CROSS-DIALECTAL FEATURES OF THE SPANISH PRESENT PERFECT:

A TYPOLOGICAL ANALYSIS OF FORM AND FUNCTION

DISSERTATION

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By

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ABSTRACT

In this dissertation I present a typological analysis of the Present Perfect (or perfect) across dialects of Spanish, building from a set of semantic features characteristic of perfect constructions cross-linguistically. Much of the literature concerning the Present Perfect in Spanish has dealt with issues relating to its historical development and its situation across the dialectal spectrum. Consequently, it has been long noted that use of this form in those Spanish varieties spoken in Spain differs qualitatively from its use in Latin American dialects. The principal contributions of this thesis are (i) the description of a set of semantic characteristics exhibited across languages with typologically similar perfect constructions and (ii) the application of this set of features to the categorization of perfects across dialects of Spanish.

I begin in Chapter 2 by presenting and examining the set of features that is used to characterize the cross-dialectal situation of the Spanish perfect. At this point in the analysis, I argue that the Spanish perfect exhibits many of the features of an archetypal perfect (e.g. incompatibility with definite past adverbials, use in sequenced narratives, etc.). In Chapter 3 a partition of dialect groups is proposed, establishing a division between those varieties that tend to favor the perfective past, or *pretérito*, in reference to

past events (i.e. Group I) and those that favor the perfect (i.e. Group II). Following this dialect typology, I investigate two cases in Chapter 4—Peninsular and Peruvian Spanish—in which increased functional overlap between the perfect and the *pretérito* has been attested. I argue that despite some analogous distribution displayed by the perfect in these two dialect groups, primarily reflected in increased co-occurrence with definite past denoting adverbials, Peruvian Spanish is more generally indicative of the Group I (*pretérito*-preferring) norm, as opposed to Peninsular Spanish which I characterize as belonging to the set of Group II dialects (i.e. perfect-favoring).

In Chapter 5 I corroborate the arguments developed in the previous chapters by presenting the results of my fieldwork conducted in Madrid and Valencia, Spain and Cusco, Peru. I conclude this chapter with a proposal concerning the variable mechanisms of semantic change responsible for the independent development of perfective features observed in the perfect in Peninsular and Peruvian Spanish. While grammaticalization in both cases is motivated by discourse-related motivations, the extension of the perfect in Peninsular Spanish is triggered by the erosion of relevance implications associated with the meaning of the perfect. With the Present Perfect in Peruvian Spanish, increased perfectivity results via widening of the notion of relevance. According to my analysis, these two dialectal situations represent distinct outcomes of discourse-motivated semantic change. I conclude the analysis with Chapter 6, offering a model for cross-dialectal semantic change based on the feature typology developed throughout the thesis.

For Stephanie and Patrick,

my true sources of inspiration

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Lastly, the bulk of my thesis was developed over the last several years during which time I also met and married my wife Stephanie. The depth of Stephanie's compassion and thoughtful insight make it easy to leave my work at the office. I have deepest appreciation for her encouragement during the writing process. Furthermore, I thank the most recent addition to our small family, Patrick, whose much-anticipated arrival provided the last bit of motivation that I needed to finish the thesis. For these reasons, and many others, I dedicate this work to Stephanie and Patrick.

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FIELDS OF STUDY

Major Field: Spanish and Portuguese
    Studies in:
        Pragmatics
        Semantics
        Sociolinguistics (Morphosyntactic variation)

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Typesetting

Initial caps:	for language-specific names of verb forms
	e.g. Present Perfect, Present Tense
Lower case:	for cross-linguistic (morphosyntactic) forms
	e.g. present perfect, simple past
italics:	used for distinction in examples and emphasis (limited)

List of affix labels in glosses

lit.	Literally (used in glosses)
1	first person (singular)
2	second person (singular)
3	third person (singular)
ACC	accusative
CL	clitic
CON	conditional
DAT	dative
FEM	feminine
FUT	(analytic) future
IMP	past imperfective (*imperfecto*)
INF	infinitive
MASC	masculine
NEG	negation
NEU	neuter
PAST PER	past perfect (*analytic*)
PERF	past perfective (*pretérito*)
PL	plural
PP	past participle
PROG	progressive
PAST SUBJ	past subjunctive

Abbreviations for Corpus Sources

BNC   British National Corpus

CREA   Corpus Real del Español Actual (*corpus.rae.es/creanet.html*)

COREC   Corpus de Referencia de la Lengua Española Contemporánea: Corpus
Oral Peninsular, director F. Marcos Marín. Available at:
www.lllf.uam.es/~fmarcos/informes/corpus/corpusix.html (conversational)

CUS05   Cusco Interviews, gathered in summer of 2006 (following OSU Research
protocol 2005B0106)

LBA   Juan Ruiz, Arcipreste de Hita, *Libro de buen amor* (Salamanca
manuscript), ed. M. Criado de VAl and E. V. Taylor, 1965, Madrid. 1343.

MAD05   Madrid Interviews, gathered in summer of 2006 (following OSU research
protocol 2005B0106)

VAL05   Valencia Interviews, gathered in summer of 2006 (following OSU
research protocol 2005B0106)

CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

The ample body of literature concerning the present perfect[1] ranges across several linguistic subfields including semantics, syntax, pragmatics, and sociolinguistics. Nonetheless, very little consensus has been reached as to how to correctly characterize its distribution in natural language. Following from the early work of Reichenbach (1947), McCoard (1978) and Dowty (1979), researchers have sought to provide a broad characterization that accurately describes all of the nuances of the perfect. Perhaps the best known of these systems of categorization is Comrie's 1976 taxonomy of the 'types' available to the perfect. Comrie's claim is that these readings are part of the cross-linguistic category of present perfect (or 'anterior' following Bybee et al.'s 1994 terminology). In recent years various authors have revisited Comrie's work and offered new insights into how perfect readings are made available in different contexts.

In this thesis I offer an analysis of the Present Perfect in Spanish, focusing primarily on characterizing its distribution across dialects utilizing a set semantic features characteristic of perfect forms cross-linguistically. It will be shown that while the

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[1] Throughout this thesis I use the terms 'present perfect' and 'perfect' interchangeably.

standard definition of the perfect as expressing a 'past event with current relevance' (Comrie 1976) may be broadly true, it is not always the case that perfect constructions adhere to this description. My analysis brings attention to various dialectal instantiations of the Spanish perfect, noting the relevant distinctions from the commonly accepted archetype.

Central to the discussion of Spanish perfect in the literature is its variation across dialects. It is well-documented that in Peninsular the perfect exhibits a number of uses that overlap functionally with those of the simple perfective past (or *pretérito*) (see Schwenter 1994a and Serrano 1994). Across Romance, a similar phenomenon is attested in languages where the perfect construction has grammaticalized into a perfective past (Harris 1982 and Fleischman 1983). The French *passé composé*, for instance, which has the same AUX + PAST PARTICIPLE morphosyntactic structure as the Spanish perfect, is used as a perfective past, compatible with past time denoting adverbials like *yesterday* and *last year* and used in all sequenced narratives.[2] This process of perfect to perfective

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[2] Labelle (2003) discusses uses of the French *imparfait* in different sequencing contexts. Note the examples in (i) and (ii), both from Labelle (2003) (verbs are underlined).

(i) Habitual sequence of events:
Tous les jours, Paul <u>allait</u> à la piscine, <u>nageait</u> vingt longeurs, s'<u>habillait</u> et <u>allait</u> au travail.
"Every day, Paul <u>went</u>-IMP to the pool, <u>swam</u>- IMP twenty laps, <u>dressed</u>-IMP, and <u>went</u>-IMP to work."

(ii) Narrative sequence of events:
Le lendemain, Jean <u>donnait</u> sa demission et <u>partait</u> pour Paris.
"The next day, John <u>handed in</u>-IMP his resignation and <u>left</u>- IMP for Paris.

Example (ii) demonstrates the "imparfait narrative", which is limited to specific types of contexts. The Spanish imperfect past (or *imperfecto*) also displays perfective uses, though it does not have the same variety of uses as the French *imparfait* (cf. Rodriguez 2004).

(iii) Habitual sequence of events:
Todos los días, Pablo <u>iba</u> a la piscina, <u>nadaba</u> veinte etapas, <u>se vestía</u> e <u>iba</u> a trabajar.
"Every day, Paul <u>went</u>-IMP to the pool, <u>swam</u>- IMP twenty laps, <u>dressed</u>-IMP, and <u>went</u>-IMP to work."

meaning has not occurred uniformly in those Spanish dialects in which it is attested nor is it the case that the perfect in all dialects express uses similar to those of the simple past perfective. The over-arching objective of this thesis is to develop a description of the Spanish perfect that takes into account both dialectal variation and trends in semantic change commonly noted among Romance languages.

1.1 Previous analyses

Among the studies concerning the Spanish Present Perfect (or *antepresente*) in Spanish, there has been little consensus regarding its exact semantic distribution (Alarcos Llorach 1978, Bello & Trujillo 1981, Bull 1968, Zamora 1974, King 1992, Bosque & Demonte 1999, Carrasco Gutiérrez 2001, among others). What we can say about the Spanish perfect is that it functions, in general dialectal terms, similar to an 'archetypal' perfect as describe by Comrie (1976) or Bybee et al. (1994). According to Alonso and Henríquez Ureña (1941), the Spanish Present Perfect is said to contrast with the *pretérito* in that the former encodes the notion of present relevance, as shown in (1).

(1) a. Juan lavó   el   coche.   *PRETÉRITO*
          Juan wash: PERF-3 the car[3]
          'Juan washed the car.'

     b. Juan ha   lavado   el   coche.   PRESENT PERFECT
          Juan has:3 wash:PP   the car
          'Juan has washed the car.'

Like the English perfect, for example, the Present Perfect in Spanish is said to denote a relationship between a past eventuality (i.e. event or state) and the time of utterance such that this eventuality is interpreted as 'relevant' to the current discourse. Thus, with the examples above, a speaker who utters (1b) may intend to implicate that the

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[3] See "List of affix labels in glosses" under the "Conventions" section.

car is fact clean at the time of utterance (i.e. the result state interpretation). The *pretérito* in (1a) does not typically give rise to these types of implications, at least not in the conventional way that is generally attributed to the perfect. Stockwell et al. (1965) assert that all perfects—past, present, and future—are marked for 'relevant anteriority', and indicate an event "as anterior to some specified or implied past or non-past point of reference, and explicitly mark[s] it as being of continuing relevance to that point of reference" (139). This is a commonly held view concerning the Spanish perfect.

1.1.1   Relevance

While there has been no single notion of relevance claimed to be unique to the Present Perfect, there are a number of analyses that maintain that perfects, unlike past perfectives, presuppose or conventionally implicate a relationship between the proposition denoted by the perfect and the current discourse topic (see Inoue 1979 and Portner 2003). With respect to the issue of relevance and the perfect, Portner states the following:

> Though the use of the past tense (*The Earth was struck by giant asteroids in the past*) would convey virtually the same information [as *The Earth has been struck by giant asteroids in the past*], thus yielding a common ground which plausibly also entails an answer to A's question [*Is the Earth in danger of being struck by giant asteroids?*], it would not be functionally equivalent to the use of the perfect. The perfect's presupposition functions to highlight the fact that B's utterance, in context, serves to imply an answer to A's question. It doesn't only provide an answer; it even presupposes that it provides an answer. This point may be closely connected to Inoue's [1979] idea that the perfect stands in a logical relation to the discourse topic. (2003:501)

Though I will not provide an extensive discussion of the exact motivations for Portner's claims, I find his proposal intriguing in that it provides a means of modeling the subjective notion of relevance as applied to the perfect, which heretofore has eluded a

precise definition.[4] Important to this proposal is the claim that relevance is conventionally associated with the ongoing discourse structure (cf. Roberts 1996). For the purposes of the current discussion, I adopt this discourse topic-based notion of relevance.

1.1.2 Functional Overlap

The issue of functional overlap between the Present Perfect and the *pretérito* is an interesting one for Romance languages since it is not uncommon for the periphrastic past forms to develop perfective uses (see Harris 1982, Fleischman 1983, and Squartini and Bertinetto 2000). Perhaps the most well-known example of the development of perfective meaning from a source that originally functioned as a prototypical perfect is the French *passé composé*, which, like the Spanish perfect, is formed from an auxiliary and a past participle but does not carry the same contextual implications. Observe example (2).

(2) Jean a   lavé   la voiture.
    Jean have:3 wash:PP   the car
    'Jean washed the car.'

In accordance with the argument that Present Perfects are linked by convention to the moment of speech and that simple pasts are not, example (2) can be felicitously uttered in a context, by virtue of its perfectivity, in which there is no particular relationship between the event of Jean's having washed the car and the current discourse topic. Of course, according to the Gricean maxim of relevance, speakers are obliged to make their

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[4] To test his prediction, Portner offers the following examples:

   (i)   I have been diagnosed with cancer.   (= Portner's example (77a))
  (ii)   I was diagnosed with cancern.   (= Portner's example (77b))

In an out-of-the blue context, (i) suggests that the speaker is still ill, while (ii) does not necessarily do so. Portner's argument is that the two sentences differ because (i) is relevant to some topic in the discourse and one of the ways that this proposition might be relevant is that it indicates the speaker's current state of health.

contributions relevant to the topic under discussion, so it stands to reason that the *passé compose* would be subject more generally to this requirement because of conversational expectations. As it turns out, it is quite difficult to test for conventional relevance implications

If our criterion for differentiating between a present perfect and a perfective past is presupposition of discourse relevance, then it becomes difficult for us to determine how an example like (2) is functionally distinct from an archetypal perfect like (1) since, as mentioned above, both are subject to the more general requirement of Gricean relevance. Fortunately, there are a number of formal characteristics that relate to either perfects or perfectives. For instance, certain types of adverbials, namely those denoting definite past reference like *yesterday*, are usually incompatible with the Present Perfect but acceptable with a perfective. Note that *ayer* 'yesterday' cannot co-occur with the perfects in either Spanish or English; this is not the case in French.

(3) a. ??Juan ha lavado el coche *ayer*.   SPANISH

     b. Jean a lavé la voiture *hier*.   FRENCH

     c. ??John has washed his car *yesterday*.   ENGLISH

Cross-linguistically, perfects of the form AUX + PAST PARTICIPLE vary widely in terms of their patterns of co-occurrence with different adverbials (as shown in (3)) in addition to a number of other formal features. In Spanish, for example, the perfect can be used to refer to a state or an event that began in the past and continues into the present (i.e. the so-called 'Continuative' use). While this use is also possible in English, it is disallowed by the French *passé composé*.

(4) a. Juan ha estado enfermo desde el martes. SPANISH

   b. *Jean a été malade depuis mardi. FRENCH

   c. John has been sick since Tuesday. ENGLISH

These two features, adverbial co-occurrence and 'Continuative' interpretations, are sensitive to degrees of perfectivity and thus serve as a useful means of ascertaining the distribution of a perfect in a given language. The 'perfects' in many languages, such as French (and German and Standard Italian), are used primarily with features of a perfective, which in many cases do not overlap with the functions typically ascribed to perfects. One of the objectives in this thesis is to develop a typology of these features based primarily on their relationship to perfects and perfectives and to apply them to the description of the Present Perfect in Spanish.

Additionally complicating this issue is that, cross-dialectally, the Spanish perfect displays variable functional overlap with the simple past, e.g. compatibility with definite past adverbials (e.g. *ayer* 'yesterday', *a las nueve* 'at 9 o'clock', etc.) and use in sequenced narratives. Among the set of dialects that possesses these 'innovative' uses of the Present Perfect, the region that has received the most attention is that of Spain (Serrano 1994, Schwenter 1994a, De Jonge 1999, Brugger 2001, Carter 2003, among others). Both Serrano and Schwenter discuss these uses of the perfect as examples of grammaticalization of an anterior to a perfective. This usage of the perfect can be observed in (5).

(5) Esta mañana   me he despertado a las seis.
    this morning CL have:3 wake:PP   at the six
    'This morning I woke up (*lit.* have awaken) at six o'clock.'

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Similar perfective uses have also been attested in other dialects of Spanish, such as Peruvian (Klee and Ocampo 1995, Escobar 1997, and Sánchez 2003) and Salvadoran (Hernández 2004). One example of the type of variation found in the Peruvian case presented in (6).

(6) He   llegado a Lima el año pasado.
     Have:3 arrive:PP to Lima the year past
     'I arrived (have arrived) in Lima last year.'

It has been claimed that the perfect in dialects of Peruvian Spanish has acquired evidential features through extended contact with Quechua (Escobar 1997, Klee & Ocampo 1995, De Granda 2002, Cerrón-Palomino 2003, and Sánchez 2004). More specifically, studies of the perfect with Spanish/Quechua bilinguals suggest that the perfect is sensitive to "the relationship between the location of the past event and that of the speaker at the present moment" and that this relationship is a result of the interaction of the verbal semantics of Quechua and Spanish (Escobar 1997:860). In this thesis, I analyze the purported increased functional overlap between the perfect and the *pretérito* in Peruvian Spanish arguing, following Howe and Schwenter (2003), that both the distribution and the processes resulting in increased perfectivity are not parallel to those attested in the Peninsular case. Furthermore, I defend the claim that, despite an observed increase in the frequency of use of the perfect in comparison to the *pretérito*, the perfect in Peruvian Spanish more generally follows the Latin American norm.

To summarize, my analysis differs from previous accounts in that it is built upon a set of semantic properties salient in perfect constructions cross-linguistically. These features are applied to the description of the dialectal distribution of the Spanish perfect, and a system for classifying dialects with respect to their particular patterns of Present

Perfect/*pretérito* usage is proposed. Moreover, I classify the Peruvian perfect as belonging to the set of dialects in which the *pretérito* is favored for past reference, thus adhering to the model for perfects in Latin American Spanish. Crucial to my analysis, however, is that the Peruvian perfect is not undergoing a semantic shift parallel to that of the Peninsular Spanish. In fact, it is arguable as to whether or not the perfect in this dialect can be said to be grammaticalizing at all. Nonetheless, I develop a proposal describing the mechanisms responsible for variation in the type of semantic change noted in the perfects of Peninsular and Peruvian Spanish. In order to provide some preliminary background for the state of perfects across Romance languages, I will not turn to a brief description of Harris (1982), which outlines the different 'stages' of development of the periphrastic past in Romance.

1.2   The evolution of the Romance periphrastic perfect

Despite the vast body of literature concerning the historical development of periphrastic constructions in Romance, there are a few established claims that can be considered accepted wisdom when it comes to the origins of perfect constructions in Spanish. This story is generally said to begin with two competing constructions in Vulgar Latin that later give rise to both the Spanish *pretérito* and the Present Perfect. The first is the synthetic perfect (or aorist) past, shown below in (7). Along side the synthetic past, there was also a periphrastic construction, used initially only with transitive verbs, that employed *habēre* or *tenēre* as auxiliaries—both meaning 'to have'—and combined with a

past participle corresponding in both number and gender with the direct object.[5] Observe example (8).

(7) Litteras   tibi   scripsi.
    letter:ACC-PL you:DAT write:PERF-1
    'I wrote/have written letters to you.'

                                                        (Cicero, 1ˢᵗ Century B.C.E.)

(8) Litteras   ad te scriptas   habeō.
    letter:ACC-PL to you write:PP-FEM-PL have:1
    'I have the letter (to you) written.'

                                                         (Cicero, 1ˢᵗ Century B.C.E.)

Squartini and Bertinetto (2000) note that the periphrastic *habēre* construction is found in Pre-Classical texts, where a resultative interpretation is understood.

(9) Multa bona   bene parta   habemos
    Many goods well obtained:PP have:1-PL
    "We possess many well obtained goods.'
                     (Plautus, *Trin.* 347 *apud* Squartini & Bertininetto 2000:404)

Regarding example (9), Squartini and Bertinetto point out that at this stage in the development of the periphrastic past there are several features that distinguish it from later uses. First, there is no obligatory concordance between the subject of the matrix verb *habemos* 'we have' and that of the past participle *parta* 'obtained'. Therefore, it is possible that the possessor of the goods in (9) (i.e. *we*) is not the same person who obtained them.[6] The second of the important features observed in (9) is maintenance of the lexical meaning of possession on behalf of the matrix verb. Generally associated with the grammaticalization of this construction in Romance is the concomitant erosion of the possessive component of *habēre*.

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[5] Hopper and Traugott (2003) point out that the *habēre* + past participle construction occurred in both OV and VO orders in Late Latin.

[6] Detges (2000) refers to this possibility as the Resultative I construction.

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In a widely-known treatment of the development of perfect constructions in Romance, Harris (1982) offers a taxonomy of perfects across the Romance spectrum placing each language at a different stage in the development of this particular form (see also Fleischman 1983 and Squartini & Bertinetto 2000). He notes, as do many other sources, that there is tendency for periphrastic perfects to develop into simple perfective pasts, as was the case with the *passé composé* in French (see Dahl 1985). Squartini and Bertinetto (2000) refer to this trend in Romance as the 'aoristic drift', in reference to the increased level of perfectivty displayed by perfect constructions. In Table 1.1 below, I summarize Harris' claims regarding the semantic distribution of both the synthetic and periphrastic past forms across Romance. One important point to note is that his proposal distinguishes between the Present Perfect in the Spanish of Mexico, for instance, and that of Spain (cf. Schwenter & Torres Cacoullos 2005). In Chapter 3, I will discuss in more detail the motivations for such a claim. For now, my objective in presenting Harris' summary in Table 1.1 is to provide a basic overview of the development of the forms discussed in the previous section.

STAGE	LANGUAGES	SYNTHETIC PAST	PERIPHRASTIC PAST
		From Latin aorist past e.g. *Cantāvī*	From Latin resultative e.g. *Cantātum habēo*
I	Calabrian, Sicilian	*all past perfectives*	*present states resulting from past actions*
II	Portuguese, Spanish (Mexican)	*most past perfectives*	*past events with current relevance and aspectually marked as durative or repetitive*
III	Catalan, Spanish (Peninsular)	*past situation without current relevance*	*archetypal 'present perfect' value of 'past action with present relevance'*
IV	French, Northern Italian	*used only in formal or written registers*	*distinction between periphrastic and analytic past is neutralized*

Table 1.1. Development of Synthetic and Periphrastic Past forms in Romance
(adapted from Harris 1982, Fleischman, 1983, and Schwenter 1994a)

Despite this straight-forward typology, there is compelling evidence for the claim that a simple four-stage approach is not capable of accounting for the wide cross-linguistic and cross-dialectal variation observed with the periphrastic past (see Schwenter 1994a, Squartini & Bertinetto 2000, among others). Nevertheless, Harris' proposal is intriguing from the point of view of grammaticalization since it makes the claim that in the march from resultative to perfect to perfective, the *habēre* + past participle construction follows a series of stages whose ordering, according to the analysis, does not vary. In a recent analysis, Amaral and Howe (2005) argue that Harris' typology is not particularly applicable to the Portuguese Present Perfect given that the *ter* (< *tenere*) + Past participle construction in Old Portuguese exhibits uses characteristic of Stage III perfects before settling into its role as a typical example of Stage II perfects.

The importance of Harris' proposal is that it highlights the difficulty of providing a descriptively accurate view of the synchronic situation of the present perfect across Romance while remaining consistent with the historical facts. Consider the case of Vulgar Latin, in which there are no less than three distinct constructions that can be used to make reference to an event occurring at some time prior to the moment of utterance — e.g. the simple perfective past (or aorist), *habēre* 'to have' + PAST PARTICIPLE, and *tenēre* 'to have/hold' + PAST PARTICIPLE.[7] Though each of these forms is distinct with respect to the type of past reference made, i.e. direct reference to a past event with the simple past and indirect reference with the periphrastic constructions, there is conceivably an area of semantic overlap in which these constructions 'compete', as it were, for expression of a given range of temporal relations. For a more contemporary example, let us assume that my intention as a speaker is to make reference to a past event with some type of connection to the present moment. In Spanish the following structures are possible.

(10) Yo escribí   un libro.   *PRETÉRITO*
      I   write:PERF-1 a   book
      'I wrote a book.'

(11) Yo he   escrito   un libro.   PRESENT PERFECT
      I   have:1 write:PP a   book
      'I have written a book.'

(12) Yo tengo   el libro   escrito.   RESULTATIVE
       I   have:1 the book write:PP-FEM-PL
      'I have the book written.'

For each of the cases in (10)-(12), it is possible to some extent to discern different contexts in which one structure would be favored over another. If the speaker is intending to indicate that there is a book that is written/completed at the time of utterance and that

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[7] This number is of course conservative given that I have excluded the imperfective past and the past perfect from consideration.

the completion of this book is relevant to some topic of discussion, the more likely candidates will be either (11) or (12); though (10) cannot be completely ruled out. On the other hand, if the speaker does not have in his/her possession the book in question, it may be more appropriate to choose (10); though again, the perfect construction in (12) is also applicable. If we look simply at the temporal features of these options, it would seem that the simple past allows for the greatest distance between the time of the event and the time of utterance. Nevertheless, the Present Perfect is certainly compatible in a context where the speaker is discussing his/her experience as an author, which may indeed be located in a distant past.

Our first glance at the data in (10)-(12) may give us the impression that these forms are all interchangeable. If we consider the more formal properties of these forms, such as compatibility with past denoting adverbs like *el año pasado* 'last year', we quickly see that this is not the case—e.g. *escribí el libro el año pasado*, **he escrito el libro el año pasado*, and **tengo el libro escrito el año pasado*. If we abstract from these three forms a list of possible temporal (and perhaps aspectual) relations, we would expect to find quite a bit of overlap, mitigated of course by specific features of the context. Returning to the situation in Vulgar Latin or Old Spanish, if we hold constant the same list of relations, can the claim be made that the difference between these two (diachronically distinct) situations is a function of the assignment of these relations to these specific forms? That is, is it reasonable to assume that contemporary speakers make use of the same set of temporal semantic relations as those employed by speakers of Vulgar Latin and Old Spanish? Perhaps the distinction between these three distinct diachronic stages (i.e. Vulgar Latin, Old and Modern Spanish) is the linguistic

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manifestation of these relations. The division of the semantic labor is distributed and then re-distributed throughout the evolution of these forms; and, assuming that none of the forms disappear from use (which is not the case in the Romance situation), we can simply argue for some type of reassignment. Figure 1.1 models this simplistic view of the evolution of the relationship between form(s) and meaning.

SITUATION **1**   SITUATION **2**

Forms: **A   B   C**   **A   B   C**

Functions: *w   x   v   z*   *w   x   v   z*
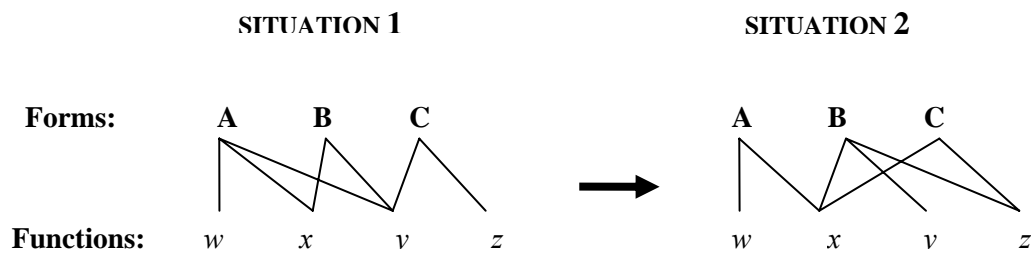
Figure 1.1. Relationship between form and function

Again, my intention with this diachronic overview has been to provide some initial grounding for explaining the cross-dialectal distribution of the Spanish Present Perfect. This type of discussion conjures a number of issues concerning the connection between the synchronic use of the Present Perfect and its historical evolution. One such topic that is prevalent in the grammaticalization literature concerns the maintenance of functions as forms pass through different stages of grammaticalization (see Hopper & Traugott 2003). The conclusion that we might draw from Figure 1.1 is that a form A with functions *x*, *y*, and *z* may be subject to variable loss of one (or more) of these functions. Recall that the French *passé composé* cannot be used to refer to a continuing state or event, a use that was available at an earlier stage in its development. Consequently,

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throughout this thesis I maintain the argument that functions available in a diachronically earlier stage in the development of a form do not necessarily persist as the form begins to expand to different semantic spaces.

1.3   Methodology

1.3.1   General observations

Corresponding to the various linguistic sub-fields represented in this dissertation are several methodological approaches designed to provide relevant tests and observations. Throughout the evolution of linguistic inquiry, there have been a number of debates regarding the nature of data sources. For the most part, the tradition in semantic, pragmatic, and syntactic studies has been to make use of data constructed on the basis of speaker intuition. This type of methodology provides a greater level of control over the factors governing the range of interpretations available for a given linguistic item. Of course the utility of 'fabricating' an example is motivated by two principle reasons: (i) no parallel example can be found in a specific corpus or (ii) such an example should *not* be found in any corpus source. It is the latter of these two reasons that has proven useful to the generative theories of language acquisition and use since it allows researchers access to those forms and configurations that are disallowed or disfavored in language. The usual arguments offered against this type of approach generally relate to the relatively subjective determination of grammaticality on the part of the researcher.

On the other side of the methodology coin is the camp that views naturally-occurring data as a final test. Thus, corpus data, interviews, questionnaires, and experiments are used extensively to observe and elicit spontaneously-produced linguistic

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exchanges, either written or spoken. From a non-linguist perspective, it would seem that any methodology used to make claims regarding language use would be remiss if it did not utilize data produced by actual speakers of that language. Yet, one of the central contributions of Chomskyan linguistic theory has been that speakers of a language have a perfect knowledge of that language and that their intuitions can help us (i.e. researchers) to understand not only the possible instantiations of linguistic knowledge but also of the impossible ones. Therefore, while it is ideal to make use of linguistic examples found or produced in a 'natural' setting, it is frequently the case that samples meeting all of the structural and contextual requirements are simply unavailable. This apparent absence in a corpus, however, does not equate to absence in the internal grammar of a native speaker.

In this study, I utilize both constructed examples and data from corpus and interview sources. The motivation for such an approach is to provide the study with a level of depth that addresses both observational and theoretical concerns. To this end I provide numerous examples and observations from different synchronic and diachronic corpora, representing both written and oral language (see Conventions for a list of corpora and abbreviations). Furthermore, I conducted fieldwork in Spain and Peru to gather data and elicit judgments about language use (see §1.3.2). To compliment these sources I make use of constructed examples as means of teasing apart subtle details that are otherwise difficult to control in the corpus sources.

1.3.2 Fieldwork

Throughout the dissertation I make use of examples from a number of sources including data gathered during two separate trips in the summer of 2005. This fieldwork was conducted in Madrid and Valencia, Spain and in Cusco, Peru (following OSU research protocol 2005B0106). These locations were chosen for their relatively innovate uses of the Present Perfect attested in the literature (see Chapters 3 and 4 for a complete discussion). For each of the three sites, I obtained permission from professors and administrators affiliated with local universities and schools[8] and enlisted their help in recruiting research subjects. Participants were given the equivalent of $7 US (or 5 euros in Spain and 10 soles in Peru) remuneration for their participation in the study.

The project consisted of three tasks: (1) a sociolinguistic interview, (2) a sentence judgment task, and (3) a background questionnaire. The first component, the sociolinguistic interview, was designed to elicit specific uses of the Present Perfect in controlled contexts (see Appendix A for sample interview questions). The interviews were recorded digitally using a Marantz Portable Solid State Recorder. Following the initial interview, each participant completed a sentence judgment task consisting of examples designed to elicit explicit judgments regarding usage of the Present Perfect. The sentences were designed to control for different variables, e.g. syntax, context, etc., as exemplified in (13) (see Appendix B for the complete list of test sentences).

(13) Juan (ha leído/leyó) un libro hoy.   (= 1)[9]
      'Juan (has read/read) a book today.'

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[8] In Spain interviews were conducted at the Universidad Autónoma de Madrid in Madrid and at the Universidad de Valencia in Valencia. In Peru interviews were conducted at the Asociación Pukllasunchis Bilingual School in Cusco.

[9] Indicates numbering in Sentence Judgment Task (Appendix B).

After completing the sentence judgment task, each participant filled out a questionnaire requesting information about the participant's language background and impressions of the various project tasks (see Appendix C).

As is frequently the case in formal interview situations, the participants were often guarded in terms of their language use, opting for more prescriptive forms instead of colloquial ones. Indeed, I witnessed firsthand the infamous "Observer's paradox" as I attempted to lead subjects into contexts that would elicit the desired forms. With the Peninsular cases the constraints of the formal interview and questionnaire did not seem to inhibit use of the Present Perfect in the expected contexts. This result is not surprising given the advanced stages of its grammaticalization as a perfective and its increasing use across both formal and informal registers. In the Peruvian cases, however, there were very few tokens of the Present Perfect used with perfective meaning, though it has been noted that in some Peruvian dialects (mainly in Lima) bilinguals (Quechua-Spanish or Spanish-Quechua) use the perfect in such situations (see Escobar 1997 and Sánchez 2003). Since only one of my Peruvian informants was actively bilingual, I did not expect to find an inordinate number of perfective uses. In general use of the perfect in the Peruvian data patterned much more closely to that of the Mexican norm than to the Peninsular one (see Chapter 4).

For all three of the sites, the total number of participants was 32: 15 in Madrid, 8 in Valencia, and 9 in Cusco. The age range of the informants was 18 and 59. The total duration of the recorded interviews is approximately 28 hours. Use of these materials in the current analysis was restricted primarily to the extraction of examples for the purpose of illustrating dialectal differences. The results of the sentence judgment task are

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presented in Chapter 5. Furthermore, since it not the focus of the current analysis to determine the range of sociolinguistic factors responsible for the cross-linguistic variation of the Present Perfect, I will make only occasional reference to the information gathered in the final background questionnaire.

1.4   Dissertation overview

The remainder of the dissertation will be organized as follows:

In Chapter 2 I introduce the set of features that will be used to characterize the distribution of the Present Perfect across dialects. Included in this Chapter are a number of observations concerning the manifestation (or lack thereof) of these features cross-linguistically. The intention of this survey is to develop a preliminary picture of how the Spanish perfect (or perfects, as the case may be) compares in relation to perfect constructions from other languages, such as English and German, which have received more attention in the literature. Next, in Chapter 3 I propose a system of categorizing dialects according to the feature typology developed in Chapter 2. Following Schwenter and Torres and Cacoullos (2005), I focus on two dialects that represent opposite ends of the perfect spectrum in Spanish. The perfect in Peninsular Spanish, as mentioned above, is well-know to have developed uses similar to those of the *pretérito* and is generally favored in certain types of past tense reference (see Schwenter 1994a and Serrano 1994). With Mexican Spanish, on the other hand, the *pretérito* is favored for past reference while the perfect is used to express durative or imperfective aspect[10] (see Lope Blanch 1972, Mackenzie 1995, López Morales 1996, and Moreno de Alba 2003).

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[10] Later in the dissertation, I address the claim that the perfect expresses 'imperfectivity', arguing against proposals like that of Moreno de Alba (1978) which claim that the perfect in Mexican Spanish expresses

In Chapter 4 I analyze the perfect in Peruvian Spanish using various corpus sources, including examples from my fieldwork conducted in Cusco. This part of the analysis again employs the feature typology developed in Chapter 2. For Chapter 5, I present and discuss the results of the sentence judgment task conducted in Spain and Peru. In this chapter I compare the Peninsular and Peruvian samples and conclude that while some degree of perfectivity is attested with the perfects in both dialect groups the two cases are not functionally equivalent. To account for the observed distinctions, I offer two separate explanations for the development of perfective functions in both the Peninsular and the Peruvian case. Though both developments are the result of discourse-linked motivations, the nature and influence of these contextual factors varies between the two situations. I end the thesis with Chapter 6, offering a summary of the arguments presented and a discussion of tangential issues that remain to be addressed.

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imperfective aspect. While it is the case that certain interpretations of the perfect can indeed be described as imperfective (namely the Continuative use, see Chapter 2), the perfect in Mexican Spanish still embodies a wide array of other meanings that do not fit into the rubric of imperfectivity.

CHAPTER 2

CROSS-LINGUISTIC FEATURES OF THE PERFECT

My objective in this chapter is to provide a basic overview of the Spanish Present Perfect as it relates to other typologically similar perfects. I will begin with an overview of the relevant semantic and pragmatic features commonly displayed by the perfect cross-linguistically, both within the more limited field of Romance languages and then broadening the scope to include other languages with well-studied perfects, such as English and German. By first establishing a set of criteria used to describe different cross-linguistic behaviors of perfect constructions, it is my intention to develop a means by which to categorize both the external and internal situation of the Spanish perfect. In this chapter I focus primarily on the external comparisons, leaving the dialect-specific observations until the forthcoming chapters.

I begin the discussion with a few brief comments regarding issues germane to the discussion of perfects cross-linguistically. In §2.1.1 I address the notion of 'anteriority' as defined by Bybee et al. (1994) in order to distinguish it from the morphosyntactic notion of perfect that will be assumed throughout the dissertation. In §2.1.2 I introduce the well-known Reichenbachian system of temporal reference, paying special attention to its

description of perfects and the role of reference time. Following this initial introduction, I

present a range of semantic/pragmatic features in §2.2 that will be used to describe the

distribution of the Spanish Present Perfect as it relates to other cross-linguistic instances.

In §2.2.1 I present and analyze different interpretations that are commonly displayed by

perfects cross-linguistically. I then discuss adverbial co-occurrence restrictions in §2.2.2,

followed by an analysis of the behavior of perfects in sequenced narratives in §2.2.3. In

§2.3 I address a number of other factors, primarily morphosyntactic, that are valuable in

illustrating the form and function of the Spanish perfect. I close the chapter in §2.4 with a

summary of the observations and conclusions presented.

2.1   Preliminary observations

2.1.1   On the category 'Anterior'

Throughout this dissertation I will be making reference to 'perfects', 'perfect

constructions', and 'perfect meaning'[1], generally avoiding use of the term 'anterior'. This

strategy is meant to avoid terminological confusion, which, as we will we see below, is

already quite pervasive in the literature concerning 'readings' of the perfect. An anterior,

as defined by Bybee et al. (1994), "signals that the situation occurs prior to the reference

time and is relevant to the situation at reference time" (54).[2] They add that the English

Perfect generally displays anterior functions, occurring frequently with adverbs like

'already' and 'just'. Under this definition, there are two key meaning components of

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[1] I do not wish to confuse the term "perfect" with "perfective" which is purely aspectual. While numerous
analyses evoke the term "perfect" to describe aspectual properties, I will not make any specific claims as to
its status as either temporal or aspectual.

