NON-CONTACT VERSUS CONTACT INDUCED LANGUAGE CHANGE:

THE CASE OF ANDEAN *PUES*

by

MARTIN ANTONIO OCON GAMARRA

(Under the Direction of Chad Howe)

ABSTRACT

In the last few decades many studies have been carried out on the Spanish variety that is spoken in the Andean region of Peru. Researchers tend to attribute its innovative syntactic, morphological, phonological and semantic features to language contact with Quechua. I chose to analyze the Spanish discourse marker *pues,* which in Andean Spanish presents a different syntactic distribution and alternative functions such as that of obviousness.

In order to show the different distribution and functions in Andean Spanish, I conducted thirty seven interviews and later contrasted them with randomly obtained speeches from Argentina, Mexico and Spain. Furthermore, I wanted to compare the Spanish from bilingual speakers from this Andean region to the Spanish from monolingual speakers from a coastal, non-Andean region. Therefore, I interviewed seventeen Spanish-Quechua bilinguals and twenty Spanish monolinguals.

I selected the interviewees from one of two regions -one monolingual and one bilingual. Each region had previously suffered devastating earthquakes that caused severe damage and killed many people. I chose these towns because I wanted to elicit the use of *pues*

meaning ‘obviously’. I asked questions related to these earthquakes that were answered in a very similar way among both monolingual and bilingual speakers. The fact that this pattern occurs not only in the bilingual area but also in the monolingual one weakens the Quechua interference hypothesis greatly.

My sample of thirty seven speakers showed that this specific word is highly preferred by the middle class from both linguistic groups. This completely turned *pues* from a bilingual marker into a social class marker. This phenomenon can also be observed across languages since often times social classes tend to segregate themselves linguistically by using their own particular language features.

Finally, throughout the whole dissertation I presented two opposing standpoints in the case of Andean pues: the theoretical framework supporting the hypothesis that Andean *pues* is the result of non-contact language-specific internal changes and grammaticalization, and the theoretical framework supporting the hypothesis that Andean *pues* is the result of language convergence between Quechua and Spanish. At the end of this dissertation the first hypothesis was accepted and the latter rejected; thus, I concluded that Andean *pues* is the result of Spanish internal changes influenced by social factors.

INDEX WORDS: Language Contact, Language Convergence, Grammaticalization, Interference, Obviousness, Discourse Marker

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# DEDICATORIA

Esta disertación está dedicada a las personas que contribuyeron directamente a que estos 5 años de esfuerzo y sacrificio valieran la pena y lograra el objetivo de obtener el título de doctor, algo que nunca pensé me costaría tanto y afectaría en gran medida no sólo mi economía y relaciones interpersonales sino también mi salud física y mental. Por tal motivo este logro no sólo es académico-profesional sino es una victoria de vida.

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# CHAPTER 1

# INTRODUCTION

## 1.1 Introduction

The purpose of this study is two-fold. It aims to investigate the extent to which Andean *pues* is the result of either a regular diachronic grammaticalization process or the product of language contact between Quechua and Spanish in the Andean region of Peru. This study is also intended to shed new light on language change, grammaticalization in a language contact situation and, more specifically, on the development of discourse markers.

Defining what a discourse marker is, or more appropriately, what discourse markers do has been a difficult task. Since the 1980's, when this term became coined by Schriffin (1987), there has been considerable discussion concerning what constitutes the grammatical and pragmatic nature of discourse markers (DMs). Some of the factors contributing to the disagreement and even the confusion regarding what a discourse marker is include (i) the fact that DMs are approached from different theoretical perspectives, (ii) the fact that they derive from distinct grammatical categories such as adverbs, conjunctions and prepositional phrases, and (iii) the difficulty in identifying their specific functions. Therefore, some of the main discussions concerning the nature and scope of discourse markers look to determine whether DMs are the same as connective words, namely the question of if they are considered part of core grammar or are just pragmatic items, and the type of function DMs encode: lexical, procedural or both.

Fraser (1999: 931) defines discourse markers as "a class of lexical expressions drawn primarily from the syntactic classes of conjunctions, adverbs and prepositional

phrases". They indicate specific features that allow us to separate them from these syntactic classes from which they derive. Speakers use them to signal a relationship between two parts of the discourse. Therefore, they guide the speakers' inferences occurring in communication according to morphosyntactic, semantic and pragmatic properties (Martín-Zorraquino & Portolés 1999: 4057).

It is in this context where we find the Spanish discourse marker *pues*, which is the focus of this study. Indeed, we examine a specific type of *pues*: the one used by speakers in the Peruvian Andes, a Quechua-Spanish bilingual region. Nevertheless, we believe that this Andean *pues* may also be used by speakers from monolingual regions in Peru. Through interviews with speakers from both monolingual and bilingual regions, we attempt to determine whether this particular usage of *pues* has developed as the result of language contact-related mechanisms, through expected grammaticalization 'pathways' or via some combination of the two. It will be shown that the last option provides the best explanation for this particular case of *pues*.

The present research aims at contributing to a better understanding of the grammaticalization process of discourse markers in a bilingual setting. We will focus on the case of *pues* and try to understand the properties of its non-canonical use in Andean Spanish. We believe its development lacks a convincing explanation in the literature, and this is precisely what this dissertation intends to provide. We look to explain if this type of *pues* was triggered by the contact, interference and/or convergence between Spanish and Quechua or if it is just the result of regular diachronic non-contact grammaticalization. Thus, this study may also contribute to inform the fields of languages in contact, grammaticalization, semantics and pragmatics.

Previous studies (e.g., Zavala 2001, Sanchez 2004, Escobar 2012, among many others) show that Quechua has played an important role in the formation of Andean Spanish in Peruvian bilingual regions. These studies, and many others, demonstrate that the transfer of features from Quechua into Spanish has caused language convergence, as in the case of the feature of evidentiality which will be discussed in Chapter 3, and can be observed at all levels of linguistic structure (i.e. phonology, morphology, syntax, etc.). The current study takes as a point of departure the claims of Zavala who presents Andean Spanish *pues* as the direct result of Quechua interference and convergence. Moreover, Zavala argues that, unlike Standard Spanish *pues*, Andean Spanish *pues* has lost its grammatical meaning and acquired a discourse role. However, as presented in Chapter 2, this study shows that, among other functions, Standard Spanish *pues* also has a discourse role. Zavala also observes that in Andean Spanish, *pues* is mainly pronounced as [pe] or [pes] due to the influence of Quechua where diphthongs are not permitted. Finally, she claims that Andean *pues*, which can function as a suffix, may be related to the fact that "Quechua is an agglutinating language with a very rich morphology, where many suffixes are attached to the words to form different meanings. This final position, hence, seems to be an influence of Quechua structure" (Zavala 2001: 1004).

However, I have observed that Peruvian Spanish monolinguals, particularly in those regions where Quechua is not and has never been spoken, also use *pues* in a very similar manner as bilinguals or Andean Spanish speakers do. Thus, I will use this analysis in part to confirm or reject some of the claims presented above and answer the following questions: Why is an Andean Spanish feature from bilingual areas present in non-Andean Spanish where Quechua was never spoken? Did this feature spread from the bilingual regions to the monolingual regions at some point? Are there any other processes or

mechanisms that could have caused the change of this discourse marker in Peru? As a result, I have conducted this research from two different frameworks in order to determine which one would provide a better explanation of the existence of Peruvian *pues*.

These two different theoretical frameworks are explained in Chapters 2 and 3, respectively. The aim of Chapter 2 is to support the argument that Andean *pues* is the result of diachronic grammaticalization, with the objective of Chapter 3 presenting the argument that Andean *pues* is the result of language convergence between Quechua and Spanish. Taking these two different theoretical frameworks and chapters into consideration resulted in the elaboration of two opposing research questions, which are presented and discussed in the following section.

### 1.2. Research questions

My research questions concern the interplay of factors that trigger the use of Andean *pues* and have a direct connection with the two main approaches presented above: diachronic grammaticalization and languages in contact. The questions to be discussed are:

1. Has Andean *pues* continued to follow the diachronic grammaticalization path where language contact between Quechua and Spanish played little or no role in language change?
2. Is the use of Andean *pues* the result of language contact and convergence between Quechua and Spanish?

The first question explores the extent to which Andean *pues* may be the result of regular cross-linguistic grammaticalization and, therefore, undergoes phonetic reduction and semantic/pragmatic reanalysis, characteristics that are discussed in Chapter 2. It may be divided into four sub-questions:

1a. Can phonetic reduction of *pues* (pes, pe, pus, ps) be observed in one language proficiency group more than in the other two? This question is intended to see the extent to which all language proficiency groups, which will be described in detail in Chapter 3, reduce *pues* phonetically as is expected within the grammaticalization framework. If *pues* is reduced similarly and with similar frequency by both bilinguals and monolinguals, the argument for grammaticalization as the main reason for the existence of Andean *pues* will be strongly favored.

1b. Can phonetic reduction of *pues* (pes, pe, pus, ps) be observed in one socioeconomic group more than in the other two? This question is intended to determine if there is a correlation between social class and the reduction of *pues*. If there is a social class common to both the monolingual and bilingual regions that reduces *pues* more often than the other social classes, the argument for language contact as the main reason for the existence of Andean *pues* will be rejected or strongly weakened.

1c. Can semantic/pragmatic reanalysis of *pues* (new non-canonical meanings) be observed in one language proficiency group more than in the other two? This question looks to determine if all language proficiency groups use *pues* to convey similar menings/ functions or if some groups favor some meanings/ functions over others. If new meanings have arisen across all language proficiency groups (Quechua subordinate bilinguals, Spanish subordinate bilinguals and Spanish monolinguals), the argument for grammaticalization as the main reason for the existence of Andean *pues* will be strongly favored.

1d. Can semantic/pragmatic reanalysis of *pues* (new non-canonical meanings) be observed in one socioeconomic group more than in the other two? The aim of this question is to ascertain if all socioeconomic groups, which are described in Chapter 4, use *pues* to convey similar meanings or if some groups favor some meanings over others. If new meanings have arisen across all socioeconomic groups (professionals, middle-class/merchants and agriculture-related workers), the argument for languages in contact as the main reason for the existence of Andean *pues* holding obviousness-related meanings as described in Chapter 4 will be rejected or strongly weakened.

The second question explores the extent to which Andean *pues* may be the result of the effect Quechua might have on Spanish. In Chapters 3 and 4, we see that among the main characteristics of Andean *pues* we can find the following: it tends to be reduced phonetically, it holds obviousness-related meanings, and it tends to appear in clause-final position. It may be divided into four sub-questions:

2a. Does Andean *pues* appear in the speech of one language proficiency group more frequently than in that of the other two groups? From the language contact standpoint, it is expected that Andean *pues* be used by Quechua subordinate bilinguals more frequently than Spanish subordinate bilinguals or Spanish monolinguals since similar Quechua features may be activated and affecting the Spanish from this bilingual area. If this is the case, the argument for language contact as the main reason for the existence of Andean *pues* will be strongly favored.

2b. Does Andean *pues* appear in the speech of one socioeconomic group more frequently than in that of the other two groups? From the language contact standpoint, it is expected that Andean *pues* be used by the farming-related workers more frequently than the professionals and merchants/middle class since, as we see in Chapter 3, Andean farmers use Quechua in most of their daily settings and only speak Spanish when they interact with Spanish monolinguals, which usually occurs when they sell their products; therefore, Quechua is strongly activated when speaking Spanish. If this is the case, the argument for grammaticalization as the main reason for the existence of Andean *pues* will be weakened.

2c. Does language proficiency have an effect in the sentential position preference of *pues*? In Chapter 3, we see that Quechua is an agglutinative language that allows the formation of words containing nouns and verbs with several types of postponed particles and suffixes. From the language contact standpoint, it is expected that *pues* appear in or moving towards the clause-final position due to the fact that Quechua is an agglutinating language that prefers suffixation. Thus, Quechua subordinate bilinguals, who have Quechua syntax more activated in their speech, will tend to place *pues* in clause-final position when speaking Spanish. This fact will support the language contact hypothesis as the reason for the existence of Andean *pues*.

2d. Does socioeconomic status have an effect in the sentential position preference of *pues*? Because of the close correlation between the language proficiency group (Quechua subordinate bilinguals) and the socioeconomic group (farmers), it is expected that the latter use *pues* in clause-final position more frequently that the

two other socioeconomic groups. If this is the case, the hypothesis that diachronic grammaticalization is the reason for the existence of Andean *pues* will be strongly weakened.

### 1.3. Outline of this dissertation

The current chapter provides the rationale for the study, its objectives and significance. It also provides relevant information on discourse markers, one of the most important concepts discussed in this dissertation. Then, I present the questions and sub-questions supporting each of the two theoretical frameworks mentioned earlier: diachronic grammaticalization and languages in contact.

Chapter 2 discusses the literature on non-contact induced change and grammaticalization. It starts out by presenting the diachronic grammaticalization path that *pues* has followed from Latin PŎST used as a place and time adverb until its current diverse meanings and functions. Then, it discusses the definitions and characteristics of grammaticalization and describes the tendencies that exist in reanalysis in order to determine where the case of Andean *pues* fits. Finally, it discusses the evolution of discourse markers in a grammaticalization framework and presents some dialectal and functional variations of discourse markers in Spanish, in an attempt to support the idea that Andean *pues* is just one more case of grammaticalized discourse markers.

Chapter 3 begins with a description of Andean *pues*, its meanings and functions, and presents a discussion of literature on languages in contact-related phenomena and contact-induced change mechanisms. Then, it summarizes some of the most relevant works such as the work on Quechua-Spanish convergence by Sánchez (2004) on evidentiality, the work

on contact-induced grammaticalization by Torres and Potowski (2008), and the work concerning language transfer of Quechua features into Spanish *pues* by Zavala (2001).

Chapter 4 discusses the methods used in designing the research that tested if the speech by bilingual speakers is different from that of monolingual speakers and if some variables such as socioeconomic status and language proficiency have an effect on the frequency and use of Andean *pues* by both Quechua-Spanish bilinguals and Spanish monolinguals. This chapter also presents participants, data collection instruments, and analysis tools used in the investigation.

Chapter 5 reports the results of this investigation. A quantitative analysis of the data is also presented. First this chapter shows general distributions of the main variables and then it shows specific variables combined in logistic regression models.

Finally, Chapter 6 presents a discussion of the main conclusions and support for either the rejection or the acceptance of the main hypotheses of the study. Limitations and future possibilities related to this research are also discussed in this chapter.

# CHAPTER 2

# ON NON-CONTACT-INDUCED LANGUAGE CHANGE

Chapter two attempts to demonstrate that Andean *pues* continues to follow a specific grammaticalization pathway, from lexical to grammatical or from grammatical to more grammatical, and that the development of *Andean pues* is not necessarily the result of language contact phenomena. Other varieties of Spanish have also experienced a parallel development of *pues* despite the fact that they were never in contact with Quechua; therefore, no type of language interference, transfer or convergence between Spanish and Quechua can be attested. I also review a case of grammaticalization in Andean Spanish that does not seem to have been caused by Quechua interference: the case of subordinate marker *que*. By presenting this case, I intend to support the argument that that innovative features in Andean, and other varieties, of Spanish do not need to be explained as the result of contact with Quechua (or other Andean languages, such as Aymara).

## 2.1. Diachronic Development of PŎST into *pues*

The discourse marker in question has evolved considerably from its Latin source, having acquired multiple senses, nuances and structural distributions (i.e. its position relative to a verbal element). Therefore, it is pertinent to provide a brief survey of the diachronic development of the current Spanish marker *pues* from its Latin origin: PŎST. In Latin, it was an adverb and preposition that conveyed the meaning of 'later'; however, through grammaticalization, it has evolved into the current discourse marker *pues*, which in

'normative' Spanish[1] (or at least more conventionally) can be found fulfilling three different functions: syntactic, discursive and pragmatic (Stenström, 2006).

PŎST was a Latin adverb / preposition that conveyed the notion of time sequence. "PŎST first denoted a spatial concept whereas a temporal concept implies a higher level of mental elaboration than a spatial one" (Paez-Urdaneta 1982: 336). An example of temporal PŎST can be found in the following example from Cicero's *In Verrem* (70 B.C.)

(1) *Pro murtuo sublatus brevi* ***postea*** *mortuus.*

'Taken away for a dead man, shortly thereafter he was dead.'

There are still a few expressions from Latin that include the word POST and are still used in Spanish with this temporal sense such as *postdata* 'after certain information was presented' or *postmortem* 'after death.'

Later, temporal PŎST evolved into an adverb of consequence, seen in (2) as POSTEA. We believe this reanalysis was achieved because of the close relationship between the before/after and cause/consequence dichotomies. Furthermore, from its origin as a time adverb, we can find examples of its development into a temporal conjunction POSTQUAM, as in (3):

(2) *Quid* ***postea****, si Romae assidus fui?*

'What would happen then if I were in Rome frequently?'

(Lewis & Short 1975: 1404; Paez-Urdaneta 1982: 339)

(3) ***Postquam*** *tuas litteras legi, Postumia tua me convenit*.

'After I read your letter, your Postumia called on me.'

(Lane 1898: 319; Paez-Urdaneta 1982: 339)

[1] Throughout this dissertation, I will use the term 'normative' instead of 'standard' to refer to prescriptive

Similarly, this temporal conjunction evolved into a conjunction of consequence due to the same dichotomy mentioned above. For instance:

(4) *Appius,* ***postquam*** *nemo adibat, donum se recepit*. (Páez Urdaneta 1982: 339)

'Since nobody came, Appius went back home.'

In the XII century, we find the first cases of this new evolution of POST (i.e. *pues*), which followed the regular phonological changes of diphthongization of spoken Latin low mid [ɔ] into [we]. It began as a temporal conjunction as in:

(5) ***Pues*** *esto an fablado, pienssanse de adobar.*

'After they have said this, they started getting ready to go'.

Once again, reanalysis from a temporal conjunction into a causal conjunction took place, and we can find examples such as the following one taken from *Mio Cid* (Anonymous approximately 1043-1099):

(6) *Quieto Castiella* ***pues*** *el rey he en yra*.

'I leave Castille because I have angered the King'.

This conjunction seems to have been common in the second half of the XIII century. Herrero (1997) mentions Bartol Hernández and his analysis of *Siete Partidas* (Seven-Part Code) (Alonso X, K. of C a L. 1221-1284). Hernández found 507 cases of *pues que*, shown in example (7), and only 33 cases of *pues*. However, by the XV century the use of *pues que* had diminished drastically. Still in Medieval Spanish *pues* also arose as a temporal preposition, as in:

(7) *Y* ***pues*** *que por vos, señora, la causa de mi venida se pide, la clara verdad me plaze sea manifiesta*.

'And since for you, my lady, the cause of my presence here was requested, I am glad the truth be exposed'. (Herrero 1997: 531)

(8) *Fasta tres semanas de **pues** de sant Miguell*.

'Even until three weeks after St. Miguel'. (Espinosa 2010, 107)

Paez-Urdaneta (1982: 332) claims that, at this point, two *pues* constructions with the meaning of consequence came into existence*:* extrasentential resultative *pues* as in (9) and intrasentential resultative *pues* as in (10).

(9) ***Pues** comed, comde e quando e quando fóredes yantando a vos e a otros dos darvos he de mano*.

'Then eat, count and when you are satisfied, I will free you along with two other gentlemen'. (Bello 1909: 333, Paez-Urdaneta 1982: 339)

(10) *Ignorantes los trovadores de la literatura antigua, nada tenían que ver sus composiciones con los poetas latinos: esta literatura fue **pues** totalmente original…*

'The troubadours being acquainted with ancient literature, had nothing to show in their compositions from the Latin poet: this literature was therefore completely original'. (Bello 1909: 333, Paez-Urdaneta 1982: 339)

By the seventeenth century, there was a new resultative conjunction as in (11), and this is arguably the reason why current Spanish *pues* still holds the meanings of cause and consequence. The first example derived from the causal conjunction from the thirteenth century as in (6); and the latter derived from the resultative conjunction from the seventeenth century:

(11) *Sin duda este pecador está herido de muerte, pues, vomita sangre por la boca.*

'Undoubtfully this sinner is mortally wounded since he is vomiting blood from his mouth'. (Quijote, I, II, 7 sic; Paez-Urdaneta, 1982: 339)

Next, the extra- and intrasentential resultatives give rise to what Paez-Urdaneta (1982: 333) calls opening (12) and intrasentential (13) continuatives.[2] These were the first uses of *pues* with purely pragmatic value. They served to connect communicative acts; that is, they had discursive value.

(12) *Ea, **pues**, amiga, dixo una de las doncellas, ábrase essa puerta y entre este señor*.

'Well, then friend, one of the maidens said, let that door be opened, and this gentleman come in'. (Páez-Urdaneta 1982: 339)

(13) *Escucha, **pues**, dixo Ricardo, mas no se si podré cumplir que antes dixe*.

'Listen, then, Ricardo said, although I do not know whether I will be able to keep my promise'. (Paez-Urdaneta 1982: 340)

Also by the seventeenth century, postposed *pues* is relatively frequent in Peninsular Spanish when used after brief discursive acts (Páez-Urdaneta 1982: 333). This use of *pues* can be found in theatric works that attempt to depict natural speech. In most cases, these discursive acts are imperative, as in (14) and (15); however, it can also be found accompanying pronominal reference, as in (16):

(14) *ELISA: ¡Leonor, Leonor! Quítame este manto luego y escóndele. ¡Acaba, **pues**!*

'ELISA: ¡Leonor, Leonor! Take this cape off me and hide it. ¡Finish, pues!

(De Molina 1632-1634; Olbertz 2012:15)

[2] ¨By the seventeenth century there is a new type of PUES, commonly viewed as a resultative conjunction which looks to me more like a pro-inferrential marker derived from causal PUES-, plus two other PUES that I have called opening continuative and intrasentential continuative, both of which seem to have derived resepectively from the two other resultative adverbials. These two continuatives do not carry propositional value, but serve to connect communicative acts¨(Paez-Urdaneta 1982: 333)

(15) *Carlos: Eso no lo has de cumplir; que presumirlo es en vano. Si a otro medio no se incita nuestra osadía.*

'Carlos: You will not fulfill that, because showing off is in vain. If our audacity does not get encouraged in some other way'.

*Enrique: ¿Y cuál es?*

'Enrique: **¿**And what is that?'

*Carlos: Que yo vea a Margarita; llévame a palacio* ***pues****.*

'Carlos: That I see Margarita; take me to the palace pues.'

(Moreto 1644; Olbertz 2012:15)

(16) *Inés: Digo que te has engañado.*

'Inés: I am saying that you are lying to yourself'.

*Casilda: Tú con un hombre has hablado.*

'Casilda: You have spoken with a man.'

*Inés: ¿Yo?*

'Inés: Me?'

*Casilda: Tú,* ***pues.***

'Casilda: You, pues.' (Lope de Vega 1598; Olbertz 2012:16)

By the nineteenth century, the use of *pues* in discursive act-final position had descreased in Peninsular Spanish, whereas it has increased in Latin American Spanish (Olbertz 2012:16):

(17) *El cielo parece que está muy irritado, mucho, contra nuestra pobre familia.*

*¿Qué haremos* ***pues****?*

'Heaven seems to be very angry at our poor family. What are we going to do pues? (Olmedo 1846 cited in Olbertz 2012:16) (Ecuador)

(18) - *Amador, vengo a hablar contigo – había dicho, después de saludar, Ricardo Castaños.*

- 'Amador, I am here to speak with you –he had said, after greeting, Ricardo Castaños.'

- *Aquí estoy, **pues**, hijo –contestó Amador- ¿Qué se ofrece?*

- 'Here I am, pues, son – Amador replied- What can I do for you?'

(Blest 1862-1875; Olbertz 2012:16) (Chile)

In sum, *pues* began in Latin as the adverb of place and time adverb PŎST, which soon became reanalyzed as an adverb of consequence. This type of reanalysis was also observed in later related words such as Latin *postquam*, Old Spanish *pues que*, and Spanish *pues*. All of these words first expressed temporal sequence, and later, a cause-consequence relationship. There is a clear correlation between temporal sequence and a cause-consequence relationship since a consequence always comes after a cause. For instance, Barcelona (2000) claims that two events may give rise to an element of causality and he provides the sentence 'He started the fight.' as an example of a statement with both a purely temporal sense and with a causal interpretation. The purely temporal sense holds a literal interpretation, 'He was the first to start the fight', whereas the causal implicature suggests that 'He is responsible for the fight.' According to Barcelona, "[o]ur tendency to impose a causal interpretation on sequential events shows most clearly in correlational relationships" (2000: 99). [3]

Eventually, a new resultative conjunction arose, and the two meanings of cause and consequence coexisted. Finally, clause-final *pues* arose from discursive acts. The goal of

[3] (Barcelona, 2000) also adds that "[t]he two domains of 'time' and 'causality' thus have a common experiential basis which may, more specifically, be described as PRECEDENCE PLUS CAUSE and SUBSEQUENCE PLUS RESULT".

this section has been to demonstrate that *pues* has followed a long path of reanalysis and diachronic grammaticalization and has developed different nuances, structural distributions and meanings throughout this path.

### 2.2. Current Usage of *pues*

In this section, I intend to demonstrate that *pues* continues to follow the same path of development. In current normative Spanish, and following Stenström's syntactic, discursive and pragmatic functions of *pues* (2006), we can identify a number of different cases of *pues* in Modern Spanish.

**a) Syntactic Level**

*Pues* has a propositional value when signaling the type of relationship between two clauses. Thus, *Pues* can behave as a causal connector when it introduces a cause and connects this cause to a previous or following statement, as in (19). Similarly, *Pues* can be a consecutive connector when it introduces a consequence and connects this consequence to a previous or following statement, as in (20).

(19) *Mañana no habrá clase,* ***pues*** *es feriado*.

'There won't be class tomorrow because it's a holiday'.

(Porroche-Ballesteros 1996: 73; Stenström 2006: 270)

(20)*...pero como no estudiaba* ***pues*** *tampoco hacía falta revisar.*

'…but I never studied; therefore, I was not going to go over that'.

(Stenström 2006: 270)

**b) Discourse Level**

*Pues* has an active role in the organization of the speech. Therefore, it functions as a turntaker, restarter, filler, etc. It does not have propositional value. *Pues* as speech organizer

helps organize and note relevant information in speech as in (21), *Pues* as a filler word marks a pause or hesitation in speech as in (22), and *Pues* as a conversational restarter, which is used to retake a turn after an interruption or after a pause in conversation as in (23).

(21) *Pero da igual porque si-si lo ha arrollado* ***pues*** *ya no hay nada que hacer*.

'But it doesn't matter because if-if he was run over then we can't do anything'.

(Briz, 2001: 175)

(22) *Zaragoza es una ciudad que…que,* ***pues*** *hace 500 años debía ser una ciudad muy hermosa*. (Porroche-Ballesteros, 1996: 78)

'Zaragoza is a city that…that, well, 500 years ago must have been very beautiful'.

(23) *Como le estaba platicando* ***pues****, nos pagaban muy poco*.

'As I was saying [before] we were paid very little'. (Páez Urdaneta 1982: 340)

There is also an Opening *Pues* identified by Páez Urdaneta, which is used whenever "the speaker takes the floor" (1982: 335) as in (24) and (25). On the other hand, Ending *Pues* marks the end of speech as in (26).

(24) A: *¿Y cómo fue al principio?*

'How was everything at the beginning?'

B: ***Pues*** *me sentía en una forma bien porque había mucho trabajo.*

'I felt good in a way because there was a lot to do'. (Páez-Urdaneta1982: 340)

(25) A: *Ya no sabía por dónde salir y sabía que me estaban [mirando*].

I didn't know from where to leave and I knew they were watching me.

B: ***Pues****, ¿qué te iba a decir?*

'Anyway, what was I gonna say?'

(26) *Después yo le entré de mecánico en un taller* ***pues****.*

'Later I started working as a mechanic in a workshop'.

(Páez-Urdaneta 1982: 340)

**c) Pragmatic Level**

Paez-Urdaneta (1982: 335) describes a transitional *pues* and calls it *pues* as a topic transition when it is used to change topics in a conversation or discourse. For instance, in (27) the speaker suddenly shifts the topic from selling luxurious cars to his new marriage.

(27) *...creo que el concesionario de coches de lujo de esos que llevan los jeques* ***pues*** *se casó con una sueca*.

'…I think that the luxury car dealer, whose cars are bought by the rich; well, he married a Swedish woman.

Paez-Urdaneta claims that there is a Continuative *pues*, which is always used intra-sententially to indicate continuity in the treatment of a certain topic as in (28):

(28) *Estuve cinco años en Ohio.* ***Pues*** *allí viví bien todo el tiempo*.

'I was in Ohio por 5 years. (Pues) there I lived well all the time'.

(Paez Urdaneta 1982: 340)

We also find *pues* as a question initiator, used to mark the beginning of a question as in (29), *pues* as an answer initiator, used to introduce the interlocutor´s response as in (30)-(32), and Reinforcing or Emphatic *pues.* Trask defines emphasis as "any phenomenon that serves to draw attention to some element in the sentence or utterance," (1995:89). Thus, we find *pues* drawing attention to the following statement as in (33) and (34).

(29) ***Pues****, ¿qué tal las vacaciones?*

'So how was the vacation?' (Porroche-Ballesteros, 1996: 79)

(30) A: *¿Hiciste la tarea?*

'Did you do your homework?'

B: ***Pues*** *sí.*

'I did'.

(31) A: *¿Dónde has pasado la infancia?*

'Where did you spend your childhood?'

B: ***Pues*** *la infancia la pasé en un pueblo de Logroño.*

'My childhood, I spent it in a town in Logroño'. (Stenström 2006: 277)

(32) A: *Oye vente mañana a casa que hemos montado una fiestecita.*

'Listen, come to our place tomorrow since we have set up a little party'.

B: ***Puees*** *es que tengo un montón de trabajo*.

