML). The dependent variable was PP/PRET use, and individual participants were included as a random variable. The same five extra-linguistic variables (i.e. age group, sex, residence, education, LDS group) and eight linguistic variables (i.e. temporal reference, grammatical subject, polarity, sentence type, clause type, object type, lexical aspect, adverbial type) that were examined in the previous section were initially considered for inclusion in the regression model. However, some factor levels were collapsed to prevent over-fitting the model to the data. In Section §6.3.1 I describe the treatment of each factor and other procedural steps that were taken in achieving a model of best fit. In §6.3.2 I present my results and interpret the implications of the output model.

### **6.3.1 Fitting the model**

Prior to running the model, I excluded four participants whose responses were categorical in either direction (i.e. Participants 15, 25, 43, and 44). Concerning the extra-linguistic variables, the levels of the variables 'LDS group', 'residence' and 'sex' remained the same: LDS<sub>1</sub>/LDS<sub>2</sub>/LDS<sub>3</sub>, urban/rural, and male/female. Education levels were collapsed from four categories into two categories: Group 1 consisted of participants with a secondary level of education or lower (i.e. none, primary, secondary), and participants in Group 2 achieved at least some post-secondary education. Age groups were also collapsed into two categories. Group 1 included participants that were previously categorized as 'youth' or 'adult'; participants categorized as 'middle-aged' or 'older' were placed in Group 2. Participants 18-30 years old were placed in Group 1, and participants 31+ years old comprised Group 2.

As for the linguistic variables, levels of polarity (affirmative/negative) and object type (none/singular/plural) remained the same. The four levels of temporal reference were collapsed into two levels: specific/non-specific. Specific temporal reference included prehodiernal and hodiernal contexts, and non-specific reference included indeterminate and irrelevant contexts. The distinction in grammatical number of subjects was collapsed into three levels of grammatical

person: 1st, 2nd, 3rd. For sentence type, the closed and open interrogative levels were conflated into a single interrogative category, rendering two factor levels: declarative/interrogative. Whereas there were previously six clause types (i.e. main, interrogative, relative, subordinate-*si*, subordinate-*cuando*, subordinate-other), relative and subordinate clauses were conflated into a single category, resulting in three factor levels: main/interrogative/subordinate. Lexical aspect was also modified, such that activities and states were collapsed into a single ‘atelic’ category. Thus, the regression model accounted for lexical aspect of the conjugated verb inasmuch as it was telic or atelic. Lastly, levels of temporal adverbials were condensed from eight levels to four levels. Adverbials which were previously classified as specific (*el año pasado* ‘last year’), general (*un día* ‘one day’), or connective (*luego* ‘later, then’) were placed in the same ‘punctual’ category. ‘Non-punctual’ adverbials included those which were previously classified as proximate (*últimamente* ‘recently, lately’), durational (*todo el año* ‘all year’), or frequency (*muchas veces* ‘many times’) adverbials. Given these conflated categories, the updated factor levels of temporal adverbials were punctual/non-punctual/other/none.

Bearing these changes in mind, the tables below indicate PP/PRET distribution per the updated factor levels used in the logistic regression analysis. Table 6.17 displays PP/PRET distribution across updated levels of extra-linguistic factors, and Table 6.18 reflects their distribution across that of linguistic factors.

Table 6.17: PP/PRET counts across extra-linguistic variables

	PP	PP(%)	PRET	PRET(%)	Total
<b>Age group</b>					
Group 1	416	20%	1,702	80%	2,118 (100%)
Group 2	691	49%	705	51%	1,396 (100%)
Total	1,107	32%	2,407	68%	3,514 (100%)
<b>Sex</b>					
Male	369	25%	1,104	75%	1,473 (100%)
Female	738	36%	1,303	64%	2,041 (100%)
Total	1,107	32%	2,407	68%	3,514 (100%)
<b>Residence</b>					
Urban	716	30%	1,707	70%	2,423 (100%)
Rural	391	36%	700	64%	1,091 (100%)
Total	1,107	32%	2,407	68%	3,514 (100%)
<b>Education</b>					
Group 1	569	62%	353	38%	922 (100%)
Group 2	538	21%	2,054	79%	2,592 (100%)
Total	1,107	32%	2,407	68%	3,514 (100%)
<b>LDS group</b>					
LDS 1	470	56%	363	44%	833 (100%)
LDS 2	271	25%	819	75%	1,090 (100%)
LDS 3	366	23%	1,225	77%	1,591 (100%)
Total	1,107	32%	2,407	68%	3,514 (100%)

Table 6.18: PP/PRET counts across linguistic variables

	PP	PP(%)	PRET	PRET(%)	Total
<b>Temporal reference</b>					
Specific	851	27%	2,327	73%	3,178 (100%)
Non-specific	256	76%	80	24%	336 (100%)
Total	1,107	32%	2,407	68%	3,514 (100%)
<b>Subject</b>					
1st	553	35%	1,011	65%	1,564 (100%)
2nd	32	65%	17	35%	49 (100%)
3rd	522	27%	1,379	73%	1,901 (100%)
Total	1,107	32%	2,407	68%	3,514 (100%)
<b>Polarity</b>					
Affirmative	1,002	30%	2,289	70%	3,291 (100%)
Negative	105	47%	118	53%	223 (100%)
Total	1,107	32%	2,407	68%	3,514 (100%)
<b>Sentence type</b>					
Declarative	1,072	31%	2,391	69%	3,463 (100%)
Interrogative	35	69%	16	31%	51 (100%)
Total	1,107	32%	2,407	68%	3,514 (100%)
<b>Clause type</b>					
Main	855	31%	1,900	69%	2,755 (100%)
Interrogative	44	58%	32	42%	76 (100%)
Subordinate	208	30%	475	70%	683 (100%)
Total	1,107	32%	2,407	68%	3,514 (100%)
<b>Object type</b>					
None	821	31%	1,820	69%	2,641 (100%)
Singular	232	31%	511	69%	743 (100%)
Plural	54	42%	76	58%	130 (100%)
Total	1,107	32%	2,407	68%	3,514 (100%)
<b>Lexical aspect</b>					
Telic	573	30%	1,310	70%	1,883 (100%)
Atelic	534	33%	1,097	67%	1,631 (100%)
Total	1,107	32%	2,407	68%	3,514 (100%)
<b>Adverbial</b>					
Punctual	160	28%	415	72%	575 (100%)
Non-punctual	130	54%	110	46%	240 (100%)
None	786	30%	1,837	70%	2,623 (100%)
Other	31	41%	45	59%	76 (100%)
Total	1,107	32%	2,407	68%	3,514 (100%)

To determine which explanatory variables should be included in the GLMM, I began by creating a null model that included only the random variable (i.e. participants) with no predictors. I then slowly built upon the initial model by adding variables one by one until all variables were included. I also created numerous additional models with different iterations and potential interactions of the aforementioned factors. I used the *anova* function in R to locate any statistically significant differences between models and compared their AIC scores to find the model of best fit.

### **6.3.2 Results & analysis**

The resulting model of best fit for the interview data included eight conditioning factors: temporal reference, grammatical subject, object plurality, adverb type, clause type, education level, and an interaction effect between LDS group and residence. The summary of the estimated coefficients for these explanatory variables is provided below:

Table 6.19: Summary of estimated coefficients (all participants)

Fixed Effects	Estimate	Std. Error
(Intercept)	-0.32	(0.43)
temp.ref=non-specific	2.91***	(0.18)
subject=1st	0.36***	(0.10)
subject=2nd	0.51	(0.44)
object=pl	0.75**	(0.23)
object=sg	0.09	(0.12)
adverbial=none	0.09	(0.13)
adverbial=other	0.26	(0.31)
adverbial=non-punctual	0.68**	(0.21)
clause=int	1.46***	(0.31)
clause=sub	0.30*	(0.12)
education=Group2	-1.98***	(0.43)
LDSgroup=LDS <sub>2</sub>	-1.15	(0.90)
LDSgroup=LDS <sub>3</sub>	1.32*	(0.65)
residence=urban	3.39***	(0.86)
LDS.group=LDS <sub>2</sub> :residence=urban	-2.84*	(1.18)
LDS.group=LDS <sub>3</sub> :residence=urban	-5.31***	(1.04)
AIC	2926.51	
BIC	3037.47	
Log Likelihood	-1445.26	
Num. obs.	3514	
Num. groups: partID	22	
Var: partID (Intercept)	0.46	

\*\*\* $p < 0.001$ ; \*\* $p < 0.01$ ; \* $p < 0.05$

According to the model output, temporal reference was the conditioning factor with the second highest magnitude of effect, with the log odds of 2.91. The (simple) odds of PP over PRET in non-specific contexts (i.e. irrelevant, indeterminate) was 18.36. Moreover, with all other factors being controlled for at their reference levels, the probability of PP occurring in non-specific contexts is nearly categorical, at 95% ( $18.36/(1+18.36)=0.95$ ). Conversely, the PRET is likely to occur in non-specific contexts approximately 5% of the time.

Overall, the statistically significant variables that favored PP use behaved in accordance with my predictions. In comparison to their reference levels (in parenthesis), linguistic contexts that favored PP use included: non-specific temporal adverbials (vs. specific temporal adverbials), 1st person subjects (vs.

3rd person subjects), plural objects (vs. no object), non-punctual adverbials (vs. punctual adverbials), and interrogative and subordinate clauses (vs. main clauses). Taken together, these findings indicate contrastive PP/PRET use in the interview data is indeed governed by various temporal-aspectual features that are claimed to constrain prototypical perfect and perfective behavior of the compound and simple past, as demonstrated in Mexican Spanish for example (Schwenter and Torres Cacoullós, 2008).

That 1st person subjects favor PP use is particularly interesting. The odds of PP use are almost 1.5 ( $\exp(0.36)=1.43$ ) times more likely than PRET use when the grammatical subject is a first person subject. In terms of probabilities, PP use with first person subjects is likely to occur approximately 59% ( $1.43/(1+1.43)=0.589$ ) of the time. I speculate these findings align with the way in which first person subjects are connected to the role of speaker subjectivity (Squartini and Bertinetto, 2000; Company Company, 2002; Schwenter and Torres Cacoullós, 2008; Hernández, 2013) and the notion of Emotive Proximity, which was explored in the questionnaire data (see Chapter 5). Crucially, these data substantiate the current hypothesis that innovative uses of the PP in Cusco Spanish include its use to encode speaker-oriented subjective meanings.

Concerning non-linguistic factors, education level was statistically significant in PP/PRET distribution in the data set. Participants with at least some post-secondary education (Group 2) disfavored the PP more strongly than those having anywhere from no education to a complete secondary education (Group 1). The (simple) odds of PP over PRET among participants with at least some post-secondary education was 0.14 ( $\exp(-1.98)$ ). Thus, with all other factors being controlled for at their reference levels, the probability of PP occurring among these participants with Group 2 education level is 12% ( $0.14/(1+0.14)$ ). Conversely, the PRET is most likely to occur for this group, with a probability of 88%. These findings follow my predictions, such that PP use decreases as education level increases.

The highest magnitude of effect is observed in the interaction between LDS group and residence. Given this interaction, the interacting terms displayed in Table 6.19 (i.e. *LDSgroup*, *residence*) no longer represent independent effects. Rather, they are estimates for ‘the combinations of the specified level with the reference level of the interacting variable’ (Levshina, 2015, p. 195). Thus, the coefficient of *LDSgroup=LDS3* (1.32) is the statistically significant difference in the likelihood of selecting PP between LDS 3 and LDS 1 speakers from a rural area (i.e. the reference level of the ‘residence’ factor); PP use is significantly greater among Spanish-dominant rural speakers than Quechua-dominant rural speakers. Likewise, the statistically significant coefficient of *residence=urban*

(3.39) indicates PP use among urban speakers in the LDS 1 group is significantly greater than that of rural LDS 1 speakers.

That the interaction between LDS group and residence is significant means that the effect of residence on PP use differs for different LDS groups. Specifically, the interaction term  $LDS.group=LDS2:residence=urban$  reflects the difference in the effect of LDS 2 in urban and rural speakers. The negative estimate (-2.84) means that belonging to the LDS 2 group decreases the chances of PP use in urban speakers in comparison with rural speakers. This effect is highly significant. Similarly, according to the negative estimate (-5.31) provided for the interaction term  $LDS.group=LDS3:residence=urban$ , belonging to the LDS 3 group also decreases the chances of PP use in urban speakers versus rural speakers, this time to a greater degree. This is visualized in the interaction plot below:

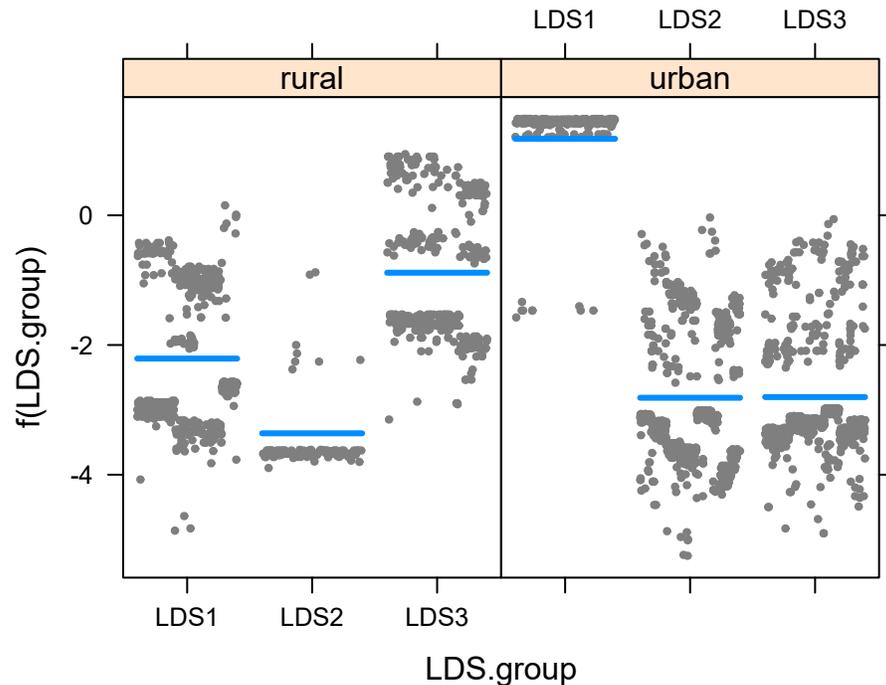


Figure 6.17: Interaction between *LDS group* and *Residence*

The effect of LDS group is stronger among the urban speakers than the rural speakers. This is illustrated in the interaction plot in that the distance between the horizontal lines that correspond to the LDS groups is greater in the urban data. Additionally, the interaction plot demonstrates that the effect of LDS group on residence is different: whereas LDS 1 speakers favored PP use more than LDS 2 and LDS 3 speakers in urban areas, it was the LDS 3 group that

avored PP the most in rural areas. Rural speakers in the LDS 2 group favored PP use the least.

These findings are unexpected, given that I anticipated rural speakers, particularly those belonging to the Quechua-dominant LDS 1 group, would be most likely to use PP over PRET. While it does appear to be the case the LDS 1 speakers from urban areas highly prefer PP, it is surprising that LDS 1 speakers from rural areas did not. That the rural LDS 3 speakers were most likely to use PP compared to the other LDS groups in rural areas is likely explained by the small sample size of participants in the data set, particularly from rural areas. Specifically, of the total 22 participants accounted for in the regression model, most were from urban areas (n=16). When divided according to their LDS groups, 2 of these urban participants were LDS 1 speakers, 8 were LDS 2 speakers, and 6 were LDS 3 speakers. As for the rural participants (n=6), only 3 were classified as LDS 1 speakers, 1 belonged to the LDS 2 group, and 2 rural participants were LDS 3 speakers. Needless to say, future investigation requires a larger sample size of participants in general and, moreover, an equal distribution of participants in terms of their demographic features.

Moreover, I explored differences in linguistic conditioning factors across speakers' language dominance by comparing regression models for each LDS group. Given that the sample size of participants in each LDS group was very small, extra-linguistic variables beyond LDS group were not considered for inclusion in the models as a precautionary measure to prevent overfitting. Again, a GLMM was fit using ML. The coefficient summaries of each LDS group model are compared against each other in the table below:

Table 6.20: Summary of estimated coefficients (by LDS group)

Fixed Effects	LDS 1	LDS 2	LDS 3
(Intercept)	-0.10(0.84)	-2.47(0.50)***	-2.65(0.44)***
temp.ref=non-specific	1.93(0.56)***	2.34(0.33)***	3.37(0.23)***
object=pl	1.92(0.56)***		
object=sg	0.17(0.23)		
subject=1st		0.61(0.17)***	0.38(0.15)*
subject=2nd		0.40(0.89)	0.37(0.59)
sentence=int		2.48(0.98)*	
adverbial=none		0.28(0.22)	
adverbial=other		0.23(0.49)	
adverbial=non-punctual		1.30(0.35)***	
lex.aspect=atelic			0.53(0.15)***
clause=int			1.24(0.42)**
clause=sub			0.48(0.17)**
AIC	750.12	963.16	1216.02
BIC	773.74	1008.11	1258.99
Log Likelihood	-370.06	-472.58	-600.01
Num. obs.	833	1090	1591
Num. groups: partID	5	9	8
Var: partID (Intercept)	3.48	1.77	1.32

\*\*\* $p < 0.001$ ; \*\* $p < 0.01$ ; \* $p < 0.05$

As indicated in the table, the conditioning factors of PP/PRET use differed across LDS groups, although temporal reference was statistically significant in each model.

For the Quechua-dominant LDS<sub>1</sub> group, non-specific temporal reference and plural objects favored PP use (compared to their reference levels of specific temporal reference and no object) with a comparable magnitude of effect. The (simple) odds of PP use in non-specific contexts and with plural objects were 6.89 and 6.82, respectively. It appears to be the case that, broadly speaking, PP/PRET morphology is used by these speakers in accordance with their perfect/perfective meanings. This is exemplified by the way in which nonspecific temporal reference and plural objects—which are treated in this case to reflect atelic situations—favored PP use.

Contrary to my expectations, 1st person subjects were not a significant factor in favoring PP use among the LDS<sub>1</sub> group. Still, I maintain the position that speaker-oriented perspectives and emotional connections govern PP/PRET

use, particularly among Quechua-dominant speakers. Despite the fact that this was not reflected by a significant favoring effect by 1st person subjects in the estimated coefficients summary, emotionally proximal uses of the PP and comparable uses of contrastive morphology in Quechua will be examined in a qualitative analysis of Cusco Spanish and Quechua oral data (see Chapter 7). It is pertinent to mention here that although grammatical subject is a helpful factor in coding for speaker subjectivity in PP/PRET distribution, a qualitative analysis will identify such epistemic meanings of the PP within the narrative context. Doing so will recognize subjectivity in PP use beyond crude numbers of grammatical subject tokens.

Furthermore, it is interesting that temporal reference and object type were the only two statistically significant conditioning factors for the LDS<sub>1</sub> group. This leads me to suspect that the conditioning factors of contrastive PP/PRET use are not as strongly linked to temporal-aspectual meanings for Quechua-dominant speakers than for Spanish-dominant speakers. Also, these findings leave open the possibility that additional factors, ones that are not temporal-aspectual, condition PP/PRET distribution among LDS<sub>1</sub> speakers.

Concerning LDS<sub>2</sub> speakers, it appears their use of the compound past is sensitive to sentence type and temporal adverbials, in addition to the two significant linguistic factors conditioning LDS<sub>1</sub> speakers' use of the PP (i.e. temporal reference and grammatical subject). Interrogative sentences and PP-favoring adverbials favored PP use when compared against declarative sentences and PRET-favoring adverbials, respectively. These findings are not surprising; they are consonant with Schwenter and Torres Cacoullós' (2008) findings for the Mexican PP, which was more restricted by temporal-aspectual factors than the Peninsular PP given that the former is not as far along the grammaticalization path as the latter. I interpret my findings to mean that the Cusco PP is also restricted by temporal-aspectual factors and that this restriction is stronger among LDS<sub>2</sub> speakers than LDS<sub>1</sub> speakers.

With respect to the Spanish-dominant LDS<sub>3</sub> group, temporal reference was the conditioning factor with the greatest magnitude of effect. Additional statistically significant factors in PP/PRET distribution for this group were grammatical subject, lexical aspect, and clause type. In accordance with my predictions, atelic predicates favored the PP, compared to telic predicates. The odds of PP use over PRET in atelic predicates were 1.70. Furthermore, relative to main clauses, interrogative and subordinate clauses favored the PP. The former had a higher magnitude of effect than the latter, the odds of each being 3.46 and 1.62, respectively. Thus, it seems the PP is used by LDS<sub>3</sub> speakers according to temporal-aspectual constraints characteristic of prototypical perfects.

Of particular interest is the way in which factors that were significant for LDS<sub>2</sub> speakers did not appear to be significant for the LDS<sub>3</sub> speakers. We would expect that, if the Andean PP were to behave akin to the Mexican PP, both being Latin American varieties, the conditioning factors of the PP in the current data set should become gradually more sensitive to temporal-aspectual factors as speakers gain dominance in Spanish. I speculate this difference is partially rooted in the low frequency of PP/PRET tokens in the respective LDS group data sets. For example, the LDS<sub>1</sub> data set included 833 tokens, of which only 1.8% of the data were interrogative sentences (n=15). Additionally, there were only 9 instances of interrogative sentences in the LDS<sub>2</sub> data set (0.8%, total n=1,090) and 27 in the LDS<sub>3</sub> data set (1.7%, total n=1,591). These rates are low compared to the findings in Schwenter and Torres Cacoullós (2008), for whom *yes-no* questions comprised 6% (n=134) and 5% (n=78) of the Mexican and Peninsular data sets, respectively. Further investigation of potential temporal-aspectual sensitivities of Cusco PP behavior hinges on the procurement of more data.

In any case, sentence type and adverbial type were significant factors conditioning PP use by LDS<sub>2</sub> speakers but not by LDS<sub>3</sub> speakers. Likewise, lexical aspect and clause type were significant factors conditioning PP use by LDS<sub>3</sub> speakers but not LDS<sub>2</sub> speakers. Given that (i) these four factors similarly characterize temporal-aspectual restrictions of PP/PRET distribution, and (ii) the conditioning effects of these factors all point to prototypical PP/PRET behavior, I postulate that these findings indicate LDS<sub>2</sub> and LDS<sub>3</sub> speakers use the PP in similar ways. In particular, their use of the PP is more restricted temporal-aspectually than that of Quechua-dominant speakers. Additionally, their use of the PP encodes epistemic meanings, exemplified by the way in which first-person subjects were statistically significant in favoring PP use by both speaker groups.

That PP behavior is variable across speakers according to their language dominance was evidenced by the way in which the magnitude of effect of temporal reference increased as speakers' dominance in Spanish increased:  $1.93 > 2.34 > 3.37$ . Whereas the odds of PP use were higher in non-specific (vs. specific) contexts for LDS<sub>1</sub> speakers, these odds increased from 6.89 to 10.38 for LDS<sub>2</sub> speakers and increased further to 29.08 for LDS<sub>3</sub> speakers. In terms of probabilities, the likelihood that PP would be used in non-specific contexts (vs. specific contexts) increased from 87.3% to 91.2% to 96.7% for LDS<sub>1</sub>, LDS<sub>2</sub>, and LDS<sub>3</sub> groups, respectively. This suggests that speakers were more sensitive to the effects of temporal reference as their Spanish dominance increased.

Furthermore, support for the claim that the Andean PP behaves uniquely, compared to other Spanish varieties, is provided by the favoring effect of first

person subjects on PP use. Whereas grammatical person does not appear to constrain PP use in other Spanish varieties (see Schwenter and Torres Cacoullós (2008) for Mexican and Peninsular Spanish; Rodríguez Louro (2016) for Argentine Spanish), it is statistically significant in the current data set. The odds of PP use with 1st person subjects are approximately 1.84 times higher than PRET use for the LDS<sub>2</sub> group, all other variables being controlled for. For the LDS<sub>3</sub> group, these odds are 1.46. Again, I speculate this conditioning effect is related to a visceral, Emotional Proximity between a speaker and personally experienced events. This position will be further investigated in the following chapter, in which I perform a qualitative analysis on Quechua and Spanish oral data from intra-speaker narratives of participants' past experiences.

## 6.4 Summary

This chapter has explored the interview data set. From 26 completed interviews, there were 3,645 PP/PRET responses: 1,114 PP tokens (31%) and 2,531 PRET tokens (69%). Immediately, we observe that this PP over PRET rate is relatively high, compared to that of non-Andean Latin American varieties. For example, the recorded PP rate in (Rioplatense) Argentinian Spanish is very low at 6% (Rodríguez Louro, 2009) and slightly higher in Mexican Spanish at 15% (Schwenter and Torres Cacoullós, 2008). Indeed, the PP rate of the current data set (31%) is comparable, albeit higher yet, to that of previous studies of Peruvian PP/PRET distribution: 27% for Lima speakers (Caravedo, 1989); 23% for monolingual Cusco speakers (Howe, 2013). These rates of the compound past, of course, remain lower than what has been attested in Peninsular Spanish: 54% (Schwenter and Torres Cacoullós, 2008).

In Section §6.1, I analyzed participants' individual PP production rates in order to determine whether there was a correlation between participants' PP use and their language dominance. After discarding three participants whose token counts were below five, the mean rate of PP production across all participants was approximately 28%. Upon placing participants across three language dominance groups along a scale of Quechua-dominant (LDS<sub>1</sub>) to Spanish-dominant (LDS<sub>3</sub>), a negative correlation was observed between participants' PP rates and their LDSs: LDS<sub>1</sub> (48%, n=5) > LDS<sub>2</sub> (24%, n=9) > LDS<sub>3</sub> (21%, n=9). Although there was no statistically significant difference between LDS groups, these findings illustrate that PP production rates generally decreased as Spanish dominance increased. Additionally, I plotted participants' LDSs against their individual PP selection rates and observed a moderate negative correlation between them: the more Quechua-dominant a speaker was, the higher their rate of

PP use, and vice versa. This correlation was statistically significant. These findings suggest the characteristically high PP rates in Peruvian Spanish are rooted in the influence of Quechua speakers. Further support for this claim comes from the way in which Howe's (2013) study of Cusco Spanish observed a PP rate of 23%. I suspect the reason his statistic is lower than that of the current study (31%) is because his sample population was comprised entirely of monolingual Cusco Spanish speakers.

In Section §6.2, I examined the raw frequencies and proportions of all PP/PRET tokens in the interview data set. First, I investigated PP/PRET distribution across five non-linguistic variables (i.e. age group, sex, residence, education, LDS group) and across each speaker in §6.2.1. Then, I observed PP/PRET distribution across eight linguistic variables (i.e. temporal reference, grammatical subject, polarity, sentence type, clause type, object type, lexical aspect, adverbial) in §6.2.2.

Concerning PP/PRET use across non-linguistic variables, the proportion of PP production was highest among older speakers<sup>58</sup> (76%; vs. middle-aged<sup>59</sup>: 36%, adults<sup>60</sup>: 18%, youth<sup>61</sup>: 19%), females (36%; vs. males: 23%), rural speakers (36%; vs. urban: 28%), speakers with little to no education (primary education: 100%; no education: 97%; vs. secondary education: 47%, post-secondary education: 20%), and LDS 1 speakers (57%; vs. LDS 2: 25%, LDS 3: 21%). These results aligned with my expectations, given that I hypothesized PP use would be higher among the factors that generally characterize Quechua-dominant speakers, that is, older speakers in rural areas having little to no access to formal education.

With respect to PP/PRET selection across linguistic variables, the proportion of PP over PRET use across temporal reference was highest in non-specific temporal reference; it was favored at 83% in indeterminate contexts and at 71% in irrelevant contexts. The PP was also favored in hodiernal contexts (67%), illustrating its use in specific temporal contexts. Given that the rate of PP use in prehodiernal contexts was 25%, a rate approximating the overall rate (31%), I interpret these findings to mean the PP was not disfavored in prehodiernal contexts. As a result, there was no clear distance effect observed in contrastive PP/PRET use, contrary to accounts of the Peninsular PP and its Aoristic grammaticalization (Schwenter and Torres Cacoullós, 2008). In the Peninsular Spanish data, the distribution of PP/PRET was near categorical across prehodiernal and hodiernal contexts, in which the former disfavored PP and the latter favored it. This is not the case in the current data set, in which the only (dis)favoring effect appears to be with hodiernal contexts, favoring PP use. Additionally, in Mexican Spanish, the PP is favored only in non-specific contexts (i.e. indeterminate, irrelevant) (Schwenter and Torres Cacoullós, 2008). While my findings

<sup>58</sup> The age range for 'older' speakers was 51+ years old.

<sup>59</sup> The age range for 'middle-aged' speakers was 31-50 years old.

<sup>60</sup> The age range for 'adults' was 22-30 years old.

<sup>61</sup> The age range for 'youths' was 18-21 years old.

also show the PP is favored in these contexts, it was also the favored variant in hodiernal contexts. Therefore, it appears the PP in the current data of Cusco Spanish speakers showcases unique qualities compared to its use in other Spanish varieties.

Another instance of innovative PP behavior in Cusco Spanish was observed in its distribution across grammatical subjects. In particular, unexpectedly high instances of PP were observed across 1PL subjects, at 59%. Across 1SG subjects, I did not observe a (dis)favoring effect in PP/PRET distribution; it seems the overall favoring effect on PP in first person subjects is skewed by its high rate of use in 1PL subjects. Notwithstanding, these findings hint at a correlation between PP use and first person subjects. To my knowledge, that this correlation is statistically significant has not been observed in any other Spanish variety. In other studies, grammatical subject was not found to be a significant conditioning factor (for example, see Schwenter and Torres Cacoullós, 2008 for Peninsular and Mexican Spanish; Rodríguez Louro, 2016 for Rioplatense Argentinian Spanish) or was altogether not investigated (for example, see Cople, 2011 for Peninsular Spanish; Dumont, 2013 for Quiteño Spanish; Howe, 2013 for Peruvian Spanish). According to Hernández (2013), ‘in deictic indexicality, as in the case of grammatical person, the order of significance of the referential elements parallels the degree of subjectivity encoded (first, second, and third person, in that order)’ (p. 272). That 1st person subjects favored PP use in my study suggests that the degree of the speaker’s involvement in their propositional content is heightened via the compound past form, compared to the simple past variant. Crucially, these results support the argument that the Cusco PP is developing along a path of subjectivization, whereby it is acquiring novel epistemic uses, encoding speaker perspective, such as Emotional Proximity.

PP/PRET distribution across the remaining six conditioning factors in the present study (i.e. polarity, sentence type, clause type, object type, lexical aspect, adverbial type) demonstrated prototypical uses of the compound and simple past according to contrastive temporal-aspectual features. Broadly speaking, the PP was favored in temporally unanchored contexts (i.e. negative polarity, interrogative sentences, interrogative and subordinate clauses) and in contexts that reflected atelic predicates (i.e. plural objects, activities, and with non-punctual adverbials). These behaviors have been observed in most other Spanish varieties. That the PP is favored by non-punctual adverbials, such as those denoting proximity or frequency, has been attested in Peninsular Spanish (Schwenter and Torres Cacoullós, 2008), Mexican Spanish (Schwenter and Torres Cacoullós, 2008), and Argentine Spanish (Rodríguez Louro, 2016). Plural

objects have also been reported to have a favoring effect on PP use in Peninsular Spanish (Schwenter and Torres Cacoulllos, 2008), Mexican Spanish (Schwenter and Torres Cacoulllos, 2008), Peruvian Spanish (Howe and Schwenter, 2008), and Argentine Spanish (Rodríguez Louro, 2016). Furthermore, Mexican Spanish also features a PP-favoring effect by questions and relative clauses as well as by durative (vs. punctual) predicates (Schwenter and Torres Cacoulllos, 2008). I interpret these findings to mean that, in addition to its innovative uses exemplified by its distribution across temporal reference and grammatical subjects, the PP in the interview data set also shows signs of semantic retention. This marriage of innovative and canonical behaviors, I add, are characteristic of semantic development. That PP rates are higher across 1st person subjects than 3rd person subjects<sup>62</sup> leads me to postulate that the semantic development path of the Cusco PP is, particularly, subjectivization.

<sup>62</sup> Recall that, whereas PP rates were highest in 2nd person subjects at 65%, I chose not to compare 2nd person subjects to 1st and 3rd person subjects, given (i) the low frequency of PP/PRET tokens in 2nd person subjects (n=49) and (ii) experiential uses of the PP with 2nd person subjects in the interview task.

Following these descriptive results, I ran a binomial logistic regression analysis with mixed effects to determine which of the non-linguistic and linguistic factors, if any, conditioned PP/PRET selection (§6.3). According to the model of best fit that predicted conditioning factors across all participants' PP/PRET use, five linguistic factors were statistically significant: temporal reference, grammatical subject, object type, adverbial type, and clause type. Similar to my observations in the descriptive analysis, these linguistic factors conditioned PP/PRET distribution in accordance with prototypical temporal-aspectual contrasts between the compound and simple past. Specifically, the PP was favored by non-specific temporal reference, 1st person subjects, plural (atelicizing) objects, non-punctual adverbials, and interrogative and subordinate clauses. Additionally, education was a significant non-linguistic factor in conditioning PP/PRET use, whereby participants with more education (i.e. at least some post-secondary schooling) were less likely to use PP than those with a high school-level education or lower. The other non-linguistic conditioning factor of PP use involved an interaction between LDS group and residence. The effect of LDS group differed according to participants' residence: for participants from rural areas, the LDS 3 speakers favored PP use the most (compared to LDS 1 and LDS 2 groups). For participants from urban areas, the LDS 1 group favored PP use more than the LDS 2 and LDS 3 speakers.

Upon examining PP/PRET conditioning factors according to speakers' LDS group, results of the logistic regression demonstrated group differences in their conditioning factors. There were only two significant factors in PP/PRET use by the Quechua-dominant group (LDS 1): temporal reference and object type. PP was favored in non-specific temporal contexts and by plural objects. As for the LDS 2 speakers, it seems the temporal-aspectual constraints of PP/PRET

use strengthened compared to the LDS 1 group, and the conditioning factors' directions of effect remained in accordance with prototypical temporal-aspectual contrasts in perfect/perfective morphology. Temporal reference, grammatical subject, sentence type, and adverbial type were significant in conditioning PP/PRET variation. The PP was favored in non-specific contexts, and the PP was favored by interrogative sentences and PP-favoring adverbials. Also, 1st person subjects were significant in eliciting the compound past.

