

REPORTATIVE EVIDENTIALITY IN WOUNAAN MEU-SPANISH BILINGUALS:

A COMPARATIVE EXAMINATION OF *DICE(N) QUE*

by

BETHANY DIANE BATEMAN

(Under the Direction of Chad Howe)

ABSTRACT

This thesis examines the Wounaan meu-Spanish language contact situation in Panama and puts into question the motivation for the frequent reportative use of *dice(n) que* in seven Spanish translations of Wounaan oral narratives. I compare the functional, syntactic, and pragmatic uses of *dice(n) que* in these Wounaan meu-Spanish translations to similar cases seen in a non-contact Colombian variety and a Bolivian Spanish variety in contact with Quechua. This investigation concludes that *dice(n) que* more closely resembles that of the contact Spanish variety, which is the result of transfer of the Quechua reportative evidential *-si*. This suggests that *dice(n) que* in the Wounaan meu-Spanish translations is the result of evidential transfer from Wounaan meu.

INDEX WORDS: Evidential transfer, Language contact, Wounaan meu, *Diz(que)*, Quechua, Contact-induced grammaticalization

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DEDICATION

First and foremost I would like to dedicate this thesis to the beautiful Wounaan people, who showed me a kind of community and selflessness that I have never before experienced. Without the contribution of the Foundation for the Development of Wounaan People (FUNDEPW) and the generosity of the Wounaan in Centro Juan Díaz, who welcomed me with open arms, I never would have had the privilege of writing this thesis at all. I wish you all the best and hope for continued efforts in national education programs to improve bilingual education, that the Wounaan meu language may thrive and that Wounaan culture be recognized and appreciated by all.

Additionally, I dedicate this thesis to my beloved friends and family, whose endless support has been nothing short of humbling and vital in my academic and personal growth. These past couple years have been quite an adventure, one that I could not have had the pleasure of experiencing if not for your positive influence and prayers. To Mark, Lecia, Kyle, and Danya Bateman: I could never have made it this far without you, and I am so proud to call you my family. To Kristen Dilbone and my little sister Maiya: You have supported and encouraged me beyond measure, and I am eternally grateful. To Tanisha Agosto: You have faithfully stood by me through all these years, and I can't thank you enough. To Papaw: It fills me with a bittersweet joy knowing that, although the Lord graciously put your weary bones to rest before I could graduate, you always were my biggest fan.

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CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

This work examines the effects of language contact between a variety of Panamanian Spanish and Wounaan meu, an indigenous language spoken by the Wounaan in parts of Panama and Colombia. I will compare and contrast the use of *dice(n) que* from Wounaan meu-Spanish translations to the appearance of *dizque* in contact and non-contact varieties of Spanish in order to explore the motivation for the apparent reportative use of *dice(n) que*. Cases of *dizque* attested among varieties of Spanish can be understood as the result of different developments in the grammar. For instance, while the use of *dizque* in contact varieties can be viewed, at least in part, as the result of language transfer, its use in non-contact varieties—e.g., Colombian Spanish (Travis 2006)—is primarily the result of language-internal processes of grammaticalization. The reportative *dizque* in a Bolivian Spanish variety in contact with Quechua has been argued to be the result of evidential transfer from the Quechua evidentiality system (Babel 2009). Thus, this specific Bolivian contact variety serves as a viable means of comparison to *dice(n) que* in the Wounaan meu-Spanish translations.

Upon noticing the frequent use of *dice(n) que* in these Wounaan meu-Spanish translations, I observed a resemblance to what previous literature (i.e. Travis 2006, Babel 2009, Alcázar 2014, Olbertz 2005) has stated on the employment of *diz(que)* in Spanish. Below are some examples taken from the Spanish translations of Wounaan meu oral narratives:

- (1) a. *dicen que el mismo brazo de Mumguidó se hizo con el mucho transitar de los Gunas
abriendo una zanja hasta formar un brazo.* (Story 2)
dicen que Mumguidó's very arm was made from the Gunas passing by so much and
laying the foundations until forming an arm.

- b. No, *dicen que* desde que comenzó a hacer esto ya no quiso ser acompañada para bañar ni tampoco salía a otro lugar. *Dicen que* esa mujer solamente se ocupaba en esa actividad. (Story 3)
 No, *dicen que* since she began to do this she no longer wanted to be accompanied to bathe, nor did she leave to another location. *Dicen que* that woman only concerned herself in that activity.
- c. Entonces *dicen que* el señor Dios lo probó y no dijo nada (Story 4)
 Then *dicen que* God tried it and didn't say anything.
- d. después de tanto luchar y de tanta gente que habían ido, *dicen que*, sólo uno se salvó. (Story 6)
 after so much fighting and so many people having gone, *dicen que*, only one saved himself.
- e. *Quédese aquí sentado, -le dijo la anciana. no le pasó nada malo, dicen que* después de tomar el agua salada se sintió aliviado. (Story 6)
 "Stay seated here," the old woman told him. Nothing bad happened to him, *dicen que* after drinking the salt water he felt relieved.

Because there is very little academic literature regarding Wounaan meu evidentiality or evidential transfer, I base the present analysis on previous exploration of Quechua evidentiality systems and their categorical convergence in contact Spanish varieties via the employment of *dizque* as a model to test for external influence on *dice(n) que* in the Wounaan meu-Spanish translations, which will be discussed later. I have chosen Quechua as a point of comparison because of the available literature and more specifically because of the similar appearance of *diz(que)* in the contact variety to that seen in example (1a-e).

The work of Babel (2009) and Travis (2006) discuss reportative evidential strategies in Spanish varieties using *dice(n) que*¹. Babel (2009) explains the culturally specific importance of Quechua evidential transfer in a Bolivian contact variety, arguing that *dice(n) que* is used subjectively by the speech community to manage the connection between speaker stance, information source, and the relationship between the speaker and the audience. Travis (2006) argues, like Babel (2009), that *dice(n) que* is being used systematically as a grammaticalized marker, though she argues this is due to internal development rather than language contact. Her

¹ And other related forms (e.g. *dice*, *diz*, *dizque*)

investigation discusses the way in which monolingual Spanish speakers in Colombia incorporate *dice(n) que* as an evidentiality strategy that has followed a cross-linguistically common semantic path of development from conveying strictly evidential meanings (i.e. reported speech) to strictly epistemic modal interpretations (i.e. doubt), having completely lost its original speech-related connotation.

Therein, I treat the appearance of *dice(n) que* through two viewpoints; this study relies on the distinctions between token frequency, semantic interpretation, and syntactic placement of *dice(n) que* in non-contact and contact varieties of Spanish. With respect to semantic functions, I use the functions of *dice(n) que* set forth in Travis (2006) as a model against which to compare and contrast those functions found in the non-contact and contact varieties of Spanish as well as those in the present data set.

Example (2a-e) displays the employment of *dice(n) que* from a non-contact variety of Colombian Spanish:

- (2) a. A: *Estaba ahorita= -- . . . así como, hablando . . . solo? Hacía dizque, . . . hacía gestos así.*
 Angela: ‘. . . Just now he was like speaking to himself. He was *dizque* . . . he was gesturing like this.’ (Travis 2006: 1280)
- b. --- *Sentate aquí al lado, hombre. ---Palpó donde yo debería sentarme y en tono marrullero, preguntó ---: ¿No dizque querías un besito?*
 “‘Sit here beside me, buddy.’ She patted where I was meant to sit and in a cajoling tone asked: “No *dizque* you wanted a kiss?””
 (Travis 2006: 1281 cf. Franco 2001: 71)
- c. R: *Y eso, dizque es peligroso no? . . . que atracan y todo. . . No?*
 D: *De noche, parece que sí.*
 R: . . . *No, y que dizque hasta de día.*
 Rosario: ‘And it, *dizque* is dangerous, isn’t it. They attack and everything. Don’t they?’
 David: ‘At night it seems that they do.’
 Rosario: ‘No, and that *dizque* even during the day.’ (Travis 2006: 1284)

- d. N: *tengo uno, tengo dizque el capa, o algo así,*
 Nury: ‘I’ve got one, I’ve got *dizque* the *capa*, or something like that.’
 (Travis 2006: 1287)
- e. ...*yo, que incluso algunas veces limpié la taza que otro había chapoteado para que quien usara el baño después de mí no fuera a pensar que el descarado había sido yo; yo, por Dios, dizque a limpiar baños.*
 ‘... me, who even sometimes wiped the toilet bowl that someone else had splattered so that whoever used the bathroom after me wouldn’t think that the shameless one had been me; I, for God’s sake, *dizque* to clean bathrooms.’
 (Travis 2006: 1292 cf. Franco 2001: 71)

In contrast, the following example (3a-b) shows the use of *dice(n) que* in the Bolivian variety of Spanish in contact with Quechua:

- (3) a. G: *Pero dizque echan yodo, no sé qué, no?*
 F: *Anh, puede, puede. No e – no ve que en Saipina también hay eso.?*
 G: *Mm*
 F: *Cloro, dicen.*
 G: But *dizque* they put iodine or something in it, right?
 F: Mm-hmm, could be, could be. Isn’t – in Saipina, remember, they do the same thing. ?
 G: Mm
 F: Chlorine, *dicen.* (Babel 2009: 501)
- b. F: *Pero había, no ve, unos [brazos] de la Alcaldía para comprarse, decían.?*
 G: *Pero ahora no es del, no ha de ser del esta, p’, no? Del río.*
 J: *Es potable pero no es*
 F: *Dizque es del vertiente, dicen.*
 F: But there were, weren’t there, some [pipes?] at the Town Hall you could buy, they said.?
 G: But now it’s not from the, it must not be from the thing, right? From the river.
 J: It’s potable but it’s not
 F: *Dizque* it’s from a spring, *dicen.* (Babel 2009: 501)

Upon reading the original unedited versions of each Wounaan meu-Spanish translation, the noted transfer features served as a window into the linguistic distinctions between the two languages. The manifestation of *dice(n) que* in each translated narrative will be the main focus of this thesis, as I propose that categorical transfer is visible in these Spanish translations. That is, I hypothesize that the presence of *dice(n) que* in the Spanish translations of Wounaan oral

narratives is the result of evidential transfer. To test this, I seek to answer two specific research questions: (1) What are the functions of *dice(n) que* in my novel data set? (2) Is *dice(n) que* in my novel data set more similar to the use of *dice(n) que* in non-contact or contact varieties of Spanish?

The subsequent sections of this thesis are as follows: Chapter two will provide an historical background on the Wounaan and a brief description of the contact situation between Wounaan meu and Spanish. Chapter three addresses the discussion of internal and external motivations for language change, followed by a review of the appearance of the reportative *dice(n) que* and its functions in non-contact and contact varieties of Spanish. The fourth chapter provides a detailed explanation of the methodology used in my investigation, in which I also provide the framework of this study. Chapter five details results of the present study and includes a discussion of the contact-induced grammaticalization process that may be taking place in the bilingual contact situation in Panama. In the chapter, I also discuss the results of my analyses in three specific sections: Firstly, I provide a quantitative analysis of my data set that examines the token frequency of *dice(n) que*, followed by a qualitative analysis comparing the functions of *dice(n) que* in the Wounaan meu-Spanish translations to the functions of *dice(n) que* in the corresponding monolingual and bilingual varieties. Thirdly, I complement my results by applying an additional discourse analysis to my data set. In the final chapter, I provide my conclusions, accompanied by wider applications for Bilingual Intercultural Education programs.

CHAPTER 2

WOUNAAN MEU AND THE WOUNAAN TRIBE

2.1 *Background on the Wounaan*

Wounaan meu² is an endangered indigenous language spoken by the Wounaan in northwestern Colombia and eastern Panama. With approximately 7,000 adult Wounaan in each country (Velásquez Runk 2013: 2), the group makes up 2.4% of the indigenous population in Panama and are located primarily in the Darién region (Inchauste and Cancho 2010: 4-5). Wounaan meu is one of only two subfamilies in the Chocó language family. The other subfamily consists of Emberá, a language that can be further divided into two distinct regional dialects. While Emberá is not mutually intelligible with Wounaan meu, the two language subfamilies share much of the same lexicon (Aikhenvald 2007: 187), likely due to the historically close contact between the two groups in the Darién region, despite the fact that the Wounaan have been characterized as a fairly migratory group (Inchauste and Cancho 2010: 4-5).

The historical existence of the Wounaan in northwestern Colombia and eastern Panama has not been widely documented, and considerable gaps still remain in our knowledge of their historical presence, though Wounaan mythology and oral narrative serve as an historical account, as does some Spanish documentation. Unfortunately, previous work has identified both the Emberá and the Wounaan as Emberá, which has led to under-documentation of Wounaan's existence, and very little has been recorded concerning the group until the late nineteenth century (Velásquez Runk *et al.* 2005: 147). According to Wounaan oral history, the beginning of

² I choose to use this term throughout the paper, but various spellings have been recorded (i.e. *Waunana*, *Wounmeu*, *Noanamá*)

Wounaan existence began in present-day Colombia near the Baudó River. The Spanish arrived to this location in the early 1500s and settled among them by the 1630s (Velásquez Runk *et al.* 2005: 150). Velásquez Runk *et al.* (2005: 156) posits that Wounaan residence between the Baudó River and the San Juan River (as seen in Figure 1 below³) remained relatively underexplored by the Spanish, and the indigenous group fled inland away from the main channel of the San Juan River due to Spanish occupation, resulting in decreased contact between the two groups.

