

CROSS-LINGUISTIC INFLUENCE OF THE CUZCO QUECHUA EPISTEMIC SYSTEM ON ANDEAN SPANISH

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1. INTRODUCTION. Since the time of the Spanish Conquest, the Quechua and Spanish languages have been engaged in intense contact. Particularly in the city of Cuzco, Peru, once the geographical and cultural center of the Incan Empire and a common destination today for many Quechua-speaking peasant migrants, it is possible to observe the necessary communication of Quechua and Spanish speakers on a daily basis. As is generally the case in research about language contact, studies concerning Quechua-Spanish cross-linguistic influence have most often focused on the mutual influence of the Quechua and Spanish lexicons as well as on the level of phonology. This paper seeks to add to the literature concerning cross-linguistic influence on the levels of morphosyntax, semantics, pragmatics and discourse. The level of discourse, particularly, has often been ignored in language contact studies. More specifically, this work seeks to clarify and inform the current debates regarding the semantics and pragmatics of the Quechua epistemic markers and the ways in which these markers exert cross-linguistic influence on Andean Spanish, through the use of data gathered among Quechua-Spanish bilingual speakers of Cuzco Quechua.

2. LITERATURE REVIEW.

2.1. DISAGREEMENT: THE SEMANTICS OF QUECHUA EPISTEMICS. Works on Quechua linguistics published approximately within the last fifty years, including scholarly articles as well as texts meant to be used by those learning Quechua as a second or foreign language, have included both more-detailed and less-detailed accounts of the semantics and pragmatics of the Quechua epistemic markers. While scholars generally agree that the Quechua epistemic marker *-chá* indicates conjecture, disagreement and inconsistency has centered on the semantics and pragmatics of the remaining four epistemic markers *-mi/-n*, *-si/-s*, *-rqa-*, and *-sqa-*. The three epistemic suffixes, *-mi/-n*, *-si/-s*, and *-chá*, may be attached to words of any grammatical category while the two past tense verb forms, *-rqa-* and *-sqa-*, occur only with verbs. An understanding of the claims in the literature concerning the semantics and pragmatics of the Quechua epistemic system is essential to the discussion of the ways in which these markers exert influence on Andean Spanish. Here, the author presents a sampling of findings that encompass the broad range of claims made to date regarding the semantics and pragmatics of the Quechua epistemic system.

According to Cusihamán (1976:240-241), *-mi/-n* is used by speakers to refer to events in which they have personally participated or have seen directly, as fully conscious, aware individuals, and *-si/-s* is used by speakers to describe events they have learned about through indirect means, such as from other people or other sources of information, such as books, newspapers, radio, or television. Furthermore, Cusihamán (1976:168-170) states that the past tense, *-rqa-*, is used to refer to completed actions that were carried out with the conscious control and direct participation of the speaker, while the past tense, *-sqa-*, is used to describe events that were carried out by the speaker in an

unconscious state or without the direct participation of the speaker. Therefore, according to Cusihuamán, both *-mi/-n* and *-rqa-* are used to describe information obtained through direct means, and both *-si/-s* and *-sqa-* may be used to describe information obtained through indirect means. De Granda (2001) corroborates Cusihuamán's claims for *-mi/-n*, *-si/-s*, *-rqa-*, and *-sqa-*, and Lee (1997:41) supports Cusihuamán's claims regarding *-rqa-* and *-sqa-*.

The findings of Dedenback-Salazar Sáenz (1997:152), however, cast doubt on the claims of Cusihuamán and de Granda. In her examination of the epistemic forms used in the Huarochirí texts, "the oldest known source on Andean culture written in an Andean language", she observes, "... in the chapters that relate a coherent narrative, usually of mythical character, we find the combination of the reportative evidential suffix *-si* and the *-rka-* past tense..." As Cusihuamán and de Granda claim that the use of *-si/-s* indicates that information has been obtained through indirect means and that the use of *-rqa-* indicates that information has been obtained through direct means, they would be unable to account for the combination of the two epistemic markers.

Weber (1986) raises the question of whether the Huanuco Quechua epistemic suffixes *-mi*, *-shi*, and *-chi*, which are the Huanuco Quechua equivalents of the Cuzco Quechua *-mi/-n*, *-si/-s*, and *-chá*, should be thought of as primarily expressing distinctions regarding information source (e.g. first-hand vs. second-hand), or distinctions regarding attitudes toward the information (e.g. truth-value, level of certainty, involvement, responsibility). Wölck's (1987:53) findings corroborate Weber's (1986) claims, as he finds *-mi/-n* and *-si/-s* to be distinguished primarily based on the category of truth-value, with *-mi/-n* indicating a higher level of truth-value than *-si/-s*. Regarding the past tenses, Wölck (1987:59-60) finds *-rqa-* to be used in the description of more recent past events, while *-sqa-* is found to be used to refer to more distant past events that were not witnessed by the speaker. Nuckolls (1993) also claims that the primary and general meaning of *-mi/-n* across all dialects of Quechua is to signal a high level of certainty regarding the truth of the message. Nuckolls (1993) goes on to state that a secondary or applied meaning of *-mi/-n* is to signal that the information was witnessed first-hand by the speaker.