Temporal-aspectual constraints were also significant in PP/PRET variation by LDS 3 speakers, and the behavior of the PP by this group was comparable to that of LDS 2 speakers' PP behavior such that PP/PRET use was conditioned by temporal-aspectual factors as per prototypical perfect/perfective meanings. The PP was favored in temporally unanchored contexts (i.e. non-specific temporal reference, interrogative and subordinate clauses) and atelic situations (i.e. atelic lexical aspect). Additionally, as with LDS 2 speakers, 1st person subjects also favored PP use by LDS 3 speakers. Taken together, these findings of the second logistic regression—which output conditioning factors of PP/PRET use by LDS group—suggest that the temporal-aspectual constraints on PP/PRET distribution increase as Spanish dominance increases. Moreover, they indicate that functions of the PP by these participants include subjective meanings, particularly among Spanish-dominant speakers.

In closing, the results of my analysis of the interview data support the position that innovative PP uses in Cusco are rooted in Quechua-Spanish language contact. This was demonstrated via the statistically significant negative correlation between participants' Spanish language dominance and their PP production rates, whereby an increase in participants' Spanish dominance led to a decrease in their respective PP rates. Additionally, upon investigating which non-linguistic and linguistic factors, if any, condition PP/PRET variation for all participants and across LDS groups, it appears that simple and compound past behavior in this study displays canonical temporal-aspectual sensitivities akin to what has been observed in other Spanish varieties. On the other hand, the PP in the interview data also exhibits semantic innovation; PP/PRET variation does not display distance effects per the Aoristic Drift in Peninsular Spanish, and the PP encodes speaker subjectivity, insofar as the compound past is the favored variant with 1st person grammatical subjects (Schwenter and Torres Cacoullous, 2008; Hernández, 2013; Rodríguez Louro, 2016).

Overall, these findings lend support to the hypothesis that the PP in Peruvian Andean Spanish is acquiring epistemic meanings via the subjectivization process and that this process is accelerated by contact between Spanish and Quechua speakers. In the next chapter (Chapter 7), I continue this investigation

of PP/PRET variation in Cusco Spanish via a qualitative analysis of Quechua and Spanish verbal morphology in intra-speaker oral narratives. In doing so, I illustrate speaker-subjective uses of the PP in the bilingual interview data, and I argue that subjectivity is germane to the Quechua verbal system and is also the guiding factor in PP subjectivization.

# CHAPTER 7

## SUBJECTIVITY IN QUECHUA PAST TENSE MORPHOLOGY AND THE SPANISH PP

### 7.1 Introduction

A primary claim of the current investigation is that the Andean Peruvian Present Perfect is developing along a path of subjectivization. This is evidenced by its use in signalling an emotional connection (i.e. Emotional Proximity) between a speaker and a past event, regardless of the event's temporal or aspectual character. Results observed in the previous quantitative analyses support previous claims that the Cusco Present Perfect encodes subjective meaning (see for example, Escobar, 1997; Howe, 2013; Jara Yupanqui, 2013; García Tesoro and Jang, 2018). In the logistic regression performed on the questionnaire data (Chapter 5), a statistically significant positive correlation between Emotive Proximity<sup>63</sup> and PP selection was observed. In Chapter 6, results from the logistic regression on the sociolinguistic interview data indicated that 1st person subjects favored the Present Perfect over the Preterit. These findings support the position that regional Present Perfect use is not exclusively conditioned by temporal-aspectual factors widely attributed to prototypical perfect functions but is in fact determined also by subjective, epistemic notions, such as a speaker's internal attitudes or level of involvement in the narrative account.

In the current chapter I provide a qualitative analysis of the verbal morphology used in narrative discourse in Spanish and Quechua. The purpose of an examination comparing both languages' verbal systems is two-fold: (1) to illustrate innovative uses of the Andean PP, namely, in narrative sequences and in contexts of high Emotional Proximity, and (2) to examine if and/or how the

<sup>63</sup> Recall that Emotive Proximity was measured via participants' averaged EP scores, which were calculated via their ratings of 'speaker-affected entity relationship' and an event's 'degree of impact'.

Quechua verbal system may be responsible for subjective PP use in the regional variety. In this second point I show the following: (2a) the appearance of temporally unmarked verbs and directional marking evidence morphological variability in Quechua past temporal reference, and (2b) *-r(q)a-* is used in reference to dream state events, a context generally prescribed to *-sqa-*. Taken together, I argue that innovative uses of the verbal system in Andean Spanish are likely not rooted in evidential transfer from the Quechua verbal markers *-r(q)a-* and *-sqa-*, unlike what has been argued in previous research (see for example Schumacher de Peña, 1980; Bustamante, 1991; Mendoza, 1991; Stratford, 1991; Klee and Ocampo, 1995; Escobar, 1997; Sánchez, 2004). Such a view oversimplifies the Quechua past tense verbal system, neglecting assorted semantic categories also encoded, and vitally so, in Quechua past temporal reference. Furthermore, although the verb forms themselves do not appear likely candidates for novel PP use, that Quechua grammatical usage is informed by speaker perspective (Howard, 2014) and evidential, epistemic, and mirative stance (Manley, 2015) leads me to suggest that those semantic-pragmatic categories, which are rooted in notions of subjectivity, are guiding innovative uses of the Andean Peruvian compound past and motivating its divergent development path.

That subjectivization is an agent of language change has been posited by the pioneering, diachronic work of Traugott (1989) and further supported by more recent research (Silva-Corvalán, 2001; Company Company, 2002, 2006; Hernández, 2013). Traugott (1989) claims diachronic change is characterized by an increase in subjectivity, that is, linguistic meaning increasingly encodes speakers' attitudes and beliefs over time. Furthermore, it is posited that early stages of grammaticalization may be prone to pragmatic strengthening (vs. semantic reduction in late stages), which motivates subjectivization (Traugott, 1989; Traugott and König, 1991).

More generally, that the Present Perfect is cross-linguistically, inherently linked to subjectivity is especially apparent in the perfect notion of *current relevance*. Current relevance is primarily an aspectual notion (notwithstanding its temporal values) that depends upon a speaker's subjective view of a past event and its relation to a reference point (Fleischman, 1983, as cited in Jara Yupanqui, 2013, p. 28). Ritz and Engel (2008), for example, found that the PP in Australian English can be used as a 'virtual present', in which speakers convey a subjective closeness to a past event in narrative discourse, in contrast to a subjective distancing effect via the Preterit. They claim the compound form in this way holds a 'vivid narrative use' whereby hearers become 'virtual observers of a virtual present speech event' (Ritz and Engel, 2008, p. 132). Their claim that the compound past in Australian English can evoke a vivid effect in narrative

speech, attracting listeners and sustaining their attention, for instance, is consistent with claims of the current proposal, i.e. the compound past in Cusco Spanish can be used in discourse to indicate events that are particularly salient or noteworthy according to the speaker.

Furthermore, previous research points to the notion that, when working in opposition discourse-pragmatically, the PP naturally lends itself to more affective meanings than the PRET in Spanish (Alarcos Llorach, 1947; J. M. Lope Blanch, 1991; Kubarth, 1992). When such pragmatic meanings are strengthened, whereby the expression of speaker involvement is intensified, this arguably motivates subjectivization of the PP during early stages of the grammaticalization process (Traugott, 1989; Hernández, 2013). Crucially, it is precisely this subjectivization process that I argue is occurring in Cusco Spanish and which I intend to illustrate in the current project.

Throughout this chapter, I treat *subjectivity* per its humanistic use, referring to the linguistic expression of the speaker's self and/or representation of their perspective or viewpoint in discourse (Finegan, 1995, p. 1). The term *subjectivization* refers to a diachronic process by which linguistic structures and strategies evolve in such a way that a speaker's expression and/or perspective is made more prominent in discourse (Finegan, 1995). In this development path, forms' referential meanings weaken, and new semantic and/or pragmatic implicatures are extended and conventionalized throughout a speech community (Traugott, 1995; Jara Yupanqui, 2013). According to Carey (1995), it is because of speakers' need to be as informative and expressive as possible that conversational inferences are conventionalized, via pragmatic strengthening, and activate the subjectivization process (p. 95).

The relationship between subjectivization and grammaticalization is treated differently in current research, although the overwhelming consensus seems to be that the former is a manifestation of the latter (Traugott, 1989, 1995; Finegan, 1995; Howe, 2013). Jara Yupanqui (2013) describes the two processes as differing in terms of their direction of development: subjectivization travels from syntax toward discourse, and grammaticalization moves from discourse to syntax (p. 35). According to Traugott's (1989, 1995) diachronic perspective on the matter, subjectivization is a pragmatic-semantic process evidenced in lexical and grammatical domains. In the grammatical domain, Traugott (1995) labels the process 'subjectification in grammaticalisation'<sup>64</sup>, whereby morphosyntactic and pragmatic-semantic factors interact and lead to intricate trajectories of change. She describes this process in the following way:

'Subjectification in grammaticalisation' is, broadly speaking, the development of a grammatically identifiable expression of speaker belief or

<sup>64</sup> Recall that 'subjectification' is an orthographic variant of 'subjectivization'. I apply this spelling here to reflect the reference by Traugott (1995).

speaker attitude to what is said. It is a gradient phenomenon, whereby forms and constructions that at first express primarily concrete, lexical, and objective meanings come through repeated use in local syntactic contexts to serve increasingly abstract, pragmatic, interpersonal, and speaker-based functions. (p. 32)

Support for the idea that subjectivity is necessarily encoded in language comes from Finegan (1995), who points out that subjectivity is a ‘crucial facet’ of language (p. 2). He highlights the fact that language is not strictly used to express logical, propositional thought; rather it is used ‘as an expression – an incarnation, even – of perceiving, feeling, *speaking subjects*’ (p. 2, emphasis his). Its presence in language is so great, he argues, that an analysis of subjectivity in language becomes challenging given its ubiquity.

## 7.2 Subjectivity in the spatio-temporal domain

In the following sections, I treat subjectivity as it is related to the current work and use the current data set to examine and exemplify my argument—i.e. that the Andean PP is undergoing subjectivization. In particular, I discuss how the notions of subjectivity and space-time relations interact in Quechua past temporal reference (§7.2.1) and the Spanish Present Perfect (§7.2.2). I then illustrate this interaction using excerpts from the current data set of bilingual interviews. The purpose of using Spanish and Quechua data is to elucidate how shared notions of subjectivity are imbued in both languages’ past tense verbal systems. Specifically, I show that epistemic features are germane to ‘directional’<sup>65</sup> morphemes beyond ‘temporal’<sup>66</sup> *-r(q)a-* and *-sqa-* in Quechua. That ‘directional’ morphological marking is fundamental to the verbal system (Adeelaar, 2006; Kalt, 2015) and conveys speaker-oriented epistemic interpretations like ‘temporal’ suffixes strengthens the notion that the grammatical presence of subjectivity is prevalent in the Quechua verbal system and encourages its influence in Andean Spanish. Additionally, I show that the Present Perfect in the Spanish interview data encodes speaker perspective and evaluation in its discursive use. Therein, I argue that this broad notion of subjectivity in the past temporal system of Quechua and Spanish fosters a prime locus of change in Andean Spanish, one that encourages the persistence of epistemicity in its spatio-temporal domain.

<sup>65</sup> I use the term ‘directional’ to refer to morphological markers that are traditionally designated as encoders of direction/movement. However, additional meanings of these morphemes include aspectual, affective, spatio-temporal, and deictic interpretations (Kalt, 2015). For this reason, I place the term ‘directional’ in single quotes.

<sup>66</sup> I use the term ‘temporal’ to refer to the morphological markers (*-r(q)a-*, *-sqa-*) that have been traditionally designated as encoders of past tense. It will be demonstrated, however, that these markers are not exclusively temporal, for which reason I place the term ‘temporal’ in single quotes.

### 7.2.1 Subjectivity and space-time relations in Quechua past temporal reference

Temporal and spatial domains are closely related in human language and thought, as illustrated by commonplace lexical and constructional space-time metaphorical mapping cross-linguistically (Sinha and Bernárdez, 2015). However, recent studies in contemporary linguistic-anthropological research have argued that such space-time mapping language is not impermeable to variation, challenging the universality of space-time conceptualization (Sinha and Bernárdez, 2015). Filipović and Jaszczolt (2012) support the idea that linguistic diversity can indeed reflect cognitive diversity:

Linguistic diversity does not necessarily preclude cognitive diversity although it does not completely exclude the latter as a possibility. This possibility can be seen in the revival of neo-Whorfian strands in linguistics and psychology, which report evidence that language-specific effects on cognition (e.g. categorisation of objects or events and memory) are more than just a speculative possibility. (p. 2)

Importantly, linguistic variation in space-time mapping does not infer a conflation of culture and/or psychology. On the other hand, viewing linguistic space-time mapping as universal neglects the diversity that exists in cultural knowledge, particularly in speakers' cosmological perspectives and world views.

Many time metaphors are rooted in space or spatial motion. This is exemplified and likely propagated by Newtonian theories that view time and space as absolute, infinite and flowing uniformly in the physical universe. It has been shown, however, that this linear, unidirectional approach to time is not a universal cultural model (Sinha and Bernárdez, 2015). Some cultures conceptualize time vertically, others horizontally. Time in Mayan codices was measured via 'intervallic time reckoning', in which important, memorable events were separated by a time interval of a length particular to adjacent events. This is akin to the idea of 'leaps and bounds', in which 'bounds' were variable durations of time that separated 'leaps', that is, memorable events (Da Silva Sinha et al., 2012, p. 2).

Other differences in space-time conceptualizations include quantificational and qualificational systems. Quantificational systems are essentially 'time-based, segmenting and measuring temporal durations in Time as Such' (Da Silva Sinha et al., 2012, p. 18) and include variable calendric times (i.e. solar, lunar, astrological). On the other hand, qualificational systems of time are non-numerical, event-time conceptualizations, such as 'ecological time' and/or 'social structure time'. In these cases, time is measured according to changes in the environment

(e.g. dry vs. rainy seasons) and social engagements (e.g. migration patterns, cultivation vs. planting periods), and it is thus governed by events, rather than clock- or calendar-based calculations (Da Silva Sinha et al., 2012).

In spite of these differences, universalities do exist. Sinha and Bernárdez (2015) point out that all events are experienced and recounted cross-culturally ‘in terms of duration and succession’ (p. 311). Da Silva Sinha et al. (2012) reconcile the juxtaposition of universal and language-/culture-specific views of space-time mapping by highlighting their coexistent, dual nature:

...when it comes to the expression and conceptualisation of time, we can also see the dynamism between universal and language- or culture-specific features. The psychological arrow of time, as it is popularly called by Stephen Hawking—that is, the direction in which humans experience the passing of time— is at the same time constrained by universal and culture-specific tendencies. Considering the first, the psychological arrow has to be compatible with the direction in which the universe is expanding and with the direction of the increasing disorder (entropy) in the world. Considering the second, various cultures adopt various conceptualisations of the direction, the unit of time, and past, present, and future. (p. 5)

What is certain is that research of (universal or culturally-specific) spatio-temporal understandings underpin the fact that space and time are integral domains of human language and thought. Sinha and Bernárdez (2015) build upon this point, claiming that ‘[space and time] are the fundamental situating dimensions of human sociocultural and cognitive ecology’ (p. 310). Along the same vein, I will address the sociocultural structuring of space and time encoded in the Quechua language. Crucially, given the past five hundred years of contact between Spanish and Quechua speakers in the Andes, I do *not* assume lexical and constructional time-space mapping in Quechua reflects speakers’ cognitive time-space mapping per se. For instance, contemporary Andean speakers have been highly influenced by Catholic and Protestant evangelism (Paredes Alfaro, 2014; Lee, 2021), and with it, perhaps a change in their cosmological vision that encompasses, if not exclusively assumes, Christian beliefs and use of the solar, Gregorian calendar. Despite this being the case, my examination of Quechua past temporal reference in Andean Spanish would be incomplete without taking into consideration the *linguistic* realization of space-time mapping in the Quechua language, particularly because it is the spatio-temporal linguistic material that is being examined in the current study.

## Space-time mapping in Quechua

According to Sinha and Bernárdez (2015), the lexicalization of the space-time concept in Quechua (and Aymara) is unified, or fused (p. 319). That is, space-time correspondences are not separated but exist in a *single* conceptual domain. Support for their claim comes from the Quechua word *pacha*<sup>67</sup>, which purportedly refers to ‘space’ as much as to ‘time’. The authors also mention the adverbials *ñawpa(q)* ‘front’ and *qhipa* ‘back’, which have raised much interest in spatio-temporal conceptualization in Quechua. In reference to spatial position, *ñawpa(q)* refers to a location in front of the speaker/experiencer, and *qhipa* refers to a location behind, or in back of, the speaker/experiencer. When used temporally, however, the meanings are directionally ‘reversed’ compared to the Western schema: *ñawpa(q)* ‘front’ refers to a time in the past, and *qhipa* ‘back’ refers to a time in the future (Estermann, 1998; Sinha and Bernárdez, 2015).

Faller and Cuéllar (2003) argue that this ‘EGO-centric’ model, in which the future is ‘behind’ the speaker and the past is ‘ahead’ of the speaker, is inaccurate. Their data suggest these adverbs adhere to a relative model locating time intervals relative to each other (not to the ‘EGO’, that is, the speaker/experiencer) and which considers the future as ‘ahead’ and the past ‘behind’, similar to Spanish. Additionally, they claim that, similar to Spanish, Quechua conceptualization of time includes linear directionality from the future toward the past.

Where the two languages diverge in their conception of space and time, according to the authors, includes the ‘time as movement’ notion. In Quechua, the ‘EGO’ can be expressed to move in time in ways unlike in Spanish. For instance, use of movement verbs *hayku* ‘enter’ and *lluqsiy* ‘leave’ are used to talk about movement in time with seasons or temporal segments. This is exemplified below (Faller and Cuéllar, 2003, p. 6):

- (68) *chiraw-manta lluksi-ru-sun-ña*  
invierno-ABL salir-EXH-I.PL.INCL-DISC  
‘Ya vamos a entrar al invierno.’

Additionally, Faller and Cuéllar (2003) claim that time is discussed in vertical terms, in which the future is placed above (*hawa wata* ‘year in the future’ (lit. ‘above year’)), and the past is located below (*ura wata* ‘year in the past’ (lit. ‘below year’)) (p. 6). Additionally, the verbs *wichay* ‘climb’ and *uray* ‘descend’ are used to describe the speaker’s (i.e. EGO’s) movement in time and time’s movement toward the speaker, respectively. Consider their examples below (p. 7):

<sup>67</sup> Hornberger and Hornberger’s (2013) dictionary defines *pacha* accordingly: ‘itself, the very’ (adj.); ‘place, time, era, earth, world’ (n.) (p. 68).

- (69) a. *Wata ura-ya-mu-sba-n-ña*  
 año bajar-AUG-CIS-PROG-3-DISC  
 ‘Ya está bajando el año (venidero).’
- b. *k’aya wata-man wicha-ru-sba-nchis-ña*  
 próximo año-ILLA subir-EXH-PROG-I.PL.INCL-DISC  
 ‘Ya estamos subiendo al próximo año.’

Another attested feature of Quechua time is its cyclic, sinusoidal shape (Hurtado de Mendoza Santander, 2001; Faller and Cuéllar, 2003). Faller and Cuéllar (2003) propose, in the diurnal treatment of time at least, the movement of time reflects undulating curves in which the upward and downward movements represent different parts of the day and for which ‘ascending’ and ‘descending’ terminology (i.e. *wichay*, *uray*) would be used. Although these broad proposals leave much to be desired for our understanding of spatio-temporal conceptions in Quechua, these previous studies all point to a space-time mapping that involves a view divergent from the horizontal, unidirectional time-space mapping of the Western schema.

On a related note, that variation exists in spatial cognition, particularly among individuals in the Andes, is supported by the anthropological work of Shapero (2017). He found that environmental experience is a significant factor in spatial representation. All of Shapero’s (2017) participants were speakers of Ancash Quechua and/or Spanish and belonged to Quechua-speaking households in Ancash, Peru. His findings showed that the participants with greater experience in the high grasslands preferred allocentric (i.e. Absolute) over egocentric (i.e. Relative) Frames of Reference (FoRs) for nonverbal spatial cognition. The determining factor for this difference between allocentric vs. egocentric FoRs was the extent of experience in the highland pastures. These findings broadly hint that geographical surroundings and environmental landmarks are influential in orientation and spatial reasoning. From this type of claim, it would not be unreasonable to wonder whether Andean cosmological vision was ever historically influenced by the geographical terrain of the Andes Mountains, and if so, whether that is related to the linguistic realization of space and time relations in Quechua.

In what follows, I discuss how notions of subjectivity are cast in ‘temporal’ and ‘non-temporal’ verbal affixes in the Quechua past tense system.

### Subjectivity in ‘temporal’ and ‘non-temporal’ suffixes

As has been discussed previously (see Chapter 3), the most oft-cited suffixes in the verbal past tense system of Quechua include the Direct Past *-r(q)a-* and the Indirect Past *-sqa-*. At present, there is much disagreement among Quechua linguists regarding the semantic and/or pragmatic meanings of these two verbal markers (and of the evidential suffixes *-mi/-n* and *-si/-s* for that matter) (Manley, 2015). Most research claims the difference between the two past tense morphemes is evidential, whereby *-r(q)a-* indicates a firsthand account of a past event, and *-sqa-* indicates a secondhand or reportative account (Cusihuamán Gutiérrez, 1976; Schumacher de Peña, 1980; Bustamente, 1991; Klee and Ocampo, 1995; Escobar, 1997; Cusihuamán Gutiérrez, 2001). More recent research, however, argues that characterizing these two verbal morphemes under Aikhenvald’s (2004) treatment of evidentiality (i.e. information source) does not account for their epistemic interpretations, such as speaker perspective, degree of certainty, truth judgments, level of involvement, and responsibility (Manley, 2007). Furthermore, it has been called into question whether the formal evidential suffixes (*-mi/-n*, *-si/-s*, *-chá*) should be defined according to a blend of evidential and epistemic meanings (Weber, 1986; Nuckolls, 1993).

According to Faller (2002), evidentiality and epistemicity are distinct grammatical categories whose semantic functions overlap, and are reflected indirectly in the past tense morphemes. Recall that Faller’s (2004) work on Cuzco Quechua argues the past tense marker *-sqa-* is a spatio-temporal deictic marker whose primary interpretation is neither evidential nor epistemic. As a marker of spatio-temporal deixis, *-sqa-* locates a past event outside a speaker’s perceptual field at the moment of speaking, from which evidential interpretations can arise indirectly. She explains, ‘since one can only learn about an event that took place outside one’s perceptual field by indirect means, a marker that locates an event outside one’s perceptual field, such as *-sqa*, will convey indirect evidentiality’ (p. 47). In contrast, she claims *-r(q)a-* opposes *-sqa-* in that it is ‘evidentially neutral’ (p. 46). Manley (2007) refers to the two verbal markers as ‘epistemic markers’ and claims they encode subjective meanings beyond information source, including variable levels of speaker certainty, involvement, and responsibility.

The dominant theme in previous research, formerly and more recently, is that the semantic meaning of *-r(q)a-* and *-sqa-* is *not* exclusively temporal. This is paramount to the current project. Whether the distinction between these past temporal suffixes are primarily evidential, spatio-temporal, or epistemic, this inconclusive treatment of the Quechua past tense morphemes similarly illustrates the cross-linguistically-attested connection between evidentiality/epistemicity and spatio-temporal deixis (Faller, 2004; see also Manley and Muntendam,

2015). It also reinforces the status of these forms as markers that are not strictly temporal and that encode meanings that are highly subjective.

In addition to the ‘temporal’ suffixes *-r(q)a-* and *-sqa-*, a plethora of ‘non-temporal’ verbal affixes are cardinal in narrative discourse. In fact, the classification of the Quechua morphological system as a whole is preliminary yet, and according to Hintz, 2011, as cited in Kalt, 2015, derivational morphology is one of the least understood areas of Quechua morphosyntax. The verbal system contains a wide range of derivational suffixes that lie within a shared syntax-semantics-pragmatics interface and include widespread morphological polysemy, none of which is treated systematically in the literature. As a result, there is no clear meaning for these affixes (Kalt, 2015; Peng, 2020).

In spite of this, it remains clear that a wide range of multifunctional affixes are highly pertinent to the verbal system and simultaneously encode temporal and non-temporal interpretations in discourse. Here I discuss a variety of these affixes, selected based on their recognition in the literature (as laid out by Kalt, 2015 and Peng, 2020), and demonstrate how speaker-subjectivity is encoded in their use.

According to Kalt (2015), directional suffixes are not mutually exclusive from temporal categories in Quechua. Instead, they work in tandem with a wide range of other verbal, semantic categories to convey meanings traditionally relegated to Tense, Mood, and Aspect. Consider her quote below:

Suffixes with current or historic directional meaning in Southern Quechua interact with the semantics of verb roots, other derivational, inflectional and evidential markers and with periphrastic elements to influence the interpretation of the verb’s tense, mood, aspect and manner. No single one of these elements fully determines the expression of deictic and subjective meanings within a discourse, but rather, they act in concert with non-directional elements to do so. (p. 27)

Kalt’s (2015) work examines five directional morphemes, *-y(k)u-*, *-r(q)u-*, *-ku-*, *-pu-*, and *-mu-* (along with their allomorphs) and demonstrates that, in addition to their historically spatial-directional meanings, these multifunctional markers encode temporal-aspectual and psychological-social meanings as well. Notably, ‘all of the suffixes include a meaning which grammaticalizes affect or expresses the degree of speaker/hearer involvement’ (p. 40). They necessarily interact with other verbal elements and convey deictic positioning, including spatial, temporal, and/or psychological orientations of the speaker. Examples of affective uses of directional suffixes are provided below (Kalt, 2015, p. 28, boldface mine):

- (70) a. *wallata-qa apa-yu-Ø-n*  
 goose-TOP carry-INT-3.OBJ-3  
 ‘The goose takes or brings it with emotion or conviction’
- b. *puñu-ya-ka-pu-sqa*  
 sleep-INT-BEN-MAL-PST 2.3  
 ‘(The duck) enjoyed sleeping deeply and I am/was not pleased by it’

Notice that in (70[a])<sup>68</sup>, use of the directional *-y(k)u-*, which Kalt (2015) refers to as an ‘intensifier’, expresses the goose’s emotional state and personal feelings toward the carrying event. Additionally, (70[b]) showcases how directional suffixes can be used in conjunction with one another (what Kalt (2015) calls a ‘cluster’) and convey a variety of emotive meanings at the same time. These morphemes simultaneously denote contradictory emotions of the grammatical subject (i.e. the duck) and the narrator toward the duck’s sleeping; the ‘benefactive’ function of *-ku* indicates the duck’s enjoyment, and the ‘malefactive’ function of *-pu* indicates the narrator is not pleased. Moreover, the profundity of the ducks’ sleep is made clear by the ‘intensifier’ *-y(k)u-*.

I provide the table below as a synopsis of the multifunctional, deictic uses of the five directional morphemes examined in Kalt’s (2015) work. Unless otherwise specified, the meanings provided in the chart have been attested in multiple sources, specifically, from the work of Salas Cruz and Aráoz de Guevara (1993), Cusihamán Gutiérrez (2001), Kalt (2015), and Peng (2020).

<sup>68</sup> In response to a question posed by one committee member, I want to clarify that, according to Kalt (2015), the symbol ‘Ø’ was added to ‘represent third person object inflection to transitive verbs in the position where the first person marker is normally found’ (p. 28).

Directional Morpheme	Spatial meaning	Temporal / Aspectual meaning	Psychological / Social meaning
Augmentative / Intensifier <i>-y(k)u-</i>	Into, inward, ingesting, taking in, direction toward someone or something, downward	Completely, decisively	Thoughtfully, thoughtlessly, affectionately, politely, special attention or care, intensity, intentional (Kalt 2015), with imperative: affection, politeness
Exhortative <i>-r(q)u-</i>	(archaic) out of, (archaic) upward (Kalt 2015)	Fast, abruptly, unexpectedly, a sudden and recent action, completion	Forcefully, with conviction, with urgency, honorably, politely (Kalt 2015), with imperative: urgency, carefulness, courtesy, respect
Reflexive <i>-ku-</i>	Toward the subject (Kalt 2015)	Reflexivity (Cusihuamán 2001, Salas Cruz & Aráoz de Guevara 1993)	Self-serving, affectionate, polite, special attention or care, intensity, done of own free will, with imperative: affection, politeness (Kalt 2015); action leads to subject's satisfaction, relief, and/or benefit (Cusihuamán 2001, Salas Cruz & Aráoz de Guevara 1993)
Regressive <i>-pu-</i>	Away, toward point of origin; on verbs of movement: action is directed toward origin of subject	Toward or attaining a permanent or enduring state	Distance from speaker perspective, doing something for another, egotistical, for another's benefit, to the detriment of another
Cislocative / Translocative <i>-mu-</i>	On verbs of movement: action begins elsewhere and is directed toward speaker / hearer / object; on transitive verbs: action occurs elsewhere; on verbs of climate/weather: action occurs in speaker's location; actions that originate from 'within' (e.g. body, earth, water)	Emerging gradually or continuously into the perceptual field (Kalt 2015)	Speaker is affected, personal involvement (Kalt 2015)

Figure 7.1: Multifunctional use of directional morphemes

It is clear from the table above that these directional morphemes *-y(k)u-*, *-r(q)u-*, *-ku-*, *-pu-* and *-mu-* are not strictly directional and in fact encode meanings of temporal-aspectual and psychological-social deixis. Particularly interesting is the way that the psychological/social meanings of these directional suffixes appear much more encompassing than spatial and temporal-aspectual ones. Crucially, their use as markers of psychological/social deixis relies on, and encodes, the perspective of the speaker.

In summary, while *-r(q)a-* and *-sqa-* have traditionally been classified as the two primary 'temporal' morphemes in the Quechua past tense system, this oversimplified classification renders other verbal morphemes, by their exclusion, as 'non-temporal'. I believe this is the reason directional suffixes are mistakenly excluded from analyses of the past tense system in Quechua. Although it seems largely true that *-r(q)a-* and *-sqa-* are primarily temporal compared to the directional morphology just described, the latter are essential to past temporal

reference. Moreover, they all share values at the intersection of spatial, temporal, and psychological/social domains. Thus, an analysis of past temporal reference in Quechua that overlooks the multi-functional, symbiotic relationship of ‘temporal’ *-r(q)a-* and *-sqa-* and ‘non-temporal’ directional suffixes seems incomplete, even inaccurate.

On a related note, if space-time mapping in Quechua is indeed fused, as claimed by Sinha and Bernárdez (2015), this could explain the interlaced relationship between spatial and temporal values in some of the verbal markers—that is, why ‘temporal’ morphemes encode spatial features, and why ‘directional’ morphemes encode temporal features. Perhaps it is the lens of the Western schema, which separates space and time, that leads us to treat these verbal derivations as polysemous in their spatio-temporal interpretations. A conceptualization of space and time as a single domain would not view these markers as variations of space *and* time, but as variations of ‘space-time’ (i.e. *pacha*).

### 7.2.2 Subjectivity and space-time relations in the Present Perfect

Throughout this chapter, I aim to show how the process whereby the Cusco Present Perfect has acquired ancillary epistemic features, such as emotional closeness (i.e. subjectivization), is not only a plausible path of development but a reasonable one. It has been argued in the previous section (§7.2.1) that subjectivity is prevalent in the verbal past tense system of Quechua. This is evidenced in part by the way in which the semantic interpretation of the two most oft-cited past tense verbal suffixes (*-r(q)a-* and *-sqa-*) are themselves rooted in epistemic, speaker-based judgments pertaining to their spatio-temporal and psychological relationship to a past event. Additionally, I argued that Quechua past temporal reference, being replete with highly-subjective directional morphology that encodes spatio-temporal and social-psychological deixis (Kalt, 2015), has been inappropriately dissected in linguistic research. Past temporal reference in Quechua includes an array of polysemous semantic categories beyond temporal relations, exemplified by the five directional suffixes *-y(k)u-*, *-r(q)u-*, *-ku-*, *-pu-* and *-mu-*, that are equally and fundamentally involved in Quechua speakers’ portrayal and recounting of past events. Crucially, these verbal categories are characteristically rooted in the perspective of the speaker.

In what follows, I elucidate how subjectivity is also an inherent semantic feature of the Present Perfect, cross-linguistically and in Spanish in particular. In doing so, it will be clear how the prevailing notion of subjectivity is not only a shared feature in the spatio-temporal domains of Spanish and Quechua, but

more importantly it suggests the Spanish PP would in fact be a choice candidate for the influence of Quechua epistemicity. I end this section with an overview of previous findings that further support the present claim (i.e. the Andean Present Perfect is undergoing the process of subjectivization) before moving on to an analysis of the bilingual data in §7.3.

The general consensus of the Spanish PP is that it has gone through—and continues to undergo—a process of grammaticalization, whereby it has developed—and continues to develop—additional semantic values beyond the original ones (Schwenter, 1994; Escobar, 1997; Howe and Schwenter, 2003; Hernández, 2004; Schwenter and Torres Cacoullós, 2008; Jara Yupanqui, 2013). Additionally, it is widely acknowledged that there is variation in the semantic values that the PP is acquiring across Spanish varieties. Grammaticalization of the Peninsular PP has led to a PP/PRET opposition rooted in temporal deixis: the two forms are distinguished according to whether an event occurred within a hodiernal time frame (PP is used) or prehodiernal time frame (PRET is used) (Schwenter, 1994). Whereas this may be true of European Spanish, this does not appear to be true of Latin American Spanish.

Company Company (2002, as cited in Jara Yupanqui, 2013, pp. 37–38) argued that the Mexican PP encodes a link between a past event and its discourse-pragmatic relevance during the moment of speaking, an illustration of the subjective view of the speaker. She further distinguishes between Peninsular and American Spanish, claiming that the former selects an absolute profile, while the latter selects a relational profile. Whereas Peninsular Spanish prefers to encode referential values (i.e. the Peninsular PP maintains a temporal value, in which the past event is temporally close to the moment of speaking), American Spanish seeks to encode discursive, pragmatic and cultural values that denote speaker perspective over temporal-aspectual features.

