



INNOVATION AND PRESERVATION IN UK ECUADORIAN SPANISH

A preliminary morphosyntactic
investigation

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OUTLINE

1. Latin American Spanish in the UK
2. Andean Ecuadorian Spanish (AES): CANTÉ VS HE CANTADO
3. AES CANTÉ VS HE CANTADO in the UK
 - 3.1 Questions and methodology
 - 3.2 Preliminary results
 - 3.3 UK vs Spain
4. Contact questions

1. LATIN AMERICAN SPANISH IN THE UK

No Longer Invisible: the Latin American community in London



Cathy McIlwaine, Juan Camilo Cock and Brian Linneker

Queen Mary, University of London

1. LATIN AMERICAN SPANISH IN THE UK

- UK Latin Americans (first wave: 1970s): fastest growing migrant group of capital, second only to Chinese community (McIlwaine & Bunge 2016)
- 2013: **250,000** (145,000 in London) (McIlwaine & Bunge 2016)
- fundamental socio-economic and cultural contribution, but largely overlooked by official statistical data and largely **absent** from academic investigations (Block 2006, 2008; Kelsall 2008,2015; Tyrrell et al. 2014; Paffey 2020)
- recent progress within sociological studies (McIlwaine et al. 2011; McIlwaine & Bunge 2016) but very few linguistic investigations (Cazzoli-Goeta & Young-Scholten 2011)

1. LATIN AMERICAN SPANISH IN THE UK

- ‘Heritage Speakers of Spanish: the case of Latin American Londoners’, University of Birmingham (2022-2024, BA/Leverhulme Small Research Grant SRG21\211281; AHRC IAA BIR 22-23 P004)
- Aims
 - first grammatical documentation and analysis of UK Latin American Spanish;
 - • investigation of **language contact**;
 - partnership with *Latin American House*, opportunity for more participatory research? (Schifano & Valdivia-Murgueytio 2023)

1. UK LATIN AMERICAN SPANISH IN THE UK

- Language contact: Spanish – English – Spanish
 - particularly interesting case study: vast literature on Spanish-English contact in USA and Canada: parallel (but not identical) laboratories
 - documentation and testing theories
- Working hypotheses
 - asymmetric contact (English – Spanish)
 - but UK complex picture: multilingual communities (Cazzoli-Goeta et al. 2010)
 - • **symmetric contact (Spanish – Spanish)**
 - micro-contact: changes triggered by minimally different grammars
 - spontaneous change
 - internally motivated, may be accelerated by language contact (Silva-Corvalán 1986; Salazar 2007; Orozco 2011; Ledgeway et al. in prep.)

1. LATIN AMERICAN SPANISH IN THE UK

- first stage: Ecuadorian Spanish
 - length of UK residence (longest, with Colombians)
 - parallel study in Spain (Palacios 2007)
- three phenomena
 - sentence-initial non-nominative constructions (“yo gusto”) (joint work with M. Cazzoli)
 - • **expression of evidential and admirative values via analytic past perfective**
 - verb-movement

1. LATIN AMERICAN SPANISH IN THE UK

- current stage: description of language change in individuals' grammars → emerging trends?
- future stage → community level: wider sample / longer period of residency / 2nd and 3rd generations
 - sufficiently tight linguistic community in UK?

(1) “We suspect that we will find, as has been the case with the UK samples in the two studies discussed above, that Spanish-speaking immigrants to the UK routinely assimilate by the second generation, thus halting any effects of parents' monolingual-divergent use in its tracks; that is, the **UK** is **not fertile ground** for emergence of a new variety of Spanish.” (Cazzoli-Goeta et al. 2010:468)

2. AES: CANTÉ VS HE CANTADO

2. AES: CANTÉ VS HE CANTADO

- Andean Ecuadorian Spanish (AES)
- synthetic vs analytic past perfective verb forms: CANTÉ ‘I sang’ vs HE CANTADO ‘I have sung’
- prototypical use: CANTÉ [- present relevance] vs HE CANTADO [+ present relevance] (Tuten et al. 2016:406)

- (2) a Todavía no has escrito el informe.
 ‘You haven’t written the report yet’
- b Ayer escribí el informe.
 ‘Yesterday I wrote the report’

- Spanish-speaking world: high degree of diatopic / diaphasic / diamesic variation

2. AES: CANTÉ VS HE CANTADO

- Andean Spanish (southern Colombian Andes, Ecuadorian and Peruvian Andes, part of Bolivia, north Chile, north-west Argentina)
- CANTÉ VS HE CANTADO : 2 sub-areas (de Granda 2001b)
 - northern (Ecuador, northern-central Peru): CANTÉ / HE CANTADO (HE CANTADO with innovative values)
 - southern (southern Peru, Bolivia, north-western Argentina): †CANTÉ / HE CANTADO (HABÍA CANTADO with innovative values)

