Creative Strategies of Language Transfer in the Andes

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**INTRODUCTION.** When two languages come in contact, linguistic transfer is anticipated, though the scope of transfer depends on the degree of contact. Casual and indirect contact lends itself only to lexical borrowings, whereas intense contact situations involving multilingualism, geographical overlap, and politico-social pressure may allow for heavy lexical and structural diffusion (Winford 2003). The latter end of this spectrum describes the linguistic reality of the Andes mountains, where both Spanish and Quechua, are spoken in tandem.¹ Sustained contact between these languages with distinctive genealogies is apparent in the novel grammatical constructions of Andean Spanish (AS). This is because Quechua is agglutinative, employing suffixes to convey concepts that require entire words or phrases in Spanish.

This is clearly illustrated by AS’s accommodation of the tripartite² Quechua evidential system, which discloses the source of information of an utterance (Faller 2006). In Quechua, a single morpheme (i.e. meaningful language unit, like plural -s in English) conveys whether the event was experienced first-hand or second-hand. Thus, the suffix -mi, in ‘paramushanmi,’ (‘it is raining’) indicates that one has experienced the rain directly, while -si, in ‘paramushansi,’ indicates that evidence of the rain comes from another source. There is no morpheme to express evidentiality in most varieties of Spanish. Due to contact, however, AS has repurposed the pluperfect to encode second-hand evidentiality. Thus, ‘había llovido’ (lit. ‘it had rained’) is parallel to ‘paramushansi.’ This artful extension of an infrequent verbal paradigm allows for transfer of the concept of evidentiality while bypassing the need for direct transfer of a single morpheme (hypothetically resulting in ‘lluevesi,’ which is incompatible with the grammatical structure of Spanish). This type of creative grammatical borrowing is central to my dissertation.

¹ Additional indigenous languages are also spoken in this region, but my research is limited to Quechua and Spanish.
² The third type of evidentiality not mentioned here is conjecture.
**OBJECTIVE OF INVESTIGATION.** My dissertation will consider these evidentiality suffixes along with a slew of others that contain pragmatic information prescriptively translated as entire phrases in Spanish. In collecting interview data from several monolingual and bilingual speakers in this region, I will attempt to answer the following research questions:

1. What are the creative strategies involved in the linguistic borrowing of a Quechua morpheme into Andean Spanish?
2. Are these products of transfer (e.g. use of the pluperfect for second-hand evidentiality) used only by bilingual speakers of Quechua, or are these strategies also used by monolingual speakers of Spanish in this region?

The conclusions drawn from my data analysis will generally contribute to research on the outcomes of language contact and, more specifically, speak to the nature of transfer between typologically distinct languages. These types of situations are not unique to the Andes, (e.g. Turkish is also an agglutinating language in contact with many analytic Indo-European languages) and studies examining the strategies involved in this breed of transfer are largely preliminary. Though not central to my dissertation, maintaining contact with the indigenous communities with whom I have interacted during prior trips to Cusco\(^3\) will also contribute to the fomentation of international relations between UGA researchers and indigenous communities.

**RESEARCH PLAN.** Drawing meaningful conclusions related to linguistic transfer in the Andes will require the collection and analysis of natural speech samples from monolingual and bilingual speakers. As my research addresses the outcomes of linguistic contact of a particular region, on-site data collection in Cusco, Perú is required to successfully respond to my above research questions. The manner and frequency with which native speakers employ these Quechua-inspired structures may be related to social variables, so the participants in this study,

\(^3\) I am indebted to LACSI for funding travel to Perú for the purpose of Quechua acquisition in 2015 and 2018.
recruited at random, will ultimately represent an even distribution of sex, age, socioeconomic background, linguistic background, and education.

Because linguists conducting similar field work have found that individuals produce more naturalistic data when speaking to an in-group member, these interviews will be co-administered by myself and a trained native-speaker consultant. (Rickford & McNair-Knox 1994). Recruiting the assistance of a Quechua-Spanish bilingual will make irrelevant the dreaded ‘observer’s paradox’ (Labov 1966) in which the presence of the observer causes a participant to monitor her speech, failing to utter the precise variables central to the investigation.

**Budget.** I am requesting $1,650 from the Latin American and Caribbean Studies Institute to fund travel necessary for on-site data collection in Cusco, Perú in the summer of 2019. I have received $1,000 from the Willson Center for Humanities & Arts under the Graduate Research Award for this project. Below is an itemized budget of the anticipated allocation of funds from both the Willson Center Graduate Research Award (GRA) and Tinker Graduate Field Research Award (Tinker). Any consideration for funding will be immensely helpful in carrying out the field work necessary for my dissertation.

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**References**
Faller, Martina. 2006. The Cusco Quechua reportative evidential and rhetorical relations. Submitted to a special volume of Linguistische Berichte on endangered languages, eds. Peter Austin and Andrew Simpson.