2.2. REINTERPRETATION OF THE SPANISH PRESENT PERFECT AND PAST PERFECT VERB TENSES. In Klee and Ocampo's study (1995:54), which focused on the use of Spanish verb forms, "...in narrative clauses which require the preterite or historical present in standard Spanish...", the authors find Calca (Peruvian) Quechua-Spanish bilinguals to reinterpret the meanings of the present perfect and past perfect verb tenses in Spanish so as to express an epistemic distinction. For these Quechua-Spanish bilinguals, the present perfect verb tense in Spanish was claimed to be used to convey information that had been obtained through being a direct witness, while the past perfect verb tense in Spanish was claimed to be used to "...indicate that the speaker has not witnessed the action or state described by the verb or that the speaker was unaware of the situation" (1995:62). The authors sum up this finding by stating that, "The temporal distance that these tenses mark in standard Spanish is transposed to an evidential distance in bilingual Spanish" (1995:64). In his description of the Quechua-influenced Spanish of Bolivia and Peru, Lipski mentions the same phenomenon (1996:214,348).

Escobar (1997:864) corroborates Klee and Ocampo's (1995) claims, when she finds that native Quechua speakers of Cuzco use the present perfect verb tense with an

evidential function in Spanish in order to “...refer to past events which took place at a location other than the one the speaker is in at the moment of the speech event for the purpose of emphasizing them as events experienced or witnessed by the speaker...”. Escobar attributes this ‘evidential use’ of the present perfect to the influence of the *-mi/-n* Quechua epistemic clitic. In contrast, Escobar claims, “In Spanish in contact with Quechua, the pluperfect indicates that the information given is not first-hand, i.e. the pluperfect is used to mark reported information” (1997:865). Escobar attributes the use of the past perfect tense to the influence of the *-si/-s* Quechua epistemic clitic.

In contrast to Escobar’s attribution of the claimed epistemic uses of the Andean Spanish present perfect and past perfect to the influence of the Quechua epistemic clitics, *-mi/-n* and *-si/-s* respectively, Lee (1997:41) attributes this example of morphosyntactic cross-linguistic influence from Quechua to Spanish to the influence of the Quechua past tense verbal forms, *-rqa-* and *-sqa-*. Lee (1997:102-3) indicates that there is disagreement in the literature as to whether the use of *-rqa-* in Quechua correlates with the use of the present perfect, past perfect, or preterite Spanish verb tenses. This same disagreement exists with reference to the correlation of the use of *-sqa-* in Quechua with the various Spanish verb tenses. De Granda agrees with Lee in attributing the restructuring of the Spanish perfect tenses to the influence of the Quechua past tense verbal forms, *-rqa-* and *-sqa-*, and refers to the restructured forms as ‘function calques’ (2001:152-3).

It is important to note that findings similar to those described here for Quechua-influenced Andean Spanish have also been noted in the case of the Aymara-influenced speech of Bolivia. Quechua-Aymara language contact predates the contact of either indigenous language with Spanish. Similarities between Quechua and Aymara, such as the fact that both languages make use of an epistemic system, have led many scholars to investigate the possible genetic relationship of the two languages. In his study of La Paz Spanish, Laprade (1981:223) proposes that an Aymara substratum influence is responsible for an epistemic usage of the pluperfect in Spanish, which “expresses the aspect of surprise and nonpersonal knowledge upon encountering an unknown or something seen for the first time or something that occurred without one realizing it...”. Stratford (1991:168-9) corroborates Laprade’s claim for La Paz Spanish. Also, Martin (1981:205 for La Paz Spanish) finds the preterite to be used to indicate direct knowledge and the pluperfect to be used to indicate indirect knowledge, resulting from Aymara influence.

2.3. ‘DICE’ EPISTEMIC CALQUE. Besides the Quechua epistemic system’s influencing the restructuring of the Spanish perfect verb tenses in order to convey epistemic meaning, according to Klee and Ocampo (1995:63), Lipski (1996:214,348), and de Granda (2001:127), the Spanish *dice; dicen; diciendo* ‘s/he says; they say; saying’, may be used as calques of the Quechua suffix *-si/-s* in order to express the fact that information has been obtained indirectly. It is interesting to note that Laprade (1981:221-2) has also found forms of *decir* to be used in La Paz Spanish, in sentence-final position, in order to mark the preceding information as “nonpersonal knowledge”. De Granda also observes that in regions of Ecuador, Peru, and Argentina, where the use of the *-si/-s* suffix among Quechua speakers is gradually disappearing, speakers may instead use conjugations of the Quechua verb *niy* ‘to say’, in place of the *-si/-s* suffix (i.e. *nin*, ‘s/he

says' and *ninku*, 'they say'). De Granda suggests that, in this case, the Quechua speakers are using conjugations of *niy* as calques of the Spanish calques, *dice/dicen* (2001:127). Furthermore, according to de Granda, the only Quechua clitic that has been transferred to Andean Spanish as a function calque is *-si/-s*. Therefore, claims de Granda, the other epistemic clitics in Quechua, *-mi/-n* and *-chá*, do not exert cross-linguistic influence on Andean Spanish as function calques (2001:153-4).

2.4. 'PUES' EPISTEMIC CALQUE. The findings of Virginia Zavala (2001) contradict de Granda's (2001) claim that *-si/-s* is the only Quechua epistemic clitic calqued in Andean Spanish. According to Zavala (2001), Ayacucho (Peruvian) bilingual Quechua-Spanish speakers may use the Spanish conjunction, *pues* 'well; then; since; therefore; because', as a function calque for the Quechua clitic, *-mi/-n*. Furthermore, she maintains, due to cross-linguistic influence of the Quechua agglutinative structure, the discourse marker, *pues*, "...has been transformed and restructured into an item which functions almost as a 'suffix', attached to various parts of speech" (2001:1004). Therefore, according to Zavala, these speakers are using *pues* in Spanish where they would be using the *-mi/-n* suffix in Quechua. Through her analysis of the particle, *pues*, in terms of its use within discourse, Zavala finds common qualitative and quantitative patterns among the use of the particle by her ten informants. She summarizes the use of *pues* as follows (2001:1017), "The speaker attaches *pues* to his utterance and with it, the sentence acquires a connotation of conviction, certainty, and assurance towards what he is saying". A prominent pattern in her data is that the discourse marker/function calque, *pues*, appears in all cases in clause-final position. Zavala finds the clause-final position for *pues* to be influenced by Quechua's agglutinative structure in which suffixes are attached onto the ends of words to form different meanings. In the case of the Aymara-influenced La Paz Spanish, Laprade (1981:215-16) also finds *pues*, or its reduced form, *ps* with "a strongly sibilant character", to occur "almost exclusively in post position", "postposed to nearly all parts of speech", in order to "reflect the speaker's attitude or mood".