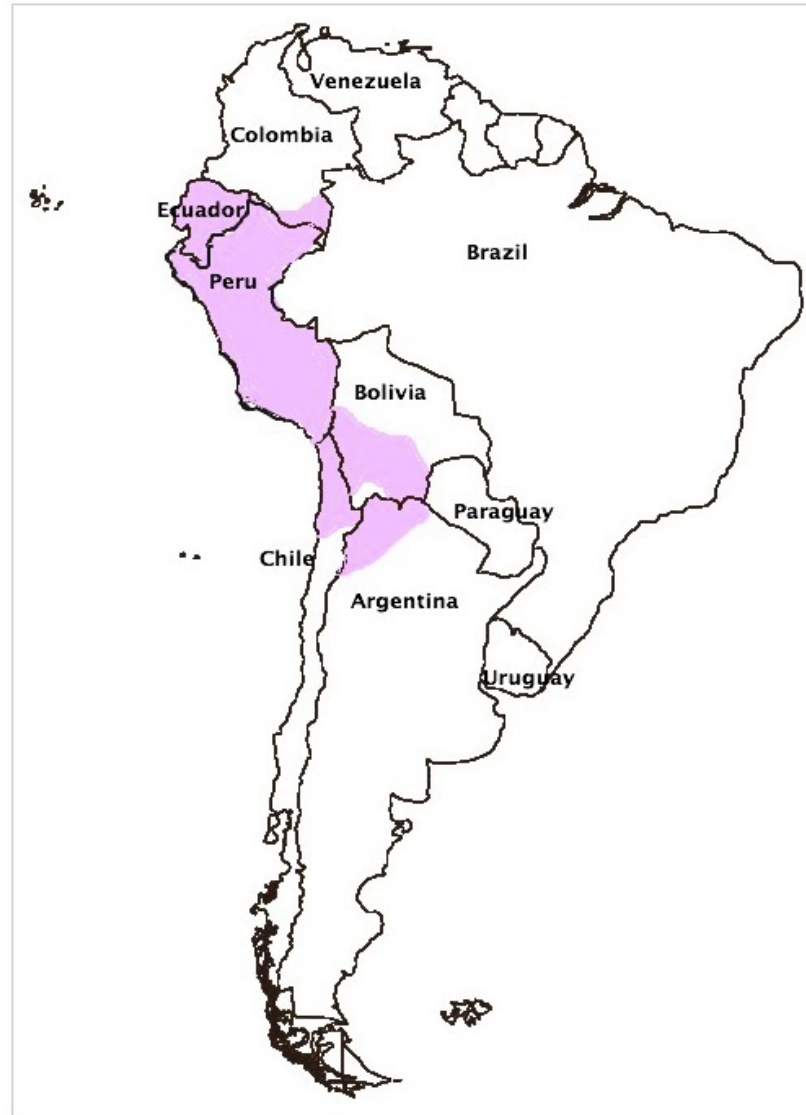


Figure 1. Andean Spanish

2. AES: CANTÉ VS HE CANTADO

- Andean **Ecuadorian** Spanish
- CANTÉ / HE CANTADO
- HE CANTADO
 - prototypical value
 - **innovative** values

