SPANISH IN THE WESTERN HEMISPHERE in contact with English, Portuguese, and the Amerindian languages

Guest Editor
EUGENIO CHANG-RODRÍGUEZ

Editor of Special Issues
JAMES MACRIS

VOLUME 33, NUMBERS 1-2 APRIL-AUGUST 1982
INTERNATIONAL LINGUISTIC ASSOCIATION
formerly Linguistic Circle of New York

HONORARY PRESIDENT: André Martinet, Sorbonne & École Pratique des Hautes Études
PRESIDENT: Marshall D. Berger, City College, City University of New York
FIRST VICE-PRESIDENT: Howard B. Gace, Yale University
SECOND VICE-PRESIDENT: Dennis Wepman, Queens College, City University of New York
SECRETARY: Charles H. Cooper, New York, NY
TREASURER: John Young, Seton Hall University

EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE: the preceding, and
Leonard R. N. Ashley, Brooklyn College, CUNY
Marian E. Astuti, Long Island University
David K. Barnhart,Lexik House
Eugenio Chang-Rodriguez, Queens College, CUNY
John R. Costello, New York University
Edward G. Fichtner, Queens College, CUNY
Hermann W. Haller, Queens College, CUNY
Louis G. Heller, City College, CUNY
Diana Kao, City College, CUNY
James Macris, Clark University
Wesley C. Panunzio, Southeastern Massachusetts University
Herbert Pilch, Albrecht-Ludwigs Universität, Freiburg/Br., FRG
Maurice F. Riedman, New York, NY
Alan R. Thomas, University College of North Wales, Bangor, UK

BOARD OF EDITORS: Robert L. Allen (Teachers College, Columbia University); John R. Costello (New York University), Review Editor: Edward G. Fichtner (Queens College, City University of New York), Managing Editor: James Macris (Clark University).

WORD, the Journal of the International Linguistic Association, is published three times a year, in April, August, and December. Except as noted below, membership in the Association includes a subscription to WORD. As of January 1981, the schedule of annual dues is as follows: regular member, $30.00; retired member (in good standing), $15.00; student (full-time) member, $20.00; joint member (two members at same address receiving one copy of WORD), $20.00 each, or $40.00; member without subscription to WORD, $10.00. Applications for membership or institutional subscriptions may be sent to the Treasurer, Dr. John Young, whose address is: ABCD Center / Seton Hall University / 162 South Orange Avenue / South Orange, NJ 07079 / USA. Payment must be made by check or money order in United States dollars, payable to the "International Linguistic Association”.

The Board of Editors invites contributions to the journal in the form of original articles on the structure, function, or historical development of natural languages, or on theoretical questions related to these. Manuscripts (in four copies) may be sent to the Managing Editor, Dr. Edward G. Fichtner, at the Department of Germanic, Slavic, and East European Languages / Queens College, City University of New York / Flushing, NY 11367 / USA. Manuscripts must conform to the Style Sheet for WORD, published most recently in Volume 31, Number 3 (December 1980); a copy may also be obtained from the Managing Editor. Manuscripts not accompanied by sufficient return postage cannot be sent back to the author. Manuscripts of articles accepted become the property of the International Linguistic Association.

Books or journals for review or listing may be sent to the Review Editor, Dr. John R. Costello, at New York University / Department of Linguistics / 10 Washington Place / New York, NY 10003 / USA. Unsolicited reviews cannot be accepted. Anyone wishing to contribute a review is asked to consult with the Review Editor before submitting it to the journal.

The Editors are jointly responsible for the contents of the journal.

Copyright 1983 by the International Linguistic Association. All rights reserved.
The mutual influence of Spanish and the Andean languages

1. **Introductory note.** All examples from the Aymara language are presented in the phonemic alphabet currently in use among Aymara speaking people (Yapita 1981). Since the majority of Quechua examples come from Cuzco Quechua, a language which borrowed phonology from the Jaqi languages (including Aymara), these examples are presented in a compatible spelling. The examples in Spanish come from Peru and Bolivia.

```
p   t   ch   k   q
p'  t'  ch'  k'  q'

m   n   n
s   j   x
l   l'

w   r   y
i   a   u
i'  ä   ü
```

(Note: the Jaqi languages are Jaqaru, Kawki, and Aymara. Although, in English, I will refer to the language brought by the conquerors from Spain to the Andes as Spanish, it should be noted that español in the Andes is reserved for the people or objects which originate in the Andes. The language itself is always referred to as castellano.)