2.5. 'SIEMPRE' CALQUE. Beyond the appearance of forms of *decir* and *pues* as function calques in La Paz Spanish, due to Aymara influence, Laprade (1981) also finds that the Spanish *siempre* 'always', *nomás* 'only', and *pero* 'but', have undergone restructuring. According to Laprade (1981:219-220), in La Paz Spanish, *nomás*, *pues*, and *pero* are found alone or in various combinations at the end of utterances, similar to the way in which suffixes are combined in Aymara. As the present work will propose that *siempre* is used in Andean Spanish as a function calque for the Quechua *-mi/-n*, it is useful to note Laprade's claim regarding the use of *siempre* in La Paz Spanish. Laprade (1981:218) attributes the restructured use of *siempre* to influence from the Aymara suffix, *-puni*, and states that in La Paz Spanish, *siempre* "functions as an emphatic expression" and is used in interrogative constructions to request affirmation. Although Laprade (1981:218) finds the Aymara-influenced *siempre* to occur "after the elements whose meaning it modifies", he notes that in other regions, "*siempre* may occur initially, medially, or finally". Laprade (1981:218) goes on to state that the Aymara suffix, *-puni*, is regularly translated into Spanish as *siempre* and "...indicates surprise that the speaker

has not changed intent, that some aspect of the situation deserves special mention or emphasis, as well as other emphatic meanings”.

Quechua also makes use of a suffix, *-puni* that is also often translated into Spanish as *siempre*. According to Aráoz and Salas (1993:128), among the meanings communicated by the Quechua suffix, *-puni*, are that an action will be carried out without fail and a high level of certainty. As will be described in more detail below, the present work proposes that *siempre* is used in Andean Spanish as a function calque for the Quechua *-mi/-n*. The author asserts that the restructuring of *siempre* in Andean Spanish is due to the influence of *-mi/-n* rather than *-puni*, as the frequency of use of the restructured *siempre* is much higher than that of *-puni* in Quechua. The frequency and distribution of the restructured *siempre* is more similar to that of *-mi/-n* in Quechua. It is true, however, that the semantics of the Quechua *-mi/-n* and *-puni* overlap, in that they both may communicate a high level of certainty. Perhaps the restructuring of *siempre* in La Paz, noted by Laprade, is due to the influence of the Quechua *-mi/-n* or the equivalent Aymara epistemic marker, rather than *-puni*.

It is also possible that the restructured usage of *siempre* has extended its influence outside of Andean Spanish in Peru and La Paz Spanish in Bolivia, as the RAE lists *decididamente* ‘decidedly’ and *definitivamente* ‘definitively’ as possible meanings of *siempre* in Colombia. According to Lee (1997:24), although the number of Quechua speakers living in Colombia today is much lower than the number that existed during the reign of the Incan Empire, a population of Quechua speakers still exists in the southwestern section of Colombia, close to the border with Ecuador.

3. DATA AND METHODOLOGY. The data and analyses presented here, within a qualitative approach, are based on fieldwork carried out in Cuzco, Peru among bilingual Quechua-Spanish speaking members of two non-profit governmental agencies, the *Asociación Civil, ‘Gregorio Condori Mamani’ Proyecto Casa del Cargador*, ‘Gregorio Condori Mamani Civil Association, House of the Carrier Project’ (CdC), and *El Centro de Apoyo Integral a la Trabajadora del Hogar*, ‘Center for the Integral Support of the Female Home Worker’ (CAITH). The CdC is a temporary home for primarily adolescent males, the majority of whom earn a living as *cargadores*, ‘carriers’, by transporting agricultural goods within the large market places of Cuzco. The objective of the CdC is to improve the quality of life of the peasant migrant carriers, thereby allowing them to attain respectable levels of health, education, and family well-being. The main goal of CAITH is to offer educational support and assistance to female adolescent domestic servants, who come from rural areas outside of the city of Cuzco. CAITH also functions as a temporary home for these female domestic servants. The participants of this study, inhabitants of both of these agencies, are mostly young native Quechua speakers. They have migrated to the city of Cuzco from mostly surrounding rural Quechua-dominant communities within the Department of Cuzco in order to make a living and obtain a higher quality education than would be available to them in their rural communities of origin.

Here, the examples are taken from recorded and transcribed interviews carried out with twenty-eight CAITH participants and forty-two CdC participants, totaling seventy participants. Sixty-eight of these seventy participants claim Quechua as their first language and two of these participants claim to have acquired Quechua and Spanish

simultaneously. In 2003, at the time of the interviews, these participants ranged in age from eleven to fifty-eight years old. All of the participants claimed to have begun their acquisition of Spanish by the age of eighteen, and fifty-four of the seventy participants claimed to have begun their acquisition of Spanish by the age of thirteen. Most of the participants began elementary school within their communities of origin before migrating to the city of Cuzco. Some received their schooling in Quechua, others had bilingual Quechua-Spanish elementary schooling, while still others received their elementary schooling through the means of Spanish. Therefore, some of these participants began their acquisition of Spanish while still living within their rural communities of origin while others began their L2 acquisition upon their arrival to Cuzco. No participant had spent more than eighteen years in school and fifty of the seventy participants had attended school for less than ten years. At the time of the data collection, the vast majority of the study participants claimed to use more Spanish on a daily basis than Quechua.