Hernández (2013) also claims that, while the Peninsular PP reflects tangible, temporal proximity, it is subjective notions of closeness/distance that motivate the PP/PRET opposition in Latin American varieties. His examination of oral data from El Salvador and written Mexican data found that the PP is used in opposition with PRET to enhance the speaker's subjective involvement in discourse. The PP (in both varieties) encodes temporal and psychological proximity between the speaker and past event, drawing the interlocutor's attention to the speaker's affective closeness to it. In contrast, the PRET indicates temporal and psychological remoteness, by which the relationship between the speaker and past event is characterized by detachment and disassociation. Consider Hernández's (2013) description of the PP below:

...the use of PP in narrative clauses provides speakers the mechanism that curtails the psychological distance of events that merit prominence, from the narrator's point of view. Subjective closeness between narrator and event mimics the otherwise temporal proximity of the event through a metonymic relationship in which form and meaning and deictic relationships in discourse come into play. (p. 263)

As for the Peruvian PP, novel semantic features attested in previous research include notions of evidentiality, spatio-temporal relevance, and mirativity (Klee and Ocampo, 1995; Escobar, 1997; Howe and Schwenter, 2003; Sánchez, 2004; Hintz, 2008). Escobar's (1997) initial interpretation of the effects of Quechua on the past tense system in Andean Spanish postulated that novel PP/PRET (and Pluperfect) uses are rooted in the spatio-temporal and evidential positioning between the speaker and the past event.

Escobar (2012b) later found in her examination of Andean judicial documents during the colonial period that use of the PP, by monolinguals and bilinguals alike, was conditioned by subjective and discursive factors related to the prototypical notions of resultativity and current relevance. She claims the PP is used in temporally-aspectually perfective contexts and brings certain actions closer to the reader/interlocutor: 'By bringing these past events to the experience of the reader, the authors are using the PP for present relevance, again to highlight the affective charge' (p. 479). This suggests PP/PRET variation in this variety is a discourse-pragmatic mechanism rooted in notions of self-expression on the part of the speaker/experiencer.

That the Peruvian PP is developing along a path of subjectivization is further corroborated by the work of Howe (2013) and Jara Yupanqui (2013). Jara Yupanqui's (2013) discourse analysis of 'narrations of personal experiences' found that the functions of the Limeño PP are primarily epistemic and subjective. Such functions of the compound past included: summarizing the main idea of the narrative, meta-discursively commenting on it (i.e. speaker evaluations), or interrupting the narrative sequence. She argues this use of the PP imprints the speaker's emotion on the story and concludes that the role of the PP highlights the narrator's point of view and their position with respect to the discourse.

Recall also from the discussion of previous research of the Andean Present Perfect (see Chapter 2) that García Tesoro and Jang (2018) argued that the PP in Cusco Spanish is a discursive mechanism speakers use to express their judgments, emotions, and/or attitudes toward the discourse. The authors claim that the compound past highlights the present relevance of a past event, by which narrators make such events appear closer and more vivid to the interlocutor. In their qualitative analysis, García Tesoro and Jang (2018) showed that this modal PP was used often with close relations of the speakers (e.g. children, parents)

and with events that affected them physically or emotionally (e.g. death of a family member). In doing so, the authors suggest speakers mark events they consider to be relevant or significant in their personal lives and therefore use the PP as a strategy to bring them to the forefront of the narrative.

They attribute this modal behavior of the Cusco PP to contact-induced grammaticalization. Shared features of modal epistemicity in Quechua past tense morphology and discursive uses of the PP resulted in linguistic convergence, which activated and accelerated the subjectivization process of the Andean PP. To be clear, the authors treat ‘evidentiality’ per its broad definition that subsumes epistemicity and adhere to Aikhenvald’s (2004) theory that grammaticalization of perfects toward evidentiality (and epistemicity) is a natural development.

In the following section, my qualitative analysis of the bilinguals interviews from the current data set supports these previous claims that the Andean PP is undergoing a change in its semantic-pragmatic domain and acquiring epistemic meanings (Howe, 2013; Jara Yupanqui, 2013; García Tesoro and Jang, 2018). The Spanish excerpts in my data set illustrate epistemic uses of the PP, particularly in instances of close Emotional Proximity between a speaker and a past event. Furthermore, whereas previous research alleges Quechua influence lies at the root of this change, the current project is the first one to investigate this using Quechua verbal morphology in natural, conversational speech as data. From this data, I provide evidence that suggests that Andean PP development is rooted in functional convergence between the Spanish PP and Quechua temporal reference. Unlike previous claims, I do not suspect that this convergence takes place in the temporal-aspectual domain between temporal and evidential features (see for example Sánchez, 2004). Instead, I posit convergence is occurring between modal, epistemic features related to speaker subjectivity and is more likely characterized by changes in the semantic-pragmatic domain, rather than the morpho-syntactic one.

### **7.3 Analysis of bilingual interviews**

In this section, I provide a qualitative analysis of bilinguals’ Spanish and Quechua speech data. I first discuss findings in the Spanish data of the bilingual interviews (§7.3.1). Next, I examine the distribution of Quechua verbal morphology in the bilingual narratives in §7.3.2. Lastly, in §7.3.3 I provide an example that demonstrates similar treatment of contrastive morphology in intra-speaker Spanish and Quechua data, which I posit is a strategy used to encode the speakers’ emotional and/or psychological proximity to a past event in the narrative.

### 7.3.1 PP in Cusco Andean Spanish

Here I provide examples of the PP in the current data set of Cusco bilinguals to illustrate my position that the Peruvian Andean PP encodes speaker subjectivity. Firstly, that the PP is used to denote a sequence of events evidences its semantic development in the regional variety. It demonstrates its acquisition of additional meanings and explains its use in aorist contexts traditionally reserved for the PRET. Secondly, I show how this notion—i.e. that the Peruvian Andean PP encodes speaker subjectivity—is further reflected when the compound past is used in opposition to the simple past to convey the speaker’s emotional proximity to a past experience in narrative discourse.

In line with previous research (see for example Ritz and Engel, 2008; Hernández, 2013; García Tesoro and Jang, 2018), I suspect that narrative PP use in aorist contexts can be used as a strategy to reflect speakers’ physiological connection to a past event, highlighting for the hearer the event’s importance for the speaker. This is likely a metonymic extension of the perfect’s canonical temporal-aspectual uses to include events for which relevance is based on the speaker’s point of view. The perfect involves some sort of connection between a past and present time (Comrie, 1976), which is clearest in the case of result states, experiential states, and recent events, for example (Chareonkul and Wijitsohon, 2019). The past-present link in ‘current relevance’ interpretations may be psychological, and there always exists some implicit relevance (Downing and Locke, 2006). Therein, the past-present link in the kind of PP use seen in the current data set extends beyond temporal-aspectual notions of relevance and closeness and includes subjective ones based on the speaker’s point of view.

#### PP in sequence of events in narrative discourse

The excerpts below illustrate how the PP in the current data set of Cusco Spanish behaves in discordance with what has previously been claimed in PP/PRET research, namely, that it does not occur in narrative discourse to denote a sequence of events, a context traditionally reserved for the simple past (see for example Howe and Schwenter, 2003; Howe, 2013). While it remains true that in many instances, perhaps even the majority of them, temporal events are sequenced using the simple past, the following passages demonstrate that the PP nonetheless is very capable of appearing in the same context. Consider the first passage below, in which the participant recounted a time when he and his classmates went on a trip to Machu Picchu.

- (71) *Ab nosotros **hemos ido** a Cocalmayo, y **nos hemos bañado** en la piscina, **hemos ido** a Santa Teresa también a jugar fútbol, volei.*

*Nos hemos llevado* balones y hemo-es, una bonita experiencia, luego *hemos ido* a comer en un restaurante, *hemos compartido* todos.

‘Ah we **went/have gone** to Cocalmayo, and we **bathed/have bathed** in the pool, we **went/have gone** to Santa Teresa too to play soccer, volleyball. We **took/have taken** balls y we-it’s, a beautiful experience, then we **went/have gone** to eat at a restaurant, we all **shared/have shared**.’

(Participant #30, lines 723-728)

In this instance, the PP is used to refer to events that took place in a sequential order, evidenced by the use of the adverbial *luego* ‘later, then’, underlined above. While it could be the case that the first few instances of the PP denote an experiential interpretation (i.e. *hemos ido a Cocalmayo* ‘we have gone to Cocalmayo’, *nos hemos bañado en la piscina* ‘we have bathed in the pool’, *hemos ido a Santa Teresa* ‘we have gone to Santa Teresa’), whereby the speaker perceives and conveys the event as an experience that occurred at least once in his lifetime, it is clear from the adverbial that the event of eating and subsequent sharing of the food is ordered after bathing in the pool and playing sports.

Further illustration of sequential PP use is observed in the following excerpt from an interview with Participant #39 in (72) below:

(72) *Yo yo he crecido al lado de mi mamá hasta los diez, once años nomás. De ahí yo me fui a trabajar como, como era una niña. Un extraño viene a mi casa dice ‘A ver, a tu hija me puedes dar para ir a trabajar’ así. Como-y yo, yo estuve uñi-una niña ahm, yo decía pues ‘Me voy a ir me voy a ir’ así, a mamá le **he dicho**. De ahí yo **me he ido** a los doce años. Llego allá, me tratan bien un mes nomás después ya no. De ahí un año nomás **he entrado** a estudiar, de ahí **me he regresado**. Al lado de mamá y **he acabado** mi primaria después mi secundaria. Después, por mí misma yo también **he estudiado**. Yo no **he dicho** a mi mamá ‘Plata dame’ nada...de ahí mi secundaria **ha acabado**. Y cuando estuve al CEPRO estuve entrando **me he conocido** con mi esposo, **he tenido** mis hijos ya, de ahí ya no, aparte he vivido ya hasta ahora, aparto vivo.*

‘I have grown up next to my mom up until ten years old, no more than eleven years old. From there I went to work as, as I was a little girl. A stranger comes to my house [and] says, ‘Let’s see, you can give me your daughter to go to work’ like so. Since—and I, I was agr—a girl uhm, so I said, ‘I’m going to go I’m going to go’, I **told/have told** my mom like so. From there I **left/have left** at twelve years old. I arrive there, they treat me well just one month not anymore after that. After that for just a year I **entered/have entered** [school] to study, from there I **returned/have returned**. To my mom’s side and I **finished/have finished** my primary after that my secondary. Afterwards, for myself I also **studied/have studied**. I **did not tell/have not told** my mom ‘Give me money’ nothing [like that]...from there my secondary **finished/has finished**. And when I was at CEPRO I was entering I **met/have met** my husband, I **had/have had** my kids, from there no more, I have lived apart up to now, I live apart.’ (Participant #39, lines 280-293, 303-307)

This narration was provided by the participant when she was asked by the interviewer to talk a little bit about herself. She enumerated a series of eventualities in succession from her childhood to her 30s, her current adult stage (at the time of writing). The participant specified temporal succession of these events by anchoring them to her age and inserting adverbials *de ahí* ‘from there/then’ and *después* ‘after (that)’, which are underlined. The last instance of the PP (*(aparte) he vivido* ‘I have lived apart’) was not highlighted in bold because its use is consistent with prototypical perfects of a persistent situation; the participant’s ‘living apart’ situation began in the past and continues up through the moment of speaking (*ya hasta ahora, aparte vivo* ‘up to now, I live apart’).

In quantitative terms, a strong preference for the Present Perfect over the Preterit is observed. There are 23 conjugated verbs in the narrative, not including quoted speech contexts. The contingency table below displays the frequencies of each verb form in example (72):

Table 7.1: Contingency table of verb forms (P39)

	PP	PRET	PRET Prog.	Imp.	Present	Total
#	12	3	1	2	5	23

Of all the verbs, 52% were PP (n=12), and only 13% were in the PRET (n=3). In fact, the verbal form with the second highest frequency was not the Preterit. There were a couple more instances of the Present tense (n=5, 5/23 = 22%), used per its ‘historical present’ function, than the PRET.

<sup>69</sup> Unless otherwise specified, the transcription notation ‘X’ indicates speech that was unintelligible. Each ‘X’ represents a single syllable.

A further example is provided in (73)<sup>69</sup> below, in which the interviewer asked the participant to recount a particularly ‘special day’ from his past. He narrated a time during his adolescence when he and his friends traveled together and spent the night in a small town called Quiteni.

- (73) *Entonces ellos querían venir para pasearse, ‘Vamos pe’. Yo me seguí así sin un sol, así con así la ropita nada y, todavía en la selva andas pues con sandalias, ¿no? así con sandalia me vine. Pero, sin. Sin nada de un sol pue y en camión pe. Pucha y al camino **nos hemos trepado**, y antes de llegar al pobladito **nos hemos saltado** en el monte así XX por no pagar el pasaje. y, y de allí en el hotel, también hemos XX—en la noche **hemos caminado** como es caliente áreas de selva, entonces, **hemos caminado** hasta diez de la noche era entonces. Queríamos dormir en un hospedaje. Y como no tenía plata y ellos nomás entonces, **hemos comprado** un solo una, una sola cama. Y los tres **hemos dormido** pero, el colchón lo **hemos bajado** al piso. En el piso lo **hemos tendido** y en el piso me dormí los tres. Y eso sería y en la, en la mañana igual **hemos caminado** en la tarde igual **nos hemos ido**, en un camión de, carga de, combustible. Allí encima **nos hemos subido**, y igual a la señora le **hemos dicho** queríamos{queríamos} pagar XX que pasear XX así nomás y nunca le **hemos pagado**.*

‘So they wanted to come to walk around, “Let’s go”. I followed like so without a *sol*, like so with clothes like so nothing and, in the jungle you still walk around with sandals, no? like so with sandals I came. But, without. Without even a *sol* and in truck. Jeepers and up to the path we **climbed/have climbed**, and before arriving to the little town we **jumped/have jumped** on the incline like so XX for not paying for the ticket. And, and, from there in the hotel, we also have XX—at night we **walked/have walked** since it’s hot the areas of the jungle, so we **walked/have walked** until ten at night it was so. We wanted to sleep in a lodging. And since I didn’t have money and only they did, we **bought/have bought** a single, a single bed. And the three of us **slept/have slept** but, the mattress we **lowered/have lowered** to the floor. On the floor we **laid/have lain it down** and on the floor I slept the three of us. And that would be and in the, in the morning likewise we **said/have said** we wanted to pay XX than walk around XX just like so and we never **paid/have paid** her.’

(Participant #34, lines III-132)

Again, the PP is used sequentially, conveying successive events that took place during the friends' trip: they climbed to the trail, jumped onto the incline, walked through the night, bought a single bed in a lodging, and lowered the mattress to the floor to sleep. The verb forms used in the narrative are listed in the contingency table below:

Table 7.2: Contingency table of verb forms (P<sub>34</sub>)

	PP	PRET	Imp.	Present	Cond.	Total
#	13	3	5	1	1	23

This narrative consisted of 23 verbs total. Similar to the distribution observed in example (72), most of the verbs were marked in the compound past: 57% PP tokens (n=13), and 13% PRET tokens (n=3). Again, the quantitative distribution of the PP displays a preference for the PP over the PRET, even in narrations of events in succession.

Similarly, when Participant #54 narrated her memory of a 'special day' during her childhood, she used the PP in reference to temporally sequenced events. Specifically, the participant recounted that because of the hot weather, she and her sister took off their clothes, they entered the water nearby, their dad found them, and he got mad at them. The narrative excerpt is provided in (74) below:

(74) *Mm a ver cuando **hemos ido** arriba al reservorio, mm había un reservorio es-como XX piscinas pero esos son para ganados es un reservorio. Yab allí, un este ju-estábamos jugando y nos **ha dado** mucho calor, y como había agua allí era limpia el agua también y habían graditas para bajar pero era al-el agua era alto, algo, entonces mm mi hermana dice, 'Tengo calor', y yo también, entonces **nos hemos quitado** la ropa XX y **nos hemos metido** allá adentro. Y mi papá había venido, nos **ha encontrado** allí y nos **ha enojado** (\*chuckles)*

'Mm let's see when we **went/have gone** up to the reservoir, mm there was a reservoir it's-like XX pools but those are for livestock it's a reservoir. Yeah there, a eh pl-we were playing and it **got/has gotten** really hot, and since there had been water there it was clean the water too and there had been little steps to descend but there was thw-the water was high, kinda, so mm my sister says, "I'm hot", and me too, so we **took/have taken off** our clothes XX and we **got/have gotten** inside there. And my dad had come, he **found/has found** us there and **got/has gotten mad** at us (\*chuckles)' (Participant #54, lines 596-607)

Quantitatively, 38% of the verbs were marked in the PP (n=6), and there were no cases of the PRET. See the contingency table below:

Table 7.3: Contingency table of verb forms (P54)

	PP	PRET	Imp.	Present	Imp. Prog.	PluPerf	Totals
#	6	0	5	3	1	1	16

Instances of the Imperfect and Present tenses appear to behave according to their discursive functions in describing the setting of the narrative. For example, the participant uses these forms to describe the *reservorio* ‘reservoir’ and the scenic environment, that is, that there were steps and the water was high. The Present tense marking *dice* ‘she says’ also appears to be functioning prototypically as a historical present. What remains interesting is the fact that the Preterit is completely absent from this narration of the series of events on this particular day.

So far, these examples have illustrated instances in which speakers preferred to use the PP over the PRET. The LDSs of the four exemplified participants ranged from -2 to +2, indicating that they are bilinguals whose dominance in Quechua or Spanish is relatively balanced, compared to a highly Quechua- or Spanish-dominant speaker with a LDS of -6 or +6, respectively. This finding lends itself to the idea that the locus of change in Cusco PP use lies among bilingual speakers.

The preference for PP over PRET is especially noteworthy given that the compound past in the examples above denotes successive events; the simple past is traditionally assigned to this discursive context. I support previous claims that this use of the PP in discourse highlights the events and focuses the interlocutor’s attention on their emotional and/or psychological relevance to the speaker (Howe, 2013; Jara Yupanqui, 2013; García Tesoro and Jang, 2018). Support for this claim is further illustrated in the following examples, in which the PP marks events that appear to be psychologically close or relevant to the speaker.

### **PP for ‘emotionally proximal’ events**

My claim that the PP can be used epistemically to mark ‘emotionally proximal’ events is supported by previous claims, which propose that the Andean PP highlights relevant events in narrative discourse (Howe, 2013; Jara Yupanqui, 2013; García Tesoro and Jang, 2018). The notion of an event’s relevance is a description that is highly dependent on the subjective viewpoint of the speaker. Below I show speakers’ use of the PP to mark events with heightened Emotional Proximity.

In example (75) below, the speaker discloses how his friend's father passed away by falling off a bridge while intoxicated. Whereas the Preterit form is used to describe the event of the father's death (*murió* 'he died', *falleció* 'he passed away'), the event of falling from the bridge (*se ha caído de un puente* 'he has fallen from a bridge') is marked by the PP.

- (75) *Él tampoco no tiene papá porque papá murió con lo que es tomando alcohol. Se alcoholizaba mucho y falleció en un-se ha caí-se ha caído de un puente. Borracho y el río se le llevó.*

'He does not have a father either because his dad died with what is drinking alcohol. He used to get drunk a lot and he passed away in a-he fe-he fell/has fallen from a bridge. Drunk and the river carried him off.'

(Participant #30, lines 593-596)

I suspect that the use of the PP in this way brings the action forward in the discourse, emphasizing the emotional and/or physical heaviness of the event. This also explains why the form is surrounded by PRET-marked events (i.e. *murió* '(his dad) died', *falleció* 'he passed away', *se le llevó* '(the river) carried him off'), despite their identical spatio-temporal placement in the real world. The fall from the bridge, which ultimately led to the father's death, is the most salient, powerful event in the narrative. By marking it with the compound past, the narrator highlights it, compared to the simple past-marked events.

Another example of this 'emotionally proximal' PP is provided in (76) below.<sup>70</sup> Participant #30 described a time when he was little and badly injured his foot (and later needed an operation). The speaker primarily used the PRET to mark the succession of events that took place, in accordance with general rules of discourse morphology. However, there is one instance of the PP in his narrative, which refers to the event of his brother running away and leaving him. It is during that time of aloneness that the speaker attests to seeing a giant person pass by him 'like the wind'. The speaker never explained specifically why or how his foot became painful and swollen, but the interlocutor is led to believe that the giant wind-like person was somehow involved. Additionally, the speaker later explained that none of the Andean healing practices were able to heal his foot, and his mother tried and failed to heal it using traditional medicines. This implies that he and his family also were unsure what happened and further points to the mysterious wind-like giant as the culprit for his injury.

- (76) *Eh me recuerdo muy bien cuando yo, cuando mi pie, cuando tuve una operación en el pie. Y yo, me venía-cuando era pequeñito me pasó eso. Y me venía desde Lares, cuatro horas caminando. Y era noche, las siete o, ocho de la noche. Yo estaba en camino*

<sup>70</sup> The name of the participant's brother, marked as 'XXX', was taken out to preserve anonymity.

*todavía. Aún no llegué a mi casa, me faltaba dos horas todavía para llegar a mi casa. Y cuando yo estaba viniendo, me caí de rodillas. ¿No? Golpeé en una piedra mi rodilla. Y no sé qué habrá pasado porque yo vi, recuerdo muy bien mi hermano—yo no sabía—recuerdo mucho por—porque era peq—soy menor de mi hermano XXX. Mi hermano se fue corriendo y me **ha dejado** solo, yo vi a un gigante persona, pasar como viento. Por mi lado así (\*makes wind-like noise). Y, no podía levantar mi pie, sentía dolor sentía dolor y llegué a mi casa, y en la mañana había inchado grande mi pie.*

‘Uh I remember very well I, when my foot, when I had an operation on my foot. And I, I came—when I was really little that happened to me. And I came from Lares, four hours of walking. And it was night, seven or, eight o’clock at night. I was still on my way. I didn’t arrive to my house yet, I still had two hours to arrive to my house. And when I was coming, I fell on my knees. No? I hit my knee on a rock. And I don’t know what must have happened because I saw, I remember very well my brother—I didn’t know—I remember a lot bec—because I was li—I’m younger than my brother XXX. My brother left running and he **left/has left** me alone, I saw a giant person, pass by like wind. By my side like so (\*makes wind-like noise). And, I couldn’t lift my foot, I felt pain I felt pain and I arrived to my house, and in the morning my foot had swollen up large.’ (Participant #30, lines 736-754)

In this instance, it seems the speaker uses the PP to focus on his brother’s abandonment. The interlocutor is pulled into the speaker’s loneliness, which heightens the speaker’s emotional/psychological state during his confrontation with the eerie, mystical presence of the harmful and enigmatic being.

The same participant later related a story about a time he found himself in a ‘dangerous situation’. He described falling off his bike on his way home from school. Similar to his previous account in (76), most of the verbs are marked in the simple past. There is one instance of the Present Perfect (*abuecarse* ‘to hollow out’), which I suspect marks the particular event to accentuate its effects in the narrative. Consider the example (77) below:

- (77) *Toda la gente caminaba en bicicleta y, bajé mi bici con una, una caraco–un saco de papa más, atrás. Donde que, eh se me terminó el freno, no-no tenía freno. Entonces con toda la velocidad yo tuve que chocar al, a la curva y pararme así, porque no había otro. Estaba frenando co–como yo manejaba ojota, **se ha abuecado** mi ojota también. Porque no, no podía frenar y tuve que chocar. Sí.*  
 ‘All the people used to go on bike and, I descended my bike with a, a sh–a sack of potatoes even, in the back. Where, uh my brakes stopped, I didn’t–didn’t have brakes. So with full speed I had to crash into, into the curve and stop myself like so, because there wasn’t another. I was braking si–since I was driving sandals, my sandals **hollowed/have hollowed out** too. Because I, I couldn’t brake and I had to crash. Yeah.’

(Participant #30, lines 800-808)

Because most of the verb forms are marked by the PRET, that the compound past is used to describe the speaker’s sandals hollowing out brings the event into focus. The speaker experienced physical pain and emotional and psychological distress having to crash himself and his bike against the bend of a mountain at full speed. The fact that his sandals hollowed out while he was trying to brake evokes a very physical image, and marking it with the compound past brings the interlocutor into the speaker’s fear and resulting injury.

Consider how use of the PP imparts the speaker’s emotional closeness onto past events in (78) below. In this example, Participant #34 relates getting together with his classmates and walking to the road with them in celebration of their last day of primary school.

- (78) *También un recuerdo, que me recuerdo siempre sería, meo–melancólico, sería cuando ya acabó la primaria. O sea cuando yo estudiaba, ahm. Estudiaba con mis compañeros, mis compañeros feliz pero nunca había pensado que ese lu–ese momento se iba a acabar. Y entonces, cuando promocionamos primaria, y recuerdo último día se acabó, hemos, con mis compañeros **hemos juntado hemos ido** a caminar por la carretera, y ese era último día y me recuerdo hasta hoy día y nunca volveré a ese momento...Y casi me pongo a llorar cuando recuerdo eso. Sí nunca pensé, digamos volver digamos con mis compañeros de nuevo, y ese día así pues ¿no? Un abrazo bacán ba–o sea, sus chacota, pero nunca había pensado que se iba a acabar ese momento. Y cuando recuerdas, y duele.*

‘Also a memory, that I remember forever would be, meo–melancholy, would be when primary [school] ended. Like when I used to study, ahm.

I would study with my companions, my companions happy but I had never thought that that lu—that moment was going to end. And then, when we moved up, and I remember the last day ended, we have, with my companions we **got/have gotten together** we **went/have gone** to walk through the road, and that was the last day and I remember [it] up until today and I will never return to that moment...And I almost start to cry when I remember that. Yeah I never thought, let's say, to go back let's say with my companions again, and that day like so no? A cool hug co—or like, their jokes, but I had never thought that that moment would end. And when you remember, and it hurts.'

(Participant #34, lines 136-145, 147-151)

It is apparent that this memory of fraternizing with his former schoolmates was an experience which emotionally touched the speaker. This is evidenced by his admission of feeling sadness and pain when recalling memories of this sort: *...casi me pongo a llorar cuando recuerdo eso*. 'I almost start to cry when I remember that.' / *...cuando recuerdas, y duele*. 'when you remember, and it hurts'. By employing the PP, the participant reveals closeness, emotional and/or psychological, that exists between him and the memory of time spent with his friends.

In (79), Participant #50 talks about the time she introduced her boyfriend to her siblings. According to the context, this formal introduction was intimidating for her because she had never presented a partner to any of her family members prior to that moment. Additionally, she disclosed that she was still too nervous to introduce him to her parents, hence they did not know him still (at the time of the interview).

(79) *...me acuerdo que vino a buscarme una—en la mañana cuando yo no trabajaba fue mi día de descanso. Yo no trabajaba y nos fuimos a comer. Allí se me declaró. Allí XXX a ser novios. Luego ya pasaron de los tres meses, tres meses, fue que a su papá me presentó, sí más o menos tres o cuatro meses comenzó a presentarme a su familia. Yo también igual abí comenzó a ser una relación ya un poco más estable. Yo presenté—mis papás no saben ahora, solo mis papás me faltan. Me faltarían todos mis hermanos mayores que yo les, o sea, yo los tomo como mis padres ellos. XXXX ejemplo, ehm les **he presentado** con el miedo de que a ellos nunca les había llegado a presentar a un novio que yo tenía. Nunca, y con el resentimiento que tienen ellos son muy celosos de parte para las mujeres. Muy muy celosos sí.*

‘...I remember that he came to look for me one—in the morning when I wasn’t working it was my day off. I wasn’t working and we went to eat. There he announced it to me. There XXX to be girlfriend and boyfriend. Later three months passed, three months, it was that he introduced me to his father, yeah more or less three or four months he started to introduce me to his family. I also likewise there it started to be a relationship a little more stable then. I introduced—my parents don’t know now, only my parents are left. All my older brothers would be left since I, like, I take them like my parents. XXXX example, uhm I **introduced/have introduced** him to them with the fear that I had never gotten to the point of presenting to them a boyfriend that I had. Never, and with the resentment that they have they are very possessive on the part of women. Very very possessive yeah.’ (Participant #50, lines 271-287)

The verbal morphology in the participant’s narrative generally behaves according to discursive expectations. The Preterit describes a sequence of discrete events: the boyfriend came to look for her, they went to eat, he told her that he liked her, months passed, he presented her to his family, etc. However, it is the event of her presenting him to her family, in which the verb *presentar* ‘to introduce’ is realized in the compound past. Again, I posit this is illustrative of its use as a marker of Emotional Proximity. In fact, the speaker acknowledged her apprehension of introducing him, saying that she did so with *miedo* ‘fear’, which was brought on by the fact that she had never presented anyone to her brothers before and was fully aware of their protective nature.

Another demonstration of this epistemic use of the compound past is provided by Participant #54 when asked to talk about her parents. In example (80) below, the participant relates her childhood past with an abusive father:

- (80) *Eh mi papá es de Calca, y ahorita tiene sesenta y cinco años, y está trabajando en Puerto. Él siempre ha sido renegón (\*chuckles) tiene un carácter fuerte y, ante-cuando-a partir de los diez años no sé por qué así de-se ha vuelto más agresivo nos pegaba bastante, tomó mucho alcohol así nos venía y nos pegaba feo. Y mm pero ahora ya está cambiando, ya-no les pega así a mis hermanos. Porque a mí no me gusta que les pegue tampoco y yo siempre le decía, ‘No les pegues’ así me da-a mí me da terror que les pegue me da miedo...me trauman bastante esas cosas entonces yo hablaba con mi papá así y él, él ya está cambiando ahora ya no es agresivo ya.*

‘Uh my father is from Calca, and right now he is sixty-five years old, and he is working in Puerto. He has always been grouchy (\**chuckles*) he has a strong character and, befo–when–from ten years old I don’t know why like so from–he **became/has become** more aggressive he used to hit us quite a lot, he drank a lot of alcohol he would come to us like so and he would hit us bad. And mm but now he is changing, already–he doesn’t hit my siblings like that. Because I don’t like that he hits them either and I would always tell him, ‘Don’t hit them’ like so it ter–it terrifies me that he hits them it scares me...those things traumatize me quite a bit so I used to talk with my father like so and he, he is already changing now he is not aggressive anymore now.’ (Participant #54, lines 619-632)

It could be argued the PP-marked verb *volverse* ‘to become’ conveys ‘current relevance’, whereby the result state of her father’s ‘becoming aggressive’ remains true at the moment of speaking. However, this is not the case, evidenced by the speaker’s clarification that *ya no es agresivo ya* ‘he is not aggressive anymore now’ and *no les pega así a mis hermanos* ‘he doesn’t hit my siblings like that’. Additionally, that the father’s alcohol-drinking is marked in the simple past (*tomó mucho alcohol* ‘he drank a lot of alcohol’) suggests his drinking usage has ended.

<sup>71</sup> In this category I include instances of Present Indicative, Present Progressive, and Present Subjunctive forms.

In quantitative terms, the narrative in (80) largely uses the Present tense<sup>71</sup> (n=12). Of the nineteen verbs in this narrative (excluding quoted speech), 63% are Present tense forms. Of all past tense forms (n=7), there are four instances of the Imperfect, two instances of the Present Perfect, and one instance of the Preterit. Prominent use of the Present is expected, given that it describes states and events sustained at the moment of speaking (e.g. *mi papá es de Calca* ‘my father is from Calca’; *tiene sesenta y cinco años* ‘he is sixty-five years old’; *no sé por qué...* ‘I don’t know why...’; *está cambiando* ‘he is changing’; *no les pega así a mis hermanos* ‘he doesn’t hit my siblings like that’).

When referring to past events, it is the Imperfect that is used the most (n=4). In her description of her father hitting her and her siblings (*nos pegaba bastante* ‘he used to hit us quite a lot’) and coming at them and hitting them (*así nos venía y nos pegaba feo* ‘he would come to us like so and would hit us bad’), use of this form aspectually frames these as habitual, recurring events in the past. This such use is consonant with Imperfect interpretations in narrative discourse.

Prior to this description of an abusive father, the participant uses the PP to describe the transformative change-of-state that precipitated his habitual nature: *se ha vuelto más agresivo* ‘he became/has become more aggressive’. Traditional expectations of lexical-aspectual morphological use assume the PRET would be preferable, given that the transformation (i.e. becoming aggressive) is

an achievement of a change-of-state and therefore a telic situation (Cipria and Roberts, 2000, p. 302). I posit that use of the compound past in this way makes the transformation salient, bringing into focus its physical and psychological traumatic impact on the speaker. In this way, although the transformation itself is not ‘currently relevant’, given that she no longer sees her father as aggressive, the speaker still harbors (at the moment of speaking) an emotional attachment to the abusive treatment she sustained as a child. It is this speaker-centric perspective that is captured via the Present Perfect.

This modal use of the PP is provided in another example below, in which the same participant (#54) recounted a time she found herself in a ‘dangerous situation’.

- (81) *En Lima, casi me atropelló un carro, cuando me fui de compras, a San Juan de Dios. No a Ciudad de Dios, cuando fui—yo yo **he ido** de compras a comprar ropa así, entonces, estaba por regresarme yo fijé—me fijé arriba y abajo si veía algo, pero no vi a ningún carro, estaba cruzando y un carro me **ha empujado**, y, y sí no frenaba, y ya imagino cómo hubiera terminado.*

‘In Lima, a car almost ran me over, when I went shopping, in San Juan de Dios. No in Ciudad de Dios, when I went—I I **went/have gone** shopping to buy clothes like so, so, I was on my way back I looked—I looked up and down if I saw anything, but I didn’t see any cars, I was crossing and a car **knocked/has knocked** me down, and, and yeah it wasn’t stopping, and I just imagine how it might have turned out.’

(Participant #54, lines 1041-1048)

There are two instances of the Present Perfect in this example. I hypothesize the first instance (*he ido* ‘I went/have gone’) introduces new information to the discourse (Jara Yupanqui, 2013; García Tesoro and Jang, 2018). The speaker sets up the scene as she begins a new story, since immediately preceding this narrative is the Interviewer’s question: *¿Me puede contar por favor un momento cuando Ud. se encontró en una situación muy peligrosa?* ‘Can you please relate to me a moment when you found yourself in a very dangerous situation?’. Although the participant begins the narrative using the Preterit (*En Lima, casi me atropelló un carro, cuando me fui de compras, a San Juan de Dios*. ‘In Lima, a car almost ran me over, when I went shopping, in San Juan de Dios’), she interrupts the narrative and self-corrects. She amends the location of her shopping destination: *cuando me fui de compras, a San Juan de Dios. No a Ciudad de Dios*. ‘when I went shopping, in San Juan de Dios. No in Ciudad de Dios’. This self-repair is succeeded by reformulation<sup>72</sup>, whereby the speaker re-elaborates

<sup>72</sup> *Reformulation* is a discourse function whereby a speaker re-elaborates an idea to ease the interlocutor’s understanding of the original statement. This follow-up statement may be more specific or extend previous information, for example (Blakemore, 1993, p. 107; Cuenca, 2003, p. 1071).

her shopping event to improve upon the narrative's exposition. This reformulation is represented via the hyphen diacritic (*cuando fui–yo yo he ido* 'when I went–I I went/have gone') and is further evidenced by the repetition of the subject *yo* 'I'. The repetition signals a break in discourse processing wherein the speaker is evaluating what to say next. In this way, the Present Perfect encodes a 'do-over' introduction of the narrative.