2. **Historical and ecological background.** The Andes Mountains, rugged, high, imposing, appear formidable indeed on first sight. In contrast, on looking closer, one might almost believe they were molded by human hand—the land terraced wide and narrow, on what appear to be almost vertical slopes, with a road system, for animal or human foot, to rival any in the world. Hardly a square meter appears untouched by human hand. The many groups which have inhabited the Andes have clearly been restless hard workers, traveling and reshaping their environment to achieve access to the variety of ecological zones they have believed necessary for the essentials of living.
The Andes Mountains also form a linguistic area, with a number of features in common crossing language family boundaries, a direct outgrowth of the incessant movement of people. In addition to local interactions, the whole area has been subjected to a series of imperial languages (Hardman forthcoming b). Each imperial language, in its turn, has imposed as much as it could of its image of the world onto the subjugated populations and spread as much as it could of its world view through trade and other reciprocal interactions or through military and/or religious fiat. In each case of imperial language imposition, there have been contradictory efforts: on one hand to eliminate preconquest languages, and on the other to limit access to the conqueror’s language in order to limit access to power. These contradictory motivations, in their own right, were the origin of extensive and intensive influences, and most specifically of influence on the dominant language, much more so than might have been expected.

The first imperial language that needs to be considered for tracing influences on the Spanish language is the mother tongue of Modern Aymara, Proto-Jaqi, the language of the expansion of the Wari/Tiwanaku horizon during the first millennium of our era, a language also used in the early stages of Inca expansion, some two centuries before the arrival of the Spaniards. The native language of the Incas was neither Quechua nor Jaqi, but rather the Puquina language, now extinct. The effect of these two expansions was that of imposing throughout the entire Andean area certain grammatical categories, such as data source (Hardman, forthcoming a), categories that came to be of great importance later in the Spanish/Andean contact situation.

The first nine Incas took advantage of the widespread knowledge of the Jaqi language, which remained from the earlier Wari expansion, and with this language carried forward their early conquests. Even at the time of the arrival of the Spaniards many Jaqi languages still existed. Today there are only three: Jaqaru, Kawki, and Aymara. At least two Jaqi languages have become extinct during the twentieth century. During the reign of Inca Atahuallpa’s grandfather, Tupac Inca Yupanqui, the language for conquest and official use within the empire was changed from Jaqi to Quechua for political purposes. (The name itself, Quechua, is a modern usage; at the time of the conquest, the usual designation was simply ‘the general language’.) Among the motivations for the language shift was the enormous power of the coastal people who spoke the variety of Quechua known as Chincha. The change of language was by fiat, but motivations for implementation were, as usual, ambivalent. While the use of a single language was indeed forwarded by the Incas, it
is nevertheless the case that Quechua, in its Cuzco variety, was spread by the Spaniards during the colonial period much further than it ever had been by the Incas.

At the time the Spaniards arrived, the language now called Quechua had been the official language of conquest for something less than a century. The Cuzco variety, heavily influenced by the Jaqi languages, most specifically by the mother tongue of modern Aymara—the city of Cuzco itself was trilingual at the moment of conquest—was less widely spread than the Chinchay variety, a variety now extinct. For example, Huayna Capac, the Inca who would die of a European disease before ever laying eyes on a European, had only just managed to take to Ecuador the Cuzco variety and there impose it on top of the Chinchay variety, already in place from penetration into that area centuries earlier. (Cf. Torero 1974 and Carpenter 1982.)

With the arrival of the Spaniards, the third imperial language with which I will deal in this paper began again the same process of expansion with the same ambivalences. The result was, again, one of influences, powerful and intimate, between conquered and conqueror. Just as Quechua had adopted much from the Jaqi languages, so also did Spanish adopt much from Quechua, in many cases the very same elements. In addition, of course, when Spanish came into direct contact with the Jaqi languages, many elements were directly adopted from these—and there were many more Jaqi languages in the earlier days of the conquest than there are now.