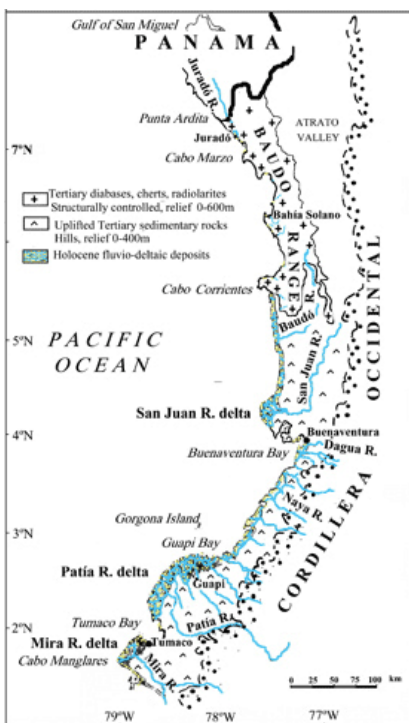


Figure 1: Baudó River and San Juan River

Two main groups of Wounaan have been identified—(1) *döchaarpien* and (2) *dösîgpien*. The former group lived in the lower and main regions of the San Juan River, and the *dösîgpien* lived or traveled further inland and northward, to escape Spanish presence. The *döchaarpien* remained in more contact with the Spanish due to the fact they stayed in the region as opposed to the *dösîgpien*, and effects of contact have been noted in the region (i.e. Wounaan pronunciation,

³ Image source: <http://coastal.er.usgs.gov/coasts-colombia/pacific/images/Figure-2LG.gif>

names, historical accounts, and regional song and dance). Due to the geographical ease of access, the *döchaarpien* were also in contact over time with other groups (i.e. Blacks, missionaries, and merchants), whereas many of the *dösîgpien* in contrast remained unknown by such groups due to their location further inland (Velásquez Runk *et al.* 2005: 156-157).

The Spaniards generally remained around the upper San Juan and Atrato areas in the late 16th and early 17th centuries for their gold mines, but the Emberá and Wounaan were known to attack the colonizers that attempted to explore beyond those areas. The Spaniards had an easier time gaining control of the region due to a smallpox outbreak in the 1500s, which led to a smaller Wounaan population and another outbreak in 1670. Concerning Wounaan reception to the Spanish, the Wounaan have been recorded as a relatively fierce group with impressive warfare skills and characteristically resistant to the Spanish. However, Velásquez Runk *et al.* (2005: 160) mentions that the Spanish were eventually able to pacify the Wounaan by the mid-1600s, though they continued to live dispersed and in widespread areas deterring complete Spanish control.

The Wounaan were in contact with Jesuit missionaries for only eighteen years (from 1671-1689) when the latter group left the region due to their inability to settle the former, and the Franciscans and secular clergy had arrived in the 1670s, though their efforts to evangelize were likewise unsuccessful in the Chocó region. Due to the fact that there were no schools implemented in the areas or missionary-induced instruction in Spanish, the indigenous were still speaking their native languages up until the early nineteenth century. In fact, one of the most salient features of the Chocó indigenous groups is the strong retention of their identity (Velásquez Runk *et al.* 2005: 162).

Currently, Wounaan meu is undergoing a variety of issues threatening its existence and consequently endangering the potential for it to be researched presently and in the future. As with other indigenous Latin American languages, it is heavily influenced by the prevalence of Spanish in the area, leading to language shift. It is no longer being taught in certain rural communities in eastern Panama, and many Wounaan parents prefer to speak Spanish in the home. Wounaan children typically have greater fluency in Spanish, which is consequently being incorporated into the indigenous language. Additionally, children under seven years and elderly women tend to be the only demographic representatives of monolingual Wounaan meu speakers, and individuals younger than 70 years seem to have an underdeveloped lexical knowledge of the language (Aikhenvald 2007: 188). Much of Wounaan meu lexicon is composed of lexical borrowings from Spanish, and with the degree of bilingualism increasing as well as the spread of Spanish-based education, the threat of linguistic extinction grows stronger yet. Furthermore, drug trafficking in Colombia has generated so much violence that the lives and cultural traditions of the Wounaan in that country are in danger. Some are fleeing to Panama in order to escape the violence of the drug trafficking trade and civil war in the militarized state, although the effects of drug trafficking are not absent in eastern Panama (Velásquez Runk 2013:2).

Because an historical account of the nature of contact between Wounaan meu and Spanish has not been well-documented, it is difficult to say for how long and to what degree bilingualism has existed. However I will provide the information I understand to be true regarding its social and linguistic relationship with the Spanish language. With respect to the nature of contact between the two typologically unrelated languages, there has indeed been heavy contact between speakers for a long period of time. While Spanish remains the dominant language in Panama, entailing an asymmetrical level of social power, it is not necessarily

linguistically dominant among the Wounaan tribe. Gathered from informal conversations with the Wounaan during my time in Panama, the Wounaan speak to each other in their native language and speak Spanish only upon traveling to the city outside of their areas of residence or speaking with non-Wounaan individuals.

The large majority of the Wounaan are bilingual. While the older generations are sequential bilinguals having learned Spanish in their formative years in school, the younger generations of Wounaan appear to have a greater grasp of the Spanish language and use it more often than their elders. This is due not only to the growing ease of transportation in the region but also is likely the result of increased social interaction with non-Wounaan members of society. Greater mobility is accompanied by relationships with members outside one's own community, resulting in social, cultural, and linguistic ties distinct from those of the older, more close-knit, private bonds formed by the elder community members.

2.2 The current study of contact between Wounaan meu and Spanish

In July 2014, I stayed with a small community of Wounaan in Panama City, where I worked in collaboration with a research team led by Dr. Julie Velásquez Runk from the Department of Anthropology at the University of Georgia and composed of Wounaan language experts and community officials. My role in the project included working with the Wounaan leaders and language experts in the offices of the Foundation for the Development of the Wounaan People (FUNDEPW, using the Spanish acronym). In the past, this team has made accessible audio recordings of over 350 oral narratives that date over a span of 60 years, many of which have been transcribed orthographically and translated into Spanish. During my stay, my role in this research project involved expanding documentation of Wounaan meu by examining

data from speakers of Wounaan meu that was taken from myths and legends and their related translations into Spanish. More specifically, I was tasked with reviewing and editing the Spanish translations of Wounaan meu documents prepared by native speakers of Wounaan meu.

With the help of Dr. Velásquez Runk, the Wounaan leaders and language experts collaborated in selecting seven oral narratives that they had previously transcribed and translated into Spanish. I proofread and edited each translation, correcting grammatical errors and clarifying semantic confusion. These translations often involved morphosyntactic errors (i.e. gender and number disagreement, non-prescriptive TMA forms and article placement) and general orthographic inaccuracies (i.e. accent marks, punctuation), presumably due not only to the influence of their L1 Wounaan meu but also to a lower proficiency level of a normative variety of L2 Spanish. Example (4) is an excerpt from one of the narrative translations in its original form:

- (4) a. *Después de nos formó que diga mejor dicho después que Dios nos formó anduvieron mucho tiempo, después de andar mucho tiempo es que a una niño le llego el momento de la puvertad. le llego el momento de la puvertad, una niña tuvo la puvertad. Cuando la tuvo puvertad, a la niña lo pusieron en tarima lo tuvieron años hasta que creció el cabello, Después que tuvo la puvertad lo mantuvieron en el mosquitero por mucho tiempo.* (Story 1)
After he formed us or better said after God formed us they went a long time, after walking a long time to a young girl came the moment of puberty. The moment of puberty arrived, a young girl had puberty. When she had puberty, they put the young girl on a platform they had her there for years until her hair grew. After she had puberty they kept her in the mosquito net for a long time.
- b. *Si dicen que ella tuvo un sueño dijo: - yo creo que me voy a morir depronto, cuando yo me muera depronto ponganme boca abajo porque yo me voy a ir debajo de la tierra y me voy a volver terremoto. Yo me voy a ir debajo de la tierra, los de que viven debajo de la tierra quieren que yo valla donde ellos, el terremoto que vive debajo de la tierra me necesita pata cambier se lo dijo de una vez.* (Story 1)
Yes *dicen que* she had a dream, she said, “I believe I’m going to die soon, when I die soon, place me face down because I’m going to go below the earth and I am going to turn into an earthquake. I’m going to go below the earth, those that live below the earth want me to go where they are, the earthquake that lives below the earth needs me to change,” she told them one time.

In these examples, we see various cases of non-prescriptive morphosyntactic and orthographic errors. Various lexical items do not adhere to standard spelling or contain accent marks (i.e. *puvertad~pubertad, ponganme~pónganme, valla~vaya, pata cambier~para cambiar, depronto~de pronto, si~sí*). Additionally, there seems to be some confusion with the use of the complementizer *que* and the prepositional accompaniment with *de*. In the first sentence in (4a), the complementizer *que* needs to be added before the verbal clause in *Después de Ø nos formó*, and shortly thereafter it is the preposition *de* that is lacking in the same structure: *...después Ø que Dios nos formó*. In (4b), we see this similar occurrence with *los de que viven debajo de la tierra*, in which the preposition *de* is present but should be removed.

There were also many cases of gender and number disagreement and misuse of object pronouns, as seen in the example below:

- (5) *Si lo trajeron para enterrar tuvieron varias personas escarbando el entierro, cuando lo eterraban estaba llovisnando tu saben que anteriormente a uno lo enterraban con a un perro.* (Story 1)
 Yes they brought her to bury, there were many people digging the grave, when they buried her, it was drizzling, you (all) know that before they used to bury one like a dog.

In addition to the orthographic issues (*eterraban~enterraban, llovisnando~lloviznando*), we see disagreement between person and number in *tu saben que*, in which the second person singular subject has been paired with the verb form conjugated in the third person plural form. Additionally, the prepositions *con* and *a* should be replaced with a comparative *como*, though this very well could be nothing more than a spelling error. While the examples above show non-normative production of Spanish by the Wounaan transcribers/translators, the historical background of Wounaan presence in the area provides insight into the language contact situation contributing to these non-normative results.

CHAPTER 3

LANGUAGE CHANGE, EVIDENTIALITY, AND *DICE(N) QUE*

The beginnings of the study of contact languages are attributed to the work of Weinreich in 1953, after which the field of sociolinguistics began to take hold, leaving language contact a topic relatively under-acknowledged until the 1980s (Hickey 2010: 2). This topic has generated greater interest over the past several decades, and a growing number of investigations now deal specifically with the phenomena of contact-induced change and situations of language contact (i.e. interference, transfer, attrition, borrowing).⁴

3.1 Internal vs. External Language Change

While many historical linguists explain language change with an emphasis on internal development, their common claim that contact is mostly responsible for lexical change and minor structural change neglects the more encompassing effects of language contact, which has been shown to affect even the morphological structure of language. While some believe that only lexical borrowing could occur as a result of language contact, others have gone so far as to say that contact is the reason for all variation and change (Thomason 2010: 31).

Contact situations often result in language transfer, in which certain features of a donor language transfer over into a recipient language. Such contact-induced changes take place when a language participates in any form of addition, loss, or development that occurs as a result of its contact with another language. New forms introduced by the donor language may coexist with

⁴ See for example Thomason & Koffman (1988), Odlin (1989), Aikhenvald & Dixon (2001), Winford (2003), Heine & Kuteva (2005), and Aikhenvald and Dixon (2007).

the original form and need not necessarily replace it in the recipient language. Categorical transfer occurs when a particular grammatical category makes up part of a speaker's native language but cannot be found in the target language, upon which speakers strategize to account for this categorical absence, and generally features have been recognized to transfer more easily when they can be semantically represented by the language in contact.

What emerges in much of the literature on language contact is that it is difficult to determine the precise cause(s) of language change. Thomason (2010: 34) mentions five necessary steps to determine that language change is in fact a result of contact:

The first requisite is to consider the proposed receiving language (let's call it B) as a whole, not a single piece at a time: the chances that just one structural feature traveled from one language to another are vanishingly small. Second, identify a source language (call it A). This means identifying a language—or, if all speakers of A shifted to B, one or more closely related languages—that is, or was, in sufficiently intimate contact with B to permit the transfer of structural features. Third, find some shared features in A and B. They need not be identical in the two languages, and very often they won't be, because transferred features often don't match in the source and receiving languages. They should, however, belong to a range of linguistic subsystems, e.g. both phonology and syntax, so as to rule out the possibility of structurally linked internal innovations. Fourth, prove that the features *are* old in A—that is, prove that the features are not innovations in A. And fifth, prove that the features *are* innovations in B, that is, that they did not exist in B before B came into close contact with A.

If one or more of the aforementioned factors cannot be determined, it is speculative to assume contact-induced change. As one could imagine, it is difficult, if not impossible, to satisfy each one of these conditions. To note, it is due to the fact that not all of these conditions can be met for the case of Wounaan meu-Spanish that I have decided to conduct a comparative examination between the present data set and set it against *dice(n) que* in other Spanish varieties.

In general, situations of contact breed linguistic environments vulnerable to potential changes (i.e. borrowing, transfer, imposition, convergence), which can take place in any domain of linguistic study (i.e. syntax, semantics, discourse-pragmatics, phonology) or subsystem. While non-systemic elements tend to be more easily transferable (i.e. single lexical items, pragmatic

markers, sentence adverbials) due to the fact that they can be easily incorporated into a language's grammatical system without affecting its internal structure, borrowing of systemic elements and their subsequent demand for grammatical restructuring is by no means out of the question.

There must also be some degree of bilingualism or multilingualism for long periods of time between speakers of a speech community for diffusion of a linguistic element to occur. Importantly, one must consider not only the linguistic factors that might account for language contact (for a comprehensive list of these, see Aikhenvald and Dixon 2007: 26-36), but the extra-linguistic factors as well (i.e., language attitudes, education background, community size, rural vs. urban lifestyles, duration and degree of contact between speakers, typological relatedness of languages involved, relative linguistic and social prestige). While all situations of language contact make vulnerable the two (or more) languages involved, the outcome of language transfer varies widely depending on these linguistic and extra-linguistic factors at play.

Again, language change does not necessarily occur exclusively as a result of external influences. Internal development among speakers of the same speech community also serves as a catalyst for change. While language change due to contact is externally motivated, the question concerning the degree of influence between internal and external factors in language change is still widely debated and remains difficult to determine. Although it is attractive and convenient to attribute language change to contact, one must be careful not to overgeneralize (Thomason 2010) and instead take into account the possible influence of universal developmental tendencies or even mere accident (Aikhenvald and Dixon 2007: 12).

