

Title: Bilingual grammars and Creoles: similarities between functional
convergence and morphological elaboration

Author: Liliana Sánchez

Address: Rutgers University

Department of Spanish and Portuguese

105 George St.

New Brunswick, NJ08904

E-mail addresses: lsanchez@spanport.rutgers.edu

Short title: Bilingual Grammars and Creoles

Author: Liliana Sanchez

Bilingual grammars and Creoles: similarities between functional convergence and morphological elaboration¹

1. Introduction

In this paper, I examine the similarities between functional convergence in bilingual grammars (Sánchez 2003, 2004) and morphological elaboration in Creole grammars (Siegel 2004). I propose that some examples of morphological elaboration in Creole grammars presented in Siegel (2004) are similar to cases of functional convergence in bilinguals discussed in Sánchez (2003, 2004). Their common characteristic is that they involve the mapping of functional features from one language onto morphological units not previously associated with those features in another language. The purpose of this comparison is to engage in a dialogue between studies on bilingualism and studies on Creole formation that may shed light on how similar psycholinguistic processes generate new linguistic forms in situations of language contact.

Following views originally proposed by Muysken (1981), Lefebvre (1998), Lardiere (1998), Myers-Scotton (2002), Prévost and White (2000) and White (2003), I argue that it is possible for bilinguals to dissociate abstract functional features from the overt morphological units to which they are linked in the input and to generate new feature-morpheme associations.² This process of dissociation and re-linking of features to morphological units might take place in the mind of second language learners in cases of transfer (Schwartz and Sprouse 1996) or re-assembling of L1 features in the L2 (Lardiere 2005), among speakers of a pidgin or Creole (Lefebvre 1998, Bao 2005) or a mixed

¹ I would like to thank the audience at the Montreal Dialogues Workshop (August 2004) and three anonymous reviewers for their comments. All errors are mine.

² In the case of “fossilized” L2 learners the syntax can provide evidence that the mental representation includes abstract features present in the input that have no corresponding overt morphological unit in the production of the L2 speaker (Lardiere 1998, Prévost and White 2000, White 2003).

language (Muysken 1981), as a part of general process of relexification, and among bilingual individuals who activate two languages with regular frequency as cases in which subsets of functional features from two languages converge and generate a common set of features for two languages (Sanchez 2003, 2004).

In order to focus the discussion of how this process of dissociation works in bilinguals, I present evidence of functional convergence in the Tense/Mood/Aspect (TMA) systems of Quechua-Spanish bilingual grammars from previous studies (Klee and Ocampo 1995, Escobar 1994, Sánchez 2003, 2004, 2005) that underscores the relevance of pragmatic factors in favoring the use of morphological forms in Bilingual Spanish that differ in extension and grammatical meaning from those found in non-contact varieties of Spanish and whose semantic import is very close to that of functional morphological units in Quechua. In the absence of appropriate morphology in the super-stratum language (due to non-existing forms or to incomplete acquisition of such forms), the bilingual grammar maps a functional feature in the substratum language onto an already existing morphological form in the super-stratum language resulting in convergent representations in the two languages.

I propose to extend the analysis of convergent feature specifications in TMA systems in bilinguals to some cases of emergence of morphological forms in the TMA systems of Creole speakers. These new morphemes have meanings that correspond more closely to those of a substrate or contact language rather than to those of the lexifier (Siegel 2004). Siegel proposes that these are cases of transfer of language use patterns in which features of one language are transferred to the morphological elements of the other due to incomplete mastery of the linguistic resources in the L2. The proposal presented here

extends Siegel's proposal by emphasizing the role that discourse conditions have in favoring convergence in bilingual TMA systems as well as in morphological elaboration in TMA systems in Creoles. I propose that, as is the case among bilinguals living in a language contact situations, speakers of pidgin languages are under pressure to maximize resources in the expression of discourse-oriented conditions. However, this maximization does not automatically imply the suppression of the abstract representation of features from their L1. These might be expressed using lexical units from the lexifier. Among Creole speakers, who live in a language contact situation and speak "nativized" versions of the pidgin, the pragmatic conditions under which these lexical items are used in the pidgin provide the context for new associations between interpretable features functional features from a substratum language and morpheme units from the lexifier. I hypothesize that in such cases the functional content of substrate languages serves as a prominent source for grammatical specifications that are mapped onto the morphological units from the lexifier.

2. Functional convergence, morphological elaboration and the dissociation between features and morphemes

In this section, I will present the definitions of two similar psycholinguistic processes that take place in the mind of bilingual speakers: functional convergence, a process through which equivalent functional categories in the two languages spoken by a bilingual individual converge in their feature specifications (Sánchez 2003, 2004); and morphological elaboration defined by Siegel (2004) as a process of language transfer that takes place in the minds of second language acquirers in the context of Creole formation. I will propose that these two processes are similar in that what underlies them is the

availability of abstract functional features that can be dissociated from their morphological counterparts in at least one of the languages spoken by a bilingual individual. Before I present the proposal in detail, I will present each of the definitions and the linguistic contexts in which they apply.