'Well I've got loads of work'. (Briz 2001: 175)

(33) *Al acabar la guerra vinimos a Zaragoza, que mi padre estaba de juez de instrucción y, entonces,* ***pues*** *estuve hasta los diez años en Zaragoza*.

'When the war began we came to Zaragoza, my father was examining magistrate and then, Ø I lived in Zaragoza until I turned ten'.

(Porroche-Ballesteros 1996: 77)

(34) *En el barco que yo viajé,* ***pos*** *era grande*.

'The boat on which I traveled was really big'. (Páez-Urdaneta 1982: 340)

In conclusion, the goal of this section was to present the current varied usage of *Pues* common across different varieties of Spanish. *Pues* has acquired nuances and meanings at three different levels: syntactic, discursive and pragmatic. Hence, we can see some uses and characteristics closely related to what will be discussed for Andean Pues

(see Chapter 5).[4] Moreover, it may appear in sentence-final position as in (26), it conveys emphasis as in (33), and it may express the continuity in the treatment of topics as in (28), just as Andean *pues* is usually connected to a certain previous topic.

### 2.3. Grammaticalization

This section and the following one set out to define grammaticalization and to present its main characteristics in order to build up the theoretical background that supports the main goal of this chapter: to demonstrate that the semantic and structural features in contemporary Andean *pues* are the result of internally-motivated mechanisms of change.

The study of Grammaticalization has created a lot of debate and discussion among linguists producing a wide range of different opinions and perspectives. Their standpoints can range from the total rejection of the mere existence of a distinct process that could be called Grammaticalization (Campbell 2001; Joseph 2001) to the opposite end, where we find opinions claiming that it constitutes a theory in its own right (Company-Company, 2008). For instance, Company-Company discusses the characteristic of *predictability* as part of any theory. She argues that regular and predictable changes are an inherent part of Grammaticalization since changes follow a predictable unidirectional pattern. According to Company-Company, "[t]his macro change might have certain properties of a theory or constitute a theory itself" (2008: 202).

Another characteristic of Grammaticalization supporting its theoretical nature is that of *description*. Pons-Bordería (2008) argues in favor of research on discourse markers as a class by showing that particular descriptions of single markers can be used not only to

[4] For practical reasons, from now on I will not distinguish between discourse connectives or discourse markers. In my analysis all cases of pues will be regarded as discourse markers.

describe isolated elements, but also to evaluate predictions made by a theoretical approach. Thus, “description is shown to be a valid method for reshaping a linguistic theory” (Pons-Bordería, 2008:1412).

However, there are different views of Grammaticalization as a ‘theory’. For instance, Haspelmath claims that it is not “a well-defined system of interconnected falsifiable hypotheses” (2004:23); therefore, grammaticalization does not fulfill that important requirement as to be called a ‘theory’. Another well-known claim is that grammaticalization is just a descriptive name of a frequently occurring epiphenomenon that could be explained by other factors that are present in language change anyway such as: reanalysis, semantic change, phonetic reduction, etc. Thus, Norde (2009) suggests it should be called a ‘theoretical framework’ instead. However, whether grammaticalization is called a ‘theory’ or a ‘framework’, our knowledge of language change both synchronically and diachronically has greatly increased over the past decades and continues to trigger interest and research in related fields.

Now let us focus on defining grammaticalization and what this process comprises. Jerzy Kurylowicz’s definition is perhaps the most commonly cited today: "Grammaticalization consists in the increase of the range of a morpheme, advancing from a lexical to a grammatical or from a less grammatical to a more grammatical status" (Kurylowicz 1965/1975: 52). A more recent view is that of William Croft (1990), who regards grammaticalization as a unidirectional and cyclic process whereby full lexical items become grammatical morphemes. He also claims that if a lexical item undergoes a certain kind of morphosyntactic change this implies corresponding functional (semantic/ pragmatic) and phonological changes. For Croft (1990) grammaticalization is also a

psychological process that speakers undergo during the course of the history of their language.

Traugott and König's work on grammaticalization has also been extremely influential in considering grammaticalization as a 'process'. They highlight the historical unidirectionality of grammaticalization and define it as "the dynamic unidirectional historical process whereby lexical items in the course of time acquire a new status as grammatical, morphosyntactic forms" (Traugott & König 1991: 189)

Haspelmath (1998) agrees with the unidirectional nature of the process of grammaticalization, but he also adds that this process is gradual. He argues that lexical items turn into grammatical items and loose structures turn into more fixed structures gradually. In other words, grammaticalization is the gradual shift in all parts of grammar towards more fixed structures and less freedom in the use of linguistic expression at all levels; therefore, independent words end up becoming clitics and affixes.

However, Traugott and Heine (1991) do not talk about one single identifiable process but rather about two related processes or kinds of grammaticalization: 1) changes from lexical items to grammatical changes and morphemes, which can (and in most cases do) involve phonological reduction and can exhibit change of status from an independent word to a clitic or affix and 2) changes from the discourse structure to morphosyntactic marking, which involve the fossilization of discourse strategies in syntactic and morphological structure. They associate changes of both kinds with semantic loss and phonological reduction. More recently, Heine and Kuteva (2005) have concluded that grammaticalization is not confined to the evolution of lexical items and, therefore, should be defined as the evolution of constructions in general through discourse practices into more grammatical material.

**Characteristics of Grammaticalization**

The purpose of this section is to discuss and exemplify the main characteristics of grammaticalization which have been gathered from Lehmann's Parameters of Grammaticalization (1985: 309) and Bybee's 'set of hypotheses on grammaticalization' (1994: 9-22). In Chapter 5 we apply these characteristics in the analysis of Andean *pues*.

Grammaticalization patterns are explained in Bybee, Perkins, and Pagliuca (1994). These authors test various hypotheses about the development of tense, aspect and mood categories in 76 languages. The *universal dimension* in grammaticalization has to do with the very regular relationship between certain lexemes and the eventual grammatical meanings they come to express. This regularity is frequently attested cross-linguistically and closely related to the source determination hypothesis.

In grammaticalization studies, the specific (usually lexical) source of a change is a crucial part of the developmental pathway. This characteristic, referred to as *source determination*, is described by Bybee, Perkins and Pagliuca as "the hypothesis that the actual meaning of the construction that enters into grammaticization uniquely determines the path that grammaticization follows and, consequently, the resulting grammatical meanings" (1994:9). A good example of the broad universal scope of grammaticalization paths as well as the source determination hypothesis comes from constructions involving the lexeme 'go' or 'come'. 10 out of the 44 primary future expressions analyzed in their database derived from constructions involving 'go', and another 11 derived from verbs meaning 'come', thus making movement verbs account for about half of the sources for future meaning in their study (Bybee, Perkins, and Pagliuca 1994:252–3). Furthermore, these 21 movement-based future expressions are widespread across a number of genetically unrelated language families.

As stated above, the path of grammaticalization is always from lexical (or discourse) to grammatical and from less grammatical to more grammatical.[5] This axiom is known as the *unidirectionality hypothesis* in grammaticalization studies and has been the subject of much debate over the last thirty years. Newmeyer (2001) states that "unidirectionality is not only empirically important but also theoretically important since it constitutes a key point for refuting the criticism made by formal linguists of grammaticalization in the sense that it [may not be] a theory" (2001:202). A narrow definition of unidirectional grammar would be that by Haspemalth's (1998) who claims "that grammaticalization is unidirectional in that elements and structures always become more and more grammatical(ized), while the reverse (development of less grammatical from more grammatical structures or elements) is practically unattested" (1998: 319).

Haspelmath illustrates unidirectionality by showing a similar tendency for phonetic reduction and merger of features in synchronic variation. He claims that a speaker can choose one out of multiple statements to express the same idea depending on factors such as the social and physical distance between speakers, the importance of the message, intended effect on the hearer, etc. (Haspelmath 1998: 320). He shows and discusses the following example with two columns of German expressions that bear the same meaning:

[5] For some (e.g., Lehmann) grammaticalization only refers to structural change--i.e. the type of change that is represented by a free lexical elements becoming, for example, bound morphology.

(35)


[kãsdma'kɔm]

[kansdə ma 'kɔmm]

[kansdə mal 'kɔmn]

[kansd du ma:l 'kɔmn]

[kanst du ma:l 'kɔmən] = Kannst du mal kommen?
'Can you come now?'

Könntest du vielleicht mal kommen?
'Could you maybe come now?'

Könnten Sie bitte mal herkommen?
'Could you sir please come this way now?

Wären Sie bitte so freundlich, zu mir herüber zu kommen?
'Would you sir please so friendly as to come this way please?'

(Haspelmath 1998:321)

There are two synchronic dimensions of variation: a phonetic dimension (left column) and a syntactic-semantic dimension (right column). When perception of semantic content is not necessarily at stake or the speaker is not under specific pressure to maintain normally reduced articulatory patterns (e.g., in high register discourse), an expression or statement can and will likely be phonetically reduced or even elided completely. On the other hand, when the salience of perception is increased, there is a limit on the detail with

which a statement can be said. In other words, the syntactic-semantic dimension is closed and limited in the direction of increased perception, but it is phonetically open-ended in the other direction. This observation supports the general characteristc of unidirectionality.

Givón (1975) had already attempted to explain why grammaticalization should naturally be unidirectional. For instance, he argued that when a verb loses much of its semantic weight, it also loses much of its phonological substance, and either becomes a bound affix and or gets completely eroded and disappears. According to Givón, "[i]t is thus unlikely that a more crucial part of information would be entrusted to such a reduced morpheme. Nobody would expect an element to become formally reduced but semantically enriched" (1975: 96).

Nicolle (1998) notes that a lexical expression that is already grammaticalized may retain previous conceptual information. The original lexical meaning of a grammaticalized element is likely no longer the most salient interpretation of said structure; however, it is still accessible. From a Relevance Theory perspective, from the moment a lexical item starts to bear procedural (functional) meaning until it ceases to hold any type of conceptual (lexical) content such as the case of English past tense marker *–ed*, "both conceptual and procedural information should be enconded and recovable" (Nicolle: 1998: 24). In other words, semantic retention occurs when "certain more specific semantic nuances of the source construction can be retained in certain contexts long after grammaticalization has begun" (Bybee et al. 1994: 16). As a consequence of semantic retention, earlier stages of language can be identified and reconstructed from current attested forms. An example of this retention is found in the case of the *be going to* construction. Nicolle (1998) shows the following contrast:

(36) Can somebody visit John?

a. I'm going to visit him

b. I'll visit him

(37) [Immediately following ringing of telephone]

a. I'm going to get it.

b. I'll get it (Nicolle 1998: 28)

In (36a) we understand that the speaker was already intending to visit John while (36b) suggests the speaker just made the decision to visit him. That is why (37a) is a questionable response since no previous intention to answer the phone seems logical whereas expressing the sudden decision in (37b) to pick up the phone seems acceptable. Thus, Nicolle argues that this interpretation of prior intention may have appeared from the lexical source construction conveying the idea of general progression. "Being in the process of progressing towards a goal may involve an element of planning and intention, and hence the notion of general progression may be inferentially enriched to give rise to a prior intention interpretation¨ (Nicole 1998, 28).

Semantic reduction is paralleled by phonetic reduction, yielding a dynamic coevolution of meaning and form. *Attrition* is the gradual loss of semantic and phonological substance. Semantic attrition has also been known by the names of *desemanticization* and demotivation, while phonological attrition has been called *erosion*. Desemanticization refers to the loss of semantic weight. It means that an item loses its meaning or semantic transparency gradually. An example of this is the famous French *pas* 'step' which originally accompanied the verb *aller* 'to go' as in *Je ne vais pas* 'I won't go a step'. This

structure became routinized, and *pas* lost its meaning of 'step' and is now only used as a negative marker (Detges & Waltereit 2002).

*Erosion* refers to an item's loss in substance. It mainly applies to phonological reduction or even loss; that is, grammaticalized functional categories require less coding material and hence less production effort. For instance, English *going to* has eroded into *gonna*, which, as a future auxiliary, has lost its original meaning of physical movement. One can say: 'I'm gonna go out tonight'. However, it is not possible to say *'I'm gonna the party tonight'. Another example of phonological erosion is the case of Spanish *pues*, which in Andean varieties can be found as *pes*, *pe* or even *ps*.

*Paradigmatization* refers to the syntactic integration of constructions as periphrastic forms into morphological paradigms, which leads to increasingly small, homogeneous paradigms. For instance, we can see the primary auxiliary verbs of French, *avoir* 'have' and *être* 'be', completely integrated into the conjugational paradigm (Lehmann 1985: 4). This process of paradigmatization can lead to highly grammaticalized paradigms, which are usually composed of binary oppositions (Lehmann 1982: 136). For example, De Mulder and Carlier note that "[t]he development of a paradigm of articles thus led to the selection of one expression as the definite articles ('ille'), in binary opposition with the indefinite articles 'unus'" ( 2102: 262).

The process of *obligatorification* is associated with the loss of paradigmatic variability that causes the whole category represented by the paradigm to become increasingly obligatory in the sentences of the language. Verhoeben et al. claim that a case of obligatorification is the loss of the possibility to substitute certain linguistic units in a particular function as in the German preposition *von* 'from' that is becoming the only linguistic unit to encode noun-to-noun dependency relationships (2008: 3).

*Fixation* refers to the loss of syntagmatic variability. First, the grammaticalized element tends to occupy a fixed syntactic position, then a fixed morphological position, and finally it becomes a slot filler (Lehmann 1985: 5). For example, in Latin, prepositions such as *dē* and *ad* used to occupy various positions within complex noun phrases. However, in French the current prepositions *de* and *à* can only be placed before noun phrases. Similarly, Latin allows permutations between adjectives and the noun *mente* as in *clara mente* or *mente clara* 'clear mind' but in French *ment* is fixed as in clairement 'clearly'. Moreover, fixation tends to be associated with morpohological processes; however, as stated above, Lehmann argues that fixation can also involve changes at the syntactic level. Thus, Andean *pues* can be considered as a case of fixation since it seems to be becoming syntactically fixed in clause-final position.

This phenomenon of (semantic/pragmatic) *extension* refers to the extension/transference of meaning from a more concrete domain to a more abstract domain (in accordance with the grammaticalization path concrete > abstract). A good example is the case of the Spanish word *claro* whose literal meaning is 'clear' or 'lit' but it is also used as a short answer meaning 'Got it' or 'Understood'. Here we see that the process of perception of objects (concrete) is transferred to the perception of concepts (Ocampo 2006: 310).

Harris and Campbell (1995) point out that extension is not only associated with semantic change; but also syntactic and morphological change. An example of syntactic extension can be seen in the switch from verbs like *hate* that may take the 'for…to' pattern into verbs like *expect* that cannot:

(38) I'd hate for you to leave early.

(39) *I expect for you to leave early. (Trips 2002: 43)

Thus, we can see syntactic extension in the Old English verb *bigynne* which could occur with the 'for…to' pattern, whereas in Modern English *begin* can only occur with 'the to…' pattern (Warner 1982: 123). According to Harris and Campbell (1995: 111) this small change demonstrates diachronic lexical diffusion/ extension of patterns because the use of the to-pattern in this context was generalized, which triggered a syntactic change in English.

In conclusion, this section describes the main characteristics of grammaticalization in order to determine the most significant ones in the development of *pues*. Thus, we covered *erosion* in two domains: *desemanticizatio*n and *phonological reduction* since Andean *pues* seems to be losing its semantic weight and phonological substance (pes, pe, ps); *paradigmatization* along with fixation since *pues* seems to be undergoing a syntactic into a morphological paradigm occurring preferably at the end of clauses; and *unidirectionality* that will be discussed more in depth in the following section.

**Tendencies in Grammaticalization**

Traugott (1989) argues that, concerning unidiectionality, there are three closely related tendencies where we can observe this phenomenon. For Tendency I, meanings based on the external described situation become meanings based on the internal (evaluative/perceptual/cognitive) described situation. For instance, Old French *felan* only meant 'to touch'; it did not acquire a perceptual sense until late Old English, which then developed into the current sense 'to feel' (Traugott 1989: 34).

For Tendency II, meanings based on the external or internal described situation become meanings based on the textual and metalinguistic situation. In the early 1500's, *observe* had the mental-verb meaning 'perceive that' (coding an internal described

situation), and by 1605 it had come to be used as a speech-act verb in the sense 'state that' (coding the metalinguistic situation) (Traugott 1989: 35).

For Tendency III, meanings tend to become increasingly based on the speaker's subjective belief state/ attitude toward the proposition, as in the case of 'very' borrowed from French *vrai* 'true' (a cognitive evaluation). In early Modern English, it became a scalar particle, as *in the very height of her career* (a subjective evaluation). This process, generally known as *subjectification*, "involves an increase in coding of speaker attitude, whether of belief, assessment of the truth, or personal commitment to the assertion" (Traugott 1989: 49). In other words, there may be weakening of meaning, but there is strengthening of focus on knowledge, belief, and the speaker's attitude toward the proposition.

Besides this pragmatic change towards the speaker's attitude, Company-Company (2008) provides a supplementary view of *unidirectionality* on its path from a less grammaticalized form to a more grammaticalized form manifested through the following changes: lexical form > grammatical form, free forms > bound forms, phrase/content word > functional word/morpheme, optional use > obligatory use, peripheral grammar > core grammar, syntax > morphology; and not the reverse. As is clearly shown, she includes the term peripheral grammar referring to discourse markers, which would end up being part of the core syntactic level. Hyams (1986) argues that the core grammar of a language is the set of grammatical properties determined by the principles and parameters of Universal Grammar. Anything "outside of core grammar is the set of 'peripheral' or 'marked' properties of the language. The periphery might include, for example, exceptions or 'relaxations' of the settings" (1986: 1). Likewise Fried and Östman (2005) claim that 'core' structures comprise "what traditional grammars, including most generative grammars have

aimed for" while the periphery refers to "sentence fragments, idioms and various non-clausal phrases" (Fried and Östman 2005: 1753).

Another important concept that needs to be explained is the cyclic nature of grammaticalization, which is affected by the two opposite motivations of economy (ease of production) and clarity (ease of perception). Thus, the cyclic changes are explained as follows: for reasons of economy, grammatical elements are formally reduced until they are almost unrecognizable; therefore, new fuller elements arise for reasons of clarity which in turn will again have the tendency towards economy. We can observe this cyclic process of unidirectional changes when we look at the third and last type of diachronic subjectification (Company-Company 2008, 2000). The three types are exemplified in examples (41)-(47):

**Type I: Grammar > Grammar**

(40) *Puedes escribir.* 'You can write'. (external ability) -->

*Puedes escribir ahora.* 'You may write now'. (permission)

(41) *Mientras María escribe, él come.* 'While Maria writes, he eats'.

(temporal subordination) -->

*Mientras no tomes la sopa, no sales.* 'If you don't eat the soup, you won't be allowed to leave.' (subjective conditional subordination)

(42) *A pesar del rey*…'To the king's regret' (nominal construction) -->

*a pesar de que…* 'in spite of' (concessive connective)

**Type II: Grammar > Discourse**

(43) *Anda a la biblioteca* (movement verb) 'Go to the library'. -->

*Ándale* 'Keep going!' or 'No way!' (deverbal discourse marker)

(44) *Tanta pobreza da lástima*. 'So much poverty causes sadness'. (referential

noun) -->

*Lástima, no ganaste*. 'Too bad, you didn't win'. (denominal discourse marker)

(45)..*y finalmente se fríe todo.* '…and finally you fry everything'. (temporal adverb)

--> *Finalmente gané la beca.* 'At last, I got the scholarship'. (stance adverb)

**Type III: Grammar 1> Discourse > Grammar 2**

(46) *Vaya a la bibiloteca*. 'Go to the library!' (movement verb) -->

*Vaya, eso no sabía*. 'Wow, I didn't know that!' (discourse marker) -->

*Vaya cochazo que compraste*. 'What a car you bought!' (intensive quantifier of nouns)

(47) *Dice que Juan salió*. 'He says Juan left' (transitive verb) -->.

*Dizque se sacó la lotería.* 'He's trying to say he won the lottery'. (evidential-pragmatic marker) -->

*La dizque profesora*…. 'The so-called teacher'. (adjective) .

As we can see in Type III (i.e. *Grammar 1 > Discourse > Grammar 2*), a grammatical item left the core grammar to become a discourse marker in a first stage but later via routinization and subjectification returned to the grammar as a new type of item or marker. I argue that Andean *pues* is an emergent example of Company-Company's Type III. Originally it only served as a connective (Grammar 1): first introducing a cause and later introducing a consequence. Eventually, *pues* became a discourse marker with either mere discursive functions (Discourse), such as signaling turn-taking, restarting conversation, filler, etc. or stronger pragmatic functions such as signaling dispreferred responses, introducing new unexpected information, or emphasis. These are the primary uses of *pues* among most contemporary Spanish varieties.

The current investigation shows, however, that in Peru the primary uses of *pues* are not necessarily the normative uses observed in other varities. I consider Andean *pues* as part of the discourse marker category because it exhibits a number of pragmatic functions (which other variants of Spanish lack), such as marking and emphasizing known or obvious information, and as an anaphoric item referring to a previous proposition or element in the discourse. However, I believe it demonstrates grammar-like behavior; therefore, it may be moving towards what Company refers to as Grammar 2. In this case, we find some important evidence and characteristics typical of an item becoming more grammatical such as fixation, semantic bleaching, and phonological reduction. Fixation can be observed in the fact that Andean *pues* has already lost its syntagmatic variability and occurs almost exclusively at the end of a proposition or sentence. Semantic bleaching refers to the fact that *pues* has already lost most of its original meanings. Finally, concerning phonological reduction we can attest this phenomenon when observing, from several corpora, that monophthonguization of *pues* is in fact frequent. It is common to hear [pe] at the end of sentences in Peru and [po] in Chile. This result, typically the result of high frequency of use, is also called the Reducing Effect (Bybee 2005:715).

*Pues* also appears to be on its way to becoming obligatory when conveying the notion of obviousness. It is usually agreed among grammaticalization researchers that new variants, such as Andean *pues*, tend to become increasingly frequent and "entrenched in speakers' minds" (Haspelmath 1999: 203-204), and eventually they become obligatory parts of grammar. Evidence for this claim is provided in chapter 6.

## 2.4. Reanalysis

This section looks to discuss one of the most important processes associated with grammaticalization, reanalysis. Langacker's definition of reanalysis is one of the most quoted: "[reanalysis is] change in the structure of an expression or a class of expressions that does not involve any immediate or intrinsic modification of its surface manifestation" (1977:58). Therefore, reanalysis is often the first step in grammaticalization. Yet, Detges and Waltereit (2012) present another distinction. They claim that "Reanalysis and Grammaticalization arise as a consequence of basic needs of communication, which can be identified as listeners' strategies in the case of Reanalysis and as speakers' strategies in the case of Grammaticalization" (Detges and Waltereit 2012:152). Therefore, reanalysis is semantically motivated, and its motivation is related to speaker comprehension. Reanalysis is a more fundamental phenomenon than grammaticalization because it occurs in any type of functional change. Grammaticalization is therefore only one subclass of change based on expressivity that is always accompanied by reanalysis, but not the other way around.

Detges and Waltereit argue that there are three possible types of paradigmatic semantic relations between (lexical or grammatical) units of content. These relations exist in diachrony, but also in synchrony as the result of semantic change: metaphoric relations, metonymic relations and taxonomic relations. Now I will exemplify each of these three types of paradigmatic semantic relations:

(48) Metaphorical relation: (perceived similarity)

*mouse* 'small rodent'→ *mouse* 'mouse computer'

(Detges and Waltereit 2012:164)

(49) Metonymic relation: (figure-ground shift)

Latin *focus* 'fireplace'→ *focus* 'fire' (Detges and Waltereit 2012:164)

(50) Taxonomic relation: (hyponymy, hyperonymy and antonymy)

Latin *passer* 'sparrow' → Spanih *pájaro* 'bird'

(Detges and Waltereit 2012:165)

Among these three types, Detges and Waltereit claim that reanalysis takes place when the semantic relation between the old structure and the new structure is mainly metonymic, although it could also be taxonomic, but never metaphoric. Metonymic and taxonomic change is often triggered by high frequency and/or perceptual saliency of the relevant experience. Likewise, Traugott and Dasher (2002) and Hopper and Traugott (2003) argue that because early grammaticalization is always accompanied by reanalysis, metonymy should play an important role since reanalysis is motivated by metonymy. Hopper and Traugott (2003) discuss the evolution of English *while* as metonymic development. In (51) we can see that the connective 'while' originally had only temporal meaning. In (52) we see that in later English 'while' appears in contexts in which the meaning is intermediate between temporal and concessive meanings. Finally, in (53) we can see that currently the meaning is merely concessive.

(51) *Ðæt lastede ·a [xix] winttre wile Stephne was king.*

'That lasted those 19 winters while Stephen was king'.

(From the Old English Chronicle, cited in Hopper and Traugott 2003:91)

(52) *That mycht succed na female quhill (=while) foundyn mycht be ony male.*

'No female was able to succeed while any male could be found'.

(From Barbours Bruce, quoted in Hoppper and Traugott 2003:91)

(53) *While I like peaches, you like apples.*

In conclusion, the purpose of this section is to present reanalysis as an important process associated with the development of Andean *pues*. This marker has not undergone

an intrinsic modification of its surface manifestation; yet it has developed a new obviousness-related meaning and a new preference for syntactic distribution since reanalysis is semantically motivated by basic needs of communication and listeners' strategies for comprehension.

The notion of 'obviousness' is a crucial concept for the current study and refers to the familiarity that a speaker has towards a proposition or that a speaker expects from his/her interlocutor towards a proposition. Botha claims that "every native speaker makes intuitive linguistic judgments", which makes him/her find certain propositions and statements "strange", "extraordinary" and "obvious" (1981:204). More on obviousness and familiarity will be discussed on chapter 4, Section 4.71.

**2.5. Grammaticalization versus Pragmaticalization**

After this general overview of grammaticalization, it is now relevant to determine if the development of Andean *pues* can be modeled using a grammaticalization approach or if it should be approached as representing a different developmental process. The two perspectives explored here are 1) that Pragmaticalization, or the development of pragmatic items such as discourse markers, is part of an inclusive grammaticalization process and 2) that Grammaticalization and Pragmaticalization are two different processes.

According to Diewald (2011) the term Pragmaticalization has not yet been clearly defined. It is merely used to keep the domains "grammar" and "pragmatic discourse functions" separate. However, there is ample discussion among scholars (Autenrieth 2002, Wegener 1998, Wegener 2002, Auer and Günthner 2005) regarding whether the development of particles and discourse markers from other lexical or grammatical elements

should be subsumed under the analytical umbrella of grammmaticalization or whether it should be treated as a different process.

Günthner agrees that in the case of German *obwohl* from conjunction to discourse marker, there is a shift from "purely grammatical functions" to "conversational functions" (1999:437). This argument seems to be in favor of pragmaticalization as a different process. However, Günthner goes on to point out that the development of discourse markers is inseparable in many formal and semantic aspects from "proper" grammaticalization. Barth and Couper-Kuhlen propose that "Pragmaticalization should be subsumed as a specific subtype under the broad heading of Grammaticalization, which deviates in some aspects from prototypical cases of grammaticalization, but is too similar to be treated as a separate independently definable process" (2002:357). Auer and Günthner (2005), on the other hand, suggest giving up the distinction between grammaticalization and pragmaticalization and argue for a broader notion of grammar.

From the point of view of the current analysis, I follow Barth and Couper-Kuhlen (2002) in regarding pragmaticalization as a subprocess within the macro-process of grammaticalization; hence grammaticalization has to be conceived broadly enough to include the development of functional elements such as discourse markers since their functions "transgress the traditional notion of grammar, but resemble traditional grammatical categories in their diachronic development and their synchronic behavior to such an extent that there is no positive argument to exclude them from grammar and grammaticalization" (Diewald 2011: 365).

## 2.6. Evolution of discourse markers in a grammaticalization framework towards dialectal and functional variation.

The goal of this section is to present cases of discourse markers in Spanish that have grammaticalized as the result of internal language changes with no contact with other languages.[6] This fact strengthens the possibility that Andean *pues* may have also undergone the same process. Furthermore, this section is intended to demonstrate that grammaticalization of discourse markers can result in different outcomes across language varieties; thus, some semantic and pragmatic adaptations as well as innovative syntactic distributions of discourse markers may be specific to certain Spanish varieties, but may not exist in others.

### Andean Spanish *que*

This first study was conducted by Escobar (2005). It was also carried out with speakers of Andean Spanish, and its main goal was to describe and explain the grammaticalization process the subordinate marker (i.e. complementizer) *que* (that) has undergone. Her findings show that the Andean Spanish *que* has simultaneously developed in two directions according to Company Company's types of subjectification: Type I: Grammar > Grammar and Type II: Grammar > Discourse. Concerning the first type, evidence from a corpus of 20,000 words was presented to demonstrate that in this variety of Spanish *que* has grammaticalized into a generalized syntactic subordinate marker. Unlike other varieties of Spanish, Andean *que* can introduce not only nominal and adjectival subordinate clauses (54) but also adverbial ones (55), as we can see in the following examples:

[6] I should point out here that I am not claiming that language contact is not a factor in the more general grammatical development of these varieties of Spanish.

(54a) *El hombre **que** vi ayer.* (The man that I saw yesterday)

***al que**/ **al cual**/ **a quien*** = more common in other dialects

(54b) *El avión **que** llegamos anoche...* (The plane on which we arrived last night)

***en el que** / **en el cual*** = in other dialects

(55a) *….cuando nosotros veníamos [a Lima] era que dijo "Bueno Berta"…*

(..when we were coming to Lima it was [when>] that he said "Well Berta")

***cuando*** = in other dialects

(55b) *....de por medio está [la región de] Junín que está el Huanca, muy pocas palabras del Huanca entiendo yo.*

(..in the middle of Junin [where>] that there is Huanca variety of Quechua, very few words I understand.)