Internal and external motivations for language change are often placed in a dichotomist light, under which they are perceived as two mutually exclusive parts that work in contrast with

each other (Heine and Kuteva 2010: 87). Internal development refers to the natural evolution of language unaffected by external forces. An example of this is grammaticalization, a unidirectional, internally motivated process through which a lexical form develops through space and time into a grammatical form, or a grammatical form develops into a more grammatical form. An example of this grammaticalization path can be seen in English with the use of the verb *go* and its development from a verb indicating spatial movement into a marker of future tense (Sweetser 1988: 391).

Although grammaticalization is often considered mutually exclusive to contact-induced language change, recent work has refuted such claims (see Heine and Kuteva 2001; Heine and Kuteva 2005; Heine 1994; Kuteva 2000). Heine and Kuteva (2005: 15) list four parameters that help identify situations of grammaticalization: (1) pragmatic extension, (2) desemanticization, (3) decategorialization (which refers to loss in certain morphosyntactic properties), and (4) phonetic reduction. Furthermore, Heine and Kuteva (2005) propose there is interaction between contact-induced change and internally-motivated grammaticalization as two catalysts of change that work together.

In contrast to internal development, externally motivated change is the result of influence from a language or dialect in contact with another, resulting in the transfer of material, most often lexical but also morphosyntactic or semantic, from one language upon another. Lexical transfer is visible through the various lexical borrowings from indigenous languages in contact with Spanish that have made their way into Latin American varieties, such as *chocolate*, *cocoa*, *tomate*, and *tabaco* (Silva-Corvalán and Enrique-Arias 2001: 290). Examples of morphological transfer have been witnessed in Peninsular Spanish and include the incorporation of the genitive

morpheme -'s from English (i.e. *Paco's, Pepe's*) as well as the English morpheme *-ing* (i.e. *hacer footing, puenting*) (2001: 282-283).

3.2 *A summary of evidentiality*

The term 'evidentiality' generally refers to the system by which the information source of an utterance is conveyed in all languages, while 'evidentials' refers only to those grammaticized, or morphologically inflected, affixes that convey evidentiality and are language-specific. To avoid confusion, I distinguish in this work the difference between 'grammaticization' and 'grammaticalization'. While the former refers to the way in which a feature is realized morphologically, rather than lexically, the latter term is used to describe the internally-motivated process of language change as previously discussed.

In a most general sense, evidential systems convey the source of information upon which a speaker bases an utterance, although evidentiality and its relationship with epistemic modals is still debated (Faller 2002, Narrog 2010). While some linguists adhere to Aikhenvald's (2004) strict categorical distinction between evidentiality as depicting a source of information and epistemic modality as a separate category conveying a speaker's commitment to the truth of the proposition (e.g., see Boye 2010 and Nuyts 2001a, 2001b), others argue that evidentiality and epistemic modality overlap (such as de Haan 2010 and van der Auwera and Plungian 1998). These two perspectives exemplify the difference between a narrow and broad definition of evidentiality respectively.

While the exact relationship between evidentiality and epistemic modality has been treated differently across various works on evidentiality (see Faller 2002), this presents a problem for subsequent linguistic work due to potentially misleading labels and terminology and

different treatments of these categories. For the purpose of this study, I assume that evidentiality and epistemic modality are separate categories that can find overlap. That is, while I consider evidential functions as semantic elements that refer to source of information, epistemic functions are more pragmatic and may apply to an evidential form. This will be made clearer throughout my analysis.

Ample contributions devoted to evidential study are attributed to Aikhenvald (2004) and Aikhenvald and Dixon (2003, 2007), who provide extensive typological work on evidentiality systems across the globe, basing their cross-linguistic analyses on a variety of languages ranging from the Jarawara language of southern Amazonia to Qiang of the Tibeto-Burman language family. Evidential realizations and the semantic information encoded in them vary cross-linguistically, encompassing anywhere from only two distinctions to six or more. Recent work has looked at the importance of speaker stance and socio-cultural factors (i.e. oral storytelling and cultural perspectives) that affect the meaning of an evidential marker (Friedman 2003, Mushin 2001, Fekete 2004, and Babel 2009).

While all languages devise strategies to relay information source (Aikhenvald and Dixon 2003: 1), it is not grammaticized in all languages. So while there are no inflected evidentials in Spanish, it still incorporates what Aikhenvald and Dixon (2003) consider ‘evidential strategies’, accomplished through the use of certain adverbials or periphrasis (e.g. *evidentemente* ‘evidently’, *se dice que* ‘it is said that’, *me parece que* ‘it seems to me that’). For example, the periphrastic *se dice que* communicates to the listener that the information disclosed by the speaker originates from a secondhand source. Cornillie (2007) discusses evidentiality in Spanish and the degree of evidentiality and epistemicity involved in seven (semi-)auxiliary verbs: *parecer* ‘to seem’,

resultar ‘to appear/turn out’, *poder* ‘may/can’, *deber* ‘must’, *tener que* ‘to have to/should’, *amenazar* ‘to threaten’, and *prometer* ‘to promise’.

According to Aikhenvald and Dixon (2003:3), evidential systems can be divided into two general groups: (i) evidential systems that do not specify the source for the evidence (i.e. Turkic, some Iranian and Finno-Ugric languages) and (ii) systems that specify the source (i.e. Northern Emberá languages, Jarawara, Washo). The Turkish sentence below displays an example of the former group:

- (6) *Ali bu -nu bil -iyor -muş*
Ali this-ACC know-INTRA -IC
‘Ali evidently knows/knew this’ (Johanson 2003: 275)

In this example, the indirective copula *-muş* does not convey a specific source of information but instead implies more generally that the speaker’s perception is rooted in an indirect source. It does not distinguish between hearsay, inference, or appearance, and the speaker’s perception in this example could be rooted in either of these specific sources types (Johanson 2003: 275).

Belonging to the second group however, Quechua languages not only state the existence of a source of information but specify the source type. While the evidential distinctions differ across varieties, Aikhenvald and Dixon (2003: 4) claim that Quechua languages are generally characterized as having a three-term system, though their characterization is rooted in the work of Floyd (1997) and his specific focus on Wanka Quechua. Following the pattern in other three-term systems, the evidential system in this variety incorporates at least one sensory specification. These three evidentials are visual (or direct), reported, and inferred terms. The visual evidential (*-mi*) implies that the source of information comes from personal knowledge, which could be acquired visually. This can indicate events directly experienced through visual perception and can be further extended to incorporate the speaker's direct participation or observation or an

element of speaker certainty. The reported evidential term (-*s(h)i*) conveys the source of information as originating from hearsay or knowledge that was acquired through another individual besides the speaker. Thirdly, the inferred (also called ‘conjectural’ or ‘dubitative’) evidential (-*chá/-chi/-chr(a)*) implies the information stems from non-personal knowledge.

The evidential distinctions are made clearer in example (7), which depicts the semantic interpretations of these evidentials in Cuzco Quechua as provided by Faller (2002: 3):

- (7) a. Para-sha-n-**mi**.
rain-prog-3-mi.
p= ‘It is raining.’
Ev= speaker sees that *p*
- b. Para-sha-n-**si**.
rain-prog-3-si.
p= ‘It is raining.’
Ev= speaker was told that *p*
- c. Para-sha-n-**chá**.
rain-prog-3-chá
p=It might be raining.
Ev= speaker conjectures that *p*

As mentioned before, much debate is dedicated to determining whether or not a novel change in a language variety occurs via external influence or internal development. Determining the source of a change requires the consideration of a number of different factors, especially in the case of indigenous languages, for which there is often little to no historical record or grammatical reconstruction to show diachronic evolution that may have already taken place. Still, while some phenomenon are more commonly found to be results of internal development (i.e. verb-final constituent order, nasalized vowels, perfective-imperfective opposition (Aikhenvald and Dixon 2007: 12)), Aikhenvald and Dixon (2007:12) point out that evidentiality is "a more rare, unusual characteristic" and is more easily assumed to be a product of areal diffusion.

Bustamente (1991) investigated past tense variation in a variety of Spanish in Quito, Ecuador. She posited that the common replacement of the simple past by the present perfect is the result of Quechua evidential influence via prolonged historical contact between the two languages. Escobar (1997) and Klee & Ocampo (1995) also investigated speakers' use of modality and past tense in Spanish in contact with Quechua and show signs of evidential transfer of the reportative. The following example from Klee & Ocampo (1995: 63) shows the use of *dice* paired with the present perfect or the preterit tense being used as a strategy to convey the corresponding use of the Quechua evidential *-si* to mark the second-hand source of information:

- (8) *Para...dice, como, como bisté así, dice, lo ha puesto a la brasa, y lo habían comido. Habían comido estos seis. Después de tomada esa sangre, de comer licor y licor, licor y licor, licor y licor y muerto el hombre a su lado, ¡ah!, muerto el hombre a su lado, dice, le tiraron más cuchillo, más por todo sitio que el cuerpo del hombre parecía cernido.*

For...*it is said*, like, like beefsteak like that, *it is said*, he *put [has put]* him on the grill, and they *ate [had eaten]* him. Those six *ate [had eaten]*. After drinking that blood, after eating liquor and liquor, liquor and liquor, liquor and liquor and the man dead at their side, ah! the man dead at their side, *it is said*, they *stabbed* him more [with the] knife, more all over [so] that the body of the man looked like [it had been] sifted.

These previous studies exemplify cases of indigenous transfer that have been examined in the Spanish language and are useful in our understanding of contact-induced language change, as will be seen in this examination of Wounaan meu and the evidential transfer that is potentially taking place in the Panamanian Spanish variety with which it interacts.

There is currently no comprehensive grammar of Wounaan meu. The most recent partial works covering linguistic descriptions of Wounaan meu include the work of Loewen (1954), Binder (1977), Binder and Binder (1974), and a Wounaan grammar summary by Mejía Fonnegra (2000a-b). Still, there are considerable gaps in our knowledge of this language, not the least of which is its complex relationship with Spanish. With regard to what is known

about evidentiality in the area, the Northern Emberá evidentiality system has a four-term system (Aikhenvald 2007: 196), but there is no mention of Wounaan meu. Among the Emberá varieties of the Chocó family, however, Aikhenvald claims that Northern Emberá varieties hold a four-term distinction between visual, conjectural, quotative, and reported evidentials, and it appears that Saija, an Emberá variety of the southern dialect, has a reported evidential (2007: 197).

Regarding what is known about an evidentiality system in Wounaan meu, the following information has been gathered from email conversations with Bryan Gordan, a PhD student of linguistics and anthropology at the University of Arizona working in collaboration with Dr. Velásquez Runk and the Wounaan, and Ronald Binder, a linguist of the Summer Institute of Linguistics and a key contributor to linguistic research on Wounaan meu since the 1970s.

According to Gordon (p.c.), inflections of verb meaning 'to say' in Wounaan meu are used optionally to indicate hearsay. Furthermore, at the level of discourse these structures become more frequent. Gordon (p.c.) also points out that these structures appear to be at "a very early phase of grammaticalization," with Binder (p.c.) observing that they do not show verbal morphology but rather tend to occur with auxiliary elements. These features are hallmarks of grammaticalization (e.g., desemantization, fixation) and are indeed attested with the *dizque* construction described for other varieties of Spanish, such as Colombian Spanish (Travis 2006). Therefore, this analysis will proceed under two basic assumptions related to the expression of evidentiality in Wounaan meu: (i) there is no *morphological* means for marking evidentiality in Wounaan meu but (ii) there is in fact a robust mechanism for indicating hearsay by use of the verb 'to say.' I will return to this issue later in the analysis, but I should point out now that it remains to be seen whether the 'to say' structure in Wounaan meu is itself a reflex of the rather prominent use of *dizque* in the local, non-contact variety of Panamanian Spanish (Lamy 2010). I

will not treat this issue here but I will offer additional comments on *dizque* in Panamanian Spanish later in this chapter.

3.3 *Contact-induced change in Spanish*

Despite the ample literature on contact-induced shift in other varieties of indigenous language contact with Spanish (i.e. Spanish in contact with Quechua, Nahuatl, Maya, Guaraní), there is currently no existing work regarding contact varieties and/or language transfer between Spanish and Wounaan meu. Studies have shown that Spanish spoken in the Andean region of South America has been considerably influenced by Quechua and other languages (see Klee 1996 and Klee & Lynch 2009: 129-153). With an estimated seven million speakers, Quechua was the language of the Incas spoken throughout the Andean highlands, with current populations of speakers found in Peru, Bolivia, Ecuador, Argentina, Colombia, and Chile. It was recognized as an official language of Peru in the 1970s, but with the dominance of Spanish and the growth of bilingualism in the area, its existence remains threatened (Aikhenvald 2007: 191).

Lexical borrowings from Quechua into Andean Spanish include words that refer to animals, plants, and geography (i.e. *cóndor* ‘condor’, *inca*, *llama*, *mate*, *vicuña* ‘vicuna’, *chacra* ‘field’, *papa* ‘potato’). Phonologically, confusion of middle and high vowels (i.e. [lebro] *libro*, [susjo] *socio*) and atonic vowel reduction (i.e. *oyent(e)s*, *of(i)cinista*) have been claimed to be the result of Quechua transfer (Hundley 1986, Klee & Lynch 2009:136, Lipski 1994), and morphosyntactic transfer from the indigenous substrate has been noted through double possessive constructions, pronoun use, word order, and the verbal system (Klee & Lynch 2009), although not all researchers agree that these characteristics are due to transfer from the contact language. For example, while Lozano (1975) attributes double possessive constructions, as seen

in example (9a), directly to Quechua influence, others suggest they are the extended use of the preexisting medieval Castilian construction (Pozzi-Escot 1973, Granda 1999), which were used to form third person possessive (9b) and employed in the second person singular form to display courtesy (9c):

- (9) a. *su casa de Teresa*
Teresa's house
b. *su libro de Luis*
Luis' book
c. *su familia de usted*
your family (Klee & Lynch 2009: 137)

Quechua transfer has also been credited to have influenced cases of clitic pronoun elision, overuse of the indirect object pronoun *le*, and clitic doubling in the Andean region (Klee & Lynch 2009: 140-144). Additionally, some posit that Quechua's canonical Subject-Object-Verb order has transferred into the regional Spanish variety, replacing the canonical SOV order (Luján, Minaya and Sankoff 1984, Muysken 1984). Klee & Lynch (2009: 147-153) detail features of the verbal system of the Spanish variety and suggest that these features are due to the influence of Quechua (i.e. high frequency of the gerund form, employing the gerund to form commands, and non-normative uses of the present perfect).