[2] See also Bybee (1985), Bybee and Dahl (1989), and Thieroff (2000) for more on the description of the
category anterior.

forms that function as anteriors: (i) a temporal meaning indicating precedence between the time of an event or situation and some reference time and (ii) a pragmatic meaning indicating that the event or situation stands in some particular, perhaps epistemic, relationship to the time of reference.

By this definition it should not be the case that past or future perfects in English and Spanish belong to the category of 'anterior' since these two forms only comply with the temporal component of its meaning; even though Bybee et al. claim that anteriors can indeed occur with past or future marking. Nevertheless, past and future perfects are not generally treated as having the same 'relevance' effects as the present perfect, though claiming that they are both 'anteriors' would predict that they do. Moreover, there are plenty of cases in which the present perfects in both English and Spanish do not indicate relevance, a point which Bybee et al.'s analysis concedes. Still, given these observations it does not seem likely that we can create a one-to-one correspondence between the category anterior, as defined by Bybee et al., and the 'perfect' forms.[3] For the purposes of the current analysis, it is not necessary to assume that perfects are either categorically aspectual or temporal, though there are sufficient supporters for either of these two claims. I will focus on the properties that arise from the distribution of the perfect, more specifically the asserted precedence relationship between the time of an event or situation and a reference time and relevance implication related to the time of utterance.

Finally, since the aim of this dissertation is a discussion of the distribution and meaning of the form known as the "Present Perfect" (or *presente perfecto, pretérito*

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[3] Let me make it clear that I do not believe that Bybee et al. were claiming that 'anterior' = 'perfect form'. In fact, they make it clear that the 'gram' anterior is a categorical notion that receives various cross-linguistic instantiations.

perfecto compuesto, *antepresente*) in Spanish and not of the various morphosyntactic instantiations of the category of anterior, it seems practical to stick with the term 'perfect', if only to avoid excessive terminology. There is, however, another more important reason for this exclusion, one which avoids the often dubious association of the term "anterior" with constructions that are merely morphosyntactically similar to forms that do not in fact display the same range of functions. One such association can be observed with the *passé composé* in French (see example (1)) and the *pretérito perfeito composto* in Portuguese (see example (2)), both of which share the familiar AUX + PAST PARTICIPLE syntactic structure but do not express the same range of anterior functions as that of English or Spanish. Observe that in (1) the French compound past can be used without any implication of relevance; thus, it need not be the case that Pierre's presence is implicated. Similarly, with the Portuguese case in (2), the asserted pastness is limited to a situation or an event that continues to hold at the time of speech. This is evidenced by its incompatibility with adverbs like *uma vez* 'once'.

(1) Pierre est arrivé   mais il n'   est   plus   ici   FRENCH
    Pierre is:3 arrive:PP but   he CL:NEG be:3   still   here
    'Pierre arrived but he is no longer here.'

(2) O   João tem   chegado cedo *recentemente* / *uma vez*.   PORTUGUESE
    the João have:3 arrive:PP early recently   /   one   time
    'João has been arriving late *recently* / *once*.'

In their original proposal, Bybee et al. argue that 'anteriority' is in fact a discernable cross-linguistic category. And though this category is frequently grammaticized by perfect constructions, it is also expressed by a number of other forms. For instance, in Spanish there are at least three possible constructions that meet the requirements of expressing anterior functions. Consider the following three structures.

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(3) Silvia ha   llegado.   PRESENT PERFECT
    Silvia have:3 arrive:PP
    'Silvia has arrived.'

(4) Juan está enfermo   hace   tres días.   PRESENT TENSE
    Juan be:3 sick:MASC make:3 three days   (w/ *hacer* 'to do' + time span)
    'Juan has been sick for three days.'

(5) David acaba   de entregar   su examen.   PRESENT TENSE
    David complete:3 of turn-in:INF his exam   (w/ *acabar* 'to complete' + *de* + INF)
    'David has just turned in his exam.'

Each of the structures in examples (3)-(5) would classify as an anterior according to the Bybee et al. classification.[4] And while I do not object to the claim that categorical functions may be displayed by a variety of different structures in a particular language, I would not want to overlook the observation that these forms additionally share other important features, like the use of a main verb in the present tense. What then, if these are the structures that display anteriority in Spanish, is the contribution of the present tense to the construal of relations commonly attributed to anteriors? If we *apriori* commit ourselves to the notion of anteriority as a cross-linguistic category, then we are obliged to account for those cases traditionally described as anterior in which the temporal and contextual features do not arise in tandem. For this reason, I will avoid claiming that the English or Spanish perfects are 'anterior constructions'; but at times may refer to them as having 'anterior functions', since it is indeed the case that these forms express meanings akin to those described by Bybee et al..

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[4] See Burgos (2004) for an in-depth discussion of these structures in (Argentine) Spanish and their relation to anteriority.

2.1.2   The Reichenbachian Tradition

As far back as Jespersen (1924), linguists and grammarians have recognized the difficulties inherent in describing temporal expression in natural language utilizing only the moment of utterance and the time of the event or state as points of reference. In this binary view of temporal reference, tenses are described as a relationship between the 'point of speech' (S) and the 'point of the event' (E), and hence only three possible 'tense' relations are possible—past, present, and future (Reichenbach 1947:290).[5] In his seminal 1947 analysis of the English tenses, Reichenbach builds on the description offered by Jespersen (1924), who had originally suggested the need of a third temporal entity to account for past and future perfects.[6] Reichenbach refers to this additional temporal index as the 'point of reference' (R) and argues that all tenses, not just perfects, reflect the relationship between these three indices. In (6), I provide Reichenbach's original formulation for the English Past Perfect, Simple Past, Present Perfect, Present, Simple Future, and Future Perfect with their corresponding forms in Spanish, where '<' denotes temporal precedence and ',' simultaneity (see also García Fernández 2000).

(6) **ENGLISH**   **SPANISH**
    Past Perfect $E < R < S$ Antepretérito / Pluscuamperfecto
    Juan had arrived.   *Juan había llegado.*

    Simple Past $E,R < S$ Pretérito
    Juan arrived.   *Juan llegó.*

    Present Perfect $E < R,S$ Antepresent / Presente Perfecto
    Juan has arrived.   *Juan ha llegado.*

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[5] Comrie (1985) refers to these three basic relations as 'absolute' tenses.

[6] In his original work, Jespersen does not claim that any additional temporal elements are needed to describe forms such as the present perfect. Though he does note a difference between the present tense and the present perfect, he argues that the latter is a "retrospective variety of the present" (1924:269).

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| Present | E,R,S | Presente |
| *Juan arrives.* | | *Juan llega.* |

| Simple Future | S < E,R | Futuro |
| *Juan will arrive.* | | *Juan llegará.* |

| Future Perfect | S < R < E | Posfuturo / Futuro Perfecto |
| *Juan will have arrived.* | | *Juan habrá llegado.* |

From the forms given in (6), we can see that the introduction of the 'point of reference' allowed Reichenbach to expand his vocabulary of tenses to those which include reference to some additional point in time not subsumed by the points of speech and event—e.g. past, present, and future perfects. The inclusion of the point of reference (henceforth reference time) in the descriptions of each of the tenses was argued on the basis of providing a uniform treatment for all of the English temporal structures; though, as suggested by (6), its contribution to the overall semantics of the tense is certainly not obvious. From this overview, it should be clear that Reichenbach's proposal captures the intuition that something 'extra' is needed to describe the meaning of perfect tenses. With the past and future perfects, this 'extra' point in time, i.e. the reference time, is situated in a strict temporal relationship with respect to both the point of speech (henceforth speech time) and the point of the event (henceforth event time). The status of the reference time in a present perfect, however, is a different issue, since, following Reichenbach's typology, it shares features with both the simple past (E,R < S) and the present (E,R,S). As we shall see, the result of this overlap has prompted much debate in the descriptive and theoretical literature, mainly concerning the role of reference time in a present perfect.

2.1.2.1 Reichenbach and the Spanish Present Perfect

With respect to the Present Perfect in Spanish, this issue is of special interest since cross-dialectally the Spanish perfect can express either a E < R,S configuration, characteristic of the English Present Perfect as described by Reichenbach, or a E,R < S, which is assigned to the simple past (see Brugger 2001 and Burgos 2004). As will be described in Chapter 3, the Present Perfect in Peninsular varieties of Spanish can be used either as a 'prototypical' perfect, as in (7b), or as a simple past, see example (7c).

(7) a. Carlos se ha   bañado.
       Carlos CL have:3   bathe:PP
    b. 'Carlos has taken a bath.'   PERFECT
    c. 'Carlos bathed.'   SIMPLE PAST

Part of the intuition that Reichenbach captures in his analysis is that time reference in natural language occurs with respect to parameters that go beyond mere deictic temporal location of an event related to the moment of speech. Speakers routinely make use of contextually salient entities (i.e. points of reference) in the negotiation of temporal relations. Nevertheless, the concern about such an analysis is that while it may be possible for any given configuration to arise in the course of linguistic exchange there is no evidence in the data that all possible configurations are manifest by means of a particular set of elements in the grammar. Conversely, the Spanish case seems to suggest that forms can and do display a degree of syncretism in the possibility of expressing different configurations via the same the grammatical form.

Much of the recent literature concerning the Spanish Present Perfect has been framed in the neo-Reichenbachian tradition of describing how reference time fits into the tense/aspect architecture (e.g. García Fernández 2000, 2004, Brugger 2001, Moreno-

Torres 2001, among others). Without reference time, we are at odds to account for the differences between the simple past and the present perfect in Reichenbach's system, since both would be represented by the E < S configuration. For Spanish, at least in the Peninsular dialects, we shall see that determining the exact role of reference time is complicated by an increased degree of overlap between the *pretérito* and the Present Perfect.

2.1.2.2 The perfect/simple past/present tense distinction

Before proceeding I want to comment briefly on the status of the Reichenbachian approach as it relates to the present perfect and its relationships to the simple past and the simple present. As noted above the inclusion of a notion of reference time (though certainly vague in Reichenbach's treatment[7]) allows for a great deal of explanatory power, given that with future and past perfects the existence of an element beyond the two indices required for simple temporal deictic reference is required for felicitous use. Both the present perfect and simple past (in English and Spanish) share the specification that the time of the event precedes the time the utterance—a point made by almost all of the analyses proffered for the present perfect.[8] Where they differ in this model is in the association of the reference time, being aligned with the event time in a simple past and

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[7] As both McCoard (1978) and Dowty (1979) point out, Reichenbach's approach cannot be seen as an adequate semantic theory since the truth conditions for the simple past and the present perfect would be identical given the configurations in (6). Dowty admits that the factors that distinguish the uses of the simple past and the perfect are perhaps pragmatic. While there is no denying the impact that Reichenbach's work has had on the development of studies of tense and aspect, both in the semantic and pragmatic literature, we are still left with its shortcomings as a formal semantic theory (see von Stechow 1995 for a discussion of the limitations of Reichenbach's proposals).

[8] The so-called Result State Theorists would claim that the primary function of the perfect does not necessarily stipulate a precedence relation between the event time and the reference time. Instead, the perfect is treated as a stativizer whose main function is the predication of some eventuality with a resultant state that continues into the moment of utterance (see Parsons 1990, Michaelis 1998, De Swart 1998, and Nishiyama & Koenig 2004 for a more detailed discussion the Result State Theories of the perfect).

with the speech time in a present perfect. Curiously, the only other configuration in the list given in (6) in which the points of reference and speech coincide is that of the present tense (i.e. S,R,E). It follows that present perfects should share features not only with the simple past (i.e. reference to a past event) but also with the present.

Through this dissertation I will make it a point to describe those cases in which the Present Perfect in Spanish displays function overlap with the Present tense. These observations will assist in distinguishing the Spanish perfect from other languages, such as English, in which the perfect and simple present do not express any of the same functions. Inherent in most of the prevailing treatments, however, is the idea that the function of the present perfect is primarily one of either past reference or of present reference with secondary meanings of present reference and pastness, respectively. In the discussion to follow, I will take the stance that the present perfect as a cross-linguistic category is equal parts past and present and that any variations in this basic recipe directly influence both cross-linguistic and cross-dialectal variations in its meaning.

2.2   Cross-linguistic features of the perfect

In this section I develop a list of features that can be used to describe perfect constructions cross-linguistically. For each feature, I provide a description of its relationship to the perfect, followed by its behavior with respect to Spanish. I also compare the Spanish case with pertinent examples from other languages. The following features are presented: (i) types of uses/reading displayed by the perfect, (ii) co-occurrence with past denoting adverbials, and (iii) use of the perfect in narrative sequences. These characteristics represent the core semantic features generally discussed

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in the literature and are further useful in determining the language-specific distribution of a given perfect form. As the reader will notice, the claims made in this section primarily address the distribution of the Latin American norm for the Present Perfect, which, unlike its Peninsular counterpart, does not generally display perfective functions. I have chosen to limit the discussion at this point in order to avoid entering into dialect-specific distinctions, which will be addressed in the next chapter.

2.2.1 Types/readings of perfects

To begin, let us take a brief look at the classificatory system of perfect types as proposed by Comrie (1976)[9], since it is this system that is most frequently cited in typological analyses to describe the distribution of the perfect. The examples in (9)-(12) exemplify the four perfect 'types'. With the exception of the 'Hot News' use of the perfect, which is by definition are licensed only in out-of-the-blue contexts, I have contextualized each example in order to demonstrate their inherent discourse sensitivity. Also, the labels given in small caps are those that will be used throughout the dissertation in reference to these readings.[10]

(9) EXPERIENTIAL (*Perfect of Experience*)[11]
   A: ¿Tiene Juan experiencia viajando al extranjero?
      'Does Juan have experience traveling abroad?'
   B: Sí, Juan ha visitado Italia.
      'Yes, Juan has visited Italy.'

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[9] See also McCawley (1971) and Binnick (1991) for a discussion of perfect uses.

[10] Comrie's original labels are given in parentheses.

[11] In the semantic literature, Experiential and Continuative perfects are often referred to as Existential and Universal, respectively.

(10) CONTINUATIVE (*Perfect of Persistent Situation*)
     A: ¿Por qué no está Diego en clase ahorita?
        'Why isn't Diego in class right now?'
     B: Porque ha estado enfermo desde ayer.
        'Because he's been sick since yesterday (and is still sick now).'

(11) RESULTATIVE (*Perfect of Result*)
     A: ¿Está María aquí?
        'Is Maria here?'
     B: Se ha ido.
        'She has left.' (+> no, she's not here)

(12) HOT NEWS (*Perfect of Recent Past*)
     El presidente de la república ha fallecido.
     'The present of the republic has (just) died.'

These descriptions have become ubiquitous throughout the literature concerning perfects, though few of Comrie's original labels remain completely intact. The reality of this extended nomenclature is that competing descriptions often provide contradictory definitions of what constitutes a particular reading; thus, no general consensus has been reached regarding the range of acceptable terminology to be used in reference to perfect constructions. Despite this apparent shortcoming in the literature, I will press on without devoting excessive time (and space) to providing a more thorough sorting of these lexical elements in the hopes that the absence of such an inventory will not hinder my analysis.[12]

The issue of describing the readings of the perfect has been complicated by numerous studies that apply distinct but often overlapping terminology to uses of perfects in different languages. One of the criticisms levied against analyses of the type provided by Comrie is that they ignore, or at least oversimplify, possible cross-linguistic variation in perfects. For example, the category of *pretérito perfeito composto* in Portuguese has

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[12] See Nishiyama and Koenig (2004) for a semantic classification of perfect readings.

the curious property of forcing iteration of the predicate (cf. Peres 1996, Giorgi & Pianesi

1997, Schmitt 2001, and Amaral & Howe 2004), as exemplified in (13).

(13) A   Maria tem   lido   o livro (*uma vez).   ITERATIVE[13]/*EXPERIENTIAL
      the Maria have:3 read:PP the book   one time
      a. ='Maria has been reading the book (repeatedly) in the recent past.'
      b. ≠'Maria has read the book once in her life.'

Even with Portuguese, which is not particularly odd typologically (at least with respect to

Spanish or English), Comrie's system does not adequately capture the cross-linguistic

distribution of the perfect.[14] Additional evidence that helps to illustrate the shortcomings

of Comrie's approach can be found in Izvorsky's treatment of the Perfect of Evidentiality

in Turkish and Bulgarian, as shown below in (14) (taken from Izvorski 1997:1).

(14) a. Gel –miş –im.   TURKISH
          Come PERF   1SG

      b. Az sâm   došâl.   BULGARIAN
          I   be:1SG-PRES   come:PP

          'I have come.'   (PRESENT PERFECT)   and/or
          'I apparently came.'   (PERFECT OF EVIDENTIALITY)

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[13] Following Schmitt (2001), among others, I refer to this reading of the Portuguese Perfect as 'iterative', though it is not the case that all iterative readings show iterations of an entire event. In example (13), the perfect does not entail that João has iteratively read the *entire* book but rather that he has been in a state of reading *parts* of the book. The difference between the 'true' iterative reading and the iterations of subevents reading can be attributed to the distinction between simple telic events (achievements) and complex telic events (accomplishments) (cf. Vendler 1967 and Dowty 1987). In (i) below, the whole event of João's arriving is iterated in the past, while in (ii) only subevents of the house-painting are iterated.

(i)   O João tem chegado tarde ao escritório.   (*Achievement*)
      'João has been arriving late to the office.'
(ii) O João tem pintado a casa.   (*Accomplishment*)
      'João has been painting the house.'

[14] Craige Roberts (p.c.) has suggested to me that the iterative or continuative reading of the Portuguese *pretérito perfeito composto* can be considered a subcase of Comrie's Perfect of Persistent Situation. If we consider Comrie's category more generally, it is certainly the case that the interpretation of (13) given in (13a) would qualify as a situation ongoing at the time of utterance. Comrie offers the following example: *I've shopped here for years* (1976:60). Interestingly, in Portuguese this same proposition would be expressed by the simple present—e.g. *Eu faço as compras neste lugar faz muitos anos.*

Before returning to Spanish, it should be noted that some approaches propose an additional perfect type relating to relevance effects—i.e. the so-called 'Current Relevance' perfect (see Bybee et al. 1994, Schwenter 1994a, among others). I argue, following Portner (2003), that relevance to the ongoing discourse topic is characteristic of all uses of the perfect and arises via the satisfaction of a relevance presupposition conventionally associated with the meaning of a perfect. Thus, all of the types distinguished above are subject to a contextual restriction requiring relevance to the discourse context. This position will be important since I will later claim that one of the processes that motivates grammaticalization of the Present Perfect in Spanish is the contextually-induced loss or extension of this relevance presupposition.

2.2.1.1 The Spanish perfect in Comrie's typology

As noted in the list above (i.e. examples (9)-(12)), the Spanish Present Perfect displays all of the uses generally associated with prototypical perfects (see Dahl 1985 for a discussion of perfect prototypes). It is generally true for all dialects of Spanish that these uses are available, though, as we shall see in the following chapter, not all dialects express these uses to the same degree. Still, the Spanish perfect, like that of English, can be viewed as expressing all of the functions of the perfect prototype.

Among the representative analyses of the Spanish perfect are those of Said (1976) and Moreno de Alba (1978), both of whom describe the perfect in Mexican Spanish. In Table 2.1, I provide a correspondence of the terminology proposed by both Said and Moreno de Alba in comparison to that of Comrie. I have also included the terminology used by Portner (2003) as a representative sample of the labels found in the semantic and

pragmatic literature. Though at first blush it may seem that these different authors roughly follow some thread of Comrie's original schema, the actual application of these systems of nomenclature does not suggest that they all address the same issues. And while it should not be expected that a description of the Spanish perfect demonstrates a one to one correspondence with that of English, the metrics used to define these terms should at least be more transparent.

Comrie (1976)	Said (1976)	Moreno de Alba (1978)	Portner (2003)
Perfect of Result	'Once, Interpretive'	'estrictamente imperfectivos y presentes actuales'	Resultative Perfect
		'latamente imperfectivos y presentes habituales'	
Perfect of Experience	'Plural, Cumulative'	'latamente imperfectivos y presentes habituales'	Existential Perfect
	'At lest Once'		
Perfect of Persistent Situation	'Once Durative'	'estrictamente imperfectivos y presentes actuales'	Continuative Perfect (Universal)
		'latamente imperfectivos y presentes habituales'	
Perfect of Recent Past			"Hot News" Perfect

Table 2.1. Terminological Correspondences in the description of present perfects

2.2.1.2 Sources of perfect readings

More important than the set of terms used to describe the different interpretations of the perfect are the processes by which they arise. Each of the perfect types described by Comrie (1976) is motivated by a number of factors related to both the conventional

meaning of the form and the structure of the discourse context. To begin, the

Continuative perfect (see example (10) above) denotes a state or an activity that began in

the past and continues to hold at the present. It is generally the case that the predicate in

the scope of the perfect have atelic Aktionsart in order for this interpretation to occur.

Telic predicates do not usually allow for this reading. Note the following.

(15) Liliana ha   estado enferma desde el   martes.
     Liliana have:3 be:PP sick   since the Tuesday
     'Liliana has been sick since Tuesday.'

(16) Marcos ha   pintado la   casa   desde el   martes.
     Marcos have:3 paint:PP the house since the Tuesday
     'Marcos has painted the house since Tuesday.'

The atelic predicate *estar enfermo* allows for the interpretation that Liliana's illness

began in the past and continues at least up to the moment of speech.[15] Of course, an

Experiential reading is also possible—i.e. that Liliana was ill *at least once* during the

time span beginning with the left boundary of 'last Tuesday' and extending through to

speech time. In (16) the action of Marcos' painting the house cannot be understood as

ongoing at the moment of speech, as would be expected with the adverbial *desde el*

martes 'since Tuesday'.

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[15] There is currently no consensus as to whether or not the time of speech is included in the interval denoted by a Continuative perfect. Some approaches claim that the perceived inclusion of the speech time is merely pragmatic (see Mittwoch 1988 and Abusch & Rooth 1990). Others make the claim that the speech time is included by assertion (see Iatridou et al. 2001). The often-cited evidence for the latter of these two claims is represented by examples like (i) below, which Iatridou et al. claim is a clear contradiction.

(i) María ha estado enferma desde el martes pero ahora está mejor.
     'Maria has been sick since Tuesday but she's better now.'

Though it is not crucial to the current analysis to accept one or the other position regarding speech time inclusion, I do not believe that (i) constitutes a contradiction since it can be clearly understood to indicate that Mary has very recently recovered from her illness.

Both the examples in (15) and (16) give rise to a possible Experiential reading—i.e. one in which is the subject is understood to have undergone some type of experience during a given interval. Much of the general semantic literature has focused on the relationship between the Continuative and Experiential perfects and is divided into two camps, one maintaining the view that the two uses are semantically ambiguous while the other suggesting that the distinction is pragmatic, often attributing the Continuative use to vagueness related to the duration of the underlying predicate.[16] Moreover, it is often claimed that Continuative perfects do not occur without modification (via adverbials or context).[17] Thus, Daniela's present absence in (17) is interpreted as having resulted from her being in Madrid, which must be understood as holding at speech time.

(17) A: ¿Por qué no está Daniela aquí?
          'Why is Daniela not here?'
      B: Ha estado en Madrid (y sigue allí).
          'She's been in Madrid (and is still there).'

In the subsequent discussion, I will not offer any new insights as to the status of the Continuative and Experiential readings as separate semantic entities but rather will use these descriptions as a means of characterizing the meanings available with the Spanish Present Perfect. It will be important to distinguish these two readings since it is

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[16] Semantic accounts of the Continuative/Experiential distinction include Dowty (1979), Richards (1982), Mittwoch (1988), and Vlach (1993). For an overview of pragmatic accounts, the reader is referred to Inoue (1978), McCoard (1978), Heny (1982), Klein (1992, 1994), and Portner (2003).

[17] Iatridou et al. (2001) argue that Continuative perfects arise only in the presence of explicit adverbials of a certain type. For example, with adverbials such as *since* and *for three days* the Continuative reading is optional (as in example (15)). If the perfect occurs with adverbials like *at least since* or *always*, however, the Continuative reading is required. Following Dowty (1979) and Vlach (1993), Iatridou el al. claim that this distinction reflects the fact that some adverbials are perfect-level (i.e. have scope over the Perfect operator) while others are eventuality-level, scoping only over the underlying predicate. The class of adverbials requiring the Continuative interpretation are perfect-level.

not the case that the two are available in all morphologically similar perfect constructions cross-linguistically. The details of this claim will be discussed below.

The final two readings discussed by Comrie are the Resultative and the 'Hot News' uses. The former requires that (i) the underlying eventuality be telic and that (ii) its effects hold at speech time. Note that in (18) below the lexically entailed result of the predicate *to break one's arm* (i.e. that an arm is broken) is true at the moment of utterance while in (19) the Result arises via the relationship between the lexically entailed resultant state and the discourse context.[18] The intended meaning in (18) is akin to that obtained with the resultative construction as in *Juan tiene el brazo roto* 'Juan has his arm broken'. The meaning in (19), on the other hand, is close to that of an Experiential perfect with the added stipulation that there be some relevant state, entailed or implicated, that is relevant to the ongoing discourse topic.

(18) A: ¿Qué le pasó a Juan?
      'What happened to Juan?'
   B: Se ha roto el brazo.
      'He has broken his arm.'
      (+> Juan's arm is broken at speech time)

(19) A: ¿Por qué a Juan no le gusta esquiar?
      'Why is it that Juan does not like to ski?'
   B: Porque se ha roto brazo (una vez).
      'Because he has broken his arm (once before).
      (+> the result of Juan's having broken his arm is his dislike for skiing)

Lastly, the 'Hot News' use of the perfect has not been as thoroughly analyzed as some of its better-known relatives. In general, it is understood that this use requires little if any common ground; consequently, it is frequently found in newspaper headlines. Following Comrie's original proposal, some researchers have claimed that the Hot News

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[18] Nishiyama and Köenig (2004) refer to the first type as the Lexically Entailed Resultant State while the other is the Conversationally Implicated Resultant State.

perfect represents a distinct perfect type (see Schwenter 1994b and Burgos 2004)[19], while others maintain that it represents a subcase of the Resultative (see Fenn 1987, Brinton 1988, Michaelis 1994, and Kiparsky 2002). Yet another proposal is that which assumes that that the Hot News perfect is a variant of the Experiential perfect (see McCoard 1978 and McCawley 1981). I am inclined to accept the last of these three proposals based on the grounds that the contextual features that license such a reading can be viewed as a subset of those in which the Experiential reading arises.[20]

2.2.1.3 Cross-linguistic variability of perfect types

Of special interest to the current analysis is the observation that cross-linguistically perfect constructions display wide variation concerning their range of interpretations, following the Comrie typology. For Romance, we observed in example (13) that the Portuguese perfect refers only to states or eventualities that began in the past and continue into the present (i.e. Continuative) (see Giorgi & Pianesi 1997 and Schmitt 2001). Experiential uses of the Portuguese perfect do not arise, and in fact, adverbials that should favor such an interpretation are ungrammatical. Note the following example.

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[19] Burgos refers to the 'Hot News' Anterior gram and argues that other forms may also express this function—e.g. the simple past.

[20] According to Portner (2003), a speaker who utters (ii) as a response to (i) accepts the question and offers the perfect as means for determining an answer. Hot News perfects are similar in that a specific relation between the proposition and the discourse must hold. This observation seems to run counter to the use of Hot New perfects described above since they are most frequently found in contexts in which little or no common ground has been supplied—e.g. as in newspaper headlines. I submit, however, that relevance is indeed the pertinent contextual factor that licenses both experiential and Hot News perfects; it is the type of relevance, however, that distinguishes the two uses. Experiential perfects on the one hand are licensed by relevance to a local discourse topic (or Question Under Discussion in Roberts' (1996) model) while Hot News readings on the other require relevance at a more global level.

(i)   Do you think that the Earth will ever be hit by any celestial bodies?
(ii) The Earth has been hit by giant asteroids before (and it probably will be again).

(20) *A   Flávia tem   lido ese livro   uma vez.
     the Flávia have:1 read:PP   book   one   time

Likewise, the French *passé composé* is also subject to restrictions in the types of uses available. While a prototypical perfect provides the possibility of expressing a Continuative interpretation, no such use is possible in an example like (21). The expression *ça fait huit mois* 'it makes eight months', which is common across Romance languages (see §2.2.2.2.3 below), requires that the matrix eventuality hold at the indicated reference time—in this case, the moment of speech. This lack of compatibility demonstrates that the French periphrastic past does not allow for a Continuative interpretation.

(21) *Ça fait   huit   mois   que Pierre a   habité à Paris.
      it make:3 eight months that Pierre have:3 live:PP in Paris

Extending beyond Romance, Iatridou et al. (2001) discuss the range of possible perfect types cross-linguistically, noting that in many cases a perfect may lack a certain use. In Bulgarian, for instance, only a Continuative reading is possible.[21] Note the following example.

(22) Tja e   bila   bolna.
     she be:3 be:PP sick
     'She has been sick.'   (from Iatridou et al. 2001: 161: example (13))

Iatridou et al. point out that since the utterance in (22) contains the present tense (as displayed in the auxiliary *e* 'is') then it must be understood that Mary is still sick at speech time. In order for the option of Mary's illness to have ended, a speaker of Bulgarian would have to use a past tense.

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[21] In Bulgarian, there is also a perfect participle based on an imperfective stem which can give rise to interpretations other than the Continuative type (e.g. recent past).

With the perfect in Modern Greek, the situation is reversed; a Continuative use is not possible. Since the adverbial 'always' results in the Continuative reading of a perfect, we might expect that Greek form is able to display this function. Example (23) demonstrates that this is not the case.

(23) *Εχο   panta zisi   stin   Athina.
      have:1 always live:PP in-the Athens
                                    (from Iatridou et al. 2001: 170: example (30))

These examples from Bulgarian and Greek support the claim that that not all perfects of the form AUX + PAST PARTICIPLE display the same range of meanings—a point that I will be developing throughout the course of this chapter.

2.2.2   The present perfect and past adverbials

Among the more (in)famous of the issues associated with the perfect is its variable incompatibility with past time adverbials (see Comrie 1976, McCoard 1978, Klein 1992, 1994, among others):[22]

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[22] It should be stated that the status of this issue is markedly different than that presented by other types of temporal semantic incompatibility. Note the following examples:

    (i)   *John ate dinner tomorrow.
    (ii)   *John will eat dinner yesterday.
    (iii)   John has eaten dinner *tomorrow / ?? yesterday.

What we observe about the distinctions in (i)-(iii) is that the purported ungrammaticality of the use of adverbs such as *yesterday* is not parallel to the clearly contradictory uses of the adverbs *tomorrow* and *yesterday* with the simple past and simple future respectively. That is, the use of *yesterday* with the present perfect in (iii) does not create the same 'dissonance' as that generated in (i) or (ii). In fact, native speakers of (American) English routinely make use of such adverbials with the perfect.

    (iv)   He [Supreme Court Nominee Samuel Alito] has, certainly, in 1985, criticized the separation of church and state. (NPR's *Talk of the Nation*, 01/02/06)
    (v)   I've seen *Rebel without a cause*…years ago. (NPR's *This American Life*, 10/01/05, talking about being a fan of James Dean)
    (vi)   I have shown you the house at 444 Deschler [Avenue], last week. (uttered by a Columbus, OH area realtor)

(24) Steve has eaten dinner ✓*today* / **yesterday* / **last week*.

Klein (1992) coins the term "present perfect puzzle" to describe this phenomenon, aptly

named since it does not apply to the past, future, or non-finite perfects:

(25) Steve had eaten dinner ✓*yesterday* / ✓*last week*.

(26) Steve will have eaten dinner ✓*yesterday* / ✓*last week*.

(27) Having eaten dinner with his sister ✓*yesterday* / ✓*last week*, Steve decided to
stay at home.

This incompatibility is limited to the type of adverbials such as *yesterday* and *last week*

and does not include adverbs that may denote a past interval that includes the moment of

utterance—e.g. *today*, *never*, *already*, etc.

In his account of these data, Porter (2003) points out that in many languages with

morphosyntactically similar present perfect constructions (e.g. German, Italian, and

French, just to name a few), this issue does not arise. Since with the Spanish Present

Perfect there is quite a wide range of variation, we are able to observe dialectal cases in

which the Present Perfect is both compatible and incompatible with Past Time

Adverbials. The Present Perfect in Peninsular Spanish, for instance, is compatible with

some types of Past Time Adverbials, though not all (Bull 1968, Serrano 1994, and

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Comrie cites similar examples of the use of these types of adverbials with the perfect, noting that "temporal
specification is acceptable in English, provided it is added as an afterthought to a sentence with a Perfect
verb" (1976:55). In general these types of examples represented in (iv)-(vi) are discarded since in almost all
cases the adverbials are both sentence final and separated by intonational phrase boundaries, suggesting
that they are just afterthoughts. Still, with the simple past such 'afterthought' modification is not allowed.

(vii)   John went to the market...
     a.   *tomorrow.
     b.   *but only tomorrow.

At issue here is whether or not to treat this incompatibility as semantic or syntactic. Intuitively, we as
speakers should no have any obvious problems with using a past-denoting adverb with a form that denotes
an event or state that is at least partially located in the past. I maintain that this effect is due mainly to
pragmatic features, namely the incongruence of the presupposition of discourse relevance associated with
the present perfect and the intended discourse reference time evoked by the speaker (cf. Portner 2003).

Schwenter 1994a). In this section, I wish to discuss, in general terms, the cases in which the present perfect displays this kind of incompatibility, which requires that we set aside those dialects in which this concern is either absent or variable (see Chapter 3). Thus, the Spanish examples provided in this section are broadly representative of the dialects spoken in Latin America (which some notable exceptions). With this said, we can now observe the example in (28):

(28) Esteban ha   comido *hoy*   / **ayer*   / **la semana pasada*.
      Esteban have:3 eat:PP   today /   yesterday /   the week   past
      'Esteban has eaten today / *yesterday / *last week.'

As expected, this effect is not found in the past, future, or non-finite perfects:

(29) Esteban había   comido *ayer*   / *la semana pasada*.
      Esteban have:IMP-3 eat:PP   yesterday / the week   past
      'Esteban had eaten yesterday / last week.'

(30) Esteban habrá   comido *mañana*   / *la próxima semana*.
      Esteban have:FUT-3 eat:PP   tomorrow / the next   week
      'Esteban will have eaten tomorrow / next week.'

(31) Después de haber   comido ayer,   Esteban se fue.
      After   of have:INF eat:PP   yesterday Esteban CL go:PERF-3
      'After having eaten yesterday, Esteban left.'

As expected, there are numerous theories concerning the source of these co-occurrence restrictions in the languages in which they arise. Some argue that the incompatibility is semantic or syntactic (see Dowty 1979, Pancheva & von Stechow 2004, among others) while others maintain that the problem is pragmatic (see Klein 1992, Portner 2003, among others). Though the resolution of this issue does not bear directly on the current discussion, I will adopt the pragmatic approach, following Portner (2003), in assuming that this incompatibility arises because of contextual dissonance between the these types of adverbials and the present tense.

2.2.2.1 Types of adverbials

In further exploring the issue of adverbial incompatibility as it relates to the present perfect, we need to define the class of adverbials that display this particular behavior. It is not the case that all past-denoting adverbials are incompatible with the perfect, only those which represent discrete past intervals that do not have the option of overlapping with the moment of utterance. Thus, an adverb like 'yesterday' represents the prototypical member of this class since, by definition, speech time is not included in the denoted interval of evaluation. Adverbials like *today* or *already*, which may or may not include speech time as a final subinterval, can generally be used with either the present perfect or the simple past. Similarly, non-definite adverbials like *in the past* or *on a Monday* are often treated as quantifiers over intervals, making no direct reference to specific times in the past.[23] Lastly, some adverbials that express a conventional link to the moment of utterance are compatible only with the perfect—e.g. *now*, *recently*, etc.

To distinguish these classes of adverbials, I offer the following table, based on the classificatory schema developed in McCoard (1978) and Dowty (1979). In the forthcoming analysis, I will focus primarily on the adverbials in Group A—i.e. those which are compatible only with the simple past. In addition to the examples in Group C, we can also add *since*-adverbials which are commonly taken to occur only with the perfect—at least in the English case.

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[23] See Mittwoch (1988) and Pratt and Francez (2001).

		English	Spanish
A.	Occur only with the simple past = Definite Past Adverbs	*yesterday* *in 1976* *last Friday* *two years ago*, etc.	*ayer* *en 1976* *el viernes pasado* *hace dos años*, etc.
B.	Occur with either simple past or perfect	*today* *in the past* *already* *never*, etc.	*hoy* *en el pasado* *ya* *nunca*, etc.
C.	Occur with present perfect but not simple past	*now* *so far* *recently* *not yet*, etc.	*ahora* *hasta ahora* *recientemente* *todavía no*, etc.

Table 2.2. Classification of adverbs by compatibility with present perfect and simple past

2.2.2.2 Cross-linguistic adverbial co-occurrence

Like perfect types, co-occurrence restrictions also tend to vary cross-linguistically. In French (= (32)) and Portuguese (= (33)), adverbs like *hier* and *ontem* 'yesterday' display contrasting patterns of compatibility.

(32) Pierre est arrivé *hier*
Pierre is:3 arrive:PP yesterday
'Pierre arrived yesterday.'

(33) O Samuel tem chorado *ontem*.
the Samuel have:3 cry:PP yesterday

Other Romance languages that display co-occurrence patterns similar to that of French include Standard Romanian and some varieties of Northern Italian (Squartini and Bertinetto 2000).

In the case of the German perfect, for example, definite past adverbials are not restricted.

(34) Hans hat *gestern* den Brief geschrieben. (from Musan 2001)
Hans has:3 yesterday the letter write:PP
'Hans wrote (has written) the letter yesterday.'

From examples (32)-(34) it is clear that perfects cross-linguistically display variable behavior with respect to co-occurrence with different types of adverbials.

2.2.2.3 Adverbials with the perfect and the present tense

Often overlooked in the analysis of the perfect is the set of adverbials that can also be used with the present tense. This distribution is especially relevant to the current analysis since, cross-linguistically, co-occurrence restrictions concerning the present tense vary significantly. In English, for example, *since*-adverbials require perfect morphology (see Dowty 1979, Vlach 1993, and Iatridou et al. 2001) and thus do not occur with the simple present.[24]

(35) a. John has been sick since yesterday. PRESENT PERFECT
b. *John is sick since yesterday. PRESENT

In Spanish, as well as other Romance languages and German, the present tense can be used with either *since*-adverbials or similar expressions denoting the continuation of some state or activity.