**(en) donde** = in other dialects (Escobar, 2005: 95-97)

From these examples, we can observe some characteristics of grammaticalization such as desemanticization because the subordinate marker no longer indicates the gender or number of the element referred in the main clause that some subordinators such as: *en las cuales* (f. pl.), *a los que* (m. pl), a *quienes* (pl.) used to indicate. We can also see extension, since *que*, typically used in noun subordinate clauses and subject adjectival clauses, has extended to other subordinate clauses: indirect object and prepositional object adjectival clauses and adverbial clauses.

The second type: Grammar > Discourse is also attested in this variety of Spanish. Escobar calls it "intrusive *que*" and claims that "its presence correlates with the function of the referent in the subordinate [clause] and not with the grammatical function of the relativized noun phrase in the main clause" (Escobar 2005:100), as we can observe in her following example:

(56) *Ella [mi madre]… también habla quechua / y lo habla muy bien / y habían oportunidades por ejemplo / en la casa / **que** comunicaban con mi papá….en voz alta.*

'She [my mother]…also speaks Quechua / and she speaks it very well / and there were instances for example / at home / that they communicated with my father….'

She argues that this type of *que* is sensitive to the kind of information presented in the subordinate clause and highlights it as relevant to interpretation of the discourse. She also points out that it is a clear process of grammaticalization since she noticed some syntactic and semantic restrictions typical to this process. For instance, this intrusive *que* occurs when the argument of the subordinate clause is low on Givon's Argument Structure Hierarchy (agent > dative > patient > locative/temporal > other obliques). In fact 86% of her tokens presented either referents with spatial or temporal functions or subjects of intransitive verbs. Another tendency is that it usually occurs with a set of restricted set of epistemic and evidential main verbs. (e.g. *creer* to believe, *saber,* to know, *decir* to say).

***Por cierto***

A second study on the evolution of discourse markers in a grammaticalization framework is the one by Estellés (2007) on *por cierto* (currently 'by the way'). Her claim is that this discourse marker, one of the most common digression marker in Spanish, has undergone not one but two different processes of grammaticalization. First, she argues that in one of these processes *por cierto* acquired an epistemic meaning and in the other it has acquired the digressive meaning. Second, each process leads to a different meaning, and they both do not match any expected development for a discourse marker according to the

Grammaticalization Theory. Estellés observes that "[t]he change from a marker of epistemic type to another of digression –despite what is expected- does not seem to occur in other languages" (2007: 321).

Now I will summarize of the evolution of *por cierto* described by Estellés. From a corpus of Old Spanish (13th Century) it can be seen that *por cierto* started out as a prepositional complement and keeping adjectival properties as in:

(57) …*sabet* ***por cierto*** *que non durmién.*

…'know **for sure** that (they) were not sleeping'.

(Anonym., Vida de Sanra María, c. 1215)

(58) *..en tal manera que la faga tener por verdadera e* ***por cierta*** *a los que la oyeren…*

… 'in such a way that makes it be true and **certain** to those who heard it'…

(Alfonso X, General Estoria, Part I, c. 1275)

However, in example (59) we see that there is a semantic incompatibility between the verb 'to put' and its supposed complement *por cierto* (initially, 'certainly' or 'wisely'). It seems to convey the attitude of the speaker to the following discourse. It is a typical case of extension of meaning from a specific context to broader ones.

(59) *Comién pan de ordio,* ***por çierto*** *non echaban sal.*

'They ate bread of [ ], **in fact** they did not put salt in it'.

(Anonym., Vida de Santa María Egipcíaca c.1215)

Later, it developed into a full discourse marker because of the semantic incompatibility between the notion of certainty and the meaning of the main verb. It also appears in sentence-initial position as in:

(60) ***Por çierto**, estos querian quebrantar la rraçon e derecho del monasterio…*

'**In fact**, they wanted to break the reason and right of the monastery…'

(Anonym. Crónica de Sahagún, c- 1255)

Eventually, *por cierto* would also acquire the meaning of digression ('by the way') which is its primary meaning in modern Spanish. What is important here is that the author has claimed that two different processes and, therefore, two different meanings have emerged from *por cierto*, and one would be tempted to contradict this posture by arguing that the multifunctionality and different senses of a marker are the regular outcome of grammaticalization. Thus, there should be nothing abnormal about this development.

From all this I want to point out that time may not be that crucial when talking about the diachronic change of a grammaticalizing item since change can occur gradually, as is observed with most cases of grammaticalization, or more abruptly. I find this relevant for my study because the evolution and consolidation of Andean *pues* may have occurred in only a few centuries. Fontanella de Weinberg (1993) presents a Peruvian text from the seventeenth century, in which we can see an emphatic sentence-final *pues, which may be also conveying* the meaning of obviousness as in:

(61) *…que soi de la dicha çiudad del cuzco y lo de llo de pendiente y para quitar todas dudas **pues**.* (Fontanella de Weinberg 1993: 120)

"that I am from the city of Cuzco and that is (obviously?) why we can get rid of doubts".

**Costa Rican *diay***

Quesada (1996) states that the change path for *diay* in Costa Rican Spanish was *de ahí* (meaning 'from there') > *de áhi* > *diáhi* > *diay* > *diy*. By the end of last century Gagini (1892/1975: 215) had already identified that the question *¿Y de ahí?* was also used as a

synonym for *¿Y qué pasó luego?* 'And what happened later?'. Therefore, we can observe the common grammaticalization related metonymic change from SPACE to TIME (Heine at al. 1991) which also occurred in the case of Lat. PŎST, first a place adverb meaning 'behind' and later a time adverb meaning 'after' (Santos and Espinosa 1996: 107), as well as with the verb *to go* cross-linguistically, first referring to physical movement, and later movement in time towards the future. Similarly, just like the case of PŎST > *pues*, the following change after SPACE > TIME was that of TIME > CAUSE. I argue that this is another metonymic change triggered by the notion of sequence: first between present time and future time and later between cause and consequence.

The goal of Quesada's analysis is to describe the process of grammaticalization of *diay* within the perspective of the Function Contiguity Hypothesis proposed by Heine at al. (1991) which predicts that a new grammaticalized item will not only present several pragmatic functions but it will also create a network of functions going from more concrete to more abstract. In fact Quesada ends up exemplifying and describing several functions, two of which will be of particular interest for the current investigation. These were the functions of obviousness and of emphasis. After *diay* had reached the meaning of causality, there was a split triggered by its use in questions about the cause of something on the one hand and by its use in indicating causality in declarative sentences on the other. These two developments brought about uses of *diay* in an even more grammaticalized and abstract context. Below are two examples of the functions of Costa Rican *diay* also shared by Andean *pues*:

(62) Emphasis:

*…son locos porque son unos hijueputas vedá / **y yay** apareció el hijoeputa ahí muerto.*

'Those sons of …. are crazy because they are such sons of …., you know / and **Part-Emph.** the son of ….. was found dead there'.

(63) Obviousness:

A: *¿Y a usted le gusta más ese que el otro?*

B: *¡**Diy!** ¡De viaje se ve que solo ese quiere, de viaje!*

A: 'And do you like this better than this one?'

B: **Part!** 'It's obvious that he's the one she loves, obvious!'

(Quesada 1998: 172)

Thus, it is important to see how two discourse markers from two different structural origins, an adverb (*pues*) and a full expression (*diay*), can develop the same level of abstraction and subjectification. We can observe the grammaticalization process in the following characteristics: erosion (phonological weakening and semantic bleaching), extension (from one specific context to several others), and condensation since three or four items *(y) de allí* become one element > *idiay*.

**Colombian *pues***.

Travis (2005) carried out a thorough description of the functions that several discourse markers in Colombian Spanish have. Among them, she described the multiple uses and senses of *pues*. It is, then, a marker that can be used to add extra information (64), to highlight an upcoming utterance (65), to mark a repair (66), to preface responses and answers (67) and to introduce direct speech (68) as we can see in the following examples:

(64) A: *Esto se puede pagar mensual, o semestral, o anual. Sí?*

B: *Mhm.*

A: ***Pues**, cuando se paga semestral o anual, se puede dar cheque o efectivo.*

A: 'You can pay this monthly, or six-monthly, or annually. Ok?'

B: Mhm.

A: '**Pues**, when you pay six-monthly or annually, you can pay by check or in cash'.

(65) …*Y cuando ya, **pues,** tengamos pa la nevera, **pues,** cambiamos nuestra nevera.*

*'*And when already, pues, we have [the money] for the fridge, pues, we'll change the fridge'.

(66) *Nosotros pensamos, **pues**, habíamos hablado antes que si quedabas – salías en embarazo…*

'We thought, **pues**, we had said before that if you ended up – got pregnant…'.

(67) A: *Ah, es que son varios casetes? ¿Varios casetes tenés que entregarle?*

B: ***Pues**, yo creo que por allí unos tres, unos cuatro.*

A: 'Oh, so it's several casettes? Several cassettes that you have to give here?'

B: '**Pues**, I think about three or about four'.

(68) *Cuando veo que esa pelada la pierde, el dije, no, **pues,** dale una oportunidad.*

'When I see that that girl was going to fail, I said to her, no, **pues**, give her an opportunity'.

All of the uses (64-68) are attested more generally across varieties of Spanish (Bosque & Demonte 1999: 4051-4214); however, there is one more use described by Travis that may not be, specifically, Colombian sentence-final *pues*, which Travis refers to as topic

completion *pues*. In these cases, *pues* is used to imply the completion of what the speaker wanted to say. It can mean that it is the interlocutor's turn or that the same speaker will continue talking about a new topic as in example (69):

(69) A: *¿Por qué no vamos a las dos?*

B: *Ay, ¿no puede ser a las dos y media?*

A: *Bueno, a las dos* ***pues****.*

A: 'Why don't we go at two o'clock?'

B: 'Oh, can't it be at two and a half?'

A: 'OK, at two **pues'**. (Travis 2005: 279)

From the examples in (64)-(69), we can see that Colombian *pues* does not seem to convey the idea of 'obviousness' or that a certain proposition was previously evoked or inferred as, I believe, Andean *pues* does. Thus, although the syntactic position of this particular use is the same as Andean Spanish *pues*, its semantic/pragmatic function is not. From this we can conclude that the process of fixating *pues* in clause-final position is not exclusive to Andean *pues*; thus, there are some more general motivations for this change in the syntactic distribution of *pues* that need to be identified.[7]

**Ecuadorian *pues***

In a recent study, Olbertz (2012) analyzed the *Corpus de Salcedo* gathered by Muysken in the Ecuadorian Andes in 1978. The interviewees were divided into three different groups based on their origin in order to determine their linguistic proficiency in

[7] I would argue that Colombian *pues* is not as grammaticalized as Andean *pues* since the latter shows characteristics of a more grammatical item such as its restricted syntactic distribution (i.e. sentence/proposition-final position).

Spanish. These groups are: a) inhabitants of the city of Salcedo, b) inhabitants of neighboring indigenous communities, and c) migrants from isolated indigenous communities.

From 903 tokens of *pues*, Olbertz comes to two important conclusions. First, upon analyzing the nature of this discourse marker, she finds an additional nuance, namely 'obviousness'. For instance, in (70) we see that "the winner takes all the money" is a logical consequence of the content of the previous discursive act "betting the money".

(70) A: *¿Y qué se hace cuando se juega? ¿Cómo se juega?*

'And what do you do when you play? How do you play?'

B: *Eh, apostando con la plata. El que se gana se lleva la plata* ***pues****.*

'Eh, betting the money. The winner takes all the money pues.'

(Olbertz 2012: 5)

Second, she recognizes the speakers' preference to place *pues* in clause-final position. Here she points out the different usage of *pues* between Ecuadorian Spanish speakers and Peruvian Spanish speakers. In the latter case, *pues* has become generalized in the informal speech of all social classes. (Olbertz 2012: 9-10). However, in the case of Ecuadorian Spanish, urban monolingual speakers show a very low usage rate of clause-final pues as opposed to rural bilingual speakers who seem to have Quichua (Ecuadorian variety of Quechua) activated.

Olbertz completes her presentation claiming that it would be logical to assume that Quichua influence has caused Ecuadorian *pues* to behave the way it does syntactically, semantically and pragmatically. However, her ultimate goal is to show that despite this logical assumption, Ecuadorian *pues* is only the result of regular Spanish internal changes. She came to this conclusion after analyzing texts from different Latin American countries

such as Chile, Colombia, Ecuador, Spain and Venezuela and from different centuries. She found clause-final *pues* in all of these texts, suggesting that Quechua or Quichua played no role in the development of postpropositional *pues*. Moreover, she shows that this type of *pues* is a type of conclusive connector, that is, this connector establishes a conclusion relationship between the speech act it is modifying and the speech context be it one's own turn or one's interlocutor's turn.

Consequently, the fact that clause-final *pues* has undergone similar changes across different varities of Spanish, where Quechua played no role, supports the claim of this chapter that Andean *pues* may have undergone a similar pattern leaving out the Quechua interference hypothesis.

## 2.7. Conclusion

I started the chapter with the aim of gaining a thorough grounding on those aspects of grammaticalization theory that can be employed in the analysis of Andean *pues*. I presented the most relevant concepts related to the process of grammaticalization itself, its main characteristics such as: universal availability, source determination, unidirectionality, retention of earlier meaning, attrition (desemanticization and phonological erosion), paradigmatization, obligatorification, fixation and extension.

Next I discussed the three unidirectional tendencies of grammaticalization: I) from an external situation to perceptual/cognitive one, II) from an external or internal situation to a metalinguistic context and III) Meanings tend to be based in speaker's belief-state/attitude (Traugott 1989) and the three types of diachronic subjectification: Type I: Grammar > Grammar, Type II: Grammar > Discourse and Type III: Grammar > Discourse > Grammar (Company-Company 2008). My claim has been that Andean *pues* is representative of

Traugott's third tendency (subjectification) and of Company-Company's Type III development. These proposals will be further explored in subsequent chapters.

I then described and exemplified the concepts of reanalysis, metonymy and what some scholars call pragmaticalization, and discuss whether it should be treated as different from or subsumed to grammaticalization. Finally, I show the cases of Andean Spanish relative pronoun *que* 'that' and the discourse marker *por cierto* 'by the way' as examples of the evolution of discourse markers in a grammaticalization framework, along with three cases of dialectal and functional variation of discourse markers in Spanish: the cases of Costa Rican *diay* 'from there', Colombian *pues* and Ecuadorian *pues*.

The overall purpose of this chapter is to support the idea that language change can and does occur without the effects of language contact. Language change is, at least in the cases discussed in this chapter, the result of cross-linguistic diachronic grammaticalization and language-specific internal changes. By the end of this chapter, we also see that introducing the variable Social Class reinforces the argument for non-contact induced language change. There are different motivations for which social classes adopt innovative linguistic features and differentiate themselves from other classes causing language variants to arise.

The main goal of this chapter was to present the case in favor of Andean *pues* as the result of language-specific internal changes occurring across Spanish dialects and suggesting that the current meaning and syntactic distribution are not the consequence of language interference between Quechua and Spanish. However, in the next chapter I will discuss an alternate argument. I will present the theoretical framework that supports the hypothesis that Andean *pues* is the result of language interference and/or convergence.

# CHAPTER 3

# ON CONTACT-INDUCED LANGUAGE CHANGE

This chapter presents an alternate explanation for the overall discussion. In contrast to Chapter 2, here I present the proposal that Andean *pues* is indeed the result of language contact between Quechua and Spanish. Through examples of other linguistic features in Andean Spanish, this chapter provides evidence supporting the argument that Quechua features have influenced the Spanish spoken in the Andean region; thus, we find Andean *pues* with a monopthonguized realization, propositionally postponed and holding non-standard meanings such as those of evidentiality and obviousness.

This chapter first discusses the linguistic situation in the Andean region describing some of the most salient Quechua features which may be affecting the Spanish spoken in this region. It then presents the most important concepts related to language interference, transfer and convergence. Finally, it provides a theoretical framework supporting the language contact interference hypothesis based on previous works and research on the matter.

## 3.1. Linguistic situation in the Andean region of Peru

Büttner (1983: 20) argued that the expansion of Quechua was relatively large in comparison to other Native American tongues such as Aymara. However, demographic data from economically underdeveloped areas can be very inaccurate and vary considerably among researchers (Gilyarevsky and Grivnin, 1970; Stark and Carpenter, 1973). Parker (1976:27) identifies Quechua speakers in six countries: Peru (approx. 3,100,000), Bolivia

(approx. 1,800,000), Ecuador (approx. 360,000), Argentina (approx. 300,000), Colombia (20,000) and Chile[8]. Moreover, Quechua in Peru is spoken in numerous and varied dialects, above all, in the Andean region where Quechua is still widely used, unlike the coastal or Amazonic regions.

I also consider it relevant to point out that the latest and most important events about Quechua in Peru. First, on May 27, 1975 by Legislative Decree N. 21156, Quechua was recognized as an official language, in addition to Spanish, in Peru. Second, in 1980 a new Political Constitution was approved in Peru, and in Article 14 it establishes and encourages the promotion and study of the native languages and grants Quechua, Aymara and other communities the right to receive education in their own language. Finally, in 1993, the last Constitution was approved and in Articles 13, 14, 15 and 48 similar norms were established (Oyanguren 2000: 1).

In the decade of 1970s new amendments were passed and policies were adopted in order to promote Quechua and bilingualism in Andean zones such as the Bilingual Education Regulation, whose article fifteen states that bilingual teachers must be in charge of teaching vernacular languages and that these teachers must be trained in the corresponding methodology (Yábar 1978: 170).

Condori (2009: 10) discusses psychological, educational and linguistic reasons for which bilingual Peruvians would prefer one language over the other. In the case of Spanish, he proposes that the use of the prestige language makes individuals feel part of the national life and gives them a feeling of security and personal identification with the larger society. Furthermore, Spanish in Peru gives you access to current science and technology. Quechua monolinguals are excluded from vocabulary related to various scientific fields. Finally,

[8] Figures provided by Klee and Lynch (2009).

Spanish also works as a lingua franca for speakers of different languages, be it Quechua, Aymara or Amazonic languages, or speakers of different Quechua dialects such as Central Quechua, Northern Quechua or Ecuadorian Quichua.

In the case of Quechua or any other Native American languages in Peru, Condori (2009:11) claims that they play an important role in the formation of concepts about the world and categories of thought which affects children's linguistic, intellectual and emotional development. When discussing the acquisition of a second language in a classroom setting, Weinreich (1953:76) says that the distinction between what is learned first versus what is learned later is so big that the mother tongue is considered by definition the dominant language. Therefore, there is a conflict when this dominant language to which the individual is more emotionally attached is not the prestigious one. Condori (2009: 12) suggests that this conflict can lead to psychological inferiority-related problems between generations as children can feel ashamed and become disrespectful towards their Quechua monolingual or Quechua dominant speaking parents.

**Dialectal classification of Quechua**

Parker (1963) and Torero (1964, 1968, 1970) developed the current theory of Quechua evolution during the early seventies. Both agreed that all varieties of Quechua come from two genealogical groups. The dialects from central *departamentos* are part of what Parker calls Quechua B and what Torero calls Quechua I. Every other dialect from southern Colombia to northern Argentina is part of what Parker calls Quechua A and Torero calls Quechua II (Parker 1976: 27). Carbajal (2004: 9) states that inside of either of these Quechua groups, two dialects are mutually intelligible; but a dialect from Quechua A/II will not necessarily be understood by a speaker from Quechua B/I and vice versa. This

fact is relevant for this dissertation since most studies have been carried with varieties in the Quechua A/II group (e.g., Cusco). For this reason I intend to see if similar results concerning Quechua interference and the use of *pues* occur in Ancash where Quechua B/I is spoken.[9]

**Quechua in Ancash**

Parker (1976) estimates that there are over half a million speakers of Quechua B/I or Central Quechua in all of the thirteen provinces of the *departamento* of Ancash. In this *departamento*, two subdivisions of Central Quechua can be found: Huaylas Quechua and Conchucos Quechua because this area is made up of two big valleys surrounded by the Andes, the Huaylas valley and the Conchucos valley. Among the two subdivisions observed in the *departamento* of Ancash, there are a number of phonetic and lexical differences. For instance, in Conchucos, a more conservative dialect, diphthongs [aw] and [ay] are maintained; whereas in Huaylas these diphthongs turned into long mid vowels [oo] and [ee], as observed in examples (1) and (2).

| | Conchucos | Huaylas |
|---|---|---|
| (1) | kaynau [kaynaw] | keenoo [ke:no:] *'así'* |
| (2) | pukllay [pukllay] | puklee [pukle:] *'jugar'* |

(Carranza-Romero 1993:40)

For some researchers, such as Parker (1976), these evolutions in the Huaylas valley highlight the fact that this area is linguistically very innovative. However, despite this

[9] See Appendix 1

noticeable dialectal differentiation within these two valleys, there seem to be no issues concerning mutual intelligibility among the thirteen provinces of Ancash.[10]

Concerning general linguistic characteristics, Parker (1976: 29) affirms that Quechua is a polysynthetic and agglutinative language because it allows the formation of compound words with affixes. Indeed, Condori claims that "the great flexibility, dynamicity and dialectal variety of Quechua can be appreciated in its polysynthetic nature" (2009: 27, translation mine). From a syntactic point of view, diverse grammatical categories are expressed through a complex juxtaposition of suffixes and enclitics signaling, in the same word, the parts of a sentence (subject, predicate, modifiers)

(3) *Rantiysimusharqani*: 'I was helping to shop'.

(4) *Much'anayakapusasqakunataqmi*: 'They had been kissing each other'.

(5) Wasinkunamanraq *'still in his/her houses'*

A simple example of Ancash Quechua is the example illustrated in (5) above, which can be analyzed morphologically as in: wasi-n-kuna-man-raq, where *wasi* meaning 'house' is the noun and the four affixes are: -n 'their' (third person singular possessive adjective), -kuna (plural marker), -man 'at'(preposition) and –raq 'still'. All of the Quechua affixes are suffixes, and in the Ancash dialect there are around ninety productive suffixes (Condori, 2009:26).

However, one of the most important Quechua features for this dissertation is the suffix *–mi* that marks an evidential value. As it will be discussed in more depth in section 3.5, *-mi* mainly expresses the speaker obtained certain information of an event from an immediate or firsthand source. However, it can also be used with statements where the

[10] "What needs to be emphasized is that Quechua is a linguistic family instead of just a language; therefore, Ancash Quechua is at least as different from the most-frequently studied types of Quechua –especially those from Cusco and Ayacucho-, as it is Spanish in relation to Portuguese" (Parker, 1976: 24).

speaker did not actually witness the event in question[11], but he does not doubt the truth of such a statement as is shown in example (6). Moreover, *-mi* can be attached to any class of words. This flexibility allows this suffix to serve as a focus marker (Adelaar 1977: 80).

(6) *Pai-mi Apu-nchic-ta cri-c-a mana huiñai-pac huañu-nga.*
Él-ACC señor-nuestro-ACC ceer-NOM-TOP no siempre-FIN perecer-FUT
'Quien cree en Dios no perecerá para siempre.' (Catta 1994: 217)
'Whoever believe in God shall not perish for ever'

(7a) *ñuka tayta-ka alpa-ta-mi yapu-n*
mi padre-TOP tierra-ACC-FOC labrar-3sgl
'Mi padre labra LA TIERRA.'
'My father prepares THE LAND.'

(7b) *ñuka tayta-ka-mi alpa-ta yapu-n*
mi padre-TOP-FOC tierra-ACC labrar-3sgl
'MI PADRE labra la tierra.'
'MY FATHER prepares the land'. (Cole 1982: 95-96)

**Quechua and Spanish speakers in Ancash**

This section is aimed at describing the different types of bilinguals in the Andean region in order to determine if there is any correlation between language proficiency and the use of Andean *pues*. According to their linguistic competence in either or both languages, the inhabitants of Ancash areeither Quechua monolinguals, Quechua subordinate bilinguals, Spanish subordinate bilinguals, or Spanish monolinguals (Carranza-Romero, 1993).

[11] or as Sanchez (2003) calls it 'hearsay information'.

The group of Quechua monolinguals is normally composed of farmers who live far from cities or towns and they live with what they grow or raise. Some of them may use loanwords from Spanish, and may be able to understand some Spanish phrases but they cannot speak it fluently. Socially and economically, they typically belong to the lowest socio-economic classes. Carranza-Romero (1993: 201) claims that "[t]hey are farmers who sporadically go to a town and most of their lives they spend it in their maternal communities."

The group of Quechua subordinate bilinguals is made up by those who have Quechua as their mother tongue and usually communicate in Quechua at an early age, but later on they learn Spanish either through school or by contact with Spanish speakers especially for trade and sales purposes. According to Carranza-Romero (1993: 219), members of this group claim to be able to express their feelings better in Quechua since with this language they have more resources for expressivity and they are affectively more linked to it.

Spanish subordinate bilinguals may have had Quechua as their mother tongue but moved to larger, mostly monolingual, areas at an early age. Therefore, their Quechua eventually becomes subordinate to their Spanish. Carranza-Romero (1993: 229) claims that these speakers normally understand Quechua but they lose oral fluency; this is why they prefer to communicate in Spanish.

Carranza-Romero (1993:246) affirms that Spanish monolinguals tend to live in economically more developed areas, cities and towns that are larger and relatively more progressive, that is, they have more infrastructure, educational and sports facilities, government organizations, etc. The new generations, despite the fact that they may have

bilingual parents, only grow up speaking Spanish because of better and easier access to media, education and work.

To sum up, the goal of this section was to present an overview of the bilingual situation in the Andean region and describe the main characteristics of the Quechua language, its dialectal classification and the bilingual populations. The following sections are devoted to discuss the main concepts of language change, convergence and language transfer that will be relevant to the discussion of *pues*. Moreover, I outline and describe the general mechanisms and outcomes of contact-induced language although there is no general consensus on what these mechanisms are. Next, I present the most relevant features of Quechua, focusing on the variety spoken in Ancash, where the data for this study were collected, and I briefly describe the bilingual situation in this region and the linguistic groups that interact there. Finally, Andean *pues* and its main features are presented along with a discussion of how it may have undergone changes triggered by Quechua-Spanish contact in the Andean area.

### 3.2. Language contact

In the simplest definition *language contact* refers to the use of two languages in the same place / context (Thomason, 2001: 1), even if it is only by two speakers interacting for a very simple communicative goal such as asking for directions. However, this chapter is aimed to treating this phenomenon in a more restricted way; that is, a contact situation in which at least some of the people living in a specific geographic area use more than one language.

This contact often induces linguistic change that can be described and categorized in different ways. Backus (2004:179) claims that the ultimate causes of change are social

factors such as the demographics of the language communities in contact, institutional support, different prestige of these languages and dominance in various contexts. However, he points out that the mechanisms of change are more frequently and widely studied in the linguistic field. He splits these mechanisms into 'causal mechanisms' and 'procedural mechanisms'. The first ones deal with the decisions people make in conversation based on social factors; in other words, based on the prestige or dominance of one language they will choose to code switch, borrow 'more prestigious' words, use one language in many more social contexts or just resist all of these 'prestigious words'. He notes that "[t]hese causal mechanisms are synchronic phenomena: they pertain to what speakers do in the act of speaking" (Backus 2004: 179). The procedural mechanisms, on the other hand, are related to diachronic phenomena. Therefore, they link what speakers do in conversation with the resulting language over time. These mechanisms are associated with fluctuations in language choice, that is, a native word, expression or syntactic patterns compete with their foreign counterparts for usage. Thus, the encroachment of a second language may occur in domains previously occupied by a first language bringing about the differential use of all linguistic features involved. Thomason and Kaufman (1988: 35) point out the importance of the causal mechanisms based on social factors since they agree that both the direction and extent of *interference* from one language into another are socially determined.

### 3.3. Types of Interference

Thomason and Kaufman (1988: 36) claim that there are two fundamentally different types of interference that need to be described: *borrowing interference* and *substratum interference*. The latter refers to the subtype of interference that results from imperfect group learning through a process of language shift. That is, this kind of interference occurs

when groups of speakers give up their mother tongue and begin shifting to another language. They may keep some lexical items but they will favor the acquisition of sounds, syntax and even morphology from the target language. During this shift process the errors made by members of the shifting group when speaking the target language spread to the whole target language when they are imitated by original speakers of that language. This is not the case of Quechua-Spanish speakers so we will just focus on the other type of interference: *borrowing*.

Borrowing is defined by Weinrich as "deviations from the norm of either language which occur in the speech of bilinguals as a result of their familiarity with more than one language" (1953:1). Winford (2003:12) adds that borrowing may vary from casual to heavy lexical borrowing and from slight to greater and more significant incorporation of structural features as well. Lexical borrowing of content words (nouns, verbs, adjectives, etc.) is extremely common whereas structural borrowing (features in phonology, morphology, syntax and semantics) is much less common but still attested across languages. Thomason and Kaufman claim that "the more internal structure a [grammatical] subsystem has, the more intense the contact [between two languages] must be in order to result in structural borrowing" (1998: 73).

**Borrowing Scale**

Thomason and Kaufman (1998: 74) also propose a borrowing scale that attempts to explain the existence of features between particular source-language and borrowing-language structures. They add that features located lower on the scale will not be borrowed before features located higher on the scale. At the bottom of the scale we find 'Casual contact', which triggers lexical borrowing of content words only. Then, we see 'Slightly

more intense contact', which triggers function words such as conjunctions and various adverbial particles and causes slight structural borrowing such as minor phonological, syntactic and semantic features. Above these, we find 'More intense contact', whereby affixes, pronouns and low numerals tend to be borrowed: phonemicization of native vocabulary may take place, and prepositions from the source language arise. Then, we can see 'Strong cultural presence' which triggers moderate structural borrowing such as word order change and inflectional affixes and categories will be added to native words. And finally, on top of them all, we find 'Very strong cultural presence' which triggers heavy structural borrowing causing a "significant typological disruption" (1998:75): new morphophonemic rules, word structure rules, etc.