Children of dual heritage were born within a year of the conquest, of Andean mothers and Peninsular fathers, one of the most famous being Garcilaso de la Vega el Inca, who wrote of the people of his mother in his well-known work Comentarios Reales (1615/1929). This type of intimate contact, either within marriage or within the household through servants, continued as the norm in Andean cities until only some two or three generations ago. For example, both Cuzco and La Paz were bilingual cities for the elite but monolingual cities for the rural folk who came for market or to work as domestics. A large portion of the children of the upper social classes were reared by Aymara or Quechua "nannies". In these circumstances, the first linguistic experiences of these children could as easily have been in an Andean language as in Spanish. It is important to repeat here that we are speaking of the upper classes, those who consider themselves "Hispanic". Bilingualism was not the norm for the rural folk, who mostly remained monolingual. The official decrees have, periodically and regularly, announced the eradication of the native languages and the "Hispanicization" of the entire population.
Practical politics, on the other hand, has limited the learning of Spanish by the general population. This limitation formed part of an effort, not articulated, to maintain a class of humble servants.

The linguistic result of these (unofficial) policies is that the Spanish of the Andes, even that of the elite who are today monolingual in Spanish, is profoundly influenced by the substrate of native languages, directly as a result of the contradictory policies which led to intense and intimate language contact. We have in the Andes, thus, the creation of a new dialect of Spanish, one that reflects and codifies the reality of the Andean experience.

Andean Spanish is regularly heard in the cities of the Andes, such as Cuzco and La Paz, and, of course, as virtually the only variety in rural areas. Some aspects of Andean Spanish are also heard on the coast as well, in urban coastal areas, such as Lima, in the north of Argentina, and throughout Ecuador. Andean Spanish can be noticed in the streets, in the newspapers, and in written literature aimed at the ‘literatos’, even though there are indeed purist types who criticize all such departures from Peninsular Spanish, ignoring the reality of the Andean experience. (An excellent study of internal variation within Andean Spanish can be found in Escobar 1978.) As the dominant language, it is expected that there would be many borrowings from Spanish into the native languages. However, the influence is less than expected, particularly in view of the enormous influence in the other direction. Although there are numerous lexical borrowings in the speech of monolingual speakers of Andean languages, it is very difficult to detect any grammatical influences. Some varieties do suffer great grammatical interference, such as the varieties used by missionaries, by plantation owners, by radio announcers, or by bilinguals who are coordinate or nearly so or for whom Spanish is dominant (Briggs 1981a).

In looking at mutual influences in this article, I will take Aymara as the primary language for Andean examples. All examples from other languages are labeled as such. The Andean Spanish examples come from both Peru and Bolivia.

3. Phonology. With only one exception, there have been no direct phonological borrowings between the Andean languages and Spanish. The exception is the addition of /s/ to the list of Spanish phonemes, e.g., as found in the name of one of the Departments of Peru, Ancash. The /s/ is frequently encountered in toponyms and also, with great frequency, in nicknames (e.g., Sebastian gives Shaba and Macedonia gives Mashi). It is always a surprise to people who speak Andean Spanish to discover that people who speak other varieties of Spanish cannot even pronounce /s/.
Apart from direct borrowing, there has been a good deal of influence in differentiating the direction of change within Spanish itself. For example, in the Spanish of the Andes, the contrast between /y/ and /i/ is maintained, reflecting the phonological structures of the Andean language where the contrast between /y/ and /i/ is also found, e.g., Spanish yema ‘yolk’, llame ‘call’, cf. Aymara yapu ‘field’, llapa ‘flat’: Spanish oye ‘hears’, olla ‘pot’, cf. Aymara jaya ‘far’, jallu ‘rain’. It should also be noted that while the other varieties of Spanish have been losing the /s/ in final position of the syllable or word, in Andean Spanish /s/ is maintained in all positions. Also in contrast to other varieties of Spanish, vowels in Andean Spanish are frequently devoiced, particularly in post-tonic position after voiceless consonants, but even after voiced ones at times. Furthermore, they may be dropped altogether, particularly between voiceless consonants. This results in a remarkably different auditory impression between, say, Cuban and Bolivian. For example, a phrase like *juguete, pues ‘well, toys’* would be [jugetsp] in Bolivian, but [jugetpwe] in Cuban. (Cf. Boynton 1974 and 1981.)