It is the second instance of the Present Perfect (*un carro me ha empujado* 'a car knocked / has knocked me over') that I argue exemplifies its use as an epistemic marker of Emotional Proximity, akin to the perfect's 'vivid narrative use' in Australian English to attract listeners' attention (Ritz and Engel, 2008) and its use in Salvadoran Spanish to highlight noteworthy events (Hernández, 2013). The events surrounding the speaker's being hit by a car in (81) are marked by the Preterit and Imperfect, in accordance with their aspectual and discursive distinctions in perfective/imperfective and foreground/background information, respectively. These PRET- and Imperfect-marked events culminate in the speaker being physically hit by a car, to the point of falling in the street. A personal experience of this sort is characterized by physical pain and psychological fright, and it holds the highest degree of impact for the speaker in this narrative. This explains the speaker's use of the compound past in her recounted memory of a dangerous situation. The PP signals the event of being struck by a car is brought closer into the mind of the speaker.

The previous examples in this subsection have illustrated how the PP in the current data of bilingual speakers in Cusco is used in novel ways. Firstly, I have shown that PP/PRET variation by the participants in the current investigation displays unique comportment. It is not conditioned by typical constraints of Aoristic Drift grammaticalization as in Peninsular Spanish, nor does it behave according to prototypical temporal-aspectual features in Latin American varieties. This is illustrated by speakers' use of the PP in prehodiernal, temporally sequenced events in narrative discourse. Secondly, I have illustrated epistemic uses of the PP, whereby speakers use it to highlight 'emotionally proximal' events, such as being left alone and witnessing a mysterious stranger, crashing into the side of a mountain, craving a beloved time with childhood friends, and sustaining abusive treatment from a parent. In line with the work by Howe (2013), Jara Yupanqui (2013), and García Tesoro and Jang (2018), these supplementary discursive interpretations are rooted in speakers' visceral, psychological impressions of their personal experiences and the emotional imprint that lingers from them within the speaker. Such uses showcase the compound past's development along a route toward subjectivity.

In what follows, I demonstrate reasons why it is unlikely that these innovative semantic interpretations of the Andean PP stem from influence of evidential notions in Quechua verbal morphemes *-r(q)a-* and *-sqa-*. My data set supports this argument in the following ways: (i) unlike previous research that accounts for only two past tense morphemes (*-r(q)a-* and *-sqa-*), there are various morphological strategies observed in past tense narratives, including the use of the Historical Present and directional morphemes, and (ii) the Direct Past morpheme *-r(q)a-* can be used in contexts traditionally ascribed to the Indirect Past *-sqa-*. Both of these points lead me to suggest that, although Quechua does appear to be a catalyst for this language-internal development in the Andean PP (i.e. subjectivization), the locus of change does not lie in the morpho-syntactic domain. It is the convergence of the broader notion of subjectivity, which exists in the Andean PP and the Quechua verbal system, that governs this development path of the compound past.

### 7.3.2 An exploration of Quechua verbal morphology in narrative discourse

#### Morphological strategies of past tense marking

In demonstrating how different morphological strategies exist to mark past tense in Quechua, I provide examples of verbs that are not explicitly marked for past tense (i.e. Historical Present) and the use of directional morphemes on ‘temporally unmarked’ past events. Taken together, these examples illustrate how, although *-r(q)a-* is an essential past tense marker in general, there are other morphological strategies used in Quechua narratives that are left unaccounted for in previous research of Andean PP development (see for example Schumacher de Peña, 1980; Bustamente, 1991; Mendoza, 1991; Stratford, 1991; Klee and Ocampo, 1995; Escobar, 1997; Sánchez, 2004).

HISTORICAL PRESENT. As demonstrated in the example below, there is no explicit past tense marking on the verb *casarakuy* ‘get married’ as Participant #39 recounts when he married his wife, in September 2018. It is also interesting to note that this unmarked form occurs with the overt past adverbial *Qayna watalla* ‘Last year’:

- (82) *Qayna wata-lla nuqa casaraku-ni setiembre killa-pi,*  
 last year-DIM I **get.married-1.SG** September month-LOC,  
*na-pi, dos mil, diec-dos mil dieciocho-pi-n*  
 na-LOC, two thousand, eigh-two thousand eighteen-LOC-DIREV  
*casaraku-ni nuqa setiembre killa-pi casaraku-ni*  
**get.married-1.SG** I September month-LOC **get.married-1.SG**  
 ‘Just last year I **get married / got married** in September, in um, two  
 thousand, eigh-in two thousand eighteen I **get married / got married**  
 I **get married / got married** in September’  
 (Participant #39, lines 212-215)

This unmarked verb is identical to the present tense in Quechua, in which verbs are inflected for person and number only. I treat use of the Present Tense here as an Historical Present, in line with previous claims (Howard-Malverde, 1988; Faller, 2002, 2004; Hintz, 2007, 2016). A second example of this Historical Present is provided in (83) below by Participant #50:

- (83) *chay-manta kinsa killa-manta ima pa-mm*  
 that.DEM-ABL three month-ABL CONJ pa-mm  
*papa-n-ta presenta-wa-n, llapan*  
 parent-POSS.3.SG-ACC **introduce-1.SG.OBJ-3.SG**, all  
*familia-n-ta presenta-wa-n. Nuqa*  
 family-POSS.3.SG-ACC **introduce-1.SG.OBJ-3.SG**. I  
*chay-manta nuqa-pas presenta-ni tura-y-kuna-ta*  
 that-ABL I-also **introduce-1.SG** brother-POSS.1.SG-PL-ACC  
*pero ñaña-y-kuna-ta XXX pero manan*  
 but sister-POSS.1.SG-PL-ACC XXX but NEG  
*parent-y-kuna-ta-qa*  
 parent-POSS.1.SG-PL-ACC-TOP  
 ‘then after three months and pa-he **introduces/introduced** me to his  
 parents, he **introduces/introduced me** to his whole family. I and then  
 I also **introduce/introduced** him to my brothers but and to my sisters  
 XXX but not to my parents’ (Participant #50, lines 704-707)

In this example (83), the participant is discussing her relationship with her boyfriend. She refers to a time in the past, in which her boyfriend introduced her to his family, and she introduced him afterwards to her siblings. In each instance of *presentay* ‘introduce’, the speaker does not use explicit temporal morphology (e.g. *-r(q)a-*) to mark these verbs.

A third example of unmarked verbs referring to past events is provided below, in which Participant #54 narrates a nightmare she had about her father:

- (84) *Mm huk p'unchay, eh pun-puñu-sqa-y-pi*  
 Mm one day, eh slee-sleep-PTCP-POSS.I.SG-LOC  
*w-waqa-ra-ni, hinaspa, eh, porque mm musqbuy-*  
 c-cry-PSTI-I.SG, then.CONJ, eh, because mm dream-  
*musqhu-yu-ku-sha-ra-ni papa-y*  
 dream-YU-REFL-PROG-PSTI-I.SG father-POSS.I.SG  
*wañu-sqa-n-ta, hinaspa*  
 die-PTCP-POSS.3.SG-ACC, then.CONJ  
*musqbuy-ni-y-pi waqa-y-sha-ra-ni,*  
 dream-CON-POSS.I.SG-LOC cry-YU-PROG-PSTI-I.SG,  
*chaymanta-qa rikch'a-qti-y-qa llaki-sqa*  
 then.CONJ-TOP wake.up-SUB-POSS.I.SG-TOP sad-PTCP  
***rikch'ari-ni, hinaspa papa-y-ta waqya-ni,***  
**wake.up-I.SG, then.CONJ father-POSS.I.SG-ACC call-I.SG,**  
*allin-chu kasha-n chay-ta tapu-ra-ni ni-spa*  
 good-INT be-3.SG that.DEM-ACC ask-PSTI-I.SG say-GER  
***ni-wa-n 'Ari allin-mi kasha-ni', XXX chay***  
**say-I.SG.OBJ-3.SG** yes good-DIREV be-I.SG, XXX that.DEM  
*kuti-qa allin manchari-sqa hatari-ra-ni...mm, mm*  
 time-TOP good fear-PTCP get.up-PSTI-I.SG...mm, mm  
*p-nuqa-ta-qa ni-wa-n-mi llakiku-y-chu*  
 p-I.SG-ACC-TOP **say-I.SG.OBJ-3.SG-DIREV** be.sad-IMPV-NEG  
*allin-mi kasha-ni-yá*  
 good-DIREV be-I.SG-EMO

‘Mm one day, uh dre-in my dream I cried, and then, uh, because mm dream-I was dreaming that my father died, so then in my dream I was crying, and then when I woke up I **wake up/woke up** sad, and then I **call/called** my father, I asked him if he was alright [and] saying [like this] he **says/said** ‘Yes I am fine’, XXX that time I woke up very scared...mmm, mm f-he **tells/told** me ‘Don’t be sad I’m alright’.

(Participant #54, lines 45I-46O)

Four instances of finite verbs remain unmarked for tense: *rikch'ariy* ‘wake up’, *waqyay* ‘call’, and two tokens of *niy* ‘say/tell’. Again, these verbs all refer to events in the narrative that clearly occurred prior to the moment of speaking

and resemble the Historical Present. It may be the case that, per the discourse functions of an Historical Present alternating with past tense morphology, the non-Past marking encodes a sense of vividness or salience (Wolfson, 1979). Although the conditioning factors of this Past/Present variation are uncertain, it is evident that past tense morphology is not required to mark all past tense events in the current data set. This has been acknowledged previously for Cusco Quechua by Faller (2002, 2004), who calls this unmarked past form ‘non-Past’. The examples I provided have illustrated this point in the narrative speech data.

**DIRECTIONAL MORPHOLOGY.** In addition to the lack of explicit temporal marking (e.g. with *-r(q)a-*), the current data set demonstrates the use of directional suffixes in past tense marking, as discussed by Kalt (2015). Consider the participant’s use of the ‘exhortative’ *-r(q)u-* and ‘augmentative’ *-y(k)u-* in the excerpt below (85). Participant #18 describes a time when she pushed a classmate down a flight of stairs and was caught by her teacher:

- (85) *Nuqa mana allin p’unchaw pasa-ra-ni escuela-pi*  
 I.I.SG NEG good day pass.have-PST I.I.SG school-LOC  
*kasha-spa-y huk p’unchaw chunka tawa-yuq*  
 be-GER-POSS.I.SG one day ten four-ATT  
*wata-yuq kasha-qti-y eh escuela masi-ta irqi*  
 year-ATT be-SUB-POSS.I.SG eh school mate-ACC child  
*masi-ta puklla-sha-spa-yku pelota-pi*  
 mate-ACC play-PROG-GER-POSS.I.PL.INCL ball-LOC  
*XX-naku-ra-yku hinaspa supay-cha-ta*  
 XX-RECP-PST II.PL.EXCL then.CONJ supay-DIM-ACC  
*XX-naku-sha-qti-yku, papa-y-digo*  
 XX-RECP-PROG-SUB-I.PL.EXCL, father-POSS.I.SG-I.mean  
*mana na, mm, profesor-ni-y*  
 NEG na, mm, teacher-CON-POSS.I.SG  
***rikbu-ru-wa-n*** *X compañero-y-ta*  
**see-EXH-I.SG.OBJ-3.SG** *X companion-POSS.I.SG-ACC*  
*yacha-q masi-y-ta nuqa tanqa-yu-ni*  
 learn-AG mate-POSS.I.SG-ACC I.I.SG **push-AUG-I.SG**  
*escalera-manta uray-man. Hinaspa uray-man*  
 stairs-ABL below-DIR. then.CONJ below-DIREV

*tanqa-yu-qti-y*                      *yachachiq-ni-y,*                      *profes-mi*  
 push-AUG-SUB-POSS.1.SG teacher-CON-POSS.1.SG, teach-my  
*profesor mm waqya-ru-wa-n,*                      *allin-ta*  
 teacher mm **call-EXH-1.SG.OBJ-3.SG**, good-ACC  
*waqya-ru-wa-n*                      *hinaspa*                      *ni-wa-n,*  
**call-EXH-1.SG.OBJ-3.SG** then.CONJ say-1.SG.OBJ-3.SG,  
*Qan-mi*                      *gasto-n-ta*                      *apa-sha-nki,*  
 you.2.SG-DIREV expense-POSS.3.S-ACC carry-PROG-2.SG,  
*eh, k'ini-n-kuna-ta*                      *hampi-chi-nki*                      *qan*  
 eh, wound-POSS.3.SG-PL-ACC heal-CAUS-2.SG you.2.SG  
*tata-yki-ta*                      *mama-yki-ta*  
 father-POSS.2.SG-ACC mother-POSS.2.G-ACC  
*waqya-mu-y,*                      *tata-yki*                      *mama-yki*  
 call-TRANS-IMPV, father-POSS.2.SG mother-POSS.2.SG  
*hamp'i-chi-chun*                      *chay-ta*                      *ni-spa.*  
 heal-CAUS-IMPV.3.PL that.DEM-ACC say-GER.

‘I had a bad day when I was at school one day when I was fourteen years old uh when a schoolmate a young [school]mate and I were playing we XX on the ball so when we were really XX-ing, my dad—I mean, no uhm, mm, my teacher **sees (+ru)** me X I **push (+yu)** my companion my schoolmate down from the stairs. So then after I pushed her down my teacher, teach–my teacher mm **calls (+ru)** to me, he (really) **calls (+ru)** to me good then he says to me, ‘You are taking care of her expenses’, uh ‘you will cure her wounds call your father and mother, may your father and mother heal her’, saying that.’ (Participant #18, lines 382-394)

The exhortative *-r(q)u-* is placed on *rikhuy* ‘see’ and *waqyay* ‘call’. In the first instance, use of this suffix could be to impart a sense of the professor’s urgency or unexpectedness upon witnessing his student (the participant) perform the reproachable act of physically harming her schoolmate. I speculate marking *rikhuy* ‘see’ with *-r(q)u-* renders a meaning more akin to ‘catch’, encompassing the notion that the situation was altogether sudden, abrupt, and unexpected. Used with *waqyay* ‘call’, the exhortative suffix exudes an interpretation more akin to an admonishing scold or a reproving warning. Either of these interpretations would make sense given that the teacher indeed scolded her and held her and her parents responsible for any accrued expenses from the injury.

The example above also illustrates use of the ‘augmentative’ directional *-y(k)u-*. Placed on the verb *tanqay* ‘push’, this affix encodes directional move-

ment downward; the participant pushed her classmate *down* the stairs. This is further evidenced by the adverbial *urayman* (lit. ‘toward below’). Interestingly, the only events that received explicit temporal marking are those that appear in the narrative’s expository content. The verbs associated with the climax of the narrative, that is, when the participant pushed her classmate down the stairs and is admonished by her teacher, are marked with these ‘non-temporal’ suffixes.

The use of other ‘non-temporal’ suffixes on temporally unmarked events is further illustrated below. Consider the appearance of ‘augmentative’ *-y(k)u-*, ‘reflexive’ *-ku-*, and ‘regressive’ *-pu-* in example (86). It is clear from the excerpt that the events which are marked with these directional morphemes (*casaray* ‘get married’, *unqu(ku)y* ‘be sick / pregnant’, *wañu(pu)y* ‘die, pass away’) are temporally anchored prior to the moment of speaking, even though they don’t receive explicit temporal marking by *-r(q)a-* or *-sqa-*.

- (86) *Ahm, nuqa manta-y-wan ka-ra-ni-n,*  
 ahm, I mother-POSS.I.SG-with be-PSTI-I.SG-DIREV,  
*unquq kasha-spa. Hinaspa-n unquq ka-ra-ni*  
 be.sick be-GER. so.then.CONJ-DIREV be.sick be-PSTI-I.SG  
*chay-qa na-ta, na ya, hermana-y casara-yka-pu-n,*  
 that-TOP na-ACC, na ya, sister-POSS.I.SG **get.married-AUG-REG-3.SG,**  
*hinaspa, manta-y qbali ka-ra-n*  
 then.CONJ, mother-POSS.I.SG healthy be-PSTI-3.SG  
*chay-manta nuqa unqu-ka-pu-ni chay-manta,*  
 that-ABL I **be.sick-REFL-REG-I.SG** that-ABL,  
*huq semana chayaq-ta, na-ta, chica-cha-y-ta*  
 other week arriving-ACC, na-ACC, girl-DIM-POSS.I.SG-ACC  
*saqi-ra-n, wañu-ka-pu-n manta-y,*  
 leave-PSTI-3.SG, **die-REFL-REG-3.SG** mother-POSS.I.SG,  
*mana haway-cha-n-kuna-ta-pas riqsin-ña-chu*  
 NEG grandchild-DIM-POSS.3.SG-PL-ACC-also know-yet-NEG  
*manta-y-qa, ni imapaqpis iskay-ni-n*  
 mother-POSS.I.SG-TOP, nor nor two-CON-POSS.3.SG  
*hawanch-haway-cha-n-kuna-ta mana*  
 hawanch-grandchild-DIM-3.SG-PL-ACC NEG  
*riqsi-ra-n-chu, wañu-ka-pu-n*  
 know-PSTI-3.SG-NEG, **die-REFL-REG-3.SG**

*manta-y-qa.*

mother-POSS.I.SG-TOP

‘Ahm, I was with my mom, being pregnant. Then I was pregnant and that ahm ahm yeah, my sister **gets / got married**, so then, my mom was healthy then I **give / gave birth** and then, another week later, uhm, she left my little girl, my mother **passes/passed away**, and she didn’t know her grandchildren yet my mother, she didn’t know either of her two grandchildren, my mother **passes/passed away**.’

(Participant #39, lines 55-62)

In the case of *casara-yka-pu-n* ‘(my sister) gets/got married’, the augmentative *-y(k)u-* becomes its allomorphic variant *-yka-* before regressive *-pu-* (Cusihamán Gutiérrez, 2001, p. 195). The augmentative suffix indicates the action occurred toward someone else, which is true since her sister was the subject of the event. There are two possible readings of regressive *-pu-* on the non-movement verb. It could indicate that the married state of the participant’s sister remains true at the moment of speaking, or that the event of getting married benefits her sister (Cusihamán Gutiérrez, 2001, p. 204). In this case, both readings could be equally true.

The second token, *unqu-ka-pu-ni*, which I loosely translate to ‘I give / gave birth’, is an interesting case. It was clear from the participant’s Spanish interview that she is recounting her memory of her mother being with her during childbirth. According to González et al.’s (2018) dictionary, *onqokuy*<sup>73</sup> is the non-finite form of the verb meaning ‘be pregnant’. This lexical item can be further parsed as *unqu-ku-y*, that is, *unqu-* ‘be sick’ + ‘reflexive’ *-ku-*, according to Hornberger and Hornberger’s (2013) dictionary. In this way, the reflexive marker likely indicates the benefit or effect (i.e. satisfaction, relief, intensity) of the event on the speaker (Salas Cruz and Aráoz de Guevara, 1993, p. 59). Regardless of whether reflexive *-ku-* has formalized itself into the verbal root or is attached to the verbal base *unqu-* ‘be sick’, the interpretation that falls out of this utterance, accompanied also by regressive *-pu-*, is that the speaker ‘gave birth’. If it is the case that *unqu-* ‘be sick’ is the verbal root, I suspect *-pu-* is being paired with *-ku-*. According to Salas Cruz and Aráoz de Guevara (1993), the reflexive *-ku-* becomes *-ka-* before *-pu-* to form *-kapu-*, a combination denoting affect (p. 60). On the other hand, if we assume the verbal root is *unquku-* ‘be pregnant’, addition of the regressive morpheme would likely indicate that the speaker was a beneficiary in the act of giving birth (Salas Cruz and Aráoz de Guevara, 1993, p. 124). In either case, what remains clear is that the speaker’s presentation of her ‘giving birth’ event is achieved via directional morphemes and do not otherwise denote temporal placement.

<sup>73</sup> Here I provide the pentavocalic variant depicted in their work. In trivocalic orthography, this verb would be *unqukuy*.

Similarly, the verb *wañu(pu)y* ‘die, pass away’ is used twice, as the speaker declares that her mother passed away shortly after she gave birth. Whereas *wañuy* means ‘die’, *wañupuy* is provided in dictionaries as a separate lexical item meaning ‘die, pass away’. I suspect that the verbal root is *wañu-*, given that the reflexive *-ku-* in this example dissects the root from the regressive *-pu-*. In this way, I believe the morphological combination denotes affect. Additionally, despite previous attestations that *wañuy* ‘die’ and *wañupuy* ‘die, pass away’ are separate lexical items, the semantic distinction appears to be a subtle emotional encoding of speakers’ affect, which is captured similarly in the use of *-ka-pu-*.

Crucially, each of these examples has illustrated the morphological complexity that pervades the Quechua past tense system. The verbal system is imbued with semantic categories beyond temporal-aspectual, and even evidential, ones. Specifically, directional morphology is an essential piece of the verbal system. It can be used apart or in conjunction with other directional morphemes to encompass additional semantic features, such as spatial location, movement, or affect, as demonstrated above.

### Use of *-r(q)a-* in a dream state

Using examples from the current data, I have argued thus far that the Quechua past tense system is comprised of morphological variability beyond *-r(q)a-* and *-sqa-*, rendering it unlikely that the Andean PP is receiving influence from the evidential distinction between these two verb forms. This was evidenced by the use of the Historical Present, in which there was no explicit temporal marking, and different iterations of directional morphemes on ‘temporally unmarked’ verbs.

Further evidence supporting the idea that *-r(q)a-* and *-sqa-* differences are not the origin of PP development is illustrated in the following example (87), in which the Direct Past *-r(q)a-* is used on events that occurred in a dream state. Recall that a context of this sort is traditionally reserved for the Indirect Past marker *-sqa-*, given the speaker’s unconscious state (Cusihamán Gutiérrez, 2001). In this instance, the speaker used *-r(q)a-* on the verb *waqay* ‘cry’ when referring to how her dream-self was crying over her father’s (dream) death:

- (87) *Mm huk p’unchay, eh pun-puñu-sqa-y-pi*  
 mm one day, eh sle-sleep-PTCP-POSS.I.SG-LOC  
*w-waqa-ra-ni, hinaspa, eh, porque mm musqhu-y-*  
 c-cry-PSTI-I.SG, so.then.CONJ, eh, because mm dream-  
*musqhu-yu-ku-sha-ra-ni papa-y*  
 dream-AUG-REFL-PROG-PSTI-I.SG father-POSS.I.SG

*wañu-sqa-n-ta,* *binaspa*  
 die-PTCP-POSS.3.SG-ACC, so.then.CONJ  
*musqhuyni-y-pi* *waqa-y-sha-ra-ni,*  
 dream-CON-POSS.1.SG-LOC cry-AUG-PROG-PSTI-1.SG,  
*chay-manta-qa rikch'a-qti-y-qa llaki-sqa*  
 that.DEM-ABL-TOP wake.up-SUB-1.SG-TOP sad-PTCP  
*rikch'a-ri-ni, binaspa papa-y-ta*  
 wake.up-INCHO-1.SG, so.then.CONJ father-POSS.1.SG-ACC  
*waqya-ni, allin-chu kasha-n chay-ta tapu-ra-ni*  
 call-1.SG, good-INT be-3.SG that.DEM-ACC ask-PSTI-1.SG  
*ni-spa ni-wa-n 'Ari allin-mi kasha-ni',*  
 say-GER say-1.SG.OBJ-3.SG 'yes good-DIR be-1.SG',  
*XXX chay kuti-qa allin mancha-ri-sqa*  
 XXX that.DEM time-TOP good fear-INCHO-PTCP  
*hatari-ra-ni...mm, mm p-nuqa-ta-qa*  
 get.up-PSTI-1.SG...mm, mm p-I.1.SG-ACC-TOP  
*ni-wa-n-mi llaki-ku-y-chu allin-mi*  
 say-1.SG.OBJ-3.SG-DIR be.sad-REFL-IMPV-NEG good-DIREV  
*kasha-ni-yá.*  
 be-1.SG-EMO.

'Mm one day, eh i-in my dream I **cried**, then, eh, because mm drea-I was dreaming that my father died, so in my dream I **was crying**, after that when I woke up I woke up sad, so I call my father [to see] if he's alright I asked him that [and] he tells me saying 'Yes I am alright', XXX that time I got up really scared...mm, mm p-he says to me, 'Don't be sad I'm really alright'.' (Participant #54, lines 451-460)

That the participant was crying in her dream, and not physically in real life, is apparent in her statement *musqhuyniypi waqaysbarani, chaymantaqa rikch'aqtiyqa llakisqa rikch'arini* 'in my dream I was crying, after that when I woke up I woke up sad'. She specifies the dream state with the adverbial *musqhuyniypi* 'in my dream' and orders the sequence of events with the connector *chaymantaqa* 'then', whereby it is clear that first she was crying in her dream and later woke up. Because this event occurred outside the realm of the speaker's consciousness, use of the marker *-sqa-* is expected (Cusihuamán Gutiérrez, 2001). Interestingly, however, this is not the case in (87).

According to Manley's (2007) study of Cuzco bilinguals, her findings suggest Quechua speakers are losing the 'indirect' evidential marker *-si/-s* and past

form *-sqa-*, along with their corresponding meanings (p. 200). Her findings corroborate De Granda's (2001) claim that use of the evidential suffix *-si/-s* is disappearing. If this is the case, as seemingly illustrated in example (87), this would further suggest that the evidential distinction between *-r(q)a-* and *sqa-* may not be the choice candidate for modern-day distinctions in PP/PRET variation.

In summary, this exploration of verbal morphology in Quechua narratives gives reason to suspect that the semantic development of the Andean PP is *not* rooted in evidential notions of verbal markers *-r(q)a-* and *-sqa-*, contrary to previous claims. A shared point of interest in Spanish and Quechua, however, is that of verbal morphology eliciting epistemic notions of speaker subjectivity. This was illustrated in uses of the Spanish compound past to encode 'emotionally proximal' events and in the Quechua directional suffixes to signal affect. In what follows, I examine an intra-speaker excerpt from the current data set which exhibits the connection between speaker perspective and its effects on verbal production in both languages.

### 7.3.3 Comparison of intra-speaker narratives in Spanish & Quechua

In this subsection I analyze participants' Spanish and Quechua versions of the same personal experience to illustrate comparable treatment of verbal morphology in discourse. Specifically, I postulate that changes in verbal morphology occur in both languages to highlight events in the narrative that are emotionally relevant for the speaker.

When asked to narrate a time of being very ill, Participant #34 described the same memory in the Spanish and Quechua interviews. He recounted a time when his body was suddenly paralyzed, and he could not move. The Spanish version of his narrative is provided in (88) below:

- (88) *Cuando yo estuve trabajando en el taller. Ah. Jugabamos{Jugábamos} fútbol ps en la tarde. Con todos mis compañeros había no es-no ya no había trabajo en la tarde. A las cinco así. Entonces mm como sudas, y me metí a la ducha, así fría. Entonces, me c-mm, de allí aba me duché y era noche ya seis seis y media, y entré a mi cuarto, en de mi cuartito que, en taller me había acomodado. Y, y no podía este, creo que **me ha dado parálisis**. De ah caliente a frío, y no podía mover nada de mis{mi} cuerpo. Nada. Entonces no había, nadie no había, yo me dormí en el taller, yo solo, como XX algo así. Entonces eh, no podía, p-mover todo mi cuerpo o sea **me ha paralizado**. Aha porque de enfermarse no, yo no*

*me enfermo casi, no. Nunca estoy en hospital no. Ni en la posta nunca. Aha y, esa vez nomás sería ps, como una enfermedad que me dio y, no podía ponerme ni la casaca, ni la chompa para ir al, la posta. Al esta la farmacia ¿no? No sé cómo **he sido** al loro y, lo me {me lo} **he puesto** y **he ido** a la, farmacia y me dieron unas pastillas y, me sanó.*

‘When I was working at the workshop. Ah, We were playing soccer in the afternoon. With all my companions there wasn’t—there wasn’t work anymore in the afternoon. At five like so. So mm since you sweat, and I got into the shower, cold like so. Then, I c—mm, from there aha I showered and it was night already six six thirty, and I entered my room, in from my little room that, in the workshop they had provided for me. And, and I couldn’t uhm, I believe that it **paralyzed / has paralyzed** me. From uh hot to cold, and I couldn’t move anything of my body. Nothing. Then there wasn’t, nobody was there, I slept in my workshop, only me, like XX something like that. So uh, I couldn’t, c—move my whole body I mean **was / have been paralyzed**. Aha because getting sick no, I don’t really get sick, no. I’m never in the hospital no. Nor at the health center never. Aha and, just that time would be all, like a sickness that got me and, I couldn’t even put my jacket on, nor my sweater to go to the, to the health center. To the, the, the pharmacy, no? I don’t know how I **was / have been with it** and, I **put / have put** it on and I **went / have gone** to the, pharmacy and they gave me pills and, I was cured.’

(Participant #34, lines 376-397)

In describing the events leading up to the sudden, unexpected inability to physically move his body, the participant orients the interlocutor with past tense forms typical of setting up the scene of the story. The Imperfect behaves in accordance with its use in the exposition element of the narrative schema, describing the setting, or ‘orientation’ (Labov, 1972b): *jugábamos*, ‘we were playing’, *no había trabajo* ‘there wasn’t work’. Switching to the Preterit form, the participant begins to temporally sequence actions leading up to the moment of paralysis: *me metí a la ducha, así fría* ‘I got into the shower, cold like so’, *entré a mi cuarto* ‘I entered my room’. He then marks the moment of paralysis with the Present Perfect: *me ha dado parálisis* ‘it paralyzed / has paralyzed me’. I suspect that the use of the compound past here brings the event into focus, given its strong effects on the speaker. These effects were clearly physical, but I gather a situation of this type also garnered an emotional and/or psychological response from the speaker, being overcome suddenly and unexpectedly by paralysis.

That both references to being paralyzed (*me ha dado parálisis* ‘it paralyzed / has paralyzed me’, *me ha paralizado* ‘I was / have been paralyzed’) are marked in the Present Perfect, despite being surrounded by Preterit- and Imperfect-marked events, suggests there is something particularly noteworthy about this event compared to the others. I consider the PP here indicates ‘currently relevant’ effects of the event; the memory of being paralyzed evoked an emotional or psychological response whereby the speaker felt a transcendent closeness to it. Therefore, he necessarily brought the event to attention in the discourse using morphology as a strategy to distinguish it from the others.

Additionally, I suspect that the PP-marking on the three verbs near the end of the narrative (*he sido* ‘I have been’, *lo me{me lo} he puesto* ‘I have put it on’, and *he ido* ‘I have gone’) indicates the speaker’s surprise at his own ability to get dressed and go to the pharmacy given his fragile physical and psychological state. He admits to his own surprise, saying *No sé cómo...* ‘I don’t know how...’, from which it remains unclear to the speaker how he was able to muster up enough strength and wherewithal to take care of himself.

In the Quechua version of the participant’s same narrative, references describing the speaker’s paralysis behave in a similar fashion to what was observed in the Spanish narrative. They are distinctly marked from surrounding verb forms. Whereas all surrounding verbs are marked by *-r(q)a-*, the two descriptions of his paralysis are temporally unmarked: *cuerpoy, mana, haywaripuyta atinchu* ‘my body, was / is not able to contribute’, *makikuna chakikuna kaypura kapuyta munan* ‘hands feet all of it wanted / wants to say put’. Consider this in (89) below:

- (89) *Tallerpi llank'ashaspa, pukllarayku de-fútbolta. Partido tardenta. Compañeroykunapuan. Mm. Chaymanta, chayna. Cuerpo caliente q'uñi kashaqtin, bañarakurani agua khutu unuwan. Chaymanta, cuerpoy, mana, haywaripuyta **atinchu** makikuna chakikuna kaypura kapuyta **munan**. Chayqa, chay, nuqa sapallayña quedakurani tardenta por, pas-pasapunkuña amigokunapas wasinman, chayqa abm, nuqallaña quedakurani sapallay entonces sapallaymi kaspá ñak'arirani, churakuspa p'achaywan ima, naman, farmaciaman rinaypaq. Hampiwasiman rinaypaq entonces mm, imayna valortacha hap'ispa churakurani pantallonniyuq y casacaywan. Chaytaq rirani, farmaciata hampinawasita. Chayqa,*

*chaypiña pastillata ran-ra-vendiwaranku chayqa chay tomaspaña qhaliyarani.*

‘Working at the workshop, we played sp-soccer. A game in the afternoon. With all my companions. Mm. Then, like so. As my body was hot, I bathed myself with cold water. Then, my body, **was** / **is** not **able** to contribute hands feet all of it **wanted** / **wants** to stay put. Then, that, I stayed all alone in the afternoon for, my friends *already* go/went to their homes, so ahm, all by myself I stayed alone so being by myself I suffered, putting on my clothes and, to go to the, to the pharmacy. To go to the pharmacy then mm, courage grabbing me somehow I put on my pants and my jacket. After that I went, to the pharmacy to the pharmacy. Like that, right there they b-b-sold me pills like that [and] taking them then I was cured.’ (Participant #34, lines 586-608)

There are twelve finite verbs in the narrative above, of which nine are marked with *-r(q)a-* (underlined), two are temporally unmarked (in bold), and one is temporally unmarked but to which the enclitic *ña* ‘already’ is applied (also underlined). Most of the verbs are marked with the Direct Past marker *-r(q)a-*, which is expected given that the participant is relating a personal experience. Similar to the findings in the Spanish version, the participant’s change in temporal marking occurs on the most salient and significant event of the story: his paralysis. In describing this situation, the speaker leaves the verbs *atiy* ‘be able to’ and *munay* ‘to want’ without explicit temporal marking, as he describes the way his entire body was not able to move, and his limbs wanted to remain still, despite his urgent need to activate them.

It could be argued that this use of the Historical Present is due to the fact that temporal location was already explicit earlier in the narrative, and for which reason temporal marking is no longer necessary. While that could be true, I posit that this is not the case, given that all other verbs following the participant’s description of his paralysis receive explicit marking, primarily with the Direct Past *-r(q)a-*<sup>74</sup>. Thus, if it were indeed the case that the Historical Present was used because temporal specification was no longer necessary, we would expect to see it throughout the rest of the narrative. Crucially, I suspect this morphological switch is analogous to the speaker’s emotional or psychological readjustment during his narration, whereby the recollection of his past experience of paralysis evokes an emotional response at the moment of speaking. This in turn brings the past event into the forefront of the speaker’s mind. It is precisely this subjective, emotionally-rooted proximity that the speaker feels about a past experience

<sup>74</sup> Although there was one other instance of a verb that did not receive explicit past tense marking (i.e. *pasapunkuña*), the verb *pasapuy* ‘go/leave’ is marked with the adverb *-ña-* ‘already’, which has explicit past temporal implications.

that not only results in the morphological change seen here, but, I argue, the development of the compound past in Andean Spanish.