Speranza (2005, 2010) analyzed the way speakers of Spanish in contact with Quechua and Guaraní use morphosyntactic variation as a discursive strategy to convey information coded in evidentiality systems of the language in contact. In her study, speakers employed the past perfect form (e.g., *había visto* 'had seen') as a communicative mechanism to denote the source of information as inferential and the present perfect (*ha visto* 'have seen') to imply the information as more or less testimonial on the part of the speaker. According to Speranza, these uses are comparable to the reportative and direct evidentials *-si* and *-mi* respectively in Quechua.

It has been found that evidential transfer can occur in contact situations in which one language contains an evidential system and its counterpart does not⁵, and the existence of evidential marking as a result of external influence has been noted in Spanish in contact with Quechua in its verbal system and with *dizque*⁶ used as a marker to encode meanings similar to those of the Quechua reportative evidential marker *-si*. For this reason, I will use the Quechua-Spanish contact variety as a parallel point of comparison against which I will gauge Wounaan meu speakers' use of *dice(n) que* to see to what extent it aligns with the use of the reportative *dizque* in Bolivian Spanish (Babel 2009).

3.4 *dice(n) que and diz(que) in Spanish*

Historically, *diz(que)* existed in previous varieties of Spanish and is derived from the 3rd person singular present tense form of the verb *decir* and the complementizer *que*: (*se dice que* > *dizque* (Babel 2009: 499), though it may also appear as *diz* or *dice*. It is understood to be a grammaticalized result of phonological reduction and semantic extension. Currently, use of *diz(que)* is common among a large number of Spanish varieties (Alcázar 2014, Olbertz 2007, Magaña 2005, Miglio 2009). It has been noted mostly in Latin America, extending from Mexico to the Caribbean area and Central America, the Andean region and the Southern Cone, though its usage varies in semantic/pragmatic meaning as well as its syntactic placement according to the dialect. Its semantic meanings can vary among reportative and quotative functions to inference, assumption, and even mirativity. Syntactically, *dice(n) que*⁷ can occur pre- or post-verbally, though it generally occurs pre-verbally (Alcázar 2014: 23). Additionally, depending on the

⁵ See Dendale (1994), Nolke (1994), Vet (1994), Schwenter (1999), Magaña (2005), Bermúdez (2006), Martínez, Speranza y Fernández (2006), and Speranza (2005, 2006).

⁶ *Dizque* refers to similar forms as well (e.g. *dice*, *dicen que*, *dice que*, *se dice que*, *disque*, *diz*).

⁷ I will now refer to all forms (i.e. *dizque*, *diz*, *dice*, *dice que*) as *dice(n) que*.

dialect, it has been shown to modify main clauses and subordinate clauses as well as phrases.

Example (10) shows *dice(n) que* having scope over the main clause, in which (a) is taken from Mexican Spanish, (b) is a sample of Bolivian Spanish, and (c) is taken from an Ecuadorian variety:

- (10) a. *Es que el que más insiste es don George, dizque trae algo respecto a los guerrilleros del sureste – mencionó tímido el mayor.*
'In fact the one who insists most of all is don George, *they say / he says* he is bringing something concerning the guerrillas of the Southeast –the mayor mentioned timidly.'
(Olbertz 2007: 155 cf. Victoria 1995)
- b. *dizque ahicito estaba el charango dice*
'*dizque* the musical instrument was over there *dice*'
(Babel 2009: 14)
- c. *No dizque podían pagar a nadie*
'*They say* they could not pay anybody'
(Alcázar 2014: 28 cf. Olbertz 2005: 7)

In example (11a-b), *dice(n) que* modifies subordinate clauses, both of which are taken from Mexican Spanish. This first example shows *dice(n) que* modifying a finite subordinate clause, and in (11b) *dice(n) que* modifies a non-finite subordinate clause:

- (11) a. *Estar de pleito permanente con nuestra modernidad que dizque nos iba a hacer felices de un rayo y sólo nos trajo desgracias*
'To be fighting with our modernness which was *supposed* to make us happy from one day to the next and only brought us distress'
(Olbertz 2007: 157 cf. Fuentes 1987)
- b. *Andrés no volvió a tocarme dizque para no lastimar al niño*
'Andrés didn't touch me any more *supposedly* not to harm the baby'
(Olbertz 2007: 157 cf. Mastretta 1990)

This last example shows *dice(n) que* having phrasal scope. Example (12a) shows *dice(n) que* in Colombian Spanish and modifies a noun phrase, and *dice(n) que* in (12b) is from Mexican Spanish and modifies an adjective phrase.

- (12) a. A: ...*Se presentó como, dizque narcotraficante, Yo me llamo no sé qué, narcotraficante,*
Angela: '...He introduced himself as *dizque* a drug dealer. I'm called so-and-so, drug dealer,'
(Travis 2006: 1289)
- b. *Pues, ¿qué oíste?*
Una cosa que dijeron los del gobierno ese dizque provisional
'- So, what did you hear?'

Something that those people of that *supposedly* provisional government said'
(Olbertz 2007: 161)

The question still remains as to whether or not the origin of *dice(n) que* in Latin American varieties of Spanish was a result of native development or borrowing. Kany (1944) argues *dice(n) que* in Latin America has been adopted from Peninsular Spanish and is not the result of innovation, an argument supported by the fact that it began to form with evidential/epistemic implications in Old Castilian in the late 15th and early 16th century before it eventually fell out of existence for the most part, though it has still been recorded in the 20th century in parts of Salamanca and Andalusia (Alcázar 2014: 31). On the other hand, while Alcázar (2014) supports the idea of internal development as the origin of *dice(n) que*, he posits that Amerindian languages that hold grammaticized evidential systems in contact with Spanish varieties (i.e. Quechua) have very likely influenced and accelerated (though not catalyzed) the grammaticalization process (2014: 32). It has been observed that this evolutionary pattern from *dice(n) que* as a communicative verbal form to a quotative/reportative evidential is common cross-linguistically. Nevertheless, this argument does not preclude the possibility of influence from languages in contact or parallel development in Latin American varieties. Additionally, the higher frequency of *dice(n) que* among Latin American bilingual speakers warrants attention and suggests that contact-induced influence may be accelerating this grammaticalization process.

In terms of its morphosyntax, the evidential *dice(n) que* remains uninflected and may manifest as a kind of discourse particle without a referential subject. As a frozen form, its syntactic placement varies. Babel (2009: 499) provides examples of this at the beginning and end of a sentence in Bolivian Spanish:

- (13) *dizque ahicito estaba el charango dice*
'*dizque* the musical instrument was right over there *dice*'

Travis (2006: 1287) provides examples of what she considers ‘labeling *dizque*’ which can precede a noun or a prepositional phrase:

- (14) ...*en medio de la confusión y de la angustia, caí en manos de una mujer médica bioenergética que a la vez era dizque sofróloga.*
‘...in the confusion and distress I fell into the hands of a female bio-energy doctor who was also a *dizque* sophrologist.’
(Travis 2006: 1287 cf. Castro Caycedo 1994: 236)

Alcázar (2014) discusses the use (and grammaticalization) of *dice(n) que* in Latin American varieties, notably in Mexico, Bolivia, Colombia, and Ecuador, and the pragmatic uses of *decir* (see also Travis 2006; Babel 2009; Olbertz 2007). He argues that Latin American speakers use *dice(n) que* as a quotative/reportative strategy that conveys any one of the potential epistemic and/or evidential properties. By examining cross-linguistic differences in the syntactic and semantic uses of *dice(n) que*, he proposes that in some dialects it has undergone further grammaticalization and has become a grammatical (as opposed to a lexical) evidential whose expression is not obligatory as of yet.

Travis (2006) examines the functional range of tokens of *dice(n) que* taken from naturally occurring oral and written corpus data of the monolingual Colombian Spanish variety, categorizing each token as having one of four possible functions: (1) reported speech, (2) hearsay, (3) labeling, or (4) dubitative. She finds that the use of *dice(n) que* functionally extends from an evidential marker to an epistemic marker, transforming itself from the [verb + complement] form *decir que* marking reported speech to a discourse marker or adverb with an evidential and/or epistemic reading. The examples below taken from Travis (2006) show each of the four functions she discusses respectively:

- (15) a. Reported speech:
A: *Pero qué te di=cen.*
[*Qué te dicen*]?
S: [*Dizque*], *huy. Doña Carmen quiere bastante a Jaime.*

Angela: 'But what do they say. What do they say?'
Santi: '*Dizque*, wow. Carmen really loves Jaime.' (2006: 1279)

b. Hearsay:

A: ...*Por ejemplo, el a- -- aquí el alcalde, Todo lo que ha hecho, Y= --y ahorita, dizque ya lo están investigando.*

Angela: 'For example, the mayor here, all that he's done, and now, *dizque* he's under investigation.' (2006: 1284)

c. Labeling:

...*en medio de la confusión y de la angustia, caí en manos de una mujer médica bioenergética que a la vez era dizque sofróloga.*

'...in the confusion and distress I fell into the hands of a female bio-energy doctor who was also a *dizque* sophrologist.' (2006: 1287)

d. Dubitative:

A media cuadra de la casa había una tienda. La atendían unos viejitos de pelito blanco. Yo dizque les compraba pan y dulce y les pagaba con esas laticas. Creía que ellos pensaban que eran monedas. Pero me daban el pan y el dulce para ayudarme.

'Half a block from the house there was a shop. It was run by some oldies with white hair. I *dizque* would buy bread and candy from them and I would pay with those little tin plates. I believed they thought that they were coins. But they gave me the bread and candy to help me.' (2006: 1290)

Travis (2006) ultimately argues that the lexical item's range of functions and the respective token frequencies indicate a process of semantic development wherein *dice(n) que* moves toward a more general and subjective epistemic meaning that has nothing to do with a speech act as in its evidential origins. The hypothesized path of development is the following: reported speech > hearsay > labeling > dubitative. The functions 'reported speech' and 'hearsay' refer to a report of a speech act, having the epistemic potential to indirectly distance the speaker from the quote or material presented and imply falsity or doubt. The difference between the two is that 'reported speech' objectively distinguishes specific speech acts for any subject, while 'hearsay' only occurs with unspecified third-person subjects, as in 'it is said' or 'people say that'.

The ‘labeling’ function can be interpreted as ‘so-called’ and introduces noun phrases or prepositional phrases. It conveys the epistemic notion of doubt inherently within the semantics of the discourse marker while still supplying the evidential reference to an unspecified speech act by an unspecified subject. In this third phase, Travis argues that the lexical item has gained a more concrete epistemic value and is losing the specificity of the original ‘reported speech’ function. The final stage in the development process is the ‘dubitative’ function, in which *dice(n) que* no longer refers to any speech act and therefore holds no evidential reportative meaning but instead serves strictly as an epistemic marker encoding only subjective and unspecific notions of false beliefs, doubt, nonvolitionality, uncontrollability and even mirative notions of surprise. These categories will be useful in analyzing the tokens of *dice(n) que* in the Wounaan meu-Spanish translations.⁸

Similar to the work of Travis (2006), Babel (2009) discusses the functional extension of *dice(n) que*. However, Babel (2009) analyzes a Bolivian variety of Spanish that is in contact with Quechua and attributes the various pragmatic meanings (i.e. speaker attitude, speaker distance, strengthening/weakening a claim, avoiding conflict) to language contact, as displayed by the obligatory, systematic incorporation of *dice(n) que* as a reportative evidential in this variety. She discusses how the semantic functions of *dice(n) que* in this variety more closely parallel the functions of the Quechua reportative morpheme *-si* than any other Spanish variety’s use of *dice(n) que* due to her findings that it occurs obligatorily for reported speech more than any other function. The evidential marks direct and indirect speech, distinguishing speech acts from the surrounding narrative discourse but moreover entails the pragmatic notion of speaker stance. Its use as a reported speech evidential also connects reference with speaker subjectivity, expressing

⁸ While I am aware that there is a difference between *diz(que)* and *dice(n) que*, I want to make it clear that I am not comparing the lexical items to each other but rather utilizing the previously observed evidential and epistemic functions of monolingually-employed *diz(que)* as a point of departure in analyzing the functions of *dice(n) que*.

an interactional relationship among speakers, audience, and information source. This speaker stance function is characteristic also of the Quechua reportative evidential.

While Babel's (2009) data come from 34 hours of recorded material by L1 Spanish speakers, many of whom are bilingual in Spanish and Quechua, her speakers consist of men, women, and children of all ages from the bilingual/Spanish-dominant area between Cochabamba and Santa Cruz. Much of the recorded data come from traditional and personal oral storytelling, and informal conversations regularly stemmed from these events. Babel's (2009) data is particularly useful in this study because of its comparable oral storytelling events. The storytelling event is marked in Quechua as a dialogistic performance that depends heavily on speaker perspective. Her work, however, does not focus on defining *dice(n) que* as an evidential marker but discusses the way it conveys speaker stance and the relationship between interlocutors and the information they wish to communicate. Still, her data show a high frequency of speakers conveying the source of information and serving the 'hearsay' function, which can be translated to 'say-that' (Babel 2009: 488), as seen in the example below:

- (16) *dizque ahicito estaba el charango dice*
'*dizque* the musical instrument was over there *dice*' (Babel 2009: 499)

It is also used to introduce (in-)direct speech when accompanied by the verb *decir*, which aligns with Travis' (2006) 'reported speech' function:

- (17) "Vení yo te voy a enseñar," *dizque* le dice.
"Come here, I'll help you," *dizque* she [Sosi] tell her [Didi].
"Yo estoy diciendo a la Didi no te estoy diciendo a vos," *dizque* le dijo.
"I'm talking to Didi, I'm not talking to you," *dizque* she [Dora] told her [Sosi].
(Babel 2009: 503)

Additionally, in her data, *dice(n) que* appears at the beginning or end of a clause and does not modify heads or phrases, similar to another bilingual variety of Spanish in Ecuador (Olbertz 2014: 28). In contrast *dice(n) que* does appear to modify heads and phrases in monolingual

varieties of Mexican and Colombian Spanish (Olbertz 2014: 26, 28). This pre-clausal position suggests *dice(n) que* acts as a grammaticized evidential, rather than a discourse particle or adverbial, because grammaticized evidentials do not permit phrasal scope (Olbertz 2014: 28).