4. Lexicon. The most notable influence, not surprisingly, is in the mutual borrowing of lexical items, with the largest category being that of cultural items borrowed together with their labels. The semantic domains most represented in Spanish borrowings from Andean languages are those of food, plants, and animals, as in the following examples:

food: Sp. charqui < Q /charki/ > E ‘jerky’; Sp. chuno < A /ch’uñu/ ‘freeze-dried potato’;

plants: Sp. quinua < Q /kinuwa/ (a type of cereal plant of high elevations); Sp. ocu < Q /uka/ (an edible root crop); Sp. ichu < A /ich’u/ ‘straw’;

animals: Sp. llama < Q /llama/ (Andean camelid); Sp. vicuña < A /wik’uña/ (Andean camelid); Sp. alpaca < A /paqu/ (Andean camelid); Sp. cuv < Q /kuy/ ‘guinea pig’.

For the Andean languages, borrowings have been primarily in the semantic domains of clothing (imposed by legal and/or religious fiat), imported animals, and manufactured products:

clothing: mankasa < Sp. mangas ‘sleeves’; wulsiku < Sp. bolsillo ‘pocket’: pullira < Sp. pollera ‘skirt (of the wide gathered type)’;


The Andean languages also borrowed a large number of kin terms, for a variety of motives, among which are interlingual taboos (one of the terms for 'uncle' was /kaka/) and the preoccupations on the part of priests regarding what they imagined to be incest. Many of the native terms were lost, but the categories were not; they remained, sometimes several together hidden under a single Spanish word, as, for example, with the terms /tiyu/ and /tiya/ 'uncle' and 'aunt'. Nevertheless, it is interesting to note that, in spite of the loss of the terms, the categories and their behavioral functions were not lost: the roles and functions of the kin system became opaque to Spanish eyes, and indeed to the eyes even of anthropologists until very recently (for an accurate account see Collins 1981 and in press).

In addition to nouns, some verbs have also been borrowed, in both directions. For example, into Spanish has come yapar < /yapaña/ 'to add a bit (especially to a purchase)' > Fr. (Louisiana) lagunajape 'small gift added to a purchase', and chullar < /ch'alluna/ 'give homage to the earth, bless with alcohol'; and into Aymara /pitaña/ < Sp. pitar 'to smoke', and /parlanã/ < Sp. parlar 'to speak' (now lost from Spanish). Andean Spanish also borrowed a number of exclamations. The two most common are: altanu (expression of cold), and achichiu (expression of pain). The Andean languages, on the other hand, borrowed particles, thus augmenting a category which is natively very restricted. In Aymara, for example, we find masu < Sp. más 'more', jamasa < Sp. jamás 'never' (in Aymara also 'totally'), and winustiwas < Sp. buenos días 'good day'. The list of borrowings is very long indeed, on both sides. A complete study would necessarily also be simultaneously a study of the whole of the encounter between European and Andean. Consider the following: into Spanish: guagua < /wawa/ 'baby', and macurqui < /mak"urxa/ 'cramp (from excessive muscle use)'; and into Aymara: /kulisina/ < cûlera 'to become very angry', and /puyri/ < pobre 'pauper'. (Cf. Yapita 1974.)

In addition to direct borrowings, many items of the lexicon on both sides in the contact situation have changed the actual semantic domain a little or a lot. For example, in peninsular Spanish, pie refers only to the foot, ankle down. In Andean Spanish, pie may refer to the limb from the knee down or to the entire leg, thus reflecting the semantic field of Aymara /kayu/ which, in the translation tradition, is always translated as pie (i.e., 'foot'), but whose semantic domain is actually some portion of the lower limbs. Andean Spanish pie is actually closer to Peninsular pierna than to the identical form when used in Spain (Laprade 1976).
5. Grammar. More interesting, however, are the grammatical influences that reflect a much more intense and intimate association than that implied by the relatively simple borrowing of words. The influence of Spanish on the Andean languages varies from almost nothing for the monolingual to what amounts to little less than a relexification of Spanish grammar with native vocabulary for Spanish dominant bilinguals. A full description of this complex situation is beyond the scope of this paper, and differs very much in kind from the influences of the Andean languages on Spanish. The former is highly dependent on the individual experience with the Spanish language, while the latter part of the general Andean Hispanic world. (Cf. Copana 1981, Maidana 1981, Saavedra 1981, Stearman 1981.)