(36) a. Juan ha estado enfermo desde ayer. PRESENT PERFECT
'Juan has been sick since yesterday.'
b. Juan está enfermo desde ayer. PRESENT TENSE
'Juan is sick since yesterday.'

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[24] Iatridou et al. note that there are some cases in English in which *since* is allowed without perfect morphology. Note the following:

(i) It is two years since he died. (2001:193)

It is difficult for me to imagine that (i) would ever be used in anything but a literary or formal context. The claim that it represents a case where *since* adverbials are used with non-perfects is doubtful (see also Mittwoch 1988 for a discussion of these types of examples).

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It is important to note that in (36a) there is the possibility of having either the Continuative or Experiential interpretation of the perfect. With (36b) only a Continuative-type interpretation is possible.

Cross-linguistically, we find that the present tense in other languages is much more amenable to Continuative-type interpretations than that of English. In German, for instance, the adverbial *seit* is compatible with the present.[25]

(37) Alexandra wartet seit gestern   auf Hans.   (adapted from Musan 2003)
       Alexandra wait:3 since yesterday on Hans
       'Alexandra has been waiting on Hans since yesterday.'

In Romance languages, there is a common construction used with the present tense to denote the duration of a state or activity. In Spanish the construction *hacer* 'to do/make' + duration of time + *que* 'that' is used in this way—see example (38a). A similar construction is used in French (= (39a)) and Portuguese (= (40a)) to express the same meaning.

(38) a. Hace   tres días que Juan **está** enfermo.
          make:3 three days that Juan be:3 sick
          'Juan has been sick for three days (*lit.* It makes three days that Juan is sick).'
     b. Hace   tres días que Juan **ha   estado** enfermo.
          make:3 three days that Juan have:3 be:PP sick

(39) a. Ça fait   huit mois   que Pierre **habit** à Paris.
          it   make:3 eight months that Pierre live:3   in Paris
          'Pierre has lived in Paris for eight months.'
     b. *Ça fait huit mois que Pierre **a habité** à Paris.

(40) a. Faz   dois anos que o   João **mora**   em Curitiba.
          make:3 two years that the João live:3   in Curitiba
          'João has lived in Curitiba for 2 years.'
     b. Faz   dois anos que o   João **tem   morado** em Curitiba.
          make:3 two years that the João have:3 live:PP in Curitiba

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[25] See von Stechow (2002) for an extended discussion of *seit* adverbials in German.

Interestingly, the perfect in each of these Romance languages behaves differently with this expression. For both Spanish, in (38b), and Portuguese, in (40b), the perfect form is compatible with the *hace / faz* constructions. The French *passé composé* in (32b), as noted in the previous section, cannot be used with *ça huit mois que* 'it makes eight months that'. For the French case, it has been well-established that the periphrastic past or *passé composé* has grammaticalized to the point of no longer being considered a perfect construction (see Harris 1982 and Fleischman 1983). Consequently, we might expect that it does not express all of the prototypical functions of a perfect as described above in §2.2.1. Still, it is useful for the present analysis to note that the Spanish perfect is indeed compatible with this type of expression.

2.2.3 The perfect in narratives

According to Bybee et al. (1994) perfectives are preferred over perfects for the sequencing of events in a narrative. Dahl (1985) reiterates this point, noting that anteriors (or perfects) are not used in narrative contexts. In English, narrative sequence is generally accomplished via the simple past, as in (41a). With the Present Perfect, a sequenced interpretation is not possible. Observe (41b).[26]

(41) a. Dave **left** his office at five. He **arrived** at his house. He **drank** a beer.
       b. #Dave **has left** his office. He **has arrived** at his house. He **has drunk** a beer.

For Spanish, a similar distribution can be observed between the *pretérito*, as in (42a), and the Present Perfect, in (42b).

(42) a. David **salió** de su oficina a las cinco. **Llegó** a su casa. **Bebió** una cerveza.
       b. #David **ha salido** de su oficina. **Ha llegado** a su casa. **Ha bebido** una cerveza.

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[26] The adverbial *at five* has been omitted from (41b) to control for the influence of definite past adverbials.

2.2.3.1 The Spanish perfect in narratives

In all Spanish dialects, the *pretérito* tends to mark foregrounded events in a narrative, while the *imperfecto* specifies events occurring in the background—see example (43) (cf. Hopper 1982).

(43) Cuando David llegó   a casa, no había   ni   una luz.
      when   David arrive:PERF-3 to house not have:IMP-3 neither a   light
      'When David arrived-PERF at home, there was-IMP not a single light on.'

Unlike the Present Perfect, there are a number of special cases in which the Spanish *imperfecto* may be used to present a series of sequenced events. For instance, in the telling of a narrative involving habitual actions in the past, as in (44) below, the *imperfecto* would be used. [27] What is distinct about the use of the *imperfecto* in (44) versus a simple list-type reading of events with the Present Perfect is the presence of the temporal adverb *después* 'after'. Though in example (45) it certainly possible to interpret the speaker's trip to the bank and the visit to the movie theater as having occurring the order designated by the surface structure, once an overt sequence is imposed (i.e. via the adverbial *después*) the Present Perfect is no longer acceptable.

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[27] Additional 'perfective' uses of the *imperfecto* include the expression of sequence in dreams, as in (i), and in journalistic styles, shown in (ii) (see Reyes 1990 and Rodríguez 2004). With respect to the latter, Butt and Benjamin note that the *imperfecto* is "sometimes used as an alternative to the preterite in order to produce a dramatically drawn-out effect" (1994:215).

(i) [Description of the main character's dream]
     A mediodía entraban cuatro individuos portando maletines de cuero, encañonaban al público, y el gerente, a la primera amenaza, les abría la bóveda.
     'At noon four individuals entered-IMP [the bank] carrying leather cases, they herded-IMP the crowd, and after only the first threat, the manager opened-IMP the safe for them.
                                                              (from *Presagios* by José Alcántara Almánzar 2000)

(ii) Un cuarto de hora después…dos grapos asesinaban a un policía armado
     'A quarter of an tour later…two members of GRAPO murdered an armed policeman'
                                                              (from Butt and Benjamin 1994:215)

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(44) Cuando **era** joven, me **despertaba** temprano los sábados y después **veía** la tele durante horas.
'When I was-IMP young, I used to get up-IMP early on Saturdays and would then watch-IMP TV for hours.'

(45) #Hoy, **he ido** al banco y después **he visto** un película.
'Today, I have gone to the bank and afterwards have seen a movie.'

With respect to the structure of narratives, Hernández (2005) points out aptly that the *pretérito* is used to show the 'complicating action' while the Present Perfect evaluates the ongoing action (the 'evaluation') or presents a resolution (the 'resolution') (see Labov's 1972 description of narrative structure). In their cross-linguistic study of children's narratives, Berman and Slobin (1994) identify different 'semantic' tasks associated with types of discourse (e.g. narratives) and relate them to linguistic expressions. The task of identifying the main story line in a narrative is commonly accomplished by forms displaying perfective aspect, such as the *pretérito*. In the telling of narratives based on the famous "frog story" (Mayer 1969), Berman and Slobin observe that young Spanish-speaking children (ages 3-9, from Chile, Argentine, and Spain) use the Present Perfect almost exclusively to make reference to events not explicitly depicted in the immediate picture. For instance, in describing a picture in which the story's male protagonist is holding his nose and in which there is a gopher emerging from the ground, one of the informants (age 5) produced the following example.

(46) y el niño se tapa la nariz porque le **ha mordido** este bicho.
'and the child covers his nose because this rat has bitten him.'
(Berman and Slobin 1994; 250, example (12a))

For (46) the informant uses the Present Perfect *ha mordido* 'has bitten' to describe an action not directly illustrated in the set of pictures. This use is licensed by the observable end state of the protagonist holding his nose and the presence of the

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perpetrating rodent. Berman and Slobin's study suggests that the children from Madrid have not yet fully extended the Present Perfect to display sequence between events. Nevertheless, they do point out that the perfect is absent from the Latin American samples, while in the Peninsular case children from the age of 3 already use it extensively.

2.2.3.2 Narrative uses of the perfect cross-linguistically

For other languages, the Present Perfect is not only compatible with narrative sequence but is in fact the preferred form. In French, the *passé compose* is commonly used to display a succession of events. Note example (47).

(47) Marie est entrée$_1$ dans la maison. Luc lui a préparé$_2$ une boisson.
Marie be:3 enter:PP in the house Luc her have:3 prepare:PP a drink
'Marie entered$_1$ the house. Luc prepared$_2$ a drink for her.'

Similarly, the compound past in German displays similar functions. Berman and Slobin offer the following example.

(48) Der arme Tom **hat** auch in dem Baum den Frosch nicht **gefunden**, **hat** aber eine Eule zu Tode **erschreckt**, die nun aus dem Baum herausgeflogen kommt…
'Poor Tom has also not found the frog in the tree, but has scared an owl to death, who now comes flying…'
(from Berman and Slobin 1994:14, example (18))

With respect to the sequencing capabilities of the perfects in French and German, it can be said that these forms have reached a level of grammaticalization that takes them outside of the generally understood prototypical uses of a perfect. Though I will not extensively discuss the German perfect, I will analyze in more detail the situation of the French *passé composé* as a reflection of the general trend in Romance for periphrastic perfects to take on perfective meaning (see Harris 1982, Fleischman 1983, among

others). By observing this tendency in Romance, I will better be able to describe the distribution of the Spanish perfect.

2.2.3   Summary and discussion

Throughout this overview, I have presented a number of features that serve to distinguish the Spanish Present Perfect from other cross-linguistically similar forms. Again, it should be noted that I do not assume that sharing a similar morphosyntactic form correlates directly to shared semantic/pragmatic properties.[28] Nevertheless, the perfects of the languages discussed so far do share a number of characteristics relating to their use and meaning that help to provide some measure of their differences. Therefore, I summarize my findings in this section in Table 2.3, which compares the languages mentioned (i.e. Spanish, English, French, Portuguese, and German) in terms of the features described (i.e. perfect types, co-occurrence restrictions, and narrative uses). I have included an additional factor with *2a* to illustrate the results of the survey presented in §2.2.2.3 concerning the overlapping uses of the perfect and the present tense.

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[28] Giorgi and Pianesi (1997) make the claim that morphosyntactically similar forms do in fact share semantic features by virtue of these formal similarities. The fact that the Spanish Present Perfect and the French *passé composé* differ semantically is a reflection of language-specific syntactic properties relating to tense and aspect.

	Features	LANGUAGES				
		SPANISH	**ENGLISH**	**FRENCH**	**PORTUGUESE**	**GERMAN**
1.	*Perfect Types*	**ALL**	ALL	LIMITED*	LIMITED	ALL
2.	*Co-occurrence with Definite Past Adverbials*	**NO**	NO	YES	NO	YES
2a.	*Continuative-type uses of Present Tense*	**YES**	NO	YES	YES	YES
3.	*Use in sequenced narratives*	**NO**	NO	YES	NO	YES

Table 2.3: Cross-linguistic comparison of perfect features
*'Limited' refers to the absence of one or more of the prototypical perfect types.

Given the typology that I have developed in this section, the first point to observe in Table 2.3 is that each of the languages is distinct with respect to the distribution of the perfect. The factors responsible for this type of variation are, of course, abundant and varied, ranging from language-specific syntactic peculiarities to semantic distinctions. Hence, a complete discussion of the motivating factors for these distinctions is well beyond the scope of this dissertation. Nonetheless, for the purposes of describing the Spanish perfect, we can see emerging a set of distinctive features that allow us to more accurately describe its distribution. Before turning to a more specific comparison of the Spanish perfect as it relates fits into Romance, I will elaborate on a few of the contrasts highlighted in Table 2.3.

First, there are a number of observations made in Table 2.3 that need little or no clarification. The fact, for instance, that the Spanish perfect does not engage in narrative

sequencing while others do (e.g. German and French) is understandable given its status as a more prototype-like perfect (see Dahl 185). Furthermore, Spanish follows suit with English and Portuguese in being subject to the same co-occurrence restrictions regarding definite past adverbials. Finally, like other Romance languages (as well as German), the Spanish perfect and present tense can be used with adverbials like *since* or constructions like *hace* + time + *que* to denote the continuation of some state or action. This functional overlap is notably absent in English.

When we begin to scrutinize the distribution of perfect types observed in §2.2.1, it becomes clear that there are a number of subtleties that play a part in determining the perfect's language-specific meaning. As mentioned above, the Continuative meaning can be expressed in Spanish either by the Present Perfect or the present tense while in English the Present Perfect is the only form available to express this function (see example (35)). It follows then that this observation may be related more to a semantic distinction between the present tenses in these two languages rather than to a difference in the present perfects.

2.3   The Spanish Present Perfect across Romance

2.3.1   Romance perfects

Depending on one's assumptions about the semantics of temporal constructions across Romance languages, the Spanish Present Perfect can be considered fairly unique in terms of its semantic and morphosyntactic properties.[29] For instance, Spanish is one of only a few Romance languages in which the division between perfect and perfective

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[29] For further discussion on perfect constructions across Romance see Harris (1982), Harris and Vincent (1988), and Squartini and Bertinetto (2000).

functions corresponds (roughly) with analytic (the Present Perfect, as in example (49a)) and synthetic (the *pretérito*, as in (49b)) forms, respectively. The French *passé composé* (see example (50)) or the *pretêrit perfet* in Catalan (see example (51)), which are both periphrastic, have assumed functions of both a past perfective and a present perfect. At the other end of the Romance spectrum is Portuguese (see example (52)), where the synthetic *pretérito perfeito simple* expresses both past perfective and perfect meanings and the analytic *pretérito perfeito composto* indicates a limited range of anterior meanings.

(49) a. Diego ha   cantado.   *Presente* (o *Pretérito*) *Perfecto*
           Diego have:3 sing:PP
           'Diego has sung.'
      b. Diego cantó.   *Pretérito*
           Diego sing:PER-3
           'Diego sang.'

(50) a. David a   chanté.   *Passé Composé*
           David have:3 sing:PP
           'David sang.'
      b. David chanta.   *Passé Simple*
           David sing:PER-3
           'David sang.'

(51) a. David ha   cantat.   *Pretèrit Perfet Compost*
           David have:3   sing:PP
           'David sang/has sung.'
      b. David cantà.   *Pretèrit Perfet Simple*[30]
           David sing:PERF-3
           'David sang.'

(52) a. O   David tem   cantado.   *Pretérito Perfeito Composto*
           The David have:3   come:PP
           'David has been singing (lately).'

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[30] Use of the *Pretèrit Perfet Simple* in Catalan (with the exception of Valencian and Belearic varieites) is found almost exclusively in written language (Harris & Vincent 1988). In spoken language, the periphrastic form *anar* 'to go' + Infinitive is used as a perfective past—e.g. *David va cantar* 'David sang'.

b. O   David cantou.   *Pretérito Perfeito Simples*
    The David come:PER-3
    'David sang/has sung.'

This initial characterization places the Spanish Present Perfect, in most dialects, somewhere in the middle of the Romance scale in terms of its range of temporal/aspectual meanings. Here I will briefly survey some of the morphosyntactic features that are relevant to the description of the perfect in Spanish. While initially this assessment will help to provide a foundation on which to build a representative cross-dialectal description, it will further prove useful in analyzing the more formal properties that will be discussed in subsequent chapters.

2.3.2   Morphosyntactic structure of Romance perfects

So far, our survey of perfect constructions suggests that the Present Perfect in Spanish exhibits a set of functional characteristics that distinguish it from other cross-linguistically similar perfects. There are, however, a number of other features which the Spanish perfect shares with perfects in other languages. Like English, for instance, the Present Perfect in Spanish is periphrastic, formed from the present tense of the auxiliary *haber* 'to have' and a past participle, as shown in (53) below. For the past, future, and conditional (or atemporal, see King 1992) perfects, the same basic structure is observed.

(53) a. Marcos ha   comido.   PRESENT PERFECT
         Macos have:3 eat:PP
         'Marcos has eaten.'

    b. Marcos había   comido.   PAST PERFECT
        Marcos have:IMP-3 eat:PP   (*imperfective*)
        'Marcos had eaten.'

    c. Marcos habrá   comido.   FUTURE PERFECT
        Marcos have:FUT-3 eat:PP   (*synthetic*)
        'Marcos will have eaten.'

    d. Marcos habría   comido.   CONDITIONAL PERFECT
        Marcos have:COND-3 eat:PP.
        'Marcos would have eaten.'

While in Spanish the choice of auxiliary is not generally variable (as opposed French and Portuguese)[31], there is variation in the choice of tense forms of the auxiliary *haber* in both the Past and Future Perfects. With the Past Perfect, it is possible to have both the past imperfective form of the auxiliary *haber*—*había* as in (53b)—or the past perfective form (also called the *pretérito anterior*), as observed in (54) and (55) below. Butt and Benjamin (1994) claim that this latter form is used primarily to express an event completed immediately before another past event. It is found primarily in literary contexts.[32] I will not enter into an extended discussion of the distinction between the past perfect with an imperfective versus a perfective auxiliary in this analysis.

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[31] Spanish does employ the verb *tener* 'to have' in resultative constructions, as in (i) below. Harre (1991) discusses the possibility of having perfect-type interpretations with the resultative structures, though there is evidence that suggests that *tener* does not express the same features as the Perfect construction. For example, while the resultative *tener* construnction allows for a V + DO + Adj configuration, this order is not possible with the perfect, as shown in (i).

    (i) a. Tengo las cartas escritas
        have:1 the letters write:FEM
        'I have the letters written.'
      b. *He las cartas escrito.

Similarly, with predicates that have distinct adjectival and past participle forms, the *tener* resultative construction is only compatible with the adjectival form. Note the examples in (ii) below (taken from Harrre 1991:57).

    (ii) a. Tengo despierto   al   niño.   where *despierto* = awake (adjective)
        Have:1 awake:MASC ACC-the child:MASC
        'I have the child awake.'
      b. *Tengo despertado al niño.   where *despertado* = awake (past participle)

[32] Also available in Spanish is the possibility that the form used primarily for the subjunctive past is used with past perfect meaning in literary contexts. Though in these cases this form does not conserve its

(54) Marcos hubo   comido.   PAST PERFECT
     Marcos have:PERF-3 eat:PP   (*perfective*)
     'Marcos had eaten.'

(55) Pero al   menos era   bastante amplio y   en cuanto **hube**
     but at-the least be:IMP-3 enough loud   and in when have:PERF1
     cerrado la puerta reinó   el   silencio.
     close:PP the door   reign:PERF-3 the silence
     'But at least [it] was loud enough and as soon as I had closed the door, silence
     reigned.'

                                                          (CREA)

Additionally in Spanish there are both synthetic and periphrastic forms that
indicate future temporal reference—e.g. *Voy a comer* 'I am going to eat' vs. *Comeré* 'I
will eat' (see Aaron 2005 for a recent treatment of the distinction between the synthetic
and the analytic futures in Spanish). The auxiliary in the Spanish Future Perfect primarily
makes use of the synthetic form (cf. example (53c)), though there are a limited number of
cases in which the analytic future is attested.[33] Observe example (56).

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subjunctive meaning, it is still subject to the syntactic restrictions of a subjunctive clause. Namely, it cannot
occur in a matrix clause. Observe the example in (i).

   (i)   Y en la propia Nicaragua, la dinastía de Somoza, que **fuera** directamente colocada en el poder por
         Estados Unidos…
         'And in Nicaragua itself, the Somoza dynasty, which **had been** directly installed in power by the
         United States…'
                                              (M Benedetti in *El País apud* Butt & Benjamin 1994:227)

It is not surprising that this form should retain uses as a perfect in Spanish since in other Romance
languages it is this synthetic form that serves as the past perfect (see also Vincent 1987).

   (ii) O   João comera   o   dia anterior.
         the João eat:PAST PER   the day before
         'João had eaten the day before.'

[33] Use of the synthetic future with existential *haber* is much more common than its use with the Future
Perfect. Note the following example.

   (i)   …no **va**   **a** **haber** cambio de Gobierno.
             No go:3 to have change of government
            '..there's not going to be a change of government.'   (CREA)

(56) ¿Pero cómo no te **voy a haber dicho** yo que te amo, Isabel?
       'But how is that I won't have told you that I love you, Isabel?'

<div align="right">(CREA)</div>

2.3.3 Participial agreement

Another of the relevant morphosyntactic features is the lack of agreement between the past participle and the subject or object. Unlike French, Standard Italian, and some dialects of Catalan (among others), the past participle in the perfect construction does not share gender and number features associated with a VP complement—as demonstrated in (57) where the object NP *las casas* 'the houses' is feminine and plural. With resultative constructions, on the other hand, the participle does express overt morphological agreement. Note example (58).

(57) He   pintado las casas.   PRESENT PERFECT
       have:1 paint:PP the house:FEM-PL
        'I have painted the houses.'

(58) Tengo las casas   pintadas.   RESULTATIVE
       have:1 the house:FEM-PL paint:FEM-PL
       'I have the houses painted.'

2.3.4 Unstressed pronouns

Finally, elements intervening between the auxiliary and the past participle in Spanish are strictly prohibited in Spanish, as shown in (59). While the French *passé composé*, given in example (60), displays a similar pattern to that of the Spanish perfect[34], the Portuguese *pretérito perfeito composto* allows for intercalation of object

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[34] There are some elements that can intervene between the auxiliary *avoir* 'to have' and the past participle in the *passé compose*. The negative element *pas* 'step' is possible in this position.

(i) Je n'ai **pas** mangé.
     'I didn't eat.'

clitics, as demonstrated in (61). In English (example (62)), the Present Perfect does not

allow interpolated object pronouns.[35]

(59) a. Has   leido   el   libro.   SPANISH
        have:2 read:PP the book
        'You have read the book.'
     b. **Lo** has leido.   where *lo* = 3rd Accusative clitic pronoun
     c. *Has **lo** leido.

(60) a. J'ai   lu   le livre.   FRENCH
        I have:1 read:PP the book
        'I read the book.'
     b. Je **l'**ai lu.   where *l(e)* = 3rd Accusative clitic pronoun
     c. *J'ai **le** lu.

(61) a. Eu tenho visitado a   minha avó.   PORTUGUESE
        I   have:1 visit:PP the my   grandmother
        'I have been visiting my grandmother.'
     b. Eu **a** tenho visitado.   where *a* = 3rd Accusative clitic pronoun
     c. Eu tenho-**a** visitado.

(62) a. I have seen the movie.   ENGLISH
     b. I have seen **it**.
     c. *I have **it** seen.

2.3.5   Summary

The evidence presented thus far suggests that the periphrastic *haber* + Past

participle construction in Spanish functions as a 'cohesive' syntactic unit. This is further

demonstrated by the fact that preposing the participle is prohibited. Observe example

(62). The same is true for French, Portuguese, and English as well; though for the English

perfect, preposing the participle and the object seems to be acceptable, albeit archaic, as

show in (63) below.

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[35] Equating the placement of English object pronouns with that of Spanish is not entirely appropriate since the English pronoun *it* (or *him* or *she*, for example) is tonic—i.e. not a clitic.

(62) a. He   llamado a   Juan.
       have:1 call:PP ACC Juan
       'I have called Juan.'
    b. *Llamado he a Juan.
    c. *Llamado a Juan he.

(63) a. *Called I have Juan.   (= (62b))
    b. Called Juan I have.   (= (62a))

From this overview, the Spanish Present Perfect is not particularly 'Romance-like' and seems to pattern, at least in terms of its morphosyntactic features, more closely to that of English. To summarize these observations I present Table 2.4 which compares the set of features described thus far across a representative sample of Romance languages and English. Note that Spanish is unique among its language group in that (i) it does not show any variation with respect to auxiliary selection, (ii) does not require participial agreement, (iii) does not allow for the intercalation of object clitics between the auxiliary and the past participle, and (iv) prohibits the preposing of the past participle. The Present Perfect in English is subject to the same set of restrictions. Many researchers have argued that the level of 'cohesion' between the auxiliary and the participle across Romance is a measure of the degree to which this particular structure has grammaticalized forming a synactic unit (Posner 1997). If we take level of 'cohesion' to be an indication of syntactic and perhaps semantic structure, this claim has interesting implications for the current analysis since it suggests the possibility of varying degrees of compositionality across this class of periphrastic constructions in Romance (and even perhaps across dialects of Spanish).

	AUXILIARY SELECTION	PARTICIPLE AGREEMENT	INTERPOLATION OF OBJECT PRONOUNS	PREPOSING OF PARTICIPLE
FRENCH *avoir/etre+* PP	YES	YES	SOME	NO
SPANISH *haber* + PP	NO	NO	NO	NO
PORTUGUESE *ter* + PP	NO	NO	YES	NO

Table 2.4. Cross-linguistic morphosyntactic variation of the periphrastic perfect or perfective construction

2.4   Conclusions

In this chapter I have presented a number of characteristics commonly associated with perfects cross-linguistically. More importantly, I have proposed a description of Spanish Present Perfect that compares it to other typologically similar perfect constructions. There are two important claims that have been defended. First, the Spanish Present Perfect, like that of English, displays many of the characteristics typical of the perfect prototype as described in Comrie (1976) and Dahl (1985). Other features that typically indicate perfectivity, such as co-occurrence with definite past adverbials and use in sequenced narratives, are not usually attributed to the Spanish perfect (with some exceptions), though in languages like German and French these uses are quite common.

The second argument that has been presented concerns the distribution of morphosyntactic properties across the group of Romance languages analyzed. Though the situation of this form has received considerable attention (see Squartini & Bertinetto 2000), few proposals have characterized the Romance perfects with respect to the semantic features presented in §2.2. At first glance, the reason for this oversight may be

due to the fact that distinctions or similarities in these features may in fact be the result of language specific mechanisms. For instance, we have observed that adverbial co-occurrence restrictions vary widely across Romance, where the French *passé composé* combines readily with definite past adverbials while in Spanish and Portuguese this is not the case. As has been mentioned, the French *passé composé*, though having developed from a perfect construction, has become a perfective, expressing the full range of uses expected with a form of this category (e.g. co-occurrence with definite past adverbials, use in sequencing, limited imperfective readings, etc.). Therefore, it may seem that a comparison of this form with the perfect constructions of Spanish and Portuguese partly obscures the fact that the French construction has already reached a stage in its semantic development that effectively places it outside the realm of functional overlap with prototypical perfects. Similarly, the argument can be made in the opposite direction by arguing that the Portuguese perfect, which actually lacks some of the uses typical to perfect constructions, can further be excluded since it has yet to develop the functions necessary to be considered part of the perfect sphere.

Besides the obvious historical connection between these cases, it is interesting from a typological perspective that the observed features tend to cluster in functional groups and that Romance, like English and German, is subject to the same clustering effects. Thus, in this chapter I have largely ignored specific language-internal factors that give rise to these distinctions partly because a discussion of this type would far exceed the scope of this dissertation. More importantly, this omission allows us to observe more generally the functional manifestation of perfect forms cross-linguistically and for the typology of perfect features to emerge as a result of careful and consistent comparisons.

Throughout this chapter, I have developed this type of comparative analysis of perfect constructions, categorizing distinct cross-linguistic cases in accordance to the typology of perfect features. In doing so, I have also defended the claim that features, specifically those related to temporal properties (e.g. perfectivity), tend to emerge in tandem.[36] In the forthcoming chapters, I will extend this typological analysis to Spanish cross-dialectally, noting the relevant characteristics that describe variation of the perfect.

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[36] This idea will be developed in more detail in Chapter 5 when I discuss variable semantic change.

CHAPTER 3

THE SPANISH PERFECT CROSS-DIALECTALLY

In this chapter I will be concerned with developing a description of the cross-dialectal distribution of the Spanish Present Perfect based on the set of features presented and developed in the previous chapter. It is not my intention to provide an exhaustive list of characteristics for every Spanish dialect concerning their usage of the Present Perfect; instead, I will single out several dialects that are particularly representative of the type of variation observed. For each of the relevant cases, I describe those features that distinguish the use the Present Perfect and attempt to situate them with respect to a Spanish perfect 'prototype'. It remains to be seen whether or not the endeavor of describing a 'Pan-Spanish' perfect will bear fruit since wide-spread variation makes a generalization of this type problematic. Still, there are distinguishable dialect features that will aid us in our description of the Spanish perfect.

The following proposals will be defended:

1. The range of Spanish dialects can be divided into two groups in accordance to (i) the absolute frequency of distribution of the perfect in relation to the *pretérito* and (ii) the distribution of the semantic/pragmatic features discussed in the Chapter 2. This division reflects not only a geographic division but, more importantly, a semantic distinction.

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2. The list of features developed in Chapter 2 and applied to the cross-dialectal data from Spanish provide an means of distinguishing the set of dialects whose perfects display increased perfectivity.

In §3.1, I present the range of topics relevant to the description of the Present Perfect across dialects of Spanish, including a discussion of the perfect/perfective distinction (§3.1.1). Next, I motivate my selection of representative dialects in §3.2, basing this decision largely on frequency of use. With the survey of synchronic frequencies, I have also included a brief description of the historical development of the Present Perfect and the *pretérito* in two representative dialects—see §3.2.2. Following this overview of relative frequencies, in §3.3 I turn to a discussion of semantic factors that provide additional evidence for the dialect division proposed in §3.2. Included in this list of illustrative factors is the dialectal behavior of the Present Perfect with (i) different types of temporal adverbials (§3.3.1), (ii) narrative sequence (§3.3.2), (iii) 'Hot News' uses (§3.3.3), and finally (iv) continuative interpretations (§3.3.4). I end this chapter in §3.4 with a brief discussion of the implications of the proposed partition.

3.1 Preliminary observations

3.1.1 Range of variation

With respect to the Present Perfect across Spanish dialects, there is little variation in terms of the features discussed in §2.2 of the previous chapter. Perfects (present, past, and future) across Spanish are consistent in terms of their auxiliary selection, participial agreement, and interpolation of clitic pronouns. In the development of the Spanish perfect, *haber* has become the auxiliary of choice, having undergone all of the typical processes of semantic and phonological reduction normally associated with

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grammaticalized forms.[1] Though the periphrastic *tener* resultative construction can sometimes have a perfect-like interpretation, I will not treat this construction as part of the envelope of variation associated with the distribution of the Spanish Perfect.[2] Nor will I address those dialects in which the synthetic past subjunctive form (e.g. *cantar* 'to sing' → *cantara*) is used with the meaning of a past perfect (see Butt & Benjamin 1994).

In much of the literature concerning the development of the perfect in Spanish, the most often cited feature is the degree of functional overlap with the *pretérito* (see Chapter 1). That is, the perfect and the *pretérito* both refer to an eventuality that occurred at some point in the past. The perfect includes an added association with the moment of speech. The *pretérito*, on the other hand, is aspectually perfective—i.e. viewing an eventuality as having discernable temporal boundaries and being analyzable as a discrete unit (cf. Cipria & Roberts 2000). As discussed in Chapter 2, there are number of features (e.g. compatibility with definite past adverbials and use in sequenced narratives) characteristic of perfectives that are not generally expressed by perfects. The fact that the perfect in German or French, for example, may be used in these contexts is indicative of increased perfectivity. Similarly, there are Spanish dialects that show perfective uses, and it is these dialects that are most commonly analyzed. Thus, the application of the features presented in Chapter 2 to the categorization of Spanish dialects reflects the degree of perfectivity represented by the perfect in a given dialect.

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[1] Semantic reduction in this case refers to the loss of the original lexical meaning of possession expressed by HABERE (> *haber*) in Vulgar Latin and Early Romance (see Green 1988, Vincent 1988, and Penny 2002).

[2] See Harre (1991) for a discussion of the Spanish *tener* + NP + Past Participle construction in Spanish.

In this part of the analysis, different Spanish dialects will be categorized in accordance to the set of features presented in Chapter 2. These include (i) availability of perfect types, (ii) patterns of adverbial co-occurrence, and (iii) compatibility in sequenced narratives. For the latter two features, I determine whether or not the selected dialects are or are not compatible with definite past modification or with sequencing in narratives, two characteristics related directly to degree of perfectivity. Though this distinction is fairly straight-forward, I will point out any pertinent deviations in the expected patterns. Concerning perfect types, the task of characterizing is not as clear. Quantifying the distribution of perfect uses in a specific dialect has been notoriously difficult given that contextual parameters and speaker/hearer interactions influence the resulting meaning (see Hernández 2004). Nevertheless, given that our task here is to distinguish dialects in terms of the perfectivity of the perfect, there are reflexes in the types of meanings available that will provide a useful means of measurement. More specifically, as perfects become more perfective, Continuative uses, which are semantically *imperfective*, should be dispreferred. Moreover, following Schwenter (1994b), the degree to which the 'Hot News' use of the perfect is generalized is a further indication of the level of perfectivity. The advantage of discussing these two features, as opposed to the availability of types of interpretations (à la Comrie) or relevance implications, is that it affords the analysis a greater degree of empirical objectivity. For both of these features I provide evidence that supports the proposed classification.

To summarize, the features that distinguish the use of the Spanish perfect are largely semantic and pragmatic, primarily related to the range of temporal functions available. In addition to the survey of features, I present quantitative data concerning the

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relative frequency of use of the perfect in relation to the *pretérito*. These data represent a number of corpus sources, including examples gathered in my own fieldwork.

3.1.2   The Present Perfect and the *pretérito*

In addition to aforementioned factors, I will also describe the distribution of the Spanish Present Perfect in relation to the *pretérito* (simple past perfective). Much of the literature regarding the variable dialectal uses of the perfect in Spanish relies on the division of labor between these two forms as a means of determining usage. Using this distinction as a measure, it is possible to divide Spanish dialects into two distinct groups: (i) those in which the *pretérito* is favored as the 'default'[3] form for making past tense reference (e.g. Mexican Spanish) and (ii) those in which the Present Perfect has emerged as the dominant form for marking discrete events occurring in the past (e.g. Peninsular Spanish). As one might expect, there are a number of dialects whose Present Perfect/*pretérito* distinction does not fall along such well-defined lines. For the purposes of the current discussion, I will focus my analysis on describing those uses of the Present Perfect that are 'peripheral' with respect to the two features described above. Thus, while my aim is to determine the set of features that are core to the Spanish perfect across dialects, it will be necessary to temper these claims with a discussion of dialect-specific cases that may or may not be representative of a Pan-Spanish norm.

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[3] The notion of a 'default' in the realm of temporal reference is not particularly well-understood. Comrie suggests that a default expression is one which "is felt to be more usual, more normal, less specific than the other" (1976:11). Intuitively, this definition does capture the observation that many speakers from Madrid, for example, view the Present Perfect as more common or normal than the *pretérito*. Still, I am not completely satisfied with such a characterization since it has little to say about the actual meanings and uses of a particular form. Instead, I adopt the notion of default as proposed by Schwenter and Torres Cacoullos (2005) which relies on empirical factors such as frequency and level of temporal specificity.

Before proceeding further with this dialectal survey, there are two crucial points that must be made. The first concerns the observed variation of the Present Perfect and the *pretérito*, which, as mentioned above, overlap temporally in much the same way as the Present Perfect and simple past in English. Consider the examples in (1) and (2).

(1) a. Juan llegó.
         Juan arrive:PERF-3
     b. Juan arrived.

(2) a. Juan ha   llegado.
         Juan have:3 arrive:PP
     b. Juan has arrived.

Our initial reaction to (1a) and (2a), and similarly to (1b) and (2b) in English, is that the two forms share the property of making some type of reference to an event occurring in the past. Much of the work dedicated to discerning the exact nature of the distinction between these two forms builds on the observation that past reference is a common trait of both. With this point of departure, I have no qualms. It should be noted, however, that if past reference is reason enough to propose functional overlap then we should be able to find cases in which the present perfect overlaps with the Spanish *imperfecto* (simple past *imperfective*), as in (3) below. To my knowledge, no such situation exists in Spanish, though there are some analyses that argue that the perfect is imperfective in certain dialects.[4] It is generally claimed that the Present Perfect and *pretérito* additionally

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[4] Studies such as that of Lope Blanch (1972) and Moreno de Alba (1978 & 2003) argue that the perfect in Mexican Spanish expresses imperfective or durative aspect since it is generally used to indicate eventualities that began in the past and continue into the present. Moreno de Alba (2003) notes that the difference between (i), with the *pretérito*, and (ii), occurring with the perfect, is that with the *pretérito* the the friendship is viewed as having terminated, while the perfect gives rise to the reading in which the friendship continues into the present.

(i)   Fue mi amigo.   (from Moreno de Alba 2003:110)
         'He was my friend.'

overlap in terms of their aspectual features (i.e. both are perfective), ruling out a comparison with the Spanish *imperfecto*.[5]

(3) Juan llegaba.
    Juan arrive:IMP-3
    'Juan was arriving/used to arrive/was going to arrive.'

The second point concerns the proposal of a typological 'scale' which describes Spanish dialects as possibly favoring the Present Perfect or the *pretérito*. A scalar analogy in this case is not entirely appropriate since its two ends do not represent complimentary cases of the proposed distribution. That is, in the cases in which the Present Perfect is favored (e.g. Peninsular Spanish), perfective uses of the perfect are limited to certain temporal contexts, such as describing events that happened during the 'today' or 'yesterday' intervals. With these same dialects, the *pretérito*, while restricted in use, can still be found in virtually any type of context in which past reference is made. At the other end of the spectrum, *pretérito*-favoring Spanish varieties such as Mexican

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(ii)   Ha sido mi amigo.   (from Moreno de Alba 2003:110)
         'He has been my friend.'

While I agree with Moreno de Alba's observations, this distinction is not unique to Mexican Spanish, especially with a stative predicate like *ser mi amigo* 'to be my friend', which would produce a Continuative interpretation in virtually every dialect of Spanish. It is perhaps more appropriate to argue, as will be demonstrated in this chapter, that in the cases where there is a potential Continuative/Experiential ambiguity, the Continuative interpretation, which is imperfective, is favored. Moreover, I am hesitant to use the label imperfective to describe the perfect as a whole since there are certainly uses that exist outside the scope of imperfectivity (e.g. Experiential uses).