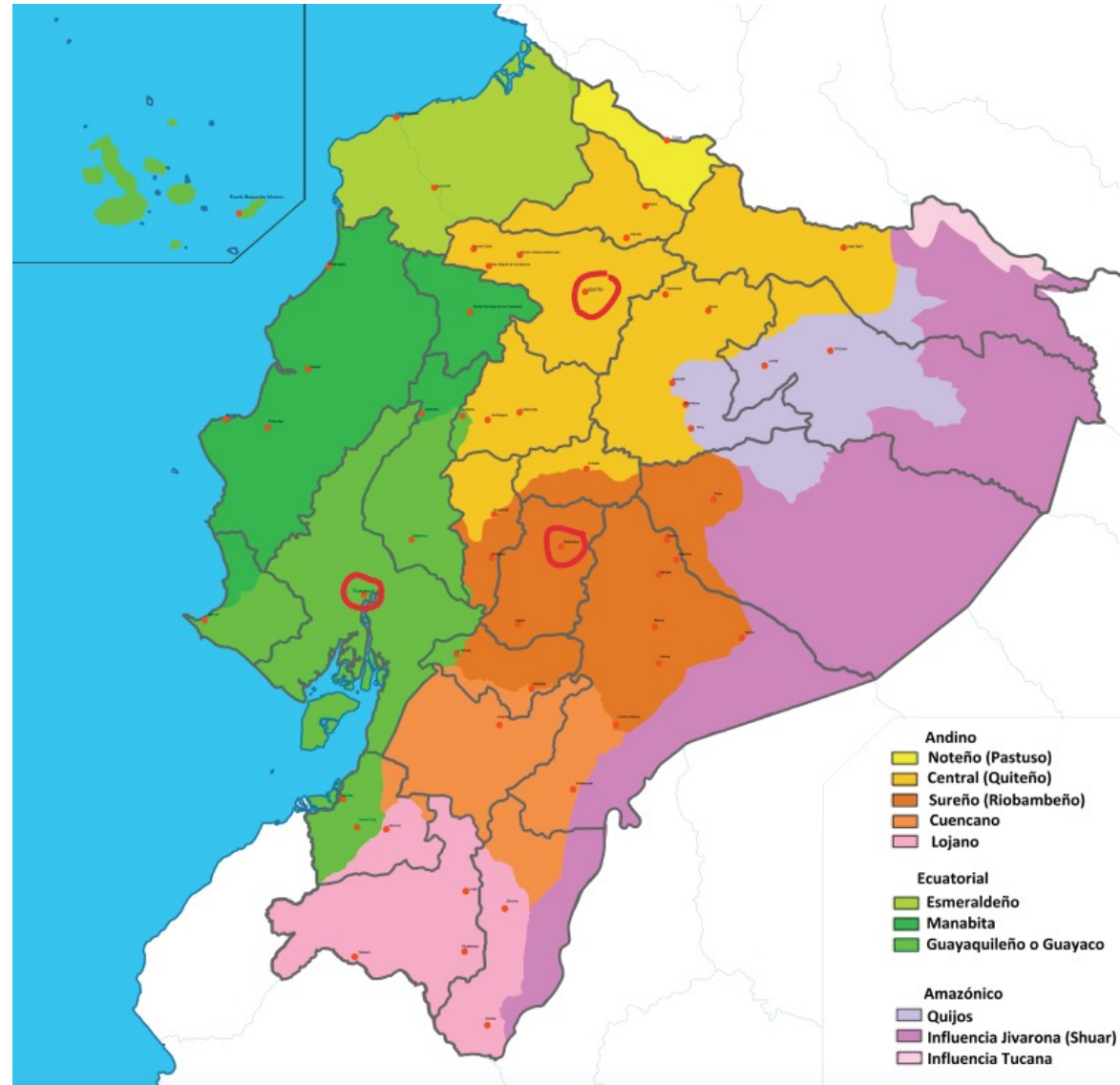


Figure 2. Ecuadorian Spanish varieties

2. AES: HE CANTADO

- **prototypical** value: past action with **present relevance** (subjective) (Bustamante 1991:200; Palacios 2007a, 2021:182)

(3) Yo me **he criado** en Cuenca. Comencé estudiando... He tenido mucha suerte... Me parece que valió la pena...
(Quito, Bustamante 1991:200)
- **innovative values** (Iglesias 1898:53; Toscano 1953; Kany 1969; Jácome 1973; Corrales 1982a, b; Bustamante 1991; Palacios 2007a, 2021; Haboud and de la Vega (2008:176-177; Pfänder & Palacios 2013)
 - ❖ **evidential** (how the speaker has received the information transmitted)
 - ❖ **admirative** (the speaker expresses surprise for an unexpected event)

2. AES: HE CANTADO

- innovative evidential values
 - i. source of information: speaker conveying they have not witnessed the event (reported information)
→ [- speaker's presence]
- (4) ¿Qué paso Martita?
Se quemó el televisor mismo, señorita.
¿Cuándo, Martita?
Ayer **ha sido** de todo pasar. (= alguien me dijo que ayer pasó todo) (Bustamante 1991:209)

2. AES: HE CANTADO

- ii. certainty of information: speaker not committing to truth of event / does not have certainty that the event happened → [- speaker's certainty]

(5) De una señora, suponte, en Gran Vía que estaba mi madre sentada, ¿sí?, y le **ha dicho**: Oye, india, lárgate de aquí. ¿Pero qué le pasa? Lárgate de aquí, que te largues, dice. Me largo porque tengo educación y no voy a estar peliando, o sea, eso es lo que le **contestó**. (Palacios 2007a:116)

→ speaker reporting a dialogue between their mother and someone who argued with her (reported information): HE CANTADO for stranger vs CANTÉ for mother: *“la hablante se compromete con la veracidad de la información que trasmite de su madre pero se aleja emocionalmente de la persona que peleó con ella”* (Palacios ibid.)

2. AES: HE CANTADO

- innovative admirative values
 - surprise / sudden discovery → [+ **surprise** / **sudden discovery**]

(6) Ayer vi a Mauricio y **ha estado casado**. (= resulta que está casado) (Palacios 2007a:116)

(7) a. Esta tela **ha sido cara**.

= “el hablante acaba de darse cuenta de que la tela es cara y que antes de ese momento desconocía el valor de la tela” (Bustamante 1991:204)

b. Esta tela **es cara**.

= “el valor de la tela es caro, pero no especifica que el hablante recién se haya informado de eso” (Bustamante 1991:204)

2. AES: CANTÉ

- prototypical value: past action without present relevance
- innovative values (Palacios 2007a,b)
 - i. source of information: direct experience → **[+ speaker's presence]**
 - ii. certainty of information: known event which is reported as trustworthy → **[+ speaker's certainty]**

(8) *Anoche llegó mi hermano y nos tomamos unas copas* (López Monge 2006:1023)

→ “si hubieran escogido HA LLEGADO ellos no se hubieran enterado de la llegada de su hermano y, por ende, no hubieran tomado una copa con él” (López Monge ibid.)