Convergence between bilingual grammars has been analyzed from many different perspectives (recent approaches include Muysken 2001, Myers-Scotton 2002, Backus 2004, Ross 2005). In this paper, I adopt an approach to convergence that is grounded on the view that human languages are basically characterized by a distinction between lexical and functional categories (Chomsky 1995). While lexical categories are relatively consistent across languages (Baker 2003), functional categories are the locus of cross-linguistic variation. Recently, a move towards locating the grammatical properties of languages in functional features rather than in functional categories has taken place (Chomsky 1995, 1999). This move has resulted in a generalized view according to which abstract functional features, conceived of as minimal units that embody grammatical properties of language, are responsible for cross-linguistic variation.

When convergence takes place in bilingual grammars, shared syntactic properties of the two languages follow from a common selection of functional features for two languages. Sánchez (2003, 2004) proposes that functional convergence is the “specification of a common set of features shared by equivalent functional categories in the two languages spoken by a bilingual individual”(Sánchez 2003: 15). This common specification is favored when the languages have partially similar matrices of features associated with the same functional category and frequent activation of the two matrices triggers convergence in features (Sánchez 2004). An example of such a case of

convergence is provided by the common specification for evidentiality³ among Quechua-Spanish bilinguals who use imperfective forms in Spanish in the same contexts in which they use reportative past forms in Quechua to indicate that the information conveyed by a sentence is not first hand information witnessed by the speaker. This is illustrated in the following examples from Sanchez (2004) and will be discussed in further detail in the next section of the paper:

- (1) Paq # pichikucha-ta tarikuru-**sqa** qilluchata.

Bir # birdy-ACC find-PAST REPORT yellow-ACC

“(She) found a yellow bird (2nd hand information)”

- (2) Le **había encontrado** un pajarito # amarillo.

CL **had found** a birdy # yellow

“(S/he) had found a yellow bird (2nd hand information)”

Morphological elaboration is also a psycholinguistic process that takes place in the case of a speaker living in a language contact situation. Siegel defines it as the “development and increased use of grammatical morphemes for expressing various meanings in a language, rather than relying on context or lexical items”(Siegel 2004: 335). An example of morphological elaboration is provided by the emergence of the progressive marker *stay* in Hawai’i Creole, even though Hawaiian Pidgin used the adverbial form *all time* and, at least in this example, verb reduplication to mark progressivity. The following examples, originally from Roberts (1998, 2000), illustrate the changes from the pidgin to the Creole expression of progressivity:

³ A reviewer points out that Aikhenvald (2004) has proposed that evidentiality is prone to areal diffusion in Amazonian languages due to the fact that it must be obligatorily marked in the morphological component. In this paper, I propose that diffusion is due to the fact that evidentiality is part of the inventory of functional features that requires morphological expression in many Amazonian languages.

- (3) All time baby cry, cry play piano (Roberts 1998: 23) (Phases III-IV)
- (4) He stay playing (Roberts 1998: 23) (Phase V)

Siegel notes that these two examples correspond to different phases or periods in the progression from Hawaiian pidgin to the actual elaboration of the Hawaiian Creole (Roberts 1998). In the earlier stages, represented by (3), reduplication and adverbs are linked to non-punctual aspect while in later stages, represented by (4), the independent head *stay* emerges as a marker of non-punctual aspect or progressivity.

Siegel views morphological elaboration as transfer of second language use, in particular in those cases in which a lexical unit in one of the languages is used in a manner similar to that of another morphological unit in the other. In example (4) above, the English lexifier verb *stay* acquires a progressive meaning in the Creole that it does not have in the superstratum language and that was conveyed through the use of a lexical adverb and reduplication in the pidgin. Siegel's main proposal is that morphological elaboration can be understood as a process of language transfer from the L1 into the L2 when "the linguistic forms needed to efficiently convey the required meaning are absent because the L2 at this stage is a restricted pidgin or pre-pidgin." (Siegel 2004: 353). The lexical entry *stay* is a better candidate to become a progressive morpheme than the actual *-ing* morpheme in the lexifier because the L2 available to the speaker is a restricted pidgin. I would like to point out that some of the languages present in the contact situation that gave rise to the Hawaiian Creole speakers had a non-punctual feature. In fact, one could argue that the abstract progressivity feature is not absent in example (3) since the adverbial form and the reduplication of the verb appear to convey them. What is absent in

this example is an overt morphological unit (bound or an independent) that is associated with the functional feature and that does not bear lexical content.⁴

The proposal presented here points out that functional convergence and morphological elaboration are two processes that can be better understood in light of the possible dissociation between functional features and their morphological counterparts in the mind of some bilingual individuals. This is of particular relevance in language contact situations such as those in which Creole languages emerge since input is provided by native speakers of several languages and by second language acquirers of the languages. I would like to propose that what makes possible the process of functional convergence in bilinguals as well as the process of morphological elaboration in Creole languages is the abstract nature of the functional features in question. In the case of Tense/Mood/Aspect systems, these abstract features can be dissociated from their morphological counterparts in one of the languages spoken by a bilingual individual, as shown by research on second language acquisition by Lardiere (1998, 2003, 2005), Prévost and White (2000) and White (2003) and can be re-linked to overt morphemes in the other languages or have no phonetic representation. Lardiere's (1998, 2005) work in particular illustrates the dissociation between knowledge of morphology and knowledge of the values of functional features. Lardiere (1998) analyzes the speech of a native speaker of Chinese whose L2 English shows fossilization in verbal agreement even after having lived at least 10 years in the US, as evidenced by very low percentages of suppliance of verbal morphology in obligatory contexts, especially in thematic verbs in non-past 3rd person forms. Despite this lack of overt morphology, her L2 speech shows evidence of syntactic