Travis (2006) and Babel (2009) both distinguish the uses of *dice(n) que* as a verb inflected for number and tense and its evidential uninflected function. Babel (2009) points out that it was not always possible to distinguish between the two forms, that is, whether *dice(n) que* was being used as a third person present tense verb or an evidential. However, she was able to disambiguate the two when *dice(n) que* appeared accompanied by an overt pronoun:

- (18) *Eso dizque era así. Dice mi mamá, no?*
'That's what *dizque* it was like. My mother says so, right?' (Babel 2009: 499)

From this example, we can see that because of the presence of *mi mamá* the use of *dice* serves as the 3rd person present tense form rather than as a reportative evidential. In my data set, there was only one token of *dice(n) que* that was accompanied by an overt pronoun, though I coded it as still having a non-referential subject because there was no subject to which the pronoun referred. The following example is taken from Story 7, where we see this use of the pronoun:

- (19) *Sí era la hija del gallínazo./ Sí, dicen que cuando ellos estan alla arriba son personas, acá abajo es que los vemos como gallinazos./ cuando ya están en el cielo son personas. El dice, que lo que ellos se ponen es un chaleco para verse como gallinazos./ Dicen que el chaleco es su ala...* (Story 7)
Yes it was the daughter of the buzzard. Yes, *dicen que* when they are above they are people, here down below, it's that we see them as buzzards. When they are already in the heavens they are people. *El dice*, what they put on is a jacket in order to be seen as buzzards. *Dicen que* the jacket is its wings.⁹

This masculine singular pronoun does not appear to have a referent. It seems rather to function in the same way as all other forms of *dice(n) que*, that is, as a reportative evidential indicating the source of information as having originated from a secondhand source.

⁹ The English translations corresponding to all Spanish translations of the Wounaan narratives are my own.

3.5 *dizque* in Panamanian Spanish

The decategorized and phonetically reduced discourse particle *dizque* is prominently used in the non-contact Panamanian Spanish variety, though it has not been widely studied. Lamy (2010) posits that while the grammaticalized discourse marker functions similarly in both the Panamanian and Colombian varieties, which he suggests could be a result of dialectal contact, there is an even wider range of functions in the former variety than in the latter. Conventionally, the evidential use of *dizque* distances the speaker from the utterance, attributing the information to a secondhand source; the epistemic use of *dizque* no longer holds any notions of speaking but instead conveys speaker doubt. While both these evidential and epistemic uses have been proposed for the Panamanian and Colombian varieties, Lamy (2010) goes on to show that *dizque* in the regional Panamanian Spanish variety holds a wide range of subjective, innovative functions that occurs as result of the grammaticalization process. These functions include, but are not limited to, uses of labeling, conversation, description, contradiction, and functions that appear so abstract that they are difficult to determine.

Below are some examples of the various innovative uses in the regional Panamanian Spanish variety:

(20) a. Descriptive Use

Y hablando de programas viejos de TV, se acuerdan de uno que se llamaba SUPER PAN (o algo así), que se trataba de un panadero que era dizque super héroe ('taba gallito pero daba risa). (Lamy 2010: 7)

And speaking of old T.V. shows, they remember one that was called *SUPER PAN* (or something similar), that was about a baker that was *dizque* a super hero (it was stupid but funny).¹⁰

¹⁰ The English translations corresponding to examples taken from Lamy (2010) are my own.

b. Enumerative Use

Bueno no me he encontrado memoria pero si un celular con 20 dolares.....un fren le reviso los contactos y salian unos disque: narco 1, narco 2, killer (Lamy 2010: 8)
Well I haven't found memory but I did find a cell phone with twenty dollars.....a friend looked at the contacts and some appeared *disque*: narco 1, narco 2, killer

c. Contradictory Use

Sinceramente tranquilos muchachos usmeños, los que hablan tanto es porque mucha envidia tienen. Jajajaja...Diske que estamos en quiebra jajajja....solo nuestros terrenos están valorados por 14 millones de dólares. (Lamy 2010: 8)
Truly calm *usmeño* guys, those that talk so much, it's because they are jealous. Hahahaha....*Diske* we are bankrupt hahahha....only our land is worth fourteen million dollars.

Example (20a) shows the use of *dizque* to describe a character in a television show with an element of cynicism in such a way that the speaker is commenting on the potential falsity that the character in the television show was an actual super hero. That is, that *Super Pan* was more of a goofy character than an actual super hero. In example (20b), *dizque* is employed to express suspicion over the list of contacts found in the cell phone, and example (20c) expresses the speaker's contradictory opinion regarding a statement made by another about his or her university's financial state. So what we see is *dizque* in the regional non-contact Panamanian Spanish variety serving innovative functions no longer pertaining to evidential or epistemic functions due to the subjectivization that occurs as a byproduct of the grammaticalization process. That is, the discourse particle's functions extend beyond that of just evidential functions of information source and epistemic notions conveying the speaker's attitude toward the veracity of the statement. Notably, this functional innovation is likewise visible in the non-contact Colombian variety.

Syntactically, *dizque* in the Panamanian variety appears flexible. Modifying clauses, phrases, or heads, the particle can appear in clause-initial or clause-final position or before a phrase or head that it modifies. Example (21a-d) displays this syntactic variation below:

- (21) a. ...*tampoco digan que MEDCOM tiene los mejores programas y de pueblos BULL SH*T son una m*erda de programas y ponen a puros DISQUE YEYESITOS a conducir...* (Lamy 2010: 6)
 ...nor do they say that MEDCOM has the best programs and regarding the bullsh*t towns they are sh*tty programs and they light their cigars *disque yeyesitos* to manage...
- b. ...*le digo yo al policia que los dos carro veniamos a la misma velocidad a lo que el contesta si pero me dio la gana de pararte a ti, yo dizque ok esta bien ponme la boleta, el man dizque perate que tengo que llamar un transito como quince minutos despues el man dizque te voy a dejar ir pero pasa algo ,yo dizque on (=no) estoy limpio, el man dizque bueno yo salgo a las once y media asi que de aqui alla consigue algo, yo dizque dale pues* (Lamy 2010: 6)
 ...I tell the police that the two of us in the cars came at the same speed, to which he answered yes but I desire to stop you, I *dizque* ok that's fine give me the ticket, the man *dizque* wait I have to call a transit like fifteen minutes later the man *dizque* I'm going to let you go but if something happens , I *dizque* no I'm clean, the man *dizque* okay I'm leaving at eleven thirty so between here and there if you get something, I *dizque* okay well
- c. *Se quiere lanzar de yeyesita disque con la foto con su cadena de TOUS! Apuesto que es FALSIFICADO! Jajajajaja.... Te aconsejo que mejor vayas preparandote porque BIEN FEAS QUE ESTAS no creo que llegues a ningún lado.* (Lamy 2010: 7)
 (S)He wants to throw from *yeyesita disque* with the picture with its chain of TOUS! I bet it is false! Hahahahaha.... I advise that you better get ready because as ugly as you are I don't think you'll get anywhere.
- d. *Sinceramente tranquilos muchachos usmeños, los que hablan tanto es porque mucha envidia tienen. Jajajaja...Diske que estamos en quiebra jajajja....solo nuestros terrenos están valorados por 14 millones de dólares.* (Lamy 2010: 8)
 Truly calm *usmeño* guys, those that talk so much, it's because they are jealous. Hahahaha....*Diske* we are bankrupt hahahaha....only our land is worth fourteen million dollars.

While *dizque* in (21a) modifies the noun *yeyesitos*, it can also have a subject as seen in (20b). We also see in example (21c) that *dizque* can modify phrases, and from a previous example (20c), which I have provided again above in (21d), we see *dizque* holding clausal scope. Thus these examples display that *dizque* in the non-contact Panamanian variety, in addition to conveying a

variety of innovative functions, can also appear in a variety of syntactic positions and hold phrasal and/or clausal scope.

3.6 Summary

Overall, there are a couple of clear distinctions between the employment of *dice(n) que* in non-contact and contact Spanish varieties seen in Lamy (2010), Travis (2006), and Babel (2009). In the Bolivian Spanish variety in contact with Quechua, *dice(n) que* (1) modifies clauses but does not modify heads or phrases and (2) functions as a reportative marker to convey reported speech and hearsay. On the other hand, Travis' (2006) and Lamy's (2010) data show that *dice(n) que* in monolingual varieties of Colombian and Panamanian Spanish (1) can modify clauses, phrases, and heads and (2) entails various functions. As *dice(n) que* in the Colombian variety ranges from 'reported speech' and 'hearsay' to 'labeling' and 'dubitative' functions, this range of functions shows the versatility of monolingual *dice(n) que* conveying a gradient scale from strict evidential disclosure (i.e. 'reported speech') to strict epistemic meaning (i.e. 'dubitative'). Likewise in the Panamanian variety we saw even more variety of innovative functions, such as *dice(n) que* being employed to show contradiction, describe characteristics or traits of people or objects, or precede a list of items.

These distinctions between *dice(n) que* in non-contact and contact varieties of Spanish will inform the forthcoming analysis in my comparative analysis with the appearance of *dice(n) que* in the present data set. As I view the semantic functions and syntactic positioning of *dice(n) que* in the Wounaan meu-Spanish translations and set them against the aforementioned usage in the different varieties laid out by Travis (2006), Lamy (2010) and Babel (2009), I will be able to

determine whether *dice(n) que* in my data set resembles the reportative evidential of the non-contact or contact variety.

CHAPTER 4

METHODOLOGY

I hypothesize that the functions of *dice(n) que* as seen in the Wounaan meu-Spanish translations more closely resemble the use of *dice(n) que* in the variety of Spanish in contact with Quechua, as laid out in Babel (2009). The following chapter tests this hypothesis, and the results that follow appear to support this claim. I work under a contact linguistics framework, through which I examine the outcome of two languages in contact with each other, looking at how one language influences the other. Additionally, I underpin this contact linguistics framework with the idea that the written translation under study is the indirect byproduct of oral data and work under the assumption that the translations of oral narratives are relevant linguistic data and a viable means for linguistic analysis. While the use of transcribed and/or translated narratives as linguistic data is not a new methodology in linguistic study (see Pavlenko 2007, Tedlock 1971, Hymes 1977), especially with respect to oral cultures and indigenous studies or discourse analysis and SLA (Kaplan 1966, Bartelt 1983), it is relatively infrequent in studies of language contact (Bright 1981: 272). Not only are the Wounaan meu transcripts translated, but they have been translated by the bilingual, L1-dominant Wounaan themselves. The benefit of examining translations by the Wounaan rather than bilingual Spanish-dominant speakers is the way in which non-native-like structures that may appear in a translation, having been performed by a L1-dominant sequential-bilingual, may serve as viable signs of transfer from the translator's L1. Thus, while my data is underscored by an interaction between oral and written productions of language, I adhere to the position that this does not pose a problem for my analysis and should be viewed instead as a valuable factor in this study of linguistic transfer.

An additional benefit to using data that originated as oral narrative is the cultural authenticity that arises as a result. By incorporating oral narratives as a means of linguistic study, the data set will reveal material originally produced by the Wounaan meu speakers. This contrasts with common methodological practices of obtaining data through oral elicitation practices (i.e., interviews and grammatical judgment tests), which have the potential to skew language production and/or generate predetermined results due the methodology's evocative nature. Linguistic data generated by unadulterated native speaker production in the form of oral narratives is culturally revealing, preventing the linguist's own cultural perspectives and dominant Western conceptions from getting in the way of a more accurate analysis of a speech community so dissimilar than that of the linguist (see also Bauman and Briggs 1990, Nuckolls 1993, and Viveiros de Castro 1998 for further discussion on the downfalls of strict Western approaches in Amerindian study). Additionally, a storytelling event of an oral narrative in Amerindian culture is a distinct genre of linguistic data that should not be seen as 'lesser than' data but should be recognized instead as an oral performative tradition that ties cultural identity with language, which is beneficial for the linguist in the way it allows the linguist to grasp a connected understanding of culturally-relevant form and function of speech production and the relationship between cultural ideologies and language production (see for example Sherzer's 1981 study of Kuna narrative).

4.1 The Data

The data set I will use for this investigation stems from seven oral narrative translations, each one ranging anywhere from 596 to 24, 678 words in total. Five transcribers/translators were involved, whom I will henceforth recognize as TP, CM, CP, TM, and DC. CP transcribed and

translated three of the seven narratives, and the others provided me with one each. The frequent employment of *dice(n) que* in each translation served as the initial catalyst for this research, as seen in example (22) below. I identified each occurrence of *dice(n) que*¹¹ in all seven translations and categorized them, which will be detailed below. Next, I compared and contrasted their categorical usage with *dizque* seen in the monolingual and bilingual varieties of Spanish.