All of the seventy interviews were carried out in Spanish, lasting approximately thirty minutes each. During the interviews, each participant was asked twenty-two open-ended questions on the topic of language attitude. Each of the twenty-two questions consisted of one or two parts. Sixteen of these twenty-two questions were asked using verbs in the present tense, such as *¿Cómo es la cultura quechua?*, ‘What is the Quechua culture like?’. Three of the questions were asked using the future tense, such as *¿Vas a usar el quechua en el futuro en tu trabajo? ¿Cómo?*, ‘Are you going to use Quechua in your future job? How?’. One question was asked using the conditional, *¿Votarías por un candidato quechuahablante? ¿Por qué?*, ‘Would you vote for a Quechua-speaking candidate? Why?’. One question was asked using both the past subjunctive and the conditional, *Si no hablaras quechua, ¿sientes que podrías identificarte con la cultura quechua?*, ‘If you didn’t speak Quechua, do you feel that you would be able to identify yourself with the Quechua culture?’. Finally, one question was asked using the present perfect verb tense, *¿Alguna vez te has negado a hablar quechua? ¿Por qué?*, ‘Have you ever denied speaking Quechua? Why?’.

The Andean Spanish examples presented throughout this paper contain a variety of cross-linguistic features from the Quechua language beyond those resulting from the influence of the epistemic system. These features are not examined here, as this would be outside the scope of this work. The English translations of the examples presented here, rather than faithfully representing any unsystematicities or nonstandard elements caused by the intense cross-linguistic influence present in the participants’ speech, intend to offer accounts of the messages conveyed by the examples in a fluent, Standard English form. As no significant differences were observed in the Andean Spanish speech of male study participants versus that of female study participants, while discussing examples obtained from both males and females, the participants will be referred to as ‘he’ throughout this paper.

The following are techniques employed by the author in order to reduce the distance between herself and the interviewees: (1) by the time the Language Attitude Interviews were carried out, the author had already met and completed multiple other interviews with the participants, thus resulting in familiarity and reduced anxiety between the interviewer and interviewee, (2) although participants were being recorded, the interviews were carried out in an informal manner (including an informal tone and an

informal setting), further reducing anxiety, (3) the interview questions were open-ended, thus allowing participants to speak freely, (4) participants were given the opportunity to say as much or as little in response to each of the questions as they desired, and (5) participants spoke about their feelings and attitudes toward their two languages, a very real and important topic for them.

4. ANALYSIS.

4.1. REINTERPRETATION OF THE SPANISH PRESENT AND PAST PERFECT VERB TENSES. The hypothesis mentioned above that the Spanish perfect tenses indicate a contrast in epistemic meaning is not upheld in this data, based on the fact that the participants generally avoided the use of the past perfect in Spanish. Below, in Table 1, are the total counts and relative percentages of how many of the seventy participants used each of four different past tenses in Spanish during the course of their interviews.

	Present Perfect	Imperfect	Preterite	Past Perfect
Count	48	43	25	4
Percent	68.57%	61.43%	35.71%	5.71%

Table 1. Past Verb Tenses

As shown in the excerpts below, each of the four participants, out of the subset of seventy participants, who produced instances of the past perfect (two participants produced the past perfect verb tense twice and two participants produced the past perfect once) clearly communicated information that was gathered through her direct, first-hand experience. Each of these four participants is a female inhabitant of CAITH, who claimed Quechua as her first language. While one of these four participants had spent over half her life in Lima and had completed eighteen years of schooling in Spanish, including at the university level, the background and life experiences of the other three participants who were found to employ the past perfect were not significantly different than those of the other sixty-six participants.

In answer to the question of why some Quechua speakers deny that they speak their language, one member of CAITH responded with an anecdote, including the following:

- (1) Sí, una vez he escuchado hablar con quechua con su mamá. Por gusto **me había dicho; se había mentado**, decir, ‘No hablo cas... quechua’.
 ‘Yes, one time I have heard him speak in Quechua with his mom. For no good reason **he had told me; he had lied**, saying ‘I don’t speak Spa... Quechua’.

In 1, the participant recalls her own conversation with an acquaintance that lied to her, saying that he was not able to speak Quechua, although she later observed him speaking in Quechua with his mother.

In response to the question of why she does not identify herself with the Quechua culture, another member of CAITH answered as follows, recalling her own childhood and life experiences:

- (2) Bueno, yo de niña **me había acostumbrado...** porque yo nunca la **había vivido** desde los siete años.

‘Well, **I had gotten used to it** as a child...because **I hadn’t lived** it (the Quechua lifestyle) since I was seven years old.’

In reply to the question of what her future job will be, another member of CAITH responded in the following way, expressing her own experience:

- (3) En... yo no **había pensado**. No. Sí, yo quiero ser profesora.

‘In...**I hadn’t thought about it**. No. Yes, I want to be a teacher.’

And finally, in response to the question of whether she reads the newspaper or anything else in Quechua and how often, another member of CAITH replied, again mentioning something of her own experience:

- (4) Sí, acá, unos libros... Hay unos de los campos. Ay, no sé qué libro **había sido**, sí.

‘Yes, here, some books... There are some from the countryside. Ay, I don’t know what book **it had been**.’