⁴ It is important to underscore that Siegel (2004) distinguishes morphological elaboration as a process from the results of this process, which he terms "expanded morphology".

knowledge in her production of obligatory overt subjects and negative sentences without verb-raising, a syntactic property triggered by weak features associated with verbal agreement morphology in English. Some of the examples presented by Lardiere show clearly that this speaker has pre-verbal adverbs and auxiliary verbs with negation:

- (5) He don't prepare it though.
- (6) My mom also speak Mandarin.
- (7) I eventually also get into the Chinese school. (Lardiere 1998: 368)

Thus, Lardiere concludes that this subject “knows that the English feature value for syntactic verb raising is weak despite the fact that her agreement inflection rate is severely deficient” (Lardiere 1998:369).

This process of dissociation between abstract features and overt morphological counterparts is at the basis of phenomena such as functional convergence and morphological elaboration in cases in which a functional value from a substratum language appears as linked to a superstratum lexical morpheme in a Creole language. Dissociation makes re-linking of functional features to morphemes not previously associated with them possible.⁵ In more recent work Lardiere (2005) refers to the process of re-linking of features to their PF/morphological counterparts as a re-assembly or a re-mapping of features that takes place at the level of morphology. I will adopt a very similar perspective to Lardiere's with respect to the re-mapping of abstract functional features onto PF/morphological forms and I will attempt to advance a possible solution to

⁵ I do not rule out the role played by grammaticalization in the evolution of certain forms. I assume that, as shown by Romaine (1999), it is possible that Pidgin/Creole languages such as Tok Pisin show gradual emergence of functional units that can be considered local developments. In situations of language contact, gradual processes of grammaticalization can also be favored by bilingualism (Heine and Kuteva 2003) and therefore it is very difficult to determine to what extent a process of grammaticalization corresponds to the re-linking of a functional feature present in a substratum language or in one of the languages in the contact situation.

the issue that she raises concerning the conditioning factors that guide the L2 acquirer in the re-mapping of functional features to PF/morphological forms by focusing on the role that discourse conditions play in favoring feature-relinking or re-mapping in bilinguals.

I would also like to point out that Siegel notes that he did not find in the literature on L2 acquisition examples of “L2 forms being used as grammatical morphemes with properties of corresponding L1 grammatical morphemes.” (Siegel 2004:349), and that he mentions that a closer observation of evidence of cross-linguistic interference in bilinguals could help to better understand the processes involved in morphological elaboration. In this paper, I will undertake this task in examining cases of convergence in evidentiality and progressivity in bilinguals and the emergence of progressive markers and markers of completive aspect in two Creoles mentioned by Siegel (1998).

3. Functional Convergence and Morphological Elaboration in TMA systems

TMA systems are subject to cross-linguistic interference and functional convergence in bilinguals because they are the locus of micro-parametric variation in the values assigned to each of the categories involved: tense, mood and aspect. TMA systems are also the locus of variation from analytic to synthetic parametrization, that is, from one-to-one correspondences between features and morphemes (as in the notion of Feature-Scattering proposed by Giorgi and Pianesi 1998) to many-to-one correspondences in cases in which the feature values for these three categories are encoded in a single morpheme. As noted by Siegel, it is probably not the case that the emergence of new morphemes in one of the lects of a Creole continuum could be directly attributed to the shift from analyticity to syntheticity, nor is it the case that functional convergence is blocked in bilinguals in cases in which one language favors the analytic parameter while

the other favors the synthetic one (Muysken 2001). A more likely scenario is that cases of functional convergence and some cases of morphological elaboration in TMA systems correspond to situations in which functional features from the substratum language are associated to morpheme units (free or bound) from the superstratum or lexifier language. In the particular case of the evolution from Pidgins to Creole languages, morphological elaboration restores the association between abstract functional features and affixes or independent functional heads that had gone through an intermediate stage of association with a lexical unit in the earlier versions of the Pidgin. Notice that these abstract functional features are not necessarily absent in the pidgin since they might be linked to lexical items such as adverbs or they may correspond to phonologically null forms, as in the cases discussed by Lardiere (1998).