- (22) ...dicen que él estaba sentado en el medio del mosquitero/ Dicen que el hombre manció sin dormir, ya en la mudrugda él no aguantaba el sueño y comensó a cabecear/Dicen que en ese momento el alma de la mujer caminaba por la casa haciendo sonar el piso de la casa/ Apenas, amaneció muy temprano se fue de cacería/Dicen que se fue al monte a cazar y después de mucho rato regresó por la tarde trayendo varios animales. (Story 7)
- ...*dicen que* he was seated in the middle of the mosquito net. *Dicen que* the man was awake at dawn without having slept, yet at dawn he didn't resist tiredness and began to nod off. *Dicen que* in that moment the woman's spirit walked around the house causing the house floor to sound. Barely, he awoke very early and went hunting. *Dicen que* he went to the hill to hunt and after much time he returned in the afternoon bringing various animals.

In my data collection, I found cases of functional usage of *dice(n) que* for what Travis (2006) designates as 'reported speech' and 'hearsay'. When reported or quoted speech was seen in the narratives, *dice(n) que* was not employed, but rather the verbal form of *decir* or other speech act verb manifested without the complementizer. This is seen in example (23a-d) below from Story 4:

- (23) a. *Entonces dijo Dios: compañero, ahora dejame a probar.*
Then said God: Companion, now let me try it.
- b. *Al dia siguiente en la mañana Dios dijo a Satanás: ahora compañero valla a probarlo.*
The next day in the morning God said to Satan: Now, companion, go try it.
- c. *Dios, primero le daba la oportunidad a satanas que hiciera las cosas; por eso le dijo que sembrara plátano.*
God, first gave Satan the opportunity to do the things; for that he told him to plant bananas.
- d. *Luego Satanás le dijo a la gente: mañana vayan a ver el plátano que yo he sembrado.*
Later Satan said to the people: Tomorrow go see the bananas that I have planted.

¹¹ And related forms (i.e. *dice*, *disque se decían*)

4.2 Coding

I first coded each token of *dice(n) que* for a referential subject, and I found that all of the token items had non-referential subjects. Next I coded each token for epistemic functions by applying a discourse analysis modeled after Feke's (2004) investigation of epistemic functions of Quechua evidentials. In her dissertation she applied SPEAK discourse factors and three 'Distance' discourse factors—that is, temporal, spatial, and psychological distance. SPEAK is an acronym, whereby each letter represents an epistemic function of the evidential and/or verb-tense used in her data set and represent the following categories: (S) conveys the source of information, (P) conveys the speaker's participation to the material uttered, (E) represents the material's effect on the speaker(s)/hearer(s), (A) conveys the speaker's attitudes toward the truth value of the utterance, and (K) stands for the kind of interlocutors involved (Feke 2004: 73-74). Each of the categories involves a variety of related subcategories. While Feke (2004) analyzed spontaneous speech data of Quechua speakers, the nature of my data set does not require the use of all categories and their respective subcategories.

Regarding (S)-Source of information, the oral narratives only incorporate the subcategory 'Witness/nonwitness' since the information in all of the oral narratives stems from a second-hand source. That is, none of the narrators personally gathered information, nor can they be considered eye-witnesses that directly experienced the material presented. Therefore, with respect to the first category, the source of information related to all tokens of *dice(n) que* is of the subcategory of Witness/Nonwitness, and more specifically, only 'nonwitness.' Because of this, I did not code for this factor. Similarly, the category 'Participation' is not relevant to this study due to the inherent nature of my data set. There is no question of the nature of the narrator's involvement in the event under discussion. While the only optional subcategories Feke (2004) identifies are

agency, intent, and participant, the narrator cannot be considered any one of these; there was no participation by part of the speaker in any way.

I did, however, code my data for the factor (E)—Effect on speaker(s)/hearer(s), though my subcategories differed from those used by Feke (2004). I coded tokens of *dice(n) que* as having no effect or having an effect. I considered *dice(n) que* as having an effect on the speaker(s) or hearer(s) if the thematic content dealt with scenarios or topics that had an impact on Wounaan identity or if it was sexually explicit. The two topics I considered as impacting Wounaan identity were Wounaan-Kuna tensions and cultural or historical references that denoted Wounaan pride. I chose these three categories (sexually explicit material, Wounaan-Kuna tensions, and references of Wounaan pride) because of the nature of their thematic relatability to the audience. These three topics seemed to be the only topics that would have addressed Feke's (2004) question of how the transmission of the material could potentially affect the speakers or hearers of the information. It seemed to me that sexually explicit material would have affected the mixed audience due to its graphic content and portrayal of gender roles. Additionally, topics centered on historical battles and geo-political and cultural tensions between the Wounaan and Kuna tribes and matters of Wounaan history and ancestry are topics that instill audience members with a particular sentiment—whether it is tribal pride or even communal unity that stems from historical accounts of their forefathers. Below is an example of *dice(n) que* from Story 2 which I coded as having an effect on the speaker(s)/hearer(s):

- (24) *Dicen que* nuestros ancestros mataron a muchos Gunas una parte desterrados hacia acá (*hacia el Darién*).
Dicen que our ancestors killed many Gunas partly exiled here (toward Darién)

The category (A)-Attitude toward truth value was also used in my analysis of discourse functions of *dice(n) que*. I coded each token for its implication either of truth value/certainty or a dubitative/probabilistic reading. Examples of each are taken from Story 3 respectively:

- (25) a. *Muy grande, ¡oh! dicen que era un enorme sábalo*
Very large, oh!, *dicen que* it was an enormous shad.
b. *Me parece que dicen que no estaba embarazada.*
It seems to me that *dicen que* she wasn't pregnant.

In (25a), the use of *dice(n) que* reinforces the narrator's certainty of the large size of the fish and is used as a means to emphasize the truth value of the narrator's statement. Example (25b) shows the narrator doesn't claim to know beyond doubt that the presented material is true, rather the periphrastic *me parece que* paired with *dice(n) que* conveys that the narrator is expressing probability that the woman was not pregnant according to the second-hand source, not certainty.

The next category in Feke's (2004) SPEAK discourse factors—(K)-Kind of interlocutors—includes the relationship between interlocutors as a subcategory. I will not use this factor since I am not studying inter-dialogue but rather third person narratives.

The final factor I took into account from Feke's (2004) discourse analysis of Quechua evidentials is 'Distance' factors. While Feke (2004) analyzed temporal, spatial, and psychological distance between the speaker and the information, the only relevant factor in my study will be psychological distance. With respect to the first two categories, there will be no variation in my data since all tokens of *dice(n) que* correspond with information from the more distant past and within the general regional vicinity of the narrator. That is, each story event took place during a time before the narrator's life and dealt geographically with locations close to, and inhabited by, the Wounaan tribe in northwestern Colombia and eastern Panama.

I did code tokens of *dice(n) que* for psychological distance as having either far psychological distance or close psychological distance between the narrator and the material.

Feke (2004:105) considers material as having “far psychological distance” if the speaker and/or hearer: (a) is not familiar with and are not interested in the people who participated in the event and the topic of the event under discussion; (b) was surprised by the event or did not expect the event; (c) was ashamed of his/her participation in the event under discussion; (d) disagrees with the content of the message that he/she is conveying; or (e) puts the content of the message that he/she is conveying into question. On the other hand, material is considered to have “close psychological distance” if the speaker and/or hearer: (a) is familiar with and is interested in the people who participated in the event and the topic of the event under discussion; (b) was not surprised by the event or expected the event; (c) was proud of his/her participation in the event under discussion; (d) agrees with the content of the message that he/she is conveying; or (e) does not put the content of the message that he/she is conveying into question (2004: 105). Below are two examples taken from Story 3 of the Wounaan meu-Spanish translations that were coded as indicating far and close psychological distances respectively:

- (26) a. *Bueno, aunque no esté en lo correcto pero yo sigo con el cuento. Dicen que ella no se alejo de allí inmediatamente, cuentan que ella pasó la noche allí.*
 Okay, even though it’s not right, but I continue with the story. *Dicen que* she didn’t move away from there immediately, they say that she spent the night there.
- b. *Compañeros, dicen que este también fue uno de nuestros ancestros. Este es el Sábalo.*
 Companions, *dicen que* this also was one of our ancestors. This is the Shad.

In (26a) the narrator very clearly does not agree with the actions performed in the narrative and uses *dice(n) que* to distance him or herself from the material. In (26b), however, I consider this utterance as having a close psychological distance between the narrator and the material because the narrator is clearly interested in the participation of the *Sábalo* in the narrative and acknowledges its relational connection to the Wounaan.

Overall, the application of this classification schema (i.e. effect on the speaker/hearer, attitude toward truth value, and psychological distance) will address my research questions by shedding light on the degree of parallelism between the production of the reportative *dice(n) que* by Wounaan meu-Spanish bilinguals and the use of the reportative evidential *-si* by Quechua speakers, which has resulted in the reportative use of *dice(n) que* in the regional Spanish variety similar to what I have seen in the present data set of Spanish translations of Wounaan oral narratives. Therein, by comparing the functional use of *dice(n) que* in the Wounaan meu-Spanish translations and the use of reportative *-si* in Quechua, the results of such an analysis may suggest a functional parallel between the two uses and perhaps imply a connection between the use of *dice(n) que* and a grammaticized evidential system, albeit one found in another Amerindian language.

While Feke (2004) shows there are epistemic notions of the reportative evidential *-si* in Quechua, she notices that all five SPEAK factors and three Distance factors influence the Quechua speakers' use of evidential enclitics and their different pairings with the experienced past tense (*-r(q)a-*) and reportative past tense (*-sqa-*) forms (2004: 132). She notices that the use of the reportative evidential was typically found in cases where (i) the speaker anticipated a negative effect upon disclosing the information, (ii) there was a lower degree of certainty, and (iii) the situation entailed far psychological distance (2004: 110). Thus I will examine the present data set of *dice(n) que* against these features to test the closeness between the employment of *dice(n) que* and the epistemic notions of the Quechua reportative evidential *-si* which was transferred into the Bolivian Spanish variety.

CHAPTER 5

RESULTS AND DISCUSSION

In this chapter, I will address the results of my data analysis in three parts, which will shed light on my hypothesis that the use of *dice(n) que* in the Wounaan meu-Spanish translations more closely resembles the reportative *dice(n) que* in a contact Spanish variety than a non-contact variety. Firstly, I apply a quantitative analysis, in which I address the frequency of *dice(n) que* in the narrative translations. Secondly, I approach my data set with a qualitative analysis, in which I show the comparison between Travis' (2006) and Babel's (2009) analyses of *dice(n) que* and the functions of *dice(n) que* in my own data set, which will make more transparent its similarity to the contact variety. I take a final approach to my data set by applying a complementary discourse analysis to *dice(n) que* using Feke's (2004) SPEAK factors, as detailed in the previous chapter. After applying these three analyses, it will be shown that the use of *dice(n) que* resembles more closely the reportative evidential usage of *dice(n) que* in the contact variety of Spanish than the non-contact variety.

5.1 Quantitative Analysis—Comparison of Token Frequencies of *dice(n) que*

The table below displays the token frequency of each transcriber/translator's use of *dice(n) que* from each narrative translation:

Table 1: Token Frequencies of *dice(n) que* in Data Set

| | Transcriber/ Translator | <i>Dicen que</i> | Total word count | Token frequency of <i>dicen que</i> out of total word count |
|---------|----------------------------|------------------|------------------|--|
| Story 1 | TP | 8 | 596 | 8/596 (1.34%) |
| Story 2 | CM | 7 | 1,047 | 7/1,047 (0.67%) |
| Story 3 | CP | 25 | 2,007 | 25/2,007 (1.25%) |
| Story 4 | TM | 17 | 2,381 | 17/2,381 (0.71%) |
| Story 5 | CP | 19 | 3,431 | 19/3,431 (0.55%) |
| Story 6 | CP | 32 | 11,251 | 32/11,251 (0.28%) |
| Story 7 | DC | 64 | 3,965 | 64/3,965 (1.61%) |
| Totals | -- | 172 | 24,678 | 172/24,678 (0.70%) |

In comparing the token frequency of *dice(n) que* in the Wounaan meu-Spanish translations and *dice(n) que* in Travis' (2006) written and spoken corpus data, there is a higher percentage of *dice(n) que* in the Wounaan meu-Spanish translations than in Travis' (2006) study. There were 172 total tokens of *dice(n) que* out of 24,678 words in all, so *dice(n) que* occurred in 0.70% of the entire data set. In comparison, in Travis' (2006) oral data set, there were approximately 70,000 words, and only 54 tokens of *dice(n) que* (0.075%). Additionally, of the written data taken from four Colombian novels, there were a total of 73 tokens of *dice(n) que* out of approximately 310,000 words, for which the percentage is even smaller at 0.025%.

The percentage of *dice(n) que* in the Wounaan meu-Spanish translations is notably high at 0.70%, especially considering Travis (2006: 1272) mentions her token frequency is high (0.075%) in comparison with a previous study of 'hearsay devices' in American English by Chafe (1986). In Chafe's (1986) study, the token percentage of evidential periphrasis (i.e. *people say, they say*) was only 0.04%. So we can see here that just by taking into account the proportions, the use of "hearsay devices" shown throughout the Wounaan meu-Spanish translations is relatively high. Regarding the work of Babel (2009), although there is mention of a high frequency, no quantitative figures were provided; thus, it is not possible to compare the frequency of the reportative *dice(n) que* to the token frequency in the Wounaan meu-Spanish translations. However, this does not detract from the noticeably high frequency of reportative

dice(n) que tokens in the present data set and the general frequency of ‘hearsay evidentials’ as compared to Travis (2006) and Chafe (1986).

Perhaps the high percentage of *dice(n) que* in story 3 can be explained by the fact that the thematic content in the third story was sexually graphic, and the narrator intended to employ the reportative evidential to distance himself or herself from the material presented. This would explain the high frequency relative to the other oral narratives. This could be another explanation for story 7. The content of the story dealt with a man killing his wife because she had not prepared dinner for him; it could be the case that perhaps the storyteller recognized the wrongdoing of the man against his wife and incorporated evidential markers to distance himself/herself from the content of the story, indirectly relaying to the audience that he/she is not in agreement with the violent actions performed by the protagonist in the story. This would indeed be consistent with the speaker stance analysis of Babel (2009).