2. AES: HABÍA CANTADO

- HABÍA CANTADO: prototypical values + “información indirecta con poca credibilidad para el hablante, información supuesta o conjetura” (Palacios 2021:182)

2. AES: CANTÉ VS HE CANTADO

- HE CANTADO in AES: (i) I wasn't there; (ii) I don't believe it; (iii) I'm surprised.
- innovative values particularly common in 3rd person and with *ser* ('ha sido') (Bustamante 1991:217)
- very **subjective**, hence optional activation (Palacios 2007a)
- contact with **Quechua**: obligatory evidential markers (Bustamante 1991:222-225; Escobar 1997:865; Palacios 2007a:§9)
- both **bilingual** and **monolingual** Ecuadorian speakers, more common if lower degree of education (Palacios 2007b:271; 2021:188)

2. AES: CANTÉ VS HE CANTADO

- reported to be attested not only in Andean variety of Ecuador (*variedad serrana*) but also in **coastal** one (López Monge 2006:1023)
- not restricted to Ecuador, but feature of **Andean Spanish** (Quechua, Aymara), with diatopic differences (CANTÉ / HE CANTADO / HABÍA CANTADO) (cf. overviews in Palacios Alcaine & Pfänder 2018 and Palacios 2021)

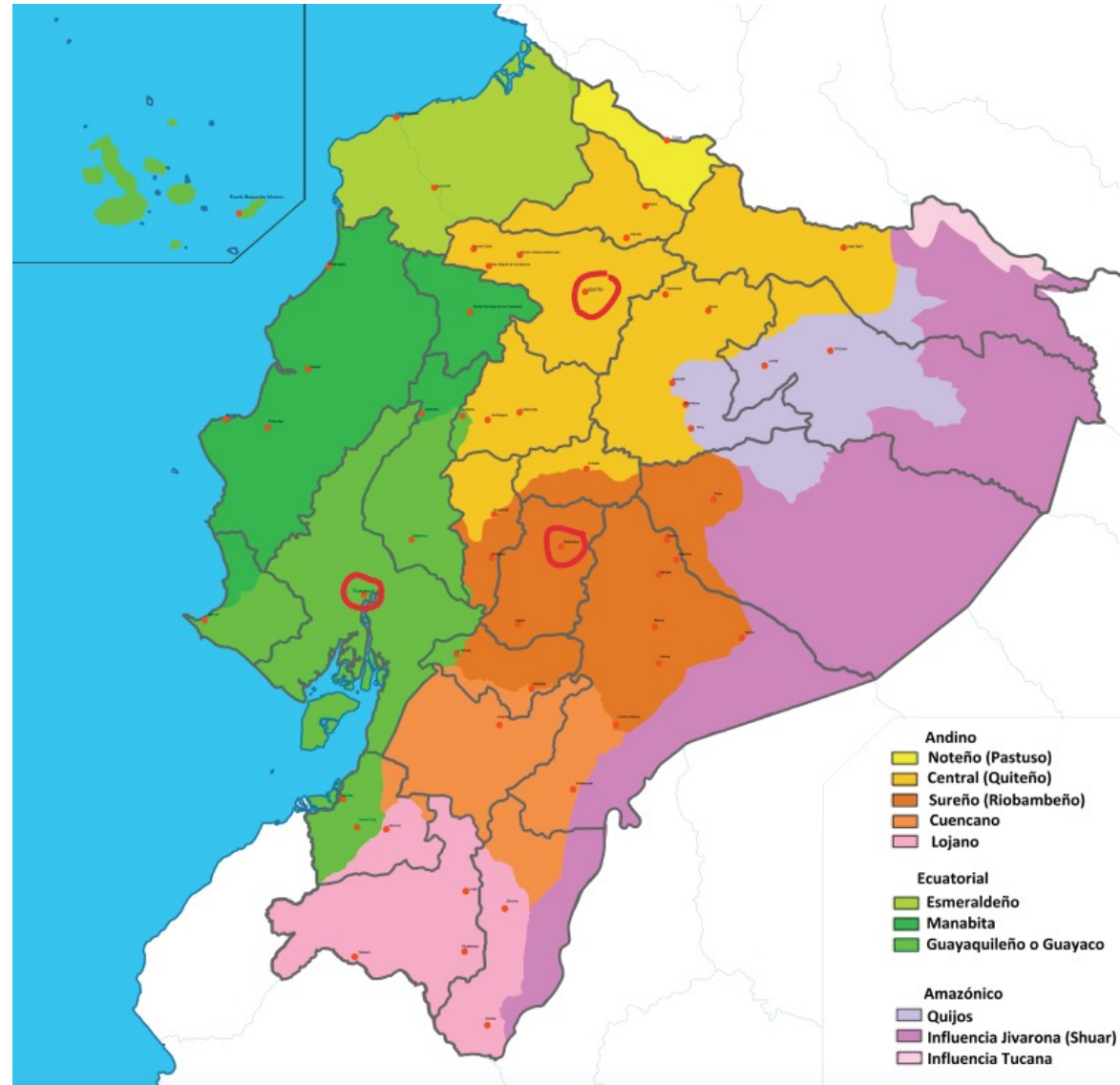


Figure 2. Ecuadorian Spanish varieties

3. AES CANTÉ VS HE CANTADO IN THE UK

3. AES CANTÉ VS HE CANTADO IN THE UK

- Innovative evidential values in UK Ecuadorian Spanish?
 - possible contact with English (no evidential/admirative present perfect)
 - possible contact with other UK Spanish varieties with no evidential/admirative HE CANTADO
 - possible contact with UK Ecuadorian / Andean Spanish with evidential / admirative values
 - (other languages?)