Another example illustrating comparable switches in Quechua and Spanish verbal morphology to highlight events comes from Participant #30, when asked to recount a happy memory from school. In his Quechua response provided below, the participant described a time he danced with his brother in a school performance and, in response, was lauded by his family and teachers and received a certificate.

(90) *Eh, yachay wasipi nuqa karani allin estudias–allin, allin, allin waynacha karani. Nuqa siempre, nuqaqa, umaypi karani siempre profesional kaytapuni munarani binaspa, nuqaqa huk p'unchay allin kuisqa p'unchay yuyasqay kashanmi, diplomata apaqtiy. Diplomata aparani tawa kutita. Tawa kuti apani diplomata binaspa mantay kuisqallapuni kaq, wayqiytapas yachachiq karani wayqiywan kushkalla tukuq kayku, nuqayku kushkan tukuyku colegiotapas, anchay escuela niq 'Qankunatapis' tukukuyku kushkalla, mana nuqaykuqa t'aqanakuykuchu binaspa chayllan, hatun, mantaypis kusiyku nuqapis kuisqa kani chay col–yachay wasiyanta, amautaykunapas niwanku, 'Allin wa–allin wayna qan chiqta sigue adelanteman', nispa paykunapas niwaq nuqata. Chay nuqapas kuisqa kunan kani, porque chay diploma apasqaykunapas huk na, hayk'aq p'unchayllapis yuyakunaypaq.*

'Um, in school I was a good stude–I was a good, good, good (male) youth. I always, I, in my head it was always professional I always wanted to be that way so then, I one day there is a really happy day I remember, my getting a certificate. I got a certificate four times. Four times I get / got a certificate and so my mom was really happy, and I was teaching my brother with my brother we used to dance together, together we **dance** / **danced** at school, the school would say 'You guys' we **dance** / **danced** together, we **don't** / **didn't separate** and so then, with my grandmother too we **are** / **were happy** and I **am** / **was happy** from that sch–school, and my teachers **say** / **said to me**, 'Good yo–you really are a good (male) youth keep going forward', they were telling me like so. For that I am happy now, because our getting the certificate it's one uhm, a day for me to remember.'

(Participant #30, lines 91-109)

The events setting up the scene of the narrative are marked with *-r(q)a-* (underlined). In these instances, the speaker describes his good behavior and readiness to learn in school, contextualizing for the listener his aptitude for scholastic endeavors: *yachay wasipi...allin waynacha karani* ‘In school... I was a good (male) youth’, *umaypi karan siempre profesional kaytapuni munarani* ‘in my head it was always professional I always wanted to be that way’, *Diplomata aparani tawa kutita* ‘I got a certificate four times’. Interestingly, the specific events pertinent to the school performance are not explicitly marked for past tense (in bold). The verbs denoting that the speaker received the certificate (*apani* ‘I receive / received’); that he danced at the event with his brother (*tukuyku* ‘we dance / danced’); that the two did not separate from each other (*mana...t’aqanakuykuchu* ‘we did not...separate’); that he and his family were happy from the performance (*kusikuyku* ‘we are / were happy’, *kusisqa kani* ‘I am / was happy’); and that the teachers’ praised him (*niwanku* ‘they say / said to me’) do not display explicit past tense morphological marking. As before, I surmise this is a discourse-pragmatic strategy whereby the speaker is highlighting the importance of these events.

Participant #30 was a university student at the time of recording and had mentioned multiple times throughout his interview his seriousness and dedication to his educational career. This memory in which his scholastic achievement was recognized by his family and teachers was likely a very special moment in his life. I suspect the emotional/psychological prominence of this memory motivates his use of the unmarked verbs, and that doing so highlights the events’ significance for the story and for him personally.

When asked to recount a happy memory from school in the Spanish interview, Participant #30 diverted from the story of his dance performance and shared a different memory instead. Although the Quechua and Spanish versions do not describe the same memory, I offer the Spanish narrative below, given that both versions are a response to the same interview question and are contextually comparable; both stories enumerate a specific moment in which the speaker’s academic accomplishments were recognized via a school function.

- (91) Participant: *En la primaria recuerdo muy bien que toda gente, toda la gente en escuela, cuando estuve en la escuela, hasta profesores, niños hablábamos quechua. Eso era lo que nos resaltaba más de nosotros. Uno lo que recuerdo es cuando nosotros **bemos hecho** cuentos mitos, o canciones en quechua. Y **bemos llegado** hasta Cusco. Y **bemos ganado**. **Hemos ganado** de mi colegio, yo de la escuela que—en donde que*

*estudiaba **hemos representado**. En lo que es cuentos y canciones. **Hemos ganado** en ese, en ese ámbito. Y es uno de los recuerdos grandes que yo tengo y me dieron una medalla también. De ese, lo que c–contar leyendas o mitos de mi tierra. Sí.*

‘In primary [school] I remember very well that all people, all the people at school, when I was in school, even professors, kids we all would speak Quechua. That was what used to stick out to us the most. One what I remember is when we **have done** / **did** stories, myths, or songs in Quechua. Y we **have arrived** / **arrived** to Cusco even. And we **have won** / **won**. We **have won** / **won** from my school, I from the school that—where I used to study we **have represented** / **represented** [it]. In what is stories and songs. We **have won** / **won** in that, in that field. And it is one of the great memories that I have and they gave me a medal too. From that, what is n–narrating legends or myths from my land. Yeah.’

Interviewer: *Interesante. Y le gustó mucho esa experiencia. ¿Sí?*

‘Interesting. And you liked that experience a lot. Yeah?’

Participant: *Ah sí. Mucho mucho porque recuerdo muy bien que fue en, no-no conoz–no-no conoz–cuando era pequeño no conocía mucho Cusco. Pensaba que era grande y me perdí en Cusco. Eh. Era en Avenida el Sol. Por esa parte hay un, se llama, Centro Histórico. Donde que hacen cantos bailes, ese–en yo, en ese local nosotros **hemos hecho** ese cuentos leyendas mitos. **Hemos contado** de mi colegio y había hartos cantidad de personas que **han venido**.*

‘Oh yes. A lot a lot because I remember very well that it was in, I didn’t–didn’t know—I didn’t–didn’t know—when I was little I didn’t know Cusco very well. I thought it was big and I got lost in Cusco. Uh. It was Avenida el Sol. Around there there is a, it’s called, the Historic District. Where they do songs dances, that—in I, in that area we **have done** / **did** that stories legends myths. We **have narrated** / **narrated** from my school and there had been

a large amount of people who **have come / came.**'  
(Participant #30, lines 560-586)

Beginning the narrative, the speaker describes the events setting up the scene of the story. Specifically, he specifies its temporal context, that is, it occurred when he was in school: *cuando estuve en la escuela* 'when I was in school'. Here the verb *estar* 'to be' is likely marked in the Preterite to indicate a bounded past action, given that the speaker was no longer a student at that institution. Next, the speaker continues to orient the hearer using Imperfect morphology, per its prototypical use in discourse to state habitual actions (*hablábamos quechua* 'we all would speak Quechua') and describe ongoing states (*Eso era lo que nos resaltaba más* 'That was what used to stick out to us the most') in the past. After contextualizing the narrative, it seems the speaker uses the PP to signal to the hearer that the complicating action is about to begin (a category of narrative structure that Labov (1972b) calls the 'abstract'). Therein, in saying, *lo que recuerdo es cuando nosotros hemos hecho cuentos mitos, o canciones en quechua* 'what I remember is when we have done / done stories myths, or songs in Quechua', the speaker summarizes the content of the story.

Crucially, the verbs that depict the speaker's actions in the school event are all marked by PP, despite that they are aspectually bounded past events: *hemos llegado* 'we have arrived / arrived', *hemos representado* 'we have represented / represented', *hemos ganado* 'we have won / won'. That these events, particularly the three instances of *ganar* 'win', are marked by the compound past emphasize the psychological/emotional effect of having won the school competition on the speaker. Furthermore, these PP-marked events stand out in the minds of the hearer given that their verbal morphology diverges from the surrounding discourse.

Next, there is one instance of the PRET (*y me dieron una medalla también* 'and they gave me a medal too'). Given that it is immediately preceded by a statement that signals that the story has ended *Y es uno de los recuerdos grandes que yo tengo* 'And it is one of the great memories that I have', I speculate that the PRET-marked event is not part of the complicating action but is more of an evaluative statement whereby the speaker is reinforcing the notion of their achievement to the hearer. After this the speaker pauses, having finished his narrative, and it is not until the interviewer poses a second question that the participant expounds on his experience.

Interestingly, the narrative structure of this second conversational turn is comparable to that of the first; the speaker starts out describing a condition or state of being (*ser pequeño* 'be little', *conocer Cusco* 'know/be familiar with Cusco', *pensar* 'think') and a place (*ser grande* 'be big') in the past, employing

the Imperfect as expected: *cuando era pequeño no conocía mucho Cusco. Pensaba que era grande...* ‘when I was little I didn’t know Cusco very well. I thought it was big...’. As anticipated, the next verb *perderse* ‘to get lost’ is marked by the PRET, being a foregrounded event that complicates the action per its canonical discursive use, and the Imperfect morphology on *ser* ‘be’ with *Era en Avenida el Sol* ‘It was Avenida el Sol’ again demonstrates its descriptive function.

Just like what was observed in the participant’s first conversational turn, the actions specifically pertinent to the school competition are once again marked in the PP: *hemos hecho ese cuentos leyendas mitos* ‘we have done / did that stories legends myths’, *Hemos contado de mi colegio* ‘We have narrated / narrated from my school’, *personas que han venido* ‘people who have come / came’. In this way, these events are made salient morphologically and discourse-pragmatically. That the morphological marking of these events deviates from the traditional Preterit/Imperfect dichotomy in discourse signals their noteworthiness. That they are made salient in this way further alludes to their emotional/psychological impact on the speaker.

Thus, the Quechua and Spanish narratives from Participant #30 display comparable morphological behavior: foregrounded, bounded past events can be made salient in discourse, wherein their morphological marking deviates from surrounding forms and switches to non-traditional morphological marking (i.e. no explicit past tense marking in Quechua and the PP in Spanish). Crucially, it was observed that in both narratives this strategy of using a morphological switch and employing non-traditional forms is used on the events that are particularly significant for the speaker.

A third example of morphological comparability in Quechua and Spanish narrative discourse comes from Participant #39 when asked to recount a specific memory she had with her parents. In both Quechua and Spanish interviews, the participant shared an account of the time her mother took care of her during the delivery of her first child, a week prior to her mother’s death. The Quechua version of this memory is provided below:

(92) *Abm, nuqa mantaywan karanin, unquq kashaspa. Hinaspan unquq karani chayqa nata, na ya, hermanay **casaraykapun**, hinaspa, mantay qhali karan chaymanta nuqa **unqukapuni** chaymanta, buq semana chayaqta, nata, chicachayta saqiran, **wañukapun** mantay, mana hawaychankunatapaspas riqsinñachu mantayqa, ni imapaqpis iskaynin hawanch–hawachankunata mana riqsiranchu, **wañukapun** mantayqa.*

‘Ahm, I was with my mom, being pregnant. Then I was pregnant and that ahm ahm yeah, my sister **gets** / **got married**, so then, my mom was healthy then I **give** / **gave birth** and then, another week later, uhm, she left my little girl, my mother **passes** / **passed away**, and she didn’t know her grandchildren yet my mother, she didn’t know either of her two grandchildren, my mother **passes** / **passed away**.’

(Participant #39, lines 55-62)

In this example, there are ten finite verbs that reference the past, via six lexical entries: *kay* ‘be’ (n=3), *casaray* ‘marry’ (n=1), *unqukapuy* ‘give birth’ (n=1), *saqiy* ‘leave’ (n=1), *wañuy* ‘die’ (n=2), and *riqsiy* ‘know’ (n=2). Each instance of the stative verb *kay* ‘be’ is explicitly marked with *-r(q)a-*: *mantaywan karanin* ‘I was with my mom’, *unquq karani* ‘I was pregnant’, *mantay qhali karan* ‘my mom was healthy’. The verb *saqiy* ‘leave’ is also explicitly marked with *-r(q)a-*, as well as the second instance of *riqsiy* ‘know’. The first instance of *riqsiy* ‘know’ is not marked with a traditional past tense verbal morpheme, that is, *-r(q)a-* or *-sqa-*, but it does receive the enclitic *-ña* ‘already’. As in example (89), I treat this verb form as one marked with past tense, given that the adverb contains clear implications that the temporal location of the event is in the past.

The lexical entries that do not receive explicit past temporal marking are *casaray* ‘marry’, *unqukapuy* ‘give birth’, and *wañuy* ‘die’. I suspect these events—i.e. that of her sister getting married, the birth of her daughter, and her mother’s death—are particularly noteworthy to the speaker. While it remains unclear why her sister’s marriage would be particularly significant to the speaker, it could be the case that the participant originally anticipated her sister to be at her side during the delivery and that she was unable to come because of her new duties and responsibilities as a wife. In this way, her sister’s marriage explains why it was the participant’s mother who came to be with her. This is strictly speculation, although the context of the narrative seems to suggest this is the case.

The use of morphologically unmarked verbs to indicate salient and significant events according to the speaker is most apparent with the verbs *unqukapuy* ‘give birth’ and *wañuy* ‘die’. The physical impact of childbirth on a woman is painful, agonizing, and distressing, and it is an emotionally and psychologically thrilling and terrifying experience, being nothing short of an outstanding moment. Just as birth is a remarkable event, so is death. I presume the impact of sadness and grief that one feels when losing a loved one is reason why the event of her mother’s passing remained significant in the participant’s memory at the moment of speech.

Interestingly, these same events are marked with the PP in the participant’s Spanish account. Of the eight finite verbs indicating past eventualities, only

three receive marking in the PP: *cuidar* ‘take care of’, *dar (a) luz* ‘give birth’, and *fallecer* ‘pass away’. The narrative is provided below:

(93) *El único recuerdo que tengo es de mi mamá cuando tenía, cuando estuve gestando ella me **ha cuidado**, en su lado estaba cuando **he dado luz**, a mi hijita me ayudaba, le agarraba. Eso nomás me acuerdo de m–el recuerdo que tengo ha-hasta ahora digo si mi mamá no hubiera estado viva yo no estaría así digo hasta ahora es, mi recuerdo. Así con mi hijita es lo que, llevo ya son, doce años que **se ha fallecido** mi mamá. Es el recuerdo que tengo de mi mamá.*

‘The only memory that I have is of my mom when I had, when I was gestating she **has taken / took care of** me, I was at her side when I **have given / gave birth**, to my daughter she helped me, she held her. That’s all I remember of m–the memory that I have e-even now I say if my mother had not been alive I wouldn’t be [here] like so I say even now it’s, my memory. Like so with my daughter it’s what, I take it’s already been, twelve years that my mother **has passed / passed away**. It is the memory that I have of my mother.’ Participant #39, lines 346-356

Again, I posit the events of being taken care of by her mother, giving birth, and her mother’s death are the most salient events according to the participant—having the most emotional or psychological impact on her—and are the reason their morphological marking deviates from the surrounding verb forms. In the case of *cuidar* ‘take care of’, a verb not evoked in the Quechua version, this is a subjectively important event for the speaker, considering the the participant’s whole memory focuses on the help she received from her mother during child-birth. Furthermore, she emphasized the great impact of her mother’s assistance: *si mi mamá no hubiera estado viva yo no estaría así* ‘if my mother had not been alive I wouldn’t be [here] like so’.

That Participant #39 emphasizes the same events, namely her birthing experience and her mother’s death, in her Spanish and Quechua accounts further illustrates comparable, subjectivity-motivated morphological strategies in the two languages. The events that are the most salient to the speaker, either by their physical, emotional, or psychological impact, are marked by forms not traditionally attributed to (temporally anchored, prehodiernal) past events. Specifically, whereas the most salient events are not explicitly marked in Quechua, they are marked by the PP in Andean Spanish.

A fourth and final example illustrating comparable use of non-traditional morphological switches in Quechua and Andean Spanish discourse—i.e. zero-

marking in the former and the PP in latter—to highlight emotionally and psychologically prominent events for the speaker comes from the interviews with Participant #55, when she was asked to recount a time when she found herself in a scary or dangerous situation. Although her stories differ in their content, referring to different memories, I consider them to be commensurate given that they are both responses to the same question and enumerate a time when the speaker was verily frightened. The Quechua narrative is provided below:

(94) *Mm yah huk kuti nan, papay saqiwaran seńoraman, hinaspa nn mm wichay campoman risbaqtiyku, seńora saqirapuwan, kushkan caminopi, tuta horasta. Entonces sapachay quedapakuni. Entonces eb chay p'unchay, nishu manchasqa kasharani, mana i-imatapas ruwayta atiranichu porque huch'uycharaq karani. Mana yacharanichu mayninpis riran wasiyman chayta. Hinaspa chay p'unchay naqallas, kushka tutakama, nas, mm. Mm iskay hora tardesta, las dos de la tarde, anchay horastaña chayani wasiyman, mm naspa papay phińarikun seńorata. 'Imanaqtin wawaycha hamuranki' anchaynata nispa. Chay mm chay p'unchay pero mancharisqa kani chaymantaqa unqurakapuni, entonces papayya phawan huqmanta curanderoman.*

'Mm yah one time uhm, my father left me with a woman, so then nn mm when we were going to the fields above, the woman **abandons** / **abandoned** me, in the middle of the path, at nighttime. So I **remain** / **remained** alone. Then uh that day, I was so afraid, I wasn't able to do anything because I was still just little. I didn't know where you went to [get to] my house like that. Then that day just uhm, even to the early hours of the morning, uhm, mm. Mm two o'clock in the afternoon, at two o'clock in the afternoon, at that time I **arrive** / **arrived** to my house, mm uhm my father **gets** / **got angry** at the woman. 'How did you arrive my little daughter' saying like that. That mm that day but I **am** / **was** afraid and from that I **get** / **got sick**, so my dad **ran** / **runs** again to the curandero.'

(Participant #55, lines 431-444)

Participant #55 shared a memory when her father left her in the care of another woman, who later abandoned her, and she was alone outside until she found her way home the following day. The participant first orients the hearer by explaining that her father placed her in the care of another woman, marking the verb *saqiy* 'leave' with *-r(q)a-*: *papay saqiwaran seńoraman* 'my father

left me with a woman’. The following instance of *saqiy* ‘leave’ is temporally unmarked, however, and is further accompanied by exhortative *-ru-* and regressive *-pu-* (becoming *-ra-pu-* via allomorphic change), indicating a stronger form of leaving, which I have translated as ‘abandon’: *señora saqirapuwan, kushkan caminopi, tuta horasta* ‘the woman abandons / abandoned me, in the middle of the path, at nighttime’. The moment of abandonment likely induced much fear in the speaker, considering it was the sole reason the participant found herself alone and afraid at all. The participant further indicates her sense of loneliness saying, *sapachay quedapakuni* ‘I remain / remained alone’, in which the verb *quedakuy* ‘remain, stay’ is not marked with *-r(q)a-*. This formidable moment, in which the speaker first found herself alone in an unfamiliar setting after the sun went down was probably a traumatic experience.

The next five instances of finite verbs are explicitly marked with *-r(q)a-* and describe the participant’s fear and inability to get home: *nishu manchasqa kasharani* ‘I was so afraid’; *mana imatapas ruwayta atiranichu* ‘I wasn’t able to do anything’; *huch’uycharaq karani* ‘I was still just little’; *Mana yacharanichu mayninpis riran wasiyman* ‘I didn’t know where you went to [get to] my house’. Although these events also denote the intensity of the moment, inasmuch as the narrative itself is one of emotional and psychological distress, I speculate that they receive temporal marking because the speaker at this point has transitioned from a subjective evaluation to a more objective narration of the complicating action to propel the story along, having already made clear the personal impact of her experience.

The remaining events in the narrative were left unmarked: the participant’s arrival home (*chayani wasiyman* ‘I arrive / arrived to my house’), her father’s becoming angry (*papay phiñarikun señorata* ‘my dad gets / got angry at the woman’), her state of fear (*mancharisqa kani* ‘I am / was afraid’), her becoming sick (*unqurakapuni* ‘I get / got sick’), and her father’s leaving to find a *curandero* to heal her (*papayyá phawan huqmanta curanderoman* ‘my dad runs / ran again to the curandero’). When the participant relates her arrival home and her father’s anger at the woman who abandoned her, I suspect the participant relives the incredible relief that she felt in that moment as a child. Additionally, leaving the verb *kay* ‘be’ unmarked in stating *mancharisqa kani* ‘I am / was afraid’, her sense of horror and the psychological imprint the event had on her are highlighted for the hearer. Finally, in stating she became ill from the scary moment, and to the degree that her father left to seek a *curandero*, is further evidence of the trauma she sustained; the emotional and psychological impact of the event—of her fear, for example—manifested itself physically in her. Thus, it seems to be the case in this example, as in the others before it, that tem-

porally unmarked verbs in Quechua may serve as a discourse-pragmatic strategy whereby past events are highlighted for their impact or significance from the speaker's point of view.

In the Spanish account of a 'scary or dangerous situation', Participant #55 recounted a memory when she was almost hit by a car. This narrative was provided earlier in example (81) in discussing PP use for emotionally proximal events (§7.3.1) and is provided again below:

(95) *En Lima, casi me atropelló un carro, cuando me fui de compras, a San Juan de Dios. No a Ciudad de Dios, cuando fui—yo yo **he ido** de compras a comprar ropa así, entonces, estaba por regresarme yo fijé—me fijé arriba y abajo si veía algo, pero no vi a ningún carro, estaba cruzando y un carro me **ha empujado**, y, y si no frenaba, y ya imagino cómo hubiera terminado.*

'In Lima, a car almost ran me over, when I went shopping, in San Juan de Dios. No in Ciudad de Dios, when I went—I I **have gone** / **went** shopping to buy clothes like so, so, I was on my way back I looked—I looked up and down if I saw anything, but I didn't see any cars, I was crossing and a car **has knocked** / **knocked** me down, and, and yeah it wasn't stopping, and I just imagine how it might have turned out.'

(Participant #54, lines 1041-1048)

Whereas the first instance of the PP (*yo he ido de compras a comprar ropa* 'I have gone / went shopping to buy clothes') likely introduces new information to the discourse (Jara Yupanqui, 2013), it is the second instance of the PP (*un carro me ha empujado* 'a car has knocked / knocked me down') that exemplifies its use as an indicator of the speaker's subjective experience. The event of being hit by the car is the most salient event in the narrative for the speaker; it was the point in which the speaker experienced the physical pain of being struck and the psychological fright of losing her life. I postulate that in marking this event with the PP, it is distinguished from the surrounding PRET- and Imperfect-marked events, themselves being marked in accordance with prototypical perfective/imperfective and foreground/background functions.

Each of these examples have demonstrated the notion that Quechua and Andean Spanish contain similar morphological strategies in discourse, whereby past events can receive non-canonical marking to highlight their impact—physical, emotional or psychological—on the speaker. Whereas verbs are left temporally unmarked in the Quechua data, resembling Present Tense morphology, they are realized with PP in the Spanish data. In both cases, it seems an element of 'presentness' is preserved: the unmarked ('Ø'-marked) Present tense in Quechua

and the Present tense-conjugated auxiliary verb in Spanish. In accordance with Hernández (2013), I suspect the temporal closeness associated with the Present is translated to a psychological closeness in the mind of the speaker. This would explain why the events that are unmarked in Quechua and marked with PP in Andean Spanish also appear to be those which directly affect the speaker the most, that is, they are noteworthy according to the speaker's subjective experience.

## 7.4 Summary

In response to the findings of the previous quantitative analyses (see Chapters 5 and 6), which suggest the Cusco PP is partly conditioned by epistemic factors, the current chapter sought to illustrate this purported innovative behavior and understand how it might be rooted, if at all, in the influence of the Quechua verbal system. In doing so, I performed a qualitative analysis on the bilingual interviews, examining Spanish and Quechua oral data of intra-speaker retellings of the same past experience.

In §7.1, I addressed the notion of subjectivization (i.e. a diachronic path of development whereby pragmatic meanings are strengthened and increasingly encode speakers' attitudes and beliefs over time) and discussed its role in language change, particularly as it concerns uses of the Present Perfect in narrative discourse. Subjectivity is inherently linked to the compound past via its current relevance function, which relies on a speaker's subjective point of view of a past event and its relation to a reference point. As the expression of speaker involvement is intensified, this pragmatic strengthening motivates the subjectivization path along which the compound past develops.

While it is plausible the subjectivization process is exclusively an internal development, the current proposal argues subjectivization not only explains innovative Cusco PP behavior but is also activated by language contact. To justify this latter point, I discussed how subjectivity is a shared feature of Quechua past temporal reference (§7.2.1) and the Spanish Present Perfect (§7.2.2). In recognizing that subjectivity is a shared category in both languages' past tense verbal systems, this sheds light on why it would be a prime locus for change, whereby epistemic meanings of the compound past in Andean Spanish are reinforced and conventionalized.

Prior to treating the topic of how subjectivity and space-time relations interact in Quechua, I started §7.2.1 by contextualizing the topic, addressing obstacles in current treatments and understandings of the Quechua past temporal system. First, I provided a brief review of purported cross-linguistic differences

in space-time conceptualizations and described previous observations in how Quechua maps spatio-temporal relations linguistically. Secondly, I described the disparate treatment of Quechua past tense morphology.

Previous claims suggest that space-time conceptualizations in Quechua contrast from those of the Western schema. Alleged differences included the following: (i) the concepts of space and time are fused, belonging to a single conceptual domain (Sinha and Bernárdez, 2015); (ii) spatial and temporal orientation are directionally ‘reversed’: the future is located behind the speaker, and the past is located in front (Sinha and Bernárdez, 2015); (iii) the movement of time is not forward-moving along a horizontal plane but discussed in vertical terms by which the future is located above, and the past is located below (Faller and Cuéllar, 2003); (iv) temporal movement can be realized by time itself (i.e. movement toward the speaker) or by the speaker (i.e. movement in time) (Faller and Cuéllar, 2003); (v) time in Quechua is cyclic and sinusoidal in shape, reflecting undulating curves in which different parts of the day are represented via ‘ascending’ and ‘descending’ terminology (Faller and Cuéllar, 2003). Overall, these claims hint that spatio-temporal conceptions in Quechua comprise a view divergent from the horizontal, unidirectional spatio-temporal mapping of the Western schema.

After addressing space-time conceptualizations, I continued contextualizing in §7.2.1 by describing the disparate treatment of past tense morphology in Quechua, particularly concerning the semantic and/or pragmatic meanings of *-r(q)a-* and *-sqa-*. Some treat these morphemes more strictly as encoders of evidentiality (see for example Klee and Ocampo, 1995; Cusihamán Gutiérrez, 2001), whereby *-r(q)a-* is a marker of firsthand information, and *-sqa-* is a marker of secondhand information. Others question this treatment of the verbal markers and argue their meanings include epistemic interpretations, such as speaker perspective, degree of certainty, and truth judgments, for example (Nuckolls, 1993; Manley, 2007). A third position, put forth by Faller (2004), claims *-sqa-* is a marker of spatio-temporal deixis that locates a past event outside a speaker’s perceptual field; in this way, evidential and epistemic functions are secondarily interpreted.

Bearing in mind these impediments to our current understanding of Quechua past temporal reference, I then examined how subjectivity is imbibed by the past tense system. I showed that, despite discordant accounts of *-r(q)a-* and *-sqa-*—that is, whether their interpretations are evidential, epistemic or spatio-temporal—it remains clear that they do not exclusively encode temporal features. In fact, where these discordant accounts agree is in the notion that *-r(q)a-* and *-sqa-* encode subjective meanings.

Just as subjective meanings arise from *-r(q)a-* and *-sqa-*, the two most well-recognized markers of past tense in Quechua (see for example Salas Cruz and Aráoz de Guevara, 1993; Cusihuamán Gutiérrez, 2001; Manley, 2007, 2015), I considered how subjective meanings are also realized in ‘non-temporal’ suffixes (i.e. directional suffixes). I treated directional suffixes as belonging to the inventory of past tense morphology, since their spatial/directional meanings are not mutually exclusive from temporal (or emotional/psychological) ones. Directional morphemes are germane to narrative discourse and work symbiotically with non-directional suffixes to convey temporal-aspectual (and emotional/psychological) meanings (Kalt, 2015).

Using examples from Kalt (2015), the current analysis demonstrated how five multifunctional directional morphemes (*-y(k)u-*, *-r(q)u-*, *-ku-*, *-pu-*, *-mu-*) encode temporal-aspectual and psychological-social meanings, in addition to their spatial-directional ones. For instance, the regressive<sup>75</sup> marker *-pu-* can convey a spatial meaning ‘toward a point of origin’, a temporal-aspectual meaning ‘toward or attaining a permanent or enduring state’, and/or a psychological/social meaning ‘distance from speaker’s perspective; doing something for the benefit or detriment of another’. In this respect, I argued ultimately that semantic features related to speaker subjectivity and epistemicity characterize the Quechua past tense system via the Direct and Indirect Past markers *-r(q)a-* and *-sqa-* as well as directional morphology.

Moving on from the topic of how subjectivity manifests in the Quechua past tense system (§7.2.1), I discussed previous claims concerning its realization in the Spanish compound past in §7.2.2. Particularly, contrary to Peninsular Spanish, the PP in American Spanish varieties has been recognized as an encoder of discursive, pragmatic and cultural values that prioritize epistemic features—such as speaker perspective and involvement, emotional/psychological closeness, and affect—over temporal-aspectual ones (Company Company, 2002, as cited in Jara Yupanqui, 2013; Hernández, 2013). Such epistemic functions have also been observed in Peruvian Spanish (Klee and Ocampo, 1995; Escobar, 1997; Hintz, 2008; Escobar, 2012b; Howe, 2013; Jara Yupanqui, 2013; García Tesoro and Jang, 2018), distinguishing the compound past as a highly subjective morphological form.

I posited that the prevailing notion of subjectivity is a shared category in the spatio-temporal domains of Spanish and Quechua past tense. Consequently, this would render the semantic domain of the compound past a prime locus of change whereby epistemic features of the Quechua past tense system converge with those of the Spanish PP. I sought to illustrate this claim in §7.3, in which I analyzed the bilingual interview data. In the analysis, I demonstrated that:

<sup>75</sup> I use the term ‘regressive’ in accordance with Kalt’s (2015) work.

(i) the Cusco PP shows signs of development along a path of subjectivization (§7.3.1); (ii) Quechua past temporal reference displays morphological variability beyond *-r(q)a-* and *-sqa-* and semantic contrasts *not* rooted in evidentiality (§7.3.2); and (iii) Spanish and Quechua narratives display comparable morphological behavior in identical contexts of emotional proximity between a past event and the speaker (§7.3.3).

In §7.3.1, I illustrated innovative PP behavior in the Cusco data set, showing that it can be used in a narrative sequence of events and to highlight emotional/psychological closeness between a speaker and a past event. Considering archetypal perfects disfavor sequence effects (Howe, 2013), that the compound past is used in the current data to denote sequenced events in pre-hodiernal narratives illustrates its unique behavior relative to other varieties. It also signals the form is undergoing semantic change more generally. Additionally, by providing examples illustrating use of the PP to mark emotionally proximal, aspectually bounded events, the current analysis has substantiated previous observations that the compound past is acquiring epistemic, speaker-subjective functions in discourse (Howe, 2013; Jara Yupanqui, 2013; García Tesoro and Jang, 2018). Taken together, these points support the claim that the compound past in Cusco Spanish is undergoing semantic change whereby it is encoding epistemic, speaker-oriented meanings (i.e. subjectivization).

In §7.3.2, I explored how Quechua verbal morphology is used in discourse. This was a necessary step given dissonant claims regarding how past temporal reference is manifested in Quechua (see Chapter 3). First, I demonstrated that there are various strategies of past tense morphology, specifically that zero-marked forms and directional morphemes are also used in recounting past events. Notably, that these forms are not accounted for in previous studies of Andean PP development renders their claims speculative; if Quechua past tense strategies include morphemes beyond *-r(q)a-* and *-sqa-*, examinations of Quechua influence in the Spanish past tense system must also account for such strategies. Additionally, I provided an example in which the Direct Past marker *-r(q)a-* was used to refer to actions during a dream state, which is a context traditionally reserved for the Indirect Past marker *-sqa-*. With this example I argued that the semantic distinction between the two morphemes is not exclusively evidential, insofar as it concerns information source; rather, past temporal reference is not only variable but also governed by notions of subjectivity and speaker perspective.

Overall, the findings from §7.3.1 and §7.3.2 lend support to the idea that innovative PP behavior in Peruvian Andean Spanish can be explained by a subjectivization process that is activated and/or reinforced by the convergence of epistemic features in both languages' verbal systems. I examined this claim fur-

ther in §7.3.3 by comparing intra-speaker Spanish and Quechua iterations of the same, or similar, past events. Theoretically, if subjectivity were conditioning morphological variation in Spanish, and if this conditioning effect were rooted in the semantic prominence of subjectivity in Quechua morphology, we should expect to see distinctive marking, broadly speaking, on the same events in both versions of the narrative.

Indeed, comparable treatment of verbal morphology was observed in both versions of the narrative. Contrastive marking of emotionally proximal events was observed in Spanish, whereby the compound past highlighted events that were the most salient or emotionally/psychologically impactful (e.g. overcome by paralysis, giving birth, being hit by a car). Most other forms in the narratives were marked by simple past forms—the Preterit or Imperfect—and functioned in accordance with their canonical narrative uses. In the same way, contrastive morphology was also observed in the Quechua versions. Noteworthy events (e.g. a speaker’s sudden paralysis, winning a school competition, giving birth, being abandoned) were highlighted via zero-marked morphology and were generally surrounded by *-r(q)a*-marked events in the discourse. Therein, it seems the most emotionally proximal events in the Spanish and Quechua accounts were treated similarly via non-canonical, contrastive marking, a strategy which indicates subjective notions, such as the speaker’s personal feelings and attitudes concerning the event.

To conclude, the findings of this qualitative analysis support my claim that the Cusco PP is undergoing semantic/pragmatic change whereby its meanings increasingly encode speakers’ attitudes and beliefs (i.e. subjectivization), and that this diachronic change is activated by Quechua via shared epistemic features in both languages’ spatio-temporal domains. This was evidenced in the following three ways: firstly, the PP in the oral data set of Cusco Spanish does not show sensitivities to sequence effects in pre-hodiernal narratives, and it marks aspectually perfective events that are emotionally proximal. Secondly, past temporal reference in the Quechua oral data set consists of more morphological marking strategies than what has been accounted for in previous research, and its verbal distinctions are not necessarily evidential, unlike what has been claimed previously. Lastly, non-canonical, contrastive morphological marking was a strategy used comparably in Quechua and Spanish versions of the same, or similar, narratives.