The fact that the reportative *dice(n) que* occurred so frequently in each translation may suggest that the Wounaan translators found it necessary to make the source of information explicit. This would be comparable to the high frequency of *dice(n) que* in the Bolivian Spanish contact variety, which is due to evidential transfer because social pressure to make explicit to the audience the speaker’s source of information is characteristic of Quechua (Babel 2009; Nuckolls 1993). Additionally, the use of the reportative evidential in Quechua is obligatory in the narrative genre of folktales and oral storytelling (Faller 2002: 190), which could help explain the frequent tokens of *dice(n) que* in my novel data set assuming this is a similar phenomenon among Amerindian cultures.

Since there has been very little study on the use of *dice(n) que* in the non-contact Panamanian Spanish variety, our knowledge of the token frequency of the discourse marker is

limited. While Lamy (2010: 5) makes no mention of the general frequency of *dice(n) que* in the variety, he does note that it is used only in such informal registers and would therefore be almost impossible to elicit from an interview. And as there are no available corpora to be found with this token item due to the lack of research performed on this discourse marker in the Panamanian variety, determining the general frequency of *dice(n) que*—especially that which serves a reportative function—remains impossible. What we can see, however, is that it indeed is used prominently in the monolingual variety.

5.2 Qualitative Analysis—Functional Comparison to Travis (2006)

In the present data set, all appearances of *dice(n) que* save one token item served the ‘hearsay’ function. I categorized only one token item as introducing indirect speech, which I determined as such because it was accompanied by the verb *decir* as seen below:

- (27) *Sí, disque se decían hermanos, en los tiempos antiguos se trataban de familia entre todos.* (Story 6)
 Yes, *disque* they said ‘brothers’, in the old days everyone treated each other as family.

In all other cases, *dice(n) que* was used solely as a marker of ‘hearsay’ as seen in the examples below:

- (28) a. *asi mismo, dicen que también cruzaron un puente sobre el río, y seguían apostando* (Story 4)
 just like that, *dicen que* they also crossed a bridge over the river and the continued betting.
- b. *De ahí también, dicen que hicieron apuesta con el trapiche.* (Story 4)
 From there also, *dicen que* they made a bet with the sugar mill.
- c. *Sí. Dicen que iba a trabajar junto con los demás* (Story 5)
 Yes. *Dicen que* he went to work together with the rest.
- d. *Dicen que regresaron en dos días.* (Story 6)
Dicen que they returned in two days.
- e. *Dicen que ese día la mujer cosinó la comida para su esposo.* (Story 7)
Dicen que that day the woman cooked food for her husband.

While Travis (2006) has shown that *dice(n) que* follows the path of semantic expansion that is common cross-linguistically among grammaticized evidential systems, Babel's (2009) work can be applied to this very path of semantic development in order to display more clearly the influence of the Quechua reportative enclitic on the use of *dice(n) que* in the Bolivian variety. I provide below an image that represents a comparison among the three varieties of Spanish seen in this study. The monolingual Colombian variety is represented by each function listed, as provided by Travis (2006). The bilingual Bolivian Spanish variety in contact with Quechua is represented in the 'reported speech' function (highlighted in orange) and the 'hearsay' function (highlighted in blue), and the bilingual Wounaan meu-Spanish variety's functional use of *dice(n) que* falls for the most part under the 'hearsay' category (highlighted in blue) below:

Table 2: Variety Uses of Reportative *dice(n) que* along Path of Semantic Development

| Semantic/Evidential Function-----> | | Pragmatic/Epistemic Function | |
|---|--|---|---|
| Reported Speech | Hearsay | Labelling | Dubitative |
| <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Marks indirect speech • Distinguishes quoted speech from surrounding discourse • Indirect speaker distance • Can imply falsity/doubt • Highlight material as belonging to someone else • Second-hand source of information | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Never occurs with expressed subject • Refers to unspecified 3rd person subject • Can occur with lexical reinforcement of 'decir' and 'que' • Indirect speaker distance • Can imply falsity/doubt • Highlight material as belonging to someone else | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Introduces noun phrase/prepositional phrase • Occurs with unexpressed 3rd person subject • Speaker marks something as unusual • Inherent notion of doubt • Distance speaker from the label | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Lost notion of 'say' altogether • Notions of false beliefs, unachievable goals, uncontrollability • Key function: doubt • Indicates discrepancy between intentions and outcomes • Mirativity/surprise |

Here, we see that of all the functions, *dice(n) que* from the Wounaan meu-Spanish translations appears to act more like the reportative that was transferred into the Bolivian Spanish variety from Quechua. While *dice(n) que* from the non-contact Colombian variety performs a range of functions encompassing strict evidential notions on one side and strict epistemic notions

on the other, *dice(n) que* in Spanish in contact with Wounaan meu preserves a ‘hearsay’ function and does not convey any epistemic notions exclusively, similar to *diz(que)* in Bolivian Spanish.

Curiously, there appears to be a parallel between the functions of *dice(n) que* in the non-contact and contact Spanish varieties mentioned so far. Firstly, *dice(n) que* in the non-contact Panamanian variety encompasses various innovative functions similar to those seen in the non-contact Colombian Spanish variety, and *dice(n) que* in Bolivian Spanish in contact with Quechua and Panamanian Spanish in contact with Wounaan meu—as taken from the data in the seven translations—primarily serves the reportative function.

I suggest that these occurrences of *dice(n) que* in the Wounaan meu-Spanish translations may be a result of contact-induced grammaticalization and support Heine and Kuteva’s (2003: 530) argument that “universal processes of grammatical change tend to be influenced by historical processes leading to areal diffusion of linguistic structures.” They define contact-induced grammaticalization as “a grammaticalization process that is due to the influence of one language on another” (2003:533), and I propose that *dice(n) que* in the Wounaan meu-Spanish translations is the result of such a process. Contact-induced grammaticalization takes place when a grammatical concept is transferred from, using the terminology of Heine and Kuteva (2003), a model language (M) to a replica language (R). They provide the following mechanism to convey the strategy involved in grammatical transfer (2003:533):

- (29) Ordinary contact-induced grammaticalization
 - a. Speakers of language R notice that in language M there is a grammatical category Mx.
 - b. They develop an equivalent category Rx, using material available in their own language (R).
 - c. To this end, they draw on universal strategies of grammaticalization, using construction Ry in order to develop Rx.
 - d. They grammaticalize construction Ry to Rx.

Using this model, I consider the case of *dice(n) que* in the bilingual Wounaan meu-Spanish variety, in which Wounaan meu is the model language, and Spanish is the replica language. Additionally, the grammatical category (Mx) is reportative evidentiality, of which an equivalent category is created in Spanish. The construction (Ry) in this case would be the use of the verb+complementizer form *decir que*. This construction is then grammaticalized to Rx, which is *dice(n) que* used as a reportative marker of ‘hearsay’ instead of a speech act accompanied by a referential subject. So, while contact between Wounaan meu and Spanish may have initiated *dice(n) que* as a reportative evidential, it may be the case that internal development and the natural movement along the semantic path will result in semantic extension and phonetic reduction of this reportative. Future research is clearly needed in order to determine this.

Syntactically, the majority of the cases of *dice(n) que* was in pre-clausal position, as displayed in example (30a-c) below:

- (30) a. *Si, dicen que eso fue un poco más anterior.* (Story 2)
 Yes, *dicen que* that was a little before.
- b. *Dicen que así fue como se reinició de nuevo la pelea con los Gunas.* (Story 2)
Dicen que that was how the fight reinitiated with the Gunas.
- c. *Sí, con las manos hacía que el agua sonara turúu turúu turúu y dicen que después de un rato se quedaba quietesita sumergida en el agua.* (Story 3)
 Yes, with his hands he made the wáter sound “turuu turuu turuu” and *dicen que* after a while he remained quiet submerged in the water.

There was only one token of *dice(n) que* that was located after the clausal subject, as seen in example (31) below:

- (31) *Cuando Dios subía para el cielo, él también dicen que brincó.* (Story 4)
 When God climbed up to Heaven, He also *dicen que* jumped.

Dice(n) que in the present data set more closely resembles the syntactic use of the reportative in the contact variety of Bolivian Spanish than the non-contact Colombian and Panamanian varieties through its usual pre-clausal syntactic placement. While Travis’ (2006) and

Lamy’s (2010) data showed *dice(n) que* modifying nouns and prepositions, characteristic of what Travis (2006) calls the ‘labeling function’, this never occurred in my data set. Additionally, Babel (2009) found that *dice(n) que* in the contact Bolivian variety occurred typically in clause-final or clause-initial position and never modified heads or phrases, as seen from example (3b) and displayed again in example (32) below:

- (32) F: *Pero había, no ve, unos [brazos] de la Alcaldía para comprarse, decían.?*
 G: *Pero ahora no es del, no ha de ser del esta, p’, no? Del río.*
 J: *Es potable pero no es*
 F: *Dizque es del vertiente, dicen.*
 F: But there were, weren’t there, some [pipes?] at the Town Hall you could buy, they said.?
 G: But now it’s not from the, it must not be from the thing, right? From the river.
 J: It’s potable but it’s not
 F: *Dizque* it’s from a spring, *dicen.* (Babel 2009: 501)

5.3 Discourse Analysis—SPEAK and Psychological Distance

Thirdly, I apply a complementary analysis, through which each token of *dice(n) que* was coded modeled after Feke’s (2004) SPEAK and distance factors as detailed in the previous chapter. The table below provides the results of my coding analysis:

Table 3: Epistemic Notions of *dice(n) que* Tokens

| | Effect on speaker/hearer | | Attitude toward truth value | | Psych. Dist. | |
|---------|--------------------------|-----|-----------------------------|-------------|--------------|-----|
| | Yes | No | Truth/cert. | Doubt/Prob. | Close | Far |
| Story 1 | 0 | 8 | 8 | 0 | 8 | 0 |
| Story 2 | 2 | 5 | 7 | 0 | 5 | 2 |
| Story 3 | 6 | 19 | 24 | 1 | 23 | 2 |
| Story 4 | 0 | 17 | 17 | 0 | 17 | 0 |
| Story 5 | 0 | 19 | 19 | 0 | 19 | 0 |
| Story 6 | 4 | 28 | 32 | 0 | 31 | 1 |
| Story 7 | 4 | 60 | 64 | 0 | 64 | 0 |
| Total | 16 | 156 | 171 | 1 | 167 | 5 |

As seen in the chart above, there was a general trend regarding the epistemic notions of *dice(n) que* in each narrative translation in my data set. With regard to the effect on speaker/hearer, only 9.1% of all tokens of *dice(n) que* had an effect on the speaker/hearer, and

only one token (0.58% of the total data set) served a probabilistic/dubitative function. With regard to psychological distance, the majority of the tokens were used with close distance; only five tokens (2.9%) were used to imply far distance, and of these tokens, they were found among only three of the seven translations.

Comparing these results to those of Feke (2004) and her analysis of Quechua speakers' employment of the reportative evidential *-si*, we see that the opposite trend seemed to occur with the use of *dice(n) que* from the Wounaan meu-Spanish translations. While Feke's (2004) results displayed the use of the reportative evidential in cases where: (i) the speaker anticipated a negative effect upon disclosing the information, (ii) there was a lower degree of certainty, and (iii) the situations entailed far psychological distance (2004: 110), *dice(n) que* appeared more often in cases where: (i) there was no effect on the speaker/hearer, (ii) the attitude of the truth value was certain, and (iii) the situation involved close psychological distance.

I suggest that these adverse results are likely due to the nature of my data set belonging to the oral narrative genre. While Feke (2004) obtained her data through a variety of methods (i.e. various role play situations, spontaneous conversation), I realize my data set does not provide the most appropriate discourse situations for which to examine the information's effect on the speaker/hearer, speaker attitude, and psychological distance. The inherent nature of the Wounaan oral narratives appears restrictive with regard to these factors because the token items were generally placed in the same narrative context.

The narrator tells a story in the third person point of view of (a) Wounaan ancestor(s) from many years past. Because of this, there would typically be no effect on the speaker/hearer because the linguistic data do not stem from subjective conversation incorporating interpersonal topic discussion but rather from a traditional account of Wounaan folklore. Still, I found 16 cases

of *dice(n) que* being used in contexts that I believe could affect the speaker/hearer. And although these only account for 9.3% of the total token items, I suggest that this low percentage may be due to the few moments in which the information had an effect on the speaker/hearer at all.

This same idea applies for pragmatic notions of dubitative attitude and far psychological distance. As part of the storytelling event, a story is not usually presented when a speaker is unsure of the information provided but rather the narrator is expected to provide a more or less accurate secondhand account of an event that took place in the past. Still, there was one case where the narrator, having forgotten a certain part of the story, employed *dice(n) que* to convey his or her inability to remember correctly, as seen in example (33) below:

- (33) *Me parece que dicen que no estaba embarazada.*
It seems to me that *dicen que* she wasn't pregnant. (Story 3)

With respect to psychological distance, once again the nature of the oral storytelling event of an account of Wounaan history naturally calls for close psychological distance, since in each narrative, the speaker/hearer is by default familiar with and interested in the people who participated in the event and the topic of the event under discussion. This is due to the fact that each story recounts traditional folklore and cultural ways of the Wounaan, who also make up the audience listening to the narrator's stories. So, while my data display results opposite to those of Feke (2004), I am skeptical to conclude that reportative *dice(n) que* does not convey pragmatic notions parallel to the Quechua reportative evidential since the nature of my data set may have skewed the ability to properly measure this.