[5] Common throughout the description of the Spanish Present Perfect is use of the term 'imperfect' or 'imperfective' to describe specific dialectal cases. Lope Blanch (1972), for instance, notes that the Mexican Present Perfect can express durative or imperfective aspect (see also Moreno de Alba 1978 and Company Company 2002). According to Lope Blanch, the category of *imperfectos* represents the cases in which an eventuality begins in the past and continues to the moment of speech. This particular usage of the term 'imperfective' is better understood as describe a particular type of reading that arises with the perfect, namely the Perfect of Persistent Situation (Comrie 1976), which is distinct from the aspectual category of imperfective. I assume that use of the term *imperfecto* with respect to the Present Perfect is meant to capture the observation that this form is compatible with events which continue into the present while the *pretérito* is not (see also Moreno de Alba 2003 for an extended discussion of the Present Perfect as *imperfecto*).

Spanish do not express the opposite situation—i.e. the *pretérito* does not necessarily subsume the uses of the a present perfect, such as continuation of a past eventuality. What is in question here is whether or not the 'extension' commonly noted with Present Perfect in dialects such as that of Madrid in Spain is reflected inversely by a similar progression of the *pretérito* in other varieties (e.g. Mexican and Argentine Spanish). Put in another way, to what extent is the *pretérito* simply maintaining its status as the primary form of past reference in these latter dialects as opposed to actually gaining ground on the Present Perfect? In a well-known proposal, Harris (1982) describes the situation as one in which the division observed in Mexican Spanish, as opposed to the Peninsular cases, represents a historically prior stage in the grammaticalization of the Present Perfect, suggesting that the *pretérito* is not 'ousting' the Present Perfect in any fashion analogous to its Continental counterpart (see §1.2).[6] Though I will not be treating this topic in detail, it is still worth noting that the scale of Present Perfect/*pretérito* distribution primarily reflects frequency and contexts of use rather than relative degrees of grammaticalization.[7]

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[6] Interestingly, in many of the cases in which the present perfect emerges as the dominant form, the simple past is often relegated to certain registers—e.g. formal or written language. Though the case of the French *passé simple* is arguably the most 'visible' of these examples, there are others, such as German, Italian, and Catalan, in which simple past has been partially exiled from colloquial use.

[7] It was pointed out to me by Richard Waltereit (p.c.) that the term 'grammaticalization' is not completely accurate as applied to the shift from perfect > perfective in Spanish since this change is not accompanied by the types of structural innovations generally said to been indicative of a form undergoing the change from lexical to grammatical (Hopper & Traugott 2003). Instead, this process is better understood as a type of 'default setting', an idea corroborated by Schwenter and Torres Cacoullos (2005). Nevertheless, in distinguishing between the dialectal situation of the Present Perfect and the *pretérito* in terms of their degrees of grammaticalization, my objective was to draw attention to the observation that in perfect-favoring varieties it is possible to propose an actual 'shift' in meaning, whereas the *pretérito*-favoring dialects are more appropriately described as meaning maintenance.

3.1.3 Dialect choice

The features that I have chosen to use as the basis for comparison in this dialectal survey are indicative of the type of semantic and pragmatic issues that will be addressed in subsequent chapters. While I do not wish to dismiss summarily factors such as polarity or clause type (among others) as relevant to either the distribution of the Present Perfect cross-dialectally or the resulting formal analysis that will be proffered, I have chosen the temporal factors of adverbial compatibility and sequencing effects since they most directly represent the meaning aspects analyzed in the forthcoming examination.

Furthermore, by characterizing dialectal variation in terms of the distribution of the Present Perfect with respect to the *pretérito*, my objective is to provide some means of empirical measure. Having said this, I have chosen to focus initially on the dialects of Spain and Mexico. There are several reasons for presenting the survey with these two dialects are representative samples. First, in terms of the factors that will be discussed (e.g. adverb compatibility, use in narrative, and distinction with the *pretérito*), the quantitative analysis reveals that Peninsular and Mexican Spanish are located at opposite extremes of the scale of Present Perfect/*pretérito* usage—i.e. Peninsular dialects generally favor the Present Perfect for past reference while Mexican varieties favor the *pretérito* (cf. Schwenter & Torres Cacoullos 2005). Even a simple comparison of usage rates (to be presented below) demonstrates that the two dialects are fairly distinct when it comes to this particular feature.

The situation of the Present Perfect in both Spain and Mexico is not such that all dialects are equally Present Perfect-favoring or *pretérito*-favoring, respectively. In Spain, the majority of studies that discuss this phenomenon are based on data from urban centers

in the central and eastern part of Spain such as Madrid, Alicante, and Valencia (see Schwenter 1994a, Serrano 1994, Cartagena 1999, among others). Galician Spanish, however, does not show the same preference for the periphrastic past.[8] Throughout the chapter I will use the term "Peninsular Spanish" to refer to those dialects in which the Present Perfect is used with perfective functions. Likewise, "Mexican Spanish" will be used as a cover term for those dialects in Mexico which strongly favor the *pretérito*, though this situation is generally considered to be descriptive of Mexican Spanish as a whole (cf. Lope Blanch 1972 and Moreno de Alba 1978 & 2003).

The second reason concerns the available literature that treats similar Present Perfect or *pretérito* preferences in other parts of the Spanish-speaking world. Most notably, the Present Perfect in some South American Spanish dialects has long been observed to express functions akin to those of the *pretérito*.[9] In fact, there are a number of authors who claim that the perfective uses of the Present Perfect in both the Peninsular and South American cases are parallel, ostensibly due to equivalent paths of grammaticalization (cf. Penny 2000). In a recent proposal, Howe and Schwenter (2003) argue that use of the Present Perfect in Andean Spanish (e.g. Peru, Bolivia, Ecuador, etc.) is distinct from that of Peninsular Spanish even though the perfects of both dialects exhibit some degree of overlap with the *pretérito*. More precisely, the Present Perfect in the South American cases shows neither hodiernal (i.e. uses in the 'today' interval) nor

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[8] Otálora Otálora notes that the *pretérito* is preferred over the perfect in some Spanish regions such as Galicia and Asturia (1970:138).

[9] Though no quite as extensively analyzed as Peninsular Spanish, the Present Perfect in American Spanish, specifically in the South American region has been treated by a number of authors. Among them are Schumacher de Peña (1980), Hardman-de-Bautista (1982), Westmoreland (1988), Bustamante (1991), Stratford (1991), De Mello (1994), De Jonge (1995), Mackenzie (1995), Klee (1996), López Morales (1996), Escobar (1997), and Penny (2000).

narrative uses. Though in this chapter I cite frequency data concerning the distribution of the perfect and the *pretérito* in Peruvian Spanish, I will delay a more detailed analysis of the situation of this particular dialect (or group of dialects) until the proceeding chapter. At that time I will discuss more specifically the distribution of the Present Perfect in the so-called 'perfective' dialects and determine the extent to which they follow (or not) the Peninsular norm.

Similar to the Mexican Spanish situation, there are other dialects in which the *pretérito* is the preferred form for past reference. Burgos (2004) offers an extensive overview of the Present Perfect in Argentine Spanish, arguing that its use and frequency is not significantly different from other American varieties. Other studies of the Present Perfect in this region have also suggested that the *pretérito* is the preferred past and that the Present Perfect follows the 'American Norm' (see Donni de Mirande 1980 and Kubarth 1992). Kubarth goes on to argue that despite its similarity with other American dialects the Argentine Present Perfect "follows its own evolution" (1992 *apud* Burgos 2003:31), though he gives little evidence that its evolution or distribution are qualitatively distinct from that of similar uses in the region. This lack of explanation notwithstanding, in the absence of a similar analysis it is reasonable to assume that the perfect in Argentine Spanish and that of Mexican Spanish are not entirely equivalent.

For the reasons mentioned above, I will restrict this review of salient dialectal distinctions to Peninsular and Mexican Spanish since it these two cases which have received the most attention in the literature, having been subjected to a variety of both descriptive and theoretical scrutiny. Consequently, I will limit the discussion of the increased use of the Present Perfect in Andean Spanish, opting instead to take up this

issue in the following chapter. Moreover, the Mexican/Argentine comparison is limited to the observation that both demonstrate a preference for the *pretérito*, though the precise nature and distribution of this purported inclination has received much more attention in the Mexican case. In the proceeding section I present a statistical analysis that supports the hypothesis that dialects do indeed differ with respect to their overall usage frequencies of the Present Perfect and the *pretérito*, at which time I will include some illustrative figures describing the Present Perfect in Lima, Peru and Buenos Aires, Argentina. The observation that will be made is that these two dialects are parallel to Madrid, Spain and Mexico City, Mexico, respectively, in terms of the statistical distribution of the two forms under discussion. I do not claim, however, that this parallelism is motivated by any specific equivalencies in use or evolution.

3.2   Cross-dialectal frequencies of the Present Perfect and the *pretérito*

3.2.1   Overall frequencies of the Present Perfect and the *pretérito*

In a recent analysis, Schwenter and Torres Cacoullos (2005) provide an extensive survey of different corpus sources to account for the Present Perfect/*pretérito* distinction in Peninsular and Mexican Spanish. Their study compared usage rates as reflected in the Mexican Habla Culta/Habla Popular and the Peninsular COREC corpora, both consisting of ~100,000 words. The results of their survey demonstrate a clear distinction in the distribution of the Present Perfect and the *pretérito* in these two dialects. A summary of their findings is presented in Table 3.1 below.

	Peninsular Spanish	Mexican Spanish
PRESENT PERFECT	**53.4%** (N = *953*)	**14.9%** (N = *335*)
PRETÉRITO	**46.6%** (N = *830*)	**85.1%** (N = *1899*)
TOTAL:	1783	2234
	$\chi = 673.122; p < .001$	

Table 3.1. Percentage of Present Perfect and *préterito* use
in Peninsular and Mexican Spanish[10]

In the Peninsular corpus, among the total number of forms (1783), Present Perfects were used in almost 54% (N = 953) of the cases. Only 15% (N = 533) of the tokens extracted from the Mexican corpus were Present Perfects. Clearly, the overall preference of forms goes in opposite directions in these two dialects.

To provide an additional point of contrast, I present Table 2.2, which compares the Present Perfect/*pretérito* frequencies from different dialects in Latin and South America—e.g. Argentina, El Salvador, and Peru. Recall that Latin American dialects of Spanish are considered 'conservative', generally displaying a preference for the *pretérito*. As noted above, there are some dialects in which there is an increased usage of the Present Perfect, as in the Peruvian case. When compared with the Peninsular situation, the Peru data do not indicate the same extreme of Present Perfect usage—cf. 54% versus 30%. If the comparison is made, however, with respect to Mexican Spanish, we find that the Present Perfect is used nearly twice as much in the Peruvian corpus. In conclusion, these distributions suggest that 'innovation' of the Present Perfect be measured relative to

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[10] Adapted from Schwenter and Torres Cacoullos (2005).

the type of variation found in a particular region. Thus, while the Peruvian data may not represent the same scale of Present Perfect preference as that of Peninsular Spanish, it is reasonable to argue that it does indeed represent an exception to the Latin American norm when compared to the Mexican data.

	Argentine Spanish[a]	Salvadoran Spanish[b]	Peruvian Spanish[c]
PRESENT PERFECT	**13%** (N = *232*)	**22%** (N = *838*)	**29.5%** (N = *1082*)
PRETÉRITO	**87%** (N = *1602*)	**78%** (N = *2932*)	**70.5%** (N = *2585*)
TOTAL:	1834	3770	3667
		$\chi = 198.344; p < .001$	

a = Kubarth (1992); *b* = Hernández (2004); *c* = Caravedo (1989)

Table 3.2. Percentage of Present Perfect and *préterito* use in Argentine, Salvadoran, and Peruvian Spanish

Also important in the data from Table 3.2 is the distribution of the Present Perfect in the data from El Salvador (San Sebastián) and Argentina (Buenos Aires). As expected, the frequencies of these two samples are markedly different from that of Peninsular Spanish, following the trend observed with the Mexican perfect in Table 3.1. What is interesting about the Salvadoran and Argentine cases is their comparison with other Latin American dialects. For Argentine Spanish, the Present Perfect is highly disfavored, comprising only 13% (N = 232) of the tokens (cf. Burgos 2004). In terms of overall frequency, the Present Perfects of Argentina and Mexico have virtually the same rate of use. On the other hand, the Salvadoran data exhibit a significant departure from the 'normative' use represented by the Mexican Present Perfect. In his analysis of Salvadoran

Spanish from San Sebastián, Hernández argues that "the higher frequency of PP [Present Perfect] shown in the comparative analysis [22% (N = 838)] seems to suggest that the PP is in fact generalizing in this Salvadoran variety in comparison to more conservative varieties, such as Mexican Spanish" (2004:151). Indeed, it is not the case that geographical proximity automatically equates to distributional equivalence. See Table 3.3 for a comparison of the Latin American samples. Note that, in terms of dialects surveyed, Argentine Spanish represents the *pretérito*-favoring extreme while Peruvian Spanish displays the opposite tendency. This distribution is consistent with the observations made in §3.1.3.

	PRESENT PERFECT		*PRETÉRITO*	
Argentine Spanish	**13%** (N = *232*)		**87%** (N = *1602*)	
Mexican Spanish	**14.9%** (N = *335*)	↓	**85.1%** (N = *1899*)	↑
Salvadoran Spanish	**22%** (N = *838*)		**78%** (N = *2932*)	
Peruvian Spanish	**29.5%** (N = *1082*)		**70.5%** (N = *2585*)	
$\chi = 280.377; p < .001$				

Table 3.3. Comparison of Present Perfect and *pretérito* usage in Latin American dialects

To complement the summary provided in Table 3.3, I present the following comparison of three non-Latin American dialects—those of Madrid, Valencia, and the Canary Islands.[11] While I do not believe that Canary Spanish is typical with respect to the Peninsular mainland use of the Present Perfect, it allows us to compare the Present

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[11] I have included the frequency distributions obtained from my own interviews in Table 3.4 (i.e. MAD05 and VAL05). Note that in both cases the figures are parallel to those obtained from the COREC corpus in Schwenter and Torres Cacoullos (2005).

Perfect-favoring dialects of Madrid and Valencia with a non-Latin American Spanish case. Both the Madrid and Valencia cases display a high rate of usage of the Present Perfect with respect to the *pretérito*—roughly 54% in Madrid and 51% in Valencia. The Canary Spanish situation, however, is quite different. The Present Perfect accounts for only 14% (N = 114) of the tokens, a distribution not unlike that of Argentine or Mexican Spanish. The disjoint between the Madrid and Valencia data on the one hand and the Canary Spanish data on the other highlights the fact that the mainland Peninsular case, at least in these varieties, is unique among the dialects surveyed.

	PRESENT PERFECT		*PRETÉRITO*	
Madrid Spanish[a]	**53.4%** (N = *274*)		**46.6%** (N = *239*)	
Valencia Spanish[b]	**50.9%** (N = *218*)	↑	**49.1%** (N = *210*)	↓
Canary Spanish[c]	**14%** (N = *114*)		**86%** (N = *829*)	

$$\chi = 329.425; p < .001$$
a = MAD05, *b* = VAL05, *c* = Serrano (1995)

Table 3.4. Comparison of Present Perfect and *pretérito* usage in Peninsular Spanish and the Canary Islands

It has been suggested that the grammaticalization of a perfect to a perfective in the Peninsular case is in fact an aerial phenomenon, related geographically to similar situations in French, Italian, Catalan, and German (see Dahl 1985). In these languages, use of synthetic past is limited largely to formal, written contexts, and the periphrastic forms are used for reference to any type of past situation. Given this observation, perhaps a more suitable comparison class for the Peninsular Spanish data is that comprised of

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those languages in which the periphrastic past form has become a perfective. Consider Figure 3.1.

American English,
Mexican Spanish,
Mainland Scandanavian

French,
*Standard Italian,
Catalan
Standard German*

PERFECT

PERFECTIVE

British English

Peninsular Spanish
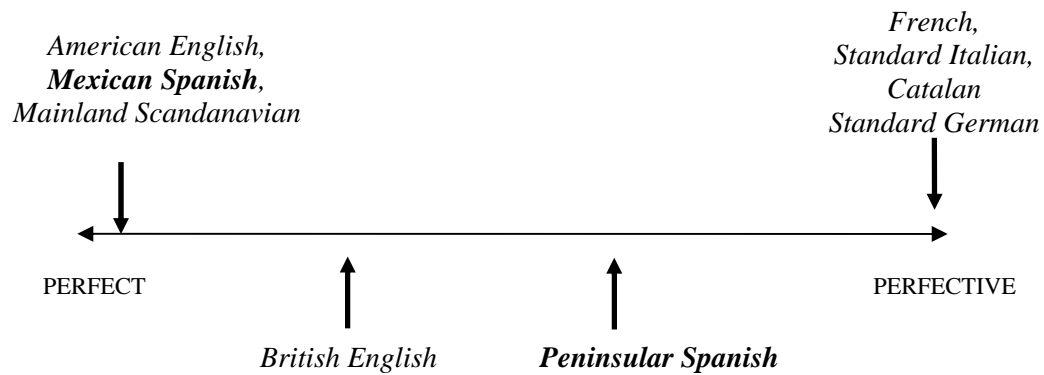
Figure 3.1. Cross-linguistic comparison of semantic development with the perfect

The first point to note is that when compared to samples outside of Spanish, the situation of the Present Perfect in the Peninsular case does not seem that striking. In fact, it represents the 'least' innovative of the comparison group, whereas the Spanish-internal comparisons all support the opposite claim. Of course, caution is needed when making a comparison across languages since there are a number of mitigating factors that may influence this distribution (e.g. tense morphology, syntax, etc.). Nonetheless, my objective with this comparison was to draw attention to the emerging picture of Peninsular Spanish as typologically unique among its dialectal neighbors. That is, there are clearly two groups when it comes to describing the distribution of the Present Perfect and the *pretérito* in Spanish. There are those, like the Peninsular case (Madrid, Valencia, Alicante, etc.), in which the Present Perfect has begun the wholesale ousting of the *pretérito* as the predominant (or perhaps default) form of past reference. Then there are

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those dialects, primarily Latin American but also including Canary Spanish and Galician

Spanish (among others), where the *pretérito* is still the dominant form of past reference.

3.2.2 Historical trends across dialects

Further illustrating the dialectal divide with respect to the Present

Perfect/*pretérito* distinction is the diachronic development of these two forms. In Tables

3.5 and 3.6 below I compare the historical evolution of the Present Perfect and the

pretérito in both Peninsular and Argentine Spanish starting from the 15th century text *La*

Celestina (representative of pre-colonial Peninsular Spanish) and continuing through to

the modern-day frequencies noted above. Not surprisingly, the Peninsular data in Table

3.5 (taken from Copple 2005) demonstrate the steady increase in frequency of use of the

Present Perfect, with an associated decrease in the *pretérito*.[12]

Century	PRESENT PERFECT	*PRETÉRITO*
15th (*La Celestina*)	**26.6%** (N = *34*)	**74.4%** (N = *99*)
19th (*El sí de las niñas*)	**48.5%** (N = *99*)	**51.5%** (N = *105*)
20th (COREC)	**53.4%** (N = *953*)	**46.6%** (N = *830*)
	$\chi = 39.177; p < .001$	

Table 3.5. Relative frequencies of PP and *préterito* use diachronically
in Peninsular Spanish[13]

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[12] It should be noted that frequency counts from the 19th century, as represented in *El sí de las niñas*, could be influenced by the genre and style of this particular text. In addition to being a play and primarily dialogic, the play takes place over a single day. These factors may contribute to the increased frequency of Present Perfect use.

[13] Adapted from Copple (2005).

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Given the chronological status of *La Celestina* as a document from the 15th century, we

can reasonably assume that it is generally characteristic of pre-colonial literature and thus

represents a reasonable candidate for the source of both the Peninsular and Argentine

cases. Some examples from *La Celestina* include:

(4) Tan bien me da osadía tu gran pena, como ver con tu sospecha **as ya tragado**
alguna parte de mi cura […]
'I also gain boldness through your deep sorrow, and when I see that your
supsicion has already swallowed part of my healing […]'

(from *La Celestina*)

(5) desde ayer no la **he visto**
'I have not seen her since yesterday.'

(from *La Celestina*)

In contrast to Peninsular Spanish, the results from the Argentine data present a bit

of a conundrum given the spike in usage located between the 16th and 19th centuries.

Burgos recognizes the same trend and points out that "these 16th-19th century texts yield

instances of all anterior uses [i.e. resultative, experiential, continuative, 'Hot News'] with

perfect forms" (2004:272). He proceeds to argue, contrary to previous claims concerning

the decreased usage of the Present Perfect in Latin America during and after the

colonization period (see Moreno de Alba 1998), that the "considerable decrease of the

Perfect in Argentinian Spanish is therefore to be interpreted as a 20th century

phenomenon" (2004:272). The data in tables 3.5 and 3.6 are summarized in Figure 3.2.

Century	PRESENT PERFECT	*PRETÉRITO*
15th (*La Celestina*)	**26.6%** (N = *34*)	**74.4%** (N = *99*)
16th-19th	**64.5%** (N = *149*)	**35.5%** (N = *82*) [14]
20th (Kubarth 1992)	**13%** (N = *232*)	**87%** (N = *1602*)
	$\chi = 364.278; p < .001$	

Table 3.6. Relative frequencies of PP and *pretérito* use diachronically
in Argentine Spanish[15]
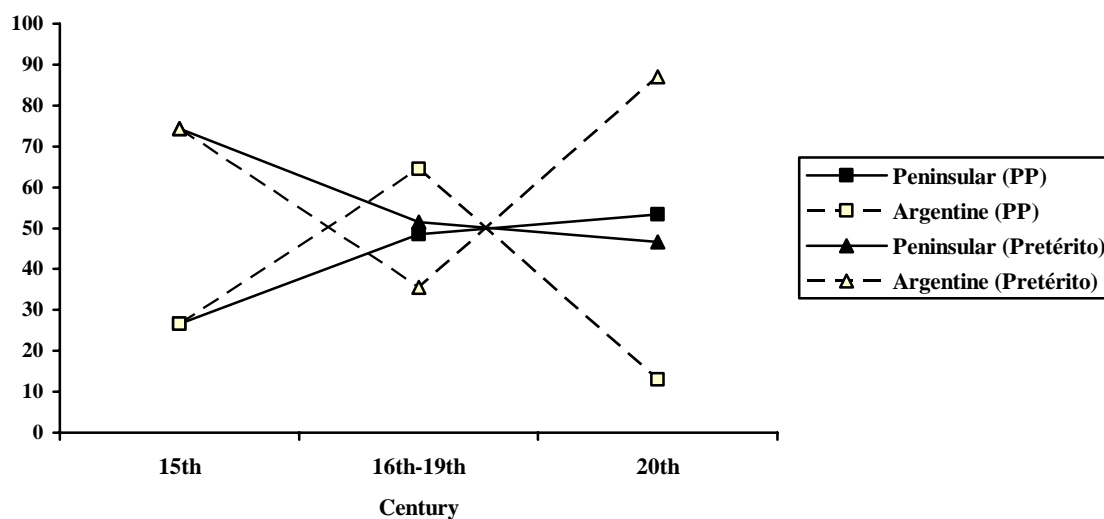
Figure 3.2. Historical frequencies of Present Perfect and *pretérito* usage
in Peninsular and Argentine Spanish

Despite some reservations regarding the rather stark differences between the 16th-

19th century transition periods in Peninsular and Argentine Spanish, I agree with Burgos'

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[14] Burgos notes that the frequencies counts from the 16th to the 18th centuries in Argentine Spanish were adapted from Fontanella de Weinberg (1993). The 19th century counts are taken from *El Martín Fierro* (late 19th century).

[15] Adapted from Burgos (2004).

observation that the Present Perfect in the latter has followed a "different path of development" from that of the former (2004:272). The result of this differential development is a distinction between the relative preferences of forms used to make past reference. This claim is consistent with the observations made concerning the synchronic data presented in the previous section, which suggest that, like Mexican Spanish, the *pretérito* is favored in Argentina. One important question that arises with the type of analysis offered by Burgos (among others) concerns those factors that distinguish the paths of development of the Present Perfect and the *pretérito* in dialects like Argentine or Mexican Spanish from the better-understood process that has occurred and continues to occur in the Peninsular dialects.

3.2.3 Summary

In light of the body of literature and the survey presented here, I have attempted to motivate a broad characterization of Spanish dialects based on relative frequencies of the Present Perfect and the *pretérito*, by both synchronic and diachronic means. As it turns out, this type of categorization allows us to distinguish two salient groups: the Present Perfect-favoring dialects (e.g. Peninsular Spanish dialects) and the *pretérito*-favoring ones (e.g. Mexican and Argentine Spanish). At this point, however, we must ask ourselves whether or not these two groups represent the application of two opposing processes rather than merely expressing differing frequency distributions. The literature concerning the Peninsular Spanish consistently supports the claim that the semantic space of the Present Perfect is growing such it is either infringing on uses of the *pretérito* or subsuming them entirely (cf. Schwenter 1994a). With the other group (i.e. the *pretérito*-

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favoring dialects), it is not clear whether or not a similar process is at work. I submit that the *pretérito* in dialects such as Mexico and Argentina is simply maintaining its presence, rather than extending to additional semantic spaces. Moreover, an account of the increased use of the Present Perfect in Latin American dialects (e.g. Peru and El Salvador) will be qualitatively different from that of the Peninsular case, representing a distinct range of factors affecting innovation. In Chapter 4 I will compare those Latin American dialects in which increased perfect usage has been attested to the distribution of the Peninsular cases. For now it should suffice to note that any complete description of the Present Perfect across Spanish dialects must take these factors into consideration.

3.3 Cross-dialectal semantic features of the Present Perfect

This section focuses on a group of semantic features that, in addition to the frequency data presented in §3.2, help to distinguish our two dialect groups. We have already observed that this distinction is reflected in part by the differential distribution of the Present Perfect and the *pretérito*. If we accept Peninsular Spanish as our token example of perfect-preferring dialects and Mexican Spanish as representative of those that favor the *pretérito*, then we can also address the claim that the Present Perfect in two dialects correspond to different degrees of perfectivity (cf. Schwenter & Torres 2005). Related to increased perfectivity are (i) increased usage with definite past adverbials (e.g. *yesterday*, *last week*, etc.) and (ii) compatibility with narrative sequence. In the proceeding section, I describe the degree of perfectivity displayed by the Present Perfect in the two aforementioned dialect groups making reference to their interaction with certain temporal adverbs and their distribution in narratives. Furthermore, I discuss two

additional issues related to perfectivity that shed further light on the cross-dialectal distribution of the Spanish Present Perfect. These two issues concern the uses of Present Perfects with either Continuative or Hot News interpretations.

3.3.1 Co-occurrence with temporal adverbials

3.3.1.1 Definite past adverbials

One of the hallmarks of a prototypical present perfect is its incompatibility with past time adverbials such as *yesterday* or *last year* (see §2.2.2 in the previous chapter). In general, the Present Perfect in Spanish, like that of English (and mainland Scandinavian, for example), is not compatible with these types of adverbs (see Table 2.2 from the previous chapter). Observe example (6).

(6) a. Juan ha   llegado *ayer   / *el martes   / *a las tres.
        Juan have:3 arrive:PP yesterday /   on Tuesday /   at three o'clock
     b. Juan has arrived *yesterday / *on Tuesday / *at three o'clock.

Co-occurrence of these types of adverbials with the Present Perfect is a useful measure in discerning dialectal distinctions. The class of adverbs in question is said to situate an event at some discrete point in the past that, crucially, does not overlap with the time of utterance. Potentially ambiguous cases like *today*, *this morning*, or *this week* allow for either a reading in which the interval located by the adverbial includes the moment of utterance, as in (7a), or one in which these two temporal intervals do not intersect, shown in (7b). Incompatibility is only a consideration in the latter case, since the present perfect is generally said to require inclusion of the moment of utterance. Likewise, it might seem that a parallel claim can be made regarding the simple past—i.e. incompatibility with inclusive readings of adverbials like *this morning*.

(7) a. Samuel no ha   comido / ??comió   esta mañana.   INCLUSIVE
            Samuel not have:3 eat:PP   /   eat:PERF-3 this morning
            'Samuel has not eaten / did not eat this morning.'
     b. Samuel no ??ha   comido / comió   esta mañana   DISJOINT
            Samuel not   have:3 eat:PP   / eat:PERF-3 this morning
            'Samuel has not eaten / did not eat this morning.'

The factors contributing to the dissonance between these potentially problematic adverbials have been argued to be pragmatic, mainly concerning the speaker's interpretation of the temporal location of the speech event (see Portner 2003). Thus, if a speaker utters (8) at ten o'clock in the morning as a response to an inquiry regarding the list of activities, then use of the adverbial *esta mañana* 'this morning' is perfectly acceptable. If, however, the speaker offers this same answer at five o'clock in the afternoon, use of the perfect would be considered marked in many Spanish dialects (and in English[16]).

(8) He   sacado   la   basura esta mañana   (a   las siete).
     have:1 take-out:PP   the trash   this   morning   at the seven
     'I took out (*lit.* have taken out) the trash this morning (at seven).'

3.3.1.2 'Today' adverbials

For Peninsular Spanish, compatibility of adverbs generally judged as awkward in other dialects is a defining characteristic of the Present Perfect (see Harris 1982, Fleischman 1983, Schwenter 1994a, Serrano 1994, García Fernández 2000, Brugger 2001

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[16] Throughout this dissertation, reference to 'English' is restricted solely to Standard American English which is considerably different with respect to its usage of the Present Perfect. Though not completely analogous to the Peninsular/Mexican Spanish split, British English does display a broader array of contexts in which the Present Perfect is used. Example (i) illustrates this observation. Note that most dialects of Standard American English would prefer the simple past *dusted* instead of the Present Perfect.

    (i) "Great Elephants!" said Gandalf, "you are not at all yourself this morning—you have never dusted the mantelpiece!"

                                       (from *The Hobbit*, J.R.R. Tolkien 1937)

and Carter 2003). The perfect in certain regions of Spain, most notably Madrid, Alicante, and Valencia, has come to take on features of a perfective similar to the *pretérito*. Observe example (9).

(9) [uttered at three in the afternoon]
Me he   levantado esta mañana   a   las seis.
CL have:1 lift:PP   this morning at the six
'I got up (*lit.* have gotten up) this morning at seven.'

For most non-Peninsular speakers, example (9) is ungrammatical or at the very least highly infelicitous. And despite being well-documented in both the written and oral language form these Peninsular dialects, there are still those that consider the 'perfective' use of the Present Perfect to be marked or even stigmatized as reflected in these two selections.

> Students of languages in which the distinction is blurred or lost must avoid translating sentences like *Je l'ai vu hier, Ich habe ihn estern gesehen, L'ho visto ieri* 'I saw him yesterday' as **Le/Lo he visto ayer* (correctly *Le/Lo vi ayer*). Such misuse [*sic*] of the perfect is sometimes heard in popular Madrid speech. (Butt & Benjamin 1994:223)

> In written Peninsular Spanish there is some evidence that the preterite tense, at least in the domain of news agency reports, is beginning to oust the perfect tense when referring to the recent continuing past [*sic*], for example *Dijo hoy* rather than the Peninsular standard *Ha dicho hoy*. There is some evidence that the preterite is currently displacing the perfect in Spain and this departure from the Castilian norm is being actively combated by the DEU… (Stewart 1999:100)

Schwenter (1994a) argues that the perfect in Peninsular Spanish has become the unmarked form for referring to past events occurring in the 'today' interval. Following Dahl (1985), he refers to this type of perfect as 'Hodiernal' (see also Serrano 1994). While it may not be clear at first glance how these uses of the perfect are different from 'prototypical' uses given that time of utterance is generally included in a *today* interval, this use of the perfect is exceptional in that it allows for a disjoint reading—i.e. one in which the interval denoted by the adverb does not overlap with the time of utterance.

Additionally, as Schwenter argues, this process of change from perfect to perfective is motivated by the gradual loss of relevance implications associated with the meaning of the Present Perfect. More specifically, he notes the following:

> The PP [Present Perfect] form has absorbed the temporal context which accompanies these adverbs, and incorporated the hodiernal qualities which were previously discernible only from the exchange of a non-today adverb with a today adverb; such an exchange would thus cause a shift from Preterite to PP. (1994a:89)

Thus, as speakers come to use the Present Perfect more frequently to refer to events occurring in a 'today' interval and carrying no relevance implication, the particular temporal features of the context are taken on by the form. In his study of the Spanish spoken in Alicante (southeastern Spain), Schwenter found that when making reference to an event occurring in a 'today' past, speakers chose the perfect at a rate of 86% (N = *253*).

Some examples of this perfective use of the perfect in Peninsular Spanish are given below (perfects in **boldface** and adverbials underscored).

(10) Bueno, pues, **me he levantado** <u>a las ocho</u>. Me **ha despertado** mi madre para darme muchas instrucciones sobre tareas domésticas…
'Good, well, I woke up (*lit.* have woken up) at eight o'clock. My mother woke me up (*lit.* awakened) in order to give instructions about some chores…'
(VAL05 070505: Interview 1)

(11) Pues, a ver, **me he levantado** <u>a las siete y media</u>. Eh, **me he llamado** a mi perrito para que lo bajase a pasear. **Me he subido** con él <u>a las ocho y media</u> así…
'Well, let's see, he got up (*lit.* have gotten up) at seven o'clock. Um, I called my dog so that I could walk up. I arrived (*lit.* have arrived) with him at eight o'clock…'
(MAD05 063005: Interview 14)

In both examples (10) and (11) we see that the perfect is used with expressions of time which could be considered a subtype of the definite past adverbials described in the previous section. The vast majority of definite past adverbials used with hodiernal

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perfects are of the type shown in (10) and (11)—e.g. *a las siete* 'at seven o'clock'. This is probably due to the nature of the interview questions used to elicit the responses (i.e. *Cuéntame tu día hoy* 'Tell me about your day').[17] Still, the use of these adverbials with the perfect stands in stark contrast with the general Latin American cases in which no such systematic co-occurrence is attested.

3.3.1.3 'Pre-Today' adverbials

Even more striking than the hodiernal case is the fact that the Present Perfect in Schwenter's data was chosen 28% of the time with a 'Pre-today' modifier (e.g. *ayer* 'yesterday'), as in (12).

(12) Carlos ha   lavado   su coche ayer.
     Carlos have:3 wash:PP his car   yesterday
     'Carlos washed (*lit.* has washed) his car yesterday.'

Some claim that examples like (12), also referred to as a 'Hesternal' perfect (Serrano 1994), show a relaxing of the requirement of temporal recency imposed by the perfect (cf. Carter 2003). Were this the case, there should be no reason why the perfect should not directly become a perfective, assuming all of the functions of a *pretérito*.[18] Furthermore, since my analysis does not assume that the perfect imposes any type of temporal restriction on the predicate in its scope, I argue, following Schwenter (1994a)

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[17] Since the temporal domains in which the Peninsular perfect expresses perfectivity are limited, then it also follows that the range of definite past adverbials would also be limited, excluding cases such as *last week* or *ten years ago*. Another possibility, however, concerning these co-occurrence patterns is that temporal expressions like *a las siete* can be understood as VP-internal modifiers, thus occurring inside the scope of the Perfect operator. This type of argument would predict that in examples like (10) or (11), the Perfect operator is able to combine with a predicate like *wake-up-at-seven*. Notice that such predicates *are* in fact compatible with perfects as long as an Experiential interpretation is understood. Observe (i) below.

    (i) **Me he levantado** a las siete una vez en mi vida.
      'I **have gotten out** of bed at seven only once in my life.'

[18] In their analysis of Peninsular Spanish, Schwenter and Torres Cacoullos (2005) note that there is still a relatively small number of Present Perfects in pre-today situations (16%).

that it is actually the erosion of relevance due to overuse that allows for gradual expansion of the Present Perfect into a wider variety of types of past reference. Schwenter and Torres Cacoullos propose that the shift from Present Perfect to perfective in Peninsular Spanish "advances in temporally non-specific or Indeterminate past contexts" (2005:13). This claim supports the view that the perfect > perfective path proceeds along less specific temporal parameters rather than gradually assuming discrete temporal domains—i.e. today > yesterday > the day before yesterday > etc. (cf. Carter 2003).

To illustrate this use of the Present Perfect in Peninsular Spanish, I provide a few examples below.

(13) Pues, <u>ayer</u> **he hecho** más o menos lo mismo.
      'Well, yesterday I did (*lit.* have done) more or less the same thing.'
                                              (MAD05 063005: Interview 14)

(14) Vale. Bueno, pues, eh…<u>hoy</u> **me he levantado** por la mañana…y <u>ayer</u> **me quedé** a dormir en casa de mis padres…
      'Ok.   Well, um…today I have woken up (*lit.* woke up) in the morning…and yesterday I have stayed (*lit.* stayed) in my parents' house to sleep.'
                                              (MAD05 062905: Interview 7)

(15) <u>ayer</u> **he comprado** un aire acondicionado y me da calor en ve de frío
      'yesterday I bought (*lit.* have bought) an air conditioner and I'm getting hot instead of cold'
                                              (COREC, BCON014B)

(16) Lo **escuché** <u>esta mañana</u>, lo **he escuchado** <u>esta mañana</u>
      'I heard it this morning, I heard (*lit.* have heard) it this morning'
                                              (COREC, CCON028A)

Use of the perfect in (13) is a clear case of the compatibility of the perfect with adverbs like *ayer*. Examples (14) and (16) demonstrate the canonical 'hodiernal' use of the Present Perfect, where the speaker makes reference to a discrete event occurring at some

earlier time during the same day. Note that in (14) when the speaker switches the temporal reference to a pre-today context (i.e. *ayer* 'yesterday') she also changes the verb tense to the *pretérito* with *me quedé* 'I stayed'. For (15), use of the Present Perfect is maintained even in the pre-today context. Finally, for (16) the speaker self-corrects to the Present Perfect after having already started the utterance using the *pretérito*.

3.3.1.4 Frequency Adverbials

With respect to durative or iterative adverbials such as *siempre* 'always' or *varias veces* 'several times' (or frequency adverbials following Smith 1991), Schwenter and Torres Cacoullos maintain that the Mexican Spanish perfect, which is argued to be used primarily for Continuative interpretations, should favor these adverbials. They cite the following examples.

(17) <u>Siempre, toda la vida</u>, ella **ha trabajado**.
'Always, all of her life, she has worked.'
(México, Habla popular, 266)

(18) Aunque **he pasado** <u>mil veces</u> por ahí; pero ya ni me he fijado.
'Even though I have passed by there a thousand time; but I haven't even noticed.'
(México, Habla culta, 428)

There are analogous cases in found in Peninsular Spanish. Observe (19).