In the following chapter (Chapter 8), I conclude the current project by recapitulating the main claims that have been laid out throughout this work and summarizing the results of my analyses. Additionally, I discuss the overall relevance of my findings as they concern Cusco PP development and, more broadly,

language contact in the Peruvian Andes. Furthermore, general suggestions for further investigation of PP/PRET variation in Peru are provided in Chapter 8.

# CHAPTER 8

## CONCLUSION

### 8.1 Summary and general conclusions

This investigation explored PP/PRET variation among monolingual and bilingual Andean Spanish speakers in Cusco, Peru. Using data from questionnaires and sociolinguistic interviews conducted in 2019, I identified innovative behavior of the PP and tested previous claims concerning the motivation for its semantic development, i.e. that its development path is rooted in an evidential distinction in Quechua verbal morphology (Klee and Ocampo, 1995; Escobar, 1997; Sánchez, 2004) or a natural development process of subjectivization (Howe, 2013; Jara Yupanqui, 2013; Azpiazu, 2018). Throughout this dissertation, I have argued that the semantic path is likely one of contact-induced subjectivization, in line with the work of García Tesoro and Jang (2018). Specifically, I posited that the convergence of shared epistemic values in the Quechua past tense verbal system and the Spanish PP encourages gradual strengthening of the compound past's epistemic values (i.e. subjectivization). In this way, it is contact with Quechua that activates and reinforces the natural development process.

Substantiation for this position has been exhibited via the findings of my analyses in response to my research questions, which are provided below for convenience:

**Research Question 1:** What is the overall distribution of PP/PRET among monolingual and bilingual speakers from Cusco, Peru, and how do these findings compare to previous research of PP/PRET use in Peru?

**Research Question 2:** What are the language-internal and language-external factors that determine regional PP/PRET use, and how do they condition its distribution?

**Research Question 3:** Is there evidence to suggest the subjectivization of the compound past in Peruvian Andean Spanish is grounded in language contact? What verbal morphology is used in past temporal narratives in Quechua, and how do they compare to PP/PRET distribution in the regional Spanish variety?

### **8.1.1 Findings and implications for Research Question 1**

In response to Research Question 1, the overall distribution of PP/PRET observed in the interview data was 31%/69%. There were 3,645 PP/PRET tokens in the data set, of which 1,114 were PP, and 2,531 were PRET. Recall that I hypothesized (Chapter 4) that there will be a difference in PP use across speakers according to their language dominance: there will be a negative correlation between Spanish-dominance and the rate of PP use. I also hypothesized that PP use in Peruvian Andean Spanish—in this case, in the current data set of Cusco Spanish speakers—will be higher than that of non-Andean Peruvian varieties.

In line with my hypotheses, my findings resemble what has been attested for Peruvian Spanish in other studies, viz., that Peruvian PP rates are higher than non-Andean Latin American varieties (i.e. 6% in Rioplatense Argentine Spanish, according to Rodríguez Louro, 2016; 15% in Mexican Spanish, according to Schwenter and Torres Cacoullós, 2008) and lower than Peninsular Spanish varieties (i.e. 54% in Peninsular Spanish varieties, according to Schwenter and Torres Cacoullós, 2008). The PP rate in the current data set (i.e. 31%) is slightly higher than what has been observed in other studies of Peruvian PP/PRET rates: 27% for Lima speakers (Caravedo, 1989); 23% for Cusco speakers (Howe, 2013). Given that my data set consists exclusively of Andean speakers, unlike Caravedo's (1989) data from Lima, and includes bilingual Quechua-Spanish speakers, unlike Howe's (2013) data set of monolingual Spanish speakers from Cusco, that the PP rate in my study was slightly higher suggests that elevated PP rates are rooted in Quechua-Spanish bilinguals. Indeed, after examining PP rates across speakers' language dominance, a statistically significant moderate negative correlation was observed, whereby the more Quechua-dominant a speaker was, the higher their rate of PP use, and vice versa. That the distribution of PP is higher among (Quechua-dominant) bilinguals could mean that the origins of its innovative behavior are also rooted in bilinguals' PP use. This brings me to the implications of my findings for the second research question.

### **8.1.2 Findings and implications for Research Question 2**

For Research Question 2, I hypothesized the Cusco PP would display behavior distinct from what has been observed in multivariate analyses of PP/PRET

in other varieties (Schwenter and Torres Cacoullós, 2008 for Peninsular and Mexican Spanish; Rodríguez Louro, 2016 for Rioplatense Argentine Spanish), since its path of development is purportedly distinct (Howe, 2013). Specifically, I predicted that PP/PRET distribution by the participants of the current investigation would display canonical sensitivities in a multivariate analysis to temporal-aspectual factors, given that retention of prototypical perfect behavior is characteristic of semantic change (Schwenter and Torres Cacoullós, 2008), but would not be as strongly conditioned by them as the more conservative Mexican PP (Schwenter and Torres Cacoullós, 2008), for example. I also predicted the PP would be favored in subjective contexts, measured via Emotive Proximity in the questionnaire data and grammatical subject in the interview data.

My findings that address Research Question 2 come from the quantitative analyses in Chapters 5 and 6, which examine PP/PRET distribution across linguistic and non-linguistic factors in the questionnaire and interview data, respectively. In the questionnaire data, which operationalized the effects of subjective factors on PP/PRET use, PP selection generally increased as Emotive Proximity strengthened. Recall that Emotive Proximity is a factor created by the author. It was measured via four variables in the questionnaire task items, each one having factor levels that exhibited increased emotional/psychological relevance between an event and the speaker (levels provided in parenthesis): Affected Entity-Speaker Relationship (non-human > stranger > acquaintance > family/friend > self), Anticipated Impact (small > moderate > great); Observed Impact (none > small > moderate > great); Familiarity (none > small > moderate > great). Generally speaking, the proportions of PP over PRET use increased as each factor level increased in subjectivity. This was true of all four factors, suggesting that the PP is indeed favored on contexts that are highly salient or important for the speaker.

This was further supported via the findings of the logistic regression analysis. Prior to running the analysis, each questionnaire item was attributed an (Original) Emotive Proximity (EP) score, which was calculated using metric representations of Affected Entity-Speaker Relationship and Anticipated Impact factor levels. To ensure the classification of each item's emotional/psychological impact (that is, EP) was based on the participants' ratings and not those of the author, Adjusted EP scores were calculated using Affected Entity-Speaker Relationship and the participants' Observed Impact scores. Two types of Adjusted EP scores were calculated: individual Adjusted EP scores were generated using participants' individual Impact ratings; averaged Adjusted EP scores were generated using the average of participants' Impact ratings. Indeed, according to results of the logistic regression, the only statistically significant predictive fixed-

effects variable in PP/PRET selection was the averaged Adjusted EP score. The direction of effect was such that an increase in an item's averaged Adjusted EP score led to an increase in the odds of PP selection, and vice versa. These findings, coupled with the observed raw frequencies and proportions of PP/PRET across the other subjective factors, seem to suggest more broadly that the PP in this study encodes subjective notions related to the relevance or importance of an event for a speaker.

Research Question 2 was addressed further in the examination of PP/PRET distribution in the interview data (Chapter 6). Whereas the questionnaire data served primarily to test for subjectivity effects in PP use, the conditioning factors included in the multivariate analysis of the interview data primarily examined its temporal-aspectual behavior. According to the descriptive statistics of PP/PRET distribution across participants' demographic factors (i.e. age group, sex, residence, education level, and LDS group), it was observed that the PP was used more widely among older generations, rural speakers, and those with little to no education. In line with my hypothesis, given that these demographic features characterize Quechua-dominant speakers (INEI, 2018), these results suggest PP use is favored by Quechua-dominant bilinguals. Moreover, the highest rates of PP were observed among females and the LDS 1 group, that is, the Quechua-dominant speakers. That PP rates gradually declined as Spanish-dominance increased (i.e. LDS 1: 57% > LDS 2: 25% > LDS 3: 21%) further points to a negative correlation between innovative PP use and Spanish-dominance/monolingualism.

As for the raw distribution of PP/PRET across the linguistic factors (i.e. temporal reference, grammatical subject, polarity, sentence type, clause type, object type, lexical aspect, and adverbial type), my findings were in accordance with my hypothesis that the PP would display sensitivities to temporal-aspectual factors, but that it would not be as strongly conditioned by them as has been observed in other Spanish varieties. As an example, nearly categorical favoring and disfavoring effects on Peninsular PP use were observed in hodiernal and prehodiernal contexts, respectively; the Mexican PP was highly disfavored across all factors, save non-specific temporal reference (Schwenter and Torres Cacoullos, 2008). Indeed, the PP in the current data set was generally preferred, though never categorically so, in canonical perfect-favoring temporal-aspectual contexts. The highest PP distribution was observed in contexts of unanchored temporal reference: with negative (vs. affirmative) polarity, in interrogative (vs. declarative) sentences, and in interrogative and subordinate (vs. main) clauses. PP rates were also the highest in atelic contexts: with plural (vs. singular or no) objects, activities (vs. telic predicates), and with non-punctual (vs. punctual)

adverbials. That the PP was favored in these temporal-aspectual contexts hints at its semantic retention as a perfect. Moreover, the PP also displayed innovative behavior: its use was preferred in hodiernal contexts, unlike the Mexican PP, and not categorically disfavored in prehodiernal contexts, unlike the Peninsular PP (Schwenter and Torres Cacoullós, 2008). Additionally, the PP was preferred by 1st person subjects, unlike what has been attested in other Spanish varieties (see Schwenter and Torres Cacoullós, 2008 for Mexican and Peninsular Spanish; Rodríguez Louro, 2016 for Rioplatense Argentine Spanish). These conditioning effects suggest the Cusco PP is indeed developing along a distinct path of development (Howe, 2013), and more specifically a path of subjectivization, given its preference with 1st person subjects and lack of temporal distance effects in the data set.

According to the logistic regression, which considered all linguistic and non-linguistic factors in the interview data, the statistically significant conditioning factors of PP/PRET use were: temporal reference, grammatical subject, object type, adverbial type, clause type, education level, and an interaction between LDS group and residence. Of the linguistic factors, the PP was favored by non-specific temporal reference, 1st person subjects, plural (atelicizing) objects, non-punctual adverbials, and interrogative and subordinate clauses. These findings are in line with what was observed from the raw PP/PRET distribution statistics and further exhibit the PP's semantic retention of prototypical perfect functions in addition to its novel behavior. Specifically, that it remains conditioned by non-specific temporal contexts (i.e. indeterminate and indefinite temporal reference, interrogative and subordinate clauses) and aspectually atelic contexts (i.e. plural objects, non-punctual adverbials) exhibits its prototypical behavior as a perfect. Additionally, whereas temporal reference, adverbial type, object type, clause type, and lexical aspect were significant factors in conditioning the Mexican PP (Schwenter and Torres Cacoullós, 2008), that each of these factors, save lexical aspect, was likewise significant in conditioning the PP suggests its temporal-aspectual restrictions are akin to canonical perfect uses. That it is conditioned by 1st person subjects evidences its semantic expansion, whereby it can be used to capture speakers' subjective involvement or investment in the propositional content (Schwenter and Torres Cacoullós, 2008; Hernández, 2013).

Concerning the non-linguistic factors, it was observed that PP use was favored by participants who had a high-school level education or lower (vs. those with post-secondary schooling). Additionally, the effect of LDS group on PP use differed according to participants' residence: for participants from rural areas, the Spanish-dominant (LDS 3) speakers favored PP use the most; for participants from urban areas, the Quechua-dominant (LDS 1) speakers favored PP

use the most. The difference in the direction of effect of LDS group on PP use by residence is likely attributed to the small sample size of speakers, especially rural speakers, in each LDS group: of the rural speakers, there were three LDS 1 participants, one LDS 2 participant, and two LDS 3 participants; of the urban speakers, there were two LDS 1 participants, eight LDS 2 participants, and six LDS 3 participants. Still, that PP use was conditioned by speakers' education level, whereby those with more schooling disfavored PP use, hint that elevated, and perhaps innovative, PP use is rooted in Quechua-dominance; the participants whose education levels were below post-secondary education were also bilinguals, many Quechua-dominant bilinguals, with LDSs ranging from -5 to 2. Those with post-secondary education held LDSs ranging from -2 to 6.5 and were largely Spanish-dominant or monolingual.

Moreover, when these linguistic and non-linguistic explanatory variables were analyzed across speakers' LDS groups, it was observed that the PP was conditioned in variable ways. The magnitude of effect by temporal reference strengthened as speakers' Spanish dominance increased. Therein, as speakers gained proficiency in Spanish, their PP use more closely resembled that of monolingual varieties, gradually increasing in sensitivity to specific and non-specific temporal reference on PRET and PP use, respectively (Schwenter and Torres Cacoullos, 2008). Also, whereas LDS 1 speakers' PP use was constrained, and canonically so, by two temporal-aspectual factors (i.e. temporal reference and object type), this number of conditioning factors increased for LDS 2 speakers (i.e. whose PP/PRET use was governed by temporal reference, sentence type, and adverbial type) and LDS 3 speakers (i.e. whose PP/PRET use was governed by temporal reference, lexical aspect, and clause type). These results further hint at a positive correlation between canonical perfect behavior, in terms of its temporal-aspectual values, and speakers' Spanish dominance/monolingualism.

To summarize the implications of my findings for Andean PP development thus far, my results from the quantitative analyses on the questionnaire and interview data substantiate the claim that semantic development of the Cusco PP is one of contact-induced subjectivization. Specifically, that its origins lie in Spanish-Quechua contact was supported by the way in which (i) there was a statistically significant negative correlation between speakers' Spanish-dominance and PP use in the interview data; (ii) descriptively speaking, the PP was favored across demographic factors that characterized Quechua-dominant bilinguals: older generations, rural speakers, those with little to no education, and the LDS 1 group; and (iii) the PP was conditioned by speakers' education level, whereby those with lower education levels favored PP use, according to the inferential statistical results of the logistic regression. That the Cusco PP is developing

along a path of subjectivization was evidenced in the way that (i) Emotive Proximity was a significant conditioning factor in PP selection in the questionnaire data, whereby an increase in the emotional/psychological impact of an event correlated with an increase in the likelihood of PP selection; and (ii) PP use was conditioned by grammatical subject in the interview data, whereby its use was favored with 1st person subjects, according to the regression analysis.

### 8.1.3 Findings and implications for Research Question 3

Research Question 3 was addressed primarily in Chapter 7. Further exploring the claim that the subjectivization process was activated and reinforced by language contact (García Tesoro and Jang, 2018), the qualitative analysis was crucial in identifying shared epistemic notions in the Quechua verbal system and the Spanish PP as well as comparable morphological marking on events that were noteworthy or emotionally salient for the speaker.

It was first discussed in Chapter 7 that, whereas space and time are treated as separate concepts in Spanish lexicalization, space-time correspondences in Quechua are fused and exist in a single domain (Sinha and Bernárdez, 2015). This unified lexicalization of space and time, or more appropriately ‘space-time’, is exemplified particularly by directional morphemes in Quechua. Directional morphemes, despite their misleading denomination, are polysemous and include multi-functional interpretations in the semantic-pragmatic interface. Although they are never treated systematically in the literature, what remains clear is that they are highly pertinent to the verbal system and simultaneously encode temporal and non-temporal (i.e. spatial, aspectual, psychological/social) interpretations in discourse (Kalt, 2015; Peng, 2020). Crucially, their use as markers of psychological deixis relies on and encodes the perspective of the speaker.

Concerning the most well-recognized verbal suffixes in the Quechua past tense system, Direct Past *-r(q)a-* and Indirect Past *-sqa-*, there is disagreement over the semantic and/or pragmatic meanings of these two forms (Manley, 2015). Many assume their meanings are evidential, whereby *-r(q)a-* indicates a first-hand account of a past event, and *-sqa-* indicates a secondhand or reportative account (Schumacher de Peña, 1980; Bustamente, 1991; Klee and Ocampo, 1995; Escobar, 1997; Cusihuamán Gutiérrez, 2001). This position, however, does not consider their epistemic interpretations, such as speaker perspective, degree of certainty, and truth judgments, for which reason Manley (2007) terms these forms ‘epistemic markers’. Furthermore, Faller (2002, 2004) argues the meaning of the Indirect Past *-sqa-* is not strictly temporal or evidential but behaves instead as a spatio-temporal deictic marker placing an event outside of one’s perceptual field. In this way, its evidential interpretation arises only in-

directly. Importantly, this inconclusive treatment of the two Quechua morphemes illustrates the cross-linguistically attested connection between evidentiality/epistemicity and spatio-temporal deixis (Faller, 2004; see also Manley and Muntendam, 2015) and reinforces their status as markers that are not strictly temporal and that encode meanings that are highly subjective.

Demonstrated by the previous observations of directional suffixes and the two past tense morphemes just discussed, I argued that the Quechua past tense verbal system is much more complex than has been assumed in previous studies of contact-induced change in the Andean PP (Klee and Ocampo, 1995; Escobar, 1997; Sánchez, 2004), namely, that past events in Quechua are recounted via evidential past tense markers *-r(q)a-* and *-sqa-*. Such a view misrepresents the multi-functional interaction of semantic and pragmatic values paramount to the rich and extensive verbal morphology of Quechua. Keeping with the cosmological view of space-time as a single conceptual domain, the temporal morphemes (*-r(q)a-*, *-sqa-*) and directional suffixes—which are not themselves strictly temporal or directional—work symbiotically with each other to elicit particular speaker-oriented spatial, temporal, and/or psychological meanings, often simultaneously (Kalt, 2015). This is further evidence that the Quechua past tense system is replete with epistemic, subjective features.

It was also shown that similar epistemic, subjective features are available in the semantic-pragmatic domain of the Spanish PP. Evidence for this comes from the way in which the Mexican PP can encode a link between a past event and its discourse-pragmatic relevance during the moment of speech, (Company Company, 2002, as cited in Jara Yupanqui, 2013), in accordance with the claim that American Spanish seeks to encode discursive, pragmatic and cultural values that denote speaker perspective over temporal-aspectual features (Jara Yupanqui, 2013). Additionally, according to Hernández (2013), PP/PRET opposition in Latin American Spanish varieties is motivated by subjective notions of closeness/distance, whereby the PP encodes temporal and psychological proximity between a speaker and an event; the PRET indicates subjective detachment and disassociation. Similarly, Ritz and Engel's (2008) study of Australian English identified a 'vivid narrative use' of the PP, whereby it was used in contexts generally reserved for the simple past to attract and sustain listeners' attention. They claim that the effect of using narrative PP in discourse places the hearer(s) in a virtual present, causing the narrated events to feel closer and more vivid.

Further support for the argument that the Andean PP is characterized by epistemic notions comes from the way in which the PP is inherently a more subjective, affective variant than the PRET (Alarcos Llorach, 1947; J. M. Lope Blanch, 1991). Additionally, it has been attested that Perfects are not strictly

temporal-aspectual markers but also encompass modal features (Company Company, 2002; Portner, 2003; Hernández, 2013; Jara Yupanqui, 2013). According to Portner (2003), for instance, the Perfect inherently contains a pragmatic component (in addition to its semantic component), whereby presupposition is required to unify non-temporal relations. Consequently, this has led to canonical epistemic perfect functions like ‘current relevance’ and ‘result state’. Thus, that the Quechua past tense verbal system and the Spanish PP are similarly dependent upon speaker-oriented epistemic values—for example, via the psychological/social deictic meanings of the Quechua directional suffixes (Kalt, 2015) and the speaker-oriented notion of an event’s ‘relevance’ in Spanish PP use (Hernández, 2013)—suggests the compound past in Andean Spanish would in fact be a prime candidate for semantic development in favor of strengthened epistemic features.

Bearing these theoretical argumentations in mind, I performed a qualitative examination of the Spanish and Quechua speech data for a few reasons. Firstly, I sought to illustrate innovative uses of the Cusco PP; innovative PP behavior was hinted at from the logistic regression of the interview data (and from previous literature), so its novel behavior should be apparent in the data set. Indeed, I demonstrated that the PP of the current data set can be used in perfective contexts, i.e. denoting a sequence of events in narratives, unrestricted by temporal distance. Crucially, I also demonstrated multiple instances in which the PP marked emotionally proximal events. In this way, subjective uses of the PP were exemplified in the data set, substantiating the claim that it is acquiring speaker-subjective notions of relevance. In these cases, the notion of relevance is emotional/psychological; the proximity that exists between the event and the speaker is not temporal-aspectual but based upon the speaker’s own personal emotional closeness to the event (Hernández, 2013).

Secondly, I explored the representation of Quechua verbal morphology in narrative data. Whereas previous studies of Andean PP, whose claims presume semantic change is rooted in an evidential distinction between Quechua morphemes *-r(q)a-* and *-sqa-* (Klee and Ocampo, 1995; Escobar, 1997; Sánchez, 2004), these analyses do not examine Quechua verbal morphology as it is actually used in narrative discourse and therefore leave out an important part of the equation. Bearing in mind the discordant accounts of Quechua past tense morphology (in Chapter 3) and the idea that the past tense suffixes *-r(q)a-* and *-sqa-* are neither strictly temporal (Cusihamán Gutiérrez, 2001; Faller, 2004; Manley, 2007) nor the only strategies used in marking past temporal relations (Kalt, 2015; Peng, 2020), I sought to examine real-world morphological strategies used in past tense narratives in natural Quechua speech, a methodological

approach that, to my knowledge, has never before been executed in research of the Peruvian Andean PP.

According to my observations, while *-r(q)a-* was indeed a commonly used past tense marker, other strategies were also used, namely, temporally non-marked ('Historical Present', 'non-Past' or 'Ø-marked') forms and directional morphology (e.g. exhortative *-r(q)u-*, augmentative *-y(k)u-*, regressive *-pu-*) that evoked directional and psychological/social deictic meanings, in agreement with the work of Kalt (2015). Moreover, I observed an instance in which *-r(q)a-* was used for events that occurred in a dream state, a function traditionally reserved for the Indirect Past marker *-sqa-*. Much more research is needed on this matter, but the use of *-r(q)a-* in this way would suggest that the semantic distinction between *-r(q)a-* and *-sqa-* may not be rooted (strictly) in evidentiality after all, not anymore at least.

Overall, these findings suggest the Quechua past tense system is morphologically more complex than what has been supposed so far in Andean PP studies, and the verbal system is imbued with semantic categories beyond just temporal-aspectual, and even evidential, ones. For example, directional morphology is an essential piece of the verbal system and is used apart or in conjunction with other directional morphemes to encompass additional semantic-pragmatic features, such as spatial location, movement, or affect. In any case, these 'non-temporal' semantic-pragmatic features are similarly rooted in subjective, speaker-oriented deictic relationships (Kalt, 2015).

Thirdly, in performing the qualitative examination, I sought to compare intra-speaker Spanish and Quechua narratives as a means of comparing cross-linguistic morphological strategies in contexts of emotionally proximal events. Whereas it was illustrated that the PP can be used to mark emotionally proximal events (§7.3.1), if subjective PP use is rooted in influence from the Quechua verbal system, we would expect to see comparable treatment of emotionally proximal events in Quechua narratives, too. Indeed, my findings showed that in both languages, a change in verbal marking occurred on events that were the most salient and/or significant, according to the speaker. In Spanish narratives, the PP was used to highlight the emotional and/or psychological impact of an event on the speaker; in the Quechua narratives, such noteworthy events were left temporally unmarked (Ø-marked, resembling the Present Tense). Therein I suspect, in line with the work of Hernández (2013), that the temporal closeness associated with the Present, which is manifested via the present conjugation of the auxiliary in the Spanish PP and the unmarked past form in Quechua, is translated to a psychological closeness in the mind of the speaker.

In conclusion, each of the research questions treated different elements of the broader investigation of PP/PRET use in Andean Spanish. In responding to the first question, distributional differences were observed between Cusco PP/PRET use and that of other Spanish varieties, as well as between monolingual and bilingual speakers of Andean Spanish. The second question addressed the nuances of Andean PP behavior, and it was demonstrated that the Cusco PP indeed retains prototypical temporal-aspectual properties of a perfect but has acquired additional epistemic, speaker-subjective functions and is governed furthermore by speakers' language dominance in Quechua and/or Spanish. Finally, in answering the third research question, I showed that contact-induced subjectivization is a plausible account of regional PP development, evidenced by comparable morphological strategies in marking emotionally proximal events in intra-speaker Spanish and Quechua narratives. Overall, these findings broadly suggest that, whereas the epistemic values of the PP are strengthening in accordance with the natural development process of subjectivization, it is the convergence of subjective features in the Quechua and Spanish verbal systems—that is, via bilingual speakers—that lies at the root of this semantic change.

## **8.2 Contributions and future directions**

Carrying out the current project has contributed to the field of Sociolinguistics in various ways. Firstly, the findings of the current work are vital to scholarship on PP/PRET variation. Particularly, this project has elucidated our understanding of innovative PP behavior in Andean Spanish and found that, as Howe (2013) posited, it is indeed developing along a path unlike what has been attested for in other Spanish varieties (see Schwenter and Torres Cacoullos, 2008 for Peninsular and Mexican Spanish; Rodríguez Louro, 2016 for Rioplatense Argentine Spanish; Hernández, 2013 for Salvadoran Spanish; Dumont, 2013 for Ecuadorian Spanish; among others). Using quantitative and qualitative data in the same study, my comprehensive analyses explored innovative behavior of the Cusco PP using descriptive and inferential statistics and real-world examples to show how it has acquired subjective meanings, in accordance with previous claims (Hernández, 2013; Howe, 2013; Jara Yupanqui, 2013; Azpiazu, 2018). Additionally, whereas previous studies have attributed Quechua influence to innovative Andean PP behavior (Bustamente, 1991; Klee and Ocampo, 1995; Escobar, 1997; Sánchez, 2004; among others), my study is the first of its kind to provide evidence for these claims, having examined explicit morphological strategies of past tense marking in natural Quechua speech data. Furthermore, it supports

the position that the regional PP is developing along a path of contact-induced subjectivization, in line with the work of García Tesoro and Jang (2018).

Whereas studies of PP/PRET variation are widespread in general, my examination specifically addresses Andean Spanish in Cusco, Peru and adds to our working knowledge of the regional variety. Crucially, the methodological approach I adopted for this study contributes greatly to Andean Spanish research and that of Quechua-Spanish language contact. Specifically, including monolinguals and bilinguals of Andean Spanish in the same study, and using a gradient metric to determine speakers' language dominance, reflects the extensive linguistic diversity that characterizes the Andes, even in the same region of Peru. I maintain that research that concerns Andean Spanish but that does not include bilinguals is misleading and contributes to misrepresentation of Indigenous linguistic contributions to contemporary Andean Spanish patterns of use.

In the same vein, our current understanding of the Quechua past temporal verbal system remains insufficient. This work, in seeking to understand what (Cusco-Collao) Quechua past tense morphology looks like and how it is used in actual speech, analyzed natural oral data from native Quechua speakers. In doing so, I have shown that an account of Quechua past tense morphology must also consider the use of unmarked forms, or 'non-Past' (González Holguín, 1842[1607]; Faller, 2002, 2004), a form that has received little attention in literature of Cusco Quechua past tense. I also argued that such accounts must expand their view of past temporality in Quechua to include a singular concept of space-time, whereby morphemes that are not temporal in the traditional, perhaps Western, sense might also be available, even paramount, in denoting (spatio-)temporal relations. Until a precise understanding of the Quechua language is reached, investigations of Andean Spanish phenomena and their origins of innovation remain susceptible to misinformation and faulty results. In this regard, the current study is a crucial step in improving our understanding of the nuances that characterize the Quechua past tense system.

Moreover, in administering audio-recorded sociolinguistic interviews with native Quechua speakers, the data of the current study served a greater purpose, participating in efforts of language documentation of Indigenous languages. Quechua is an endangered language, existing in a multi-glossic situation, and prominent use of the dominant language, Spanish, threatens its survival (Coronel-Molina, 2011). Language documentation is crucial for the revitalization of the minority language, a contribution afforded by the current work.

Similarly, Indigenous participation in research of their own language is vital as we seek to find ways of integrating equity and social justice into our research practices. I sought to portray native Quechua speakers' own experiences, using their personal narratives at the forefront of the qualitative analysis, in hopes that Indigenous voices and perspectives would be reflected through this work. Each participant graciously shared with me various personal experiences, including their struggles—such as the death of a loved one, a childhood marked by domestic violence, battles with physical and mental health, financial suffering—and successes—such as their children's birth stories, favorite childhood memories, wedding and other holiday celebrations with family and friends, and academic triumphs. These stories highlight Indigenous life in the Andes and exemplify the importance of recognizing their social, cultural, and linguistic significance to the region.

Moving forward, Andean PP/PRET variation research will benefit from more natural speech data from a wide variety of Quechua and Spanish monolingual and bilingual speakers. Given the small sample size of speakers in the current study, particularly as they were distributed across different demographic factors (e.g. residence, LDS group, education level), sample sizes across factor groups were unbalanced. It is clear that more data is needed for more comprehensive, accurate results. Additionally, including a broader range of linguistic and non-linguistic factors will be useful as we seek to identify the nuances of regional PP behavior. For example, it would be helpful to see if there are any priming effects involved in PP/PRET use. Also, assuming participant sample sizes are balanced and increased, it would be useful to take a closer look at generational differences in PP/PRET use, as this could have implications for the status of subjective PP use in the future.

Finally, in a broader sense, investigations of PP/PRET variation on distinct regional varieties are imperative to understand regional differences in PP development. While Howe (2013) identified three divergent semantic paths of development, more dialectal studies could display a greater number than this. Additionally, whereas the Andean PP appears to be developing along the path of contact-induced subjectivization, it would be interesting to test whether this development path is shared by other Spanish varieties in contact with languages that, like Quechua, contain verbal systems replete with episemic, speaker-subjective features.

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# APPENDICES

## Appendix A: List of abbreviations in Quechua and Spanish glosses

I	first
IO	1st person object recipient
2	second
3	third
ABL	ablative
ACC	accusative
AG	agentive nominalizer
APP	appeal evidential
AUX	auxiliary
ATT	attributive
AUG	augmentative
BEN	benefactive
BPG	best possible grounds
CAUS	causative
CERT:	certainty
CIS	cislocative
CNJ	conjecture
CON	connective particle
COND	conditional
CONJ	conjunction
CONTR	contrastive
DEM	demonstrative pronoun
DIM	diminutive
DIREV	direct evidential
DISC	discontinuative
DIST	distributive

DLM	just, only, polite
DO	direct object pronoun
DS	adverbial, different subject
EMO	emotive
EXCL	exclusive
EXH	exhortative
FUT	future
GEN	genitive
GER	gerund
HAB	habitual
ILLA	illative
IMP	Imperfect morphology (Spanish)
IMPV	imperative
INCHO	inchoative
INT	interrogative
IO	indirect object pronoun
INCL	inclusive
INF	infinitive
INT	interrogative
LOC	locative
M	masculine
MAL	malefactive
MUT	mutual evidential
NEG	negation, negative
NOM	nominative
NOW	by now, already
NUM	number
OBJ	object
PASS	passive
PFV	perfective
PFV.O	completive-perfective, obligation, divergent alignment between stances, inward direction
PL	plural
POSS	possessive
PRES	Present tense morphology (Spanish)
PRET	Preterit morphology (Spanish)
PRMT	purpose complement with motion verb
PROG	progressive
PST	past

PST1	past tense 1: <i>-r(q)a-</i>
PST2	past tense 2: <i>-sqa-</i>
PST.N	narrative past
PST.R3	recent past (from perfect), 3rd subject, and 3rd subject > 1st object and 3rd subject > 3rd object
PTCP	participle
RECP	reciprocal
REFL	reflexive
REG	regressive
REP	reportative evidential
SG	singular
SS	adverbial, same subject
SUB	subordination
TOP	topic
TRANS	translocative

## Appendix B: Participants' demographic profiles

Table 2: Participants' demographic profiles

Participant ID#	Age	Sex	Education	Residence	LDS
Participant 01	41	female	secondary	urban	-0.5
Participant 03	46	female	post-secondary	urban	6.5
Participant 05	28	female	secondary	rural	0
Participant 07	39	female	na	urban	2.5
Participant 08	34	female	secondary	urban	1
Participant 09	36	female	secondary	urban	0
Participant 10	28	male	post-secondary	urban	6
Participant 11	36	male	secondary	urban	2
Participant 12	32	female	secondary	urban	1.5
Participant 13	23	male	post-secondary	urban	6.5
Participant 14	19	male	secondary	urban	6
Participant 15	24	male	post-secondary	urban	6.5
Participant 18	21	female	post-secondary	rural	1
Participant 19	20	male	post-secondary	urban	2.5
Participant 20	19	female	post-secondary	urban	5.5
Participant 21	22	female	post-secondary	urban	5
Participant 23	20	male	post-secondary	urban	2
Participant 25	53	female	post-secondary	rural	-0.5
Participant 26	24	female	post-secondary	rural	2.5
Participant 29	22	male	secondary	urban	-1
Participant 30	20	male	post-secondary	rural	-2
Participant 32	34	male	post-secondary	urban	2
Participant 33	30	female	post-secondary	urban	4
Participant 34	32	male	secondary	urban	2
Participant 35	30	female	post-secondary	rural	4.5
Participant 37	32	female	secondary	rural	-1.5
Participant 39	34	female	secondary	rural	-3.5
Participant 41	72	male	post-secondary	rural	5.5
Participant 43	47	male	primary	rural	-2.5
Participant 44	52	female	primary	rural	-5
Participant 45	25	male	post-secondary	rural	-0.5
Participant 47	22	female	post-secondary	urban	2
Participant 48	29	female	post-secondary	urban	1.5
Participant 49	19	male	post-secondary	urban	5
Participant 50	21	female	post-secondary	urban	3.5
Participant 51	26	female	post-secondary	urban	3
Participant 52	32	female	post-secondary	urban	1
Participant 53	26	female	post-secondary	urban	3
Participant 54	18	female	secondary	urban	1.5
Participant 55	68	male	secondary	urban	0.5
Participant 56	67	female	none	urban	-0.5

## **Appendix C: Data elicitation materials**

The following packet of data elicitation materials includes: (i) the Language Background Questionnaire (English, Spanish, and Quechua versions); (ii) the PP/PRET Questionnaire (English and Spanish versions) and a schema of the PP/PRET questionnaire situations according to speaker-affected entity relationship and anticipated impact rating; (iii) the sociolinguistic interview guide (English, Spanish, and Quechua versions).