While it is true that the instances of past perfect produced by these four speakers centered on personal, direct experience, it is also the case that in the examples provided here, the speakers recall experiences during which they were not completely alert and aware. In 1, the speaker was not aware of the fact that her interlocutor was lying to her at the time. In 2, since the speaker is referring to an experience she had at a young age, she might not have been fully aware of the experience at the time. In example 3, the speaker refers to a topic she had not thought about and of which, therefore, she was not fully conscious. Finally, in 4, the speaker refers to an experience about which she cannot remember the details. If the sole or primary meaning of *-si/-s* and *-sqa-* is not considered to be an indirect information source, but rather something like truth-value, level of certainty, involvement, or responsibility, as these examples of the past perfect evince one of the epistemic meanings claimed for *-si/-s* and *-sqa-*, namely, that of being unconscious or not fully aware, it is possible to conclude that these examples of the past perfect do communicate one of the epistemic meanings of the Quechua *-si/-s* and *-sqa-*.

However, since only four of the seventy speakers produced the past perfect and did so infrequently, it appears that in general, these participants avoided using the past perfect. Thus, in general, this data does not seem to support the claim that the past perfect in Andean Spanish has been restructured due to the influence of the Quechua epistemic markers, *-si/-s* and *-sqa-*. As is evident in Table 1, in general, the participants preferred the present perfect and imperfect tenses while discussing past events.

As this data does not support the findings of others on this issue, as described above, one might question whether the participants of this study might have characteristics that are significantly different from the participants of other investigations on this issue. This is a reasonable possibility in the case of comparing the participants of this study to those of Klee and Ocampo’s (1995) study. Klee and Ocampo divided their participants into four groups by social class. Data from participants of the group with the lowest

socioeconomic status, referred to as “campesinos”, was not included among the analyzed data for their study (1995:53). It is likely that at least some of the participants of the present study would be classified as “campesinos” by Klee and Ocampo, based on the social class descriptions presented in their research.

The findings presented here might also suggest that the Quechua language is undergoing a change in its epistemic system, such that Quechua speakers are losing the epistemic markers, *-si/-s* and *-sqa-*, along with their corresponding meanings and uses. If these members of the epistemic system are being lost, the influence these markers would exert on Andean Spanish would also disappear. As mentioned above, de Granda has proposed that the use of the *-si/-s* suffix among Quechua speakers is gradually disappearing (2001:127).

4.2. ‘DICE’ EPISTEMIC CALQUE. In this data, seventeen of the seventy participants used forms of *decir* as calques. However, rather than claiming that the use of these calques indicates only that information has been obtained indirectly, the author claims that forms of *decir* may be used to calque a variety of meanings encompassed by the Quechua epistemic markers, *-si/-s* and *-sqa-*, including indirect information source, less certainty, less involvement and less responsibility.

In examples 5 and 6 below, forms of the verb, *decir*, are used as calques of *-si/-s* and *-sqa-* to indicate that information has been obtained through indirect means.

(5) La gente de la ciudad, lo que vive allí, **dicen** los de discriminan.
‘The city people, the ones who live there, **dicen** descriminate against them.’

(6) Porque es antiguamente, como **dicen** desde los Incas, nuestros antepasados hablaban quechua.
‘It is because in the ancient times, like **dicen** from (the time of) the Incas, our ancestors used to speak Quechua.’

In example 7 below, a participant employs the use of a form of *decir* twice while discussing information that he does not agree with:

(7) A veces **dicen** que, ¿cómo se llama? Quechua es solo hablan los cholos, los indios, campos **dicen**, pero no es.
‘Sometimes **dicen** that, what is it called? Quechua is only spoken by the cholos, the Indians, (in the) countryside **dicen**, but it isn’t.’

In other words, in 7, this participant expresses disagreement with the idea that Quechua is spoken only by indigenous peasants in the countryside. As this participant does not agree with the concept in question, he does not take responsibility for the truth of the concept, as would be consistent with the use of *-si/-s* and *-sqa-* that some have claimed for Quechua.

In the following example, a participant describes a third party’s dishonesty and then expresses his knowledge of the truth:

- (8) Ya no quiere y **dice** por gusto todo allá, pero la verdad es que sabe hablar quechuas.
'(He) doesn't want (to speak Quechua) anymore and **dice** everything (is) just for kicks there, but the truth is that (he) knows how to speak Quechua.'

In 8, the use of *dice* in the first part of the utterance is used to describe another's dishonesty. Therefore, as this participant does not agree with the third party's dishonesty, he does not take responsibility for the truth of the message.

In the following example, a participant puts acquired information about the practices of the Incas into question:

- (9) ...¿Qué religión tenían verdaderamente? Según la historia, nos **dicen** ellos adoraban al sol, al agua, la luna, eso.
'What religion did they really used to have? According to history, **dicen** they used to worship the sun, the water, the moon, that.'

As this participant puts the information acquired from history into question, he shows he has a lower level of certainty regarding this information.

Further evidence to support the use of forms of *decir*, 'to say', as calques of *-si/-s* and *-sqa-* is that the participants of this study were found to semantically extend the Spanish verb, *hablar*, 'to speak/talk', in order to encompass the standard meaning and uses of *decir*. In other words, since an important use of forms of *decir* is to calque the Quechua epistemics, *-si/-s*, and *-sqa-*, in order to simply express the meaning, 'to say', it is hypothesized here that many of these participants resort to a different verb, namely, *hablar*, in order to avoid being perceived as calquing the Quechua epistemics when this is not intended. In the following three examples, forms of the verb *hablar*, 'to speak/talk', are used where forms of the verb, *decir*, 'to say', would be used in standard Spanish.

- (10) Los que no entiende quechua no te no entiende lo que estás **hablando**, ¿no?
'Those who don't understand Quechua don't understand what you're **speaking**.'

- (11) Así como estoy así, **hablo** palabras.
'Just as I am, I **speak** words.'