3.1

METHODOLOGY

- sociolinguistic questionnaire (online form, 50 questions)
- linguistic questionnaire (Zoom interview, 21 questions)
 - aural preference task
 - production task

5	¿Cuál es su rango de edad?	31-40 años de edad
6	¿Cómo describiría su género?	Mujer (incluyendo mujer transgénero)
7	¿Cuál(es) es/son su(s) ocupación(es)? (p. ej. empleado/a, maestro/a, cocinero/a)	Abogada Ecuador Aquí EUSS Applications Officer
8	¿Cuál es su ingreso familiar anual promedio (antes de los impuestos)?	£26,000 - £35,999
9	¿Cuál es su nivel más alto de educación?	Estudios de posgrado (maestría o diplomado)
9.a	Si ha seleccionado "otro", especifique por favor	
10	¿Dónde nació? Por favor especifique el país y la ciudad/pueblo (por ejemplo, Perú, Lima).	Ecuador, Quito
11	¿Dónde creció/pasó la mayor parte de su infancia? Especifique el país y la ciudad/pueblo (por ejemplo, Perú, Trujillo).	La mitad en Ecuador, varias provincias y la otra España, Vera
12	¿Cuál es su nacionalidad o nacionalidades oficiales (por ejemplo, peruana y española)? Tenga la seguridad de que esta información es estrictamente confidencial.	Ecuatoriana y Española

Figure 3. Extract from sociolinguistic questionnaire

3.1.1 SOCIOLINGUISTIC QUESTIONNAIRE

- some (socio)linguistic factors:
 - biographic information
 - intensity of English contact (e.g. length of UK residency, everyday communicative patterns, self-rated proficiency)
 - intensity of preservation of Ecuadorian Spanish (e.g. family and relatives in UK and Ecuador, other UK Ecuadorians, perceived changes in one's own Spanish variety)
 - intensity of contact with other Spanish varieties (e.g. first migration, other UK Spanish speakers)
 - (other: ideology, wider UK Latin American communities)

3.1.2 LINGUISTIC QUESTIONNAIRE

- Aural preference task (visual prompts, chose preferred option and comment)
- Prototypical values
 - [+ present relevance], expected HE CANTADO

(9) Este año **han trabajado** / trabajaron mucho y ahora están muy contentos de sus logros.
 - [- present relevance], expected CANTÉ

(10) El año pasado **se celebraron** / se han celebrado elecciones en muchos países.
 - [past recent event], expected CANTÉ (Madrid norm: HE CANTADO)

(11) **Date prisa**, el tren ha llegado / **llegó** hace 5 minutos y mamá nos está esperando.

3.1.2 LINGUISTIC QUESTIONNAIRE

- Innovative values

- [+ speaker's presence], [+ certainty], expected CANTÉ

(12) [tu amigo Manuel está en el salón cuando nota olor a quemado saliendo de la cocina donde te encuentras tú; entonces se dirige allí y te pregunta] ¿Qué pasa?

Tú le contestas:

Ay, perdón, se ha quemado / **se quemó** la olla mientras cocinaba el pez.

- [- speaker's presence], [- certainty], expected HE CANTADO

(13) No me vas a creer: ayer vi ha Ignacio y me dijo que Lucía **ha ganado** / ganó 30 millones en la lotería.

3.1.2 LINGUISTIC QUESTIONNAIRE

- Innovative values
 - [+ surprise], expected HE CANTADO
 - (14) No me lo puedo creer: ayer vi a Jorge y **ha estado casado** / está casado.
 - [+ sudden discovery], expected HE CANTADO
 - (15) [acabas de darte cuenta del precio de un reloj que te gusta]
¡Este reloj **ha sido** / es caro

3.1.2 LINGUISTIC QUESTIONNAIRE

- Production task (fill the gap and comment)
- Innovative values
 - [+ speaker's presence], [+ certainty], expected CANTÉ
 - [- speaker's presence], [- certainty], expected HE CANTADO
 - [+ surprise], expected HE CANTADO

3.1.2 LINGUISTIC QUESTIONNAIRE

Table 1. Linguistic questionnaire (aural preference + production)

Prototypical values	Innovative values
[+ present relevance], expected HE CANTADO	[+ speaker's presence], [+ certainty], expected CANTÉ
[- present relevance], expected CANTÉ	[- speaker's presence], [- certainty], expected HE CANTADO
[past recent event], expected CANTÉ	[+ surprise], expected HE CANTADO
	[+ sudden discovery], expected HE CANTADO