12. What language(s) did you use mostly when speaking to your parents? (*circle all that apply*)

Quechua      Spanish      Both      Other \_\_\_\_\_

13. Do you have siblings?      Yes / No

>> How many? \_\_\_\_\_

14. What language(s) did you use when speaking with your siblings?

Quechua      Spanish      Both      Other \_\_\_\_\_

15. What language(s) did your siblings use when speaking with you?

Quechua      Spanish      Both      Other \_\_\_\_\_

16. Did your grandparent(s) live at home?      Yes / No

15. What language(s) did your grandparents use when speaking to you?

Quechua      Spanish      Both      Other \_\_\_\_\_

16. What language(s) did you use when speaking with your grandparents?

Quechua      Spanish      Both      Other \_\_\_\_\_

17. Did you play with other Quechua-speaking children?      Yes / No

18. What language(s) did you use with other children/siblings?

Quechua      Spanish      Both      Other \_\_\_\_\_

19. Did your parents encourage you to speak Quechua as much as possible at home?      Yes / No

20. Did your parents correct you when you spoke Quechua?      Yes / No

-----**Language History: Primary School**-----

21. How often did you use Quechua between the ages 6-11?

always      often      seldom      never

22. Between 6-11 yrs. old, with whom did you speak Quechua? (*circle all that apply*)

mother      father      siblings      friends      others \_\_\_\_\_

23. Did you attend primary school in Cusco?      Yes / No

24. What was the language of instruction?

Quechua      Spanish      Both      Other \_\_\_\_\_

25. Did you have to take a class to learn Quechua in primary school?      Yes / No

>> How many hours a week of Quechua class did you have in primary school?

2 hours      5 hours      10 hours      more than 10

26. Did you have Quechua-speaking friends at primary school? Yes / No
27. What language(s) did you speak with your Quechua-speaking friends in primary school?  
 Quechua Spanish Both Other \_\_\_\_\_

-----Language History: Secondary School-----

28. How often did you use Quechua between the ages 12-17?  
 always often seldom never
29. Between 12-17 yrs. old, with whom did you speak Quechua?  
 mother father siblings friends others \_\_\_\_\_
30. Did you attend secondary school in Cusco? Yes / No
31. What was the language of instruction?  
 Quechua Spanish Both Other \_\_\_\_\_
32. Did you have to take a class to learn Quechua in secondary school? Yes / No  
 >> How many hours a week of Quechua class did you have in secondary school  
 2 hours 5 hours 10 hours more than 10
33. Did you have Quechua-speaking friends in secondary school? Yes / No
34. What language did you speak with your Quechua-speaking friends in secondary school?  
 Quechua Spanish Both Other \_\_\_\_\_

\*\*\*\*\*

**III. Language use**

1. In an average week, what percentage of the time do you use SPANISH with friends? (Circle one)  
 10% 20% 30% 40% 50% 60% 70% 80% 90% 100%
2. In an average week, what percentage of the time do you use QUECHUA with friends? (Circle one)  
 10% 20% 30% 40% 50% 60% 70% 80% 90% 100%
3. In an average week, what percentage of the time do you use SPANISH with family? (Circle one)  
 10% 20% 30% 40% 50% 60% 70% 80% 90% 100%
4. In an average week, what percentage of the time do you use QUECHUA with friends? (Circle one)  
 10% 20% 30% 40% 50% 60% 70% 80% 90% 100%
5. In an average week, what percentage of the time do you use SPANISH at school/work? (Circle one)  
 10% 20% 30% 40% 50% 60% 70% 80% 90% 100%

6. In an average week, what percentage of the time do you use QUECHUA at school/work? (*Circle one*)

10% 20% 30% 40% 50% 60% 70% 80% 90% 100%

7. When you talk to yourself, how often do you talk to yourself in SPANISH? (*Circle one*)

10% 20% 30% 40% 50% 60% 70% 80% 90% 100%

8. When you talk to yourself, how often do you talk to yourself in QUECHUA? (*Circle one*)

10% 20% 30% 40% 50% 60% 70% 80% 90% 100%

\*\*\*\*\*

**IV. Language Proficiency**

1. Rate your current overall language ability in SPANISH (*circle one*)

- 1 = understand but cannot speak
- 2 = understand and can speak with great difficulty
- 3 = understand and speak but with some difficulty
- 4 = understand and speak comfortably, with little difficulty
- 5 = understand and speak fluently like a native speaker

2. Rate your current overall language ability in QUECHUA (*circle one*)

- 1 = understand but cannot speak
- 2 = understand and can speak with great difficulty
- 3 = understand and speak but with some difficulty
- 4 = understand and speak comfortably, with little difficulty
- 5 = understand and speak fluently like a native speaker

3. On a scale from 1 to 5, rate your abilities in Spanish and in Quechua

(1=poor; 2=needs work; 3=good; 4=very good; 5=native speaker command)

SPANISH →	Reading =	Speaking=	Listening=	Writing=
QUECHUA →	Reading =	Speaking=	Listening=	Writing=

4. In general, which language do you prefer to use? (*circle one*)

Spanish                  Quechua                  Both                  No preference

\*\*\*\*\*

**V. Language attitudes**

Rate the following sentences on a scale of 0-6. (0 = *disagree*; 6 = *completely agree*)

- |  |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |
|--|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 1. I feel like myself when I speak SPANISH.                    | 0 | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 |
| 2. I feel like myself when I speak QUECHUA.                    | 0 | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 |
| 3. I am a SPANISH-speaker.                                     | 0 | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 |
| 4. I am a QUECHUA-speaker.                                     | 0 | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 |
| 5. It is important to me to use SPANISH like a native speaker. | 0 | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 |
| 6. It is important to me to use QUECHUA like a native speaker. | 0 | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 |
| 7. I want others to know I am a native speaker of SPANISH.     | 0 | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 |
| 8. I want others to know I am a native speaker of QUECHUA.     | 0 | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 |

9. Would you like to improve your language skills in SPANISH? Yes / No

>> Why?

10. Would you like to improve your language skills in QUECHUA? Yes / No

>> Why?

11. Is SPANISH important to you? Yes / No

>> Why?

12. Is QUECHUA important for you? Yes / No

>> Why?

**THANK YOU SO MUCH for completing this questionnaire!**

**Please return this form to the researcher.**

Sitio: \_\_\_\_\_ Fecha: \_\_\_\_\_ N° de Participante # \_\_\_\_\_

Cuestionario del fondo lingüístico

(TODA LA INFORMACIÓN SE MANTENDRÁ CONFIDENCIAL Y ANÓNIMA.)

\*\*\*\*\*

**I. Información biográfica**

1. ¿Cuál es su sexo? Varón / Mujer
2. ¿Cuántos años tiene Ud.? \_\_\_\_\_ años
3. ¿Fue Ud. a la escuela? Sí / No  
    >> ¿Cuál es el nivel de educación más alto que Ud. ha alcanzado? \_\_\_\_\_
4. ¿Cuál es su profesión? \_\_\_\_\_
5. ¿Dónde vive Ud.? \_\_\_\_\_  
    >> ¿Está ubicado su vecindario en un área urbana o rural? urbana / rural  
    >> ¿Por cuánto tiempo vive Ud. allí? \_\_\_\_\_

\*\*\*\*\*

**II. Historia lingüística**

1. ¿De dónde son sus padres?  
    Madre: \_\_\_\_\_ Padre: \_\_\_\_\_
2. ¿Qué idioma(s) hablan sus padres?  
    Madre: \_\_\_\_\_ Padre: \_\_\_\_\_
3. ¿En qué trabajan sus padres?  
    Madre: \_\_\_\_\_ Padre: \_\_\_\_\_
4. ¿Cuál es el nivel de educación más alto que sus padres han alcanzado?  
    Madre: \_\_\_\_\_ Padre: \_\_\_\_\_
5. ¿A cuántos años empezó Ud. a hablar CASTELLANO? \_\_\_\_\_ años
6. ¿A cuántos años empezó Ud. a hablar QUECHUA? \_\_\_\_\_ años
7. ¿Qué idioma(s) usaban mayormente sus padres al hablar con Ud.?  
    >> Madre: quechua castellano ambos otro \_\_\_\_\_  
    >> Padre: quechua castellano ambos otro \_\_\_\_\_
8. ¿Qué idioma(s) usaba mayormente Ud. al hablar con sus padres?  
    >> Con la madre: quechua castellano ambos otro \_\_\_\_\_  
    >> Con el padre: quechua castellano ambos otro \_\_\_\_\_
9. ¿Le animaban a Ud. sus padres a hablar quechua en casa? Sí / No

10. ¿Qué idioma(s) usaba Ud. al hablar con sus hermanos/as?

quechua      castellano      ambos      otro \_\_\_\_\_

11. ¿Qué idioma(s) usaba(n) su(s) abuelo(s) al hablar con Ud.?

quechua      castellano      ambos      otro \_\_\_\_\_

12. ¿Qué idioma(s) usaba Ud. al hablar con su(s) abuelo(s)?

quechua      castellano      ambos      otro \_\_\_\_\_

13. ¿Qué idioma(s) usaba Ud. con otros niños?

quechua      castellano      ambos      otro \_\_\_\_\_

-----**Historia lingüística: La escuela primaria**-----

14. ¿Con qué frecuencia usaba Ud. el quechua entre los 6 y los 11 años?

nunca      poco      mucho      siempre

15. Entre los 6 y los 11 años, ¿con quién(es) hablaba Ud. quechua? (*Elija cada opción que sea relevante*)

madre      padre      hermanos      amigos      otros \_\_\_\_\_

16. ¿Asistió Ud. a la escuela primaria en Cusco?      Sí / No

17. ¿Cuál era el idioma de instrucción?

quechua      castellano      ambos      otro \_\_\_\_\_

18. ¿Tenía que tomar Ud. una clase para aprender el quechua en la escuela primaria?      Sí / No

19. ¿Qué idioma(s) hablaba Ud. con sus amigos quechua-hablantes en la escuela primaria?

quechua      castellano      ambos      otro \_\_\_\_\_

-----**Historia lingüística: La escuela secundaria**-----

20. ¿Con qué frecuencia usaba Ud. quechua entre los 12 y 17 años?

nunca      poco      mucho      siempre

21. Entre los 12 y 17 años, ¿con quién(es) hablaba Ud. quechua?

madre      padre      hermanos      amigos      otros \_\_\_\_\_

22. Asistió Ud. a la escuela secundaria en Cusco?      Sí / No

23. ¿Cuál era el idioma de instrucción?

quechua      castellano      ambos      otro \_\_\_\_\_

24. ¿Tenía que tomar Ud. una clase para aprender el quechua en la escuela secundaria?      Sí / No

25. ¿Qué idioma(s) hablaba Ud. con sus amigos quechua-hablantes en la escuela secundaria?

quechua      castellano      ambos      otro \_\_\_\_\_

\*\*\*\*\*

### III. Uso lingüístico corriente

1. ¿Qué idioma(s) usa Ud. con los amigos?
  - a. solamente quechua
  - b. mayormente quechua
  - c. ambos equitativamente
  - d. mayormente castellano
  - e. solamente castellano
2. ¿Qué idioma(s) usa Ud. con la familia?
  - a. solamente quechua
  - b. mayormente quechua
  - c. ambos equitativamente
  - d. mayormente castellano
  - e. solamente castellano
3. ¿Qué idioma(s) usa Ud. en la escuela/el trabajo?
  - a. solamente quechua
  - b. mayormente quechua
  - c. ambos equitativamente
  - d. mayormente castellano
  - e. solamente castellano
4. ¿En qué idioma piensa Ud.?
  - a. solamente quechua
  - b. mayormente quechua
  - c. ambos equitativamente
  - d. mayormente castellano
  - e. solamente castellano

\*\*\*\*\*

### IV. Competencia lingüística

1. Indique su capacidad corriente en general en CASTELLANO (*elija una opción*)

- 0 = No entiendo ni puedo hablar
- 1 = Entiendo pero no puedo hablar para nada
- 2 = Entiendo pero me dificulta mucho hablar
- 3 = Entiendo pero me dificulta un poco hablar
- 4 = Entiendo y hablo normal con poca dificultad
- 5 = Entiendo y hablo muy bien sin problema como nativo/a hablante

2. Indique su capacidad corriente en general en QUECHUA (*elija una opción*)

- 0 = No entiendo ni puedo hablar
- 1 = Entiendo pero no puedo hablar para nada
- 2 = Entiendo pero me dificulta mucho hablar
- 3 = Entiendo pero me dificulta un poco hablar
- 4 = Entiendo y hablo normal con poca dificultad
- 5 = Entiendo y hablo muy bien sin problema como nativo/a hablante

3. En general, ¿qué idioma prefiere usar Ud.?

castellano      quechua      ambos      no tengo preferencia

\*\*\*\*\*

### V. Actitudes lingüísticas

1. Indique las siguientes oraciones en una escala de 0 (*no estoy de acuerdo*) a 6 (*estoy completamente de acuerdo*).

- |  |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |
|--|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| a. Me siento como yo mismo/a cuando hablo CASTELLANO.....              | 0 | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 |
| b. Me siento como yo mismo/a cuando hablo QUECHUA.....                 | 0 | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 |
| c. Soy hablante de CASTELLANO.....                                     | 0 | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 |
| d. Soy hablante de QUECHUA.....  | 0 | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 |
| e. A mí me importa usar CASTELLANO como hablante nativo/a.....         | 0 | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 |
| f. A mí me importa usar QUECHUA como hablante nativo/a.....            | 0 | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 |
| g. Quiero que otros sepan que soy hablante nativo/a de CASTELLANO..... | 0 | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 |
| h. Quiero que otros sepan que soy hablante nativo/a de QUECHUA.....    | 0 | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 |

2. Desea Ud. mejorar sus destrezas lingüísticas en CASTELLANO?      Sí / No

3. Desea Ud. mejorar sus destrezas lingüísticas en QUECHUA?      Sí / No

4. ¿A Ud. le importa el CASTELLANO?      Sí / No

5. ¿A Ud. le importa el QUECHUA?      Sí / No

**¡MUCHAS GRACIAS por completar este cuestionario!**

**Por favor, devuelva este formulario a la(s) investigadora(s).**

Simiykimanta Tapuykuna: Runasimi rimaqkunapaq  
(HUQ RUNAKUNAWAN INFORMACIÓNNIYKITA MANA QUNAKUSAQKUCHU)

\*\*\*\*\*

**I. Qanmanta**

- 1. Qharichu warmichu kanki? Qhari / Warmi
- 2. Hayk'a watayuqmi kanki? \_\_\_\_\_ watayuq
- 3. Yachay wasiman riranki? Arí / Mana
  - >> Ima gradukama tukuranki?
 

Primaria	Secundaria / Técnico	Superior / Universidad
----------	----------------------	------------------------
- 4. Imapi llank'anki? \_\_\_\_\_
- 5. Maypin tiyanki? \_\_\_\_\_
  - >> Llaqtaykiqa ciudadpichu comunidadpichu? urbano / rural
  - >> Hayk'a wataña chaypi tiyashanki? \_\_\_\_\_

\*\*\*\*\*

**II. Ñawpaq pacha simiyki**

- 6. Taytamamayki maymantan kanku?
 

Mamayki: _____	Taytayki: _____
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- 7. Iman simikunata taytamamayki rimanku?
 

Mamayki: _____	Taytayki: _____
----------------	-----------------
- 8. Imapin llank'anku?
 

Mamayki: _____	Taytayki: _____
----------------	-----------------
- 9. Paykuna yachay wasipi ima gradukama tukuranku?
  - >> Mamayki: \_\_\_\_\_
  - >> Taytayki: \_\_\_\_\_

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**III. Hayk'aq simita rimanki – mana kanchu**

\*\*\*\*\*

**IV. Simi atinyiki – mana kanchu**

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**V. Simimanta yuyayniyki**

- |  |            |
|--|------------|
| 10. CASTELLANO SIMI yachayniykita allinchayta munawaqchu?<br>>> Imaraykun? | Arí / Mana |
| 11. RUNASIMI yachayniykita allinchayta munawaqchu?<br>>> Imaraykun?        | Arí / Mana |
| 12. Qanpaq CASTELLANO simi chaninniyuqchu?<br>>> Imaraykun?                | Arí / Mana |
| 13. Qanpaq RUNASIMI chaninniyuqchu?<br>>> Imaraykun?                       | Arí / Mana |

**Kay tapuykunata kutichimusqaykimanta añachayki, urpichay sunquchay!**

Questionnaire

Location: \_\_\_\_\_ Date: \_\_\_\_\_ Participant ID # \_\_\_\_\_

**Instructions:** Imagine yourself in each hypothetical situation provided. Circle the best option (in parenthesis) to complete each statement. Then circle the rating that you believe best indicates the degree of each situation’s impact on the person(s) or object(s) involved in each situation (*no impact – slight impact – moderate impact – heavy impact*). Then, indicate the degree of familiarity for each situation.

<b>Example</b>				
You own a large farm in a rural town in Cusco. A powerful flood destroys all your crops, and you no longer have anything to sell in the market. Your neighbors come over to see the damage.				
You inform them, “A giant flood ( <u>destroyed</u> / <u>has destroyed</u> ) all of my crops!”				
<b>Degree of impact:</b>	<i>no impact</i>	<i>slight impact</i>	<i>moderate impact</i>	<i>heavy impact</i>

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**Situation 1**

Your neighbor Deisy brings you and your family some fresh herbs from her garden to make tea. A week later your brother asks you about the herbs on the table.

You tell him/her, “Deisy (brought / has brought) me herbs from her garden.”

DEGREE OF IMPACT:    no impact / slight impact / moderate impact / heavy impact  
HOW FAMILIAR IS A SITUATION LIKE THIS?    not familiar / slightly familiar / familiar / very familiar

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**Situation 2**

During a community gathering, one of the community leaders Javier orders one of your fellow community members Isaac to leave the meeting because he is being disruptive. The following week, you tell your family about the uncomfortable situation.

You say to them, “Javier (ordered / has ordered) Isaac to leave the gathering.”

DEGREE OF IMPACT:    no impact / slight impact / moderate impact / heavy impact  
HOW FAMILIAR IS A SITUATION LIKE THIS?    not familiar / slightly familiar / familiar / very familiar

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**Situation 3**

You and your family spend lots of time at the house of your Uncle David and Aunt Laura. One evening, your uncle comes home from work drunk and angry. He storms in the kitchen where you and his wife are talking. He begins yelling at Laura and hits her out of anger. The following week, you visit your family and tell them all about the terrible event

You tell them, “Uncle David (hit / has hit) Aunt Laura.”

DEGREE OF IMPACT:    no impact / slight impact / moderate impact / heavy impact  
HOW FAMILIAR IS A SITUATION LIKE THIS?    not familiar / slightly familiar / familiar / very familiar

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#### Situation 4

While you are cooking in the kitchen, you look out the window and notice a strong wind blowing. It blows a small tree down on the other side of the street. Your neighbor comes to visit you the following week, and you recount the experience to her.

You tell her, “A strong wind (blew / has blown) that tree down.”

DEGREE OF IMPACT: no impact / slight impact / moderate impact / heavy impact

HOW FAMILIAR IS A SITUATION LIKE THIS? not familiar / slightly familiar / familiar / very familiar

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#### Situation 5

Every year your entire family gathers together and eats a big meal to celebrate Inti Raymi. Your siblings can't attend this year, but when you talk to them the following week, they ask you about the details of the gathering.

You inform them, “Dad (prepared / has prepared) papa a la huatia.”

DEGREE OF IMPACT: no impact / slight impact / moderate impact / heavy impact

HOW FAMILIAR IS A SITUATION LIKE THIS? not familiar / slightly familiar / familiar / very familiar

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#### Situation 6

Your mom invites her friend over for coffee. A week later, your friend visits you at your house. Your friend knows that normally you don't have coffee in the house, but upon seeing the coffee, your friend asks you why you have it.

You reply, “My mom (invited / has invited) the neighbor lady Alana for a cup of coffee.”

DEGREE OF IMPACT: no impact / slight impact / moderate impact / heavy impact

HOW FAMILIAR IS A SITUATION LIKE THIS? not familiar / slightly familiar / familiar / very familiar

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#### Situation 7

Your daughter is a student. Your daughter must take an important exam. If she doesn't pass, she will have to spend another two months studying to retake it. When she gets her results, she tells you about them. About a week later, your spouse asks about her results.

You tell him/her sadly, “She (failed / has failed) the exam. She will have to take it again in three months.”

DEGREE OF IMPACT: no impact / slight impact / moderate impact / heavy impact

HOW FAMILIAR IS A SITUATION LIKE THIS? not familiar / slightly familiar / familiar / very familiar

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### Situation 8

You're walking along the street headed to the market. You notice a car coming toward you very fast from a couple blocks in front of you. You move out of the way in time, but the car hits a person next to you and injures them very badly. After a week, you recount this story to your friend at work,

you tell him/her, "The car (hit / has hit) the person next to me!"

DEGREE OF IMPACT: no impact / slight impact / moderate impact / heavy impact

HOW FAMILIAR IS A SITUATION LIKE THIS? not familiar / slightly familiar / familiar / very familiar

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### Situation 9

Your friend Filomena is in charge of preparing a party. A week before the party, Filomena selects lots of food and decorations in the market. At the party someone tells you how beautiful and fun the party is.

You respond to him/her, "Filomena (chose / has chosen) all the food and decorations."

DEGREE OF IMPACT: no impact / slight impact / moderate impact / heavy impact

HOW FAMILIAR IS A SITUATION LIKE THIS? not familiar / slightly familiar / familiar / very familiar

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### Situation 10

One day you see the police enter the house of your neighbor Marcos. Later you see them leave with your neighbor in handcuffs. It's been a week that your other neighbors don't know where Marcos is. They ask you if you know where he is.

You inform them, "The police (arrested / have arrested) him!"

DEGREE OF IMPACT: no impact / slight impact / moderate impact / heavy impact

HOW FAMILIAR IS A SITUATION LIKE THIS? not familiar / slightly familiar / familiar / very familiar

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### Situation 11

You work all day in the San Pedro market selling vegetables and herbs from your fields. Somebody asks you if you know where their uncle is. You don't know him, but they describe him to you. As they describe him, you realize that you remember his face from a week ago in the market.

You reply, "Ah, yes. I remember that man. He (bought / has bought) rice and coca leaves from me."

DEGREE OF IMPACT: no impact / slight impact / moderate impact / heavy impact

HOW FAMILIAR IS A SITUATION LIKE THIS? not familiar / slightly familiar / familiar / very familiar

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### Situation 12

You receive a phone call from you mother. She tells you all about a horrible event from last week. You begin to sob uncontrollably. When your spouse asks you why you are crying,

you inform him/her, “My father (died / has died).”

DEGREE OF IMPACT: no impact / slight impact / moderate impact / heavy impact

HOW FAMILIAR IS A SITUATION LIKE THIS? not familiar / slightly familiar / familiar / very familiar

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### Situation 13

There’s a tree in front of your house. Inside the tree is a bird’s nest. A rain cloud approaches, and you see the rain fall right into the nest. Two birds fly hurriedly out of the nest and fly away to another tree. Your neighbor visits you a week later. S/he spots the empty nest and asks you where the birds are.

You respond, “(It rained / It has rained) into this nest, so they are in another tree.”

DEGREE OF IMPACT: no impact / slight impact / moderate impact / heavy impact

HOW FAMILIAR IS A SITUATION LIKE THIS? not familiar / slightly familiar / familiar / very familiar

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### Situation 14

There’s a meeting in your community, and your neighbor Julio is expected to attend. Julio’s wife is in Lima, and she knows Julio usually arrives very late to meetings. The following week Julio’s wife returns to Cusco, and she asks about her husband’s attendance.

You inform her, “Julio (arrived / has arrived) to the meeting on time.”

DEGREE OF IMPACT: no impact / slight impact / moderate impact / heavy impact

HOW FAMILIAR IS A SITUATION LIKE THIS? not familiar / slightly familiar / familiar / very familiar

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### Situation 15

You are walking home from work. As you are walking, a man assaults you and steals everything from you. When you tell your friend about the traumatic experience a week later,

You say: “A most terrible man (assaulted / has assaulted) me in the street!”

DEGREE OF IMPACT: no impact / slight impact / moderate impact / heavy impact

HOW FAMILIAR IS A SITUATION LIKE THIS? not familiar / slightly familiar / familiar / very familiar

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### Situation 16

You live in a rural community in the periphery of Cusco. A giant storm rolls in toward the city below you. You see all the city lights go out, and there is no more electricity in the city. You still have electricity because you live in the periphery. The following week, you visit your family.

You tell them, “A giant storm (wiped out / has wiped out) all of the electricity down there in the city!”

DEGREE OF IMPACT: no impact / slight impact / moderate impact / heavy impact

HOW FAMILIAR IS A SITUATION LIKE THIS? not familiar / slightly familiar / familiar / very familiar

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### Situation 17

You visit your sister in Lima. When you arrive to Cusco, you realize you left your jacket at her house. You don't have enough money to buy another one, so you pick up extra hours at work. About a week later, your colleague notices you're working a lot. S/he asks you why you're working so much this week.

You tell your friend: “I (left / have left) my jacket at my sister's house. I need to work extra hours to buy another.”

DEGREE OF IMPACT: no impact / slight impact / moderate impact / heavy impact

HOW FAMILIAR IS A SITUATION LIKE THIS? not familiar / slightly familiar / familiar / very familiar

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### Situation 18

Your mother asks about an old photo of her mother (your grandmother). It belongs to your daughter Katerina, so you ask if she knows where it is. Katerina looks at you shamefully and admits she hasn't seen it for a week.

You tell your mother, “Katerina (lost / has lost) the picture.”

DEGREE OF IMPACT: no impact / slight impact / moderate impact / heavy impact

HOW FAMILIAR IS A SITUATION LIKE THIS? not familiar / slightly familiar / familiar / very familiar

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### Situation 19

You are eating lunch outside, and you grab a piece of bread to feed the birds. One very beautiful bird quickly takes the bread in its mouth and flies away to its nest to feed its children. Your friend Marta loves birds, so you later tell her of the sweet moment when she visits you a week later.

You tell her, “The bird (flew off / has flown off) with my bread to feed its young.”

DEGREE OF IMPACT: no impact / slight impact / moderate impact / heavy impact

HOW FAMILIAR IS A SITUATION LIKE THIS? not familiar / slightly familiar / familiar / very familiar

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### Situation 20

Sra. Huaman Yupanqui gifts fresh food to you from her fields. A week later, you and your neighbor are eating a meal together. The meal is very delicious, and your neighbor wants to know where the vegetables are from.

You tell him/her, “Sra. Huaman Yupanqui (gifted / has gifted) me potatoes and corn from her fields.”

DEGREE OF IMPACT: no impact / slight impact / moderate impact / heavy impact

HOW FAMILIAR IS A SITUATION LIKE THIS? not familiar / slightly familiar / familiar / very familiar

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### Situation 21

Your sister is pregnant, and you two are at the hospital because the baby is due any day. At the hospital, you and your sister discover the baby is not alive inside her. The next week, you and your friend get together. When she asks you how the baby is doing,

you inform her with great sorrow, “My sister (lost / has lost) the baby.”

DEGREE OF IMPACT: no impact / slight impact / moderate impact / heavy impact

HOW FAMILIAR IS A SITUATION LIKE THIS? not familiar / slightly familiar / familiar / very familiar

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### Situation 22

You work hard to keep your house clean. One day your son brings home a stray animal that smells terrible and bothers you incessantly. A week passes like this, and you can't take it anymore.

Angrily, you tell your son, “You (brought / have brought) that disgusting animal into my clean house, now you must get rid of it!”

DEGREE OF IMPACT: no impact / slight impact / moderate impact / heavy impact

HOW FAMILIAR IS A SITUATION LIKE THIS? not familiar / slightly familiar / familiar / very familiar

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### Situation 23

You live in Cusco, and your uncle lives in Lima. A giant rainstorm floods various lakes and rivers in Cusco and kills many animals and vegetation. When your uncle visits you from Lima a week later, you describe the situation to him.

You tell him, “The giant rains (flooded / have flooded) all of the lakes in Cusco.”

DEGREE OF IMPACT: no impact / slight impact / moderate impact / heavy impact

HOW FAMILIAR IS A SITUATION LIKE THIS? not familiar / slightly familiar / familiar / very familiar

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### Situation 24

You're sitting on a bench in el centro. From a distance, you see a child fall from the top of a nearby balcony across the street, and he breaks his arm. The child screams, and his mom rushes to help him. The following week you visit your family and recount the moment to them.

You tell them, "The poor child (broke / has broken) his arm!"

DEGREE OF IMPACT: no impact / slight impact / moderate impact / heavy impact

HOW FAMILIAR IS A SITUATION LIKE THIS? not familiar / slightly familiar / familiar / very familiar

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### Situation 25

Your friends María and Pedro are a couple. One day you spot Pedro kissing a woman in the town plaza. You realize it's María's sister! When you see María at work a week later,

you tell her: "I'm so sorry, I have terrible news! Pedro (kissed / has kissed) your sister!"

DEGREE OF IMPACT: no impact / slight impact / moderate impact / heavy impact

HOW FAMILIAR IS A SITUATION LIKE THIS? not familiar / slightly familiar / familiar / very familiar

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### Situation 26

You bring home a new puppy. When you introduce your new puppy to your cat, you notice they get along great. You see the cat cuddling with the puppy. A week later your friend visits you and asks how the cat and puppy are getting along.

You say, "The cat (cuddled / has cuddled) with the new puppy."

DEGREE OF IMPACT: no impact / slight impact / moderate impact / heavy impact

HOW FAMILIAR IS A SITUATION LIKE THIS? not familiar / slightly familiar / familiar / very familiar

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### Situation 27

As you're walking around Plaza de Armas, you notice a young man sitting on a bench. He looks sick and smells of beer. You see five empty bottles of Cusqueña beer next to him. A week later, you and your friend meet up in the Plaza de Armas. As you pass one of the benches, you recount to him/her about the drunk young man.

You say, "He (drank / has drunk) five bottles of Cusqueña beer alone on that bench."

DEGREE OF IMPACT: no impact / slight impact / moderate impact / heavy impact

HOW FAMILIAR IS A SITUATION LIKE THIS? not familiar / slightly familiar / familiar / very familiar

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### Situation 28

You are a student in class who sits next to a fellow classmate Adriana. You notice another classmate Tomás throws a paper airplane at Adriana from across the room as a prank. A week later, the two students get into another fight in class, and they get in trouble with the teacher. After class, the teacher asks you to tell her what you know about the situation between the two.

You reply, “Tomás is very cruel to Adriana, she’s still upset because he (threw / has thrown) the paper airplane at her!”

DEGREE OF IMPACT: no impact / slight impact / moderate impact / heavy impact

HOW FAMILIAR IS A SITUATION LIKE THIS? not familiar / slightly familiar / familiar / very familiar

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### Situation 29

You are eating in a restaurant downtown. A woman sits at the table next to you and orders her meal. A week later, you go to that same restaurant with a friend, and you spot the same woman from the week before.

You tell your friend, “I remember that woman. She (ordered / has ordered) the menú del día and an ice cream.”

DEGREE OF IMPACT: no impact / slight impact / moderate impact / heavy impact

HOW FAMILIAR IS A SITUATION LIKE THIS? not familiar / slightly familiar / familiar / very familiar

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### Situation 30

You take the bus for an hour to work every morning. One morning, an older woman sits next to you for a little while before getting off. Later you notice the woman’s cellphone lying in that seat next to you. You pick it up and save it in case you see her again. A week later, you spot that same woman on the bus, so you approach her.

You tell her, “Excuse me. You (left / have left) your phone here on the bus.”

DEGREE OF IMPACT: no impact / slight impact / moderate impact / heavy impact

HOW FAMILIAR IS A SITUATION LIKE THIS? not familiar / slightly familiar / familiar / very familiar

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Tarea de Situaciones Inventadas

Sitio: \_\_\_\_\_ Fecha: \_\_\_\_\_ N° de Participante \_\_\_\_\_

**Instrucciones:** Imagínese que es Ud. en cada situación inventada proporcionada. Indique la mejor opción (en paréntesis) para completar cada oración. Luego, indique el grado del impacto que Ud. cree que representa mejor el grado del impacto en cada situación hacia la(s) persona(s) u objeto(s) involucrado(s). Después, indique el grado de familiaridad que Ud. cree que tiene cada situación.

**Ejemplo:** Ud. tiene muchas chacras en un pueblo rural de Cusco. Una inundación destruye todos sus cultivos, y no queda nada para vender. Una semana después sus vecinos se acercan y ven la destrucción.

Ud. les dice, “Una inundación gigante (destruyó / ha destruido) todos mis cultivos!”

GRADO DEL IMPACTO: no hay ningún impacto / poco impactante / impactante / completamente impactante

¿QUÉ TAN FAMILIAR ES UNA SITUACIÓN PARECIDA?: no es familiar / poco familiar / familiar / muy familiar

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**Situación 1:** Su vecina Deisy le trae a Ud. y a su familia unas hierbas frescas de su jardín. Una semana después, su hermano le pregunta sobre las hierbas encima de la mesa.

Ud. le dice, “Deisy me las (trajo / ha traído) de su jardín”.

GRADO DEL IMPACTO: no hay ningún impacto / poco impactante / impactante / completamente impactante

¿QUÉ TAN FAMILIAR ES UNA SITUACIÓN PARECIDA?: no es familiar / poco familiar / familiar / muy familiar

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**Situación 2:** Durante una junta en la comunidad, uno de los líderes de la comunidad Javier mande a Alejandro (uno de sus compañeros de la comunidad) que salga de la junta porque se está comportando muy mal. La próxima semana, Ud. le cuenta a su familia la situación muy incómoda.

Ud. les cuenta, “Javier le (mandó / ha mandado) a Alejandro que salga de la reunión”.

GRADO DEL IMPACTO: no hay ningún impacto / poco impactante / impactante / completamente impactante

¿QUÉ TAN FAMILIAR ES UNA SITUACIÓN PARECIDA?: no es familiar / poco familiar / familiar / muy familiar

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**Situación 3:** Ud. y su familia pasan mucho tiempo en la casa de su tío David y tía Laura. Una tarde, su tío llega a la casa borracho y enojado. Entra la cocina en donde Ud. y Laura están hablando. Al entrar, David le grita a Laura y le pega la cara. La semana siguiente, Ud. le cuenta a su familia sobre el evento terrible.

Ud. les dice, “Tío David (pegó / ha pegado) a la Tía Laura”.

GRADO DEL IMPACTO: no hay ningún impacto / poco impactante / impactante / completamente impactante

¿QUÉ TAN FAMILIAR ES UNA SITUACIÓN PARECIDA?: no es familiar / poco familiar / familiar / muy familiar

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**Situación 4:** Mientras Ud. está cocinando en la cocina, mira por la ventana y nota que el viento sopla muy fuerte. El viento hace tumbar un arbolito en el otro lado de la calle. Su vecino le visita la semana siguiente y Ud. le cuenta la experiencia.