I claim, however, that although the influence and subsequent interference of Spanish into Quechua may be culturally and linguistically very strong, Quechua still plays an important role in bilingual contexts and has been in constant and intense contact with Spanish in the Andean region since the arrival of the Spanish in the 16th century, but it lacks the prestige that Spanish possesses. Therefore, even though Quechua does not have the same level of institutional prestige as the Spanish spoken in the Andes, we can still find some features from all five levels of Thomason and Kaufman's borrowing scale, as shown below in section 3.4.

### 3.4. Contact-Induced Change Mechanisms and Processes

Winford (2003) argues that all contact-induced change processes are part of two main mechanisms called *borrowing* and *imposition*. Each of these is a set of epiphenomena, has their own direction of change and involves specific language proficiency by speakers. He also claims that in borrowing, features from an external source language (SL) are

imported into a recipient language (RL), which is the dominant language of speakers. On the other hand, in imposition, the source language is the dominant language, from which features are transferred into a recipient language. In this case, speakers are less proficient in this recipient language.

According to Winford, "[t]he definitive characteristic of borrowing is that it leads to little, if any, modification of the RL structure|" (2003: 143). Thus, imported items and features are adapted and integrated phonologically, morphologically and syntactically. The following processes are all examples of borrowing-related contact-induced change.

**Code-switching.**

Code-switching refers to "the use of material from two (or more) languages by a single speaker in the same conversation" (Thomason 2001: 131). Of course, this implies that his or her interlocutor also speaks or understands both languages. This mechanism can also be subdivided into *intersentential code-switching*, when switching languages occur after a complete sentence, and *intrasentential code-switching* or *code-mixing*, when the switch occurs within a single sentence. The following are some examples of code-mixing[12] between Quechua and Spanish provided by Condori (2009: 46):

(8) ***Sal****chaykita windimay* ***señora****cha*.

*Me vende* ***sal, señora****.*

To me you-sell salt, ma'am.

'Sell me salt, ma'am'.

[12] Some scholars consider it is still difficult to establish a clear distinction between code-switching and code-mixing versus lexical borrowing. Heath (1984: 368) argues that CS implies alternate use of two languages, dialects and even registers, where as borrowing represents partially or fully adapted forms of L2 origin in L1.

(9) *El **wawa** está en la cuna.*

The baby-Qch. is in the cradle.

'The baby is in the cradle'.

De Bot, Broersma and Isurin (2009) discuss the triggering sources of code-switching. They define the triggers as "words that are similar in form and meaning…enhance the chance of a code switch, but do not predict a single event" (2009: 85). This means these triggers are likely to cause a language switch in parts of another language system but of course code switching can also occur without triggers.

An interesting claim is that these triggers can appear at different levels, although the most common ones are the lexical level and syntactic level. An example of the lexical level is the use of words that are cognates in both languages and, therefore, are an easy bridge between them, and an example of the syntactic level can be observed in the study by Clyne (2003: 177-179) on Dutch-English syntactic convergence suggesting that shared syntactic knowledge and forms similar in two languages may act as code-switching triggers. De Bot, Broersma and Isurin (2009:92) also discuss code-switching at the word level such as the case of the word 'refrigerator' which contains letter combinations that are actual Dutch words ('tor' [beetle] and 'rat'[rat]).

**Negotiation'**

Thomason (2001) calls negotiation a mechanism which "is at work when speakers change their language A to approximate what they believe to be the patterns of another language or dialect" (2001: 142), and, as a result, convergence occurs, an outcome which will be discussed later in this chapter. An example of this can be seen in the formation of

*pidgins* which arise in contact situations where there is no effective bilingualism, as was commonly the situation between colonial traders and indigenous groups.

Foley (2006) states that "a pidgin language is the result of a multilingual contact situation aimed to aid communication between groups that speak distinct languages….. ¨but what crucially distinguishes pidginization from all of these others is a necessary simplification of the resulting amalgam language from the source languages in the original multilingual contact situation" (Foley 2006:1-2). The language of the socioeconomically dominant cultural group usually contributes the bulk of the vocabulary to the pidgin, also known as the *superstrate language*. The other contributing language(s) from less dominant group(s) are the *substrate languages*.

In many cases, subsequent elaboration and development of pidgins gave birth to creole formation, which is attributed to children appealing to innate universal principles to compensate for deficient pidgin input to their first language acquisition process (Bickerton, 1984, 1999). Smith and Paauw (2006: 159) explain that most creoles arose from European colonization; therefore, they have European lexifiers and they may end up having different structural characteristics depending on the typological distance between the languages involved and the social context of creolization.

**Second-language acquisition strategies**

According to Thomason, we find the gap-filling approach which refers to "using material from the native language while speaking the target language to plug the holes in knowledge of the target language" (2001: 146). For instance, English speakers learning French will use English /r/ when speaking French, a sound that does not exist in French.

Now let us see another example of this mechanism in the case of a Peruvian bilingual. We will see later in this chapter that many Quechua speakers start learning Spanish when they go to school or later; therefore, they tend to use Quechua features when speaking Spanish. Condori (2009: 47) provides an example of phonological interference in which we can observe that a Quechua-Spanish speaker lowers high vowels, a property characteristic of Quechua phonology: 'Cantamos el h[e]mno nac[e]onal de Per[ó]', while in non-contact Spanish speakers would produce the following: 'Cantamos el h[i]mno nac[i]onal del Per[ú]'.[13]

**Code alternation**

Code alternation is the mechanism whereby bilingual speakers use one of the languages "in one set of environments and the other language in a completely different set of environments" (Thomason, 2001: 136). Georgalidou, Kaili and Celtek (2010: 322) conducted a study on the code alternation patterns in Greek-Turkish bilingual family conversation. They examined issues of identity related to the code alternation choices that speakers of different age groups make when interacting with other individuals. Their conclusion is that this identity in construction goes beyond being part of the same ethnic or socioeconomic group but also constructs youth identities in contrast with older generations. This is also the case in the bilingual Peruvian area. During most interviews I was told Quechua-Spanish speaking children tend to speak Spanish with their peers in school, but at home they tend to communicate in Quechua with their parents or grandparents.

[13] This feature is discussed as *motosidad* in a number of sources (Lipski 1994:321), and, according to Cerrón-Palomino (1988) is sociolinguistically stigmatized.

**Bilingual first-language acquisition**

According to Thomason (2001), this mechanism has not been thoroughly investigated. She lists a few cases in which very subtle changes have occurred between the two first languages as in the case of children of Turkish parents growing up in Germany. As these children learned both Turkish and German as first languages, they used different intonation patterns which had the same function in both of the two languages but created a functional distinction between them. Although this distinction was "too minor to be detected by monolingual adults, the children had created a new structure in each of their two languages, in each case using material drawn from both languages" (2001: 148).

Meisel (2013) claims that there is currently a broad consensus that this type of acquisition can be regarded as an instance of first-language acquisition because children are generally able to differentiate grammatical systems from very early on and "to subsequently proceed through the same developmental sequences as monolinguals in their respective languages, and to attain native competence in each of their languages" (2013: 393). However, there are still questions about the factors that could either enhance or inhibit this process or perhaps even prevent successful bilingual development from taking place. These include factors situational, learner-internal, and language-specific (e.g. typological or structural distance) properties.

Werker (2012) states that infants growing up with two languages can use perceptual cues to begin to separate the languages and to learn the sound properties of each. Although from the interviews I conducted for this study we learned that most participants learned their second language many years after having learned their first one, there is still a large portion of Andean bilinguals nowadays who are raised speaking Spanish and Quechua at

the same time. Being exposed to this bilingual acquisition prepares infants for word learning, and "even for the first steps in bootstrapping grammar" (Werker, 2012: 58).

Although bilingual acquisition has been shown to be very similar to monolingual acquisition, there is evidence of both processing challenges and cognitive advantages in bilingual acquisition. The challenges have to do with the fact that with two native languages at work, there is less input in each. This may result in less well-established representations and slight delays in acquisition. On the other hand, the cognitive advantages comprise better attention to perceptual details and the ability to better use context to determine which language is being used.

Werker (2012) concludes with the idea that although the fundamental mechanisms supporting language acquisition are the same in both bilingual and monolingual acquisition, the input does play a role and may display slightly different outcomes in language processing and use such as: speed of processing, vocabulary size in each language, word learning and recognition, cues and time to figure out the meaning of words, etc.

### 3.5. Language convergence

*Language convergence* can be understood as "a type of language change that is contact-induced and results in greater similarity between two languages that are in contact with each other" (Backus 2004: 179). However, Bullock and Toribio (2004: 91) attempt to clarify this concept by going beyond the mere simplistic definitions of convergence as either a consequence of language contact where sometimes the source of a linguistic feature may not even be determined or a case in which a given language has undergone interference of various kinds from another language.

I adopt Bullock and Toribio's redefinition and view of convergence as "the enhancement of inherent structural similarities found between two linguistic systems" (2004:91), where the direction of influence (superstratum language on substratum language or vice versa) is irrelevant. Therefore, they establish a difference between convergence that can be the result of a mutual or unidirectional influence on the one hand, and an interference and transfer on the other, where the direction of influence does matter. Bullock and Toribio also make a relevant contribution by claiming that convergence is an outcome and not a process. Nevertheless, "a bilingual's two grammars can and do provide synchronic evidence of the processes that ultimately lead to linguistic convergence" (Bullock and Toribio 2004: 91).

Muysken (2013: 719) provides a good example of morphological convergence. He discusses the very common phenomenon known as *double marking* present in Bolivian Quechua. When bilinguals from this area speak Quechua, for instance; Spanish plural marker *–s* is added despite the fact Quechua plural nouns already use the plural marker *–kuna*, as in: wasi-kuna-s '*houses*'. He also provides examples of lexical convergence, such as the one by Campbell (1998: 266) about Mayan. In this language *kíche* originally meant 'deer', but because of contact with European horses it came to mean 'horse'.

Let us now take a look at one of the most cited works on language convergence between Quechua and Spanish. This study was carried out by Sánchez (2004) and presents an example of structural and semantic convergence between these two languages. She presents evidence in favor of the Functional Convergence Hypothesis, which states that "syntactic convergence among bilingual speakers is favored when the matrix of features associated with a functional category is partially divergent" (Sánchez 2004, 2); that is, both languages in a contact situation must have some features in common so that convergence

can occur. In the case of Quechua and Spanish, their common ground revolves around the expression of past tense. However, while the expression of past tense in Quechua is linked to morphological evidentiality, in Spanish, the expression of past tense is linked to aspectual features. In other words, Spanish speakers evince foreground/background distinctions when describing events in the past (Hopper 1979; Bardovi-Harlig 1995, 1998), whereas Quechua speakers express evidentiality through morphological means.

Let us examine this past tense contrast in Spanish:

(10) *Compr-**é***. (past perfective)

buy-1SG PAST PERF

'I bought.'

(11) *Compr-**aba***. (past imperfective)

Buy-1SG PAST PERF

'I bought.' (Sanchez, 2004: 148)

One of the main uses of Spanish past imperfect is to signal background information. Bardovi-Harlig (1998: 476) defines a background clause as one that "may contribute to the interpretation of an event by revealing a prior event, making a prediction about the outcome of an event, or evaluating an action reported in the foreground." Foreground tenses, on the other hand, are located in the event timeline.

Another case where imperfective morphology in Spanish may be used is to indicate new or unexpected information to the speaker. Sentence (12) indicates surprise by the speaker with respect to the ability to swim by the subject of the sentence.

(12) *Anda, ¡sabía nadar!*

'Hey, (s/he) knew how to swim!'

In the case of Quechua, since Boas' work (1938), it has been generally acknowledged that Quechua signals the information source morphologically; that is, speakers specify how the information was obtained, "distinguishing whether it has been directly witnessed (visually, auditorily, etc.) or indirectly known either as reported information or as the result of the speaker's own reasoning (inferences and conjectures)" (Squartini 2008: 918; see also Faller 2004).

Indeed, the existence between two past tense morphemes in Quechua has nothing to do with aspectual distinctions between background and foreground information. Instead, it involves evidentiality features related to the source of information. Past events not witnessed by the speaker, such as historical events or events that are hearsay information, are expressed with morpheme *–s* or *–si*. These morphemes are required to be used in agreement with the reportative past tense marker *–sqa* (Sanchez 2004: 150), as shown by the following example, from Cusihuamán (2000:161):

(13) *Manku Qhapaq-qa* *Titiqaqa qucha-manta-**s*** *lluqsimu-**sqa**.*

Manku Qhapaq-TOP Titikaka Lake-ABLAT-**EVID** emerge-**3 PAST REPORT**

'Manku Qhapaq emerged from the Titicaca Lake.'

On the other hand, events witnessed by the speaker are expressed with the morpheme *–mi*, which in turn has to be used in agreement with the reportative past tense marker *-rqa*. According to Sánchez, "[t]hese co-occurrences reinforce the idea that the distinction between the past tense morphemes *-sqa* and *-rqa* in Quechua is linked to evidentiality rather than to aspect" ( 2004: 149). This is shown in (14), in which the speaker was a witness to the event referred to by the speaker and/or that the speaker holds the sentence to be true.

(14) *Huwan-**mi**  Mariya-ta  qhawa-**rqa**-n.*

Huwan-**EVID** Mariya-ACC see-**PAST-3SG**

'Huwan saw Mariya.'

It is pertinent here to mention that Muntendam (2013) also claims that in many varieties of Quechua topic and focus are encoded morphologically. The morpheme *-qa* is used to mark topics, whereas the morpheme *–mi* is used to mark focus, and as mentioned above, it has an evidential meaning. As an evidential marker *-mi* expresses direct experience or direct information (Faller, 2002 & 2004; Muysken,1995; Weber, 1996), and according to Muysken (1995: 378), "the evidentials are most directly involved in marking focus." Faller (2002:17) also adds that "there are two necessary licensing conditions for *-mi*: (i) the speaker has to have the most direct source of information possible for the event described and (ii) the speaker has to be convinced that the proposition expressed is true." Therefore, in the following example: *Pilar ganó*, by using *–mi*, the speaker either means that he saw Pilar winning or that he is completely convinced that Pilar won.

(15) *Pilar-mi  llalli-rqa-n.*

Pilar-**EVID** ganar-**PAST-3PL**

'Pilar ganó.' (Faller 2002: 15)

After gathering data from 38 bilinguals from the south of Peru and ten Spanish monolingual children from Lima who did story re-telling tasks, Sánchez came to the following conclusion: this type of convergence is favored by the activation of features that come from partially divergent features associated with the same functional category in both languages, namely the expression of past tense. Strongly marked Quechua evidentiality features become part of the representation of bilingual Spanish along with some of the

aspectual distinctions related to background and foreground events that are encoded in monolingual Spanish aspectual morphology.

### 3.6. Language Transfer

What then is the difference between language convergence and language transfer? Treffers-Dallers and Mougeon (2005: 95) discuss these concepts. According to them, convergence equals simplification of features. They claim that convergence "often entails the reduction or elimination of marked structures" in one of the languages in contact or it can lead to a situation whereby both languages "adopt a compromise between their conflicting structures" (2005: 95). In these cases there is no exchange of features between languages; instead, a simplification of differences occurs. On the other hand, transfer does not lead to simplified features. Thomason and Kaufman (1988: 90) claim that transfer can produce the opposite effect: "the adoption of features from an external source may sometimes lead to complexification"; that is, an unmarked feature gets replaced by a marked feature. For instance, Mougeon, Nadasdi and Rehner (2005:104) present the case of a change from a more specific/unmarked preposition to a more general/marked preposition: the replacement of Standard French (SF) *à* with *sur* in Ontarian French (OF), as in (16) and (17), respectively.

(16) *C'est toute de la musique à la radio*. (SF)

(17) *C'est toute de la musique sur la radio*. (OF)

'It's nothing but music on the radio.'

Thus, Thomason and Kaufmann are well-known defenders of the role of transfer in language change and claim that "as far as the strictly linguistic possibilities go, any linguistic feature can be transferred from any language to any other language" (1988: 4).

More recently, Meyerhoff (2009:298) has defined transfer as the "relocation of a feature or subsystem in toto" from L2 into L1 and has included the concept of *nativization*, that is, phonological adaptation also takes place after feature relocation,

An example of Spanish-Quechua transfer is the case of pragmatic transfer in Andean Spanish. Muntendam (2013) conducted a study aimed to separate syntactic transfer from pragmatic transfer and support the works by Prince (1988, 1992, 1998) and Silva-Corvalán (1993, 1994, 1998, 2008) on which they claim that syntax is relatively impermeable to influence from another language and that syntactic transfer is rare; however, the transfer of pragmatic uses is possible. In order to understand Muntendam's conclusion, let us first understand the most general 'normative' characteristics of non-Andean Spanish, Andean Spanish and Quechua. The 'normative' word order of non-Andean Spanish is SVO, whereas in Quechua the 'normative'[14] word order is SOV. Nevertheless, in both languages other word orders are possible for discourse reasons. For instance in Andean Spanish, since the object frequently appears in a preverbal position, alternative word orders arise such as OVS and OSV (2013: 112).

For example we see:

(18) *Al gallo come el zorro.*

To the rooster eats the fox

'The fox eats the rooster'. (Muntendam, 2012: 112)

Concerning topic and focus, in non-Andean Spanish, topic and focus are encoded in syntax and phonology (intonation patterns), whereas in Quechua, topic and focus are encoded in syntax and morphology, but not in phonology. Finally, concerning focus fronting of constituents in both non-Andean Spanish and Quechua focus fronting seems to

[14] 'Normative', in the case of Quechua, doesn't necessarily mean unmarked.

be acceptable. However, there is a difference: in non-Andean Spanish, fronted constituents encode contrastive focus, whereas in Quechua preverbal constituents are also used in narrow neutral focus (Muntendam, 2013: 112).

With her research questions Muntendam (2013) tried to find any type of transfer from Quechua into Andean Spanish word order and to know the precise nature of that transfer. There were two different hypotheses regarding the nature of the transfer from Quechua into Andean Spanish: a) in Andean Spanish, there has been a transfer of both pragmatic uses and syntactic properties from Quechua into Andean Spanish, which suggests that syntax can indeed change as a result of contact; and 2) there has been a transfer of pragmatic uses, but not of syntactic properties. The fact that there have been changes in word order does not necessarily mean that there has been a change in syntax.

Muntendam (2013) carried out sociolinguistic interviews and elicitation tasks on twelve non-Andean Spanish speakers, fifteen Andean speakers and eight Quechua speakers. The first group of non-Andean Spanish speakers was composed of monolinguals from Argentina, Colombia, Venezuela, Mexico and Spain, and the other two groups were composed by bilinguals from both Tarata (Bolivia) and Juncal (Ecuador). The selected regions were similar in that they were semi-urban with a high degree of bilingualism in Spanish and Quechua. The data consisted of 16 recordings of informal conversations in Spanish between the researcher and the subject. The subjects were asked about their occupation, place of birth, L1, L2, the age of acquisition of Quechua/Spanish, the frequency and domains of use of Quechua/Spanish, and their family. These factors were chosen to determine the type of Spanish/Quechua people speak and to show their degree of bilingualism and proficiency. Among the topics included were local traditions, family,

daily life, the political and economic situation, bilingual education, language attitudes, dreams, beliefs, the subject's childhood, and important events in the subject's life.

Muntendam concluded that Andean Spanish shows a higher frequency for preverbal objects which are used in more discourse contexts than in non-Andean Spanish. Likewise, in non-Andean Spanish a correlation between preverbal objects and focus was identified, whereas in Andean Spanish and Quechua there was not such a correlation. Furthermore, because preverbal objects seem to be less restricted in Andean Spanish than in non-Andean Spanish, it can be concluded that preverbal placement of objects is pragmatically restricted in non-Andean Spanish, but not so in Andean Spanish, as a result of influence from Quechua.

The results of Muntendam's study support the idea that transfer of pragmatic uses and interpretations can be observed, but one of the syntactic properties did not transfer. According to Muntendam, "[s]yntax seems to be more resistant to influence from another language, even in situations of long-term contact and intensive bilingualism" (2013: 127)

After having defined the most relevant language contact-related phenomena we will now focus on the specific feature around which this dissertation revolves: Andean *pues.* The goal of the following sections is to to examine Andean *pues* and determine its nuances, pragmatic uses and syntactic distribution.

### 3.7. Andean *Pues*

In last chapter we showed a categorization of *pues* proposed from the works of Stenström (2006), Páez-Urdaneta (1982) and Porroche-Ballesteros (1996). Our main goal there was to present the different types of 'normative' *pues* and contrast it with its Andean

counterpart, which seems to bear a distinct meaning, pragmatic use and position within a clause.

I claim and will be providing evidence throughout this dissertation for the argument that the discourse marker *pues* in Andean Spanish is used to signal the notions of obviousness, i.e. already known or previously mentioned information. Similarly, it tends to be placed in clause-final position. Let us compare the following examples:

(19) - *¿Qué harás esta noche? -Voy a una boda.*

'What will you do tonight?' - 'I'm going to a wedding'.

(20) - *¿Qué harás esta noche? -Voy a una boda* ***pues***.

'What will you do tonight?' - 'I'm going to a wedding'. (don't you remember! / I told you before**!)**

In (19) the interlocutor just introduces new information, which is the answer to the question, but in (20) the interlocutor introduces old or shared information that the first speaker probably forgot and/or was expected to know. Let us now see two examples taken from the interviews I conducted in the Peruvian Andes:

(21) A: *Ya. ¿Fue fuerte?*

'Was [the earthquake] strong?'

B: *Fuerte* ***pes***.

'Strong pes'.

In (21), the interviewer A asks if the earthquake in 1970 that killed thousands of people was strong. By adding *pes* – a phonetically reduced form of *pues*- the interviewee means it was obviously strong. In the following example (22), *pues* is, however, not triggered by the interaction between two interlocutors but from the same discourse of one of them. This speaker narrates the story of two hundred people who saved their own lives

during the same earthquake by climbing to the top of a construction project. The speaker then adds *pues* to express that it is common sense to assume that these people were still wearing the same clothes the next day because their clothes were all they had left.

(22) *Sí, no, porque hasta la cima, hasta la parte más alta no llegó el lodo. Allí se han salvado como 200 personas en la parte alta. Amanecieron así pues con lo que estaban.*

'Yes, because the mud didn't reach the top of the cemetery. There, on the top 200 people survived pues only with whatever they had on'.

And finally (23) is an example of *pues* attached to an element already mentioned in previous discourse. Here the interviewee B was explaining that his family was gathered together doing different activities prior to the earthquake; therefore, when the interviewer A asks him where his sister was, he replies, "we were all home *pues*", indicating that he had already stated that his sister, just like everybody else in his family, was home before the earthquake started.

(23) B: *Y acá el 31 de mayo del 70 me salvo es por mi hermana mayor que descansa dentro de la iglesia. Mi hermana mayor me dice: 'Jorge, apura, cierra la puerta y apaga la radio'. ¿Por qué apaga la radio? Todo el mundo estábamos que escuchábamos, otros que almorzaba cuanto más temprano para poder escuchar el campeonato mundial México 70.*

'And here on May 30 1970 I stay alive because of my sister who rests inside the church. My older sister: 'Jorge, hurry up, close the door and turn off the radio'. Why turn off the radio? Everybody was listening, others were having an early lunch so they could listen to the world cup Mexico 70 broadcast'.

A: *Y entonces, ¿su hermana dónde estaba?*

'And so where was your sister?'

B: *Estábamos en la casa todos* ***pues***.

'We were all home pues'.

But how did this type of *pues* come to existence? Zavala (2001) believes that Andean *pues* is indeed the result of language contact. Her work is based on analyzing *pues* as a "clarification and confirmation device attached at the end of evoked or inferred utterances when an assumption of shared knowledge has been disturbed" (2001: 999). More specifically, Zavala sees *pues* as a device used to signal information that should be obvious for the interlocutor either because he or she knew this information before or because it is just common sense. However, Zavala also uses the term evidentiality and claims that this discourse marker has adopted evidential functions from Quechua, which, as we saw in Sánchez (2004) and others, is related to indicating the information source or marking focus.

Zavala agrees with Brody (1995) on the diffusion of features from Spanish into native languages. Brody claims that "particles that have grammatical and discourse meaning in Spanish have been borrowed with primarily discourse meaning into indigenous languages" (Brody, 1995:140). However, in her work Zavala analyzes the opposite effect: the restructuring of a 'standard' Spanish conjunction and discourse marker by Quechua influence. At this point, we find an incongruence between her view and our view on what the Spanish 'standard' *pues* actually is. She claims that in 'standard' Spanish *pues* only has grammatical meaning and has functionality at the sentence level, while Andean *pues* has lost this functionality and has acquired meaning at the discourse level. She includes the two types of *pues* functioning as coordinating conjunctions according to Alcina and Blecua's (1983: 842) Spanish Grammar where this word only appears as a causal conjunction

equivalent to *because* and as a consecutive conjunction equivalent to *therefore*, as in (24) and (25) respectively.

(24) *No fui a la escuela pues estaba enferma.*

'I didn't go to school because I was sick'.

(25) *María estaba cansada y pues se durmió.*

'Maria was tired and therefore she fell asleep'.

As we presented it in the previous chapter, normative Spanish already uses *pues* not only as a conjunction with mere grammatical meaning but also as a discourse marker which according to Fraser (1990: 391) "signals the speaker's view of how the message following relates to the preceding", as in the following example where *pues* is used as a response marker, taken from Stenström (2006: 263)

(26) *Pues no sé.*

'Well, I don't know'.

Zavala's own study, however, attempts to present an exhaustive description of Andean *pues* concerning its usage context, its triggers, its phonological, semantic and pragmatic features, its sentential position, etc. She begins by mentioning two of the most salient characteristics. First, Andean *pues* is usually produced as either *pe* or *pes*, "due to the influence of Quechua, a language that does not permit vowel sequences in its syllabic structure" (2001: 1003). Secondly, it always appears in clause-final position; therefore, according to Zavala, it functions more like a suffix.

When Zavala describes the uses of *pues*, she divides them into two general categories: *pues* involving utterances of different speakers and *pues* involving utterances of the same speaker. Before presenting Zavala's uses of *pues*, I believe it is pertinent to show

Prince's taxonomy related to the old/new information dichotomy and the notion of 'assumed familiarity'.

**Prince's Taxonomy on Old/New Information**

Prince (1981) distinguishes three types of information: new, inferable and evoked. Later, in Prince (1992) she presents three types of new/old information. The Discourse New vs. Discourse Old Information dichotomy has to do with an 'entity' or concept being mentioned or not earlier in the discourse. Prince (1992: 7) states that "[A]n NP may refer to an entity that has already been evoked in the prior discourse-stretch, or it may evoke and entity which has not previously occurred in the prior discourse-stretch" (1992:7).

The dichotomy represented by Hearer New vs. Hearer Old Information deals with the old or new information depending on the speaker's assumption as to the state of knowledge of his/her interlocutor. Prince notes that "[i]nformation, by which is here generally meant 'entities'/ referents, may be old/new with respect to (the speaker's beliefs about) the hearer's beliefs" (1992:7).

Finally, the class of Inferables refers to information whose existence can be inferred by the interlocutor(s). Following Prince, "[w]hen a speaker evokes some entity in the discourse, it is often the case that s/he assumes that the hearer can infer the (discourse) existence of certain other entities, based on the speaker's beliefs about the hearer's beliefs and reasoning ability" (1992: 8).

Loock (2013: 72) points out that Prince uses the term 'entities' when referring to persons, animals and things, but it is not clear whether her taxonomy could be also applied to events, states, processes of affairs and propositions. This is why Loock prefers to use the term 'entities' when referring to the referents of NPs and 'propositional contents' when

referring to contents of clauses, or even the term 'informational content' when referring to both cases. However, he believes that the main problem of Prince's taxonomy is that it does not define the types of inferable that may exist. Therefore, he turns to Birner's (2004) discussion of three types of inferable: an identity inference such as (27), a bridging inference such as (28), and an elaborating inference such as (29).

(27) I told the guy to watch out, but the idiot wouldn't listen. (Birner 2006:38)

(28) Mary took the picnic supplies out of the trunk. The beer was warm.

(Birner 2005:40)

(29) She got married recently and at the wedding was the mother, the stepmother and Debbie. (Birner 2006:40)

An important contribution is made by Birner who claims that discourse old information is not just information *mentioned* in the preceding co-text, but also *linked to* information in the preceding co-text. Bridging inferable are thus examples of this type of inference. As Look explains, "[t]his discourse-old link ranges from identity to a series of inferences (part/whole, type/subtype, temporal precedence, entity/attribute, spatial proximity…)" (2013: 73).

Now let us see how Prince's taxonomy is applied to Zavala's different types of *pues*. In the case of *pues* involving utterances of different speakers, she claims that it can occur when, for instance, speaker A asks for clarification or confirmation about a previous utterance of speaker B, who in turn gives an explanation of what he previously said. Presented in example (30) is an excerpt from a conversation between Zavala (speaker A) and a bilingual Spanish-Quechua speaker B from the central highlands of Peru.

(30) A**:** *¿Cómo así? A ver cuenta.*

'How come? please tell'.

B: *Bueno es qarqacha este . . . lo que dicen qarqacha es andan andan en la noche.*

'Well Qarqacha are . they call qarqacha the ones that walk at night'.

*En un poco lejos de la casa o un poquito mas alejado no? andan en la noche,*

'A little bit far from the house ok? they walk at night'

*Se vuelven cualquier tipo animal, bueno vuelven este, en tipo caballo, llama y perro.*

'they turn into whatever type of animal, well they turn into kinds of horses llamas and dogs'

*Yo me encontré una vez cuando estaba yendo a regar a mi alfalfa en medianoche.*

'I once found them when I was going to water my alfalfa at midnight'.

A: *¿Estabas solito?*

'Were you by yourself?'

B: *Estaba dos. Una pampita había . . . este . . . estaban coma peleando así jugando.*

'they were two. There was a little hill . . and . . . they were like fighting like playing'.

A: *¿Quiénes?*

'Who?'