CHAPTER 6

CONCLUSIONS

6.1 *Evidential Transfer: dice(n) que*

This thesis investigated the functions of *dice(n) que* from seven Spanish translations of Wounaan oral narratives and attempted to determine the motivation for this reportative, that is, whether it appears to be the result of language-internal development or transfer from Wounaan *meu*. Due to the lack of linguistic material and literature regarding Wounaan *meu*, I incorporated previous analyses of analogous evidential transfer of the Quechua reportative evidential in a contact Bolivian Spanish variety and the functions of *dice(n) que* in a monolingual Colombian Spanish variety. These two varieties of Spanish were used as models to represent contact and non-contact varieties respectively. The comparison between the functional and syntactic employment of *dice(n) que* from my data set and these two varieties assisted me in answering my two research questions: (1) What are the functions of *dice(n) que* in my novel data set? (2) Is *dice(n) que* in my novel data set more similar to the use of *dice(n) que* in non-contact or contact varieties of Spanish? I propose that, based on the comparative analysis of *dice(n) que* across different varieties of Spanish, *dice(n) que* may be the result of evidential transfer from Wounaan *meu* into the Spanish variety.

In response to question (1), the results from chapter 5 show that the reportative *dice(n) que* in my novel data set predominantly mark what Travis (2006) considers the ‘hearsay’ function. This is concluded by the way in which *dice(n) que* was never accompanied by a referential subject and didn’t introduce direct/indirect speech but instead was employed to mark

that the information was obtained by the narrator through a secondhand source. There was only one token item that deviated from the ‘hearsay’ functions, which was categorized under the strictly evidential function: ‘reported speech’.

In response to question (2), this investigation suggests that the reportative *dice(n) que* from my data set is more similar to the contact Spanish variety, which was determined by the fact that *dice(n) que* in the contact variety of Bolivian Spanish functioned more strictly as an evidential marker, introducing (in-)direct speech and marking ‘hearsay’. In contrast *dice(n) que* in the non-contact variety served all four functions, ranging from strictly evidential notions of ‘reported speech’ to strictly ‘dubitative’ epistemic notions that no longer conveyed elements of a speech act. Additionally, Lamy’s (2010) research showed that *dice(n) que* in the non-contact Panamanian variety also serves a variety of innovative functions that extend beyond ‘reported speech’ or ‘hearsay’.

The comparison between the syntactic placement of *dice(n) que* in each of these varieties also lends support for the similarity between the reportative in my data set and that of the contact variety. In the narrative translations, *dice(n) que* was largely located in pre-clausal position, modifying the entire clause; there were no cases in which *dice(n) que* modified a noun phrase or prepositional phrase. This placement is similar to the data set in Babel (2009), in which *dice(n) que* tended to occur in pre-clausal or post-clausal position and held clausal scope. In contrast, Travis (2006) discusses *dice(n) que* in the non-contact variety as having either clausal or phrasal scope, which was also the case in Lamy’s (2010) study of the Panamanian variety. Travis’ (2006) functional category ‘labelling’ itself is in fact created specifically for tokens of *dice(n) que* with phrasal scope and usually occurred before a noun/noun phrase or preposition/prepositional phrase.

While the syntactic placement of *dice(n) que* in the present data set confirms that it more closely resembles the Spanish variety in contact with Quechua, it cannot be completely certain that the reportative employment in the translations is a byproduct of Wounaan evidential transfer. However we can see that the functional implications and syntactic placement are similar between the two contact varieties, while the non-contact variety is quite different. Still, more fieldwork is necessary to guarantee the certainty of these results. These findings support evidential transfer via external influences, and in alignment with Heine and Kuteva (2003, 2005) I consider that this is due to the occurrence of contact-induced grammaticalization. That is, Wounaan meu may have catalyzed the use of *dice(n) que* as a reportative ‘hearsay’ marker, and it appears to be the case that *dice(n) que* is in preliminary stages of development, though this will require future diachronic study.

I also argue that although testing for the material’s effect on the speaker/hearer, speaker’s attitude toward truth value, and psychological distance showed results opposite to that of Feke’s (2004) study of Quechua evidential production, this may be due to the narrative nature of my data set as mentioned in chapter 5. In fact, in the few contextual cases in which there was (i) an effect on the speaker/hearer, (ii) an attitude of dubitativity, and (iii) far psychological distance, there was still an appearance of *dice(n) que* despite its low frequency. Thus, I argue this low frequency is actually a result of the narrative context itself rather than the potential epistemic notions of *dice(n) que*. However, study of Wounaan meu in different settings (i.e. spontaneous conversation) is necessary in order to determine if this is actually the case.

In addition to the functional and syntactic similarities of *dice(n) que* between the two contact varieties of Spanish, it is also important to point out that the contact situation in the eastern Panamanian region is conducive to transfer. Wounaan meu has been in heavy contact

with Spanish for centuries, and while the Wounaan are typically bilingual in Wounaan meu and Spanish, the degree of contact between the Wounaan and monolingual Spanish speakers appears to be very high. From conversations I've had with the Wounaan during my time in Panama, I gathered that the older Wounaan learned Spanish from educational instruction and this instruction continues with the younger generations. Regarding language attitudes, the Wounaan seemed to recognize that Spanish was socially more advantageous for the speaker, and the older generations on various occasions expressed their frustration that the younger generations were losing their ability to speak Wounaan meu due to their constant use of Spanish.

The linguistic conditions are also conducive for transfer from Wounaan meu into Spanish because, as we have seen, evidentiality as a category can be semantically represented by the Spanish language (i.e. periphrasis). Additionally, evidentiality can be transferred as a non-systemic element that doesn't affect the internal structure of Spanish, which has arguably been seen in this study. Previous literature on evidential transfer, as discussed in chapters 1 and 3, shows also that this cross-linguistic phenomenon is not uncommon to language contact situations.

In conclusion, while I do not discount the influence of internal development as set forth by the forces of contact-induced grammaticalization, the results of this study support the hypothesis that *dice(n) que* found in the seven Spanish translations of Wounaan oral narratives stem from evidential transfer. The functional interpretations and syntactic placement of *dice(n) que* parallel its employment in the Bolivian Spanish variety, and the social and linguistic factors in eastern Panama do not pose a problem for these conclusions and instead appear conducive to contact-induced language change (i.e. evidential transfer).

The abundant appearance of the reportative *dice(n) que* in each narrative translation—and its implications of evidential transfer as argued and supported in this paper—takes us one step closer to a fuller understanding of the complexities of Wounaan meu and paves the way for more much needed linguistic study. Additionally, it raises questions regarding the cultural importance of evidential systems in Amerindian languages. While evidential marking is necessary to speak to the veracity of a speaker’s utterance in Wounaan meu (Binder p.c.) and as attested in various Amerindian languages,¹² this areal feature does not exist in European languages.

Another issue brought up in this thesis, due to the methodology of the study, deals with the question of how Wounaan treat evidentiality in translations from Wounaan meu to Spanish. Because the use of evidentiality differs between the two languages, Wounaan translators are forced to choose between generating a literal or free translation from their native language into the target language. While translations warrant serious effort in maintaining a document’s linguistic authenticity, creating a more stylistically appropriate translation can be more beneficial in an effort to convey an accurate semantic interpretation. Thus, while omitting an evidential system in Wounaan meu characterizes the speaker as a liar, it is the use of an evidential system in Spanish that has the potential to imply this. That is, a frequent employment of *dice(n) que* communicates that the speaker’s information is likely not trustworthy in Spanish, whereas the opposite is attested in Wounaan meu (Binder p.c.), so regarding an evidential interpretation, a direct translation of Wounaan meu into Spanish communicates the opposite epistemic message conveyed in a Wounaan utterance.

¹² See Aikhenvald and Dixon (2003)

6.2 *Wider Applications for Bilingual Intercultural Education*

Ultimately I intend for the results of this examination to provide assistance to the academic community interested in understanding the forces that shape language shift in bilingual communities, and that this investigation will lead to wider applications for studies in Second Language Acquisition; studies of cross-linguistic transfer may result in higher understanding of bilingual speakers and the way in which the learning process takes place. And while the Wounaan continue to seek appropriate resources for programs concerning the teaching of their native language to younger generations, I aim for potential SLA applications in this project to perpetuate the development of bilingual education resources for these bilingual Wounaan meu-Spanish speakers and improve Bilingual Intercultural Education (EIB) programs in the area.

While Panama's EIB laws of the 1940s were poorly executed, national education policies were not properly well-defined in the country until these laws were modified in July 2005. Statistics from the 2000 census show that out of the 285,231 indigenous individuals in Panama, the illiteracy rate stayed between 34-46%, in contrast to the national level of 7.8% (Ministerio de Educación 2005: 3-4). And while indigenous Panamanian children spent approximately 9 years to finish primary school studies, non-indigenous Panamanian children spent an average of 6.7 years in their primary studies. Meanwhile, low-income indigenous Panamanian children only spent an average of little more than three years in an institutionalized education program, which was itself characterized as being of poor quality (Ministerio de Educación 2005: 3-4).

As a result, in 2005 the Panamanian government modified the laws of the 1940s proposing a new curriculum that incorporated indigenous cultural and linguistic values, including indigenous history, sustainable development, and economic studies (Inchuate y Cancha 2010: 7). These modifications insisted that education among indigenous communities should be based

upon their right to preserve and strengthen cultural identity (Ministerio de Educación 2005: 4), but these reforms also saw weak execution and required further reinforcement. The most recent change in Panama’s EIB program was the passing of Law 88 in November 2010, which recognizes the cultural and linguistic diversity of all indigenous communities in the country and calls for national recognition of all groups through the national establishment of obligatory educational programs centered on bilingual and intercultural pedagogical practices in all schools (public and private) in indigenous territories and additionally seeks university support in the area (Congresos Generales Guna 2010).

Therein, while in this linguistically informed analysis I examined non-normative Spanish production by bilingual Wounaan meu-Spanish speakers in their translations, the “errors” I found in each translation may prove useful in assisting educators and academic professionals to recognize specific areas of language learning that require more attention in EIB programs in which Wounaan meu is the target language. I suggest that improved pedagogical materials or a more concentrated effort will serve useful in the Wounaan meu-Spanish classroom concerning punctuation and spelling, object pronoun use, and use of prepositions. Examples of each of these particular areas have been taken from the Wounaan meu-Spanish translations and are provided below.

(34) Punctuation and spelling

a. *En verad en eso se emfermo, que se emfermo y murio. Entonces lo trajeron a señora para enterrarr.* (Story 1)

Truly, because of that she became sick, she became sick and died. Then they brought the woman in order to bury her.

b. *Ya que ella se a puesto en eso...* (Story 3)

Since she has put herself in that...

c. *...como desde entonses ya ellos tuvieron agua, todo eso quedó atras. así es.* (Story 4)

...as, since then they already had water, all of that remained behind. That’s it.

- d. *Dicen que el hombre **maneció** sin dormir, ya en la **mudrugada** él no aguantaba el sueño y **comensó** a cabecear.* (Story 7)
Dicen que the man was up at daybreak without sleeping, at dawn he wasn't tolerating his sleepiness and began to nod off.

(35) Object pronoun use

- a. *...lo tuvieron años hasta que **Ø** creció el cabello.* (Story 1)
...they had here there for years until her hair grew.
- b. *Otra vez iba satanáas, a buscar sal, **Ø** traía y la echaba en el agua. Después de un tiempo, cuando el fue a probar**Ø**, seguía igual de dulce. Y Dios, no **les** ponía mucho cuidado...* (Story 4)
Another time Satan went, to look for salt, he brought it and threw it in the water. After some time, when he went to taste it, it was just as sweet. And God, wasn't placing much care...
- c. *Su mujer **le** lloró por mucho tiempo hasta que un día se madre le dijo: Porqué **le** lloras tanto si tu marido fue nutria* (Story 5)
His wife cried for a long time until one day her mother told her: Why are you crying so much if your husband was an otter?
- d. ***Le** habían dicho a los muchachos que tuvieran listo muchos balsos antes de que ellos llegaran.* (Story 6)
They had told the boys to have many balsos ready before they arrive.

(36) Use of prepositions

- a. *Después **Ø** que nos formó que diga mejor dicho, Después **Ø** que Dios nos formó anduvieron mucho tiempo.* (Story 1)
After he formed us or better said after God formed us they went a long time.
- b. *despues **Ø** que tuvo la puvertad lo mantuvieron en el mosquitero por mucho tiempo.* (Story 1)
After she had puberty they kept her in the mosquito net for a long time.
- c. *...siempre acostumbraban **a** atacar a los que pasaban; éstas se dejaban ver en esa forma como insinuando **a** pelear...* (Story 2)
...they always accustomed themselves to attack those the passed by; they let them in this form as if insinuating to fight...
- d. *Dicen que esa mujer solamente se ocupaba **en** esa actividad.* (Story 3)
Dicen que that woman only concerned herself in that activity.
- e. *se refiere **en** el agua.* (Story 3)
it refers to the water.
- f. *...ten compacion **de** mi que tenga mucha sed y quiero tomar agua.* (Story 4)
...have compassion on me for I am very thirsty and I want to drink water.

While the above examples indicate more classroom attention should be placed on punctuation (i.e. capitalization rules, accent marks) and spelling, object pronoun use, and preposition use,

these areas of language learning were selected because of their frequent employment in my data set. Still, each translation consisted of various cases of non-normative and non-prescriptive Spanish production in other areas as well (i.e. *ser/estar* distinction, preterit/imperfect aspect distinction, subject expression), though these cases were not regularly employed and appeared to be dependent upon the transcriber/translator, suggesting that these non-prescriptive “errors” are more telling of an individual, rather than a collective, prescriptive knowledge of Spanish.

In conclusion, after comparing the functional, syntactic, and pragmatic uses of *dice(n) que* in the Wounaan meu-Spanish translations to those uses found in non-contact and contact varieties of Spanish, the results of this project propose that evidential transfer from Wounaan meu motivates the frequent appearance of *dice(n) que* and additionally suggest that the EIB program improve its efforts in the Wounaan meu-Spanish classroom specifically in the areas of punctuation and spelling, object pronoun use, and the use of prepositions. Furthermore, although this project has primarily expanded linguistic knowledge of Wounaan meu and its relationship with the regional Panamanian Spanish variety, I hope most of all that this investigation honors the culture and history of the under-represented Wounaan and promotes a global appreciation of their community and rich tradition of oral storytelling.

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