3.1.3 INFORMANTS

- Informants (ongoing interviews)
 - 7 UK Ecuadorian speakers (1st gen.)
 - 2 control Ecuadorian speakers (1 monolingual + 1 bilingual Spanish / Quechua)
 - 6 Spanish monolingual speakers (some English proficiency)

3.1.3 INFORMANTS

orange: medium-long UK residence

blue: medium-short UK residence

green: long Spain residence + medium-short UK residence

	1. Luis	2. Paola	3. Dani	4. Jen	5. Doris	6. Amandys	7. MJ
gender/age	M 31-40	F 31-40	F 31-40	M 41-50	F 51-60	F 31-40	F 21-30
born/raised	Guayaquil ≈ 30 yrs	Guayaquil ≈ 30 yrs	Ecuador ≈ 18 yrs	Riobamba ≈ 25 yrs	Quito ≈ 50 yrs	Quito ≈ 13 yrs	Quito ≈ 2 yrs
first migration	/	/	/	/	/	Andalusia ≈ 15 yrs	Spain ≈ 22 yrs
UK residence	9 yrs	7 yrs	17 yrs	20 yrs	4 yrs	5 yrs	4 yrs
self-rated English fluency	5	5	n.a.	4	3	3	3
English contact	medium-high (academic)	medium-high (academic)	n.a.	medium (employee)	low (cleaner)	medium-low (Lat.Am. charity)	low (cleaner)
UK Spanish contact	Mexico, Spain Ecuadorian partner	Chile, Ecuador + Ecuadorian partner	+ n.a. (non-native Spanish-speaker partner)	Colombia, Spain + Ecuadorian partner and children	different countries	Argentina, Mexico, Peru, Colombia, Bolivia, Chile + Ecuadorian partner and children	Spain, Ecuador, Peru, Colombia
regular contact with family in Ecuador	yes	yes	n.a.	yes	yes	n.a.	n.a.
conscious effort at avoiding diatopically marked features	no	yes	n.a.	yes	yes	no	no
perceives that their Spanish has changed wrt Ecuador	yes	yes	n.a.	yes	no	yes	yes
perceives their proficiency has decreased	no	no	n.a.	no	no	no	no

Table 2. UK Informants

3.2 PRELIMINARY RESULTS

- Ecuadorian control group: good examples?
 - **Joss**: unexpected 3/20, comments in line with expectations
 - Nataly: 6/20 (Quechua bilingual?)

[-present; - certainty]

(16) [entras en casa y notas olor a quemado saliendo de la cocina; entonces te diriges allí y dices]

a. **Se ha quemado una olla.** > yo no estaba presente

b. **Se quemó una olla.** > yo estaba allí (Joss, control)

3.2 PRELIMINARY RESULTS

- UK
- **Group 1:** medium-long UK residency, medium-high English contact, **very close** to control
 - Paola (7 yrs in UK): unexpected 3/20 (15%)
 - Luis (9 yrs in UK): unexpected 4/20 (20%)
 - Dani (17 yrs in UK): unexpected 3/20 (15%)
 - Jen (20 yrs in UK residency): unexpected 4/20 (20%)

Table 3. UK Informants: Group 1

	1. Luis	2. Paola	3. Dani	4. Jen
gender/age	M 31-40	F 31-40	F 31-40	M 41-50
born/raised	Guayaquil ≈ 30 yrs	Guayaquil ≈ 30 yrs	Ecuador ≈ 18 yrs	Riobamba ≈ 25 yrs
first migration	/	/	/	/
UK residence	9 yrs	7 yrs	17 yrs	20 yrs
self-rated English fluency	5	5	n.a.	4
English contact	medium-high (academic)	medium-high (academic)	n.a.	medium (employee)
UK Spanish contact	Mexico, Chile, Spain + Ecuadorian partner	Ecuador + Ecuadorian partner	n.a. (non-native Spanish-speaker partner)	Colombia, Spain + Ecuadorian partner and children
regular contact with family in Ecuador	yes	yes	n.a.	yes
conscious effort at avoiding diatopically marked features	no	yes	n.a.	yes
perceives that their Spanish has changed wrt Ecuador	yes	yes	n.a.	yes
perceives their proficiency has decreased	no	no	n.a.	no

3.2 PRELIMINARY RESULTS

- Paola strongly retains evidential/admirative values, cf. comments in interview

(17) No me vas a creer: ayer vi a Ignacio y me dijo que Lucía _____ [ganar] 30 millones en la lotería.