Ud. le dice, “Un viento muy fuerte (tumbó / ha tumbado) ese arbolito”.

GRADO DEL IMPACTO: no hay ningún impacto / poco impactante / impactante / completamente impactante

¿QUÉ TAN FAMILIAR ES UNA SITUACIÓN PARECIDA?: no es familiar / poco familiar / familiar / muy familiar

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**Situación 5:** Cada año su familia entera se junta y come mucho para celebrar Inti Raymi. Sus hermanos no pueden asistir este año. Cuando Ud. les habla la semana siguiente, ellos le piden detalles de la reunión.

Ud. les cuenta, “Papá (preparó / ha preparado) papa a la huatia.”

GRADO DEL IMPACTO: no hay ningún impacto / poco impactante / impactante / completamente impactante

¿QUÉ TAN FAMILIAR ES UNA SITUACIÓN PARECIDA?: no es familiar / poco familiar / familiar / muy familiar

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**Situación 6:** Su madre le invita a una amiga a la casa para tomar un cafecito. Una semana después, su amigo le visita a Ud. en casa. Su amigo sabe que por lo general no hay café en casa, pero al ver el café, su amigo le pregunta por qué lo tiene ahora.

Ud. le responde, “Mi mamá (invitó / ha invitado) a la vecina Alana a tomar un café y charlar”.

GRADO DEL IMPACTO: no hay ningún impacto / poco impactante / impactante / completamente impactante

¿QUÉ TAN FAMILIAR ES UNA SITUACIÓN PARECIDA?: no es familiar / poco familiar / familiar / muy familiar

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**Situación 7:** Su hija es estudiante. Ella necesita tomar un examen importante. Si no lo aprueba, tendrá que pasar dos meses más de estudiar para tomarlo de nuevo. Cuando ella recibe los resultados, se los informa. Una semana después, su pareja le pregunta a Ud. sobre los resultados.

Ud. le dice con tristeza, “Ella (reprobó / ha reprobado) el examen. Tendrá que tomarlo otra vez”.

GRADO DEL IMPACTO: no hay ningún impacto / poco impactante / impactante / completamente impactante

¿QUÉ TAN FAMILIAR ES UNA SITUACIÓN PARECIDA?: no es familiar / poco familiar / familiar / muy familiar

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**Situación 8:** Ud. está caminando por la calle. Se da cuenta de que un carro se le acerca muy rápidamente de unas cuadras al frente. Ud. se mueva justo a tiempo, pero el carro choca a la persona a su lado y queda herida y tumbada en la calle. Una semana después, Ud. le cuenta esta experiencia a su amigo.

Ud. le dice, “El carro (pegó / ha pegado) a la persona al lado mío”!

GRADO DEL IMPACTO: no hay ningún impacto / poco impactante / impactante / completamente impactante

¿QUÉ TAN FAMILIAR ES UNA SITUACIÓN PARECIDA?: no es familiar / poco familiar / familiar / muy familiar

**Situación 9:** Su amiga Filomena se encarga de preparar una fiesta. Una semana antes de la fiesta, Filomena elige mucha comida y decoraciones en el mercado. En la fiesta, uno de los invitados le dice a Ud. que la fiesta es bonita y bien divertida.

Ud. le responde, “Filomena (eligió / ha elegido) toda la comida y las decoraciones”.

GRADO DEL IMPACTO: no hay ningún impacto / poco impactante / impactante / completamente impactante

¿QUÉ TAN FAMILIAR ES UNA SITUACIÓN PARECIDA?: no es familiar / poco familiar / familiar / muy familiar

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**Situación 10:** Un día Ud. ve que entra la policía en la casa de su vecino Marcos. Luego Ud. los ve saliendo de la casa y su vecino tiene los brazos atados. Hace una semana que los otros vecinos no saben dónde está. Le preguntan a Ud. si sabe dónde está.

Ud. les dice, “La policía lo (arrestó / ha arrestado)”!

GRADO DEL IMPACTO: no hay ningún impacto / poco impactante / impactante / completamente impactante

¿QUÉ TAN FAMILIAR ES UNA SITUACIÓN PARECIDA?: no es familiar / poco familiar / familiar / muy familiar

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**Situación 11:** Ud. trabaja todo el día en el mercado de San Pedro vendiendo hierbas y verduras de sus chacras. Alguien le pregunta a Ud. si sabe dónde está su tío. Ud. no lo conoce, pero se lo describen. Mientras ellos lo describen, Ud. se da cuenta de que reconoce su cara de hace una semana en el mercado.

Ud. responde, “Sí, reconozco ese hombre. Él (compró / ha comprado) arroz y hojas de coca”.

GRADO DEL IMPACTO: no hay ningún impacto / poco impactante / impactante / completamente impactante

¿QUÉ TAN FAMILIAR ES UNA SITUACIÓN PARECIDA?: no es familiar / poco familiar / familiar / muy familiar

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**Situación 12:** Ud. recibe una llamada por teléfono de su madre. Ella le cuenta noticias terribles de la semana pasada. Ud. comienza a llorar sin parar. Cuando su pareja le pregunta por qué está llorando,

Ud. le informa, “Mi padre (murió / ha muerto)”.

GRADO DEL IMPACTO: no hay ningún impacto / poco impactante / impactante / completamente impactante

¿QUÉ TAN FAMILIAR ES UNA SITUACIÓN PARECIDA?: no es familiar / poco familiar / familiar / muy familiar

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**Situación 13:** Hay un árbol enfrente de su casa. Dentro del árbol hay un nido de pajaritos. Una nube de lluvia se acerca, y Ud. ve que las lluvias se caen justo dentro del nido. Inmediatamente dos pajaritos salen volando. Su vecino le visita a Ud. una semana después. Cuando ve el nido vacío, le pregunta a Ud. dónde están los pajaritos.

Ud. le responde, “(Llovió/ Ha llovido) dentro de este nido, así que viven ahora en otro”.

GRADO DEL IMPACTO: no hay ningún impacto / poco impactante / impactante / completamente impactante

¿QUÉ TAN FAMILIAR ES UNA SITUACIÓN PARECIDA?: no es familiar / poco familiar / familiar / muy familiar

**Situación 14:** Hay una junta en su comunidad, y se espera que su vecino Julio va a presentarse. La esposa de Julio está en Lima, y ella sabe que frecuentemente Julio llega muy tarde a las juntas. La semana siguiente la esposa de Julio regresa a Cusco, y ella le pregunta a Ud. sobre la asistencia de su esposo.

Ud. le dice, “Julio (llegó / ha llegado) a tiempo a la reunión”.

GRADO DEL IMPACTO: no hay ningún impacto / poco impactante / impactante / completamente impactante

¿QUÉ TAN FAMILIAR ES UNA SITUACIÓN PARECIDA?: no es familiar / poco familiar / familiar / muy familiar

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**Situación 15:** Ud. sale caminando del trabajo. Mientras camina, un hombre muy agresivo le asalta y le roba todo. Una semana después Ud. le cuenta a su mejor amigo sobre la experiencia traumática.

Ud. le dice, “Un hombre más terrible me (asaltó / ha asaltado) en la calle!”

GRADO DEL IMPACTO: no hay ningún impacto / poco impactante / impactante / completamente impactante

¿QUÉ TAN FAMILIAR ES UNA SITUACIÓN PARECIDA?: no es familiar / poco familiar / familiar / muy familiar

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**Situación 16:** Ud. vive en una comunidad rural muy alta en la periferia de Cusco. Una tormenta se acerca a la ciudad abajo. Ud. ve que todas las luces de abajo se apagan, y ya no hay electricidad en la ciudad. Ud. la tiene todavía porque vive en la periferia. La semana siguiente, Ud. le visita a su familia.

Ud. les cuenta, “Una tormenta gigante (apagó / ha apagado) toda la electricidad en la ciudad!”

GRADO DEL IMPACTO: no hay ningún impacto / poco impactante / impactante / completamente impactante

¿QUÉ TAN FAMILIAR ES UNA SITUACIÓN PARECIDA?: no es familiar / poco familiar / familiar / muy familiar

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**Situación 17:** Ud. visita a su hermana en Lima. Cuando regresa a Cusco, se da cuenta que su chaqueta está en la casa de su hermana. No tiene suficiente dinero para comprarse otra, así que tiene que aumentar sus horas de trabajo este mes. Después de una semana, su compañero de trabajo nota que está trabajando más que antes. Le pregunta a Ud. por qué está trabajando tanto.

Ud. le dice a su compañero, “Yo (dejé / he dejado) mi chaqueta en la casa de mi hermana. Tengo que trabajar más para comprarme otra”.

GRADO DEL IMPACTO: no hay ningún impacto / poco impactante / impactante / completamente impactante

¿QUÉ TAN FAMILIAR ES UNA SITUACIÓN PARECIDA?: no es familiar / poco familiar / familiar / muy familiar

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**Situación 18:** Su madre le pregunta a Ud. sobre una foto muy antigua de su madre (la abuela de Ud.). La foto pertenece a su hija Katerina, así que Ud. le pregunta a Katerina si sabe dónde está la foto. Katerina le mira a Ud. avergonzadamente y admite que hace una semana que no sabe por dónde está y que definitivamente no podrá encontrarla.

Ud. le dice a su mamá, “Lo siento, mamá. Katerina (perdió / ha perdido) la foto.”

GRADO DEL IMPACTO: no hay ningún impacto / poco impactante / impactante / completamente impactante

¿QUÉ TAN FAMILIAR ES UNA SITUACIÓN PARECIDA?: no es familiar / poco familiar / familiar / muy familiar

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**Situación 19:** Ud. está almorzando afuera y agarra un trocito de pan para dar de comer a los pajaritos. Un pajarito muy bonito le quita el trocito y sale volando hacia su nido para dar de comer a sus hijos. A su amiga Marta le encantan los pajaritos así que le cuenta del momento muy lindo la próxima semana cuando ella le visite.

Ud. dice, “El pajarito (se fue / se ha ido) volando con el trocito de pan para dar de comer a sus hijos”.

GRADO DEL IMPACTO: no hay ningún impacto / poco impactante / impactante / completamente impactante

¿QUÉ TAN FAMILIAR ES UNA SITUACIÓN PARECIDA?: no es familiar / poco familiar / familiar / muy familiar

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**Situación 20:** Sra. Huamán Yupanqui le regala comida fresca de sus chacras. Una semana después, Ud. y su vecino están comiendo juntos. La comida está muy deliciosa y su vecino quiere saber de dónde son las verduras.

Ud. le informa, “Sra. Huamán Yupanqui me (regaló / ha regalado) papas y maíz de sus chacras”.

GRADO DEL IMPACTO: no hay ningún impacto / poco impactante / impactante / completamente impactante

¿QUÉ TAN FAMILIAR ES UNA SITUACIÓN PARECIDA?: no es familiar / poco familiar / familiar / muy familiar

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**Situación 21:** Su hermanita está embarazada, y Uds. dos están en el hospital porque ella pronto va a dar a luz. Mientras están en el hospital, el doctor les informa que el bebé ya no está vivo. La próxima semana, Ud. se junta con una amiga en la casa de ella. Cuando ella le pregunta a Ud. cómo está el bebé,

Ud. le cuenta con mucha tristeza, “Mi hermanita (perdió / ha perdido) el bebé en el hospital.”

GRADO DEL IMPACTO: no hay ningún impacto / poco impactante / impactante / completamente impactante

¿QUÉ TAN FAMILIAR ES UNA SITUACIÓN PARECIDA?: no es familiar / poco familiar / familiar / muy familiar

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**Situación 22:** Ud. siempre intenta mantener su casa bien limpia. Ud. pasa mucho tiempo limpiando, barriendo, sacudiendo los muebles, etcétera. Un día su hijo trae a casa un animal muy sucio que tiene pulgas, huele muy mal y que le molesta constantemente. Después de una semana así, Ud. ya no puede aguantarlo más.

Con ira Ud. le manda a su hijo, “Tú (trajiste / has traído) ese animal asqueroso a casa, pero ya basta. Sácalo ya de nuestra casa!”

GRADO DEL IMPACTO: no hay ningún impacto / poco impactante / impactante / completamente impactante

¿QUÉ TAN FAMILIAR ES UNA SITUACIÓN PARECIDA?: no es familiar / poco familiar / familiar / muy familiar

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**Situación 23:** Ud. vive en Cusco, y su tío vive en Lima. Un aguacero extremadamente fuerte hace que varios lagos y ríos se inundan por Cusco lo cual destruya mucha vegetación y mata muchos animales por toda la ciudad. Cuando su tío le visita de Lima una semana después, Ud. le describe la situación terrible.

Ud. le dice, “El aguacero (inundó / ha inundado) toda la ciudad”.

GRADO DEL IMPACTO: no hay ningún impacto / poco impactante / impactante / completamente impactante

¿QUÉ TAN FAMILIAR ES UNA SITUACIÓN PARECIDA?: no es familiar / poco familiar / familiar / muy familiar

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**Situación 24:** Ud. está sentado/a en un banco en el centro. De una distancia Ud. ve que un niño se cae desde encima de un balcón cerca al otro lado de la calle, y se rompe el brazo. El niño grita por el dolor que siente. La semana siguiente, cuando Ud. visita a su familia, se lo cuenta.

Ud. les cuenta, “El pobre niño se (rompió / ha roto) el brazo!”

GRADO DEL IMPACTO: no hay ningún impacto / poco impactante / impactante / completamente impactante

¿QUÉ TAN FAMILIAR ES UNA SITUACIÓN PARECIDA?: no es familiar / poco familiar / familiar / muy familiar

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**Situación 25:** Sus amigos María y Pedro son una pareja. Un día Ud. ve que Pedro está besando a una mujer en la plaza. Cuando Ud. la ve, ¿se da cuenta de que es la hermana de María! Cuando ve a María una semana después,

Ud. le dice: “Lo siento mucho, tengo terribles noticias. Pedro (besó / ha besado) a tu hermana!”

GRADO DEL IMPACTO: no hay ningún impacto / poco impactante / impactante / completamente impactante

¿QUÉ TAN FAMILIAR ES UNA SITUACIÓN PARECIDA?: no es familiar / poco familiar / familiar / muy familiar

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**Situación 26:** Ud. trae a casa un nuevo perrito. Cuando introduce el perrito a su gato en casa, ve que los dos se llevan muy bien. Ve que el gato se acurruca con el perrito. La siguiente semana su amigo le visita a Ud. y le pregunta qué tal se llevan las dos mascotas.

Ud. dice, “Muy bien! El gato se (acurrucó / ha acurrucado) con el perrito.”

GRADO DEL IMPACTO: no hay ningún impacto / poco impactante / impactante / completamente impactante

¿QUÉ TAN FAMILIAR ES UNA SITUACIÓN PARECIDA?: no es familiar / poco familiar / familiar / muy familiar

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**Situación 27:** Mientras Ud. camina por la Plaza de Armas, Ud. nota que hay un joven sentado en una banca en la plaza. Él huele a cerveza y aparece enfermito. Ud. ve que hay cinco botellas vacías de la Cusqueña a su lado. Una semana después, Ud. y una amiga se juntan en la Plaza de Armas. Mientras pasan en frente de una banca, Ud. le comenta sobre el joven borracho de la semana anterior.

Ud. le dice, “Él (tomó / ha tomado) cinco botellas de la Cusqueña solo en esa banquita.”

GRADO DEL IMPACTO: no hay ningún impacto / poco impactante / impactante / completamente impactante

¿QUÉ TAN FAMILIAR ES UNA SITUACIÓN PARECIDA?: no es familiar / poco familiar / familiar / muy familiar

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**Situación 28:** Ud. es un/a estudiante en el colegio. En una de sus clases, Ud. se sienta al lado de una compañera de clase que se llama Adriana que siempre pelea con otro compañero de clase Tomás. Un día, Tomás lanza un avión hecho de papel hacia la cabeza de Adriana para molestarla. Una semana después, esos dos estudiantes se pelean de nuevo en clase. Después de la clase, la profesora le pide a Ud. que le diga lo que Ud. sabe de la situación entre los dos.

Ud. le responde, “Es que Tomás trata mal a Adriana. Él (lanzó / ha lanzado) un avión hecho de papel hacia su cabeza”.

GRADO DEL IMPACTO: no hay ningún impacto / poco impactante / impactante / completamente impactante

¿QUÉ TAN FAMILIAR ES UNA SITUACIÓN PARECIDA?: no es familiar / poco familiar / familiar / muy familiar

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**Situación 29:** Ud. está comiendo en un restaurante en el centro. Una mujer se sienta en la mesa a su lado y pide su comida, la cual es el menú del día y un postre. Una semana después, Ud. va a ese mismo restaurante con un amigo, y ve a la misma mujer de antes. Ud. se lo comenta a su amigo.

Ud. le dice, “Recuerdo a esa mujer. Ella (pidió / ha pedido) el menú del día y un postre”.

GRADO DEL IMPACTO: no hay ningún impacto / poco impactante / impactante / completamente impactante

¿QUÉ TAN FAMILIAR ES UNA SITUACIÓN PARECIDA?: no es familiar / poco familiar / familiar / muy familiar

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**Situación 30:** Ud. toma el bus cada día al trabajo. Un día, una mujer toma asiento al lado suyo. La mujer se baja del bus y luego Ud. nota que queda el celular de esa mujer en su asiento. Ud. lo agarra y lo guarda por si acaso de que la vea de nuevo. Una semana después, Ud. ve a esa misma mujer en el bus, así que se le acerca.

Ud. le dice, “Perdóneme, Señora. Aquí tengo su celular. Ud. lo (dejó / ha dejado) en el bus.”

GRADO DEL IMPACTO: no hay ningún impacto / poco impactante / impactante / completamente impactante

¿QUÉ TAN FAMILIAR ES UNA SITUACIÓN PARECIDA?: no es familiar / poco familiar / familiar / muy familiar

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Questionnaire: Conditioned Situations

Location: \_\_\_\_\_ Date: \_\_\_\_\_ Participant ID # \_\_\_\_\_

**Instructions:** Imagine yourself in each hypothetical situation provided. Circle the best option (in parenthesis) to complete each statement. Then circle the rating that you believe best indicates the degree of each situation’s impact on the person(s) or object(s) involved in each situation (*no impact – slight impact – moderate impact – heavy impact*).

Example:  
*You own a large farm in a rural town in Cusco. A powerful flood destroys all your crops, and you no longer have anything to sell in the market. Your neighbors come over a week later to see the damage.*

*You inform them, “A giant flood (destroyed / has destroyed) all of my crops!”*  
*Degree of impact:    **no impact**    **slight impact**    **moderate impact**    **heavy impact***

Role-Play Situation <sup>1</sup>	Speaker’s relationship with affected entity (subjectivity / newsworthiness / speaker perspective)	Expected potential for effect (subjectivity / newsworthiness / speaker perspective)
<p>Your neighbor Deisy brings you and your family some fresh herbs from her garden to make tea. A week later your brother asks you about the herbs on the table.</p> <p>You tell him/her, “Deisy (brought / has brought) me herbs from her garden.”</p>	Self	Small
<p>Sra. Huaman Yupanqui gifts fresh food to you from her fields. A week later, you and your neighbor are eating a meal together. The meal is very delicious, and your neighbor wants to know where the vegetables are from.</p> <p>You tell him/her, “Sra. Huaman Yupanqui (gifted / has gifted) me potatoes and corn from her fields.”</p>	Self	Small
<p>You work hard to keep your house clean. One day your son brings home a stray animal that smells terrible and bothers you incessantly. A week passes like this, and you can’t take it anymore.</p> <p>Angrily, you tell your son, “You (brought / have brought) that disgusting animal into my clean house, now you must get rid of it!”</p>	Self	Moderate

<sup>1</sup> Temporal distance = unspecified; speaker = self; Tense = -past

<p>You visit your sister in Lima. When you arrive to Cusco, you realize you left your jacket at her house. You don't have enough money to buy another one, so you pick up extra hours at work. About a week later, your colleague notices you're working a lot. S/he asks you why you're working so much this week.</p> <p>You tell your friend: "I (left / have left) my jacket at my sister's house. I need to work extra hours to buy another."</p>	<p>Self</p>	<p>Moderate</p>
<p>You are walking home from work. As you are walking, a man assaults you and steals everything from you. When you tell your friend about the traumatic experience a week later,</p> <p>You say: "A most terrible man (assaulted / has assaulted) me in the street!"</p>	<p>Self</p>	<p>Great</p>
<p>You receive a phone call from you mother. She tells you all about a horrible event from last week. You begin to sob uncontrollably. When your spouse asks you why you are crying,</p> <p>you inform him/her, "My father (died / has died)."</p>	<p>Self</p>	<p>Great</p>
<p>Your mom invites her friend over for coffee. A week later, your friend visits you at your house. Your friend knows that normally you don't have coffee in the house, but upon seeing the coffee, your friend asks you why you have it.</p> <p>You reply, "My mom (invited / has invited) the neighbor lady Alana for a cup of coffee."</p>	<p>Family / loved one</p>	<p>Small</p>
<p>Every year your entire family gathers together and eats a big meal to celebrate Inti Raymi. Your siblings can't attend this year, but when you talk to them the following week, they ask you about the details of the gathering.</p> <p>You inform them, "Dad (prepared / has prepared) papa a la huatia."</p>	<p>Family / loved one</p>	<p>Small</p>
<p>Your daughter is a student. Your daughter must take an important exam. If she doesn't pass, she will have to spend another two months studying to retake it. When she gets her results, she tells you about them. About a week later, your spouse asks about her results.</p> <p>You tell him/her sadly, "She (failed / has failed) the exam. She will have to take it again in three months."</p>	<p>Family / loved one</p>	<p>Moderate</p>

<p>Your mother asks about an old photo of her mother (your grandmother). It belongs to your daughter Katerina, so you ask if she knows where it is. Katerina looks at you shamefully and admits she hasn't seen it for a week.</p> <p>You tell your mother, "Katerina (lost / has lost) the picture."</p>	Family / loved one	Moderate
<p>You and your family spend lots of time at the house of your Uncle David and Aunt Laura. One evening, your uncle comes home from work drunk and angry. He storms in the kitchen where you and his wife are talking. He begins yelling at Laura and hits her out of anger. The following week, you visit your family and tell them all about the terrible event</p> <p>You tell them, "Uncle David (hit / has hit) Aunt Laura."</p>	Family / loved one	Great
<p>Your sister is pregnant, and you two are at the hospital because the baby is due any day. At the hospital, you and your sister discover the baby is not alive inside her. The next week, you and your friend get together. When she asks you how the baby is doing,</p> <p>you inform her with great sorrow, "My sister (lost / has lost) the baby."</p>	Family / loved one	Great
<p>There's a meeting in your community, and your neighbor Julio is expected to attend. Julio's wife is in Lima, and she knows Julio usually arrives very late to meetings. The following week Julio's wife returns to Cusco, and she asks about her husband's attendance.</p> <p>You inform her, "Julio (arrived / has arrived) to the meeting on time."</p>	Familiar ( <i>conocido</i> )	Small
<p>Your friend Filomena is in charge of preparing a party. A week before the party, Filomena selects lots of food and decorations in the market. At the party someone tells you how beautiful and fun the party is.</p> <p>You respond to him/her, "Filomena (chose / has chosen) all the food and decorations."</p>	Familiar ( <i>conocido</i> )	Small
<p>You are a student in class who sits next to a fellow classmate Adriana. You notice another classmate Tomás throws a paper airplane at Adriana from across the room as a prank. A week later, the two students get into another fight in class, and they get in trouble with the teacher. After class, the teacher asks you to tell her what you know about the situation between the two.</p>	Familiar ( <i>conocido</i> )	Moderate

<p>You reply, “Tomás is very cruel to Adriana, she’s still upset because he (threw / has thrown) the paper airplane at her!”</p>		
<p>During a community gathering, one of the community leaders Javier orders one of your fellow community members Isaac to leave the meeting because he is being disruptive. The following week, you tell your family about the uncomfortable situation.</p> <p>You say to them, “Javier (ordered / has ordered) Isaac to leave the gathering.”</p>	<p>Familiar (<i>conocido</i>)</p>	<p>Moderate</p>
<p>One day you see the police enter the house of your neighbor Marcos. Later you see them leave with your neighbor in handcuffs. It’s been a week that your other neighbors don’t know where Marcos is. They ask you if you know where he is.</p> <p>You inform them, “The police (arrested / have arrested) him!”</p>	<p>Familiar (<i>conocido</i>)</p>	<p>Great</p>
<p>Your friends María and Pedro are a couple. One day you spot Pedro kissing a woman in the town plaza. You realize it’s María’s sister! When you see María at work a week later,</p> <p>you tell her: “I’m so sorry, I have terrible news! Pedro (kissed / has kissed) your sister!”</p>	<p>Familiar (<i>conocido</i>)</p>	<p>Great</p>
<p>You work all day in the San Pedro market selling vegetables and herbs from your fields. Somebody asks you if you know where their uncle is. You don’t know him, but they describe him to you. As they describe him, you realize that you remember his face from a week ago in the market.</p> <p>You reply, “Ah, yes. I remember that man. He (bought / has bought) rice and coca leaves from me.”</p>	<p>Unknown / stranger</p>	<p>Small</p>
<p>You are eating in a restaurant downtown. A woman sits at the table next to you and orders her meal. A week later, you go to that same restaurant with a friend, and you spot the same woman from the week before.</p> <p>You tell your friend, “I remember that woman. She (ordered / has ordered) the menú del día and an ice cream.”</p>	<p>Unknown / stranger</p>	<p>Small</p>
<p>You take the bus for an hour to work every morning. One morning, an older woman sits next to you for a little while</p>	<p>Unknown / stranger</p>	<p>Moderate</p>

<p>before getting off. Later you notice the woman’s cellphone lying in that seat next to you. You pick it up and save it in case you see her again. A week later, you spot that same woman on the bus, so you approach her.</p> <p>You tell her, “Excuse me. You (left / have left) your phone here on the bus.”</p>		
<p>As you’re walking around Plaza de Armas, you notice a young man sitting on a bench. He looks sick and smells of beer. You see five empty bottles of Cusqueña beer next to him. A week later, you and your friend meet up in the Plaza de Armas. As you pass one of the benches, you recount to him/her about the drunk young man.</p> <p>You say, “He (drank / has drunk) five bottles of Cusqueña beer alone on that bench.”</p>	Unknown / stranger	Moderate
<p>You’re walking along the street headed to the market. You notice a car coming toward you very fast from a couple blocks in front of you. You move out of the way in time, but the car hits a person next to you and injures them very badly. After a week, you recount this story to your friend at work,</p> <p>you tell him/her, “The car (hit / has hit) the person next to me!”</p>	Unknown / stranger	Great
<p>You’re sitting on a bench in el centro. From a distance, you see a child fall from the top of a nearby balcony across the street, and he breaks his arm. The child screams, and his mom rushes to help him. The following week you visit your family and recount the moment to them.</p> <p>You tell them, “The poor child (broke / has broken) his arm!”</p>	Unknown / stranger	Great
<p>You bring home a new puppy. When you introduce your new puppy to your cat, you notice they get along great. You see the cat cuddling with the puppy. A week later your friend visits you and asks how the cat and puppy are getting along.</p> <p>You say, “The cat (cuddled / has cuddled) with the new puppy.”</p>	Nonhuman	Small
<p>You are eating lunch outside, and you grab a piece of bread to feed the birds. One very beautiful bird quickly takes the bread in its mouth and flies away to its nest to feed its children. Your friend Marta loves birds, so you</p>	Nonhuman	Small

<p>later tell her of the sweet moment when she visits you a week later.</p> <p>You tell her, “The bird (flew off / has flown off) with my bread to feed its young.”</p>		
<p>There’s a tree in front of your house. Inside the tree is a bird’s nest. A rain cloud approaches, and you see the rain fall right into the nest. Two birds fly hurriedly out of the nest and fly away to another tree. Your neighbor visits you a week later. S/he spots the empty nest and asks you where the birds are.</p> <p>You respond, “(It rained / It has rained) into this nest, so they are in another tree.”</p>	Nonhuman	Moderate
<p>While you are cooking in the kitchen, you look out the window and notice a strong wind blowing. It blows a small tree down on the other side of the street. Your neighbor comes to visit you the following week, and you recount the experience to her.</p> <p>You tell her, “A strong wind (blew / has blown) that tree down.”</p>	Nonhuman	Moderate
<p>You live in Cusco, and your uncle lives in Lima. A giant rainstorm floods various lakes and rivers in Cusco and kills many animals and vegetation. When your uncle visits you from Lima a week later, you describe the situation to him.</p> <p>You tell him, “The giant rains (flooded / have flooded) all of the lakes in Cusco.”</p>	Nonhuman	Great
<p>You live in a rural community in the periphery of Cusco. A giant storm rolls in toward the city below you. You see all the city lights go out, and there is no more electricity in the city. You still have electricity because you live in the periphery. The following week, you visit your family.</p> <p>You tell them, “A giant storm (wiped out / has wiped out) all of the electricity down there in the city!”</p>	Nonhuman	Great

## Sociolinguistic Interview Guide

*[Turn on recorder.]*

1. How are you doing today? Can you please tell me a little bit about yourself?
2. Can you tell me about your childhood? What were you like as a little girl/boy? Can you share some particular experiences you remember? For example, what was life like in your neighborhood?
3. Please tell me about your parents. Please tell me about a special memory you have with your mother and/or father when you were a child.
4. Please recount for me a (good or bad) memory during your time in elementary school. (For example, your first day of class, a day you got in trouble with you teacher(s), a school event, etc.)
5. Do you have a best friend? Please describe an experience you remember with that person.
6. Do you have any children? When did you give birth for the first time? Please recount that entire day.
7. Where do you work? Please tell me about a day you were really frustrated at work.
8. Do you have a husband/wife or boyfriend/girlfriend? What is s/he like? How did you and your partner meet? Can you describe that day for me? Describe for me the day of your wedding.
9. Do you remember a time you were very ill? In as much detail as you can, please describe that experience to me.
10. Please describe a time in which you were in a dangerous situation (e.g. assault, robbery, car crash)?
11. Do you dream when you sleep? Please tell me about a vivid dream you remember.
12. Do you celebrate the Inti Raymi festival? How do you celebrate Inti Raymi? When was the most recent time you celebrated Inti Raymi? Describe that day.
13. Is there a traditional story that is important in your town? Could you tell me that story?

## **Guía de la entrevista sociolingüística: CASTELLANO**

*[Enciende la grabadora.]*

1. ¿Cómo está Ud. hoy? ¿Me puede contar un poco de Ud., por favor?
2. ¿Me puede contar un poco sobre su juventud? ¿Cómo era Ud. como niño/a? ¿Me puede compartir algunas experiencias particulares que recuerda? Por ejemplo, ¿cómo era su vida en su comunidad?
3. Cuénteme por favor de sus padres. Por favor, explíqueme un recuerdo especial que Ud. tiene con su madre y/o padre cuando era niño/a.
4. Por favor cuénteme un recuerdo de su tiempo en la escuela primaria. (Por ejemplo, su primer día de clase, un día en que se comportó mal en frente de los profesores, un evento escolar único, etc.)
5. Tiene Ud. un(a) mejor amigo/a? Por favor descríbame una experiencia que Ud. recuerda con esa persona.
6. ¿Tiene Ud. hijos? ¿Cómo era la experiencia de estar embarazada por primera vez? ¿Qué tal el día del nacimiento? ¿Me puede contar todo sobre aquel día, por favor?
7. ¿Dónde trabaja Ud.? Por favor cuénteme sobre un día frustrante del pasado en el trabajo.
8. ¿Tiene Ud. esposo/a o novio/a? ¿Cómo es? ¿Cómo se conocieron Uds.? Explíqueme aquel día, por favor. Descríbame por favor el día de su boda.
9. ¿Se acuerda Ud. un momento cuando estaba muy enfermo/a? Por favor descríbame esa experiencia.
10. Por favor cuénteme sobre un momento cuando Ud. se encontró en una situación muy peligrosa (e.g. un asalto, un robo, un choque/accidente del carro).
11. Por favor cuénteme un sueño muy intenso que Ud. recuerda.
12. ¿Celebra Ud. las fiestas del Inti Raymi? ¿Cómo lo celebra? ¿Cuándo fue la última vez que Ud. celebró Inti Raymi? Descríbame aquel día, por favor.
13. ¿Conoce Ud. algún cuento tradicional de su pueblo? Cuéntemelo, por favor.

## **Guía de la entrevista sociolingüística: RUNASIMI**

[*Enciende la grabadora.*]

1. Imaynallan kashanki? Ama hina kaychu, qanmanta pisillata willarikuway.
2. Irqi kashasqaykimanta willarikuway. Irqi kashaspa, imaynan kasharanki? Wakin yuyariynykita ancha chaninniyuq willarikuway. Por ejemplo, ¿imaynan kawsayniyki llaqtaykipi kasharan?
3. Taytamamaykimanta willarikuway. Ama hina kaychu, irqi kashaspa, chanin yuyariynykita taytamamaykimanta willarikuway.
4. Ama hina kaychu, yachay wasipi kashaspa, huk allin utaq mana allinchi yuyariynykita willarikuway. (Por ejemplo, ñawpaqta p'unchay yachay wasipi kasharanki, huk p'unchay mana allinchi rikuranki amautawan, un evento escolar único, etc.)
5. Astawan allin khumpayuqchu kanki? Huk yuyariynykimanta chay khumpaykiwan willarikuway.
6. Wawayuqchu kanki? Ñawpaq kuti wiksayuq kashaspa, imaynallan kasharanki? Imaynallan wachakuy kasharan qanpaq? Chay p'unchaypi wachakusqaykita willarikuway?
7. Maypin llank'ashanki? Ama hina kaychu, llank'ayniyki huk mana allinchi p'unchaymanta willarikuway.
8. Qhariyuqchu/Warmiyuqchu utaq yana urpiyuq kanki? ¿Imaynan kan? Imaynan reqsiriranakunku? Haqay p'unchaypi resqirinakusqankumanta willarikuway. Haqay p'unchaypi sawakunakusqankumanta willarikuway.
9. Huk kuti anchata unqusqaykita yuyarinkichu? Chay kutiqamanta willarikuway.
10. Ama hina kaychu, huk kutipi manchakusqaykimanta willarikuway. (e.g. hap'ipariymanta, suwaymanta, carro accidente nisqamanta).
11. Huk musquynykimanta willarikuway.
12. Inti Raymita celebrankichu? Imaynan celebranki? Hayk'aqmi Inti Raymita celebraranki? Inti Raymita celebrasqaykimanta willarikuway.
13. Ancha chanin willakuyta llaqtaykimanta reqsinkichu? Chay willakuyta willarikuway.