B: *Esas qarqachas* ***pe,*** *estaban jugando.*

'Those qarqachas **pe,** they were playing'. (Zavala, 2001: 1006)

As can be observed, the interviewer or speaker A asks for clarification about who speaker B was talking about when referring to *they* in '*they were like fighting like playing'*. Speaker B thinks he has made himself clear and uses *pe* to indicate that he was obviously referring to *qarqachas*. I maintain that this example fits Birner's category of Evoked where there is a combination of Discourse-old and Hearer-old information; that is, *pues* follows a piece of information that the speaker used in previous discourse and considers that the entity mentioned is known to the hearer.

Now let us see another example that fits in a different category:

(31) A: *Y tus padres, tus abuelos, ¿también vivían en la comunidad?*

'And your parents, your grandparents, did they also live in the community?'

B: *Sí.*

'Yes'.

A: *¿En esa misma?*

'In that same one?'

B: *Sí, en esa misma **pe**.*

'Yes, in the same one **pe**' (Zavala, 2001: 1006)

Zavala claims here that "the interviewer is now asking for confirmation after having made a correct, straightforward inference from what the interviewee previously asserted" (2001:1007). She is assuming that 'in the community' means 'in the same one', because in the Andean world an entire family typically lives together in the same place. However, I claim that even if the interviewer had not been familiar with his fact that two or more generations would live in the same town, it is speaker B's response and intention what really matter as a trigger for *pues*. Speaker B uses *pe* after his utterance 'in the same one' because he considers that, despite the fact that living in the exact same community was not

explicitly expressed in previous discourse, it is obvious that families tend to live together in the same place. It may not be obvious for speaker A, but it is for speaker B since this knowledge is part of his/her own world, experience and lifestyle. In other words, even if speaker B did not explicitly know that speaker A's family lived in the same town, speaker A believes he could have inferred it, and therefore, it represents an example of a Bridging Inferable following Birner's typology.

Likewise, still concerning inferences, Zavala shows that *pues* can be used to confirm a correct inference as in (32) or to clarify an incorrect inference as in (33).

(32) B: *Ahorita estoy presidente de Comité de Copsa.*

'Now I am the president of the Copsa Committee'.

A: *De ¿Comité de qué?*

'What Committee?'

B: *Copsa.*

'Copsa'.

A: *¿Qué es eso?*

'What's that?'

B: *Mmm . . . promotor de salud. Las comunidades…'*

'Mmm health promoter. The communities…'

A: *¿Del de1 varias?*

'Of several?'

B: *Aha, de varias **pe**. varias **pe.***

'Aha, of several **pe.'** (Zavala, 2001: 1007)

(33) A: *¿O sea los terroristas han entrado a Socos?*

'So the terrorists entered Socos?'

B: *No, no, no a Socos sino que es mi anexo es el Ollanta han entrado **pe**.*

'No no not to Socos but they went into my district, to Ollanta **pe.'**

(Zavala, 2001: 1008)

In (32) speaker A assumes that being a community health promoter involves working with several communities. Speaker B confirms this assumption by adding *pues*; however, I argue that not only does he confirm this assumption but he also thinks it was an obvious assumption to make. In (33) speaker A's assumption is incorrect. Therefore, speaker B clarifies and corrects that assumption, but he also means that speaker A should have not made such an assumption because speaker B was obviously speaking of his own district.

In the following example, Zavala argues that there might be some other function of *pues* besides just confirming or clarifying information that is new in the discourse:

(34) A: *Y ¿la fiesta patronal?*

'And your town celebration?'

B: *Patronal tambien hay **pe** ademas hacen camavales.*

'There is also a town celebration **pe** in addition they do 'carnavales'.'

A: *Pero ¿no tienen ustedes una Virgen, un patrón?*

'But don't you have a Virgin or a saint?'

B: *Tenemos **pe.***

'Yes, we have [them] pe'.

A: *¿Y qué comidas hay?*

'And what kinds of foods do you have?'

B: *Comida hay **pues: yuyo** picante, tejte, hay varias tipicas de comida.*

'There is food **pues: 'yuyo** picante', 'tejte ', there are several typical foods'.

A: *¿Y van a votar ustedes también?*

'And are you going to vote as well?'

B: *Sí, vamos a votar **pe** señorita, ¿nosotros también tenemos derecho no?*

'Yes we are going to vote **pe** lady, we also have rights don't we?'

(Zavala, 2001: 1009)

With these examples, Zavala claims that there is another issue playing a role in these cases: before the interviewer asks a question, the interviewee probably assumed that the interviewer already knew the answer to that question. Zavala notes that "[t]he question represents something that is obvious for the interviewee and, thus, he believes the interviewer should have known it. It is in this context that he produces *pues*" (2001: 1009). This is the only section where Zavala mentions 'obvious' as a description of the use of *pues*. She prefers to regard *pues* as a clarification and confirmation device. According to Zavala, *pues* may be triggered by a Wh-question, a request for confirmation or clarification based on a correct or incorrect inference from previous discourse or general knowledge or a discourse-new question whose content the speaker thought or assumed that his/her interlocutor knew. However, I claim that the reason for the use of *pues* is not merely the need for confirmation or clarification but to signal the idea of "obviousness"; that is, the speaker using *pues* believes that such a piece of discourse/utterance should be known, easily inferred or obvious to the hearer.

The other type of *pues* that Zavala identified was the one involving utterances of the same speaker; the same speaker repeats or paraphrases his/her own previous discourse and then adds *pues*. She claims that in this type of *pues* there is no clarification or confirmation involved which strengthens our position of regarding *pues* as a marker unrelated to

clarification or confirmation purposes. Let us look at some examples extracted again from Zavala's interviews:

(35) A: *¿Y qué hacen ahí?*

'And what do you do there?'

B: *Ahí trabajamos limpiando sequía, como costumbre hacemos nosotros trayendo maestros de danzarán bailarines eso de otros comunidades, de otros provincias. Traemos de Huancavelica, de Puquio todo, entonces ahí hacen un costumbres* ***pe:*** *bailarines.*

'We work there cleaning the 'sequia', we do it like a custom we bring dancers from other communities, from other provinces. We bring them from Huancavelica, from Puquio, so there they perform a custom **pe:** [the] dancers'.

(Zavala, 2001: 1011)

In (35) speaker B paraphrases information just presented by himself, namely the fact that they have this custom of inviting dancers from other communities, followed then by *pe*. This has to do with the function of *pues* to signal already known or previously mentioned information. Therefore, it works as an emphatic marker.

The same phenomenon can be observed in (40) and (41), but instead of paraphrasing, speaker B simply repeats and emphasizes some information just previously presented by himself.

(36) B: . . . *entonces el su bebe de1 cóndor estaba en el lado de1 cerro, está en su hueco, estaba* ***pe****, entonces el zorro ha dicho…*

'So the condor's baby was by the side of the mountain, it was in its hole, it was in it **pe, so** the fox said . . .'

(Zavala, 2001: 1011)

(37) B: . . *no teníamos miedo porque mi tío era conocido en ese sitio porque ese sitio se llamaba San Martin, cómo se llama, San Martin se llamaba* ***pe, ahí*** *hemos visto.*

'... we weren't scared because my uncle was known in that place because that place was called San Martin, what is it called? it was called San Martin **pe,** we have seen it there.'

(Zavala, 2001: 1001)

And finally, in (42) speaker uses *pues* to emphasize a piece of information inferably linked to the previous utterance; his children have to learn to live by themselves and they will obviously achieve this by becoming professionals.

(38) B: . . . lo que quiero es este . . . darle solamente una profesión, que aprenda a vivir solos **pues.**

'*... what I want is . . . to give them only a profession, they could learn to live by themselves* ***pues.'***

(Zavala, 2001: 1013)

In sum, Zavala affirms that "when *pues* involves utterances of the same speaker, it is attached to clauses that repeat, paraphrase, or summarize his own previous utterance, and to clauses that can be inferred by what has been said before" (2001:1013). However, I argue that *pues* is not used for mere repetition, restatement or summary. Instead, it is an emphatic marker that indicates some information is inferable or obvious because it was explicitly or implicitly evoked in previous discourse.

Nevertheless, in her study discussion Zavala (2001: 1015) does acknowledge some notion of obviousness expressed by *pues*. She argues that speakers use *pues* when they

assume something is obvious, not only based on what they know about their interlocutors' world knowledge but also based on what is obvious to them, and therefore, should be known by everybody. From Zavala's own experience, she believes that "when the speaker utters *pues,* the hearer sometimes gets the impression of someone saying to him: 'Come on, this is obvious, you should have known'" (2001:1015).

In conclusion, this section looks to examine and understand how Andean *pues* functions and what conditions trigger its usage. Thus, I present Prince's Taxonomy on old/new information that intends to describe and categorize the different types of information that two speakers may share. They can be old or new to one of the speakers or both and in turn this classification is closely related to other concepts such as: familiarity, obviousness, clarification and confirmation devices, etc. Finally, based on this taxonomy I present Zavala's work and her rationale to view Andean *pues* as a case of Quechua interference and a result of contact-induced change.

### 3.8. Summary and Discussion

The present chapter account attempts to explain how language change takes place when there are at least two languages in contact. My goal is to determine if the current use and distribution of Andean *pues* is the result of this contact situation between Quechua and Spanish. I started this chapter by providing a general overview of the linguistic situation in Ancash where all the interviews to bilinguals took place. I described the different types of bilinguals depending on what their dominant languages are and the 'social class' they belong to; I also presented some characteristics, relevant features and dialectal variation of the Quechua language.

The second part of this chapter is focused on defining and exemplifying the main concepts involved in the contact language framework such as: language contact, interference, borrowing, convergence, transfer, etc. Next, I discuss the most relevant contact-induced change mechanisms such as: code-switching, code alternation, passive familiarity, negotiation, second language acquisition strategies and bilingual first language acquisition. Moreover, I show some specific studies on Spanish and Quechua in contact that triggered some type of change, as in the case of Quechua-Spanish convergence concerning the feature of evidentiality (Sánchez 2004), and the case of pragmatic transfer from Quechua into Spanish (Muntendam 2012).

Finally, I discuss the study on Andean *pues* conducted by Zavala (2001) and present her conclusions, which affirm that Andean *pues* and its other phonetic realizations are the result of Quechua interference. In conclusion, this chapter finds a common ground between Spanish *pues* and Quechua features such as the particle *–mi*, evidentiality, suffixation, vowel monophthonguization. Thus, this common ground suggests language convergence between Spanish and Quechua resulting in characteristics described for Andean *pues*.

However, so far I have only attempted to present the two different sides of the argument. Chapter 2 supports the idea that Andean *pues* is the result of Spanish-specific internal changes, and Chapter 3 supports the idea that Andean *pues* is the result of the contact between Spanish and Quechua. A workable proposal what I believe is the central motivation for the development of Andean *pues* will be presented and explained in Chapter 6.

# CHAPTER 4

# METHODOLOGY

## 4.1. Introduction

This chapter outlines the research methodology used in this study. The research was conducted in two phases and the research methodology is discussed accordingly. In Phase 1 data were collected. Spoken narratives of earthquakes and socioeconomic descriptions were obtained from both monolingual and bilingual Peruvian speakers. In Phase 2 a quantitative approach was followed. The data analyzed in this phase were obtained through the transcription of the interviews and the identification and analysis of each case of *pues* used in the conversations.

## 4.2. Research Objectives

The objectives of this study are: (1) to identify and describe the phonological, syntactic, semantic and pragmatic patterns of Andean *pues*, (2) to identify and describe the internal and/or external factors that contribute to the seemingly unique development and usage of Andean *pues*, and (3) to determine if Andean *pues* is the result of diachronic grammaticalization or the result of language contact between Spanish and Quechua.

As presented in Chapter 1 my main research questions concern the interplay of factors that trigger the use of Andean *pues* from the standpoints of grammaticalization and languages in contact. These questions are:

1. Has Andean *pues* continued to follow the diachronic grammaticalization path where language contact between Quechua and Spanish played little or no role in language change?
2. Is the use of Andean *pues* the result of language contact and convergence between Quechua and Spanish?

### 4.3. Research design

A method that is often used to obtain information on social and linguistic variables and the relationship between these variables is survey research. When using this approach, the researcher selects a sample of speakers and polls them as to their attitudes towards their language and their perceptions of the patterns that occur in their usage of it. The answers to these questions are in most cases regarded as a representative description capable of identifying opinions, attitudes and linguistic patterns of the whole population from which the sample was taken (Sonderling 2000:133). In this study, in-person interviews were conducted and each conversation with the participants revolved around the following topics: 1) a thorough account of a specific earthquake event (described below), 2) their bilingual acquisition process (i.e. which language they learned first), 3) their current bilingual situation (i.e. which language they use more in specific contexts), and 4) their occupation and socioeconomic situation.

Survey research studies including in-person interviews are classified as descriptive and exploratory research designs. According to Polit and Hungler (1999:16), description can be a major purpose of both qualitative and quantitative research studies. When using descriptive design, a researcher plans to gain more information about a phenomenon within a particular field of study (in this case grammaticalization and languages in contact). In

contrast, exploratory studies provide an in-depth exploration of a single process (in this study the usage of *pues* in Peru). Due to the lack of similar studies on the usage of *pues* in the central bilingual Andean region and the monolingual coastal region, this study attempts to investigate, describe and explore this new area of interest for diachronic grammaticalization and languages in contact. In conclusion, this study employs an exploratory, descriptive design to depict the phonological, syntactic, semantic and pragmatic patterns of *pues*.

### 4.4. Organization of the Study

As mentioned earlier, analysis of this research occurs in two phases, with the methodology used in each phase presented separately. The data in Phase 1 were collected using a linguistic survey/interview methodology. Both monolingual and bilingual participants were asked to narrate their stories related to the earthquakes they experienced in either Ancash (bilingual region) or Ica (monolingual region). They were also asked to comment on which languages are used is their hometowns and, in the case of bilinguals, on their personal experiences acquiring both languages. Phase 2 employs a quantitative approach to determine the relationship between the usage of *pues* and social variables such as socioeconomic status and language proficiency.

Phase 1: Linguistic survey/interview

Qualitative research focuses on meaning, experience and understanding; it therefore gives the researcher the opportunity to interact with the individuals or groups whose experiences the researcher wants to understand. A qualitative research design thus produces descriptive data in the participant's own words. The rationale for using this

qualitative approach for this phase of the study is to explore and describe 1) the experiences of people during and after highly destructive earthquakes and 2) their linguistic background and/or bilingual status in order to determine the extent to which Quechua affects their spoken Spanish. Polit and Hungler (1999:18) claim that a qualitative method is especially useful for exploring the full nature of a little-understood phenomenon, which is precisely the case of Andean *pues*. Little is known or documented as to how this feature occurs in the monolingual non-Andean region, where Quechua was never spoken.

Phase 2: Quantitative Approach

Burns and Grove (1999:23) describe quantitative research as a formal, objective, rigorous and systematic process for generating information about a phenomenon. Evidence for a quantitative study is gathered according to a specific plan in which formal instruments are used to collect the relevant information. This information is translated into numeric information and analyzed using statistical procedures (Polit & Hungler 1995:13). Phase 2 of the study used a quantitative approach to obtain information regarding the social and linguistic factors that contribute to the usage of *pues* by speakers from both the monolingual and bilingual regions of Peru. Statistical analyses were conducted in order to confirm or reject the possible correlation between syntactic, phonological, semantic and pragmatic patters of *pues* and sociolinguistic factors such as socioeconomic status and language proficiency in either or both languages.

## 4.5. Research subjects

### Target population

A population is the total group of subjects that meet a designated set of criteria. Therefore, two populations can be identified: 1) all the subjects who experienced the 1970 earthquake in the Andean region of Ancash and were native to this region compose one population; and 2) all the subjects who experienced the 2007 earthquake in the non-Andean (or coastal) region of Ica and were native to this region compose the other population.[15]

Polit and Hungler (1999:278) distinguish between a target population and an accessible population. A target population includes all the cases about which a researcher would like to make generalizations. In my study, the target populations were described above. An accessible population comprises all the cases that conform to the designated criteria and are accessible to the researcher as a pool of subjects for a study. The accessible population included all monolingual or bilingual speakers who were accessible in plazas, parks and streets in Ancash and Ica and were willing to be interviewed.

### Sample / Target group

According to Brink and Wood (1998:320), exploratory design requires small samples that are chosen through a deliberative process to represent a researcher's desired population. In qualitative research, individuals are selected to participate in research based on their first-hand experience of the phenomenon of interest to a researcher. In this study, the desired population includes individuals who experienced first-hand either the earthquake in the Andean region on May 31st, 1970 or the earthquake in the coastal region

[15] See Appendix 2

on August 15th, 2007. The SAGE Dictionary of Social Research Methods (2006) defines purposive sampling as "[a] form of non-probability sampling in which decisions concerning the individuals to be included in the sample are taken by the researcher, based upon a variety of criteria". A researcher uses purposive sampling to represent the desired population, choosing participants likely to be appropriate for the study. In other words, the researcher chooses the sample based on what participants he or she thinks would be appropriate for the study. In this study, I chose participants who seemed old enough to have experienced either of the two earthquakes, if they seemed like they would be able to recall details of the event.

In total, thirty-seven speakers were recruited as members of this target group: eleven speakers were Quechua subordinate bilinguals, six of them were Spanish subordinate bilinguals while the remaining twenty were Spanish monolinguals. The first two sub-groups were determined based on their on self-identification. At the end of each interview, participants were asked which language was their mother tongue and which language they spoke better. Furthermore, interviewees were asked about their occupations and then divided into three separate socioeconomic groups: the first group is composed of professionals with higher education degrees; the second group includes businessmen, merchants and salespeople; the third group comprises farmers and people with agriculture-related jobs. The following sub-sections describe the three groups of speakers and the procedure used to record them.

**Quechua subordinate bilinguals (QS)**

These speakers use Quechua at home or at work on a daily basis, and claim to express their ideas and feelings in Quechua better. Some even learned Spanish as adults, and their Spanish is used only for basic communicative purposes. For instance, speaker H5 from Ancash claims hat she started learning Spanish when she was around 17 years old:

> "Sí, cuando yo nací, yo sólo sabía hablar quechua; y luego cuando ya llegué acá, ahora que estoy acá, ya pues tenía 17, 16, 17 años; pero acá llegué a los 14 años y no, no podía, y luego yo fui a estudiar ps. Así acá….Como estaba en pueblo, turno de noche. Allí aprendí a hablar castellano."
>
> "*Yes, when I was born, I could only speak Quechua and then I arrived here. Now that I am here, when I was pues 17, 16, 17 years old… I arrived when I was 14 and I couldn't, then I went to study ps. Here. Since I was in town (studying) night shift. I learned how to speak Spanish."*

Out of the eleven speakers in this sub-group, five male participants are merchants and businesspeople, and are thus included in the second socioeconomic group. The remaining six participants (three males and three females) were included in the 3rd socioeconomic group because they are farmers.

**Spanish subordinate bilinguals (SQ)**

These speakers acquired Quechua as an L1. However, in their adolescent years they started using Spanish in more situations, and it became their dominant language. Out of the six speakers in this category, five are male and one is female. The female and three males were included in the second socioeconomic group, and two remaining male participants were included in the first socioeconomic group because they have higher education or college degrees.

Both the Quechua subordinate bilinguals (QS) and the Spanish subordinate bilinguals (SQ) were all recruited in a bilingual area of the Peruvian highlands in the Department of Ancash (speakers H1-H17). This area had been struck by a devastating 7.9 earthquake, which occurred on May 31st, 1970 and triggered a landslide, resulting in an estimated 70 000 fatalities, with 140 000 people injured. (Kovach 2004:130). I chose this area because I wanted to elicit similar narrations of the disaster in order to analyze the usage of *pues* and contrast the speakers' narrations to those made by the control group described in Section 4.5.3.

**Spanish monolinguals (S)**

The twenty Spanish monolinguals (I1-I20) were all recruited in the Department of Ica in the southern coast of Peru. Four are female, and sixteen are male. Five male participants were included in the first socioeconomic group of educated professionals. Twelve participants, three female and nine male, were included in the second socioeconomic group of merchants and businesspeople. The remaining three participants were included in the third socioeconomic group of farmers (one female and two males).

The Department of Ica was also struck by an even stronger earthquake, 8.0 on the Richter scale, on August 15th, 2007. The earthquake lasted for about three minutes and killed 519 people (Tang and Johansson 2010: 3). The huge difference between the numbers of casualties from both earthquakes is attributed to the fact that the Ica earthquake did not trigger a landslide, and coastal cities tend to have better architecture and infrastructures.[16]

[16] See Appendix 1: Map with the locations of the 1970 and 2010 earthquakes in Peru.

**Table 1: Distribution of participants by gender, socioeconomic group and language proficiency**

| Participant Code | Gender | Socioeconomic group | Language proficiency |
|---|---|---|---|
| H1 | F | 3 | QS |
| H2 | F | 2 | SQ |
| H3 | M | 2 | SQ |
| H4 | F | 3 | QS |
| H5 | F | 3 | QS |
| H6 | M | 3 | QS |
| H7 | M | 3 | QS |
| H8 | M | 2 | SQ |
| H9 | M | 2 | QS |
| H10 | M | 1 | SQ |
| H11 | M | 2 | QS |
| H12 | M | 2 | QS |
| H13 | M | 1 | SQ |
| H14 | M | 2 | SQ |
| H15 | M | 2 | QS |
| H16 | M | 2 | QS |
| H17 | M | 3 | QS |
| I1 | F | 2 | S |
| I2 | M | 2 | S |
| I3 | M | 2 | S |
| I4 | F | 3 | S |
| I5 | M | 2 | S |
| I6 | F | 2 | S |
| I7 | M | 1 | S |
| I8 | M | 1 | S |
| I9 | M | 2 | S |
| I10 | M | 2 | S |
| I11 | M | 3 | S |
| I12 | M | 2 | S |
| I13 | M | 1 | S |
| I14 | M | 1 | S |
| I15 | M | 1 | S |
| I16 | M | 2 | S |
| I17 | M | 2 | S |
| I18 | M | 3 | S |
| I19 | F | 2 | S |
| I20 | M | 2 | S |

**Figure 1: Distribution of QS bilinguals by socioeconomic class**

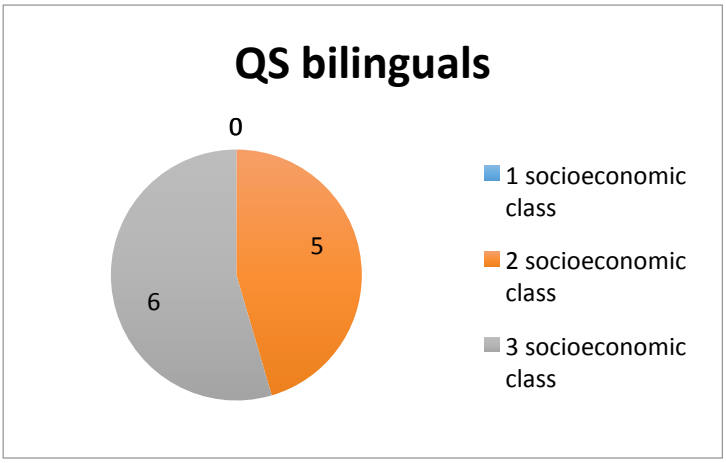



**Figure 2: Distribution of SQ bilinguals by socioeconomic class**

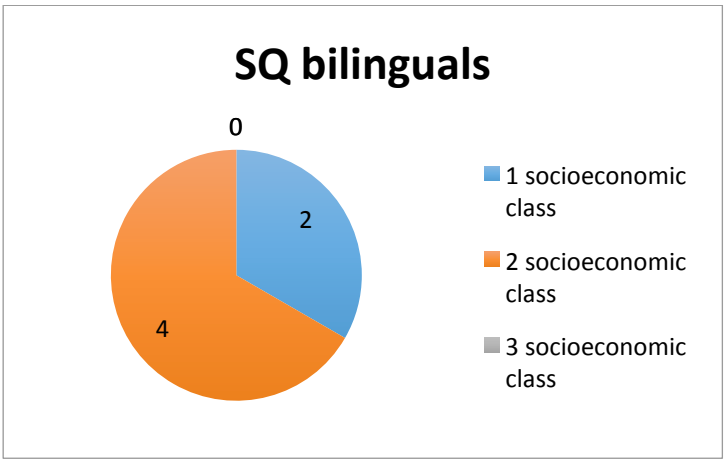
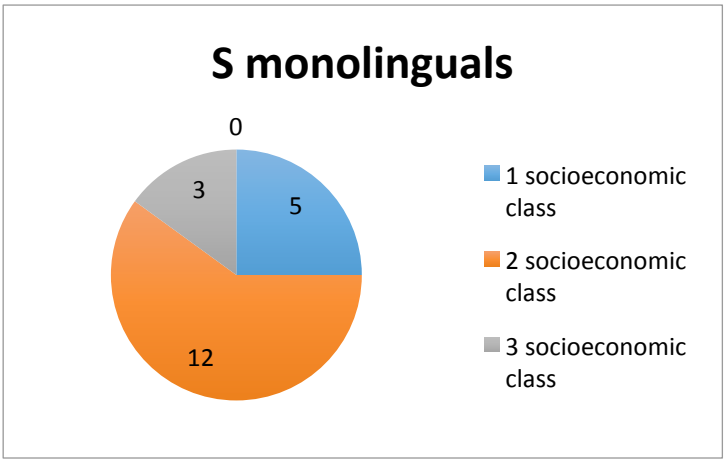


**Figure 3: Distribution of S monolinguals by socioeconomic class**




As can be seen in Figure 1, there are no Quechua subordinate bilingual speakers belonging to the first socioeconomic class. In other words, none of the participants who spoke Quechua more often or more proficiently than Spanish went to a university. Instead, they worked as merchants or farmers. It is also important to point out that the majority of interviewees were male, as it was easier to find men on plazas and streets, because women frequently stayed at home.

**A preliminary control comparison**

According to the Encyclopedia of Survey Research Methods, "[i]n experimental designs, a control group is the 'untreated' group with which an experimental group (or treatment group) is contrasted. It consists of units of study that did not receive the treatment whose effect is under investigation" (Peng, & Ziskin, 2008: 147). In my study, I chose speakers of Mexican Spanish, Colombian Spanish and Peninsular Spanish as my control group due to the fact that 1) Mexican Spanish and Peninsular Spanish dialects or variants were never under the influence of Quechua, and 2) Colombian Spanish had very little

interaction with Quechua. As Travis (2006:1270) points out: "the monolingual dialect of standard Colombian Spanish… Contact with indigenous languages is very limited in Colombia, and the standard dialect does not exhibit contact features beyond some lexical items". Therefore, the influence of Quechua on Spanish is the special feature or 'treatment' whose effect will be contrasted. Consequently, any Quechua contact-related influence on the use of *pues* from the Mexican, Peninsular, and Colombian Spanish samples would not be expected.

To develop a sense of how to compose a preliminary control group, I analyzed three documentaries that include interviews with testimonials on major earthquakes: "Terremoto Ciudad de México" (1985), "Terremoto de Armenia - Testimonio UTP" (1999) and "C5N Terremoto en España" (2011). The purpose of analyzing these films is to briefly show how other Spanish dialects, such as the ones from Mexico, Colombia and Spain, use *pues* when narrating the same (or similar) types of events described by our target group. The first documentary centers on the massive earthquake that took place in Mexico City in 1985. Two men and one woman describe their experiences. I analyzed the entire 45-minute documentary and now I will present the excerpts that include all the cases of *pues* (five cases) used in the entire documentary. As can be seen, three cases are sentence-medial position: (1), (2) and (3); two are sentence-initial position, in (3) and (4).[17] It also appears that these uses of *pues* are not mere fillers but that they also have a reinforcing or emphasizing function. Following Trask's definition of an emphatic marker, it can be seen that *pues* "serves to draw attention to some element in the sentence or utterance," (1995:89)

[17] Examples (1)-(4) were extracted from *Terremoto 1995 Ciudad de México* (http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=6oS4GEVbcnY).

(1) *Estaba en el octavo piso en de repente empecé a sentir como un mareo y luego ya empezaron a gritar que estaba temblando y ya de allí fue cuando* ***ps***[18] *todo se vino… se hizo así como un remolino y se vino abajo. Fue cuando nosotros quedamos atrapados allí.*

'I was on the eighth floor and suddenly I started feeling like I was dizzy and then people started shouting. It was shaking and then it was when **ps** everything collapsed. It looked like a swirl and it collapsed. Then we ended up trapped there.'

(2) *Efectivamente, cuando venimos a este lugar que estaba el modulo todavía* ***pues*** *en ruinas, ¿no? pero todavía había gente allí me impactó mucho de que una persona llevaba un pequeño en los brazos me imagino de 4 5 años y que le gritaba "perdóname no pude salvarlos, perdóname no pude salvarlos".*

'Indeed, when we came to this place, the module was **pues** in ruins, right? But there were people who impacted me a lot like this person carrying a 4 or 5-year old child in his arms. He was asking for forgiveness from the child: "I am sorry. I could not save them. Forgive me. I could not save them".'

(3) ***Pues*** *es que son unos momentos muy difíciles porque en esos momentos piensa uno en todo. Por ejemplo, yo pensaba que si yo llegaba a morir que si mi hijo iba a vivir o que si iba a estar* ***pos*** *también muerto o que qué eras lo que iba a pasar. Eran muchos gritos y fue cuando … como todos todos gritábamos habían muchos gritos fue cuando nos empezaron a rescatar a sacar a sacar, y ya fue cuando pos los mismos gritos llegaron a las personas a las que nos rescataron.*

[18] I chose to transcribe *pues* as *ps* when it was very difficult to perceive the vocalic phonological substance of either *pues* or its monophthongized variant *pos.*

'**Pues** these are very tough moments because in these moments you think of everything. For instance, I thought of the probability of dying right there, or if my son was going to survive or if he perhaps was already **pos** also dead or about what was going to happen afterwards. There was a lot of screaming and then they started to rescue us, getting us out. Because of that screaming rescuers were able to find us and save us.'