Creole speakers, just as bilinguals, are sensitive to those conditions and, to the extent that they have access to input in the substratum language and the lexifier, they can restore the association between functional features and morphemes (free or bound but more or less deprived of lexical content) under the appropriate discourse conditions. Thus, the types of elements on which dissociation and re-linking might operate are: abstract functional features, lexical items, free functional morphemes and bound functional morphemes. Abstract functional features present in the substratum language(s) or L1s might have been preserved in the mental representation of a bilingual individual in the L1 and the pidgin, in the latter through association with a lexical item in the lexifier such as an adverb or through reduplication. This is possible due to dissociation between the abstract feature and its corresponding unit in the L1 as its phonetically overt expression. If the production of this speaker along with that of other speakers of the pidgin with similar characteristics

is a salient part of the input, Creole speakers of the nativized variety will have access to input in which the feature is available although associated to a lexical item. In their representation a new association is made so that the functional feature becomes either gradually or abruptly associated with a new grammatical unit bleached from its semantic content.

As for which features would be more likely to be imported from the substratum language into the Creole, those would be features whose morphological expression is favored by discourse conditions that apply even in the pidgin. In the next section, I provide examples of how discourse conditions favor the expression or the association of TMA functional features to morphemes in bilingual grammars and Creoles.

4. Convergence in evidentiality and perfectivity features in bilingual grammars

4.1. *Evidentiality*

One salient case of convergence in TMA functional features involves evidentiality values in bilingual varieties of Spanish spoken by Quechua speakers discussed in the first section. While in Quechua past tense suffixes as well as other discourse-level affixes convey evidentiality in terms of first hand versus hearsay information (Cusihumán 2001, Cerrón-Palomino 1989, Muysken 1995) in Spanish past tense distinctions are conveyed by the use of suffixes and auxiliary verbs and are strongly associated to aspectual distinctions between perfectivity and imperfectivity values (Acero 1990) and between background and foreground information in narrative forms (Bardovi-Harlig 1998). The Spanish of some Quechua-Spanish bilingual individuals shows consistent use of

pluperfect forms throughout narrations in order to express the hearsay nature of the information conveyed (Sanchez 2004: 157):

(8) **Había** una viejita dice.

Was an old woman say

“(There) was an old woman, (they) say

(9) **Había sembrado** maíz.

Had sowed corn

“(S/he) had sowed corn”

...

(10) Le **había encontrado** un pajarito # amarillo.

CL **had found** a birdy # yellow

“(S/he) had found a yellow bird”

These correspond to the use of the reportative past morpheme *-sqa* in the corresponding narrative in Quechua (Sanchez 2004: 155)⁶:

(11) <Uk-si> [/] uk-si payacha ka-**sqa** y # sarata tarpu-**sqa**.

<Once- REPORT > [/] once-EVID REPORT old be-PAST REPORT *and* # corn sow-PAST
REPORT

“Once there was an old woman *and* (they say she) was sowing corn”

...

(12) Paq # pichikucha-ta tarikuru-**sqa** qilluchata.

⁶ The Quechua reportative past suffix *-sqa* has an attested past form counterpart *-rqa* that is used in discourse to convey first hand information as in:

(i) Llank'a-rqa-ni
Work- PAST ATTEST-1S
“(I) worked” (Cusihuamán 2001: 159)

Bir # birdy-ACC find-PAST REPORT yellow-ACC

“(She) found a yellow bird”

In order to test the hypothesis that the reportative value of the evidentiality feature has become part of the set of features associated to the pluperfect tense periphrastic verbal form, Sanchez (2004) conducted a study on the use of past tense forms in narration among Quechua-Spanish sequential bilingual children (ages 9-13). A story-retelling task was used to prompt the children to activate both languages and to convey hearsay information. The children were asked to listen to the story in (13). Then they were asked to retell the story first in Quechua and then in Spanish.

(13) Un día una viejita estaba sembrando maíz y se *encontró* un pajarito amarillo.

El pajarito estaba enfermo y no podía volar. La viejita lo *llevó* a su casa, lo *abrigó* y le *dio* un remedio. Al otro día el pajarito estaba sano. Entonces la viejita le *dio* de comer trigo, pan y agua. La viejita le *puso* de nombre Pío Pío y todos los días el pajarito canta para la viejita.

“One day, an old lady was sowing corn and (she) found a little yellow bird. The bird was sick and could not fly. The old lady took it to her house, warmed it and gave it a medicine. The next day the bird was healthy” “Then the old lady fed it wheat, bread and water.” “The old lady named it Pio Pio “and the little bird sings everyday for the old lady” Sánchez (2004:154)

The input story has imperfective and perfective past tense forms (in italics) and contains no instance of Spanish pluperfect forms. The story was retold by the children in Quechua and Spanish. Some of the bilingual children used Spanish pluperfect forms almost exclusively, as shown in the following narrative:

(14) *Había una viejita dice. Había sembrado maíz. Ella sembraba maíz. Le había encontrado un pajarito # amarillo Y le había llevado a su casa. Y le había hecho comer trigo # agua # pan.*

“(There) was an old woman, (they) say. (S/he) had sowed corn. She sowed corn. (She) found a yellow bird for him/her. And (she) took him home, And (she) made him eat wheat, water and bread.”

Sánchez (2004: 157-158)

In narratives such as (14), evidentiality features which are strongly associated with past tense distinctions in Quechua, become part of the representation of the pluperfect in bilingual Spanish. Many of the children who used the Spanish pluperfect in Quechua also used the reportative form in their Quechua narrations (Sánchez 2004). Convergence in the use of the evidentiality value for first hand information is favored by the discourse conditions imposed by a story re-telling task that requires the expression of the reportative value of the past tense in Quechua.⁷ Note that convergence in this case takes place independently from the different morphological forms used in each language (an auxiliary verb and a suffix in Spanish, and a suffix in Quechua).