The influences of the Andean languages on Andean Spanish are profound and very interesting and will be looked at in some detail. The actual forms have changed little or not at all—the Spanish appears on the surface to be like the Spanish found anywhere—and for this very reason the differences in function and meaning have gone unnoticed in virtually every dialect study of American Spanish (but see Martin 1981, Laprade 1981, 1976, and Boynton 1981). I shall describe four points in the grammatical structure of Spanish where Andean influence is of importance.

5.1 Number. In the Jaqi languages number is unmarked. Any demarcation between singular and plural is optional; if a mark of plurality is lacking, the construction is not therefore singular. It has been argued by some Aymara students that what is impossible is to be unambiguously singular. For example, /maya/ 'I' also means 'few'. In some varieties of Aymara today there is one verb suffix /-pi-/ and one noun suffix /-naka/ which are used to translate the Spanish plural. These suffixes are used most in those varieties of Aymara most influenced by Spanish (e.g., missionary, radio, etc.). In the speech of monolinguals these suffixes are rare; furthermore, when used, the semantic domain is rather one of all-inclusion, or of concatenation, or perhaps of emphasis. They are plurals only through loan translation. They are not plurals within the native Aymara system.

The impact of the lack of an obligatory number category has not been any weakening of the number category in Spanish: mistakes in the use of number in Spanish by Aymara speakers is one of the shibboleths for the prejudiced. The result has been more interesting: an enormous augmentation of the class of mass nouns. In Andean Spanish, the category of mass nouns includes virtually all food and the largest part of all...
other objects other than human beings. Most particularly included are domestic animals. For example, parallel to *come tu arroz* 'eat your rice', we have *come tu papa* 'eat your potatoes' and *come tu frijol* 'eat your beans'; similarly, parallel to *vende leche* 'she sells milk', we have: *vende huevo* 'she sells eggs' and *vende vaca* 'she sells cows'. It is interesting to observe that, in the expansion of the members of the class of mass nouns, human beings have not been included. This would be a reflection of the importance that is given to the human/nonhuman distinction in the Aymara language (Hardman 1978).

5.2 Sentence markers. Another extension of a Spanish construction that occurs throughout the Hispanic world is that of the use of the definite article with personal names. Nevertheless, in contrast to the use elsewhere, in the Andes there is no implied deprecation in the use, nor is the reference limited by social class: *el Papi, la Mami, el Juan, and la Rosa*. Laprade (1981) suggests that this use reflects the obligatory use of the sentence suffixes in Aymara (see Hardman-de-Bautista, Yapita, and Vasquez 1975, chaps. 11 and 12), especially [*-xa*], which frequently occurs with subjects. There is a correlative suffix in Quechua which students of that language commonly call a topic marker.

Sentence suffixes in the Jaqi languages define a sentence. They occur on a particular word, but belong to the syntactic unit. It is by virtue of these suffixes that the sentence is defined. for example, as a question or a statement and also as to type. Some of the suffixes, and some of the uses, were apparently borrowed between Quechua and Jaqi in prehistoric times. See Section 5.3 for further influences of this system on Andean Spanish.

In support of Laprade’s observation, it is also interesting to note that in written materials in the Andes, e.g., newspapers, one frequently finds commas precisely where there would have been a [*-xa*] if the writer had been Aymara. These occur even when the writer is a monolingual Spanish speaker, as in these sentences: “El fiscal pidió ayer, también al Tribunal que investigue las muertes de...” (Ojo, Lima, 8/8/70); and “Juan de Dios Yapita, es uno de los más inquietos...” (Diario, La Paz, 5/10/81). (Grading term papers in la Paz has made the point even more evident.) This type of influence of the sentence suffixes merits closer study.