(19) Bueno, **he jugado** el voleibol <u>toda la vida</u>.
'Well, I have placed volleyball all of my life.'
(MAD05 062905: Interview 2)

Note also that with iterative adverbials like *varias veces* 'several times' or *siempre* 'always', the *pretérito* is also compatible.

(20) Yo **estuve** aquí <u>varias veces</u> y <u>siempre</u> **vi** lo mismo.
'I was there several times, and I always saw the same thing.'
(CREA)

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In their findings, Schwenter and Torres Cacoullos note that frequency adverbials occur primarily with the perfect in both Mexican and Peninsular Spanish. In fact, these types of adverbials are found with the perfect more frequently in Peninsular Spanish than in Mexican—88% versus 59%. Their explanation for these results is that the Peninsular perfect maintains many of its perfect functions (e.g. Continuative). I would argue, however, that these adverbials due not actually represent Continuative contexts, at least not as I defined them in the previous chapter. Notice that none of the examples in (17)-(18) refer to a state or an activity that is in fact ongoing at the moment of speech; rather, they all refer to the continuation of some interval, which itself continues at speech time, containing iterative instantiations of an event or state. Thus, it is not surprising that both the perfect and the *pretérito* are compatible with frequency adverbials; with the latter the speaker makes reference to some past interval in which a number of instances of a given eventuality occurred while the former expresses essentially the same function but requires that the speech time be included in the salient interval. Later in this chapter I will defend the claim that emergent loss of 'true' Continuative readings is indeed characteristic of perfective perfects.[19]

3.3.2   The Present Perfect in Narratives

Recall from the previous chapter (§2.2.3) that one of the features of a prototypical perfect is its inability to sequence events in a narrative. The data presented from Spanish demonstrated that the perfect, at least in the Latin American dialects, is closer to the

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[19] Note also that the French *passé composé*, which developed from a perfect construction and is used solely as a perfective past, is compatible with frequency adverbials.

(i)   Souvent j**'ai visité** Paris.
      'I visited Paris a lot.'

perfect prototype in that it does not express this function, again suggesting a decreased degree of perfectivity. In light of our current survey, however, the appearance of the perfect in narrative contexts is not only useful to our developing dialectal typology but moreover crucial as it represents a watershed in the development from perfect to perfective. That is, while it may be the case that some Latin American dialects show a measure of compatibility, albeit sporadic, with definite past adverbials, there are no dialects in which the perfect has developed narrative functions. In the following chapter, I will discuss in more detail the comparison of this feature among the 'perfective' dialects of Latin America.

3.3.2.1 Peninsular Spanish

As I noted earlier, the Present Perfect in Peninsular Spanish is unique among other Spanish dialects in its compatibility with a certain set of definite past time adverbials, namely those occurring in the *today* or *pre-today* intervals. Accompanying this innovation is the use of the Present Perfect to report a sequence of events occurring in the interval of today, similar to the use of the *passé composé* in Old French (see Dahl 1985 & Schwenter 1994a). The two narratives provided in examples (21) and (22) were produced by speakers of Peninsular Spanish in response to the prompt *Cuéntame tu día hoy* 'Tell me about your day today'.

(21) **Me he levantado** [laugh] a las…a las nueve de la mañana. **He desayunado** en casa. Me (**he**) **hecho** la comida. **He ido** a la casa de mis padres a…para hacer unas burocracias, y luego **he venido** a la universidad…
'I got up (*lit.* have gotten up) [laugh] at…at nine o'clock in the morning. I ate (*lit.* have eaten) breakfast at home. I made (*lit.* have made) lunch. I went (*lit.* have gone) to my parents' house to take care of some business, and later I came (*lit.* have come) to the university.'

(MAD05 062905: Interview 4)

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(22) …**he trabajado** un ratito. Y a las dos, **nos hemos bajado** para comer…que **hemos comido** allí detrás en el Agujero. Y, y ahora **he vuelto**.

'…I worked (*lit.* have worked) a little. And at two o'clock, we went out (*lit.* have gone out) to eat…we ate (*lit.* have eaten) behind here at 'The Agujero.' And, and now I've returned.

(VAL 05 070405: Interview 6)

Common to both of these examples is the use of the Present Perfect to present a series of discrete events for their own sake that are not related to another event, a property which more generally characterizes events presented as having occurred in sequence. If we temporarily assume a different perspective regarding examples (21) and (22), we might argue that the Present Perfect is used merely to present a list of activities in which the speaker has engaged during the day. This use of the perfect fits reasonably within the spectrum of functions that might be observed in other Spanish dialects (as well as in English). The presence of the temporal adverbs *luego* 'later' in (21) and *y a las dos* 'and at 2 o'clock' and *ahora* 'now' in (22), however, requires a sequenced interpretation. Consequently, it seems that the Present Perfect in these cases is indeed used to narrate a succession of events. In fact, Schwenter argues that the perfect functions as the 'default' form used to narrate events occurring in the interval of *today*. My study of the Spanish of Madrid and Valencia corroborates Schwenter's observation.[20]

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[20] One potentially important caveat for this observation about narrative uses of the perfect in Peninsular Spanish is its distribution with respect to the *imperfecto*. In typical Spanish past narratives, the *pretérito* is used with foregrounded elements (e.g. sequenced events) while the *imperfecto* marks backgrounded or ongoing information. At this stage in the distribution perfect-marked narratives, however, there does not seem to be the same interplay between the perfective perfect and the *imperfecto*. In fact, there are very few examples of the *imperfecto* used in conjunction with the perfect in the narratives gathered in my Madrid and Valencia samples. Similarly, none of the examples presented in Schwenter (1994a) express a perfect/*imperfecto* interplay as might be expected in 'standard' narratives. One exception can be found in (i) below which has the form *quedaban* in the *imperfecto* occurring in a relative clause that describes the data that the informant needed to input into the computer.

While it is clear that this 'narrative' use of the Present Perfect is limited to specific temporal contexts and thus has not developed the same range of contextual possibilities as the *passé composé* in Modern French, this property is useful in further distinguishing the dialectal divide proposed in §3.2. Also important to note is that other dialects that display 'perfective'-type uses of the perfect, such as Peruvian Spanish, do not exhibit a parallel narrative function (see Chapter 4). This observation is significant in that it supports the claim that the cluster of Peninsular dialects discussed here represent the only Spanish situation in which the perfect-to-perfective path of grammaticalization is being realized in accordance to the Romance 'norm'. In other words, those dialects in which the Present Perfect displays some degree of perfectivity but does not exhibit the concomitant discourse features, such as narrative sequence, are not representative of the so-called 'aoristic drift' (i.e. the tendency for present perfects in Romance to become perfective) described by Squartini and Bertinetto (2000).

3.3.2.2 Clause type distinctions

One of the claims frequently made concerning the perfect is that it is used to present backgrounded information with respect to the current situation (see Dahl and Hedin 2000).[21] From the data observed in this section, the Peninsular Spanish perfect represents a clear departure from this aspect of the prototype since compatibility with

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(i) **He termininado** de meter unos datos en el ordenador que me *quedaban*.
'I finished (*lit.* have finished) inputting some data that I had left over into the computer.'
(MAD05 063005: Interview 12)

Despite the example in (i), this observation is quite telling since it suggests that we should be cautious regarding the claim that the Peninsular perfect is wholly compatible with narrative sequence.

[21] In this respect, the perfect is similar to the Spanish imperfective past (i.e. *imperfecto*) which also is used to express backgrounded events in narratives.

sequencing is a trademark of foregrounding. Schwenter and Torres Cacoullos (2005) further note that this observation predicts that perfects will be favored in certain clause types, namely in relative clauses (as in (23)) or causal clauses (see (24)), which generally do not contribute to the foreground in a narrative. Other clause types that may favor a perfect are non-assertive clauses such as *yes-no* questions (as in (25)) (cf. Dahl 1985, Dahl & Hedin 2000, and Schwenter & Torres Cacaullos 2005).

(23) ¿Quiere otra pasta, madre? Este es el vino de Oporto que **han traído** ellos.
'Do you want another pastry, mother? This is the Port wine that they brought?'
(COREC, CCON019A)

(24) Y casi no me ha dado tiempo hacer nada más porque **he vuelto** a subir
'and I almost didn't have time for anything else because a came back up'
(VAL04 070405: Interview 6)

(25) ¿Ah sí? ¿Le **ha tocado**?
'Yes? Has it happened to you?'
(México, Habla popular, 297)

Since the Peninsular Spanish perfect expresses increased perfectivity, there should be less of a preference for clause type. In Schwenter and Torres Cacoullos' findings, clause type is not selected as a significant factor in the distribution of the perfect versus the *pretérito* in Peninsular Spanish. For Mexican Spanish, however, the results are different, with there being a high probability that perfects occur either in *yes-no* questions or in relative clauses. This split corroborates the observation that the Mexican Spanish Present Perfect retains the prototypical perfect use of expressing background information. The lack of preference in the Peninsular case also supports the claim of increased perfectivity, given that this development would be accompanied by generalization to a larger domain of past temporal reference.

3.3.3 Variation of perfect types

In this section I will discuss two characteristics related to the increased perfectivity of perfects that directly influence the type of available meanings. The first concerns to use of the Present Perfect to indicate actions or states initiated in the past that continue into the present. I demonstrate that in dialects such as Peninsular Spanish this meaning is disfavored with the perfect. Secondly, increased uses of a perfect in Hot News situations also provide further measure for degree of perfectivity.

3.3.3.1The perfect as Continuative

The argument I wish develop here concerns the use of the Spanish Present Perfect to denote a state beginning in the past and continuing into the present (i.e. Comrie's Perfect of Persistent Situation or the continuative/universal perfect). As noted in the previous chapter, the only form that allows for this type of interpretation in English is the Present Perfect; the present tense is incompatible with partial past reference (see example (26)).[22] For Spanish, either the Present Perfect *or* the present tense can express this type of meaning.[23] See example (27).

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[22] With a temporal adverbial such as *still*, the English Present can have a continuative-type interpretation with stative predicates, as in (i). Burgos (2004) suggests that the same is true for activity predicates (see example (ii)), though this is does not seem to be the case that the interpretation of either (i) or (ii) is 'continuative' in the same sense discussed above. Example (ii) would not uttered by a speaker starting his/her 17th mile in a marathon to indicate that her/she is still in the process of running. Likewise, I suspect that the supposed continuative interpretation of (i) is actually generic in nature.

    (i)   I still live in Columbus.
    (ii)   I still run.

[23] Burgos argues that the continuative interpretation of (27a) is possible only in presence of temporal modification (see also Mittwoch (1988), Iatridou et al. 2001, Kiparsky (2002), and Portner (2003), among others). Though I will discuss this point in more detail in the forthcoming chapter, I submit that the temporal 'modification' needed for such a reading need not be explicit—i.e. does not require an overt adverbial. Consider (i).

(26) a. I have lived in Columbus for four years.   PRESENT PERFECT
     b. *I live in Columbus for four years.   PRESENT

(27) a. He vivido en Columbus durante cuatro años.   PRESENT PERFECT
     b. Hace cuatro años que vivo en Columbus.   PRESENT

One of the most commonly studied issues related to the present perfect, at least in English, is the purported ambiguity between the continuative reading of (37a) and the experiential reading (see Dowty 1979 and Mittwoch 1988 for extensive discussions of these interpretations), both represented in (28).

(28) I have lived in Columbus for four years.
     Continuative/Universal: *the speaker still lives in Columbus at the time of speech*

     Experiential/Existential: *the speaker lived in Columbus at some time before the moment of speech for a period of four years but does not live there now*

While the Spanish perfect in (27a) allows for both interpretations, the present tense permits only the continuative one. What is further interesting about the Spanish case is

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(i) A: ¿Por qué no está Juan aquí?
        'Why isn't Juan here?'
     B: Ha estado enfermo.   (+> *he's still sick*)
        'He's been sick.'

He further points out that the Spanish *pretérito* may also be to indicate a continuing present state. To have this interpretation, however, one of three factors must hold: (a) the subject or objects must be plural count NPs (as in (ii)), (b) there must be an adverbial like *desde hace* 'since' (again in (ii)), or (c) the clause must be of negative polarity (see (iii)). This use of the *pretérito* is not surprising given the proposal suggested by Cipria and Roberts (2000) that the *pretérito* is indeterminate with respect to its resulting Aktionsart. In English, the continuative interpretation is not allowed.

(ii)   Pedro escribió cartas desde hace un par de días (pero aún le quedan varias por escribir).
       Pedro has been writing (*lit.* wrote) letters for a couple days now (but he still has several to write).

                                                          (Burgos 2004:187, example (450a))

(iii) No reconocí todavía que se pueda llegar a una solución en las próximas horas.
       'I haven't yet recognized (*lit.* did not recognize) that a solution could reached in the coming hours.'

                                                          (Burgos 2004:188, example (459a))

(iv)   Pedro (#so far) wrote letters during the last few days.   (+> *he's not still writing letters*)

that speakers from different dialects vary in their preference of forms used to indicate a continuing state. The prediction that follows from the current analysis is that as the Present Perfect develops functions of a perfective the likelihood of its being used to express meanings typical of *imperfective* forms should decrease. The continuative interpretation is essentially imperfective since, like the Spanish *imperfecto*, it displays the subinterval property (see Dowty 1987 and Cipria & Roberts 2000).[24] Thus, the sentence *he vivido en Columbus durante cuatro años* 'I have lived in Columbus for four years' under the continuative interpretation entails that 'live in Columbus' is true at any given subinterval during the relevant interval of four years, including the moment of utterance. Crucially, we must assume that this property applies only to the predicate *live in Columbus* since inclusion of the adverbial would require that live-in-Columbus-for-four-years be true at any given interval, which clearly is not the intended meaning.

3.3.3.2 Continuatives in Spanish

With respect to continuative interpretations, those dialects with increasingly perfective Present Perfects should favor the present tense construction (cf. example (27b)) for expressing a state or an eventuality that began in the past and holds at speech time. Conversely, speakers from dialects such as Mexican or Argentine Spanish would not disfavor use of the perfect to code continuative meaning. Though the Continuative

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[24] More formally, Dowty's subinterval property for atelic predicates is as follows:

(i)   If δ is an atelic predicate, then necessarily $\delta(x_1,\ldots,x_n)$ is true for interval *I* if and only if $\delta(x_1,\ldots,x_n)$ is true for all subintervals of *I′* of *I*.

(from Dowty 1987:18)

Informally, this property requires that an atelic predicate be true at any subinterval. Thus, if I say *Mary slept*, it must be true that 'Mary sleep' hold at every subinterval of the interval during which *Mary slept* is true. With telic predicates like *write a letter*, the converse is true; that is, *Mary wrote a letter* requires that 'Mary write a letter' is false for all proper subintervals.

use of the Present Perfect is attested in all Spanish dialects, the argument being made here

is that as increased perfective functions develop the Present Perfect becomes disfavored

for this type of interpretation. There are various independent motivations for this claim.

First, the French *passé composé*, which represents the Romance prototype of periphrastic

forms developing into true perfective pasts, is *not* used to express actions or states

continuing into the present. Consider the examples in (29).

(29) a. Je lis   depuis qu'il   est sorti.   PRESENT
        I   read:3 since   that-he is:3 leave:PP
        'I have been reading (*lit.* read) since he left.'

     b. J'ai   lu   depuis qu'il   est sorti.   *PASSÉ COMPOSÉ*
        I-have:3 read:PP since   that-he is:3 leave:PP
        'I have read (i.e. did some reading) since he left.'

(30) J'ai   habité à Paris pendant trois années.
     I-have:3 live:PP in Paris during   three   years
     'I have lived in Paris for three years.'
     a. = Experiential: *the speaker lived in Paris during some three-year period*
                          which does not overlap with speech time
     b. ≠ Continuative: *the speaker has lived in Paris for a three-year period which*
                          extends into the present

Calvez notes that in French "the verb of the main clause is in the present

indicative if the action begun is still going on now [i.e. at the time of utterance]"

(1993:277, see also Engel 1990). Use of the simple present in (29a) is parallel to the

Spanish example in (27b) and results in a similar continuative interpretation. The

periphrastic *passé composé*, however, does not provide the same the range of possible

interpretations. In example (29b) the speaker is not reading at the moment of utterance;

instead, the sentence merely indicates some occurrence (or occurrences) of the action of

reading taking place during the interval that began with his leaving and continuing to

speech time. Moreover, the ambiguity noted for the example of the Spanish Present

Perfect in (27a) does not arise with the French *passé composé*, as seen in (30).

Interestingly, the present perfect in Portuguese (or *Pretérito Perfeito Composto*)

displays the reverse behavior with respect to continuative readings—i.e. experiential

readings are prohibited. Harris (1982) argues that Portuguese perfect is less

grammaticalized than either of its Peninsular Spanish or French counterparts (and thus

expresses no perfective functions). Thus, we can predict that (31) will not give rise to

Experiential-type interpretations. As described by the interpretations shown in (31a) and

(31b), this predication is borne out.

(31) Eu **tenho morado** no   Rio por três anos.
     I   have:1 live:pp   in-the Rio for three years
     'I have lived in Rio de Janeiro for three years.'
     a. ≠ Experiential: *the speaker lived in Rio during some three-year period*
                            which does not overlap with speech time
     b. = Continuative: *the speaker has lived in Rio for a three-year period which*
                            extends into the present

From this survey of the possibility of continuative interpretations across Romance

periphrastic constructions, we again note that Spanish seems to lie somewhere in the

middle of the spectrum of grammaticalization. Within the list of Spanish dialects, we can

observe a microcosm of the larger Romance situation, with the increasingly perfective

Present Perfect of the Peninsular varieties and the steadily perfect (or even perhaps

imperfective) uses in the case of Mexican or Argentine Spanish.

Further corroborating this claim are the data presented by Schwenter and Torres

Cacoullos (2005) concerning the relative Aktionsart preferences of the Present Perfects in

Peninsular and Mexican Spanish. Their survey demonstrates that lexical aspect was not

selected as a significant factor in the distribution of the Peninsular Present Perfect. For

Mexican Spanish, not only was Aktionsart selected as a significant constraint but the results moreover showed that durative predicates (i.e. atelics and iterative telics) were preferred over punctual ones. This class of predicates represents the same group that allows for continuative readings. Therefore, speakers of Mexican Spanish seem to prefer the Present Perfect in exactly those cases in which continuative readings are permissible (i.e. with atelic or iterative telic predicates).

Related to these findings, the various sources of corpus data from Peninsular Spanish also demonstrate a preference for the Experiential reading of the perfect in cases where an ambiguity is possible. For instance, in *he estado enfermo* 'I have been sick', the atelic predicate allows for either an Experiential or a Continuative interpretation. In Peninsular Spanish, the favored meaning in these cases is the Experiential reading. Note the following examples.

(32) Han ido todos, sí señor, yo **he estado** allí esta madrugada…
'All of them have gone, yes sir, I was (*lit.* have been) there this morning…'
(CREA)

(33) Este sábado **ha sido** un buen día para el deporte español.
'This Saturday was (*lit.* has been) a good day for Spanish sports.'
(CREA)

(34) Hasta ahora no conozco yo, ni **he conocido** jamás, un industrial textil que haya podido solucionar sus problemas empresariales a través de un incendio.
'Even now I don't know, nor have I ever known of, a textile industry that has been able to solve its business problems by starting a fire.'
(CREA)

In examples (32)-(34) the intended interpretations are all Experiential. As a matter of fact, the speaker in (34) switches from the simple present to the perfect and in doing so alternates between Continuative and the Experiential meanings. Of course, it is still

possible to have Continuative meanings with these types of predicates, even in Peninsular Spanish. Note the following.

(35) **He vivido** allí…toda la vida.
'I have lived there…all of my life.

<div align="right">(MAD05 062905: Interview 4)</div>

When combined with atelics, the Mexican Spanish perfects tend to favor Continuative readings, but Experiential uses are also possible.

(36) Yo **he permanecido** quieta y oyente por otra cosa, **he estado** enferma,....
'I have been quiet and attentive for another reason, I have been sick,…'
<div align="center">(CREA)</div>

(37) Y ora, hasta el momento, ya... pos ya... **he estado** siempre bien.
'And now, even up to the present, well…well…I have always been okay.'
<div align="right">(México, Habla popular, 18)</div>

In Chapter 5 I present the results of the sentence judgment task administered during my fieldwork in Spain and Peru. Included in this task were a number of sentenced designed to test the prediction that Peninsular Speakers actually favor the Present Tense when referring to actions or states beginning in the past and continuing into the present— e.g. see (38).

(38) Diego (ha estado/está) en Londres al menos desde el domingo.   (= 12)
'Diego (has been / is) in London at least since Sunday.'

As will be shown, the responses with these sentences did not indicate a clear preference for either the present perfect or the present tense. Nevertheless, when asked about their criteria for distinguishing these cases, the Peninsular informants often stated that the event or state was interpreted as completed with the perfect whereas the present tense implied that the action was still ongoing.

Further corroborating this claim regarding the limited use of the Peninsular perfect with Continuative meaning are cases found in the corpus data. We would expect that Continuative uses would be preserved with the perfect in the presence of negation, which has an atelicizing effect on telics.[25] Though such cases are attested, as seen in (39), the present tense can also occur under the scope of negation to express Continuative meaning. Note example (40).

(39) Yo <u>hace mucho tiempo que</u> **no la he olido**, ¿eh?
      'It's been a long time since I smelled it, you know?'
                                                        (COREC, BCON048A)

(40) "Yo antes fumaba, y, claro," dice: "Ahora ya que <u>hace tres años que - que</u> no **fumo** - "
      'I used to smoke before, and, of course" he said: "Now it's been three years that I haven't smoked.'
                                                        (COREC, CCON018D)

In observing other Continuative uses in the Peninsular data, there are very few cases in which the perfect occurs without additional specification lending itself to a Continuative use—e.g. negation. For instance, speakers frequently produce examples such as (41), which have a progressive under the scope of the perfect, forcing a Continuative interpretation interpretation. Moreover, many of the attested cases with the construction *hace* + 'time', which allows for Continuative interpretations, give rise instead to an 'ago' interpretation, which is also produced by the *pretérito* in combination with the *hace* + 'time' construction. Note example (42).

(41) …y el tío **se ha venido armando**, <u>desde hace tiempo</u> todo todo ese dinero que se ha gastado en - en armamento
      '…and the guy <u>has been arming himself</u>, for a while all, all of the money that he has spent on, on weapons'
                                                        (COREC, CCON004C)

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[25] See Dowty (1979) for an in-depth discussion of the semantics of negation in relation to tense and aspect. Squartini and Bertinetto (2000) also provide some general comments about the effects of negation.

(42) Entonces por aquí había muchas familias, se conoce que esto **fue** una zona - <u>hace cien años</u> **ha cambiado** el panorama
'At that time there were a lot of families, it was known as an area—the situation **changed** <u>100 years ago</u>'

(COREC, CCON004C)

In Mexican Spanish, the perfect rarely occurs with the *hace* + 'time' construction. With the present tense, the expected Continuative interpretation is achieved, as in example (43). As with the Peninsular perfect in (42) above, the *pretérito* in Mexican Spanish produces the 'ago' meaning when combined with the *hace* + 'time' construction.

(43) Los **conozco** <u>hace cinco años apenas</u>.
'I **have known** them <u>for at least five years</u>.'

(Mexico, Habla Popular, 18)

(44) <u>Hace quince días</u> sí lo **vi**.
'I saw him five years ago.'

(Mexico, Habla Popular, 24)

3.3.3.3 Hot News uses of the perfect

Among the cases in which the present perfect most closely resembles the simple past, in both English and Spanish, is the so-called Perfect of Recent Past or 'Hot News' Perfect (a term originally introduced by McCawley 1971). Found frequently in news items, examples like (45a) and (45b) illustrate the ability of the perfect to make reference to events occurring in a recent past.

(45) a. Slobodan Milosevic **ha muerto** en la cárcel.
b. Slobodan Milosevic **has died** in prison.

In both of the examples in (28), the events described are bounded situations that occur in a discrete (and recent) past. This type of temporal reference is also characteristic of perfective forms, suggesting that Hot News perfects display a greater degree of

perfectivity than do other perfect types—e.g. Continuatives or Resultatives. Unlike the Experiential perfect, which can refer to an event occurring in a distant past (shown in (46)), the Hot News perfect is limited with respect to its temporal capabilities, being confined to recent (and normally important) events. For an Experiential perfect, relevance is a contextual requirement such that if no relevant relation can be determined use of the present perfect is infelicitous.

(46) [Juan is 30 years old]
Juan ha visitado Brasil dos veces: una vez cuando tenía diez años y otra vez cuando tenía dieciocho.
'Juan has visited Brazil two times: once when he was 10 years old and again when he was 18.

3.3.3.4 Hot News perfects across Spanish

In his treatment of Hot News perfects in Peninsular Spanish, Schwenter (1994b) proposes that these uses of the perfect arise in a diachronically late phase of development. Yet he also claims that "the relationship of hot news to the present situation is not characteristic of other perfect functions", by which he suggests, as I have above, that Hot News perfects are more perfective than 'canonical' uses of a perfect (e.g. continuative, resultant state, etc.) (Schwenter 1994b:1001). Evidence for the parallelism with perfectives is reflected in, as Schwenter puts it, the "tenuous" connection between the past event and the current discourse context. If Hot News perfects do in fact display a greater degree of perfectivity, than it should be the case that these uses are found in greater numbers in Spanish dialects in which the Present Perfect has already assumed functions of a perfective—e.g. Peninsular Spanish. This is precisely the conclusion presented by Schwenter who compares Hot News uses of the Present Perfect in

Peninsular Spanish versus that of Mexico. In his evaluation of five 30-minute segments from newscasts from both Mexico and Spain, Schwenter found that only six out of the 42 stories (or 14%) presented in the Mexican case used the Hot News perfect while 24 stories (out of 53), or 45%, were marked by the perfect in the Peninsular reports. Examples from each dialect are presented below.

(47) MEXICAN SPANISH
Ha muerto el actor Vincent Price. Famoso por sus papeles en películas de horror, Price *falleció* anoche, *reportó* un vocero del actor.
 'The actor Vincent Price **has died**. Famous for his roles in horror movies, Price *passed* away last night, a spokesperson for the actor *reported*…'
(Schwenter 1994b:1017, example (27))

(48) PENINSULAR SPANISH
En Vic, **ha explotado** una bomba, causando daños a algunas tiendas, pero ninguna herida. La bomba *estalló* esta mañana poco antes de las ocho…
'In Vic, a bomb **has exploded**, causing damage to some storefronts, but no injuries. The bomb *exploded* this morning a little before eight o'clock…'
(Schwenter 1994b:1018, example (28))

In both of the examples presented above, the news story is introduced using the perfect (in **boldface**), which is immediately followed in each case by details of the all using the simple past (in *italics*). While it is not unexpected to find the present perfect limited solely to the topic sentence, since this is also the distribution of the Hot News perfects and simple pasts found in English news text, the contrast between the frequency of Hot News uses in Mexican and Peninsular Spanish is intriguing. Note also that the topics presented by examples (47) and (48) are of the more general, 'social' relevance type described above; that is, the two news reports discuss the death of a prominent actor, as in (47), and the exploding of a bomb, in (48). In his own survey of headlines from Argentine Radio, Burgos (2004) claims that Hot News functions are almost exclusively

performed by the *pretérito*.[26] Instead of the Present Perfect, the *pretérito* is used in (49) despite the fact that the story is comparable content-wise to that of (48).

(49) ARGENTINE SPANISH
Durante esta mañana *estalló* una bomba en la sede del diario español El Mundo en Cataluña.
'A bomb *exploded* this morning at the main office of the Spanish newspaper *El Mundo* in Cataluña.'

(Burgos 2004:204, example (543))

Following from these observations, Schwenter proposes that Hot News uses of the perfect are characteristic of the early stages of the perfect-to-perfective path in the development of Romance perfects, possibly giving rise to other perfective uses—e.g. hodiernal past, narrative sequencing, etc. Although I find Schwenter's analysis a useful measure for further determining dialectal divisions, I am not convinced that Hot News perfects play any significant role in the development of perfective functions. There are two main reasons for my claim. First, the Hot News use of the perfect is limited almost exclusively to written language and thus should have no significant effect on usage in spoken registers. Second, the fact that this use is found in many other dialects of Spanish

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[26] It is doubtful that the *pretérito* in Argentine Spanish is the only form used with Hot News functions as Burgos proposes. His survey only includes headlines from a single day (27th of September, 2000) and single source, *Radio Nacional*. Thus, his survey is not representative of the general distribution of the Present Perfect. A quick survey of newspaper headlines from Argentine turned up the following Hot News perfect-headlines.

(i) **Ha suscitado** justificada controversia, la posibilidad de que el municipio de Bariloche suscriba un convenio para transferir parte del bosque comunal de Llao-Llao a la empresa que adquirió el hotel de ese nombre…
'A real controversy has been provoked, the possibility that the city of Bariloche signs and agreement to transfer part of the public forest of Llao-Llao to the company that acquired the hotel of that name…'

(from *Diario la Prensa*, 04/29/1992)

(ii) **Ha finalizado** en la cancha del Córdoba Golf Club el 62° Campeonato Abierto del Centro de la República...
'The 62nd Championship Open of the Central Repúblic has finished at the course at Córdoba Golf Club…'

(from *Diario la Prensa*, 04/19/1992)

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(e.g. Mexican and Argentine), and indeed other languages, whose perfects do not exhibit increased perfectivity suggests that it exists along with other perfect functions without triggering any of the related perfective uses. Therefore, I put forward that the increased use of Present Perfects as Hot News observed by Schwenter is a reflection of the advanced grammaticalization of perfects to perfectives rather than a functional precursor. In sum, the fact that this property is not binary, as seems to be the case with acceptability of definite past adverbials and narrative sequencing, further implies that it be applied to the division between dialects in a gradable fashion based on frequency of use.

3.3.4 Summary and discussion

To summarize the claims made in this section I present the following table.

	DIALECTS BY FORM PREFERENCE	
	GROUP I	**GROUP II**
	e.g. *Mexican, Argentine*	e.g. *Peninsular*
FACTORS		
1. *Frequency*	PRETÉRITO PREFERRED	PRESENT PERFECT PREFERRED
2. *Compatibility with Definite Past Adverbials*	NO	YES (RESTRICTED)
3. *Use in sequenced narratives*	NO	YES (RESTRICTED)
4. *Continuative uses*	PRESENT PERFECT PREFERRED	PRESENT TENSE PREFERRED
5. *Hot News uses*	PRETÉRITO PREFERRED	PRESENT PERFECT PREFERRED

Table 3.7. Comparison of the *pretérito* and present perfect
in different dialects of Spanish

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Table 3.7 distinguishes two groups of dialects: (i) those demonstrating a preference for the *pretérito* and (ii) those that favor the Present Perfect. Though I have presented the two groups as polar opposites with respect to the first factor, I am attempting to account for the observation that compatibility with certain groups of definite past adverbials (e.g. *hoy* 'today', *ayer* 'yesterday'), while restricted, is systematic in varieties of Peninsular Spanish. Regarding each factor, we find a clear distinction between the two groups. Of course, there will be subcases for each group that are more or less loyal to the factors that have been listed here; with any broad dialectal characterization, this type of variation is expected. Still, the partition proposed here is a robust generalization about the Present Perfect across dialects of Spanish. To bring this section to a close, I offer an additional table to contrast the Spanish situation with that of Standard American and British English, which are also commonly treated as differing in terms of the relative perfectivity of the Present Perfect (see Comrie 1985). The former of these two dialects has been described as the more historically conservative of the pair, retaining many of the same prototypical perfect uses displayed by the Mexican or Argentine cases (Traugott 1972).

	DIALECTS BY FORM PREFERENCE	
FACTORS	**AMERICAN ENGLISH**	**BRITISH ENGLISH**
1. *Frequency*[27]	SIMPLE PAST PREFERRED	PRESENT PERFECT PREFERRED
2. *Compatibility with Definite Past Adverbials*[28]	NO	YES
3. *Hot News uses*	SIMPLE PAST PREFERRED	SIMPLE PAST PREFERRED
4. *Continuative uses*	PRESENT PERFECT PREFERRED	PRESENT PERFECT PREFERRED

Table 3.8: Comparison of the simple past and present perfect
in American and British English

If we compare Tables 3.7 and 3.8, we can see that the two languages, and their related dialects, are similar, though not exactly parallel when it comes to the distribution of the simple past and the present perfect. The Present Perfect in British English shows some of the same perfective uses as that of Peninsular Spanish—observe examples (50) and (51). Burgos claims that the British perfect, like that of Madrid or Alicante, is hodiernal, obeying the so-called '24-hour rule' which requires that adverbial modification be confined to adverbs that refer to any interval falling in the 24-hour period extending backwards from the moment of utterance (see Giorgi & Pianesi 1997). The British perfect

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[27] This observation is based on Elsness' (1997) comparison of uses of the simple past and the Present Perfect in the Brown University Corpus of American English and the Lancaster-Oslo/Bergen Corpus of British English.

[28] For British English, the values for factors *2-4* represent claims made by Burgos (2004). I have omitted narrative sequencing as a factor since I do not have any direct evidence concerning the use of the Present Perfect in these cases. My feeling, however, is that, like American English, use of the Present Perfect with sequenced events is prohibited in British English.

cannot combine with more distant adverbs like *last week*, as shown in (52). This is also generally the case with the perfect in Peninsular Spanish.

(50) The employment secretary David **has** today **told** company bosses in Nottingham that treating their staff properly will save them money and boost their profits.
(BNC: FXT 549 *apud* Burgos 2004:274, example (882))

(51) Thank you, the point which Mr. [Smith] **has made** yesterday, I think will continue to make.
(BNC: HVH 525 *apud* Burgos 2004:274, example (883))

(52) *Thank you, the point which Mr. [Smith] **has made** last week, I think will continue to make.

Other than the increased perfectivity characterized by its compatibility with (a very limited range of) definite past adverbials, there is no reason to assume that the Present Perfect in British English has grammaticized (or will grammaticize) to the same stage represented by Peninsular Spanish. Despite some analogies with the Spanish situation, the Present Perfect in English does not display the same range of cross-dialectal variation.

3.4   Conclusions

It has been argued in this chapter that the spectrum of Spanish dialects can be divided into two distinct groups based on the functional distribution of the Present Perfect. In the first group (cf. Group I from Table 3.7) we find dialects such as Mexican and Argentine Spanish where use of the *pretérito* is preferred for most types of past-time reference; the Present Perfect is relegated to certain aspectual uses, primarily expressing interpretations akin to *imperfective* aspect (such as Continuative uses). One of the commonly-made claims regarding the Present Perfect in Latin American Spanish is its virtual absence in comparison with the rather prolific use of the perfect in Peninsular

Varieties. In fact, Berman and Slobin (1994) found that the Present Perfect is highly disfavored by Chilean and Argentine children (ages 3-9). And though this 'absence' is not complete in the speech of adult speakers from these dialects, the frequency of the perfect in comparison to the dominant *pretérito* is negligible.

The second group (cf. Group II from Table 3.7) of this dialectal partition is represented primarily by the aerially proximal varieties of the Iberian Peninsula, such as the Spanish of Madrid, Alicante, and Valencia.[29] Unifying these cases is the steady progression of the Present Perfect into functional areas generally associated with the *pretérito*. This shift is evidenced by the acceptability of the Present Perfect with a limited range of past tense adverbials, its use in sequenced narratives, disfavoring of continuative readings in the appropriate contexts, and the increased frequency of Hot News interpretations.

To conclude, part of the impetus for this chapter has been to defend the proposal that there is no single Present Perfect in Spanish but rather that there are grounds for the claim that Spanish dialects in general can be associated with one of the two groups described in table 3.7. For the reader, it will of course come as no surprise that my analysis demonstrates that the dialectal divisions correspond quite well with geographic borders—i.e. the *pretérito* being favored in Latin American dialects and the perfect being favored in Peninsular dialects (see Zamore Vicente 1974, López Morales 1996, Penny 2000, among others). What is innovative about the current proposal is that this distinction has been shown empirically to coincide with the distribution of a number of well-studied

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[29] There are of course additional examples of Peninsular dialects that would meet the criteria for membership in Group II. Additional research is required to determine more precisely the isoglossic divisions of the Iberian Peninsular with respect to the distribution of the Present Perfect. For a recent survey of this type, the reader is referred to Carter (2003).

features related to both perfect constructions and to perfectives (see Chapter 2). Furthermore, I have demonstrated that while perfects in Group II dialects certainly exhibit a greater degree of functional convergence with the *pretérito* than those of Group I, we must be cautious in our typology since features such as adverbial co-occurrence and narrative sequencing do not display the full range of distribution as they would with prototypical perfectives.

CHAPTER 4

THE PRESENT PERFECT IN PERUVIAN SPANISH

The focus of this chapter is to provide a general characterization of the Present Perfect as represented in Peruvian Spanish, with special attention devoted to discerning those contexts which favor perfective functions. This description, as in the previous chapter, is developed in accordance with the feature typology proposed in Chapter 2. Further included with the data summary will be a group of examples that have been claimed to epitomize the so-called 'innovative' uses of the perfect in this group of dialects (Escobar 1997 and Sánchez 2004). Analysis of this set of examples along with those gathered from various corpus sources will provide new insight into the heretofore poorly understood factors influencing the distribution of the Peruvian Present Perfect.

The two principal claims made in this chapter are:

1. The Present Perfect in Peruvian Spanish occurs at a higher frequency than in other Latin American dialects, yet is subject to many of the same restrictions concerning its distribution (e.g. narrative compatibility and variability of interpretation).

2. The empirical evidence suggests that while the perfect in Peruvian Spanish does display increased perfectivity, namely via increased co-occurrence with definite past adverbials, these uses are limited in comparison to those attested in Peninsular Spanish.

To begin, in §4.1 I subject data from Peruvian Spanish to the same typological scrutiny observed in the previous chapter. Among other features, I analyze the relative frequencies of the Present Perfect and the *pretérito* (§4.1.1), distribution with adverbials (§4.1.2), compatibility with narrative sequencing (§4.1.3), and variation of contextual interpretations (§4.1.4). Starting in §4.2, I present an overview of the innovative perfects described in Escobar (1997) and Sánchez (2004) which indicate increased functional overlap with the *pretérito*. Though I will not provide an exhaustive description in this chapter of the issues affecting this trend[1], my intention with these cases is to develop a broader picture of the various contexts in which perfects display uses semantically akin to those of the *pretérito*.