Evidence of such convergence has been independently found in other studies conducted among adult and child Quechua-Spanish bilinguals. In a study on the use of past tense forms among Quechua-Spanish adult bilinguals in Calca (Cuzco), Peru, Klee and Ocampo (1995) found evidentiality uses of pluperfect past forms in some speakers.

Although Klee and Ocampo focus on simple past imperfect forms, I would like to draw attention to the uses of pluperfect in the narrative:

⁷ For an alternative pragmatics explanation of evidentiality features in Quechua see Faller (2002).

(15) ¿Cuando *estaba* en estado del negrito? Un loco había venido y Caretas estaba así al cantito nomás, y ... ‘¡quiero esto!’ , le había dicho, entonces ‘¿donde está plata?’ , le había dicho.”

“When she was expecting the negrito? A crazy man came [had come]* and Caretas was there next to her, and ... ‘I want this!’ , he said [had said] to her, then ‘where is the money’ she said [had said] to him.”

(Klee and Ocampo 1995:89)

The use of a pluperfect form in this narrative does not correspond to that of non-contact varieties of Spanish. Non-contact varieties make use of the preterite form in these cases. The narrative fragment in (12) is a hearsay narrative in which the speaker recounts the experiences of a third person. The hearsay quality of the information provided by the pluperfect corresponds to that conveyed by the reportative past form in Quechua shown in examples (4) and (5) above. In other varieties of Spanish, the expression of evidentiality is not grammaticalized as a distinction between past tense forms and therefore the contrasts between past tense forms focus on the punctual/discrete nature of the events or the distinction between events belonging to the background or foreground of the narrative (Acero 1990, Bardovi-Harlig 1998).

In a similar study on past tense uses in narratives among adult Quechua-Spanish bilinguals, Escobar (1994) also found evidence of evidentiality features associated to tense morphemes. This led Escobar to propose that adult native speakers of Quechua who speak Spanish as a second language “have grammaticalized a system of epistemic marking that seems to resemble the one found in Quechua” (Escobar 1997:21). The data

she analyzes show evidence of the use of pluperfect past forms to convey a reported meaning:

- (16) no sé/ porque no sé/ desde [que] mi [me he] nacido *dice* que cuando estuve chiquita/ no sé dice que me *había pateado* el gallo y de ahí no más me froté/ entonces mi mamá me *había echado* el limón en los dos lados/...con eso rojo así *había vuelto* mi ojo /...

“I don’t know / because I don’t know/ since I was born it is said that when I was a child/ I don’t know/ it is said that the rooster *had kicked* me [in the eyes] and then I rubbed [my eyes]/ then my mother *had put* lemon in the two sides [of my face, in my eyes]/...with that my eye *had turned* red/...”

(Escobar 1997: 26-27)

Escobar notes that, in this example, the speaker uses the pluperfect to refer to events told to her, but she uses other past tense forms to refer to actions that she performed herself. Escobar points out that such reportative uses of the pluperfect appear in the data that she analyzes in co-occurrence with some form of the verb *decir* ‘to say’ that reinforces the hearsay nature of the information provided by the speaker. She also notes that the speaker infers that the lemon must have damaged her sight.

The data presented and analyzed so far show that in the Spanish TMA system of some Quechua-Spanish bilingual children and adults, there is convergence in evidentiality and tense features under discourse conditions (such as the story re-telling task) that require the expression of reportative features.

4.2. *Progressivity features*

Progressive features also belong in TMA systems and are subject to cross-linguistic interference in Quechua-Spanish bilinguals. In Quechua they may appear associated with a volitional and or imminent feature. Sanchez (forthcoming) found evidence of modal progressive expressions used to convey the meaning of an imminent event among Lamas Kechwa-Spanish bilingual children living in a language contact situation. Lamas Kechwa, like many other Quechua dialects, has a wide range of suffixes that modify the meaning of the verb root, adding an aspectual value. According to Coombs, Coombs and Weber (1976) the desiderative suffix *-naya*, indicates desire on the part of the subject of the verb to take the action expressed by the verb. Cerrón-Palomino (1994) notes that it also expresses the imminent nature of the verbal action:

- (17) Miku-naya-ni
 Eat- desiderative 1p
 “(I) want to/am about to eat”

This modal marker can be used with the progressive suffix *-yka* considered by Cerrón-Palomino (1994) to be an imperfective aspectual suffix that expresses an action that lasts in time:

- (18) Kawa-yka-n
 See-progressive-3p
 “(S/he) is seeing”

While Kechwa expresses progressivity through affixation, Spanish uses the auxiliary verb *estar* “to be” followed by a gerund form *mirando* “looking”:

- (19) Est-á mir-ando

Be-3s pres look-gerund

“(S/he) is looking”

Spanish also has an independent modal verb *querer* ‘to want’ that expresses volition:

(20) Quier-o mir-ar

Want-1s present see-inf

“(I) want (to) see”