5.3 Particles. There are a number of particles in Spanish which have changed in meaning and/or function within Andean Spanish. The ones most notorious in this respect are: *pues* ‘but’, *siempre* ‘always’, *nomás* ‘just’, and *pero* ‘but’, although a more thorough study of the syntax would show changes in many more.
These four particles may all occur in sentence-final position, and, as in the case of the definite article and the comma, appear to reflect the structure of the sentence suffixes in Aymara. Furthermore, nomás is a single word, not two as elsewhere, and siempre has changed its meaning from ‘always’ to ‘still, yet’: that is, it is in direct contrast with todavía, which is negative only. For example, * todavía está aquí is an impossible sentence in Andean Spanish in the positive sense: it could only mean ‘she still isn’t here’, though most speakers would prefer no está aquí todavía. The positive would have to be siempre está aquí or está aquí siempre ‘she is still here’. The particle pues is frequently realized as /ps/, as in nops (no, pues) ‘well, no’ and sips (si, pues) ‘well, yes’.

The examples that are given below are in some cases accompanied by a parallel form from Aymara to facilitate direct comparison. However, as is always the case, once a feature is borrowed and integrated into the structure of the accepting language, that feature begins a life of its own and will follow the genius of the new language in its own development. Therefore, not all examples from Andean Spanish are today directly paralleled by an underlying Aymara sentence. The following examples illustrate the use of these four particles pues, siempre, nomás, and pero: Spanish anda pues, Aymara saramay ‘well, run along’; Sp. unos tres nomás quiero, Ay. ma kinsaks munta ‘I only want about three’; Sp. nos hemos olvidado siempre, Ay. armt'asi puntanwa ‘we still up and forget’; Sp. ya hablas aymara pero, Ay. Aymara parkaraktasa ‘you do indeed speak Aymara’. (The elements in Aymara corresponding to the Spanish particles are in bold face type.) As is also the case in Aymara, in Andean Spanish it is possible for several of these particles to co-occur, e.g., Sp. dile nomás pues pero, Ay. sakirakipunita ‘well, just go ahead and tell’. (For more examples of this kind, cf. Briggs 1981b and Laprade 1976.)

5.4. Data source. The most interesting aspect of the Andean influence on Spanish is in the grammatical category of the data source. In order to understand the functioning of this grammatical concept, it will be necessary to look at the way in which this functions within the Jaqi languages.

5.4.1. Jaqi data source. The Jaqi languages mark, obligatorily, the data source in virtually every sentence of the language: that is, the source of the information in the sentence is obligatorily marked (for a full description see Hardman forthcoming a). The manner of marking, its extent together with the cultural correlates, is what I term a ‘linguistic postulate’ (Hardman 1978): i.e., a grammatical category that is marked at various levels within the grammatical system and which is so omnipresent that speakers come to consider the category part of the nature of the
universe. Number and gender are such categories in Indo-European. In the Jaqi languages, the data source (i.e., the source of the information expressed in the sentence) is the preeminent linguistic postulate.

The data source can be reconstructed for Proto-Jaqi. Furthermore, the three basic categories have been widely borrowed within the Andes, thus allowing us to trace, at least in part, the contacts of the Jaqi languages with other languages in prehistoric times. Quechua, for example, adopted part of the data source system, the same three basic contrasts that Spanish has now adopted and that are also fully reconstructable for Proto-Jaqi. Current investigations lead us to believe that the borrowing into Quechua most likely occurred during the Wari/Tiwanaku horizon between 400 and 700 A.D. The borrowings in Quechua are predominantly loan translations, with redefinitions of existing suffixes, but not exclusively. The same process has recurred in the contact of Andean languages with Spanish. The Jaqi languages have an intricate and complex data source structure: only the three basic categories will be treated in this paper because they are those which have most markedly influenced Andean Spanish.

1) Personal knowledge. The forms that indicate personal knowledge are used for all that comes of direct experience through the senses, of which the primary one is sight. The primary mark of personal knowledge (but not the only) is the occurrence of the suffix -wâ in the sentence, e.g., Mama Marsilaw 'ant' mana q'i. "Ms. Marcela ate bread (and I saw her)."