(4) ***Pues*** *este yo siento que el edificio está bastante dañado, bastante fracturado.*

'**Pues** I feel that the building is pretty damaged, quite fractured.'

Similarly, Similarly, in a 6-minute video about the earthquake that hit Armenia, Colombia in 1999, a Colombian man only uses *pues* once at the beginning of a clause, as we can see in (5).[19]

(5) *Y simultáneamente se comienza a presentar una nube una nube como de polvo que va llenando absolutamente todo. Posteriormente nos damos cuenta que esa nube de polvo proviene de una edificación que hay en la esquina donde funcionaban unos bancos, Colpatria creo que era lo que funcionaba allí y era una casa de bareque de tres pisos muy bonita* ***pues*** *había colapsado completamente.*

'And simultaneously a dust cloud turned up and it was covering absolutely everything. Later we realized that it came from a corner building where (several)

[19] Example (5) was extracted from *Terremoto de Armenia 1999 Testimonio UTP* (*http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=0w_3HOOJWu8)*.

banks operated. Colpatri Bank I believe was the one operating there and it was a very beautiful three-story bareque-made house **pues** it had collapsed.'

Finally, I analyzed a 13-minute news broadcast covering an earthquake that hit Murcia, Spain in 2011. In this broadcast, a local correspondent describing the rescue process uses *pues* seven times: five times in a clause-initial position and two times in the middle of a clause.[20]

(6) A: *¿Dónde ocurrió el epicentro exactamente, Cristina?*

'Where was the epicenter exactly, Cristina?'

B: ***Pues** ha sido justamente en lo que es la localidad de Murcia que por lo visto ya esta zona había sufrido otros terremotos con anterioridad. Es la zona con más actividad sísmica de España. Lo que es Murcia. Lorca es un pueblecito interior de Murcia y es lo que es la provincia que es costera. Esta parte de España es la que más actividad sísmica tiene.*

**'Pues** it occurred in the city of Murcia which apparently had already suffered other previous earthquakes. This is the area with the most seismic activity in Spain. It is called Murcia. Lorca is a small town inside Murcia, which is a coastal province. This area in Spain is the most seismic.'

(7) *También tenemos el precedente de Japón y la gente está **pues** muy sensible ¿no? ... a lo que pueda ocurrir.*

[20] Examples (6)-(10) were extracted from *C5N Terremoto en España* (*http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=EXzUihLGWyY*).

'We also have the precedent of Japan and people are **pues** very sensitive, aren't they? To whatever may happen.'

(8) *A: Teníamos también información de que ese hospital había sido evacuado ¿no?*

'We also had some information that that hospital had been evacuated, didn't we?'

B: *Exactamente. Está todo mundo fuera. sí sí por el temor porque por lo visto lo que se ha caído,* ***pos*** *se ven muchas paredes derrumbadas y ha habido allí en ese hospital concretamente ha habido heridos.*

'Exactly. Everybody is outside. Yes, yes. Because of the fear of what collapsed, **pos (because)** you can see many fallen walls and in that specific hospital there were injured people.'

(9) A: *¿Cuánta gente habría en las plazas, por ejemplo, en estos momentos para no estar cerca de las construcciones?*

'How many people were in the plazas to avoid being close to a building?'

B: ***Pus*** *no. No te puedo decir. No tengo ni idea.*

'**Pus** no. I can't tell. I have no idea.'

A: *¿Cuál es la característica de este pueblo? ¿Decimos Murcia es un pueblo?*

'What is the characteristic of this town? Should we say Murcia is a town?'

B: *Sí, no. Lo que es Lorca,* ***pues*** *es un pueblo interior de Murcia, un pueblo pues agricultor sobre todo.*

'Well no, Lorca is a town inside Murcia, an agricultural town mainly.'

(10) A: *Y la evacuación o auto también evacuación ¿hacia donde se genera?*

'And evacuation or self-evacuation, where does it go to?'

B: ***Pues*** *hacia las zonas parques son las plazas, parques, zonas amplias….*

'**Pues** towards parks, plazas, broad areas…'

In (6), (9) and (10) we find *Openin*g *Pues* which, according to Páez Urdaneta (1982), is used whenever "the speaker takes the floor". In (8) we see *pues* as a causal connector because it connects the cause of all houses' collapse with the consequence of people standing outdoors. Finally in (7) *pues* behaves as an emphatic marker (Trask 1995:89).

In conclusion, this section looks to provide a preliminary control comparison of the uses of *pues* by speakers narrating the same type of past event: surviving a devastating earthquake, from three different varieties of Spanish and Andean Spanish. Where Mexican Spanish is concerned, three people described their experiences of the 1985 earthquake in Mexico City and only used *pues* five times in total; in none of these instances was pues used in clause-final position. Concerning the Colombian sample, the participant only used one clause-initial *pues* within a 6-minute narration. Finally, the Peninsular Spanish speaker used *pues* seven times: five times in clause-initial position and two times in the middle of the clause. Thus, based on this brief overview of cross-dialectal samples, it would seem that *pues* is used more often in Andean Spanish than it is in other dialects, and that the use of *pues* in the clause-final position is not preferred.

### 4.6. Phase 1: Interview Procedure

Approaching potential participants and asking them to be part of this research proved to be challenging. People's responses to my invitation to be part of the study varied; some ignored my request, many gave confused and suspicious looks, and only a few appeared very excited. Furthermore, there were two conditions that all speakers had

to fulfill in order to be included in the study: they had to be fluent in one or both languages involved (Spanish and/or Quechua), and they had to have experienced first-hand one of the earthquakes described above. For this reason, the participants I contacted in Ancash were at least 55 years old, as the earthquake there occurred in 1970.

In order to conduct interviews, I first walked around plazas, markets and open areas in Huaraz. After spotting potential participants, I asked them if they were willing to participate in this research. I then introduced myself, provided them with a brief description of the study and explained that they could finish the interview whenever they preferred.

Specific factors played an important role in my success in getting people to agree to participate. These factors included the participants' level of education and cultural background. It turned out that the more education people had, the more comfortable they were during interviews. As to cultural background, coastal people from the city of Pisco in Ica seemed to be more suspicious and reluctant to participate in the study. Their reluctance is quite possibly related to high profile media coverage and lack of actual government involvement.

Once people agreed to participate in the study, I gave them a letter of invitation and a consent form. I then told them that they could contact me via email or phone if they had any questions. I had two copies of the letter prepared for every participant. I kept one signed and dated copy, and the participants were given the other. As the speakers felt more comfortable with me during the interviews, most participants provided detailed information regarding what they experienced on the day of the earthquake. Each of the interviews lasted between 20 and 30 minutes and was recorded with a DR07 TASCAM digital recorder and later transferred to a computer for subsequent analysis.

### 4.7. Phase 2: Data analysis

Once I had collected all the interviews from both monolingual and bilingual speakers, I transcribed the interviews orthographically. I then used the phonetic software *Praat* to analyze the instances of *pues* and their phonetic realizations. I was expecting to find that *pues* occurred in three different sentential positions: initial, medial and final. I also analyzed the meaning of each instance in which *pues* was used and was able to group them into eight categories to be discussed in the following chapter.

For the purposes of quantitative analysis, I organized the relevant variables in an Excel file. These variables, as determined by careful analysis of the contexts of usage, include the geographic area of the interview, the speakers' language proficiency and socioeconomic class, the phonetic realization and sentential position of *pues* and the word's intended meaning. Later, I ran logistic regression models as statistical support to determine if sociolinguistic factors such as participants' language proficiency and socioeconomic class favor any preference for phonetic realization, syntactic position or the semantic and pragmatic weight of *pues*. All the procedures and results are presented in the following chapter. Below I present the specific variables and their codes:

**Geographic area** (Column A): Seventeen bilingual speakers from the Andean area were coded *H1* to *H17*, and the letter *H* was used because all these interviews took place around the city of Huaraz in the Departamento of Ancash. Twenty monolingual speakers from the coastal area were coded *I1-I20*; the letter *I* was used because these interviews took place around the city of Ica.

**Language Proficiency** (Column B): *QS* refers to bilingual speakers with a higher competence in Quechua, *SQ* refers to bilingual speakers with higher competence in

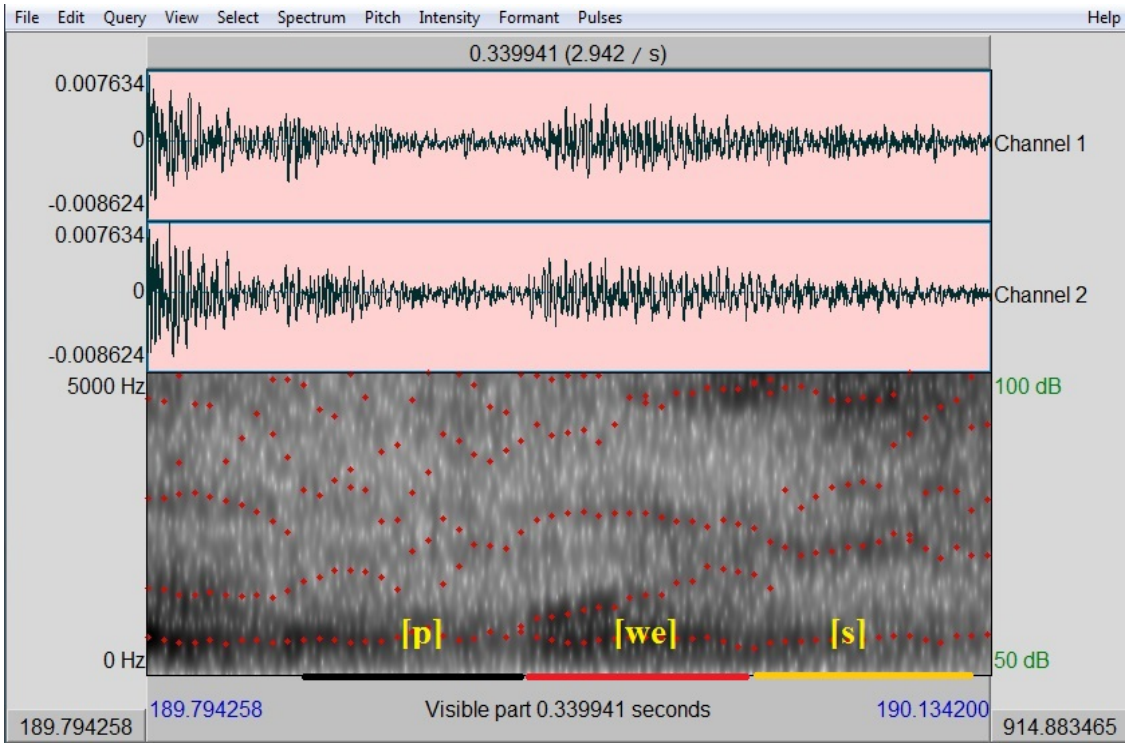
Spanish and *S* refers to monolingual speakers of Spanish.[21]

**Socioeconomic class** (Column C): For this category I used the codes 1, 2 and 3. Those included in category 1 obtained a college degree, hold a position requiring a degree and are considered professionals in their fields; for instance, some of them were high school teachers. Those grouped in category 2 did not obtain a college degree yet hold business and trade-related jobs, such as merchants, businessmen and salespeople. Subjects in category 3 have agricultural and farming-related jobs.

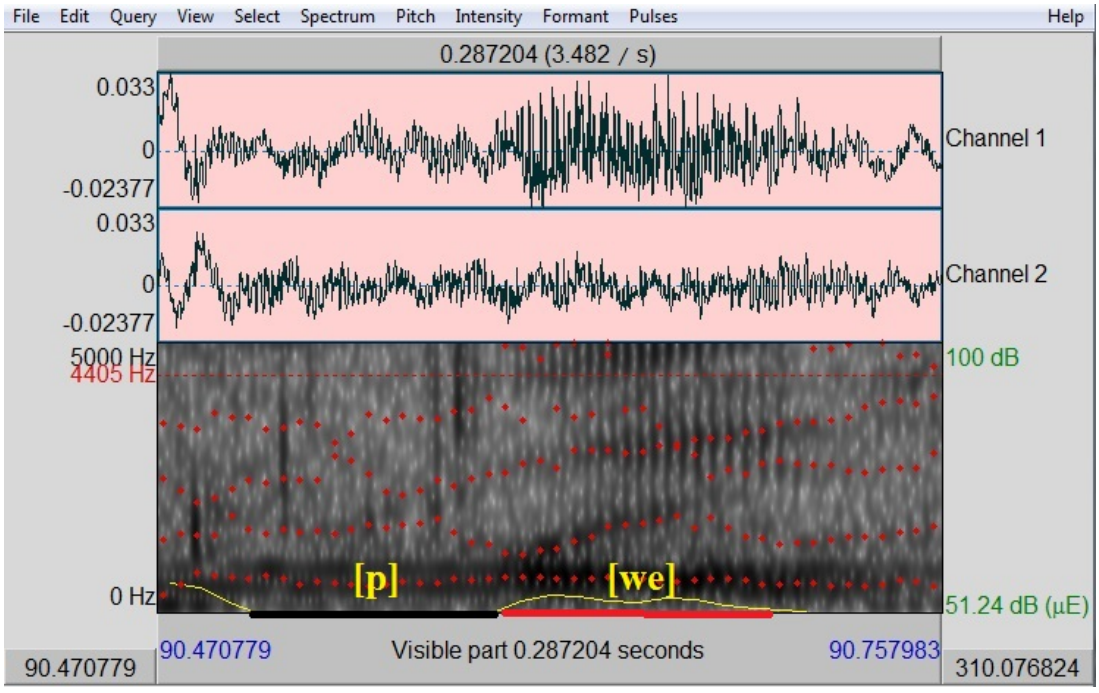
**Phonetic realization of *pues*** (Column D): In this column I used two codes: *c* refers to the full phonetic realization of *pues* (as determined by the analysis in Praat) and *r* refers to a reduced form of the word. *Pues* can be verbalized as *pes, pe, pu* or *ps*; its exact form is determined from the recording and confirmed using the spectrograms created in *Praat*.[22] Hundley (1986) studied Andean Spanish and suggested this type of Spanish presents cases of vocalic reduction and elision because of phonetic transference from Quechua since this language tends to omit certain vowels when spoken fast. This suggests that the reduction of *pues* into vowelless ps may be the result of this transference. However, there were only 5 cases of *ps* out of 145 forms of *pues* uttered by the bilingual speakers. Thus, 3.5% of *pues* was reduced into *ps* by bilinguals and 0% of *pues* was reduced by Spanish monolinguals.[23]

[21] See Section 4.5.2 for additional details.
[22] As has been discussed in this analysis, there are multiple forms of reduced *pues* attested in these data--e.g., [pwe] or [pus], many of which are distinguishable in the data. However, all reduced forms have been included in one category for the purposes of the current analysis. I will leave it to future research to explore possible form-meaning correlations within the range of reduced forms of *pues*.
[23] See Appendix 3

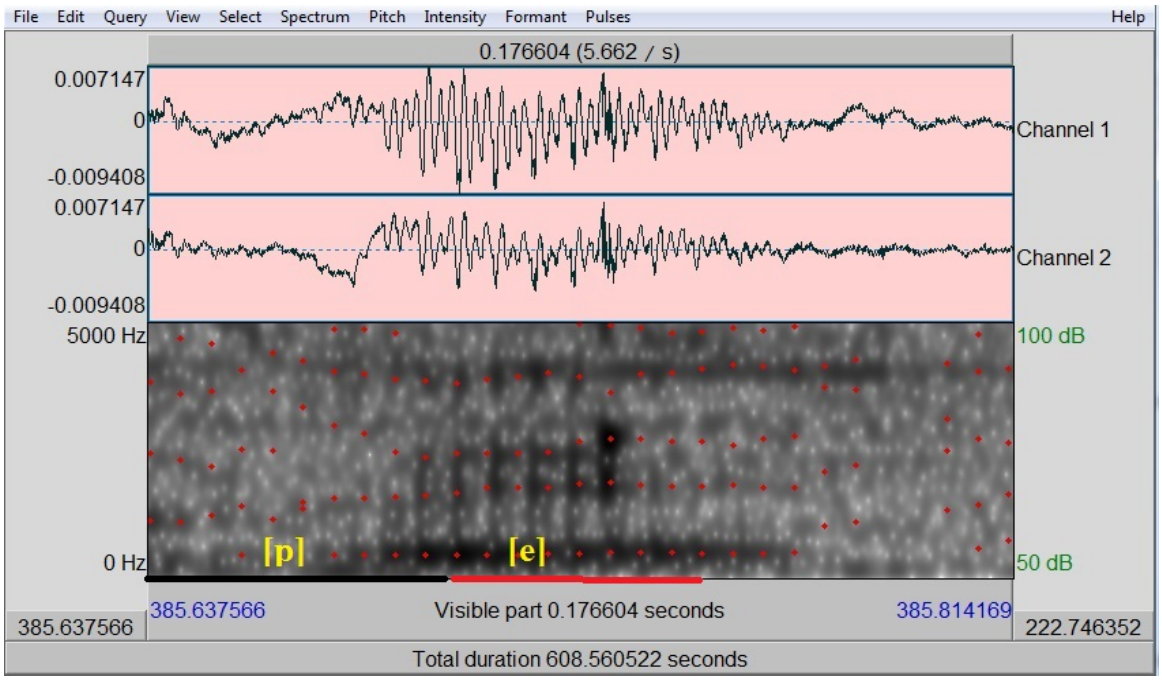
a) Completed Realization [pwes]



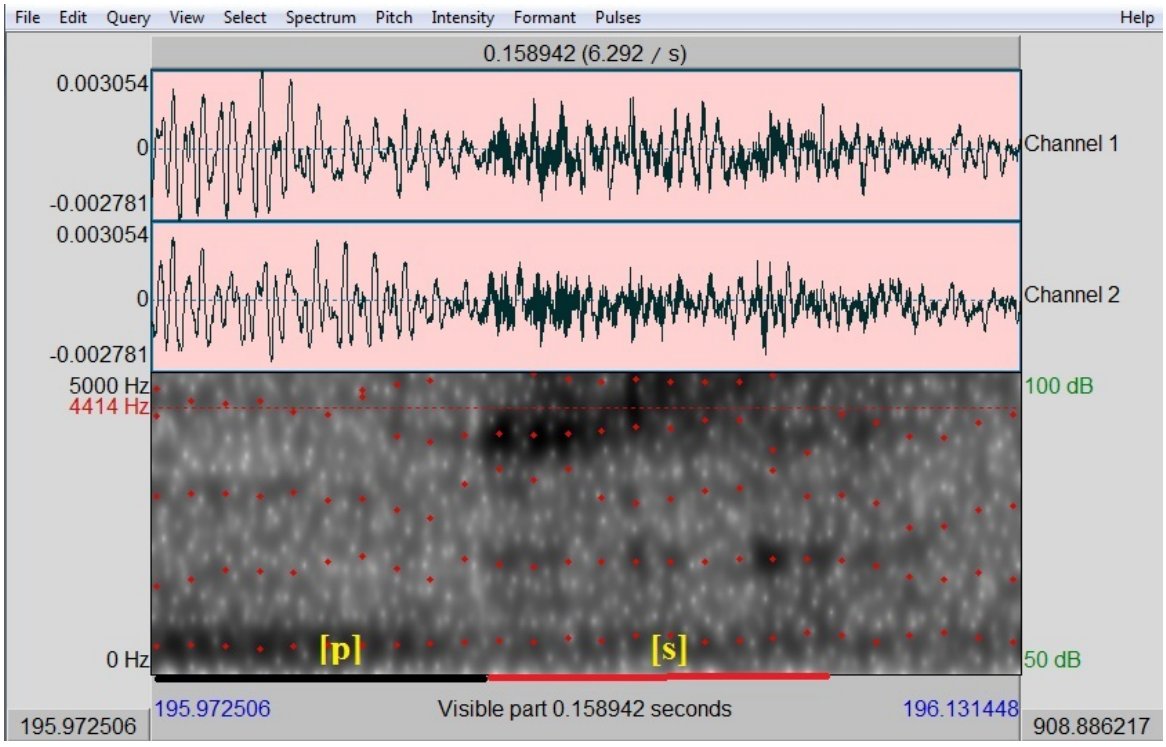

b) Reduced Realization [pwe]



c) Reduced Realization [pe]




d) Reduced Realization [ps]



**Sentential position of *pues*** (Column E): I used the symbol *i* if *pues* appeared at the beginning of a clause, *m* if it appeared in the middle and *f* if it appeared in final position. Despite finding cases that are single-word answers, such as '*Fuerte pe.*', I still use the term 'sentence' as a general term for practical reasons when referring to sentence-initial, sentence-medial or sentence-final pues. Moreover, when I encountered problematic cases, I used prosodic cues in order to determine the relationship between pues and its syntactic context.

**Functions of *pues*** (Column F): I encountered eight different types of *pues*, which were coded with letters from a-h. Explanations and examples are provided below.

**Functions of *pues***

Due to the fact that there are no previous studies analyzing the usage of *pues* on the Peruvian coast or in the central Andean region, I identified and described different, yet related, functions of *pues* based on my intuition as a native speaker. After developing a preliminary typology, I then revised my categories using relevant linguistic analytical tools.

a) Common-sense

In the following examples we can see that the speakers use *pues* as a marker to indicate that a certain utterance is logical or derived from common sense. The conventionally accepted meanings of "obvious" include "readily or easily perceived by the sensibilities or mind" and "requiring very little insight or reflection to perceive, recognize, or comprehend". (Webster's Third New International Dictionary of the English Language, 2002: 1559). However, in linguistic terms, a speaker's assertion that certain information is "obvious" However, in linguistic terms, a speaker's assertion that certain information is

"obvious" does not simply mean that it is easily perceived by the speaker, but that the interlocutor and every member of the particular speech community that the information circulates within perceives it easily. In other words, obviousness is a linguistic expression of intersubjective evidentiality, as certain "evidence is known to (or accessible by) a larger group of people who share a conclusion based on it" (Nuyts, 2001: 34).

In (11) the speaker says the quake started out mildly but later grew very strong; it gradually became terrible to experience. This speaker finishes his/her utterance with the question tag *'no?'*. Question tags are "used to assume control over the conversation by presupposing the validity of the proposition or the speaker's expectations and/or evaluations of the truth or falsity of the proposition" (Gómez González, 2014: 95-96). In (12) the speaker responds to the interviewer by repeating the word 'terremoto' (very strong earthquake) and adding *pues,* claiming that a "terremoto" is expected to be strong. In (13) the speaker presupposes that the interviewer knows that during a quake people have to stand and be very careful. He also uses the question tag 'no?'. Similarly, in (14) the speaker expresses the idea that in all major earthquakes houses collapse and the speaker should know about this.

(11) H2: *Claro, porque pensábamos que era un temblor breve porque empezó así como un temblor breve y luego empezó un remesón mucho más fuerte. Entonces allí salimos a la, salimos a la calle y en realidad fue una experiencia* ***pues*** *terrible ¿no? porque veíamos como la tierra se abría, las casas se caían.*

'Right, we thought it would be a brief quake because it started like that, very mild, and then it became stronger. Then we went to the street and it was actually a terrible experience pues, no? Because we saw how the earth opened up and houses fell.'

(12) *E:* *Ya. ¿Fue fuerte?*

'Was it strong?'

H6: *Fuerte **pes**.*

'Strong pes'.

(13) H8: *Seguía el remesón, seguía el remesón y nosotros **pes** parados este era ¿no? es el segundo piso no? entonces parados acá. Pensando que se va a caer. Pensando que se va a caer la otra pared de acá, ¿no?*

'It kept shaking and we were pes standing, no? It was the second floor so we were thinking it would fall. Thinking another wall was going to collapse here, right?'

(14) I3: *Así era el terremoto… Uuuu… Todas las casas se cayeron **pe**.*

'The earthquake was like that..Oooohh… All houses collapsed pe.'

b) Recently or previously mentioned in speech

*Pues* is used when the speaker tries to emphasize or remind his/her interlocutor of an utterance that is either still 'In Focus' or was previously mentioned and therefore it is still 'Activated' in the memory. These terms were included in Gundel's Givenness Hierarchy (Gundel, 1974; Gundel et al., 1993). When an item is 'Activated', the hearer holds a representation of the intended referent in short-term memory, and when an item is 'In Focus' the hearer has a representation of the intended referent in the center of attention. This use of *pues* would fall under the category of 'Evoked' in Prince's Taxonomy of Assumed Familiarity (1981, 1992) in which an item or utterance accesses an available discourse referent textually or situationally.

(15), (16) and (17) are examples of 'Activated' since the speaker believes a certain piece of information that was mentioned in previous speech and should still be in the

hearer's short-term memory. In (15) the speaker recalls the fact that the earth was shaking; in (16) the speaker repeats the fact that his brother and family were killed by the disaster; and in (17) the speaker restates the previously mentioned fact that a tsunami also occurred.

(15) H8: *Estaba esteee acá en Caraz pe. En el jirón Pumacahua. Bueno, estuvimos junto con mi, con mi hermano y mi padre, en una casa de dos pisos. Comenzó el remesón pe, ¿no?*

'I was mmm here in Caraz pe. On Pumacahua Street. It was my father, brother and myself in a 2-story house. The quake started pe, no?'

E: *¿Empezó lento?*

'Did it start slowly?'

H8: *Sí, lento. Entonces en realidad yo pensé que ...esteee... Porque yo estaba escribiendo con máquina... y estaba con otra persona ¿no? Entonces (le digo:) 'No muevas la mesa pe'. 'No estoy moviendo', me dice. 'Entonces, ¿qué cosa es pe? y seguía moviendo pe, ¿no?*

'Yes, slowly. Then I actually thought it was… mmm.. Because I was typewriting... and I was there with another person, right? Then (I say) 'Do not move the table, pe', 'I am not moving it' he says. 'Then what is it pe? And it kept shaking pe, no?'

(16) H10: *Y bueno, fue desagradable, fue triste, penoso porque yo, yo perdí a un hermano con, con su familia, su esposa, sus dos hijitos en el, en Yungay cuando desapareció la ciudad.*

'And well, it was unpleasant, it was sad, painful because I, I lost a brother with his family, wife and two little sons in the, in Yungay, when the city disappeared.'

E: *Ahhh. Ellos estaban allá.*

'Oh, they were there.'

H10: *Ellos trabajaban allá. Eran profesores. Y allí desaparecieron **pues**. Fue instantáneo ps. Fue. Sí, el terremoto empezó a las tres y 40. No, tres y 20 más o menos. Tres y 20 de la tarde. Yungay en 10, 15 minutos ya había…*

'They worked there. They were teachers. And they disappeared there pues. It was instantaneous ps. It was. Yes, the earthquake started at three forty. No, around three twenty. Three twenty pm. Yungay in ten to fifteen minutes had already…'

(17) I2: *Ya pe. Ha habido maremoto también **pe**.*

'That was it pe. There was also a tsunami pe.'

E: *Ah, ¿sí?*

'Oh, really?'

I2: *Sí, Cerro Azul.*

'Yes, Blue Mount.'

E: *¿Dónde ha sido eso?*

'Where was that?'

I2: *Cerro azul… Sale de acá… unos… por allá.*

'Blue Mount is that way.'

E: *Ya*.

'Ok.'

I2: *El mar dice que se salió **pe**. Todas las lanchas se las levantó. Toda esas las lanchitas que van a pescar.*

'They say there was a tsunami pe. All the boats were dragged. All of those small fishing boats.'

In examples (18), (19) and (20) the speakers use *pues* to emphasize the obvious nature of a certain idea that is at the center of attention in speech. In (18) the fact that someone barely survived the tragedy is brought to the center of attention by the interviewer and confirmed with the use of *pues* by the interviewee. In (19) there are two facts brought to the center of attention and marked with *pues*. The first one refers to fact that the landslide the interviewee saw coming was the same landslide that covered the city. The same speaker pointed out this fact and confirmed it. The second case involves the fact that the speaker was on the street when the mudslide happened. This fact was brought to attention by the interviewer and confirmed by the interviewee. Finally, in (20) the idea that the former church was located at a specific area and is no longer there was in focus and confirmed by the interviewee.

(18) E: *Uuu. A las justas.*

'Uuu. He barely made it.'

H8: *Con las justas **pe** ¿no? Pero seguía el remesón pe. Seguía el remesón, seguía el remesón y nosotros pes parados este era ¿no? es el segundo piso no? entonces parados acá. Pensando que se va a caer. Pensando que se va a caer la otra pared de acá, ¿no?*

'Barely pe, no? But the shaking kept going pe. It kept going and we were pes standing, no? It was the second floor so we were thinking it would fall. Thinking another wall was going to collapse here, right?'

(19) E: *¿Pero ese fue el lodo que cayó después?*

'But that was the mud that covered it later?'

H8: *Sí, pe. O sea venía.*

'It was pe. It was coming.'

E: *Y ese es el lodo que cayó en Yungay.*

'That was the mud that ended up over Yungay?'

H8: *Sí, pe. Ese venía **pe**.*

'It was pe. That was the one coming pe.'

E: *¿Estaba en la calle?*

'Were you on the street?'

I1: *Estaba en la calle **pue**. Acá. En esta calle de acá.*

'I was on the street pue. On this street right here.'

(20) I3: *Claro aquí. Allí era la iglesia **pe**.. Justamente a esa hora estaba en una misa y [inaudible]… Murió un montón de gente.*

'Of course here. And there was the church pe. And at that time there was a mass and…. A lot of people died.'

E: *¿Allí?*

'There?'

I3: *Allí **pe**.*

'There pe.'

c) Assumed familiarity

Prince (1981, 1992) claims that inferable assumed familiarity occurs when a speaker creates a new discourse that serves as a referent for an inferable entity. Inferable entities do not involve having been used in the current discourse before. Instead, they have a relevant relationship to some other activated entity (Cote, 2001: 2). The following examples show how speakers use *pues* to signal a new discourse entity assumed to be familiar by his/her interlocutor.