4.1   Semantic features of the Peruvian perfect

Throughout the previous chapter, several examples from Latin American dialects were presented which displayed unexpected increases in the use of the Present Perfect. In some cases, an increase in the frequency of the perfect was accompanied by one or more of the perfective features noted in the previous chapters (e.g. compatibility with definite past adverbials). The *pretérito*/perfect distinction in one such dialect, Peruvian Spanish, has received some attention in the literature (see Klee & Ocampo 1995, Escobar 1997, Cerrón-Palomino 2003, Howe & Schwenter 2003, and Sánchez 2004). In this particular case, it has been claimed that the development of the perfect in this dialect group is parallel to that of Peninsular Spanish and that increased perfectivity can be attributed, at least in part, to similar processes of grammaticalization. Complicating the analysis of the

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[1] For that see Chapter 5.

Peruvian perfect is the fact that extended contact with indigenous languages such as Quechua and Aymara may have contributed to its increased use. In this chapter, I demonstrate that while there are uses of the perfect in Peruvian Spanish that are functionally akin to the *pretérito* upon further investigation these distributional similarities with the Peninsular Spanish perfect are quite limited (see Howe & Schwenter 2003).

In this section, I present a range of data from the interview portion of my fieldwork conducted in Cusco, Peru in the summer of 2005, comparing them with the observations made concerning the perfect in Peninsular Spanish.[2] These results include comparisons of the overall usage frequency, adverbial co-occurrence restrictions, use in narrative sequences, and availability of perfect types, specifically those that are sensitive to the perfect/perfective distinction (e.g. Continuative and Hot News). The results of the sentence judgment task conducted as part the fieldwork (see Appendix C) will be presented in the Chapter 5. As in the Habla Culta data from Lima (Caravedo 1989)[3], all of the participants in my study were native speakers of Peruvian Spanish (specifically from Cusco) and the surroundings areas. Only one of the informants was actively bilingual, learned Quechua at the age of 6. Where relevant, I will note the examples that come from this particular informant.

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[2] By "Peninsular", I am again referring the set of dialects described in Chapter 3 that display increased perfectivity. I exclude those that do not exhibit this distribution (e.g. Galician).

[3] In this section I will be including data from the Lima Habla Culta corpus (Caravedo 1989). Though I do not believe that these two dialects are entirely equivalent with respect to the distribution of the perfect, the data seem to suggest that the two are similar, being subject to most of the same constraints. Thus, as I have incorporated data from both Madrid and Valencia for the samples from Peninsular Spanish, so too will I utilize examples and distributional observations from both Lima and Cusco.

Before moving on, recall from Chapter 3 that Hernández (2004) also claims that the perfect in Salvadoran Spanish displays a number of perfective uses. Despite an overall preference for the *pretérito*, 22% (N = 838) versus 78% (N = 2932) for the perfect, the Salvadoran case is exceptional in comparison to other Latin American dialects. Though I will not be discussing Salvadoran Spanish in detail, I will make occasional reference to the data and results presented in Hernandez (2004) for the purposes of comparison. This particular case interesting since it is one of only a few dialects outside of the Andean region (Bolivia, Peru, NW Argentina) in which the increased functional overlap between the Present Perfect and the *pretérito* is attested.

4.1.1 Overall frequencies of the perfect and the *pretérito*

As shown in Table 4.1 below, the percentages of perfects found in both Cusco ("Cusqueño") and Lima ("Limeño") are markedly lower than those attested in the Madrid sample—i.e. 23% (N = 102) and 30% (N = 1082) versus 53% (N = 274).[4] Given our observations about the correlation between the perfect/*pretérito* distribution and geographic divisions, we would expect that the *pretérito* is favored in Peruvian Spanish.

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[4] It should be noted that data presented in Table 4.1 from Cusco and Madrid come from significantly smaller corpora than the Lima data (Caravedo 1989). This disparity may influence the observed level of statistical significance.

	Cusqueño Spanish[a]	Limeño Spanish[b]	Madrid Spanish[c]
PRESENT PERFECT	**23%** (N = 102)	**29.5%** (N = *1082*)	**53.4%** (N = *274*)
PRETÉRITO	**77%** (N = 341)	**70.5%** (N = *2585*)	**46.6%** (N = *239*)
TOTAL:	443	3667	513
	$\chi = 135.55; p < .001$		

a = CUS05, *b* = Caravedo (1989), *c* = MAD05

Table 4.1. Percentage of Present Perfect and *préterito* use
in Peruvian and Peninsular Spanish

Within the span of Latin American dialects, however, the situation is quite different. Observe Table 4.2.

	Cusqueño Spanish[a]	Mexican Spanish[b]	Argentine Spanish[c]
PRESENT PERFECT	**23%** (N = 102)	**14.9%** (N = *335*)	**13%** (N = *232*)
PRETÉRITO	**77%** (N = 341)	**85.1%** (N = *1899*)	**87%** (N = *1602*)
TOTAL:	433	2234	1834
	$\chi = 30.502; p < .001$		

a = CUS05; *b* = México Habla Culta/Habla Popular; *c* = Kubarth (1992)

Table 4.2. Percentage of Present Perfect and *préterito* use in Latin American dialects

While the *pretérito* may still be the preferred form, the Peruvian data show the highest percentage of perfect usage (77%) when compared to the Mexican and Argentine samples, both of which represent Group I (*pretérito*-preferring) dialects. Nevertheless,

this distribution does not rule out membership of the Peruvian Spanish perfect in Group I perfects.

In comparison to the two dialects surveyed in the previous chapter (i.e. Peninsular and Mexican Spanish), the distribution of the perfect in Peruvian Spanish falls somewhere in the middle, expressing a tendency to favor the *pretérito* but also exhibiting a usage of the perfect that is significantly higher than other *pretérito*-favoring varieties. As mentioned in previous chapters, the extension of the perfect in to the semantic domain of the *pretérito* in Peninsular Spanish has often been treated as an aerial phenomenon (Dahl 1985), an observation based largely on the fact that many of the surrounding languages in Europe also have perfects used in perfective situations (e.g. French and German). With respect to the Peruvian situation, we can also make the argument that increased perfect usage correlates to geographic proximity since similar distributions have been noted in La Paz, Bolivia and in Córdova and San Luis, Argentina, all of which are located in the Andean region of South America (see DeMello 1994). Howe and Schwenter (2003) discuss samples from the same corpus La Paz Spanish (i.e. Habla Culta de La Paz) used by DeMello and note that the distribution of the perfect is similar to that of Lima. Thus, the increased usage of the perfect in our Cusco data concurs with previous claims related to other dialects in the Andean region.

4.1.2 Co-occurrence with temporal adverbials

In general, the distribution of temporal adverbials in the Cusco data is similar to that of the Mexican Spanish sample discussed in Chapter 3. As before, I will include samples from the Lima corpus for the purpose contrast.

4.1.2.1 Definite past adverbials

Instances of definite past adverbials used with the perfect in the Cusco data are limited. In almost all cases, adverbs like *ayer* 'yesterday' were used with the *pretérito*. Observe the following examples (*pretérito* in **boldface** and adverbials underscored).

(1) Yo **trabajé** el año pasado cuando tuve un [noise] para trabajar en un colegio…
'I worked last year when I had a [noise] to work in a high school'
(CUS05 091305: Interview 1)

(2) El siguiente año que **fui**…yo ya podia decir algunas palabras…
'The next year that I went…I could already say a few words…'
(CUS05 091305: Interview 2)

(3) Yo **terminé** hace cinco años acá.
'I finished [school] here five years ago.'
(CUS05 091405: Interview 6)

There were a few cases, however, in which the Present Perfect did appear with adverbs of this type, as in examples (4)-(6) (perfects in **boldface**).

(4) Yo no **he estado** en aula ayer.
'I was not (*lit.* have not been) in class yesterday'
(CUS05 091405: Interview 6)

(5) ..pero no lo **he hablado** durante mi niñez mucho.
'…but I did not speak (*lit.* have not spoken) it [Quechua] a lot during my childhood.'
(CUS05 091305: Interview 2)

(6) Ya este año, **he empezado**.
'This year, I started (*lit.* have started).'
(CUS05 091405: Interview 4)

In (4) the speaker discusses a temporally proximal event using the perfect in the presence of the adverbial *ayer* 'yesterday'. Even more interesting, however, is the use of the perfect in (5). The informant that produced this observation was 31 years old, making the reference to her childhood a form of definite (confined) past reference. Also relevant to this example is that this particular informant is also bilingual and learned Quechua at a

very young age (5 or 6 years old).[5] Lastly, the speaker in (6) discusses the beginning of her teaching career at the bilingual school (Asociación Pukllasunchis), which began this year (i.e. *este año*).

In the Lima corpus, we also find examples that demonstrate adverbial compatibilities outside of the expected perfect norm in Latin American Spanish. Example (7) demonstrates a perfective use of the Present Perfect to make a reference to a distant past (i.e. 1972). The speaker uses the perfect in example (8) to discuss his traveling experiences in Europe using the adverbial *el año pasado* 'last year'. In her collection of bilingual speakers from Lima, Escobar notes the use of perfect to make reference to an event occurring in 1972—see example (9). This initial token is then followed by a number of other perfective uses of the perfect. According to Escobar (1997), the speaker in example (9) uses the Present Perfect to describe events coinciding with their location at speech time (i.e. Lima). The *pretérito* is used to mark events occurring in a location that is spatially disjoint from their current position. No such uses of the perfect were attested in the Cusco data.

(7) Bueno, desde ahí, esto **ha sido** <u>en el setenta y dos</u>, hasta la fecha sigo en esto y espero terminar este año.
     'Well, since then, that was (*lit.* has been) in 1972, until now I am still with it and I hope to finish this year.'

<div align="right">(Caravedo 1989:114, Encuesta 8)</div>

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[5] In Chapter 5 I will discuss some explanations for these 'innovative' uses as they relate to bilingual speakers.

(8) Despúes **estado**[6] en..., <u>el año pasado</u> **estado**, en Frankfurt, en Berlín, incluyendo Berlín Oriental
'After that (I was) in…, last year I was, in Frankfurt, in Berlin, including East Berlin'

(Caravedo 1989:171, Encuesta 12)

(9) yo **he venido** de allá <u>el año 72</u> / o sea ya estoy un poquito tiempos acá [más de 15 años] / … / después que **he venido** m' **(he) ido** de entre [después de] ocho años / siete años / habré ido por allí / y así *estuve* allá / de allí todavía hasta ahora no voy

'I have returned from over there in the year 72 / that is I am a little while here [more than 15 years at the time of the recording] / …/ after I have come I have gone between [after] eight years / seven years / I must have gone that way / and then I was over there/ from then I still until now do not go'

(Escobar 1997:863, example 12b)

Finally, note that example (10) describes an event occurring in a distant past but does not have an overt definite past adverbial. This example is interest in part because of the telic nature of the predicate *to be born*, which generally lends itself to perfective interpretations.

(10) Bueno, yo he vivido y **he nacido** en Lima, pero ya, estoy en Cusco hace siete años.
'Well, I have lived and was born in Lima, but I've been in Cusco for the last seven years.'

(CUS05 091405: Interview 4)

This use of the perfect with verbs like *nacer* 'to be born' is certainly not limited to the Peruvian cases—see examples (11) from Peninsular Spanish and (12) from Costa Rican Spanish. The typical situation, however, is that demonstrated in examples (13) and (14) from Mexican and Argentine Spanish, respectively, in which the *nacer* is used in the *pretérito*.

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[6] The 1st and 3rd person singular forms of the auxiliary in the Present Perfect (i.e. *he* 1SG and *ha* 3SG) are often subject to variable reduction or deletion.

(11) ¿Yo? Yo vivo cerca de aquí, ahí en estrecho. Vamos yo es que **he nacido** ahí.
'Me? I live near here, there in that little bit. Let's see, I, I was born (*lit*. have been born) there.'

(COREC, PCON003A)

(12) Es que como nosotros **hemos nacido** aquí, por eso terreno lo tenemos como propio de uno.
'It's that we were born (*lit*. have been born here, on this land that we have and own.

(San José, Costa Rica, Habla culta, 26)

(13) Yo **nací** en mil novecientos y ya (e)staban estas bancas.
'I was born in 1900 and these benches were already here.'

(México, Habla popular, 162)

(14) Sí, desde que **nació** mi hijo.
'Yes, since my son was born…'

(Buenos Aires, Habla Culta, 143)

Apart from the Andean region, Hernández (2004) finds that the perfect in Salvadoran Spanish also displays perfective functions. He notes that use of the Present Perfect "focuses on the change experienced in the speaker's family situation, a change that persists because the separation is in place at present" (2004:42). Given the option of using a Present Perfect to denote a state continuing into the present, the meaning in (15) is not surprising. In terms of adverbial co-occurrence, however, this case is rather innovative with respect to the general Spanish situation. Though no continuing state is produced in example (16), it also exhibits perfective-like behavior, specifically in its compatibility with the adverbial *esa vez* which functions as a definite past adverbial.

(15) no casamos en el noventa y ocho y…nos **hemos separado** <u>en el noventa y nueve</u>.
'we got married in 1982 and…we separated (*lit*. have separated) in 1999.'
(Sal-2000 #1-A RA from Hernández 2004:42, example (27))

(16) <u>esa vez</u> **he sufrido** una penqueada
'that time I suffered (*lit*. have suffered) a beating'
(Sal-2000 #1-A RA from Hernández 2004:48, example (36))

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To briefly summarize this section, I offer the table below. The picture that emerges from this survey of adverbial co-occurrence patterns in Peruvian Spanish is distinct from that observed for Peninsular in the previous chapter. In general, the set of definite past adverbials compatible with the perfect in Peninsular Spanish are those occurring either in a 'today' or 'yesterday' interval—e.g. *esta mañana a las seis* 'this morning at six o'clock' or *ayer* 'yesterday'. With the Peruvian case, on the other hand, there are no particular temporal factors that dictate temporal proximity; any past adverbial can be used with the perfect.

PERUVIAN SPANISH	PENSULAR SPANISH
1. *ayer* 'yesterday'	*hoy* 'today' (disjoint)
2. *durante mi juventud* 'during my childhood'	*esta mañana* 'this morning' (disjoint)
3. *en 1972* 'in 1972'	*esta mañana a las siete* 'this morning at seven'
4. *el año pasado* 'last year'	*ayer* 'yesterday'

Table 4.3. Comparison of past time adverbials by dialect

Following Table 4.3, it would appear that the category of definite past adverbials that can co-occur with the perfect in Peninsular Spanish represents a more unified, being subject to a restriction of temporal proximity. In the next chapter, I propose that the factors governing the use of definite past adverbials in the Peruvian case (and other cases such as that of El Salvador) are distinct from those in Peninsular Spanish.

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4.1.2.2 Frequency adverbials

The perfect in Peruvian Spanish is used with various types of adverbs denoting frequency or duration. Some such examples from the Cusco sample are presented in (17) and (18). As we might expect, there were also a number of cases in which these adverbials occurred with the *pretérito* or with the present tense.

(17) Este.., yo **he estado**, la…<u>el mayor tiempo</u> en aula, soy profesora de aula, de primaria.
'Um…, I have been,…in class, most of the time, I'm a classroom teacher, in the primary shool.'

(CUS05 091305: Interview 3)

(18) Mire, este, yo…eh, **he estado trabajando** <u>casi siempre</u> en primer y segundo grado…
'Look, um, I…eh, I have been working almost always in first and second grade…'

(CUS05 091405: Interview 5)

Moreover, the Lima sources also provide a number of examples, demonstrating co-occurrence patterns not unlike its Mexican and Peninsular counterparts.

(19) No, realmente yo <u>siempre</u> **he tenido** un interés en las ciencias naturales, desde antes, de estudiar antropología.
'No, actually I have always had an interest in the natural sciences, even before studying anthropology.'

(Caravedo 1989: 33)

(20) Tal vez sí... yo **he ido** <u>muchas veces</u> a verlo allí…
'Maybe yes…I have been there many times to see it…'

(Caravedo 1989: 158)

(21) porque si a una persona se la **han pasado** <u>toda la vida</u> engañándole pues no cree en nadie
'because if a person has spent all of his life being deceived, he doesn't trust anyone'

(Caravedo 1989:278)

At this point, I must again urge caution since, as argued in the previous chapter, it need not be the case that the interpretation obtained with adverbials like *el mayor tiempo* 'most of the time' or *muchas veces* 'many times' be Continuative. Instead, the eventuality can be understood as having happened iteratively, depending of the lexical aspect of the predicate. This type of reading does not necessarily fall under the definition of Continuative presented in Chapter 2.

4.1.3   The Peruvian perfect in narratives

In general, the perfect in the Peruvian cases in not used to sequence events in narrative discourse. In (22) I present an excerpt from a narrative given in response to the prompt "Tell me about your day yesterday". This sample is typical of the type of past narratives produced in the oral interview portion of the study conducted in Cusco. This particular informant provides specific descriptions of her activities throughout the day, utilizing in each case the *pretérito* (in **boldface**). Note also the use of other temporal forms such as the *imperfecto*—e.g. *tenía* 'had'.

(22) Ayer, yo **me levanté** tempranísimo, eh, primero porque tenía que preparar a mi hijo que se va de acampamento. Ya, lo…ya, a, a la plaza, al lugar donde teníamos que despedirle. De hecho **llegué** tardísimo al colegio. Ya. Y, **empezamos** con un trabajo de matemática, eh…donde les **dimos** diferentes ejercicios, primero una introducción a la resta que lo hizo una, la la practi, la practicante del otro, ah lo **hizo** Claudia…**hizo**, **hizo** Claudia la, la introducción a esta, esta operación…de la resta…

'Yesterday, I **woke up** very early, um, mainly because I had to get my son ready to go to camp. Then,…to the plaza, to the place where we had to say goodbye to him. As a matter of fact, I **arrived** to school very late. Okay. And, we **began** with a math assignment, um…where we **gave** them different exercises, first an introduction to subtraction that one of the student teachers, the teacher from the other, ah…Claudia **did** it…she did, Claudia **did** the introduction to this, this function…of subtraction…'

(CUS05 091405: Interview 5)

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The informant in example (23) below offered a story about a trip that occurred during her experience as a primary school student. Again, the *pretérito* is the preferred form for indicating consecutive events. The perfect, as in (22), is altogether absent. And as espected, the informant makes use of the *imperfecto* to introduce backgrounded events. For example, she describes the students as laughing as the teacher runs to catch up with the departing train.

(23) Recuerdo cuando **viajamos** en cuarto y media, con un profesor que es Cochepí. **Fuimos**, este, a Machu Picchu y teníamos que caminar desde el kilómetro ochenta y siete, creo. E íbamos allí al camino inca, ¿no? Entonces, eh, **paró** el tren para dejar algunos pasajeros, y, y Cochepí, que era el profesor, estaba con todas las ollas, ¿no? Y **se confundió**, pensaba que todos iban a bajar allí y **se bajó**. Y cuando **volteó**, ya no **vio** a nadie que se bajaba. Entonces el tren **empezó** a avanzar y avanzar, se estaba yendo. Y cuando Cochepí **se dio** cuenta, **volteó** y **empezó** a correr detrás del tren. Pues sí, todos los alumnos desesperados y se reían, pues todos nosotros se reíamos porque él se bajó y tenía todas las ollas cargando en la espalda. Y **fue** muy gracioso. Y **logró** alcanzar el tren, ¿no?, porque no iba muy rápido. Nos **alcanzó**, **subió**, y, ya, bueno, **empezamos** la caminata.

'I remember when we **traveled** in the fourth grade with a teacher named Cochepí. We **went**, um, to Machu Picchu and had to walk from the 87th kilometer, I think. And we were going along the Inca Trail, right. Then, um, the train **stopped** to let off some passengers, and, and Cochepí, who was the teacher, was carrying all of the pots and pans [for camping], right. Well, he **got confused**, thinking that everyone was going to get off the train there, and he **got off**. And when he **turned** around, he **didn't see** anyone getting off. Then the train **began** to move, it was moving. And when Cochepí **realized** what was happening, he **turned around** and **began** to run after the train. Yeah, all of us desperate students were laughing, well we all were laughing because he got off and was carrying all of the pots and pans on his back. It **was** very funny. He **managed** to catch up with the train, right, because it wasn't moving very fast. He **caught up**, **got on** the train, and, well, we **began** the trip.

(CUS05 191405: Interview 6)

With example (24) below, I present a similar narrative, this time offered in response to the question "Tell me a story about something interesting that happened to

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you in the past". The speaker describes a memorable birthday celebration organized by his students. Once again, with the sequenced elements of the narrative, the *pretérito* is the preferred form—e.g. *me sentaron y me mostraron* 'they sat me down and put on'. This informant also makes extensive use of the Past Perfect (in italics) in order to introduce backgrounded information—e.g. *habían organizado* 'they had organized' and *habían preparado* 'had prepared'. Like present perfects, past perfects do not generally participate in the sequencing of narrative events and are used to present events or states occurring prior to another past event.

(24) Pero, este año me **sorprendieron**. Porque además de todo eso,…yo no sé en qué momento, no sé cómo lo *habrían hecho*, ni en qué rato se *habían organizado* ellos, eh, y *habían preparado* un número musical. Y…yo **entré** al salón, y me *habían arreglado* todo el salón…muy bonito. Y yo esperaba que me canten y me abrazen y hac, hacer una fiesta, y a bailar con todos como siempre los hacíamos. Pero esto vez, no. Esta vez me **sentaron** allí y me **mostraron** un número musical que es "Una marinera",…que es, es un baile típico, peruano de la parte de la costa. Y se *habían organizado* y se *habían vestido* de, con traje de marinera, y *habían venido* sus mamás y les habían, los *habían vestido*, trajeado, ¿no? Y *habían bailado y practicado*…y me **sorprendió**. Me **gustó** muchísimo.

‘But, this year they **surprised** me. Because, in addition to that,…I don’t know at what time, and I don’t know how they would have done it, nor when they had organized themselves, um,…but they had prepared a musical presentation. So...I **entered** the room, and they had arranged it for me…very pretty. And I had hoped that they would sing to me or hug me and throw a party and dance like we normally do. But this time, they didn’t. This time they **sat** me down and **put on** a musical presentation of "A sailor", which is, is a typical Peruvian dance from the costal area. And they had organized everything and had dressed up in a sailor’s outfit, and their mother’s had come and had dressed them, you know. And they had danced and practiced…and I **was surprised**. I **enjoyed** it very much.

(CUS05 091505: Interview 8)

4.1.3.1 Lack of sequencing effects

The fact that the *pretérito* dominates in narrative contexts in the Cusco data comes as no surprise since we have already (in the previous chapter) tentatively categorized

Peruvian Spanish as belonging to the less-perfective Group I dialects. Consequently, we would not expect to find the perfect used to indicate events in succession in any fashion parallel to that of Peninsular Spanish. Nevertheless, there are some instances of the perfect that occur in narrative contexts but that play no role in the development of the sequence of events. In their analysis of the perfect in South American dialects, Howe and Schwenter discussed similar cases noting that "the [perfect] is heavily restricted to non-sequential past time contexts, though it is not wholly incompatible with sequential ordering" (2003:71). Observe the following example (perfects in **boldface** and *pretérito* in italics).

(25) … depués **hemos estado** en Sevilla, Córdoba, Granada, que son ciudades, realmente muy, muy...muy...interesantes por, por lo que muestran, **hemos estado** en además en pueblos muy pequeños. **Hemos estado** en Montilla, precisa, con el propósito exclusivo de ver la casa del... Inca Garcilaso, donde hay montón, una serie de fotos, más Montilla es una zona muy linda porque es, una zona vinera. Otro pueblo pequeño, al cual **hemos estado ha sido**, Ronda, para ver una plaza de toros muy antigua que hay, e... Montilla, e digo... Lusena, donde trabajan mucho en, cosas de metal. E... luego **hemos estado** en Valladolid, y en Cáceres. Cáceres una ciudad muy fría, muy dura. En... en Burgos, que es una ciudad hermosísima y, que siempre, me hacía recordar mucho al Cid. En Burgos **fuimos** al monasterio, de... Cardeña. Creo que es de Cardeña, en este momento ya **me he olvidado**, donde **llegamos** a golpe de cinco para la seis, era un, monasterio cartujo y a la seis **sonó** la campanada, llamando todos los monjes en, profundo silencio que, tenía un sabor muy muy medieval. **Se fueron** recluyendo, paso a paso, hasta... que **desaparecieron**, de manera que, nos **tuvimos** que retirar ya simplemente por... depués de haber visto, nada más.

'…afterwards we **were** (*lit.* have been) in Sevilla, Córdoba, and Granada, they are all really very..very…very interesting cities because of what there is to see. We **were** (*lit.* have been) also in some very small towns. We **were** (*lit.* have been) in Montilla with our only intention being to see the house of… Inca Garcilaso, where there are a lot, a series of photos. Montilla is also a very pretty area because it's wine country. Another small town, Ronda, we **went** (*lit.* have gone) to in order to see a very old bull ring there, and Montilla, and also Lusena, where they work a lot with metals. And…later we **were** (*lit.* have been) in Valladolid and in Cáceres. Cáceres is a very cold and hard town. In…in Burgos, which is a very beautiful city and has always reminded me a lot of El Cid. In Burgos we *went* to the

monastery of…Cardeña. I believe that after Cardeña from there I've **forgotten**, but we *arrived* there at the stroke of five 'til six. It was a silent monastery and at six the bells rang, calling all of the monks in, in deep silence. It had a very, very medieval feel. They *gathered*, step by step, until…they **disappeared** and we **had** to leave simply because…after having seen this, there was nothing else.'

(Caravedo 1989: 170)

In (25) the speaker describes a vacation to Spain occurring in the remote past (i.e. non hodiernal/hesternal). Throughout the initial portion of the narrative, the perfect is used to introduce events that are not necessarily sequential with respect to the timeline of the story. Thus, he provides a list of places that they visited in Spain, including Sevilla, Montilla, Ronda, Valladolid, etc. but does not provide any additional detail concerning experiences in these places. When introducing the specific incidents that transpired in Burgos, however, the speaker switches to the *pretérito* to narrate the intended sequence of events.[7] The distinction between the set of perfect-marked events and those given in the *pretérito* is that a successive interpretation is required for the latter set while it is only optional for the former.

In the Cusco sample, extended uses of the perfect in perfective, non-sequenced contexts (as in (25) above) are not found. Nevertheless, there are some peculiar cases that warrant further inspection. Note examples (26) and (27) (perfects in **boldface** and *pretérito* in italics).

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[7] Howe and Schwenter also note that since the perfect does not give rise readily to sequencing effects it is often used with durative situations. To observe this effect, note that in example (25) all of the perfect-marked events are statives (with the exception of *me he olvidado* 'I have forgotten', which in any case is outside of the narrative sequence) —e.g. *hemos estado* 'we have been'. According to some analyses, perfects and statives share the feature of incompatibility with narrative sequencing (see Dry 1983, Hinrichs 1986, Dowty 1986, and Katz 2003a).

(26) Un vez que *llegó*, ya me fui a mi salón y **hemos trabajado** lo que es matemáticos. *Hicimos* un poco de sumas, restas, que estamos practicando eso en clase, y están entusiasmados los chicos…
'One she arrived, I *went* to my room y **we worked** (*lit.* have worked) on the math assignment. We *did* a little bit of addition and subtraction, which we are practicing en class, and the kids are very enthusiastic…'

(CUS05 091405: Interview 4)

(27) *Me quedé* a arreglar el salón un rato, eh, y a las tres de la tarde, *empezó* la reunión acá con los profes, ¿no?, que **hemos hablado** un poco de las actividades que vamos a tener…en, este, estos quince días. Ya, eso *terminó* a las seis de la tarde.
'I *stayed* for a while to straighten the room, um, and at three o'clock, the faculty meeting *began* here, you know,we **talked** (*lit.* have talked) about the activities that we're going to have…during the next 15 days. The, this *ended* at six o'clock in the afternoon.'

(CUS05 091405: Interview 10)

Both (26) and (27) represent excerpts from larger passages produced as responses to a prompt requesting a past narrative. As with (22), (23), and (24), the majority of the forms related to sequenced events are given in the *pretérito*—as in *llegó* 'arrived' in (26) and *empezó* 'began' in (27). The perfect-marked events in both cases indicate events that are potentially part of the timeline of the narrative. In (26), for instance, the speaker describes her arrival to the classroom and follows this with a description of the, presumably posterior, event of working on the math assignment. Likewise, the form *hemos hablado* 'we have talked' follows the verb *empezó* 'began' and indicates the next step in the sequence of the event containing the faculty meeting. Thus, it appears that these isolated cases are parallel to the perfect-marked events in (25) in that they can be seen as perfective. But unlike those in (25), these instances are perhaps preferably interpreted as part of the narrative sequence.

One important distinction concerning the perfect-marked events in (26) and (27) and those in (25) is their relationship to the present moment. For (25) the speaker's

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description of his trips to the various sites in Spain, while not necessarily presented in succession, is contained completely in the past such that none of the eventuality can be understood as holding at the present. Conversely, the perfects in (26) and (27) have continuing ramifications for the present. Note that in (26) the speaker refers to having worked with the mathematics assignment, which in the latter part of the excerpt she describes as a continuing project and a source of enthusiasm for the students. Furthermore, the topic of discussion of the faculty meeting—introduced with *hemos hablado* 'we have talked'—is related to the currently ongoing development of upcoming events. So, for both of these cases the events indicated by the perfect may be licensed by an additional contextual relationship relating to a current situation. This type of contextual parameter is absent with the perfect-marked events in example (25).

4.1.4   Variation of perfect types

In the previous chapters (see §2.2.1.3 and §3.3.3) I claimed that certain interpretations of the perfect (see Comrie 1976) are sensitive to increased perfectivity. Schwenter (1994b) discusses increased Hot News uses of the Peninsular Spanish perfect as a key step in the development towards perfective functions. Similarly, I argued that speakers disfavor use of the perfect in Peninsular Spanish to indicate a continuing action or state. Therefore, along with increased perfectivity, I predict that we can observe both an increase of those perfect uses/interpretations that are already akin to perfective functions (e.g. Hot News) and a decrease in those that are imperfective, as are the Continuative uses. In what follows, I argue that Peruvian Spanish differs from Peninsular Spanish in that no such preferences are attested.

4.1.4.1 Continuative uses

To begin, Peruvian Spanish, like most dialects, including Peninsular Spanish, allows for Continuative uses of the perfect. Thus, a case like (28) is well within the accepted norm for what would be considered a prototypical use of the perfect in Spanish.

(28) **Ha sido** una experiencia muy bonita.
'It has been a beautiful experiencia (so far).'
(CUS05 091305: Interview 3)

Recall that Continuative uses arise only with stative predicates (and perhaps with iterative non-statives) like *ser* 'to be'. These types of predicates tend to produce interpretations in which a state is understood to have begun in the past and continues into the present. The perfect is also found with Continuative uses in the Spanish from Lima. Observe examples (29) and (30).

(29) Mi contacto con los barrios **ha sido** un tanto escaso, porque, no **hemos sido** de, hacer muchas amistades.
'My contact with the neighborhoods has been pretty sparse, because, we haven't been, haven't made many friends.'
(Caravedo 1989: 218)

(30) Siempre, la gente que trabaja ahí es toda vieja, en fin, **ha trabajado** hace veinte años, están para jubilarse.
'The people that work there are always older and have worked for 20 years, and are ready to retire.'
(Caravedo 1989:115)

The speaker in (29) is discussing his level of contact with people from his old neighborhood and uses the perfect to indicate a state that continues into the present. Likewise, in (30) the informant describes the people working at a specific place as having worked there, and still working there, for the last 20 years. In (30) the Continuative use is emphasized with the *hace veinte años* 'for 20 years' construction which indicates an

interval of time that includes the moment of speech. Notice too that the predicate in (30) is an activity predicate, resulting in an iterative interpretation under the Continuative use.

A further example of a Continuative use of the perfect can be seen in (31). With *ha habido* 'there have been', the speaker introduces an interval, beginning in the past and extending into the present, in which the school's efforts at building good programs have produced results. The Continuative interpretation is attained in this case via the understanding that the process or processes producing good results occur iteratively during a specified time frame.

(31) La verdad es que…eh…**ha habido** resultados buenos; sí, **ha habido** resultados buenos
'The truth is that…um…there have been good results; yes, there have been some good results' (and there continue to be)
(CUS05 091405: Interview 6)

Given that negation produces a stativizing effect such that telic predicates become atelics, we can further observe these effects in the production of Continuative uses. For (32), the speaker observes that a student has not learned Quechua in the home but rather at school. The predicate *aprender* 'to learn', which is generally telic (or an atelic process in some situations), is interpreted as atelic under the influence of negation; and with the perfect a Continuative interpretation is understood such that the state of the student's not having learned Quechua in the home is asserted to continue into the present moment. In the same way, the Limeño speaker in (33) introduces a continuing state during which time he has not moved to the town of La Punta.

(32) Y él no lo **ha aprendido** en casa, ni siquiera la pronunciación. Él lo **ha aprendido** aquí en Pukllasunchis.
'And he hasn't learned it [Quechua] at home, not even the pronunciation. He has learned it here at Pukllasunchis.'
(CUS05 091405: Interview 5)

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(33) Sí, en realidad…como nunca **me he mudado** a la Punta…
       'Yes, reality…since I've never moved to La Punta…'

<div align="right">(Caravedo 1989: 62)</div>

4.1.4.2 Continuatives across structures

In addition to the perfect, there were number of other forms that also expressed

Continuative uses. For Spanish, as discussed in the previous chapters, the present tense

can also be used to indicate a continuing state or activity. These uses of the present tense

are indeed attested in the Peruvian Spanish samples.

(34) Bueno, yo he vivido y he nacido en Lima, pero ya, **estoy** en Cusco hace siete
       años.
       'Well, I have lived and was born in Lima, but I've been in Cusco for the last
       seven years.'

<div align="right">(CUS05 091405: Interview 4)</div>

(35) Ellos forman parte de la naturaleza en agricultura, mire usted, ahora se está
       estudiando en otras partes los cultivos que **se conocen** en el Perú hace siglos.
       'They form part of nature in agriculture, you know, the cultivation techniques that
       have been known for centuries in Perú are being studied all over.'

<div align="right">(Caravedo 1989: 278)</div>

Moreover, speakers often employ the progressive with the Present Perfect in order to

produce a Continuative interpretation. Recall from the previous chapter that the

progressive with the Peninsular perfect was preferred over the simple perfect for

indicating continuation of an event (see example (41), §3.3.3.2). Despite the availability

of such examples, there appears to be no specific preference for these structures,

indicating that the perfect is still generally available to speakers as alternative for

describing a continuing state or event.

(36) pero, aún así…eh, mira…y yo, que **he estado escuchándolos** a veces hablar
       'But, even still…um, look…and I, I have been listening to them speak sometimes'

<div align="right">(CUS05 091405: Interview 5)</div>

(37) entonces, como que por allí yo **he ido aprendiendo**
'Well, I have been learning here and there'

<p style="text-align:right">(CUS05 091405: Interview 5)</p>

4.1.4.3 Possible evidence for perfectivity

The question that arises at this point is whether or not the purported increase in perfective functions observed with the Present Perfect in dialects of Peruvian Spanish is also accompanied by a disfavoring of the perfect to indicate Continuative uses. Examine the following, given by an informant describing his father who is still alive.

(38) *Int:*¿A qué se dedicó tu padre? ¿Qué tipo de labor?

*Inf:*Mi padre **ha sido**, *es* alumno guadalupano. Cuando terminó, entró a a trabajar, en...desde muy abajo en una empresa grande la, "unites textil products", no sé cómo se llama, y trabajó como hasta el año veinte…

'Interviewer: What does your father do? What type of labor?

Informant: My father has been, he is a student of the Guadalupe school. When he finished, he started working, in…from the ground floor for a big company, "Unites Textile Products", I don't know what it's called, and he worked until he was twenty…'

<p style="text-align:right">(Caravedo 1989: 176)</p>

What is interesting about this example is the change from *ha sido* 'has been' to *es* 'is' in the first sentence of the response given by the informant. In this dialect, as in others, *ha sido* can produce an Experiential interpretation such the speaker is referring to his father's tenure as a student. The other possibility is that the father is still a student, which would represent the Continuative use. Since, according to the informant's description, the father is not currently attending school, the only remaining interpretation of *ha sido* would be to indicate that the father was a student at some time—i.e. Experiential. Instead, the speaker switches to the present tense in *es*, which, like the perfect, allows for the

possibility of expressing a continuing state. Since we already know that the father is not a student, there must be some other motivation for this shift.

I propose that this example is important in that it represents the possible erosion of one of the commonly cited features of the perfect. Associated with the Existential use of a perfect, according to Kiparsky, is a presupposition that "a recurrence of the event type in question is possible" (2002:117).[8] This stipulation is an attempt to account for the so-called 'Present Possibility Constraint' exhibited by sentences such as the famous *Einstein has visited Princeton* example (see Giorgi and Pianesi 1997 and Katz 2003b). Musan refers to predicates as having 'Lifetime Presuppositions' such that "the situation times of the predicate must be (possibly improperly) included in the lifetime or TIME OF EXISTENCE of the individual(s) that function(s) as that argument" (2002:13). As for Spanish, the same restriction holds. Observe (39).

(39) ?? Tito Puente ha   visitado Miami.
          Tito Puente have:3   visti:PP   Miami
       '??Tito Puente has visited Miami.'

Since Tito Puente is not currently alive, use of the perfect to indicate his having visited Miami is infelicitous, following from the assumption that a predicate like 'to visit' requires not only an agent but also one that is alive.

Regarding our example (38), the switch from perfect to present may be indicative of the speaker's desire to avoid the implication that his father is not alive. Normally, the perfect would do this job for us, provided that it still presupposes that the agent is in fact living at the moment of speech. If this presupposition has been lost, by some mechanism or another, use of the perfect may indeed give rise to this interpretation. Also note that if

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[8] See also McCawley (1981) and Piñon (1996).