- (12) Una persona se ha perdido y **habla** después, 'No conozco' así.
'A person has gotten lost and **speaks** later, 'I'm not familiar (with this place).'

In example 10, rather than *hablando*, standard Spanish would demand *diciendo*. In 11, rather than *hablo*, standard Spanish would include *digo*. Finally, in 12, rather than *habla*, this would be put in standard Spanish as *dice*.

4.3. 'PUES' EPISTEMIC CALQUE. Forty-five of these seventy participants were found to use *pues* as a function calque for *-mi/-n* in order to convey direct information

source, a higher level of certainty, more involvement and more responsibility, as in the following five examples:

- (13) Hermoso quechua es **pue**.
'Quechua is beautiful **pue**.'
- (14) Quechua es bonito es **pue**.
'Quechua is beautiful **pue**.'
- (15) Porque más nosotros hablamos en castellano acá en ciudad; por eso es **pe**.
'Because we speak more in Spanish here in the city; that's why **pe**.'
- (16) Porque es quechua es bonito, porque idioma de de Inca es **pe** sí.
'Because (it) is Quechua is beautiful because it is the language of the Inca **pe**.'
- (17) Porque para el trabajo, hay veces con la gente que no sabe hablar quechua, no puedes conversar así sí **pues**.
'Because for work, there are times with the people who don't know how to speak Quechua, you can't converse **pues**.'

While the participants produced *pues* as a calque in the clause-final position the majority of the time, they also produced the calque in positions other than clause-final on occasion. This may be seen in the following five examples:

- (18) Tienen miedo porque porque aquí hablan **pue** castellano.
'They are afraid because here they speak **pue** Spanish.'
- (19) Porque hay unos no saben **pue** quechua.
'Because there are some (who) don't know **pue** Quechua.'
- (20) Puro quechua **pues** en campo habla **pe**.
'Only Quechua **pues** is spoken in the countryside **pe**.'
- (21) Bueno, en campo mayormente se trabaja **pues** en nuestros productos, crianza de animales...
'Well, in the countryside generally one works **pues** on our products, the tending of animals ... '
- (22) Porque, mira, si no sabría **pe** castellano, ¿cómo podría educarme?
'Because, look, if I didn't know **pe** Spanish, how would I educate myself?'

The author hypothesizes that *pues* may be used in order to calque the Quechua *-mi/-n* in all positions within utterances, including the clause-final position. Used as a calque in

this way, *pues* refers to the whole utterance in which it appears, serving to indicate how this is to be interpreted.

4.4. SIX OTHER EPISTEMIC CALQUE STRATEGIES FOR QUECHUA –MI/-N. Besides the use of *pues*, based on the data, it is hypothesized that Andean Spanish speakers also frequently use six other strategies for calquing the Quechua epistemic suffix, -mi/-n. These are the use of (1) *así*, ‘like this/that; this way’, (2) *sí*, ‘yes’, (3) elongated [s] (*ssss...*) in words that contain the sound [s], (4) nonstandard pluralization, (5) *siempre*, ‘always’, and (6) word-final voiceless fricative [r] in words that end with the Spanish sound [r]. Similar to the elongated [s], the word-final voiceless fricative [r] was also frequently elongated or held out. This is consistent with Lipski’s (1996:341) finding that syllable-final /r/ becomes a voiceless sibilant in the Peruvian Andes, especially before a pause.

As in the case of *pues*, it is hypothesized that these six calques are used to convey a direct information source, higher levels of certainty, and greater levels of involvement and responsibility toward the knowledge conveyed. In Table 2 are presented the numbers of participants who were found to use these six calques of the seventy participants as well as the percentages that these counts represent out of the total sample.

	Así	Sí	Elongated [s]	Pluralization	Siempre	Voiceless [r]
Count	65	62	59	41	40	40
Percent	92.86%	88.57%	84.29%	58.57%	57.14%	57.14%

Table 2. Epistemic Calque Strategies for Quechua –mi/-n

As is the case with the Quechua epistemic suffix, -mi/-n, and as has been found for the use of *pues*, these six calques followed words of every grammatical category. In the data, each of these six calque elements appeared in utterances alone, repeated, and along with others of the six calques and *pues*. Like *pues*, these six calques occurred most often in the clause-final position. Some of these six calques have already appeared in the examples presented throughout this paper. For the sake of clarity and organization and to avoid confusion, discussion of these calques has been reserved for this section. For this reason, these calques have not been represented in the English translations of previous examples. In the examples below, the elongated [s] will be represented as a bold ‘[s]’, nonstandard pluralization will be represented by a bold ‘s’, and the voiceless [r] will be represented as a bold ‘[r]’.

Repeated here are examples 16 and 17 of the previous section, now numbered as 23 and 24:

- (23) Porque es[s] quechua es bonito, porque idioma de de Inca es pe sí.
‘Because (it) is[s] Quechua is beautiful because it is the language of the Inca pe sí.’
- (24) Porque para el trabajo, hay veces con la gente que no sabe hablar quechua, no puedes[s] conversar **así sí** pues.

‘Because for work, there are times with the people who don’t know how to speak Quechua, you can’t[s] converse **así sí** pues.’

In 23 and 24, two of the six calque strategies, *así* and *sí*, occur beside *pues* or *pe* and the elongated [s] occurs earlier in both utterances.

The following five examples show *pues* and its variants occurring in the same utterances as the elongated [s], *así*, *sí*, and nonstandard pluralization:

(25) Algunos[s] algunos pue cuando vienen su paisanos **así** se olvidan su caste su quechua pues.

‘Some[s] some pue when their fellow countrymen come **así** they forget their Spa their Quechua pues.’