In (21) the interviewee uses *pues* and the question tag *'no?'* to express the sense that the interviewer should be familiar with the 'fact' that farmers in that area are very poor. This knowledge is, however, specific to the reality of the Andean area, and is different from a common sense fact, such as the awareness that an earthquake can be devastating. In (22) the speaker uses *pues* to indicate that the interviewer is expected to know that in Andean schools all types of classes are present, including the Spanish and Quechua classes. Finally, in (23) the speaker uses *pues* to indicate that the interviewer should be familiar with the fact that the earthquake was followed by a tsunami.

(21) H4: *Pero (mi abuelita) me ha criado a trabajar desde niña de la chacra. Y yo hasta hoy vieja moriré allí no más, así no más, ya. Nada, no tenemos…….para trabajar… este…. para ganar el estado. No tenemos **pues** nosotros, ¿no? Lo único vivimos nuestras… de nosotros trabajamos.*

'But (my grandma) taught me how to work in the farm since I was a child. And now that I am old I know I will die there. We don't have anything else. We don't get any money from the government. We don't have that pues. We just survive from our work.'

(22) H11: *También. Allí, ya pues el profesor ya nos decía. Había profesor de quechua, y castellano, y música, religión. Todo **pues** señor había. Había profesor que nos enseñaba quechua que tenía un curso muy aparte de una hora.*

'Same. There pues the teacher told us to. There was a Quechua teacher, a Spanish teacher, a Music teacher and a Religion teacher. There was pues every class. There was a teacher who taught us a one-hour Quechua class.'

(23) I2: *Ya pe. Ha habido maremoto también **pe**.*

'That was it pe. There was also a tsunami pe.'

d) Explicit causal inference

The speakers explicitly present one utterance, then a second one connected by a cause-consequence relationship. Then, they mark this second utterance with *pues* to indicate that it is a logical cause or consequence of the previous one. In (24) the interviewee claims that he had to cross to river with a big stick because he had to go look for his children. The presumably 'obvious' cause is marked with *pues*. In (25) the interviewee states that because a woman owned a farm/property nearby that people could all take shelter at, he and his companions all went there. The 'obvious' consequence is marked with *pues*. In (26) and (27) the monolingual coastal speakers also mark the 'obvious' consequences with *pues*. The speaker in (26) says that because the sea was coming out he rushed to drive the car to the main road. In (27) the speaker claims that because a certain house was very big, it collapsed.

(24) H1b*: Y mi esposo y yo ya entonces [ ] el rio [ ] se lo llevó. No había. Al rio con palo grande se pasó al otro lado a buscarles a ellos* ***pues****.*

'My husband and I then [ ] The river took it. There wasn't. He crossed the river with a big stick to look for them pues.'

(25) H4d: *Y entonces esa señora de ha tenido acá una huertita, una chacra caseroncita ha tenido, una chacra grande en caseroncito…Metimos allí* ***pues****. Como sea que se paró el sacudimento, escapemos esa hora.*

'And thus, that lady had a farm. A nice farm she had. We went there pues. As soon as the shaking stopped, we escaped.'

(26) I5: *Encontré a todos afuera. Le digo: 'Chabe, el mar se sale. Vámonos'. Lo único que he hecho es salir con el carro irme* ***pe*** *a la panamericana.*

'I found everybody outside. I said, 'Chabe, the sea is coming out. Let's go'. The only thing I did was to take my car and leave pe on the Pan American road.'

(27) I14: *Como podrás ver, la que esta acá en la esquina que es la de la catedral de la iglesia, bueno. eso se… como es quinta, eso se vino abajo* ***pes****. Se ha caído. Esta iglesia ahorita está inhabilitada…*

'As you can see, the one that is here on the corner, well, it collapsed pes. It fell down. This church is now empty…'

e) Implicit causal inference

In these cases, the speakers implicitly set a context and then one introduces an utterance connected by a cause-consequence relationship. Then, they mark the utterance with *pues* as a logical cause or consequence of such a given context. In (28) the bilingual interviewee claims that he ended up homeless because his house was destroyed in the earthquake. The consequence is marked with *pues*, and even though he does not explicitly mention the cause, it is implied. In (29) the monolingual interviewee implies that two or three days after the disaster people from different economic levels had lost almost everything they had; therefore, they were now all in the same situation. This consequence is marked with the word *pues*.

(28) E: *Ah ¿Su casa también lo borró?*

'Was your home also erased?'

H12: *Yo me quede así* ***pue*** *en la calle.*

'I ended up like this pue homeless.'

(29) I7: *Gente estuvo dos, tres días allí porque la gente, todo, estaban en la misma situación* ***pe****. No tenían esteee dónde velarlo, ni cómo velarlo, ni cómo llevarlo. Ah.*

'People were there for two or three days because all people were in the same situation pe. They didn't have [any money] to organize a wake or how to carry the body.'

f) Temporal sequence

The speakers use *pues* to indicate that an event happened after another event. It can appear by itself as in (30), or it can appear with a time expression such as *de allí* 'later' or *entonces* 'then' as uttered by a bilingual speaker in (31), uttered by a bilingual speaker, and (32), and by a monolingual speaker. The effect of this use of *pues* is that the temporal sequence of events becomes more relevant, as opposed to the cause-consequence relationship of clauses; it thus comes to the interlocutor's mind first. Thus, the principle of relevance helps listeners make the correct predictions about temporal sequencing. (Wilson & Sperber 1993: 277)

(30) E: *¿Y dónde estaba usted?*

'And where were you?'

H8: *Estaba esteee acá en Caraz pe. En el jirón Pumacahua. Bueno, estuvimos junto con mi, con mi hermano y mi padre, en una casa de dos pisos. Comenzó el remesón **pe**, ¿no?*

'I was mmm here in Caraz pe. On Pumacahua Street. It was my father, brother and myself in a 2-story house. (Then) The quake started pe, no?'

(31) H2: *Pensábamos que era un temblor, ¿no? ...un temblor; pero el movimiento se hizo más intenso. Y no calmaba. Tuvimos que salir todos afuera. De allí **pues** fue una experiencia espantosa.*

'We thought it was a small earthquake, no? A small earthquake but the shaking became more intense. It wouldn't stop. We had to go outside. Later pues it was a frightening experience.'

(32) I1: *Sí, ha sido larguito. Y de allí yo dije **pu**: 'La combi'. Justo paró una combi y mi compañero que estaba al costado "plum" me empujó, me metió.*

'Yes, it was long. And later I said pu, 'La combi'. Suddenly a bus stopped and my coworker standing next to me pushed me and made me get on.'

g) Self-talk

The previous cases in which the word *pues* was uttered have shown that the speakers use it to imply that a proposition or utterance is obvious, and that the hearer should know about it. In this case the speakers use *pues* to address themselves, claiming that they should know about or be familiar with certain information.

(33) E: *¿Cuánto tie.. fue largo?*

'How long was it?'

I3: *¿Cuánto sería **pue**? Eso es lo que no he calculado. ¿Sería cuánto? Cinco minutos. No sé.*

'How long would it be pue? I didn't calculate that. Perhaps five minutes. I don't know.'

(34) H8: *Sí, lento. Entonces en realidad yo pensé que …esteee… Porque yo estaba escribiendo con máquina… y estaba con otra persona ¿no? Entonces (le digo:) 'No muevas la mesa pe'. 'No estoy moviendo', me dice. 'Entonces, ¿qué cosa es **pe**?*

'Yes, slowly. Then I actually thought it was… mmm Because I was typewriting… and I was there with another person, right? Then (I say) 'Do not move the table, pe', 'I am not moving it' he says. 'Then what is it pe?'

h) Restarter

This use matches Stentröm's claim that *pues* serves as a conversational restarter, allowing one to re-enter a conversation after having been interrupted, after an interlocutor's interruption or after a pause (Strenström 2006). In this sense, *pues* serves as an equivalent to the English "So..." or "As I was saying. This use is of course found in other varieties of Spanish but is confined almost exclusively to sentence-initial or sentence-medial positions.

In (35) the speaker retakes his turn after a pause by saying 'So we said *pes*', and in (36) the speaker retakes his turn after the interlocuror's interruption by saying 'So *pe*'

(35) H8: *Entonces dijimos **pes**. Agarré a mi hermano y salimos afuera. Mi papa sí se quedó dijo…. 'No, yo me quedo acá', dijo. Ah ya **pe**. Salimos nosotros pa' fuera **pe**.*

'So we said pes. I grabbed my brother and we went outside. My father stayed and said: 'No, I'm staying here', he said. So, pe. We went outside pe.'

(36) I5: *Encontré a todos afuera. Le digo: 'Chabe, el mar se sale. Vámonos'. Lo único que he hecho es salir con el carro irme **pe** a la panamericana. En la panamericana y ya **pe**. Las réplicas eran insoportables a cada momento, a cada rato. Y eran cuestión como las doce de la noche la una 'tons ya yo agarro y le llamo a un chofer de un carro y le digo: 'Compare, llévame a mi casa **pe**'. …. Ya no…*

'I found everybody outside. I said, 'Chabe, the sea is coming out. Let's go'. The only thing I did was to take my car and leave pe on the Pan American road. On the

Pan Americana and it was like that pe. Aftershocks were unbearable all the time. And then it was about midnight or one A.M. and then I called another driver and I told him, 'Buddy, drive me home pe'. … Right.'

E: *No sale.*

'Not possible.'

I5: *No sale. Ya **pe**. Cuestión que vine a mi casa y entré a esa ahora por acá….*

'Not possible. So pe. The thing is that I came home then this way …'

In summary, this section seeks to describe and explain the relevant variables for quantitative analysis purposes. These variables include the speakers' language proficiency, socioeconomic class, phonetic realization of *pues*, sentential position of *pues* and its intended meaning. Language proficiency refers to which language the speaker has higher competence in, either Quechua or Spanish. Socioeconomic class refers to the group to which an individual belongs based on his/her education and occupation. Phonetic realization of *pues* refers to the way in which a speaker utters this marker, either fully or partially. Sentential position of *pues* refers to where in a clause or proposition *pues* appears, either clause-initial, clause, medial or clause-final position. Finally, the meanings/ functions of *pues* refer to what the speaker was trying to express or convey when using this word.

In regards to the meanings/ functions of *pues*, eight different types were identified, exemplified and contextualized. For instance, Common Sense (of general facts) and Assumed Familiarity (of specific facts) were sometimes used with the question tag 'no?' to indicate that the knowledge of a certain proposition is also shared with the interlocutor. *Pues* is also used to remind the interlocutor of an utterance that is either still 'In Focus' or

was previously mentioned and, therefore, is still 'Activated' in the memory. Explicit and Implicit Causal Inferences occur when *pues* connects implicit ideas or explicit clauses through a cause-consequence relationship. A temporal sequence is observed when *pues* is used to indicate that an event happened after another event; it is often accompanied by a time expression such as *de allí,*or "later" or *entonces,* meaning "then.". When *pues* is used by the speaker to address him or herself, it occurs in its Self-talk variant. Lastly, *pues* can serve as a conversational Restarter when it is used by a speaker to retake a turn after interrupting someone, after having been interrupted by an interlocutor, or after a pause. Finally, the purpose of his classification of variables is to identify those which are more salient, relevant and consistent when monolingual and bilingual speakers from Peru use *pues*; it will be helpful in determining whether there is Quechua interference or not.

### 4.8. Social class triggering linguistic change and variation

Following up on Olbertz's claim that social class plays a role in the usage and distribution of *pues* in Ecuadorian Spanish, this section aims to discuss the extent to which social class triggers linguistic change and variation. Since the advent of modern studies in language variation and change, particularly from the variationist perspective (see, e.g., Labov 1963), many studies have taken several demographic categories into consideration. Among these categories, we find social class, gender, age, ethnicity and culture, etc. These categories have been shown to play an important role in the creation and development of linguistic variables. As thoroughly explained in Chapter 4, this dissertation considers social class as a relevant variable, while it rules out age, gender and ethnicity. There are two main reasons for this selection and discrimination. First, all participants from the bilingual area had to describe their experiences of an earthquake in 1970. Therefore, all of them were at

least 55 years old, so age as a variable was ruled out. Second, most of the interviews were conducted in open plazas and parks. Only male adults go to these areas and stay there for an extended amount of time. They can be found reading newspapers, conversing, playing cards or just resting. This is why most participants from both the monolingual and bilingual regions are male, and thus gender is also not considered in this study.

According to Labov (1972: 212), "social class is the most powerful determinant of verbal behaviour." Many linguists have demonstrated that a strong and meaningful correlation between social class and linguistic variation; Labov (1966) who worked on social stratification of /r/ in NYC department stores; Trudgill (1972), who found that variation in word-final –ing across speech styles parallels variation across social class; and Mallinson (2007), who found that shared social and linguistic resources construct different groups as distinct lifestyle communities.

Thus, as Tagliamonte (2012: 26) points out, same patterns of social and linguistic behavior can be found "across a wide range of studies involving many different varieties and languages"; therefore, the possibility that there is a link between social class and the use of a given variable is highly increased and strengthened. This fact triggered my interest in including social class as an independent variable in the present dissertation.

### 4.9. Summary and Discussion

This chapter has described the research design, which was descriptive and exploratory; the research populations, which consisted of two bilingual speaking groups and monolingual speakers split into one of three socioeconomic groups; and the reasons for using both quantitative and qualitative approaches to conduct the research. The qualitative

data are based on the spoken narratives by people who experienced one of the two major aforementioned earthquakes in Peru as well as on the participants' language proficiency profiles and backgrounds. The quantitative data will now be analyzed using logistic regression models in order to determine any correlations between sociolinguistic factors and phonological, syntactic and semantic innovations of Andean *pues*. These results will be discussed in the following chapter. Furthermore, this chapter will present a detailed description of the variables involved in the quantitative analysis, including participants' origin, language proficiency, socioeconomic level, phonetic realization of *pues*, the sentential position of *pues* within a clause, and the functions of *pues*.

# CHAPTER 5

## RESULTS AND DISCUSSION

This chapter presents the results of the data collected from the participants and experiments that were conducted based on the methods described in Chapter 4. The aim of this chapter is to offer empirical evidence that will answer the research questions presented in Chapter 1: a) Has Andean *pues* continued to follow the diachronic grammaticalization path where language contact between Quechua and Spanish played little or no role in language change? and b) Is the use of Andean *pues* the result of language contact and convergence between Quechua and Spanish?

These two questions are meant to explore the two opposing approaches and theories that may explain the existence and development of Andean *pues*: diachronic grammaticalization or language contact. One of these two approaches, which takes one side of the argument, supports each main question and its respective sub-questions as they are presented in Chapter 1.

Based on the sub-questions presented in Chapter 1 and from the standpoint of diachronic grammaticalization, I present the following hypotheses that will be accepted or rejected in the following chapter:

a) *Pues* is phonetically reduced in a similar fashion and frequency by both bilingual and monolingual speakers, so bilingualism and language proficiency play no role in this reduction.

b) *Pues* is phonetically reduced in a similar fashion and frequency by participants from each social group regardless of their linguistic background.

c) *Pues* bears an obviousness-related meaning with an emphatic function and has arisen across all language proficiency groups, so this semantic and pragmatic reanalysis is not linked to language contact-related phenomena.

d) *Pues*, bears an obviousness-related meaning with an emphatic function, has arisen across all socioeconomic groups.

On the other hand, from the standpoint of the language contact approach and based on the sub-questions supplementing the second main research question, I present the following alternate hypotheses, which are expected to be accepted or rejected in this chapter:

a) Andean *pues* expressing obviousness is more often used by Quechua subordinate bilinguals since Andean *pues* seems to be parallel to some Quechua features.

b) Andean *pues* is used by agricultural workers more frequently than the professionals and merchants/middle class since, as seen in Chapter 3, Andean farmers use Quechua in most of their daily settings and it is therefore more activated.

c) Quechua subordinate bilinguals, who have Quechua syntax more activated in their speech, place *pues* in clause-final position more frequently when speaking Spanish.

d) Because of the close correlation between the language proficiency group: Quechua subordinate bilinguals and the socioeconomic group: farmers, the latter uses *pues* in clause-final position more frequently than the two other socioeconomic groups.

This chapter is thus organized around the major research objectives of this study, including the research questions and hypotheses presented above. The independent variables chosen to test the possible Quechua interference are: language proficiency in both languages and socioeconomic class. The most important task in this chapter is to present a

general overview of the distributions of the sentential position, phonetic reductions and functions of *pues,* and will be followed by a more specific discussion of the influence of the independent variables on the use of *pues*.

## 5.1. Sentential Position of *pues*

### General Overview

As can be seen from Figure 2 and Table 2 below, there are many similarities in the position of *pues* between monolingual and bilingual speech. Both bilinguals and monolinguals used *pues* in clause-medial position in less than 25% of the total occurrences of the use of pues, as given in Table 2. Likewise, both groups used *pues* in clause-final position in more than 75% of the occurrences. Finally, and interestingly enough, not one speaker from either group used *pues* at the beginning of a sentence. This finding favors the idea of grammaticalization as the only process capable of fixating *pues* in clause-final position, since the possibility of Quechua affecting this syntactic change in a region where Quechua was never spoken is unlikely.

**Figure 4: General distribution of the sentential position of *pues* (initial, medial, final) by monolingual and bilingual speakers.**

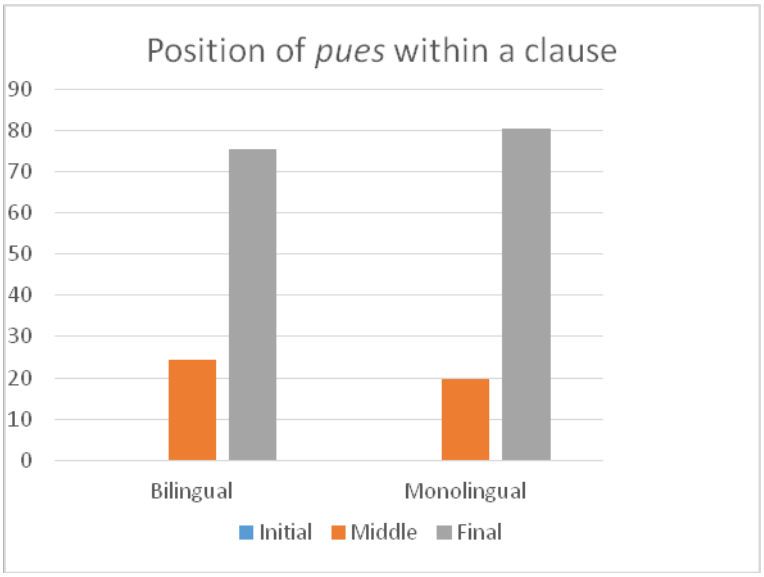



**Table 2: General distribution of percentages of the sentential position of *pues***

| | **Initial** | **Medial** | **Final** | **Total** |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| **Bilinguals** | 0<br>0% | 36<br>24.5% | 111<br>75.5% | 147<br>100% |
| **Monolinguals** | 0<br>0% | 18<br>19.6% | 74<br>80.4% | 92<br>100% |
| **Total** | 0<br>0% | 54<br>22.6% | 185<br>77.4% | 239<br>100% |

**Independent Variables: Language Proficiency, Social Class and Meaning affecting the sentential position of *pues***

In order to determine the influence of these independent variables: language proficiency, social class and meaning on the dependent variable: sentential position of *pues,* I ran the statistics software called Stata. "Stata is a statistical package…that allow[s] the user to start the program and select menu items to read data, generate new variables, compute statistical analyses and draw graphs" (Baum, Schaffer & Stillman 2011: 380). The statistic operation that Stata carried out on my data was based on The Bernoulli Distribution and The Maximum-Likelihood Estimation.

The Bernoulli distribution refers to the probability distribution of a random variable. Essentially, the process is the mathematical abstraction of coin tossing, where 1 means 'heads' and 0 means 'tails'. For Xu and Balakrishnan (2011: 877). This is one of the most fundamental distributions in statistics and has found key applications in many fields. Because of its wide applicability, it is usually stated in terms of a sequence of generic trials that satisfy the following assumptions: 1) each trial has two possible outcomes called 'success' and 'failure' and 2) the trials are independent--i.e. the outcome of one trial has no influence over the outcome of another trial. Therefore, this distribution introduces the concept of binary or dichotomous variables.

The Maximum-likelihood Estimation is a method that has many optimal properties in estimation: sufficiency (complete information about a parameter), consistency, efficiency (lowest-possible variance of parameter estimates) and parameterization invariance (same MLE solution obtained independent of the parameterization used) (Myung 2003: 90). This method is linked to the predictive model called Logistic Regression, which is well-suited for describing and testing hypotheses about relationships between a categorical outcome

variable and one or more categorical predictor variables. In other words, Logistic Regression measures the relationship between a categorical dependent variable (e.g., sentential position) and one or more independent variables (e.g., language proficiency, social class, meaning).

Before applying the logistic regression models described below, whose aim is to determine what variable categories affect a certain dependent variable more significantly, it is also important to confirm that an actual interdependence exists between independent and dependent variables. First, an effect from an independent variable on a dependent variable must be confirmed. For this matter we use the Pearson Chi Square Test that shows a significance value (p), which if smaller than 0.05 is generally considered within the acceptable range. "The p value, for which the cutoff point is often set at 0.05..." (Veldhuizen, Pasker-De Jong & Atsma 2012: 1169).

**Table 3: Distribution of sentential position of *pues* affected by language proficiency**

| **Sentential position** | **Language proficiency categories** | | | **Total** |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| | **QS** | **S** | **SQ** | |
| **Clause-final** | 63<br>82.89% | 72<br>80.90% | 47<br>67.14% | 182<br>77.45% |
| **Clause-medial** | 13<br>17.11% | 17<br>19.10% | 23<br>32.86% | 53<br>22.55% |
| **Total** | 76<br>100% | 89<br>100% | 70<br>100% | 235<br>100% |

| | |
|---|---|
| Pearson chi2(2) | 6.1536 |

| | |
|---|---|
| P = | 0.046 |

The Pearson Chi Square Test with two degrees of freedom (2) (clause-final and clause-medial) shows a value of 6.1536. This triggers a significance value of 0.046, which is smaller than 0.05. Therefore, this test confirms that an interdependence exists between variables and that they can now be identified by the Logistic Regression models.

The dichotomous dependent variable: sentential position (1= *pues* occurs in clause-medial position and 0= *pues* occurs in clause-final position) allows the application of these models: Model 1 tests for the influence of language proficiency on the position of *pues*, Model 2 tests for the additional influence of social class on the position of *pues*, and Model 3 tests for the additional influence of meaning/function of *pues* on its sentential position. It is pertinent to mention here that due to the very low number of instances of *pues* with the function of Self-Talk and its unlikely statistical relevance, this meaning/function was not included in the logistic regression model procedure. Now let us take a look at the following results:

**Table 4: Logistic regression models testing effect of variables on sentential position of *pues***

| | **MODEL 1** | **MODEL 2** | **MODEL 3** |
|---|---|---|---|
| | Sentential Position as Dependent Variable (1= Medial position, 0 = Final position) | | |
| QS | 1 | 1 | 1 |
| S | 1.144 | 0.757 | 0.800 |
| SQ | **2.372*** | **1.689** | **1.549** |
| 1.Social Class High: Profesional | | 1 | 1 |
| 2.Social Class Middle:Merchant | | **0.257*****| **0.254**** |
| 3.Social Class Low: Farmer | | 0.150* | 0.130* |
| 1.Meaning/Function Common Sense | | | 1 |
| 2.Meaning/Function In Focus/Activ. | | | **0.115*** |
| 3.Meaning/Function Assumed Famil. | | | 0.355 |
| 4.Meaning/Function Explicit Log. Inf. | | | 0.583 |
| 5.Meaning/Function Implicit Log. Inf. | | | 0.639 |
| 6.Meaning/Function Temporal Seq. | | | 1.245 |
| 7.Meaning/Function Restarter | | | 1.493 |
| Observations | 235 | 235 | 235 |
| LR-Chi2 | 5.9(2) *0.02 | 29.41(5) ***0.0000087 | 43.58(11) ***0.0000034 |

Exponentiated coefficients; = * p<0.05 ** p<0.01 *** p<0.001

All the independent variables are in the first column: the three language proficiency groups: QS (Quechua subordinate speakers), S (Spanish monolinguals) and SQ (Spanish

subordinate bilinguals); and the functions of *pues*. The other three columns represent the three models and their results: Model 1 only includes language proficiency as an independent impact factor, Model 2 includes social class, and Model 3 includes these three variables plus the functions of *pues*. In each of these models we can see the chances (also called odds) that *pues* may appear in the middle of a sentence compared to the referent final position under the influence of factors such as social class.

Every model has to be 'nested' in the following model (Model 1 has to be nested in Model 2 and Model 2 has to be nested in Model 3). 'Nested' means that the more inclusive model has to have the same variables as the more basic model, as well as the additional variables that are also being tested. In other words, with every additional model, a researcher controls more variables and the effect of previously existing variables might change. In general, additional variables lead to a better explanation of effects on the dependent variable as long as a logical connection exists between them.

An analysis of the results of Model 1 demonstrate that Spanish monolinguals (S) and Spanish subordinate bilinguals (SQ) display higher numbers (1.144 and 2.372 respectively) than Quechua subordinate bilinguals (QS). The 1.144 next to S means that Spanish monolinguals have a 1.144 higher chance to use *pues* in the medial position in comparison to Quechua subordinate bilinguals, whereas Spanish Quechua bilinguals have a 2.372 higher chance to use *pues* in the medial position (more than twice the chance of Quechua Spanish bilinguals). The latter number is marked with an asterisk, which means that this category (SQ) has a significant influence on the effect of the use of *pues* in the medial position.

However, this effect disappears in Model 2 and Model 3 when the other variables are added, demonstrating significant impact of social class. Both of these variables show

three asterisks; the category Spanish subordinate bilinguals is no longer significant. Additionally, Model 3 shows an effect of the 'In Focus' or 'Activated in memory' meaning on the position of *pues*.

At the bottom of the table, the Likelihood Ratio Chi Square value functions as a model validity checker. The number in parenthesis is referred to as 'degrees of freedom', and after running the Chi Square distribution formula, the resulting number indicates whether a certain model has a significantly improved explanatory power in comparison to a less inclusive model. Model 1 obtained one asterisk, but both Models 2 and 3 obtained three asterisks, which indicate a significant improvement in their explanatory power. In other words, the likelihood ratio chi square value shows us that the added variables in more inclusive models have a real influence on the explanation of the effect.

These results clarify the role that social class plays on the preference for the position of *pues*, which is different from 'standard' clause-initial *pues.* As the study participants who do not speak Quechua as their dominant language compose this class, this fact suggests that the position of *pues* may not be directly linked to linguistic factors but to social ones. In other words, the existence of Andean *pues* in the clause-medial position does not seem to be influenced by the language proficiency of speakers; instead it appears to be a social marker used by people from the middle class: salespeople and merchants.

### 5.2. Phonetic Reduction of *pues*

#### General Overview

Table 5 below indicates that both monolinguals and bilinguals tend to phonetically reduce *pues* into [ps], [pe], [pes] or [pu].. In fact, monolinguals showed an almost exclusive preference for the use of a reduced form of *pues,* constituting almost 90% of the total

occurrences. Conversely, bilinguals only reached 72% of the total occurrences of reduced *pues* This contradicts the claim that "Pues in Andean Spanish is mainly pronounced as *pe* or *pes*, due to the influence of Quechua, a language that does not permit vowel sequences in its syllable structure. As can be seen in this word, the reduction of diphthongs is one of the phonological characteristics of this dialect of Spanish" (Zavala 2001: 1003). If this were the case, reduction of *pues* would be preferred in the bilingual region and not in the monolingual region where Quechua does not exist.

**Table 5: Distribution of percentages of the phonetic realization of *pues* by monolingual and bilingual speakers**

| | **Pues** | **Ps, Pe, Pes, Pu** |
|---|---|---|
| **Bilinguals** | 42<br>28.8 % | 104<br>71.2 % |
| **Monolinguals** | 9<br>10.3 % | 78<br>89.7 % |
| **Total** | 51<br>21.9 % | 182<br>78.1 % |

Once again, the grammaticalization-related hypothesis stating that the phonetic reduction of *pues* can be observed in both bilingual and monolingual speakers can be accepted; furthermore, it is also possible to reject the language contact-related hypotheses claiming that the Quechua subordinate bilingual group will reduce *pues* into a non-diphthongal realization more frequently than the other two language groups. Similarly, the claim that the farming or lower class will do the same more frequently than the other two socioeconomic groups can be rejected.

**Independent Variables: Language Proficiency, Social class and Sentential position of *pues* affecting its phonetic realization**

Again, logistic regression models served to indicate if language proficiency, social class and meaning would affect the phonetic realization of *pue*s. Similarly, the new dichotomous dependent variable: phonetic realization (0 = complete, 1 = reduced) also allows the application of these models. Model 4 tests for the influence of language proficiency on the phonetic realization of *pues*, Model 5 also tests for the influence of gender and social class on the realization of *pues*, while Model 6 additionally tests for the influence of position of *pues* within the clause.

**Table 6: Logistic regression models testing effect of variables on phonetic realization**

| | **Model 4** | **Model 5** | **Model 6** |
|---|---|---|---|
| | Phonetic Realizatio (complete=0, reduction=1) | | |
| QS | 1 | 1 | 1 |
| SQ | **2.452*** | **3.585*** | **3.464*** |
| S | 0.595 | 0.851 | 1.003 |
| 1. Social class: professional, university-related | | 1 | 1 |
| 2. Social class: salespersons, businessmen, merchants | | **4.509***** | **3.364**** |
| 3. Social class: agriculture, farming-related jobs | | 1.699 | 1.579 |
| position: medial | | | 1 |
| position: final | | | **0.254***** |
| Observations | 235 | 235 | 235 |
| Likelihood-Ratio $Chi^2$ | 12.17 (2) | 28.17 (4) | 41.11 (5) |

Exponentiated coefficients; = * p<0.05 ** p<0.01 *** p<0.001

After running the regression models with Stata, a number of different results can be observed. In the second column, that of Model 4, only the language proficiency variable has been considered, and out of the three categories (QS, S, SQ), the Spanish subordinate bilinguals can be interpreted as significant. It holds a 2.45 chance for Spanish subordinate bilinguals to phonetically reduce *pues*, more than twice the chance in comparison to Quechua subordinate bilinguals.