In the Spanish narratives of Kechwa-Spanish bilingual children the modal verb *querer* ‘to want’ is combined with the progressive expression, as in:

(21) Est-á quer-iendo mir-ar

Be-3s pres want-gerund (to) see-inf

“(S/he) is about to/ wants to see”

This combination of the auxiliary verb, gerund and infinitival forms to convey progressive aspect and modality is not frequent in discourse in most monolingual varieties of Spanish. If it does occur in a non-contact variety, it does not convey the idea of an imminent action. Sánchez (2005) found that in narratives elicited using a picture-based story-telling task, out of a total of thirty Kechwa-Spanish bilingual children (9-13), ten used the modal progressive expression in both languages. Interestingly, none of the children in a comparison group of Spanish-speaking children used modal progressive forms. It was also the case that a few of the pictures elicited the majority of tokens of modal progressive forms. These were the pictures interpreted by the children as portraying an imminent action. The following examples from two participants in the study illustrate such uses in bilingual Spanish and Lamas Kechwa:

Participant L16 (Spanish)

(22) Y el perro le (*e*)*stá queriendo morder* a ese sapo.

And the dog is wanting to bite the toad

“And the dog wants to/is about to bite the toad”

Participant L16 (Lamas Kewcha)

(23) Achku miku-*naya-yka-n*

Dog eat-des-prog-3

“The dog wants to/ is about to bite”

Participant L25 (Spanish)

(24) Y (a) su sapo le *está queriendo morder* su perro

And his toad cl is wanting to bite his dog

“And his dog wants to/ is about to bite his toad”

Participant L25 (Lamas Kechwa)

(25) Chay achku miku-*naya-yka-n*

That dog eat-des-prog-3

“That dog wants to/ is about to eat”

These examples illustrate how functional convergence among bilinguals is favored by discourse conditions that require the expression of what is perceived as an imminent action by the speaker. In this particular case, the imminent and progressive features associated with suffixes in Kechwa converge with the modal progressive periphrasis in Spanish. This re-association of features takes place irrespective of the different morphological patterns that characterize each of the languages. These examples also

illustrate how functional convergence affects the grouping of features and their association with overt morphological forms under specific discourse conditions.

To summarize, convergence in Quechua-Spanish bilinguals in reportative and imminent/progressive features shows how TMA systems are sensitive to new associations between abstract functional features from one language and overt PF/morphological forms from another language. It also shows how these processes are favored by the selection of functional features whose insertion in a numeration is context-sensitive as is the case of evidentiality or modal progressivity. In languages such as Quechua the mapping of these abstract features onto PF/morphological forms is required under very specific discourse conditions. In the last section, I will hypothesize how the obligatory nature of that mapping might also be involved in the evolution of TMA systems in Creoles.

5. Re-examining morphological elaboration from the perspective of dissociation and re-association of functional features

One of the examples identified by Siegel as a case of morphological elaboration is the emergence of the progressive marker *stei* in the TMA system of Hawaiian Creole English (Roberts 1998). According to Roberts (1998), the progressive marker *stei* emerged gradually in HCE and was not found in the earlier versions of the Creole nor was it found in the pidgin preceding the Creole and therefore its presence in HCE cannot be attributed to the diffusion of substratum features. Roberts points out that this progressive marker is a local and gradual development in HCE and she provides examples from nineteenth century fragments of speech from Japanese, Chinese, Hawaiian and Portuguese speakers that illustrate a lack of functional markers of past tense, future modality and aspect. It is

interesting to note that although morphological markings are absent from these fragments, there are other interesting characteristics that could illustrate how language contact with other languages might have been a source of functional features that were not necessarily associated with bound morphemes or independent heads in the pidgin. In her report, Roberts includes a nineteenth century English lexifier text attributed to a Portuguese immigrant from Kaua'i. She notes the use of reduplication and of the adverb *all time* to convey some form of non-punctual aspect:

(26) Marie, he good woman, but talk, talk all time make me mad then *pilikia*⁸ again.

Roberts (1998: 16)

Portuguese is a language that marks progressivity, so it is natural to hypothesize that abstract progressive features were part of the mental representation of this speaker. In fact, Portuguese has forms similar to that found in HCE:

(27) Ele fica nadando

He stays swimming

“He still swims/persists with his swimming”

In the Portuguese speaker's use of the pidgin, progressive features associated to forms such as (27) could have been linked to verbal reduplication and to the adverbial expression *all time*. No evidence of such form is found in the nineteenth century Pidgin fragments of Japanese, Chinese or Hawaiian immigrants cited by Roberts (1998), but (27) raises the possibility that the abstract features associated to progressive forms in Portuguese were still part of the input heard by Creole speakers.