- a. **se ha ganado** → Ignacio is lying
- b. **se ganó** → I believe it

3.2 PRELIMINARY RESULTS

- **Group 2:** long Spain residency, medium-short UK residency, medium-low En. contact, **quite close** to control
 - Amandys (13 yrs in Ecuador, 15 yrs in Spain, 5 years UK): unexpected 7/20 (35%)

Table 4. UK Informants: Group 2

6. Amandys	
gender/age	F 31-40
born/raised	Quito ≈ 13 yrs
first migration	Andalusia ≈ 15 yrs
UK residence	5 yrs
self-rated English fluency	3
English contact	medium-low (Lat.Am. charity)
UK Spanish contact	Argentina, Mexico, Peru, Colombia, Bolivia, Chile + Ecuadorian partner and children
regular contact with family in Ecuador	n.a.
conscious effort at avoiding diatopically marked features	no
perceives that their Spanish has changed wrt Ecuador	yes
perceives their proficiency has decreased	no

3.2 PRELIMINARY RESULTS

- **Group 3: distant** from control, low En. contact, different migration profiles
 - MJ (2 yrs in Ecuador, 22 yrs Spain, 4 yrs UK): unexpected 11/20 (55%)
 - Doris (50 yrs in Ecuador, 4 yrs UK): unexpected 11/20 (55%)

Table 5. UK Informants: Group 3

	5. Doris	7. MJ
gender/age	F 51-60	F 21-30
born/raised	Quito ≈ 50 yrs	Quito ≈ 2 yrs
first migration	/	Spain ≈ 22 yrs
UK residence	4 yrs	4 yrs
self-rated English fluency	3	3
English contact	low (cleaner)	low (cleaner)
UK Spanish contact	different countries	Spain, Ecuador, Peru, Colombia
regular contact with family in Ecuador	yes	n.a.
conscious effort at avoiding diatopically marked features	yes	no
perceives that their Spanish has changed wrt Ecuador	no	yes
perceives their proficiency has decreased	no	no

3.2 PRELIMINARY RESULTS

- **group 2** (Amanydis) + group 3 (only MJ): evidential values already partly lost in Spain (cf. Palacios 2007)

Table 6. UK Informants: all groups

	wrt control		residency	English contact
group 1	very close	Paola, Luis, Dani, Jen	medium-long UK residency	medium-high
group 2	quite close	Amandys	long Spain residency + medium-short UK residency	medium-low
group 3	distant	MJ	long Spain residence + medium-short UK residence	low
		Doris	medium-short UK residence	low

3.2 PRELIMINARY RESULTS

- group 1 vs group 3 (Doris)?
 - several years of intense **English contact** do **not matter** (Gr 1: years of high En. contact but close to control vs Doris: low En. contact and only few years of UK Sp contact but distant from control)
 - relevant factor: **UK Spanish** contact
- contact with two varieties with no evidential values (English, UK Sp.), but only UK Sp. proves relevant
- several yrs of En. contact weigh less than a few yrs of UK Sp. contact

Table 7. UK Informants: all groups

	wrt control		residency	English contact
group 1	very close	Paola, Luis, Dani, Jen	medium-long UK residency	medium-high
group 2	quite close	Amandys	long Spain residency + medium-short UK residency	medium-low
group 3	distant	MJ	long Spain residence + medium-short UK residence	low
		Doris	medium-short UK residence	low

3.2 PRELIMINARY RESULTS

- preliminary observation: **short contact with UK Sp. weighs more than years-long contact with English**
 - linguistic reasons (related varieties) and sociolinguistic ones (ideology / identity / affiliation)
- word of caution: must be checked against wider sample, cf. “confounding social factors” (Thomason 2000:5) (cf. in progress analysis of sociolinguistic questionnaire)
 - predicting when contact-induced change happens and its possible effects is impossible (also) because it is not possible to predict **attitudinal** and most other **social factors** that affect linguistic outcomes in contact scenarios (Thomason & Kaufman 1988:65)

3.2 PRELIMINARY RESULTS

- However: Group 1 also intense contact with UK Sp., so why unaffected?
 - reinforce / recover identity after many years of UK residency? (Palacios 2007)

Table 8. UK Informants: all groups

	wrt control		residency	English contact	UK Spanish contact
group 1	very close	Paola, Luis, Dani, Jen	medium-long UK residency	medium-high	high
group 2	quite close	Amandys	long Spain residency + medium-short UK residency	medium-low	
group 3	distant	MJ	long Spain residence + medium-short UK residence	low	
		Doris	medium-short UK residence	low	high

3.3 UK VS SPAIN

- Palacios (2007a):
 - 55 Ecuadorian speakers (Quito and surroundings) living in Madrid, aged 13-18, attending local schools
 - written task (select the preferred tense between 3 given options)
- two parallel laboratories, but not identical
 - Palacios (2007a): very young speakers in Spanish education system; contact with Madrid norm only
 - present study: older speakers, contact with different varieties of Spanish (+ English + other languages)

3.3 UK VS SPAIN

- different results?
- Palacios (2007a)
 - if in Madrid for less than a year: remain close to Ecuadorian norm;
 - if 2 yrs in Madrid : **divergent** from Ecuadorian norm, even more than those who have been living in Madrid for more than 5 yrs → integration eagerness
 - if 3/4 yrs in Madrid : **close** to Ecuadorian norm → reinforce / recover identity
vs. Doris (4 yrs in UK): divergent
 - if +5 yrs in Madrid: systematic increase of **divergent** speakers (closer to Madrid norm)
vs. Paola/Luis/Dani/Jen (7/20 yrs in UK): close to Ecuadorian norm