(26) Porque es con castellano se practica las educaciones pue **sí**.

‘Because it is with Spanish that one practices educations pue **sí**.’

(27) Otros hablan pe quechua otros castellanos.

‘Some speak pe Quechua others Spanishs.’

(28) De esos tienen vergüenza pue **sí**.

‘They are ashamed of them pue **sí**.’

(29) Otra idioma saben pe **así**.

‘They know another language pe **así**.’

Like the calque, *pues*, the constellation of these six other discourse marker calques for *-mi/-n* do not carry referential meaning but are attached to utterances in order to designate how these should be understood by the hearer, based on the attitude toward the information expressed by the speaker through the use of these calques. In order to assume their calque function in Andean Spanish, three of the six calques that have referential meaning in standard Spanish, the adverbs, *así*, *sí* and *siempre*, have undergone a process of degrammaticalization as they have lost their functional value at the propositional level. Therefore, rather than adding any referential meanings of ‘like this/that; this way’, ‘yes’ or ‘always’ to utterances in which the *así*, *sí* and *siempre* calques are used, like *pues*, these calques communicate such notions as assertion, confirmation, a direct information source, a higher level of certainty, and more involvement and responsibility on the part of the speaker toward the message.

In the following three examples, the referential meaning of ‘always’ for *siempre* in standard Spanish would be in conflict with other propositional content contained within the three utterances, thereby providing more evidence that the use of *siempre* by these three speakers carries another purpose, namely of calquing the Quechua *-mi/-n*. In response to the question of whether and how often he listens to Quechua on the radio, one participant responded as follows:

(30) Yo de vez en cuando **siempre** escucho en ¿cómo se llama?, radios en quechua.

‘I once in a while **siempre** listen to, what’s (it) called? radios in Quechua.’

When asked why it is important to speak Spanish, another participant responded:

- (31) Porque **siempre** la gente mayormente habla castellano.
‘Because **siempre** the people speak Spanish the majority of the time.’

When asked when he feels proud of speaking Quechua, another answered:

- (32) Y entonces, bueno, a veces pe en bromas de cualquier cosa entonces yo **siempre** converso quechua.
‘And so, well, sometimes pe in jokes about anything I **siempre** converse in Quechua.’

The fact that the participants produced the six calques at a high frequency and the fact that they are often combined together and also along with *pues* provides more evidence that, rather than communicating referential meaning, these are used in order to express epistemic meaning. This may be observed in the following examples. When asked why he prefers Quechua, one participant replied:

- (33) Porque **siempre** me gusta hablar en, cuando voy a mi pueblo **así**, con mis tíos, **así**. **Sí**, es bonito, **sí**. No, no puedo olvidarle, **sí**.
‘Because **siempre** I like to speak in, when I go to my town **así** with my aunts and uncles **así**. **Sí** it is beautiful **sí**. No, I can’t forget it **sí**.’

When asked what the Quechua culture is like, another answered:

- (34) Es[s] de los de los Incas que dejaron su esto porque ellos hablaban en quechua **sí**.
‘It is[s] from the Incas who left their stuff because they used to speak in Quechua **sí**.’

Upon being asked why he would vote for a Quechua-speaking candidate, a participant said:

- (35) Nos daría más educación **así** mediante quechua. Nos daría más educación **así**, ¿no? como sabe quechua **así**.
‘He would give us more education **así** through the means of Quechua. He would give us more education **así**, right? since he knows Quechua **así**.’

In the following examples, participants incorporate use of the voiceless fricative [r] calque in combination with the other calques for *-mi/-n*. When questioned as to why he thinks Quechua is more beautiful than Spanish, one participant answered:

- (36) Porque bonito es o para conversar **así** para enseñar[r], **sí**.
‘It is beautiful because or in order to converse **así** in order to teach[r] **sí**.’

When asked why it is important to speak Spanish, another participant responded:

- (37) Es para para ingresar[r] a los trabajos **así**.
'It is in order to gain[r] employment **así**.'

When questioned as to why some Quechua speakers deny that they speak their language, a participant replied:

- (38) Porque porque algunos niegan su su hablar quechua porque tienen miedo **así** hablar[r].
'Because some deny (that they) speak Quechua because they are afraid **así** to talk[r].'

Finally, when asked why it is important to speak both Quechua and Spanish, another answered:

- (39) Porque es[s] **siempre** los dos es bueno **sí** para hablar[r] **sí**.
'Because it is[s] **siempre** both are good **sí** in order to speak[r] **sí**.'

It is interesting to note that each of the six calque strategies as well as *pues* contains a voiceless fricative. Excluding the voiceless fricative [r], the other six calques (including *pues*) for the Quechua *-mi/-n* include the voiceless fricative [s]. Since the Quechua epistemic marker in opposition with *-mi/-n*, *-si/-s*, contains the voiceless fricative [s], one might wonder whether the discourse markers claimed here as calques of *-mi/-n* may actually be calquing the Quechua *-si/-s* or be derived from the Quechua *-si/-s*. In opposition to this notion, the author here provides the following possible rationale as to why these six calques and *pues* might carry the common quality of the voiceless fricative.

The use of *siempre*, *así*, *pues*, the elongated [s], nonstandard pluralization and the voiceless fricative [r] as calques of *-mi/-n* may be motivated by the phonetic form of the *sí* calque. The *siempre* and *así* calques both contain the sound sequence [si]. The elongated [s] and nonstandard pluralization calques contain the first sound of the *sí* calque, namely [s]. Finally, the voiceless fricative [r] contains the voiceless fricative quality of the first sound of the *sí* calque, [s].