If this were the case, although the overt morphology was not necessarily inherited from the substratum language, Creole speakers had some indication that the abstract feature of

⁸ “Trouble”. In italics in the original.

progressivity was linked to reduplication and adverbial forms. Some speakers with access to input in Portuguese might use a lexical item from the superstratum language close to the one in Portuguese. The pidgin input to bilingual individuals was therefore not in fact lacking overt morphological expressions conveying the feature although these were not instantiated in an independent functional head or a morpheme. As stated by Roberts, it is only at later stages in the development of the Creole (what she calls Phase V) in the early 1920s that the independent functional head *stay* emerges as a marker of progressivity, as shown in the following examples cited by Roberts from different written sources:

(28) He stay playing (1921) [attributed to schoolchildren]

(29) He stay live Kaimuki (1948) [locally born Japanese student]

(30) He stay swimming (1937) [6 year old Portuguese boy, Honolulu O'ahu]

Roberts (1998: 23)

It would be very difficult to demonstrate that a process of functional convergence took place in the bilingual grammars of Portuguese and Pidgin speakers that affected the evolution of the Creole, but the comparison with what happens with present day bilingual children and adults could serve as a starting point in hypothesizing that similar processes might have taken place in the development of Creole languages such as HCE.

Another example put forth by Siegel as a case of morphological elaboration is the emergence of completive aspect in Singapore Colloquial English, which seems to have followed a pattern similar to the emergence of the progressive marker in HCE. Siegel cites an example from Platt and Weber (1980:66):

(31) I only went there once or twice already.

“I've been there only once or twice”

Siegel points out that this example appears to be influenced by the use of the post-verbal aspect marker *liáu* in the Hokkien substrate and he gives the following example from Platt and Weber 1984:70):

(32) Goá chiáh pá liáu

I eat full COMP

“I have finished eating”

In this case, the abstract feature of completive aspect would have been re-linked in the bilingual representation to the adverb *already*. Bao (2005) provides a comprehensive analysis of the aspectual system of Singapore English. He proposes that in Singapore English the entire aspectual subsystem of Chinese, of which progressivity is only one feature, has been transferred from the substratum language, a process that he dubs *system transfer*. This process takes place conforming to the *lexifier filter*, a restriction according to which the morphosyntactic expression of substratum features must conform to the (surface) structural requirements of the lexifier language. Of crucial importance to our proposal is, as Bao points out, that Singapore English speakers have constant access to input in both languages, a characteristic found also in the Quechua-Spanish contact situation. The cases of morphological elaboration analyzed by Siegel and Bao’s analysis of *system transfer* bear a strong similarity to the process of *functional convergence* in bilingual speakers: in both cases a feature associated with a functional morpheme in one of the languages spoken by a bilingual individual becomes re-linked to a lexical item not previously associated with that feature in the lexifier.

Conclusions

I have proposed that functional convergence in bilinguals (Sanchez 2003, 2004) and morphological elaboration in Creoles (Siegel 2004) are two psycholinguistic processes that require dissociation of abstract functional features from their morphological counterparts in a substratum (Bao 2005) or first language (Lardiere 1998) and a subsequent re-linking of the same abstract feature to a morphological element in a superstratum, L2 or contact language. This re-linking has also been proposed as part of a re-assembly process of features in the L2 representation (Lardiere 2005) and in Creole languages it is constrained by the superstratum morphology (Bao 2005). As evidenced by convergence in the TMA systems of Quechua-Spanish bilinguals this process takes place irrespective of strong differences in the morphological configuration of the languages involved in the contact situation, and it is favored by frequent activation of the two languages (Sanchez 2004, Bao 2005). I have also argued that these processes take place (and can be best observed) under specific discourse conditions that require the morphological expression of interpretable features in the L1 or the substratum languages.

References

- Acero, José.1990. "Las ideas de Reichenbach acerca del tiempo verbal." *Tiempo y aspecto en español*, ed. by Ignacio Bosque.45-75. Madrid: Cátedra.
- Aikhenvald, Alexandra. 2004. *Evidentiality*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Arends, Jacques, Pieter Muysken and Norval Smith. 1995. *Pidgins and creoles*. Amsterdam: John Benjamins.
- Backus, Ad. 2004. "Convergence as a mechanism of language change." *Bilingualism: language and cognition* 7 (2):179-181.
- Baker, Mark. 2003. *Lexical categories*. Cambridge: Cambridge U. Press.
- Baker, Philip. 1995. "Some developmental influences from the historical studies of pidgins and Creoles. *The early stages of creolization*. ed. by Jacques Arends. 1-24 Amsterdam: John Benjamins.
- Bao, Zhimming. 2005. The aspectual system of Singapore English and the systemic substrate explanation. *Journal of Linguistics* 41, 237-267.
- Bardovi-Harlig, Kathleen.1998. "Narrative structure and lexical aspect." *Studies on second language acquisition*. 20 (4), 471-508.
- Bickerton, Derek. 1984. "The language bioprogram hypothesis." *Behavioral and brain sciences*, 7, 173-221.
- Cerrón-Palomino, Rodolfo. 1989. *Lingüística Quechua*. Cuzco, Peru: Centro Bartolomé de las Casas.
- Coombs, David, Heidi Coombs and Robert Weber. 1976. *Gramática Quechua San Martín*. Lima, Peru: Instituto de Estudios Peruanos.