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the speaker had used the simple past, *fue* 'he was', the same range of interpretations would be allowed; that is, the speaker's father could either be interpreted as alive or deceased at the time of the interview. In order to avoid this possible inference concerning his father, the speaker opts to use the present tense, which clearly asserts that his father is living. Hence, from this example we can observe that the so-called 'Lifetime Presupposition' normally associated with the perfect—but not with the simple perfective past—is being lost in this dialect. Erosion of this feature could be interpreted as accompanying an increase in perfective functions.[9]

In sum, though there is some evidence to suggestion that Continuative uses are limited with the perfect in Peruvian Spanish, there is no pattern indicating that these readings are disfavored overall. Nevertheless, during the questionnaire task that accompanied the interviews in Cusco, various informants commented on the Present Perfect/Present Tense distinction in these cases. For examples like (40) and (41), one informant noted that use of the present tense indicates that the speaker is either still in Madrid or still playing the piano, respectively, at the moment of speech. With the perfect, the event or state has already terminated. One informant offered the following observation regarding example (40): "Si Diego continúa en Londres, es mejor referirse al hecho usando 'está'. Si la acción concluyó y se la evoca, mejor usar 'ha estado'" (CUS 091505: Interview 9).[10] It is claimed for English that use of the adverbial *at least since*

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[9] In French the *passé composé*, which is already a full-fledged past perfective, does not carry Lifetime Presuppositions. The following example is felicitous despite the fact that Einstein is no longer alive.

(i)   Einstein a visité Princeton.
        'Einstein visited Princeton.'

[10] Translation: 'If Diego continues to be in London, it is better to refer to the situation using *está* 'is'. If the action has ended and the speaker is recalled it, it is better to use *ha estado* 'has been'.'

Sunday disambiguates in favor of the Continuative use of the perfect in cases where reading ambiguity is possible (see Mittwoch 1988). In Peruvian Spanish, this does not seem to be the case.

(40) Diego (ha estado / está) en Londres al menos desde el domingo.   (= 12)
       'Diego (has been / is) in London at least since Sunday.'

(41) Diana (ha tocado / toca) el piano durante dos horas.   (= 17)
       'Diana (has played / plays) the piana for two hours.'

4.1.4.3 Hot News uses

At this point, the characterization of the perfect in Peruvian Spanish is one that shares many features with the class of Group I dialects (i.e. *pretérito*-favoring) but exhibits a number of characteristics that are similar to the Group II dialects. With respect to the issue of Hot News uses, there were, of course, no instances attested in the oral data gathered from the Cusco interviews since these uses are generally found only in media sources. In order to provide some cases for comparison, I conducted a brief survey of headlines from online versions of different newspapers from both Lima and Cusco. In general, the *pretérito* is preferred for use in news headlines.

(42) El editor ejecutivo de The New York Times, Bill Keller, **defendió** la decisión del periódico de publicar detalles sobre un programa encubierto del gobierno estadounidense para rastrear transacciones monetarias internacionales.

'The Executive Editor of *The New York Times*, Bill Keller, **defended** the paper's decision to publish details about a recently uncovered fraudulent government program tracking international monetary transactions.'

(from *La República*, 06/28/06)

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(43) Un penoso accidente **se registró** en la carretera Cusco-Quillabamba, cuando un camión que transportaba material de construcción para la vía que se vienen construyendo en el lugar, se despistó y cayó a un abismo de 150 metros.

'A terrible accident **occurred** on the highway between Cusco and Quillambamba when a truck transporting construction material for the highway that is still under construction in that area, ran off the road and fell into a depth of 150 meters.'

(from *El Correo de Cusco*, 06/28/06)

Both examples (42) and (43) are representative of the headlines observed in the survey of different newspapers. Note the use of the *pretérito* to introduce the topics of each article. Moreover, the *pretérito* is used in (43) to elaborate the story—e.g. *se despistó* 'ran off the road' and *cayó* 'fell'.

Despite the preference for *pretérito* in these cases, however, the Present Perfect was also found in a few cases to introduce news topics. Notice the following.

(44) Un hombre y una niña **han muerto** y otras seis personas de una misma familia **han resultado** heridas en una explosión en la ciudad de Jan Yunis, en el sur de la franja de Gaza, informaron testigos palestinos.

'A man and a small child **have died** and another six people of the same family **have been injured** in an explosion in the city of Jan Yunis, in the southern part of the Gaza strip, according to Palestinian witnesses.'

(from *Peru 21* 06/28/06)

(45) Joyas, varias casas en Miami, fincas, su vestuario y muchas cosas más **ha dejado** Rocío Jurado a su primogénita, Rocío Carrasco Mohedano, la gran beneficiada con el testamento de la fallecida cantante española.

'Rocío Jurado **has left** jewelry, various houses in Miami, property, his wardrobe, and many other things to his first-born, Rocío Carrasco Mohedano, who is the beneficiary of the last will and testament of the deceased Spanish singer.'

(from *Trome*, 06/28/06)

Though these cases are limited, examples (44) and (45) demonstrated the Hot News use of the perfect, licensed in each instance by a high degree of topicality. For (44) news stemming from the Israeli/Palestinian conflict would certainly be treated as topical given

that this issue is frequently in the world news. Likewise, information from the entertainment industry is very often presented as socially relevant. In any case, these types of examples were not common in the survey of news stories from Peruvian sources. The preferred form for such cases, as shown in (42) and (43), is the *pretérito*.

4.1.5   Summary and discussion

In this survey, we have analyzed the distribution of the Present Perfect as reflected in the data samples from Cusco and Lima. Table 4.4 below summarizes our findings.

	FACTORS	PERUVIAN SPANISH
1.	*Frequency*	PRETÉRITO PREFERRED
2.	*Compatibility with Definite Past Adverbials*	LIMITED
3.	*Use in sequenced narratives*	NO
4.	*Continuative uses*	GENERALLY AVAILABLE W/ PRESENT PERFECT
5.	*Hot News uses*	PRETÉRITO PREFERRED

Table 4.4. Comparison of the *pretérito* and Present Perfect in Peruvian Spanish

First, we should point out that in terms of frequency of use the *pretérito* is statistically preferred to the Present Perfect in both Cusqueño (77% versus 23%) and Limeño (70.5% versus 29.5%) Spanish. These results are consistent with our observation that Peruvian Spanish patterns similarly to the set of *pretérito*-favoring dialects discussed

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in the previous chapter. Still, the rate of usage of the perfect in both Cusco and Lima are significantly higher than those attested in other Latin American dialects (see Table 4.2). This increase could be viewed as a result of relaxed co-occurrence constraints, reflected in the compatibility of the Present Perfect with an array of definite past adverbials (e.g. *ayer* 'yesterday', *este año* 'this year', etc.). Use of the perfect with these types of adverbials is not attested in Mexican Spanish (and similar dialects). While the exact nature of this feature of Peruvian Spanish remains to be explicated, the result is an increase in the functional domain of the perfect, which in these dialects can be used for a type of perfective past reference.

Additionally, the Present Perfect in Peru is analogous to that of Mexico with respect to the availability of different uses. In §4.1.4.1 I presented a number of examples that indicate that the perfect can indeed be used to indicate the continuation of an event or state, subject to the more general restrictions governing Continuative readings discussed in Chapter 2. It seems then that, unlike the Peninsular cases, the perfect in Peruvian Spanish has retained this function, characteristic of prototypical perfects (see Comrie 1976 and Dahl 1985), despite the existence of other structural means of denoting a continuing state (e.g. the present tense and progressive perfect). These observations notwithstanding, I presented additional evidence in this section that indicates that speakers of Peruvian Spanish do indeed interpret the perfect as being bounded and thus distinct from the present tense in cases where a Continuative interpretation is possible. Regarding Hot News contexts, Peruvian Spanish was demonstrated to favor the *pretérito*. Assuming, as does Schwenter (1994b), that the Hot News is a necessary precursor to (or a strong indication of) advanced grammaticalization of a perfect to a perfective, then our

observation about the preference of the *pretérito* in Peruvian Spanish suggests that the perfect in this dialect is not undergoing grammaticalization, at least not in the same fashion as the Peninsular perfect. Lack of grammaticalization further corroborates our classification of the Peruvian perfect as belonging in the set of Group I dialects.

One of the puzzling observations raised in this section, however, concerns the distribution of the Peruvian perfect in narratives. Although the *pretérito* is used almost categorically to indicate temporal sequence in narrative discourse (see §4.1.3), there are several examples from both the Cusco and the Lima samples that suggest that the perfect has assumed a distinct but still perfective role in these contexts. Since there are no analogous uses of the perfect attested in the other Latin American dialects surveyed (with the exception of perhaps Salvadoran Spanish), this feature offers a means of accounting for the attested increase in the frequency of the perfect with respect to the *pretérito*. Furthermore, the presence of these uses requires that we revisit our claim regarding the lack of grammaticalization of the Peruvian perfect. Perhaps what we are observing with the Present Perfect in Peruvian Spanish is a perfect to perfective path distinct from that of the Peninsular perfect and thus not representative of the Pan-Romance phenomenon of the aorist drift as described by Squartini and Bertinetto (2000, among others) and typified by the French *passé composé*. I will return to this line of inquiry in the following chapter. For now, I examine additional uses of the perfected attested in Peruvian Spanish.

4.2   Additional perfective uses of the perfect in Peruvian Spanish

Important to note at this point is that most of the existing analyses discuss the use of the perfect among Spanish/Quechua or Quechua/Spanish bilinguals (see Klee &

Ocampo 1995, Escobar 1997, and Sánchez 2004), though perfective uses are also attested in the speech of monolinguals from the same region (see Howe & Schwenter 2003). In this section, I describe some of the innovative uses attested in these dialects, despite the fact that not all uses will be common to both bilinguals and monolinguals. Nevertheless, it is my suspicion that extended and maintained language contact in the Andean region has certainly influenced the emergence of innovative uses of the perfect, even in the monolingual variety.

4.2.1 'Innovative' cases

Various sources, including Klee and Ocampo (1995), Lipski (1996), and Escobar (1997), have argued that the perfect in Peruvian (as well as other Andean dialects) is used to express epistemic or evidential meanings. More specifically, speakers from these regions use the Present Perfect and the Past Perfect to distinguish the source of information—e.g. direct witness for present perfects and indirect witness for the past perfect. Note the following examples.

(46) María ha   limpiado su cuarto.
     María have:3 clean:PP her room
     'María has cleaned her room.'
     +> speaker either witnessed María's cleaning the room or the result of her cleaning (e.g. the clean room)

(47) María había   limpiado su   cuarto.
     María have:IMP-3 clean:PP   her room
     'María had cleaned her room.'
     +> speaker heard from a third party that María cleaned her room

The motivating factor most commonly assumed for this type of development is the convergence of features from Quechua, which makes use of a ternary system of enclitics to mark evidentiality. Despite this observation, however, none of the prevailing analysis

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provides an adequate description of the range of possible uses and the means by which they develop.

Escobar (1997) addresses the distribution of the Present Perfect in Quechua/Spanish bilinguals in Peru. She proposes that notion of present relevance of the perfect contributes to a three-way contrast between the uses of the Present Perfect, the *pretérito*, and the pluperfect (i.e. past perfect). According to her analysis, bilingual speakers mark events with respect to the "here-and-now" of the speech event (Fleischman 1983). Following Escobar, epistemic modality (via the notion of present relevance) is the locus of change by which Quechua speakers reorganize the verbal System in Spanish. I will return to this claim in Chapter 5.

4.2.1.1 Temporal relevance

The notion of present relevance, according to Escobar, has extended to include events in a more distant past in the Spanish spoken by bilinguals in Lima. Note example (48) below.

(48) y mala suerte mi(s) padres **han fallecido** / entonces yo era yo soy mayor / tiene (tengo) que mantener a tus (mis) hermano(s) y trabajando por acá por allá / chico de d'edad de diez años me **ha dejado** mi papá
'and bad luck my parents have died / then I was I am the oldest / I have to support your [my] brothers and working here and there / a 10 year old boy my father has left me'

(Escobar 1997:861, example 6)

Escobar claims that this extension in the domain of the Present Perfect is due to contact with Quechua, more specifically, through the convergence of the epistemic notions of relevance and evidentiality. Howe and Schwenter (2003), however, suggest that these data might represent a more general manifestation of the process of grammaticalization of

the perfect to perfective. More importantly, Escobar assumes that this extension results from the relaxing of the required recency of the event described by the perfect.

One of the problems with Escobar's claim regarding these types of examples concerns her assumption of a recency requirement related to the perfect. It has been argued that the present perfect refers to events occurring in a recent past, whereas a simple past places no temporal restrictions on the remoteness of the event or state in question. Even a cursory survey turns up a number of examples in which the perfect is used to introduce an eventuality located in a distant past. Observe the following.

(49) La tierra ha   recibido   muchos golpes de   asteroides grandes.
     the Earth have:1 receive:PP many   hits   from asteroids   large
     'The Earth has received many hits from large asteroids.'

In a context in which the topic of discussion is the inevitability of different astronomical events, a speaker can utter example (49) to support an argument that such episodes ar bound to occur again in the future. Important in this example is the fact that the event referred to by the perfect is presumably located at a distant point in the past. This runs counter to the argument that temporal recency is encoded in the conventional meaning. Later in this section, I argue, following Portner (2003) that what is asserted by the perfect is relevance to an ongoing discourse topic. Thus, recency, as described by Escobar (and many others), is the result of the fact that relevant topics very often coincide with recent ones.

4.2.1.2 Spatial relevance

In her analysis of recorded interviews conducted with bilingual speakers living in Lima, Escobar also suggests that many of them use the *pretérito* (in *italics*) and the

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perfect (in **boldface**) to distinguish between events that occurred in their place of origin versus those that occurred in Lima.

(50) porque ya tenía mi platita / todo eso me daba cuenta que acá [Lima] era / acá conocías bastante gente / sobre todo televisiones / todo en que distraerte / todo ¿no? / y así / y así me **he quedado** [en Lima] / y cuando *fui* allá [a mi tierra] ya no me *pareció* tan bo- / …aquí Lima sí es muy bonito / … / pero cuando yo **he ido** de acá p'allá ya allá ya no me *gustó* / … / ya no me acostumbraba ya / o sea apenas *estuve* de que me iba / … / una semana máximo *estuve* allá / después como loca **m'he regresado**

'because I already have my bit of money / I noticed all that [those things] that [how] here [in Lima] existed / here you met many people/ especially televisions / everything to distract yourself / everything no? / and like this / and like this I **have stayed** [in Lima] / and when I *went* over there [to my town] it *didn't seem* to me so pre- / here Lima yes it is very pretty / … / but when I **have gone** from here to there / there already it *didn't please* me / …I couldn't get used to it anymore / that is as soon as I *was* after I left / … / a week maximum I *was* there / afterwards like a crazy person I **have returned**'

(Escobar 1997:862, example 12a)

(51) yo **he venido** de allá el año 72 / o sea ya estoy un poquito tiempos acá [más de 15 años] / … / después que **he venido** m' **(he) ido** de entre [después de] ocho años / siete años / habré ido por allí / y así *estuve* allá / de allí todavía hasta ahora no voy

'I **have returned** from over there in the year 72 / that is I am a little while here [more than 15 years at the time of the recording] / …/ after I **have come** I **have gone** between [after] eight years / seven years / I must have gone that way / and then I *was* over there/ from then I still until now do not go'

(Escobar 1997:863, example 12b)

(52) ahí *me casé* allá me **ha traido** acá
'then I *got married* there, then he **has brought** me here'

(Escobar 1997:863, example 13)

The speakers in examples (50)-(52) all use the perfect to describe events coinciding with their location at speech time (i.e. Lima). The *pretérito* is used to mark events occurring in a location that is spatially disjoint from their current position. Escobar claims that this use is derived from the system of spatial reference in Quechua, which, for example, marks movement towards or away from the speaker, as in (53).

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(53)   Marta-qa   ha-**mu**-sqa-n.
        Marta:TOP come:CIS-PST$_2$-3[11]
        'Marta has come.'

4.2.1.3 Evidential

Another innovative use of the perfect is that which refers to past events which took place at a "location other than the one the speaker is in at the moment of the speech event for the purpose of emphasizing them as events experienced or witnessed by the speaker" (Esocobar 1997:864). Escobar describes this use as evidential.

(54)   *estuve* un mes no más [en mi tierra] después me *regresé* / me *enfermé* [mientras estaba allá] / mi garganta se **ha cerrado** y todo me **ha pasado** / no no se *abrió* mi garganta / todo enfermedad me *agarró* gripe todo y total amarilla m' **he vuelto**

       'I *was* a month not more [in my native area] afterwards I *returned* / I *got sick* [while I was over there] / my throat **has closed** and everything **has happened** to me / my throat *did not open* / all [the] sickness I *got* a cold all over and finally yellow I **have become**'

                                                                (Esocobar 1997:864, example 15a)

(55)   maíz abundanza ese tiempo / maíz eran grandes señorita / ese tiempo no había ni carretera / cuando *llegaron* carretera creo que es 40 41 por allí creo *llegaron* / cuando carretera **ha llegado** / entonces **ha venido** carros / y carros venden gasolina petrolero / entonces que la sembría se malograba / ya no se cosechaba como antes / se poquito chiquito no más

       'lots of corn in those times / corn was big, Miss / [in] those times there was no road / when [the] roads *arrived* I think that is 1940 1941 around there I think they *arrived* / when [the] road **has arrived** / then cars **have come** / and cars are sold with petroleum gasoline / then the harvest got spoiled / one wouldn't harvest as before / only small amounts and little'

                                                                (Esocobar 1997:864, example 15b)

In (54), Escobar notes that the perfect refers to events that happened specifically to the informant. Similarly, in (55) the perfect marks the events that were directly witnessed.

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[11] The labels for the Quechua glosses are adapted from those in Lefebvre and Myusken (1988) and Faller (2002 & 2004): 3: 3rd person, CIS: cislocative, CONJ: conjectural, PST$_1$: -*sqa*, PST$_2$: -*rqa,* PROG: progressive, REP: reportative, TOP: topic.

Escobar notes that she finds "this evidential use of the present perfect only when the speaker is referring to past actions or events which occurred in a different location from the one where the speaker is now" (1997:864-865). In other words, while it may be the case that the location of the speaker coincides with the location of the event at the time of the event (e.g. the speaker witnesses the arrival of the roads (55)), at the point of recounting the event, the speaker is at a location distinct from that of the event.

In her study of bilingual children, Sánchez (2004) also notes some of these purported evidential uses of the perfect. Participants were asked to retell a story read in Spanish in either Quechua or Spanish. The story was about an old lady who finds an injured bird and takes it back to her house. The bilingual children produced examples such as the following:

(56) …y **ha encontrado** un pájaro.
 '…and she found (*lit.* has found) a bird'

(Sánchez 2004:158, example (53))

(57) Se lo **ha llevado** a su casa.
 'She has taken it [the bird] to her house.'

(Sánchez 2004:159, example (57))

Sánchez claims that these cases are indicative of the cases noted in Klee and Ocampo (1995) and Escobar (1997) in which the perfect is used for foregrounded information, a function usually expressed by perfectives. She also notes that these uses may be understood as evidential, following Escobar (1997), in that they refer to the source of the children's experience with these events. This claim, however, is difficult to motivate since the task conducted consisted of read speech; thus none of the children would have the type of direct perceptual access to the events described with the Present Perfect,

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which under the supposed evidential use should imply that the events were witnessed first-hand.

4.2.2 Potential problems

Important to the claims made by Sánchez (and to some extent Escobar and Klee & Ocampo) is the assumption that evidentiality is primarily encoded in the opposition between the two past tense morphemes in Quechua, -*sqa* and –*rqa*. Traditional grammars of Cuzco Quechua describe the past tense –*sqa* as referring to non-witnessed events (i.e. historical events or hearsay) (Cusihuamán 2001). The morpheme –*rqa*, on the other hand, is used to refer to a past event "with the direct participation or under conscious control of the speaker" (Cusihuamán 2001:156). Quechua also possesses a system of proper evidentials which consist of three enclitics and mark a proposition as either direct experience (-*mi/-n*), reported information (-*si/-sis*), or conjecture (-*chá*) (cf. Cusihuamán 2001; Faller 2002 & 2004).

The explanations offered by Klee and Ocampo (1995), Escobar (1997), and Sánchez (2004) all hinge on the assumption that speakers adopt evidential features into the Spanish verbal system by way of the influence of the past tense system in Quechua, rather than via the influence of the system of enclitcs. Additionally, Sánchez (2004) argues (i) that both of the past tense morphemes in Quechua, –*sqa* and *rqa*, are specified for evidentiality features and (ii) that there is obligatory syntactic agreement between past tense –*sqa* and the reportative evidential enclitic –*si* and similarly between –*rqa* and the direct experiential enclitic –*mi*, as demonstrated in examples (58) and (59).

(58) *Huk punchay-**si** ka-**rqa**   huk viejacha...   *-*si* + -*rqa*
    One day:REP   be:PST $_2$ one old woman…
    "One day there was an old woman…"

                                                        (Sánchez 2004:150, example 12)

(59) *Huk punchay-**mi** ka-**sqa-**n   huk viejacha.   *-*mi* + -*sqa*
    One day-BPG   be –PST$_1$ -3SG one old woman
    "One day there was an old woman"

                                                        (Sánchez 2004:150, example 13)

In describing the convergence of tense, aspectual and evidentiality features in Quechua and Spanish, Sánchez (and Escobar) assume that evidentiality is among the matrix features associated with Tense and that agreement is required between the past tense markers and the evidential enclitics, as indicated in (58) and (59). Upon further investigation, it would appear that his is not the case.

(60) a. Phusa-sha-**sqa**-n-**si**   ☺ -*sqa* + -*si*
         snow:PROG-PST$_1$-REP
         p = 'It was snowing.'
         INTERPRETATION: Speaker was told that p

    b. Phusa-sha-**sqa**-n-**mi**   ☺ -*sqa* + -*mi*
         snow:PROG- PST$_1$-BPG
         p = 'It was snowing.'
         INTERPRETATION: Speaker was told/infers p

    c. *Phusa-sha-**sqa**-n-**chá**.
         snow:PROG- PST$_1$-3-CONJ

Contrary to Sánchez's proposal, the Quechua past morpheme -*sqa*, which she claims is used solely to report events not directly witnessed, can indeed co-occur with either the Reportative enclitic –*si* (as in 60a), as expected, or the Direct –*mi* (as in 60b). Furthermore, -*sqa* is incompatible with the Conjectural evidential –*chá* (60c). If a sentence can only have a single evidential value, then we would assume that two evidential markers would not co-occur in the same sentence (Faller 2004). The data in

(60) suggests that –*sqa* does not encode evidential features. Therefore, it is doubtful that evidential uses of the perfect among bilinguals, if indeed they exist, arise as the result of the convergence of features acquired from the past tense system in Quechua since this is not actually the source of evidential features in Quechua.[12]

Another point of discord with the analysis of the Peruvian Spanish as evidential is that according to Bybee et al. (1994) if a perfect (or 'anterior') develops evidential functions it is usually that of marking indirect evidence. The perfect of Quechua/Spanish bilinguals, according to Klee and Ocampo, Escobar and Sánchez, has come to mark direct evidence in certain contexts. Though Bybee et al.'s description of the grammaticalization of a perfect does not factor in the influence of language contact or bilingualism, it may be that this purported development in Peruvian Spanish is not an instance of grammaticalization, which is generally evoked to describe semantic change that occurs under 'normal' situations of language development. Instead, this convergence of features may exemplify a different process altogether, one that is outside of the scope of typical patterns of semantic change. I will return to this issue in the following chapter.

4.2.3 Summary and discussion

In this brief overview, I have presented a number of uses of the perfect in Peruvian Spanish that have been described as 'innovative' with respect to the Latin American norm. One of the issues pertaining to these examples, besides those described

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[12] Faller makes an important distinction between the domains of operation of the indirect evidential enclitic –*si* and that of the past tense morpheme –*sqa*. Specifically, she argues that the evidential enclitics operate on the embedded proposition, indicating a specific relationship between it and the speaker. The past morpheme –*sqa,* however, has proposition-internal scope and operates only on the event. Therefore, -*sqa* is not an evidential, at least not in the same manner explained by Escobar and Sánchez, and gives rise to evidential interpretations only indirectly.

in §4.2.2, concerns the extent to which they are manifest in the speech of monolingual Spanish speakers from this area. Earlier in the chapter (§4.1.2.1), I presented data from monolingual Spanish speakers that demonstrate the variable compatibility of the perfect in different 'perfective' contexts, e.g. with definite past adverbials and with telic predicates like *to be born*. These occurrences could be described as resulting from contact with Quechua, similar to those cases described in the current section. Without a broader representation of data from different bilingual and monolingual sources, I am hesitant to accept the proposal that all attested cases of perfective perfects in Peruvian Spanish are motivated by language contact. While I have discussed the proposals of Escobar and Sánchez regarding contact-induced linguistic influence, I conclude this section by merely noting that these 'innovative' cases have a distribution similar to the perfective examples listed in §4.1.2.1, regardless of their source. In the next chapter, I pick up this issue again, though I focus primarily on the language external (i.e. discourse-related) motivations for these innovations.

4.3   Conclusions

As in the previous chapter, I have attempted to provide a typological analysis of the distribution of the Present Perfect in Peruvian Spanish based on the proposed set of features. The evidence presented here supports the hypothesis that Peruvian Spanish is typologically similar to other Latin American Spanish dialects in terms of the distribution of the perfect. Despite an overall increase in the frequency of use (though still statistically less frequent than the *pretérito*), the perfect in Peruvian Spanish appears be subject to the same restrictions as that of Mexican Spanish—e.g. lack of sequencing effects, limited

Hot News uses, and archetypal availability of Continuative uses. The only factor that reveals notable variation in this dialect is the possibility of co-occurrence with past time adverbials, and even in these cases, there is no obvious factor favoring compatibility—as opposed to the Peninsular perfect were increased definite past adverbial compatibility is limited to those that make reference to a recent past.

As mentioned in §4.2.1.2, Peruvian Spanish is by no means unique among the dialects of Latin America in being flexible with different adverbials. Similar cases are attested in Salvadoran Spanish (Hernández 2004) as well as in other Andean varieties of Spanish (Stratford 1991 and DeMello 1994). Though I will have nothing more to say about these other dialects, it should be noted that if they do in fact display perfective uses of the perfect, as reflected in their compatibility with definite past adverbials, it would useful to ascertain the degree of similarity between them and the Peninsular case. To my knowledge, no such analysis exists that compares the perfects in these dialects of Spanish by way of a set of cross-linguistically verifiable semantic correlates. In the next chapter, I will proceed with a comparison of the Peruvian and Peninsular perfects with the objective of distinguishing the two dialects via the feature typology proposed in Chapter 2.

CHAPTER 5

PERFECTIVE PERFECTS IN TWO SPANISH DIALECTS

The focus of this chapter is to explore in more detail the manifestation of perfectivity in the Present Perfects Peninsular and Peruvian Spanish. The *pretérito*/perfect distinction in Peruvian Spanish has received some attention in the literature (see Klee & Ocampo 1995, Escobar 1997, Cerrón-Palomino 2003, Howe & Schwenter 2003, and Sánchez 2004). In this particular case, it has been claimed that the development of the perfect in this dialect group is parallel to that of Peninsular Spanish and that increased perfectivity can be attributed, at least in part, to similar processes of grammaticalization. Complicating the analysis of the Peruvian perfect is the fact that extended contact with indigenous languages such as Aymara and Quechua may have contributed to its increased use (see Klee & Ocampo 1995, Escobar 1997, and Sánchez 1997). In this chapter, I demonstrate that while there are uses of the perfect in Peruvian Spanish that are functionally akin to the *pretérito* upon further investigation these distributional similarities with the Peninsular Spanish perfect are quite limited (cf. Howe & Schwenter 2003). As opposed to the previous chapter, the proposed distinctions

between the Peruvian and Peninsular situations are based on the results of a sentence judgment task.

In this chapter, I hypothesize the following:

1. The only attested manifestation of perfectivity with the Peruvian Perfect is its increased, though inconsistent, co-occurrence with past time adverbials. With all other factors expected to favor perfectivity (e.g. narrative sequencing), the *pretérito* is preferred.

2. The mechanisms that account for the increased perfective uses in these two dialects are distinct. In the Peninsular case, loss of the perfect's presupposition of discourse relevance is responsible for the increased functional overlap with the *pretérito* (see Schwenter 1994a). With the Peruvian case, this presupposition is extended to include additional notions of relevance (e.g. spatial and temporal), the result of which is variable compatibility with definite past advebials.

In §5.1, I present and analyze the results of my fieldwork conducted in Spain and Peru, offering a number of empirical observations that make it possible to tease apart distinctions between the perfects of these two sets of dialects. The relevant factor groups represented in the study are presented in §5.1.1, followed by statistical comparisons and critical discussion. A summary of the findings from the sentence judgment task are presented in §5.1.7. In §5.2, I defend the claim that the paths of semantic change observed with the perfects in are the result of two distinct pragmatic processes related to the presupposition of relevance associated with the meaning of the perfect. To summarize my claims, some final remarks are offered in §5.3

5.1   Sentence Judgment Task

In order to better flesh out the distinction between perfect usage in the Peninsular dialects and in Cusco, I present in this section the results of a sentence judgment task conducted in the summer of 2005. The questionnaires were administered to three

different groups of students, faculty, and staff affiliated the Universidad Autónoma de Madrid in Madrid, Spain, the Universidad de Valencia in Valencia, Spain, and the Asociación Pukllasunchis Bilingual School in Cusco, Peru. All of the 32 informants who participated in the study were between the ages of 19 and 59 (see §1.3.2 in Chapter 1).[1] This research was conducted in accordance with OSU research protocol 2005B0106. In what follows, I analyze the results of these questionnaires, first describing the different factor groups used to organize the target questions and then summarizing the informants' responses.

5.1.1 Factor Groups

The design of the questionnaire was meant to elicit judgments of the perfect in a in a wide variety of contexts. Below I present the eight factor groups utilized in the task along with representative samples:

1. CO-OCCURRENCE WITH 'TODAY' ADVERBIALS:
   e.g. Juan (ha leído/leyó) un libro hoy.   (= 1)
         'Juan (has read / read) a book today.'

2. CO-OCCURRENCE WITH PRE-'TODAY' ADVERBIALS:
   e.g. Liliana (ha lavado/lavó) su coche ayer.   (= 5)
         'Liliana (has washed / washed) her car yesterday.'

3. CONTINUATIVE/EXPERIENTIAL AMBIGUITY:
   e.g. Diego (ha estado/está) en Londres al menos desde el domingo.   (= 12)
         'Diego (has been / is) in London at least since Sunday.'

4. NEGATION:
   e.g. Yo no (he llegado/llegué) al trabajo esta mañana a tiempo.   (= 28)
         'I (have not arrived / did not arrive) to work this morning on time.'

5. INTERROGATIVES:
   e.g. ¿Dónde (has comprado/compraste) ese libro?   (= 31)
         'Where (have you bought / did you buy) that book?'

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[1] No significant effect for age was observed.

6. *YA* 'ALREADY':
    e.g.   Laura ya (ha comido/comió) la rebanada del pastel esta mañana.   (= 13)
              'Laura (has eaten / ate) already the slice of cake this morning.'

7. 'TODAY' NARRATIVES: (see Appendix II)

8. PRE-'TODAY' NARRATIVES: (see Appendix II)

These factor groups were chosen because of their potential effect on the selection of the perfect in relation to either the *pretérito* or the present tense. As has been discussed extensively throughout this thesis, the perfect and the *pretérito* display distinct but sometimes overlapping patterns of adverbial co-occurrence. The sentences in factor groups 1 and 2 were intended to test the behavior of the perfect with two groups of adverbials which show variable patterns of compatibility cross-dialectally. I have further argued that increased perfectivity disfavors use of the perfect with Continuative interpretation. The sentences in factor group 3 address this claim. In addition, Schwenter and Torres Cacoullos (2005) discuss polarity and sentence type as relevant factors in the distribution of the perfect in Mexican and Peninsular Spanish arguing that negation and yes-no questions should favor the perfect in Mexican Spanish due to the atelicizing effects of negation and the lack of temporal anchoring of yes-no questions. To further examine these issues, I have incorporated sentences like those in factor groups 4 and 5. Also discussed in Schwenter and Torres Cacoullos is the adverb *ya* 'already', which according their study favors the perfect in Peninsular Spanish and the *pretérito* in Mexican. The sentences in factor group 6 will help to flesh out this distinction in these samples. Lastly, I have discussed the variability of sequencing effects (or lack thereof) of

the Spanish perfect at several points in the thesis. Factor groups 6 and 7 have been included in order to observe the behavior of the perfect in different narrative contexts.

In all of the sentences representing the first five factor groups, participants were presented with a set of two or three choices, among which they could choose one, all, or none. Variation of the set of choices depended on the factor being tested. For instance, in testing informants' judgments with pre-'today' adverbials, the choices presented were always the Present Perfect and the *pretérito*. With Continuative/Experiential ambiguities, on the other hand, the Present Perfect was presented with the Present Tense. A number of filler sentences were also included, examples of which are provided below.

(1) Marcos ha estado enfermo (por/en) dos horas.   (= 22)
     'Marcos has been sick (for / in) two hours.'

(2) María (ha querido/quería) ser médica desde era niña.   (= 19)
     'María (has wanted / wanted-*imperfecto*) to be a doctor since she was a little girl.'

With the narrative examples, the format was distinct from that of the other factor types. For these cases, speakers were presented with a paragraph whose verbs were given in the infinitival (i.e. unconjugated) form—e.g. *Pues, esta mañana* **SALIR** *de la casa a las nueve* 'Well, this morning **LEAVE** from the house at nine o'clock'—and were told to provide the appropriate form according to the particular context. For the most part, informants answered with either the Present Perfect or the *pretérito*, though there were a few responses that did not conform to these choices. One such case, however, occurred in the Pre-'Today' Narrative sample where speakers routinely produced an unexpectedly high number of present tense responses. In §5.1.6.2, I will offer a few additional comments regarding this result.

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Out of the eight factor groups described above, five demonstrated a significant effect on the resulting choices made by the informants. The groups demonstrating a significant effect were (1) 'Today' adverbials, (2) Pre-'today' adverbials, (5) Interrogatives, (6) *Ya* 'Already', and (6) 'Today' narratives. Though I maintain my claim that increased perfectivity corresponds to a decrease in 'imperfective' perfect uses (i..e Continuatives), I suspect that the types of sentences presented did not appropriately represent the intended effect. As for factor group 5, the results of the study suggest that both Peninsular and Peruvian speakers show similar patterns of preferences regarding negation and the perfect or the *pretérito*. Lastly, the predictions made concerning narrative compatibilities will be that Peninsular and Peruvian Spanish will only be distinct with the 'today' narratives. With the pre-'today' situations (factor group 8), this distinction will be leveled, demonstrating a strong preference for the *pretérito* among both the Peninsular and Peruvian informants.

5.1.2   Overall frequencies of form choice

In terms of overall form choice patterns, all three samples exhibited the expected tendencies; the speakers from Madrid and Valencia[2] tended to choose the perfect while the Cusqueño informants preferred the *pretérito*. In Table 5.1, note that the strength of the tendencies is different for each group. For Madrid and Valencia the rates are essentially equivalent, whereas the *pretérito* is clearly the dominant form in the Cusco sample. One reason for the weakened preference of the perfect in the Peninsular cases in comparison to the slightly higher frequencies noted in the Chapter 3 is the formal nature

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[2] The results of the questionnaire were such that no significant difference was ever noted between usage rates in Madrid and Valencia samples. Nonetheless, I will list the results from both Peninsular sites for each of the relevant comparisons.

of the written sentence judgment task, which frequently has a leveling affect favoring more standard linguistic forms. Still, the frequencies observed with the sentence judgment task are close to those attained from the oral samples. The same is true for the Cusco informants as well.

	Madrid	Valencia	Cusco
PRESENT PERFECT	42.4% (N = 266)	47.5% (N = 161)	20.5% (N = 75)
PRETÉRITO	50.8% (N = 319)	45.4% (N = 154)	71% (N = 260)
PRESENT PERFECT /PRETÉRITO	6.8% (N = 43)	7.1% (N = 24)	8.5% (N = 31)
Total:	628	339	366
	$\chi = 66.689; p \leq .001$		

Table 5.1. Present Perfect and *pretérito* frequencies in sentence judgment task

The distribution of the Present Perfect and the Present Tense also demonstrated a significant difference across dialects. In Cusco the rate of present tense choices was higher than those of both Madrid and Valencia. One factor contributing to the observed significance of the distribution in Table 5.2 is the continuing influence of the increased usage of the perfect in the Peninsular dialects. Also, the level of significance exhibited in Table 5.2 is not quite as high as that of the previous table (i.e. $\chi = 27.125$ versus $\chi = 66.689$), indicating that the observed increase in the present tense is not as strong as the *pretérito*-preference shown in Table 5.1.

	Madrid	**Valencia**	**Cusco**
PRESENT PERFECT	77.6% (N = 266)	78.9% (N = 161)	62.5% (N = 75)
PRESENT TENSE	14.9% (N = 51)	13.2% (N = 27)	28.3% (N = 34)
PRESENT PERFECT /PRESENT TENSE	7.5% (N = 26)	7.9% (N = 16)	9.2% (N = 11)
Total:	343	204	120
$\chi = 27.125; p \le .001$			

Table 5.2. Present Perfect and Present Tense frequencies in sentence judgment task

5.1.3   Adverbial co-occurrence

As demonstrated in the previous chapter, the Present Perfect in Madrid and Valencia is compatible with any adverbial occurring in the *today* interval, even those denoting definite past reference that do not include the moment of speech—e.g. *esta mañana a las nueve* 'this morning at nine o'clock'. It has been claimed that the perfect in these dialects is used to make reference to any past event occurring in the 24-hour time period preceding the speech event (Schwenter 1994a, Serrano 1994, Brugger 2001, and Carter 2003). Moreover, there are some attested cases of the perfect in Peninsular dialects used in reference to events occurring *yesterday* (i.e. hesternal), though both this study and that of Schwenter and Torres Cacoullos (2005) have claimed that these uses are limited. Finally, it has been demonstrated thus far (and in other sources) that the perfect in Peninsular Spanish disfavors co-occurrence with pre-'today' definite past adverbials, including *yesterday*, while in Peruvian Spanish there seems to be a trend, albeit weak, for

perfects to be compatible with these types of adverbials. In this section, I present the

results from the study pertaining to adverbial co-occurrence patterns.