2) Knowledge-through-language. The forms of knowledge-through-language are appropriate for all that one learns through language, by hearing or by reading. In Aymara the usual form is embedding with /sara/ 'to say', e.g., Mama Marsilaw 'ant' mana q siw. "Ms. Marsila ate bread (someone said)."

3) Non-personal knowledge. The forms of non-personal knowledge are appropriate for all historical information where there are no living participants, and also for stories, tales, myths, and legends. These forms are also commonly used for surprises. A frequent form for non-personal knowledge is the suffix -tayna (3rd > 3rd pers. remote). e.g., Mama Marsilaw 'ant' mana q attayna 'Ms. Marsila ate bread (but I didn’t see her and don’t know it from my personal experience).'

5.4.2. Data source in Andean Spanish. The data source as we find it in Andean Spanish today comes from two sources: first, directly from the Jaqi languages, and second, indirectly through the Quechua languages. The tripartite system of the data source contrasts marks the Andes as a linguistic area, since this category crossect all language families.
The specific vehicle for the incorporation into Spanish of the data source category was that which I call the translation tradition. This tradition was quickly and dogmatically established, by mutual, if unspoken, agreement from both sides, such that certain items in one language (both words and grammatical forms) were translated by specific items in the other, such that these agreed upon translations came to be believed to be the 'true' and 'only' correct translations. For most people involved in this translation tradition, the correlative expressions were believed to be exactly equivalent expressions. Ironically, this very belief came to be to some degree a self-fulfilling prophecy, however erroneous it originally was, or continues to be in other respects. Andean Spanish accommodated itself to the data source imperative in so absolute a form that monolingual Spanish speakers from the Andes today find it difficult to believe that other varieties of Spanish do not have the category: frequent examples of misunderstandings occur across dialect lines (cf. Martin 1981b).

1) Personal knowledge in Andean Spanish. The expression of personal knowledge in Aymara does carry a grammatical mark, as we have seen above. However, most particularly in the case of the sentence suffix {-wa}, there is no obvious translation for Spanish. Within the translation tradition, in fact, no translation was assigned: the suffix was considered to be meaningless. Bertonio in his grammar of 1603 specifically states, "Some particles there are in this language which serves no other function than to adorn the sentence, for without them the sentence lacks nothing and is well formed" (p. 326: trans. by Hardman). This statement, negating absolutely the importance of the data source category and its primary markers, served as the model for Aymara grammars until 1974. As a corollary, within Andean Spanish, personal knowledge is the unmarked form. A verb in the present tense or in the preterite is a simple sentence which, in Andean Spanish, carries the presumption of personal knowledge. Thus, for example, the sentence la profesora llegó 'the teacher arrived' means, additionally, that I, the speaker, saw her arrive. The form is incorrect in other circumstances.

2) Knowledge-through-language in Andean Spanish. The category of knowledge-through-language has caused, among other things, the retention of one archaism in Andean Spanish that has largely disappeared elsewhere: dicen 'they say it is said'. In addition, other forms of decir 'to say', most commonly dice and dijeron occur in sentence-final position, parallel to the occurrence of analogous forms in Aymara. These uses are in addition to those common to all types of Spanish. Nevertheless, although the forms appear to be the same, the implications are not:
Sp. Marcela está enferma dice. Ay. Marsilax usutaw sivw ‘Marcela is ill, they say’, and Sp. estaba enojada dice ‘she was angry, they say’.

Another result of the knowledge-through-language category and the involvement of decir in the marking of the category, is that a sentence such as the following is not ambiguous in Andean Spanish: Shumaya dice que comió pan ‘Shumaya, they say, ate bread’. It can only mean that someone is reporting through language the activities of Shumaya: it cannot mean that Shumaya herself has spoken either of herself or of another. Phonetic realization in this sentence is very close to dizque and may be indistinguishable. (If the grammatical subject of decir and comer is different in number or person, or if an indirect object precedes decir, e.g., me dice, then it is understood that Shumaya is speaking—but such sentences are not ambiguous anywhere.)