- Cusihuamán, Antonio. 2001. *Gramática Quechua Cuzco-Collao*. Cuzco, Peru: Centro Bartolomé de las Casas.
- Chomsky, Noam. 1995. *The Minimalist Program*. Cambridge: MIT Press.
- Chomsky, Noam. 1999. Derivation by phase. *MIT Working papers in linguistics 18*. Cambridge, Massachusetts: MIT Press.
- Escobar, Anna Maria. 1994. "Evidential Uses in the Spanish of Quechua Speakers in Peru". *Southwest Journal of Linguistics*. 13 (1-2): 21-43.
- Escobar, Anna Maria. 1997. "Contrastive and innovative uses of the present perfect and the preterite in Spanish in contact with Quechua." *Hispania*, 80 (4), 859-879.
- Faller, Martina. 2002. Semantics and pragmatics of evidentials in Cuzco Quechua. Unpublished Ph.D. Dissertation Stanford University.
- Giorgi, Alessandra and Fabio Pianesi. 1997. *Tense and Aspect*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Goodman, Morris. 1985. "Review article: Roots of language." *International Journal of American Linguistics*. 51 (1). 109-137.
- Heine, Berne and Tania Kuteva. 2003. "On contact induced grammaticalization" *Studies in language*, 27 (3): 529-572.
- Klee, Carol and Alicia Ocampo. 1995. "The expression of past reference in Spanish narratives of Spanish-Quechua bilingual speakers." *Spanish in four continents: Studies in language contact and bilingualism*, ed. by Silva-Corvalán, Carmen. 52-70. Washington, DC: Georgetown U Press.
- Lardiere, Donna. 1998. "Dissociating syntax from morphology in a divergent L2 end-state grammar." *Second language research* 14 (4), 359-375.

- Lardiere, Donna. 2003. "Second Language Knowledge of [\pm past] vs. [\pm finite]." In J. Liceras, H. Goodluck & H. Zobl (eds), *Proceedings of the 6th Generative Approaches to Second Language Acquisition Conference (GASLA 2002): L2 links* (pp. 176-189) Somerville, MA: Cascadilla Proceedings Project.
- Lardiere, D. (2005). On morphological competence. In Laurent Dekydtspotter et al. (eds.), *Proceedings of the 7th Generative Approaches to Second Language Acquisition Conference (GASLA 2004)*, pp. 178-192. Somerville, MA: Cascadilla Proceedings Project.
- Lefebvre, Claire. 1998. *Creole genesis and the acquisition of grammar: the case of Haitian Creole*. Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press.
- Muysken, Pieter. 1981. "Halfway between Quechua and Spanish: The case for relexification". *Historicity and variation in Creole studies*. ed. by Highfield, Arthur and Albert Valdman. 52-79. Ann Arbor, MI: Karoma.
- Muysken, Pieter. 1995. "Focus in Quechua". *Discourse configurational languages*. Ed. by Kiss, Katalin. 375-393. Oxford: Oxford University Press
- Muysken, Pieter. 2001. *Bilingual Speech*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Muysken, Pieter and Tonjees Venstra. 1995. "Universalist Approaches". *Pidgins and creoles*. ed. by Jacques Arends, Pieter Muysken and Norval Smith. 121-134. Amsterdam: John Benjamins.
- Myers-Scotton, Carol. 2002. *Contact linguistics*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Prévost, Phillipe and Lydia White. 2000. "Missing surface inflection or impairment in second language acquisition." *Second language research*, 16- 2. 103-133.

- Platt, John and Heidi Weber. 1980. *English in Singapore and Malaysia: Status, features, functions*. Kuala Lumpur: Oxford University Press.
- Romaine, Suzanne. 1988. *Pidgin and Creoles Languages*. New York: Longman.
- Romaine, Suzanne. 1999. "The grammaticalization of the proximative in Tok Pisin" *Language* 75(2). 322-346.
- Roberts, Sarah. 1998. The role of diffusion in the genesis of Hawaiian Creole. *Language*. 74-2 . 1-39.
- Ross, Graham. 2005. "Partial creolization, restructuring and convergence in Bay Islands Englishes." *English World-Wide* 26, 1
- Sánchez, Liliana. 2003. *Quechua-Spanish Bilingualism. Interference and Convergence in Functional Categories*. Amsterdam: John Benjamins.
- Sánchez, Liliana. 2004. "Functional convergence in the tense, evidentiality and aspectual systems of Quechua-Spanish bilinguals." *Bilingualism: language and cognition*. (7) 2. 147-162.
- Sánchez, Liliana. 2006. "Kechwa-Spanish bilingual grammars: testing hypotheses on functional interference and convergence" accepted for publication in *International Journal of Bilingual Education and Bilingualism*.
- Schwartz, Bonnie and Rex Sprouse. 1996. L2 cognitive states and the full transfer/full access model. *Second language research*, 12. 40-72.
- Seuren, Pieter. 2001. *A view of language*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Siegel, Jeff. 2004. "Morphological elaboration" *Journal of Pidgin and Creole Languages* 19:2. 333-362.

- White, Lydia. 2003. "Fossilization at the steady state: persistent problems with inflectional morphology." *Bilingualism: language and cognition*. (6) 2. 129-141
- Zagona, Karen. 2000. *The syntax of Spanish*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.