3.3 UK VS SPAIN

- Palacios (2007a): incipient change with considerable individual variation → the longer they stay in Madrid, the more they abandon the Ecuadorian norm
- present study:
 - short UK residence: divergent (pressure to integrate in UK Spanish-speaking community, removing diatopically marked features?)
 - long UK residence: close to Ecuadorian norm (reinforce / recover Ecuadorian identity, cf. Palacios 3/4 yrs speakers?)
- innovation and preservation working differently in two parallel laboratories, vs. other case studies (similar contact results despite sociolinguistic differences)
 - Treffers-Daller (1999) on French and Flemish in Brussels and French and Alsatian in Strasbourg;
 - Gadet & Jones (2008) on French and English in North America and Channel Islands;
 - Ledgeway et al. (in prep.) on Italo-Greek and Italo-Romance in Calabria and Puglia (southern Italy);

4. CONTACT QUESTIONS

4. CONTACT QUESTIONS

- HE CANTADO in AES: contact-induced changes
 - step 1: HE CANTADO acquires innovative evidential/admirative values → Quechua (though Romance-internal trend? cf. Italian conditional / ?Spanish *condicional de rumor*)
 - step 2: HE CANTADO can lose them (complex interplay between sociolinguistic/linguistic factors) → other Spanish varieties (Spain / UK)
→ vs Hickey (2010:10): present perfect cross-linguistically prone to acquire new values due to contact (cf. immediate perfective of Irish English)
- raises general contact questions

CONTACT QUESTIONS

- evidential/admirative values: Mood > high in borrowing scales (Elsik & Matras 2006, Matras 2007b, Matras 2010:81, Matras & Adamou 2020:242)

(18) modality > aspect / aktionsart > future tense > (other tenses)

→ does this apply only to acquisition (step 1) or loss as well, as seen here (step 2)?

CONTACT QUESTIONS

- evidential/admirative values: very **subjective**, hence optional activation (Palacios 2007a)

→ are optional / marked / subjective features more prone to contact (acquisition / loss)?

- possible way to shed more light: investigate same speakers for other phenomena, including not optional/subjective ('holistic approach', cf. Ledgeway et al. in prep.)
 - > ongoing work: **verb-movement**

CONTACT QUESTIONS

- step 1: HE CANTADO acquired evidential/admirative value in Andean Spanish → Quechua contact
- any consequences for V-movement?
 - Romance: higher movement of finite verb in irrealis contexts (Ledgeway 2009b, 2013, 2015, 2020; D'Alessandro & Ledgeway 2010a; Ledgeway & Lombardi 2014; Taylor 2016; Schifano 2018)
 - Latin American Spanish: generalization of BE in specific irrealis contexts following from higher auxiliary movement (Ledgeway 2022)

CONTACT QUESTIONS

- what about evidentiality?

- cf. Italian conditional

(19) *Hai sentito il telegiornale? Ci sarebbe stato un rapimento importante* (Cinque 1999: 86)

‘Have you heard the news? There would have been (= it is said there was) an important kidnapping’)

- apparently not possible in ‘standard’ Spanish, though occasionally attested in newspapers (*condicional de rumor*), disregarded as French interference (Carrera Díaz 1997:329)

CONTACT QUESTIONS

- Cinque (1999: 86, 201, fn.23) → Italian evidential conditional expected to have raised to higher Evidential Mood head (because Mood_{evidential} is higher than the T-head targeted by the Italian verb):

(20) “More generally, it is to be expected that possible acquisitions of new functional values by a head (**synchronically or diachronically**) will be a function of the universal hierarchy of heads, and of the limitation to upward movements only.” (Cinque 1999: 86, 201, fn.23)

(21) [frankly_{Moodspeech act} [unfortunately_{Moodevaluative} [apparently_{Moodevidential} [probably_{Modepistemic} [now_{T(past/future)} [perhaps_{Moodirrealis} [necessarily_{Modnecessity} [usually_{Asphabitual} [again_{Asprepetitive(event)} [often_{Aspfrequentative(event)} [intentionally_{Modvolitional} [slowly_{Aspcelerative(event)}
(adapt. from Cinque 1999)

CONTACT QUESTIONS

- (peninsular) Spanish: low V-movement (both finite verbs and auxiliaries) → higher auxiliary movement in AES HE CANTADO when conveying evidential modality (Quechua contact)?
 - if YES: **replication** of codification within verb system of **modal distinction** (vs. periphrasis “it is said that”) (consistent with Romance-internal trend, cf. Italian conditional, so multiple causation) AND of **associated microparametric choice** (i.e. higher V-movement of modally-marked verb within a generally low-movement grammar)
 - if NO: **disassociation** between replication of a modal distinction and associated microparametric choice (higher movement of modally marked V)

CONTACT QUESTIONS

- step 2: if higher HE CANTADO with evidential value, what happens with UK speakers who have lost it?
 - what if it remains high without evidential value? Can contact lead to a scenario where the the (originally replicated) modal value (cf. evidential/admirative) is lost but its syntax (cf. higher movement) survives?

THANK YOU!

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REFERENCES

on request!