Another element affected by knowledge-through-language is seguramente ‘surely’, which, as a reply, means ‘I hear you’, that is, I understand what you say and accept it as knowledge-through-language, but I have no personal knowledge of it. This use can be very disconcerting to speakers of other varieties of Spanish, who interpret such a use as doubting the honesty of the addressee. It does not.

3) Non-personal knowledge in Andean Spanish. The translation tradition very rapidly designated the pluperfect as the “correct” translation for verbs with the {-tayna} suffix. This designation was accepted by both sides: the Aymara use {-tayna} to translate the pluperfect, thus the translation Ay. ut uniatayna for Sp. había visto la casa ‘she saw (had seen) the house’. But {-tayna} is a remote of non-personal knowledge, not a past of a past. Today the pluperfect in Andean Spanish is also a non-personal knowledge. Although the form remains identical with forms used in all varieties of Spanish, the meaning and the grammatical function are not the same. The pluperfect is not primarily a tense, but a data-source marker in contrast to the preterite: vió la casa ‘she saw the house and I saw her see it’, as opposed to había visto la casa ‘she saw the house, but I have no personal knowledge of her having done so’. As in Aymara, the non-personal knowledge form is employed to indicate surprise, e.g., Sp. han han sabido fumar. Ay. pitia yaqitayna ‘so they knew how to smoke (and I just found out)’.

We have, then, a situation in which the forms used for the data source look like those found in other varieties of Spanish, but the meaning is not the same, nor are the contexts in which the forms are used the same. Today there are interesting consequences when speakers of different varieties of Spanish meet. For people of other regions, Andean Spanish sounds like there is a “confusion” in past tenses. In other cases, simple misunderstanding results—on the part of both.
Cases of this kind of contact are frequently seen among Spanish-speaking students at the University of Florida. The differences in uses and contexts came to be a rather serious matter among some individuals in the Peace Corps who learned their Spanish in Puerto Rico and then went to the Andes. It was quite a shock to come up against the data source, with the result that many of the young people thought that nobody believed them, that everything they said was a motive for suspicion or challenge.

6. Conclusion. The mutual influences between the Spanish and the Andean languages have been extensive in the borrowing of lexical items. Most numerous have been nouns, but other word classes have ample representation. There are relatively few influences in the matter of phonology, and what influences there are fall primarily into the category of augmenting or blunting currents already present in the receiving language. Syntactic influence on Spanish has been primarily a matter of readjusting preexisting structure to make them conform better to the world view of the Andean languages, but without the direct borrowing of linguistic forms. Where influence is most notable and where Andean Spanish contrasts most markedly with other varieties of Spanish is in the adoption of the grammatical category of the data source, with both morphological and syntactic implications. The category of the data source, in effect, marks the Andean area as a linguistic area, since this category has crossed linguistic frontiers several times, prehistorically as well as since the Spanish conquest.

The majority of the people in the Andean countries today can count among their ancestors Americans as well as Spaniards. They have achieved, from their dual heritage, the creation of a new variety of the Spanish language, unique for themselves, and at the same time an enrichment of the Spanish-speaking world.

Department of Anthropology
University of Florida
Gainesville, FL 32611

REFERENCES


La interacción de las lenguas en contacto en los Andes de Sudamérica ha resultado, entre otras cosas, en cambio de rol y función, y de ahí de significado, de ciertas formas gramaticales. Así se introduce al castellano andino categorías desconocidas, en cuanto a realización gramatical, en otras variedades de la lengua castellana. El artículo toca brevemente asuntos de fonología y léxico, pero más trata del contexto histórico y de los efectos del contacto en la sintaxis. Por la introducción de la categoría de ‘fuente-de-datos’ al castellano andino se confirma a los Andes como región lingüística a que ciertas categorías trascienden fronteras lingüísticas, no solamente en el caso del castellano andino sino también en tiempos prehistóricos. La categoría de ‘fuente-de-datos’ distingue tres clases: ‘conocimiento personal’, ‘conocimiento por lenguaje’, y ‘conocimiento no personal’. También hay muchas influencias sintácticas en cuanto a partículas que reflejan el sustrato de sujtos oracionales. El resultado es una nueva variedad del castellano que codifica y refleja la realidad andina.