The meaning of the standard Spanish adverb, *sí*, 'yes', has much in common with the semantics and pragmatics of the Quechua epistemic marker, *-mi/-n*. Above, *-mi/-n* has been described as communicating affirmation, confirmation, a higher level of certainty, more involvement and responsibility of the speaker toward the message at hand and that information has been obtained through direct experience. Like *-mi/-n* in Quechua, the adverb, *sí*, 'yes', may be used in standard Spanish in order to communicate affirmation, confirmation, assertion, authentication, verification, and validation. The Quechua epistemic suffix, *-mi/-n*, has also commonly been referred to as a 'validator', reflecting its role as a marker used to validate or confirm assertions. This commonality of meaning between the standard Spanish adverb, *sí*, 'yes', and the Quechua epistemic marker, *-mi/-n*, may serve to grant the *sí* calque a special status that is carried over through phonetic form to the other calques for *-mi/-n*.

Schiffrin (1987) and Schwenter (1995) have both discussed the issue of the link between discourse markers and the meanings of their lexical origins. Schiffrin (1987:54) asks, “Is there some property of the elements used as markers that contributes to their functions?”. Also, Schwenter (1995:870) has explained that the use of discourse markers cannot be understood without considering their connection to the content meaning of their source words in the lexicon. He suggests that something of the meaning of the source word remains with the discourse marker, limiting its usage. Both Schiffrin and Schwenter’s thoughts on this matter provide some support for the hypothesis that the lexical content meaning of the standard Spanish adverb, *sí*, ‘yes’, is linked to the use of *sí* as a discourse marker that calques the Quechua *-mi/-n*.

5. CONCLUSION. In conclusion, throughout this paper, the author has sought to clarify and inform the current debates in the literature regarding the semantics and pragmatics of the Quechua epistemic system as well as the ways in which the Quechua epistemic markers exert cross-linguistic influence on Andean Spanish. Based on the analysis of seventy recorded and transcribed interviews on the topic of Quechua and Spanish language attitude among twenty-eight female study participant members of CAITH and forty-two male study participant members of the CdC, evidence has been found that both corroborates and contradicts previous claims regarding the debates at hand.

Following Weber (1986) and Nuckolls (1993), the data support a model of the Quechua epistemic system in which each of the epistemic markers may express meaning beyond information source, to include such notions as levels of certainty, involvement, and responsibility.

The finding that these seventy participants seemed to avoid the use of the past perfect in Spanish and clearly communicated information that was gathered through direct, first-hand experience in the few instances when the past perfect was employed contradicts the claim made by Klee and Ocampo (1995), Lipski (1996), Escobar (1997), Lee (1997) and de Granda (2001), among others, that the Spanish present perfect and past perfect verb tenses indicate a contrast in epistemic meaning. Two possible reasons were discussed that might account for this contradiction, namely, (1) possible differences among the participants of this study and those of other studies on this topic, and (2) Quechua language change and the loss of the *-si/-s* and *-sqa-* epistemic markers.

Similar to the findings of Klee and Ocampo (1995), Lipski (1996) and de Granda (2001), forms of the Spanish verb, *decir*, ‘to say’, were found to be used to calque the variety of meanings encompassed by the Quechua epistemic markers, *-si/-s* and *-sqa-*, including an indirect information source, less certainty, less involvement and less responsibility. The fact that many of the seventy participants semantically extended the Spanish verb, *hablar*, ‘to talk’, in order to encompass the standard meaning and uses of *decir* provided further evidence to support the claim that forms of *decir* are used to calque *-si/-s* and *-sqa-*.

The findings presented in this paper support those of Zavala (2001), who found the Spanish *pues*, ‘well; then; since; therefore; because’, to have lost its grammatical meaning and functionality at the sentence level and to have taken on a discourse marker role as a calque of the Quechua epistemic suffix, *-mi/-n*, indicating such notions as that information has been obtained directly, a higher level of certainty and more involvement

and responsibility regarding the message at hand. However, while Zavala found her participants to always produce *pues* as a calque in the clause-final position, these participants occasionally produced this calque in other positions, resulting in no change of pragmatic meaning. Besides the use of *pues*, these participants were also found to frequently use six other strategies for calquing the Quechua epistemic suffix, *-mi/-n*. These are the use of (1) *así*, ‘like this/that; this way’, (2) *sí*, ‘yes’, (3) elongated [s] (ssss...), (4) nonstandard pluralization, (5) *siempre*, ‘always’, and (6) word-final voiceless fricative [r]. As for *pues*, these six calques have undergone a process of degrammaticalization and no longer carry referential meaning but are attached to Andean Spanish utterances in order to designate how these should be understood by the hearer, based on the attitude toward the information expressed by the speaker through the use of these calques. The high frequency of use of the six calques and the fact that they are often combined together and also along with *pues* provides more evidence that, rather than communicating referential meaning, these are used in order to express epistemic meaning.

Finally, a rationale was provided as to why the six calques and *pues* might carry the common quality of the voiceless fricative. It was proposed that the use of *siempre*, *así*, *pues*, the elongated [s], nonstandard pluralization and the voiceless fricative [r] as calques of *-mi/-n* may be motivated by the phonetic form of the calque, *sí* and that the commonality of meaning between the standard Spanish adverb, *sí*, ‘yes’, and the Quechua epistemic marker, *-mi/-n*, in communicating affirmation, confirmation, assertion, authentication, verification, and validation may serve to grant the *sí* calque a special status that is carried over through phonetic form to the other calques for *-mi/-n*. Schiffrin (1987) and Schwenter’s (1995) thoughts on the matter provide some support for this hypothesis that the lexical content meaning of the standard Spanish adverb, *sí*, ‘yes’, is linked to the use of *sí* as a discourse marker that calques the Quechua *-mi/-n*.

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