Unlike the case of sentential position, the effect of the Spanish subordinate bilingual category (SQ) does not disappear; it remains significant in Models 5 and 6 when the other variables are added. However, the most outstanding effect appears in Model 5. Three asterisks show that the second social class has the most significant influence on the phonetic reduction of *pues*. This effect is still very high in Model 6.

Hence all three variables help to explain the complete or reduced phonetic realization of *pues.* There is a significant effect on bilingual speakers whose main language is Spanish as they seem to have a very high chance of using a reduced version of *pues*. The effect becomes even greater when social class is also controlled. Finally, the sentential position also has an influence on the phonetic reduction. It lowers the effect of social status and the final position of *pues* leads to a complete realization of it rather than a reduced one.

### 5.3. Functions of *pues*

#### General Overview

The percentages presented in Table 7 below were obtained after analyzing and contextualizing every single *pues* used by both monolingual and bilingual speakers. Not only was context of speech helpful in determining the type of function *pues* was conveying, but other linguistic cues such as question tags, time expressions and the repetition of

utterances also helped determine its functions. For full analysis and examples, refer to section 4..7.1. Table 7 shows that there are also many similarities in the preferred functions and uses of *pues* between the monolingual and bilingual speech. Both bilinguals and monolinguals mainly used *pues* to express the existence of an explicit logical inference, when the speaker expected the listener to infer or know certain information from context cues or previous statements. As shown in example (24), repeated from the previous chapter, the interviewee claims that he had to cross a river with a big stick, inferring that he had to go look for his children.

**Table 7: Distribution of percentages of functions of *pues* by monolingual and bilingual speakers**

| | **Bilinguals** | | **Monolinguals** | |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| | **Number** | % | **Number** | % |
| Common-sense | 18 | 12.2% | 4 | 4.3% |
| In focus or Activated | 17 | 11.6% | 17 | 18.5% |
| Assumed Familiarity | **30** | **19.7%** | **18** | **19.6%** |
| Explicit Logical Inference | **38** | **25.9%** | **19** | **20.7%** |
| Implicit Logical Inference | 24 | 16.3% | 16 | 17.4% |
| Temporal Sequence | 17 | 11.6% | 8 | 8.7% |
| Self-Talk | 1 | 0.7% | 3 | 3.3% |
| Restarter | 3 | 2.0% | 7 | 7.6% |
| Total | 148 | 100% | 92 | 100% |

(24) H1b: *Y mi esposo y yo ya entonces [ ] el rio [ ] se lo llevó. No había. Al rio con palo grande se pasó al otro lado a buscarles a ellos **pues**.*

'My husband and I then [ ] The river took it. There wasn't. He crossed the river with a big stick to look for them pues.'

The second most preferred meaning of *pues* was Assumed Familiarity, with almost the exact percentage (almost 20%) in both linguistic groups. The least frequent use of *pues* was that of Self-Talk by both monolinguals and bilinguals. The Common-Sense use of *pues* displayed the largest percentage difference between bilinguals and monolinguals, with only an 8% gap in frequency. Overall, with these results it can be observed that both monolinguals and bilinguals used *pues* in a very similar way, as no language proficiency group stands out in its preference for one meaning over the others. All the groups have similar preferences for the meaning choice of this marker. Taken together, Taken together, it is possible to accept the grammaticalization-related hypothesis which claims that the semantic and pragmatic reanalysis of *pues* can be observed in both bilingual and monolingual speakers. Furthermore, the language contact-related hypotheses claiming that the Quechua subordinate bilingual group will use *pues* to mean "obviously" more frequently than the other two language groups can be rejected. The same can be said for the hypothesis that the farming or lower class will use *pues* to mean 'obviously' with higher frequency than the other two socioeconomic groups.

Table 8 shows the distribution of functions of *pues* by linguistic groups: Quechua-dominant speakers, Spanish monolingual speakers and Spanish-dominant speakers. When observing the three most used functions, Explicit Logical Inference (24%), Assumed Familiarity (20%) and Implicit Logical Inference (17%), Spanish monolingual speech is sometimes closer in percentage to Quechua-dominant speech, as in the case of Assumed Familiarity. Spanish monolingual speech may be closer to Spanish-dominant speech, such as Implicit Logical Inference. Moreover, even Spanish monolingual speech may be equally distant to the percentages from both bilingual speeches, as in the case of Explicit Logical Inference.

Again, I applied the Likelihood-ratio Chi-Square Test with twelve degrees of freedom (12) in order to test the hypothesis that one variable may be explained by another. The result, shown in Table 8, was 32.1231 and its probability was 0.001. Since this number is smaller than 0.1 and even smaller than 0.05, the hypothesis that the two variables are not related can be rejected; these variables demonstrate a clear dependence upon one another.

**Table 8: Distribution of absolute and relative values (%) based on language proficiency and meaning used.**

| Meaning | Language Proficiency | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| | QS | S | SQ | Total |
| Common-sense | 9<br>11.8% | 4<br>4.5% | 9<br>12.9% | 22<br>9.4% |
| In focus or Activated in Memory | 5<br>6.6% | 17<br>19.1% | 12<br>17.1% | 34<br>14.5% |
| Assumed familiarity | 20<br>26.3% | 18<br>20.2% | 9<br>12.9% | 47<br>20.00% |
| Explicit Logical Inference | 27<br>35.5% | 19<br>21.4% | 11<br>15.2% | 57<br>24.3% |
| Implicit Logical Inference | 9<br>11.8% | 16<br>18% | 15<br>21.4% | 40<br>17% |
| Temporal Sequence | 4<br>5.3% | 8<br>9% | 13<br>18.6% | 25<br>10.6% |
| Restarter | 2<br>2.6% | 7<br>7.9% | 1<br>1.4% | 10<br>4.3% |
| Total | 76<br>100% | 89<br>100% | 70<br>100% | 235<br>100% |

Likelihood-ratio $chi^2$ (12) = 32.1231 $p = 0.001$

The results presented in Table 9 shows that participants from the three social classes also tended to use *pues* when signaling that their interlocutors should have made an Explicit Logical Inference. Among class 1 professionals, this occurred in 24% of the cases in which *pues* was used. Among class 2 merchants, it occurred 22.5%, and class 3 farmers used it 32.4%. Again, participants from the three classes did not coincide in their second most used

meaning: Class 1 used *pues* in 22.2% of the total of cases to express Implicit Logical Inference but Classes 2 and 3 used *pues* in 20.4% and 26.5% of the total of cases respectively to express Assumed Familiarity.

Again, the Likelihood-Ratio Chi-Square Test was run to see if there is some kind of effect from social class on meaning use. The test result showed a probability of over 0.2, indicating that social class is not likely to influence meaning selection. It is important, though, to point out the problem of small values in some table boxes, which does not let us obtain 100% accurate results. However, although an influence from social class on meaning selection was not expected, it was interesting to note the relatively similar preferences and frequencies of different functions occurring among all social classes.

**Table 9: Distribution of absolute and relative values (%) based on social and meaning used.**

| Meaning | Social Class | | | Total |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| | 1 | 2 | 3 | |
| Common-sense | 2<br>3.7% | 16<br>10.9% | 4<br>11.8% | 22<br>9.4% |
| In focus or Activated in memory | 8<br>14.8% | 25<br>17% | 1<br>2.9% | 34<br>14.5% |
| Assumed familiarity | 8<br>14.8% | 30<br>20.4% | 9<br>26.5% | 47<br>20% |
| Explicit Logical Inference | 13<br>24% | 33<br>22.5% | 11<br>32.4% | 57<br>24.3% |
| Implicit Logical Inference | 12<br>22.2% | 24<br>16.3% | 4<br>11.8% | 40<br>17% |
| Temporal Sequence | 9<br>16.7% | 12<br>8.2% | 4<br>11.8% | 25<br>10.6% |
| Restarter | 2<br>3.7% | 7<br>4.7% | 1<br>2.9% | 10<br>4.3% |
| Total | 54<br>100% | 147<br>100% | 34<br>100% | 325<br>100% |

Likelihood-ratio $chi^2$ (12) = 14.9629 $p = 0.243$

## 5.4. Summary and Discussion

In conclusion, the data presented here suggest that Andean *pues* is a case of grammaticalization in which language contact between Quechua and Spanish may have only altered or augmented its change process. As a regular case of cross-linguistic grammaticalization, Andean *pues* undergoes semantic and pragmatic reanalysis and phonological reduction. We have observed that in bilingual speech, out of the 147 tokens, *pues* was fully realized forty two times, whereas fifty eight times it appeared reduced as *pe*, which was the most popular reduced form, followed by *pes*, which appeared 38 times, *pes* five times and *pue* only three times. This shows a clear preference for non-diphthongized reductions. On the other hand, in Spanish monolingual speech, out of the 92 tokens, *pues* was fully realized only ten times. It was mainly reduced into *pe*: this usage, by far the preferred form, occurred sixty three times and was followed by both *pes* and *pue,* which occurred 9 times each, while *pu* only occurred once.

When we ran the three statistical regression models, the Spanish subordinate bilinguals showed a higher rate of *pues* reduction. Therefore, we rejected our hypothesis that phonetic reduction of pues (*pes, pe, pus, ps*) could be observed in the Quechua subordinate bilingual group more frequently than in the other two groups. Likewise, upon running the same models, the middle class participants showed a higher and more significant likelihood of reducing *pues* phonetically. Thus, the hypothesis that the phonetic reduction of *pues* could be observed more frequently in the farming-related/ lower class group than in the other two can be rejected.

In sum, this chapter looks to present and explain the findings and results obtained after running the statistical methods and procedures. The Maximum-Likelihood Estimation has many optimal properties in estimation, such as sufficiency, consistency, efficiency, and

parameterization invariance and is linked to the predictive model called Logistic Regression, which measures the relationship between a categorical dependent variable (i.e. sentential position) and one or more independent variables (i.e. language proficiency, social class, meaning). Furthermore, application of the Pearson Chi Square Test created the opportunity to confirm whether an actual interdependence exists between independent and dependent variables.

Among the most relevant findings is the fact that both bilinguals and monolinguals used *pues* in clause-medial position in less than 25% of the total occurrences. Likewise, both groups used *pues* in clause-final position in more than 75% of the time and not even one speaker from either group used *pues* at the beginning of a sentence. Moreover, social class has a strongly significant impact on clause-final position of *pues*; the Regression Model 3 also shows an effect of the "'In Focus' or 'Activated in memory' meaning on this position. However, concerning the phonetic reduction of *pues*, the effect of the Spanish subordinate bilingual category (SQ) does not disappear and remains significant in Models 5 and 6 when the other, also significant, social class variable is added.

# CHAPTER 6

# CONCLUSIONS

This chapter presents a review of the major research findings of this study. Let us recall that the major aim of this study was to investigate the extent to which the current use and distribution of Andean *pues* was determined or influenced by the process of grammaticalization and/or languages in contact-related phenomena. Other factors such as participants' social class, gender and language proficiency were also investigated.

## 6.1. Major Findings

The results of the data analysis revealed the following:

(1) The current use and distribution of *pues* showed evidence of having followed the path of grammaticalization, since it shows characteristics typical of it, such as phonetic reduction, semantic reduction, and a tendency towards paradigmatization and fixation at the end of clauses. This tendency is also observed in other Spanish dialects, such as Colombian and Mexican.

(2) There was no clear evidence that *pues* is the direct result of the contact between Spanish and Quechua because both monolingual and bilingual speakers showed similar preferences in the use and distribution of *pues*; however, this contact may indeed have influenced its development.

(3) The participants' social class had a significant effect on the meaning selection of *pues*.

(4) There was a significant effect of the clause-final position of *pues* on its phonetic reduction.

The distribution of Andean *pues* can, at least in general terms, be explained as a relatively straightforward case of grammaticalization, in which language contact between Quechua and Spanish need not be a necessary catalyst of change, though its influence is certainly not completely ruled out by this analysis. As a regular cross-linguistic grammaticalization, Andean *pues* underwent semantic/pragmatic reanalysis and phonological reduction. In bilingual speech, out of the 147 tokens, *pues* was fully realized forty two times, whereas it appeared fifty eight times reduced as *pe*. This was the most popular reduced form, followed by *pes,* which appeared 38 times, *pes* five times and *pue* only three times. These findings show a clear preference for non-diphthongized reductions. On the other hand, in monolingual speech, out of the 92 tokens, *pues* was fully realized only ten times. It was reduced into *pe* sixty three times; this was by far the preferred form, followed by both *pes* and *pue, which* occurred 9 times each and *pu* just once.

Another argument supporting the grammaticalized nature of Andean *pues* and running against the idea that it may be the result of language contact is the fact that other varieties of Spanish are not in contact with Quechua (or other languages) and still use *pues* in a non-standardized way. For instance, this occurs in Colombian Spanish. (Travis: 2005). As presented in chapter 3, Colombian *pues* did not convey any obviousness-related functions; instead it was utilized to add extra information (30)[24], to highlight an upcoming utterance (31), to mark a repair (32), to preface responses and answers (33) and to introduce direct speech (34). However, although the semantic/pragmatic functions were not the same

[24] The following numbers refer to examples presented and discussed in Chapter 4.

as those of Andean *pues*, Colombian Spanish does also use it in clause-final position syntactic position as in (35).

(35) A: *¿Por qué no vamos a las dos?*

B: *Ay, ¿no puede ser a las dos y media?*

A: *Bueno, a las dos* ***pues****.*

A: 'Why don't we go at two o'clock?'

B: 'Oh, can't it be at two and a half?'

A: 'OK, at two **pues'**. (Travis 2005: 279)

Therefore, the process of moving clause-initial *pues* to the final position is not exclusive to Andean *pues*.

Moreover, Andean *pues* does fulfill some of its hypotheses contained in the Grammaticalization Theory framework, such as Source Determination and Phonological Erosion (Reduction). With respect to the former, the meaning of *pues* that entered into grammaticalization was that of temporal sequence; it determined the path that its grammaticalization process followed, resulting in the current grammatical meanings. This path is a set of reanalysis and metonymic processes that occurred as follows: Temporal sequence > Cause-Consequence relation > Obvious cause-consequence relation > Obviousness-related meanings. Diachronically we have seen that *pues* started out as a connective word expressing temporal and cause-consequence relations. Later on, Andean Spanish developed the expression of obviousness. However, although my data showed that in Andean Spanish obviousness is actually the preferred meaning/ function, we can still find all of the functions above coexisting, as described in Chapter 5: Temporal Sequence, Explicit and Implicit Causal Inferences and Common-Sense or Obviousness-related

statements. Regarding Phonological Reduction, the original meaning of temporal sequence has been lost completely, and speakers from all social and language groups tend to reduce *pues* phonetically, as presented above: [pes], [pe], [pu] or [ps].

Concerning other parameters of Grammaticalization discussed in chapter 3, it is important to mention Fixation and Obligatorification. Although it is difficult to confirm the existence of the latter, a tendency to locate *pues* (or any of its reduced forms) at the end of clauses does exist, as shown in the previous chapter.

Chapter 3 contained a discussion of the three types of diachronic subjectification by Company (2008: 200): Grammar 1 > Grammar 2, Grammar 1 > Discourse, and Grammar 1 > Discourse > Grammar 2. I claim that Andean *pues* underwent the second type of subjectification since it started out as a merely functional item, but gained pragmatic weight and became a discourse marker. However, as stated above, evidence suggests it now holds some grammatical features (becoming fixed, phonologically eroded, semantically bleeched, etc.). Furthermore, as mentioned earlier higher frequency and routinization played an important role in accelerating the reanalysis of Andean *pues*.

## 6.2. Research Questions and Hypotheses

The organization of the discussion in this section is based on the research questions and hypotheses presented in Chapter 1 and the findings listed above. The first set of questions explores the extent to which Andean *pues* may be the result of regular cross-linguistic grammaticalization and, therefore, undergoes phonetic reduction and semantic/pragmatic reanalysis.

1a: Can phonetic reduction of *pues* (pes, pe, pus, ps) be observed in a language proficiency group more than in the other two?

From the point of view of non-contact grammaticalization I hypothesized that phonetic reduction of *pues* (pes, pe, pus, ps) could be observed at similar frequencies whithin all language proficiency groups. This hypothesis is acceptable since both bilinguals and monolinguals showed a strong preference for reduced forms. However, it is important to point out that, accoridng to the regression models, Spanish subordinate bilinguals had a mild, significant effect on the reduction of *pues*.

1b: Can phonetic reduction of *pues* (pes, pe, pus, ps) be observed in a socioeconomic group more than in the other two?

Phonetic reduction of *pues* (pes, pe, pus, ps) can be observed at similar frequencies by all social classes. I hypothesized that phonetic reduction of *pues* (pes, pe, pus, ps) could be observed at similar frequencies among all language proficiency groups. However, when the significant effect of social class on the reduction of *pues* is observed among businessmen and merchants, this hypothesis proves to be false.

1c: Can semantic / pragmatic reanalysis of *pues* be observed in a language proficiency group more than in the other two?

Semantic/pragmatic reanalysis of *pues* was expected to occur at similar frequencies whithin all language proficiency groups. This hypothesis is accepted because all three language proficiency groups showed similar preferences for meaning selection.

1d: Can semantic/pragmatic reanalysis of *pues* be observed in a socioeconomic group more than in the other two?

Semantic/pragmatic reanalysis of *pues* was expected to occur at similar frequencies among all social classes. This hypothesis becomes accepted because there was no influence

from social class on meaning selection and similar preferences and frequencies of different functions occurred among all social classes.

The second set of questions explores the extent to which Andean *pues* may be the result of the effect Quechua might have on Andean Spanish.

2a. Does Andean *pues* appear in the speech of one language proficiency group more frequently than in that of the other two groups?

It was expected that Andean *pues* would be used by Quechua subordinate bilinguals more frequently than Spanish subordinate bilinguals or Spanish monolinguals, since similar Quechua features might be activated and affect the Spanish from this bilingual area. I rejected this hypothesis because no solid statistical evidence supported the fact that Andean *pues* (bearing obviousness-related meanings and placed in clause-final position) was specific or unique to Quechua subordinate bilinguals. Indeed, this type of *pues* also appeared consistently among the other proficiency groups.

2b. Does Andean *pues* appear in the speech of one socioeconomic group more frequently than in that of the other two groups?

Since there is a direct correspondence between farming-related workers or the lower social class and Quechua subordinate bilinguals we hypothesized that these farmers would tend to use Andean *pues* more frequently than the more educated class and the middle/merchant class. We rejected this hypothesis because our results showed that Spanish subordinate bilinguals were those who used Andean *pues* (bearing the meaning of 'obviousness') more frequently.

2c. Does language proficiency have an effect in the sentential position preference of *pues*?

Since Quechua is activated the most among Quechua subordinate bilinguals, we hypothesized that they would tend to use Andean *pues* in clause-final position and clause-medial position more frequently than Spanish subordinate bilinguals and Spanish monolinguals. This hypothesis was partially accepted since our data showed that Quechua subordinate bilinguals do have a significant tendency to use *pues* in clause-final position but it is the Spanish subordinate bilinguals who display a preference for the clause-medial position.

2d. Does socioeconomic status have an effect in the sentential position preference of *pues*?

The farming-related/ lower class was expected to use Andean *pues* in clause-final positions more frequently than the more educated class and the middle/merchant class. This hypothesis got rejected because the only significant preference we found was towards the clause-medial position by the middle class.

### 6.3. Significance of Findings

The use of Andean *pues* is not the result of language contact and convergence between Quechua and Spanish, at least not directly. It does not only occur in bilingual areas; it also occurs consistently among Spanish monolinguals. As pointed out in the previous chapter we found similar outcomes between bilinguals and monolinguals that support our claim that Andean *pues* is not exclusive to bilingual areas: a. Both bilinguals and monolinguals never used *pues* in clause-initial position, not even once; and b. Both bilinguals and monolinguals used *pues* in either clause-medial position or clause-final

position with similar frequency and proportion, less than 25% and more than 75% of the cases respectively. Thus, I believe this makes us aware that not every "non-standard" linguistic feature in a contact situation should be attributed to language interference or transfer. It is always important to look beyond geographic areas and the nature of the source and recipient languages. With this study we see the importance, for instance, of socioeconomic characteristics and the comparison with non-bilingual speech.

Moreover, this study sheds light on two important matters: historical language contact and how synchronic analyses can be well-supported by diachronic ones. This study would have not been completed properly without a proper grasp of the historical development of the discourse marker *pues*.

### 6.4. Limitations of the Current Study

This section includes a discussion of limitations of the two main theoretical frameworks presented in chapter 2 and 3 as well as the research in this dissertation

Concerning language contact theory, Muysken (2013: 709) presents important challenges to prevailing theories of contact-induced language change. First, language studies have diversified tremendously. Therefore, a number of separate sub-disciplines have come into existence, such as sociolinguistics, psycholinguistics, and historical linguistics, and although they have many issues in common, many of these topics have been studied in relative isolation from one another, which does not contribute to developing a unified theory or model capable of encompassing all approaches and methods. Second, even if this unified model of language contact existed, language contact may have multiple outcomes since languages do not interact in a single way, but rather in many different ways,

depending on the overall social setting of the contact and all its variables (Muysken 2013: 710).

There were also some issues and limitations specific to our research. For example, since the earthquake in the highlands occurred in 1970, I could not analyze the speech of young people. That is why age was not a variable in my study. Moreover, although I did include gender as a variable, the female participants are greatly outnumbered by the male participants. Given that the participants were interviewed in main squares and plazas, the perponderance of male participants is not surprising since these places are typically used as a meeting place for males, who are taking breaks, gathering to talk, reading the newspaper, etc. Similarly, as mentioned in Chapter 4, it was particularly difficult to find participants willing to participate in the interviews in the coastal city of Pisco, where the epicenter of the 2007 earthquake was located. Perhaps, since this disaster occurred not that long ago, it was still difficult to talk about those painful memories.

### 6.5. Avenues for Further Research

My study focused solely on the Spanish marker *pues* and its particular characteristics when used in certain varieties of Peruvian Spanish. There are many types of discourse markers and several times we find them fulfilling different semantic and pragmatics functions across Spanish varieties. Thus, we believe that a lot can still be investigated in this field. Just one example is the case of *no más*, which is also undergoing phonological reduction, and it is also mainly used in clause-final position in Peru.[25]

In the particular case of Andean *pues*, we would like to see a diachronic study complementing this present synchronic one to better understand when and how changes in

[25] See Feke (2004:179) for a discussion of *no más* in Andean Spanish.

the semantic substance of *pues* were realized. Documents across different registers as well as Peruvian literature such as theater and narratives could be analyzed to see the frequency, common sentential position and meaning evolution from XVI and on. Furthermore, since I did not get to interview many female participants it would also be helpful to replicate this study including a similar number of male and female participants in order to see the extent to which gender influences the use of *pues* or other markers. Finally, further research on other social factors, processing constraints of speakers' bilingual competence and language distance also needs to be conducted. I imagine that studies on discourse markers in a grammaticalization framework and as a result of language contact will continue to expand, which will not only add new insights into the research of language contact and grammaticalization in their traditional senses but will also help to develop a better grasp on the direction of language change in general.

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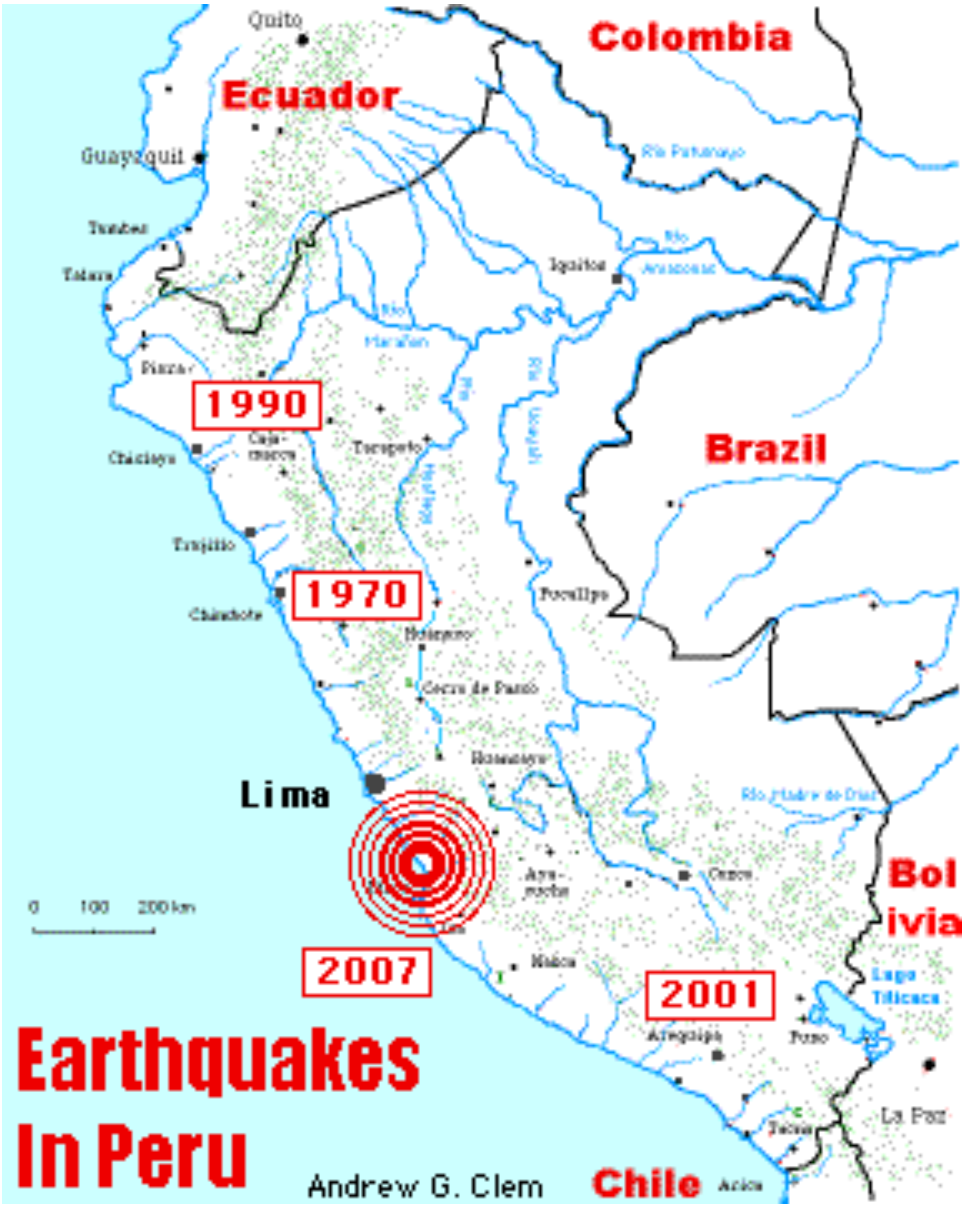
# APPENDIX 1

**Dialects of Quechua according to Torero (1968, 1970)**


source: http://lingweb.eva.mpg.de/quechua/Eng/Main/i_DIALS.HTM

# APPENDIX 2

**Locations of the 1970 and 2007 erathquakes in Peru**




source: http://kavyton.herobo.com/earthquake-map-peru.php

# APPENDIX 3

## Complete and Reduced Realizations of *pues* by speaker

| | Complete Realization (CR) *pues* | Reduced Realization (RR) | | | | | | TOTAL CR+RR |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | | *pes* | *pe* | *pue* | *pu* | *ps* | Total RR | |
| H1 | 3 | | | | | | | 3 |
| H2 | 3 | | | | | | | 3 |
| H3 | 1 | 1 | 6 | | | | 7 | 8 |
| H4 | 4 | | | | | 3 | 3 | 7 |
| H5 | 2 | | | 1 | | 1 | 2 | 4 |
| H6 | 1 | 1 | 3 | | | | 4 | 5 |
| H7 | | | 1 | | | | 1 | 1 |
| H8 | | 2 | 29 | | | | 31 | 31 |
| H9 | 3 | | 3 | 1 | | | 4 | 7 |
| H10 | 14 | | | | | 1 | 1 | 15 |
| H11 | 5 | 20 | 8 | | | | 28 | 33 |
| H12 | | | 1 | 1 | | | 2 | 2 |
| H13 | 7 | 5 | 1 | 1 | | | 7 | 14 |
| H14 | | | | | | | | 0 |
| H15 | | 6 | 4 | | | | 10 | 10 |
| H16 | | | 1 | | | | 1 | 1 |
| H17 | | 1 | | | | | 1 | 1 |
| I1 | 1 | | | 2 | 1 | | 3 | 4 |
| I2 | | 1 | 8 | | | | 9 | 9 |
| I3 | | | 3 | 1 | | | 4 | 4 |
| I4 | | | 6 | | | | 6 | 6 |
| I5 | | | 6 | | | | 6 | 6 |
| I6 | 1 | | | | | | 1 | 1 |
| I7 | | | 3 | | | | 3 | 3 |
| I8 | | | 10 | | | | 10 | 10 |
| I9 | | | 1 | | | | 1 | 1 |
| I10 | | | 5 | 2 | | | 7 | 7 |
| I11 | | | 1 | | | | 1 | 1 |
| I12 | | | 10 | 3 | | | 13 | 13 |
| I13 | 1 | | 4 | | | | 4 | 5 |
| I14 | | 3 | 1 | | | | 4 | 4 |
| I15 | | | 1 | | | | 1 | 1 |
| I16 | 3 | 4 | 2 | | | | 6 | 9 |
| I17 | | | 1 | | | | 1 | 1 |
| I18 | | 1 | 1 | | | | 2 | 2 |
| I19 | 1 | | | | | | | 1 |
| I20 | 3 | | 1 | | | | 1 | 4 |