5.1.3.1 'Today' Adverbials

Firstly, informants were presented with a set of sentences, given in (3), containing

adverbials that made reference to the current day and were then asked to choose between

the Present Perfect and the *pretérito*. The sentence in (3a), for instance, presents a case

where either form should be available cross-dialectally; use of the perfect would indicate

one of Juan's experiences during the date (e.g. in response to the question "What has

Juan been doing today?"), and the *pretérito* would be used to describe a discrete event

occurring at an earlier interval of the day that perhaps does not overlap with the interval

containing the speech time. Interestingly, despite this potential overlap, all of the

Peninsular informants chose the Present Perfect in response to sentence (3a) (i.e. the

potentially ambiguous case), while the Peruvians opted for the *pretérito* about half of the

time. [3]

(3)   a.   Juan (ha leído/leyó) un libro <u>hoy</u>.   (= 1)
           'Juan (has read / read) a book today.'

      b.   Yo me (he levantado/levanté) <u>esta mañana a las seis</u>.   (= 3)
           'I (have gotten up / got up) this morning at six o'clock.'

      c.   <u>Esta mañana</u> Susana (ha terminado/terminó) su trabajo.   (= 4)
           'This morning Susana (has finished / finished) her work.'

With sentences (3b) and (3c), there were additional factors that needed to be taken

into account in analyzing the results. Note that in (3b), use of the adverbial *esta mañana a*

las seis 'this morning at six' would tend to favor the *pretérito* in view of the fact it makes

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[3] The adverbials were not underscored in the actual questionnaire.

definite past time reference. For (3c), like (3a), both forms should be possible, though the results should further reflect the time at which the interview was conducted since the interval of speech time could either be included or not in the interval denoted by *esta mañana* 'this morning' while still being the in 'today' interval. Again, it was predicated that the Peninsular speakers would favor the perfect and the Peruvians the *pretérito*. A summary of the results obtained in response to the sentences in (3) is presented below in Table 5.3.

	Madrid	**Valencia**	**Cusco**
PRESENT PERFECT	75.6% (N = 34)	87.5% (N = 21)	25.9% (N = 7)
PRETÉRITO	13.3% (N = 6)	0% (N = 0)	66.7% (N = 18)
PRESENT PERFECT /PRETÉRITO	11.1% (N = 5)	12.5% (N = 3)	7.4% (N = 2)
Total:	45	24	27
	$\chi = 36.594; p \leq .001$		

Table 5.3. Co-occurrence frequencies with 'Today' Adverbials
in sentence judgment task

As expected, the Peninsular speakers exhibited a significant favoring of the Present Perfect with these adverbials, opting for this form even with the unambiguously non-inclusive adverbial in (3b). For the Cusco participants, the tendency was to choose the *pretérito* in most cases, though instances of the perfect are also found—e.g. for (3a) three out of the nine participants from Cusco chose the perfect over the *pretérito*. These results corroborate the arguments made in Schwenter (1994a) and Schwenter and Torres

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Cacoullos (2005), both of which claim that the perfect in Peninsular Spanish is highly favored in 'today' past contexts, so much so that it has become the default tense for these situations. Earlier it was hypothesized that the time of the interview may have influenced the decision between the Present Perfect and the *pretérito*. In response to sentence (3c), which included the adverbial *esta mañana* 'this morning', the percentage of Madrid informants who chose the *pretérito* was much higher than with the other examples in (3). Upon further scrutiny, however, it does not appear that the time of the interview was a significant factor since informants from morning and evening interview sessions were parallel in their choice of forms. The effects of the time of interview were not observable with the Cusco sample because all sessions were conducted during the morning hours.

5.1.3.2 Pre-'Today' Adverbials

To test compatibility with pre-'today' adverbials, a set of sentences was presented, all of which contained adverbials denoting intervals occurring before 'today' and again requiring the informants to choose between the perfect and the *pretérito*. Observe the set of sentences in (4).

(4) a. Liliana (ha lavado/lavó) su coche <u>ayer</u>.   (= 5)
         'Liliana (has washed / washed) her car yesterday.'

     b. <u>Ayer</u> (he visto/vi) a Juan en el mercado.   (= 6)
         'Yesterday (I have seen / saw) Juan in the market.'

     c. Mi familia y yo (hemos visitado/visitamos) Brasil <u>el año pasado</u>.   (= 7)
         'My family and I (have visited / visited) Brazil last year.'

     d. <u>En 1976</u>, Marcos (ha viajado/viajó) a Francia.   (= 8)
         'In 1976, Marcos (has traveled / traveled) to France.'

     e. Isabel (ha corrido/corrió) un maratón <u>ayer</u>.   (= 9)
         'Isabel (has run / ran) a marathon yesterday.'

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f. Rodrigo (ha escrito/escribió) unas canciones <u>el verano pasado</u>.   (= 10)
    'Rodrigo (has written / wrote) some songs last summer.'

The prediction with this group of examples was that the Peninsular speakers would disfavor use of the perfect while the Peruvians would be more flexible with their compatibility judgments. One auxiliary prediction was that the Peninsular informants would find the perfect more acceptable with *ayer* 'yesterday' (as in (4a) and (4b)) than with adverbials like *el verano pasado* 'last summer' given that some researchers have described the perfect in these dialects as having attained hesternal past uses (see Serrano 1994). In addition, Brugger (2001) argues that the Present Perfect is compatible only with sentence-final adverbials.[4] My findings in this portion of the study are presented in Table 5.4 below.

	Madrid	**Valencia**	**Cusco**
PRESENT PERFECT	2.2% (N = 2)	0% (N = 0)	11.1% (N = 6)
PRETÉRITO	95.6% (N = 86)	100% (N = 48)	81.5% (N = 44)
PRESENT PERFECT /PRETÉRITO	2.2% (N = 2)	0% (N = 0)	7.4% (N = 4)
Total:	90	48	54
		$\chi = 18.892; p \leq .001$	

Table 5.4: Co-occurrence frequencies with Pre-'Today' Adverbials
in sentence judgment task

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[4] Recall from the previous chapter (§3.3.1.3) that evidence was presented to counter this claim made by Brugger. I have repeated the relevant example here as (i).

  (i) <u>ayer</u> **he comprado** un aire acondicionado y me da calor en ve de frío
    'yesterday I bought (lit. have bought) an air conditioner and I'm getting hot instead of cold'
                    (COREC, BCON014B)

Once again the predictions are borne out by the results of the judgment task. The Peninsular informants overwhelmingly preferred the *pretérito* in these situations. In fact, the participants from Valencia were categorical in their judgments, disallowing the perfect in every case. Though with the Cusqueño informants the *pretérito* was still highly preferred, they seem to allow the perfect in these cases at a greater frequency. As we have seen throughout the last few chapters, the typical restriction against definite past adverbials with the Present Perfect in Spanish is subject to variable violation such that speakers allow co-occurrence is specific types of contexts. Although the sentences in (4) did not control for context, the slight increase in perfect acceptance suggests that the participants from Cusco recognize that the perfect is potentially compatible with these types of adverbials.

Concerning the ancillary predictions, there was no significant cross-dialectal effect for the acceptance of *ayer* 'yesterday', which leads us to the conclusion that Peninsular speakers still prefer the *pretérito* with adverbials referring to any type of pre-'today' situation. That is, the purported 'hesternal' use of the perfect has not generalized to the same degree as the hodiernal ones. This result confirms the observation noted in Schwenter and Torres Cacoullos (2005) that the perfect is statistically disfavored with these adverbials. Furthermore, contra Brugger's assertion regarding syntactically-sensitive variation with adverbials, the pre- versus post-position of *ayer* demonstrated in (49a) and (49b) also had no effect on the selection of the *pretérito* as the preferred form with the Peninsular speakers. The same held true with the Cusqueño informants.

5.1.4 Interrogatives

Schwenter and Torres Cacoullos (2005) maintain that perfects should be favored in interrogative contexts, specifically with *yes-no* questions. For the purposes of the current study, I chose to include a variety of different types of questions, including *yes-no* questions, as in (5a), (5b), and (5d), and (5e), and also *WH*-questions, as in (5c). Moreover, these questions occurred with different adverbials, including *esta mañana* 'this morning', *ayer por la tarde* 'yesterday afternoon', and *ya* 'already'. Following Schwenter and Torres Cacoullos, the prediction with this factor group was that the perfect would be favored since in interrogative contexts, especially with *yes-no* questions, there is no assumption of temporal anchoring. For example, in (5a) the question does not concern the time at which a book was bought but rather the location; that the event took place in the past is presupposed by use of a past tense. The other examples of *yes-no* questions provide more explicit means of determining temporal placement, namely via the inclusion of overt adverbial modification. A summary of the results for this factor group is presented in Table 5.5.

(5)   a.   ¿Dónde (has comprado/compraste) ese libro?   (= 31)
           'Where (have you bought / did you buy) that book?'

      b.   ¿(Desayunaste/has desayunado) <u>esta mañana</u>?   (= 32)
           '(Did you eat / have you eaten) breakfast this morning?'

      c.   ¿Qué (has hecho/hiciste) <u>ayer por la tarde</u>?   (= 33)
           'What (have you done / did you do) yesterday afternoon?'

      d.   ¿Ya (ha llegado/llegó) Juan?   (= 34)
           '(Has Juan arrived / did Juan arrive) already?'

      e.   ¿Ya (terminaste/has terminado) el trabajo por hoy?   (= 35)
           '(Did you finish / have you finished) already the work for today?'

	Madrid	Valencia	Cusco
PRESENT PERFECT	54.7% (N = 41)	57.5% (N = 23)	13.3% (N = 6)
PRETÉRITO	17.3% (N = 13)	20% (N = 8)	51.1% (N = 23)
PRESENT PERFECT /PRETÉRITO	28% (N = 21)	22.5% (N = 9)	35.6% (N = 16)
Total:	75	40	45
	$\chi = 27.334; p \le .001$		

Table 5.5. The Present Perfect and *pretérito* in interrogative contexts

For this factor group, the perfect was preferred in the Peninsular dialects while the *pretérito* was chosen in Cusco. Moreover, there were a number of participants that chose both forms—28% for Madrid, 23% in Valencia, and 36% in Cusco. At first glance, these results seem to confirm Schwenter and Torres Cacoullos' prediction concerning the preference for the perfect in *yes-no* questions. A closer look, however, reveals that the Peninsular speakers disfavored the perfect with example (5c), which includes the pre-'today' adverbial *ayer por la tarde*. As described in the previous section, the perfect in non-interrogative contexts would also be disfavored in Peninsular Spanish with pre-today adverbials; thus, it appears that the overall tendency for Peninsular speakers to choose the perfect with this factor group was influenced by the inclusion of overt temporal specifications. It should be pointed out, however, that the Peninsular speakers tended to choose the perfect with sentence (5a), which did not have any overt temporal modification. The Peruvian informants, on the other hand, accepted the *pretérito* more

often in this example, as well as in all of the others. Observe also the increased percentage of Cusqueño informants who chose both forms in response to these situations.

5.1.5 *Ya* 'already'

In their study, Schwenter and Torres Cacoullos observed a significant effect with the adverb *ya* 'already', which indicates the culmination of some past event or situation. For the Peninsular sample, they demonstrated that the presence of *ya* favored the use of the perfect, maintaining that this result was due to the continuing semantic shift from perfect to perfective commonly observed in Romance. Moreover, they claim that this effect supports their hypothesis concerning the Present Perfect as the default past form in Peninsular Spanish. For the current study, the sentences in (6) were included in order to observe the effects of *ya* among the dialect groups.

(6) a. Laura ya (ha comido/comió) la rebanada del pastel esta mañana.   (= 13)
         'Laura (has eaten / ate) already the slice of cake this morning.'

     b. ¿Ya (ha llegado/llegó) Juan?   (= 34)
         '(Has Juan arrived / Did Juan arrive) already?'

     c. ¿Ya (terminaste/has terminado) el trabajo para hoy?   (= 35)
         '(Did you finish / have you finished) already the work for today?'

Since this adverb does not specifically identify any unique past time reference, it should be compatible with either the Present Perfect or the *pretérito*, both of which are capable of making reference to an indefinite past. Cross-dialectally, the co-occurrence of *ya* with both of the forms under discussion is attested. More specifically, however, in a dialect which already displays a high percentage of perfect usage, such as Peninsular Spanish, it should be expected that *ya* would favor the more prevalent form. Thus, my prediction regarding the *ya* examples is that the perfect will be favored with the

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Peninsular speakers while the *pretérito* will be the preferred form for the Cusqueño informants. Schwenter and Torres Cacoullos' make the same claim concerning Peninsular Spanish, further arguing that *ya* favors the *pretérito* in Mexican Spanish. A summary of the results obtained with this factor group are presented in Table 5.6.[5]

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[5] There were two other test sentences included in the judgment task that included the adverb *ya*. In these two cases, participants were asked to choose between the Present Perfect and the Present Tense. Observe (i) and (ii).

(i) Juan ya (ha vivido/vive) en Madrid durante tres años.   (= 14)
    'Juan (has lived / lives) already in Madrid for three years.'

(ii) Ya (he estado/estoy) en Barcelona desde las ocho de la mañana.   (= 15)
    'I (have been / am) already in Barcelona since 8 o'clock in the morning.'

These sentences were excluded from the comparison presented in Table 5.6 to maintain consistency with the comparison between the perfect with the *pretérito*. While the statistical analysis demonstrated a significant effect across dialects, the level of significance was quite low—$p \leq .05$ ($\chi = 9.921$). The Cusqueño informants generally disfavored the perfect in these contexts, while the Peninsular participants were split evenly between the two forms.

In addition, the split exhibited with the Peninsular speakers came as the result of the almost categorical selection of the perfect for sentence (i) and the present tense for (ii). Though I will not develop a detailed explanation for these data, I suspect that the preference for the present tense in (ii) may indicate something about the temporal (i.e. stage-level) nature of the predicate *to be in Barcelona*, versus the relative permanence of *to live in Madrid*. That is, in choosing between *Juan ha vivido* and *Juan vive*, speakers opt for the perfect to indicate the specific duration of the Juan's living in Madrid (i.e. the Experiential use), since the present tense would focus more on his current state of residence. According to the current analysis, if the perfect is indeed becoming perfective, this would be a possible approach at teasing apart the distinction between uses of the perfect and the present tense in indicating the continuation of an event or state.

	Madrid	Valencia	Cusco
PRESENT PERFECT	60% (N = 27)	79.2% (N = 19)	7.4% (N = 2)
PRETÉRITO	11.1% (N = 5)	12.5% (N = 3)	48.2% (N = 13)
PRESENT PERFECT /PRETÉRITO	28.9% (N = 13)	8.5% (N = 2)	44.4% (N = 12)
Total:	45	24	27

$$\chi = 66.697; \ p \leq .001$$

Table 5.6. The Present Perfect and *pretérito* with *ya*

The results presented in Table 5.6 verify our predictions regarding *ya*. For the Peninsular speakers, the perfect is the preferred form with *ya*; with the Peruvians roughly half of the informants chose the *pretérito* exclusively while the other half allowed for either of the two forms. These findings corroborate those of Schwenter and Torres Cacoullos (2005) for Peninsular Spanish. Moreover, the results for the Cusco sample pattern along the same lines as those of the Mexican speakers from the Schwenter and Torres Cacoullos study, further suggesting that Peruvian Spanish belongs with the set of Group I dialects. And, if increased compatibility with *ya* is an indication of the advanced grammaticalization of the perfect towards perfectivity, then these data would appear to support the claim that the Peruvian perfect is not grammaticalizing, at least not along the same path as the Peninsular one.

Out of the all of the possible responses produced for sentences (6b) and (6c), roughly 66% (N = 20) of the Madrid participants and 100% (N = 16) of those from

Valencia chose the perfect.[6] In Cusco, the effect worked in the opposite direction; 50% (N = 9) chose exclusively the *pretérito* while roughly 45% (N = 8) selected both forms as acceptable. Only one informant selected the perfect. Therefore, *ya* seems to have a significant effect on the choice between the Present Perfect and the *pretérito*. Though the effect is certainly stronger with the Peninsular dialects, it is nonetheless noticeable in the Cusqueño sample, where speakers have a wider variability with their acceptance rates, in addition to the overall disfavoring of the perfect.

5.1.6   Narrative contexts

In all three sites in which the study was conducted, the participants were asked to complete a short dialogue consisting of a series of sequence events presented in a narrative style. In the previous chapter, I presented several narratives examples from Peninsular Spanish in which perfects were used to indicate sequences of events occurring in a 'today' interval. Schwenter (1994a) argues that this use of perfect is characteristic of Peninsular Spanish and that it signifies further functional overlap with the *pretérito*. He further maintains that the perfect has become the default past used by Peninsular speakers (in the relevant dialects) to describe a sequence of 'today'-bound events. Despite the observed extension of the Present Perfect into perfective functions in Peruvian Spanish described earlier in this chapter, there are no analogous cases of the perfect used in sequenced narratives (see §4.1.3). As a result, I predict that the Cusco participants will disfavor the perfect in all sequenced contexts, both 'today' and pre-'today', while the

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[6] None of the informants from either of the Peninsular groups chose both the perfect and the *pretérito* for sentences (6b) and (6c).

Peninsular informants will favor the perfect with 'today' narratives and the *pretérito* with

pre-'today' narratives.

5.1.6.1 'Today' narratives

To test sequence effects in 'Today' narratives, participants were presented with

the following situation.

(7) *Marcos:* ¿Cómo va todo contigo? Quiero que me hables sobre tu día hoy.
'How is everything going with you? Tell me about your day today.'

Cristina: Pues, esta mañana **SALIR** de la casa a las nueve. Después, **PASAR** por la universidad para entregar mi proyecto final. Entonces, **REUNIRME** con Daniela para almorzar. Nosotros **IR** al cine por la tarde para ver la nueva película de *Batman*. No me **GUSTAR** nada. Después, **DEJAR** a Daniela en la biblioteca y **VOLVER** a casa.

'Well, this morning I **LEAVE** from the house at nine o'clock. Afterwards, I **PASS** by the university to turn in my final project. Then, I MEET with Daniela to have lunch. We **GO** to the movies in the afternoon to see the new *Batman* film. I not **LIKE** it at all. After that, I **LEFT** Daniela in the library and **RETURN** home.

Cristina's narrative in (7) included a number of events that were intended to be

interpreted in sequence. To guarantee this interpretation, adverbials like *después*

'afterwards' and *entonces* 'then' were included. Notice that without these adverbials,

selection of the perfect could be construed as serving a list-type function such that the

speaker is merely enumerating the day's events. Important to note is the fact that the list-

type interpretation would not be considered innovative with respect to prototypical uses

of a perfect.

	Madrid	Valencia	Cusco
PRESENT PERFECT	38.1 (N = 40)	55.4% (N = 31)	1.6% (N = 1)
PRETÉRITO	58.1% (N = 61)	32.1% (N = 18)	92.1% (N = 58)
PRESENT PERFECT /PRETÉRITO	3.8% (N = 4)	12.5% (N = 7)	0%
OTHER[7]	0%	0%	6.3% (N = 4)
Total:	105	56	63
	$\chi = 66.697; p \le .001$		

Table 5.7. Sentence judgment results with 'Today' narratives

Concerning the Cusqueño participants, the results presented in Table 5.7 confirm the prediction that the *pretérito* is the preferred form for indicating sequence in a past narrative. In Cusco, the *pretérito* was chosen 92% of the time, with only one informant choosing the perfect. With the Peninsular speakers, a stronger preference for the perfect was expected. As the results show, however, the *pretérito* was chosen more frequently than the perfect with the Madrid informants, though there were still a relatively high number of perfects selected. Unlike the Madrid sample, the Valencia participants opted for the perfect at a greater rate, though again the preference is not as strong as predicted. It is possible that the lower than expected rate of perfects in the Peninsular samples is due once more to the formal nature of the questionnaire task, which may have encouraged use of the prescriptive norm. Despite this effect, the results nonetheless demonstrate the

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[7] Included in the 'Other' category are forms that were produced by the Cusqueño informants that were neither Present Perfect or *pretérito*. These forms included an instance of the present tense and three instances of the synthetic future tense.

variably strong favoring of the Present Perfect in Peninsular dialects with events in a sequenced narrative, an option that is virtually non-existent in the Cusco sample.

5.1.6.2 Pre-'Today' Narratives

Though this factor group was not chosen as significant in the cross-dialectal comparison, it is important to reiterate that this particular context is one in which the two dialect groups converge. Recall that I have predicted that the *pretérito* will be favored in both the Peninsular and the Peruvian samples. To test the Present Perfect/*pretérito* distinction in this context, informants were presented with the dialogue in (8). Note again that the dialogue contains temporal adverbials such as *primero* 'first' and *después* 'afterwards' to assure a sequenced interpretation.

(8) *Padre*: ¿Qué tal tu visita al zoológico ayer?
      'How was your trip to the zoo yesterday?'

   Hija: Nosotros **LLEGAR** al zoológico a las once y nuestra profesora nos **COMPRAR** las entradas. Primero, **VISITAR** la exhibición de osos polares y después **PASAR** por la zona de los reptiles. Después de comer, unas amigas y yo **IR** a la sala de animales acuáticos para ver los peces. Cuando mi amiga Laura **VER** los tiburones, casi **DESMAYARSE**. Nosotras **DIVERTIRNOS** mucho.

      'We **ARRIVE** at the zoo at 11 o'clock and our teacher **BUY** us the tickets. First, we **VISIT** the polar bear exhibit and then **PASS** by the area with the reptiles. After we ate, some friends and I **GO** to the room with the marine animals to see the fish. When my friend Laura **SEE** the sharks, the almost **FAINT**. We **HAVE** a lot of fun.'

The results presented in table 5.8 below verify our prediction. The *pretérito* was selected by all groups at rates of between 86% and 92%. Only in a few isolated cases in the Madrid sample was the perfect even chosen. Thus, there is no significant distinction

in the cross-dialectal distribution indicated in the data concerning the use of the Present Perfect and the *pretérito*.

	Madrid	Valencia	Cusco
PRESENT PERFECT	1.7% (N = 2)	0% (N = 0)	0% (N = 0)
PRETÉRITO	88.3% (N = 106)	92.2% (N = 59)	86.1% (N = 62)
PRESENT TENSE	9.2% (N = 11)	7.8% (N = 5)	9.7% (N = 7)
OTHER	0.8% (N = 1)	0% (N = 0)	4.2% (N = 3)
Total:	120	64	72
$\chi = 7.899; p \leq 1$ (Not Significant)			

Table 5.8. Sentence judgment results with Pre-'Today' narratives

In §5.1.1 I briefly commented on the increased usage of the present tense in the pre-today cases. At one point in the narrative the participants were asked to complete the phrase *Cuando mi amiga Laura **VER** los tiburones, casi **DESMAYARSE*** 'When my friend Laura **SEE** the sharks, the almost **FAINT**'. Out of the 32 responses received across all three dialects, 68.8% (N = 22) of the informants produced the present tense for *desmayarse* 'to faint' (i.e. *se desmaya* 'she faints') even though virtually all of the responses for *ver* 'to see' represented the *pretérito*. While it is not uncommon for the present tense to be used in historical present situations (see Butt and Benjamin 1994), these results are puzzling given (i) the overwhelming preference for the *pretérito* in the *cuando* 'when' clause and (ii) the telic nature of the predicate *desmayarse*. Since the

preference for the verb *ver* was the *pretérito*, one might expect that speakers would follow suit with *desmayarse*. On the other hand, it would not be uncommon for a speaker to use the present tense with both *ver* and *desmayarse*, provided that he/she is describing Laura's normal response to seeing sharks. Thus, this increase in the present tense is peculiar because of the mixing of the tenses. I suspect, however, that speakers may have chosen the present tense in order to signal some type of increased relevance or importance of this event to the story.

5.1.7 Summary and discussion

To review, my objective in this section has been to further scrutinize the distribution of the Present Perfect in Peninsular and Peruvian Spanish for the purposes of determining the extent to which these forms are parallel in their functional overlap with the *pretérito*. The results of the sentence judgment task conducted in the three research sites have proven to be quite illustrative, allowing us to determine those characteristics that most reliably predict the allocation of these two forms across dialects. A summary of the factors selected as significant is presented in Table 5.9.

Factor Group		MADRID	VALENCIA	CUSCO
1.	CO-OCCURRENCE WITH 'TODAY' ADVERBIALS	Perfect-preferred	Perfect-preferred	*Pretérito*-preferred
2.	CO-OCCURRENCE WITH PRE-'TODAY' ADVERBIALS	*Pretérito*-preferred	*Pretérito*-preferred	*Pretérito*-preferred*
3.	INTERROGATIVES	Perfect-preferred	Perfect-preferred	*Pretérito*-preferred
6.	*YA* 'ALREADY'	Perfect-preferred	Perfect-preferred	*Pretérito*-preferred
7.	'TODAY' NARRATIVES	Perfect-preferred	Perfect-preferred	*Pretérito*-preferred

Table 5.9. Summary of Significant Factor Groups in Sentence Judgment Task

The first thing to point out in Table 5.9 is the fact that the Peninsular dialects exhibit virtually the same patterns of distribution with all of the relevant factor groups. With only one of the factor groups was there a significant distinction between the responses given by the Madrid and Valencia informants. In the *ya* 'already' factor group, the Valencia speakers chose the perfect at a much higher rate than the Madrid participants (i.e. 80% versus 60%), though an overall preference for the perfect was nonetheless attested in both groups. That the Present Perfect in these two Peninsular dialects displays virtually the same behavior supports the claims that have been made regarding the general trend of grammaticalization of the perfect across Spain (see Schwenter 1994a and Serrano 1994).

With this analysis of the Peninsular data, we are left with several questions. We have observed a marked increase in the acceptance/preference of the perfect across all of

the relevant factor groups (with the exception of the pre-'today' adverbials). It may be that the extension observed across factor groups is a function of the growing overall preference for the perfect in a wider variety of temporal contexts. This observation is consonant with Schwenter and Torres Cacoullos' claim that the perfect is becoming the default past in Peninsular Spanish. The problem with this claim, however, is that, in terms of the functional semantic space occupied by the Present Perfect and the *pretérito*, it is actually the former that is the more restrictive, requiring that the event denoted be bound temporally to a past interval.[8] Thus, while it may be the case that the perfect in Peninsular Spanish is developing into a perfective past (à la the *passé composé* in French), this need not necessarily be a completely new function for the perfect, but rather the strengthening and generalization of one (or more) of is archetypal uses. In the following section, I discuss these ideas in more detail.

With each factor group (excluding Pre-'today' adverbials), the Cusqueño informants differed significantly from their Peninsular in choosing the *pretérito*, providing empirical evidence to support the claim that Peruvian Spanish does indeed belong with the Group I dialects described in Chapter 3. One important distinction, however, was observed in the slight but significant increase in the acceptance of the perfect with Pre-'today' adverbials (see §4.2.3.2), a use that was, by and large, disallowed by the Peninsular Speakers. These data are further parallel to the various corpus examples presented in the previous chapter that demonstrated acceptability, albeit variable, with a diverse set of the definite past adverbials. It seems curious—under the assumption that Peruvian Spanish follows the Group I norm—that the perfect should

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[8] See Pancheva and von Stechow (2004) for a discussion of the semantic overlap of the Present Perfect and the simple past in English.

allow for such a relaxed degree of acceptability with these adverbials. If we assume instead that the perfect in Peruvian Spanish is grammaticalizing along the same path as that of Peninsular, then again we are left with explaining why it is that this case exhibits none of the hallmarks—e.g. hodiernal uses and narrative compatibility—typically associated with Romance perfects undergoing the aorist drift (Squartini and Bertinetto 2000).[9] Is the Present Perfect in Peruvian Spanish following the same path of grammaticalization as that of Peninsular Spanish? And if so, what are the motivating factors that account for the lack of concomitant features in this case generally associated with the shift from perfect to perfective in Romance? A few preliminary answers to these questions will be presented in the following section. In §5.2, I argue (i) that the perfect in Peruvian Spanish does not follow the Peninsular model for grammaticalization (and thus does not adhere to the parameters of the aorist drift in Romance) and (ii) that the motivating factor in this distinction concerns the role of context in the process of semantic change, more specifically the means by which speakers negotiate the subjective notion of relevance.

5.2   Semantic change and Spanish perfective perfects

Thus far, I have presented a number of empirical observations that support the claim, originally presented in Howe and Schwenter (2003), that distribution of the perfect in Peruvian Spanish is qualitatively different from that of Peninsular Spanish despite the observed similarities involving semantic displacement of the *pretérito*. So while it may be the case that the Peruvian usage of the perfect is distinct among the Latin American

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[9] The same concerns might be raised in describing the perfect in Salvadoran Spanish as well (see Hernández 2004).

varieties, there is no reason to assume that this divergence is due to the same set of factors distinguishing the Latin American norm from that of the Peninsular cases. At this point, we must ask the following question: what are the factors (pragmatic, semantic, etc.) that motivate the independent emergence of perfective uses of perfects cross-dialectally?

In this section I defend the claim that the Peninsular case follows the path of grammaticalization from perfect > perfective (or aorist drift following Squartini and Bertinetto 2000) commonly attested across Romance (see also Bybee et al. 1994, Harris 1982, and Schwenter 1994a). Moreover, I argue that the grammaticalization of the perfect in Peruvian Spanish is qualitatively different, possibly resulting from extended language contact. Most importantly, I propose that (i) the mechanisms motivating semantic change in both cases represent distinct *pragmatic* processes and that (ii) the outcome of these distinct developments is primarily temporal in the Peninsular case and epistemic in the Peruvian one.

5.2.1 Relevance and the perfect

Recall from Chapter 1 that the perfect, according to some, conventionally presupposes the existence of an open question in the discourse (see Inoue 1979 and Portner 2003).[10] The assumption of relevance as presupposed is pervasive throughout the

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[10] For the purposes of this analysis, I will assume, following Levinson (1983), that pragmatic presuppositions of the type described by Keenan (1971) are actually conventional implicatures. Levinson defines conventional implicatures as "non-truth conditional inferences that are *not* derived from superordinate pragmatic principles like the maxims, but are simply attached by convention to particular lexical items or expressions" (1983:127). Conjunctions, such as *and* and *but*, or forms of formal and informal address, as in Spanish *tú* and *usted*, are commonly presented as typical cases of forms displaying conventional implicatures since the difference between the two is not truth-conditional but rather arises from some additional factor. Though the debate over the exact status of conventional implicatures with respect to utterance meaning continues, I will assume that these implicatures represent a group of

literature concerning perfects across a wide spectrum of languages. Even Bybee et al., they describe the category of anterior as referring to an event occurring prior to a reference time that is "relevant the situation at reference time" (1994:54). The primary obstacle with many of these treatments, however, is the fact that the notion of relevance is only vaguely defined, making it difficult to scrutinize empirically. The claim that the two examples in (9) are distinct because (9a) is somehow 'relevant' and (9b) leaves much to be desired in terms of explanatory adequacy.

(9) a. Diego ha llegado.   PRESENT PERFECT
         'Diego has arrived.'

     b. Diego llegó.   PRETÉRITO
         'Diego arrived.'

Perhaps the most lucid description of the relevance effects associated with the perfect is offered by Portner (2003), who claims, following a vein of current work related to the treatment of questions as discourse topics (cf. von Fintel 1994, Roberts 1996, and Bürring 1997), that perfects presuppose a question in the discourse to which the proposition denoted is an answer. Howe (In Press) capitalizes on this notion of relevance, following the Roberts (1996) model of Questions Under Discussion (or QUDs), and provides a pragmatic account for the cases of functional overlap between the perfect and the *pretérito* in Peninsular Spanish. Brugger (2001) also evokes a notion of relevance to describe the distribution of perfective perfects in Peninsular Spanish.[11] He argues that a

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inferences that are indeed distinct from presuppositions (see Potts 2005 for a recent survey and analysis of theories concerning conventional implicature). Throughout the course of my analysis, I will refer to presuppositions, following Roberts (2005), as contextual requirements conventionally associated with a particular linguistic form that bear directly on the truth-conditional content of a sentence.

[11] Brugger defines relevance with the Spanish Present Perfect as follows:

perfect like that in (10a) does not imply relevance, while the one in (10b) does. More

specifically, a speaker who utters (10b) can only do so in a context in which the window

is still opened and thus stayed opened overnight.[12]

(10) a. Esta mañana a las seis Juan **ha abierto** la ventana.
          'This morning at six Juan opened (*lit.* has opened) the window.'

      b. Juan **ha abierto** la ventana ayer.
          'Juan opened (*lit.* has opened) the window yesterday.'
                              (Brugger 2001:247-148, examples 7a and 11)

As we examine the development of the perfect in Peninsular and Peruvian

Spanish, observing, as we have in the first part of this chapter, their synchronic

distributions, it is essential that we understand that the influence of relevance with the

perfect is primarily seen in the opposition with the *pretérito*. There are additional

components of the meaning of the perfect that will be useful in our analysis. It is to one

those elements that I will now turn.

5.2.2   Relevance and the present tense

In order to account for the incompatibility of definite past adverbials, Portner

argues that the Present Perfect also presupposes a type of temporal relevance via the

influence of the present tense. More specifically, he states the following:

> The Spanish PrP [perfect] has Current Relevance if the Event Time is prior to TODAY [i.e. the 'today' interval]. If the Event Time is within TODAY the PrP may or may not have Current Relevance. (2001:248)

As a corollary to this description, Brugger maintains that relevance arises only in the situations in which Reference Time (Reichenbach's point of reference) is co-indexed with the Speech Time. Thus, for Brugger, relevance is a function of the relationship between Reference Time, which may or may not be contained in the 'today' interval depending on the type of adverbial modification, and Speech Time.

[12] As argued in Howe (In Press), this implication described by Brugger as associated with pre-today uses of the perfect in Peninsular Spanish is hardly conventional. That is, it need not be the case that (10b) occur in a context in which the window is still open. Further complicating Brugger's claim is that these 'yesterday' (or hesternal) uses of the perfect in Peninsular Spanish are limited, and speakers tend to prefer the *pretérito* with overt adverbials of this type (see Chapter 3).

To summarize, then, I propose that the prohibition against past time adverbials in present perfect sentences can be seen as resulting from a pragmatic restriction also seen in McCoard's Gutenberg example [??*Gutenberg has discovered the art of printing*]. This restriction is an Extended Now presupposition tied to the present tense. It follows that those languages which allow past time adverbials to co-occur with the present perfect would differ from English in the nature of their present tense. (Portner 2003: 497).

While the notion of an Extended Now (or XN) presupposition is not new to his analysis, Portner's argument is that this presupposition is associated with the present tense rather than the perfect, which has generally been the accepted wisdom in semantic treatments of the perfect (see McCoard 1978 and Dowty 1979).[13] Intuitively, this claim makes sense because it is only with the present perfect, and not the past or future perfects, that incompatibility with definite past adverbials is observed (see Chapter 2, §2.2.2 for a complete description, and Klein 1992 & 1994). A more general manifestation of the temporal presupposition of the present tense in Spanish can be seen in example (11).

(11) [A and B are discussing *la señora Dávila* who is 80 years old]
    A: ¿Y de niña?
       'And how was she as a little girl?'

    B: Era muy amable.   *IMPERFECTO*
       'She was very friendly.

    B′: ??Es muy amable.   PRESENT TENSE
       'She is very friendly.'

Note that the 'topic time' is set in the past when A asks a question about Señora Dávila's childhood. With B's first response, the answer is given in the *imperfecto* (past imperfective) in accordance with the interval established by the question. B's response in B′, however, is odd precisely because the present tense presupposes that the interval in question includes the moment of speech.

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[13] Glasbey (2005) offers a similar explanation of the present tense's contribution to the perfect. Instead of an 'XN' interval, however, she describes the present tense as determining the 'Topic Interval'. This interval can be understood intuitively as referring to the time to which the discourse is oriented.

With the perfect, the effects of the presupposition carried by the present tense are obviated by the incompatibility with definite past adverbials like *ayer* 'yesterday', which also presuppose the location of the modified time interval, more specifically a past location. Observe the following example.

(12) ??María ha leído *Todas las sangres* ayer.[14]
       'Mary has read *Todas las sangres* yesterday.'
       a. Contribution of Present Tense: (i) the reference time and the speech time are co-indexed and (ii) the event of reading falls within the Extended Now interval containing the speech time
       b. Contribution of *ayer* 'yesterday': the event falls within the 'yesterday' interval

In (12) we see that the contributions of the present tense and the adverb *ayer* are contradictory, each requiring that the reading event occurs in intervals that do not coincide temporally. It is along these lines that Portner develops his account for the so-called Present Perfect Puzzle in English (see Klein 1992 & 1994).

It should be pointed at this time that the application of Portner's account cross-linguistically is subject to both semantic and/or syntactic idiosyncrasies of the present tense. This being said, the question arises as to whether or not languages like French, where definite past adverbials routinely co-occur with a 'perfect', are amenable to this sort of treatment. Of course, he concedes, as do other analyses along these lines (cf. Pancheva and von Stechow 2004), that cross-linguistic variation of the present perfect may also be attributable to distinctions in the meaning of the perfect. Thus, with the perfect in Peninsular or Peruvian Spanish, which both display some degree of co-occurrence with definite past adverbials, a more thorough account is needed of the semantic contribution of the present tense in order to determine whether or not it has a role in these availability of these perfective functions. In this treatment, I do not discuss

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[14] *Todas las sangres* (1964) is by Peruvian author José María Arguedas.

the compositional details of the present tense but instead focus primarily on the respective contributions of the present tense and the perfect to the process (or processes) of semantic change.

5.2.3 Theories of semantic change

Now that we have situated these two components of the meaning of a perfect, we can now examine how they interact with context to produce the type of semantic change resulting in perfectivity. Throughout the literature concerning semantic change, the role of presuppositions, Particularized Conversational Implicatures (or PCIs), and Generalized Conversational Implicatures (or GCIs) has been discussed extensively (see Levinson 2000 and Traugott and Dasher 2002). The prevailing understanding of diachronic semantic change is that coded meanings evolve from GCIs, which themselves evolve from PCIs (see Levinson 2000 and Traugott and Dasher 2002).[15] Also, these different levels of meanings are also said to exemplify different aspects about the communicative intent of the speaker. According to Hansen and Waltereit (2005), GCIs are usually part of the communicative background of an utterance, while PCIs are typically in the foreground. Observe the following example.

(13) A: Some of my ideas were incorporated into the paper.
        (+> Not all off A's ideas were incorporated into the paper)

    B: ??Oh, that's a shame!
        (= It's a shame that not all of A's ideas were accepted)

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[15] In a recent analysis, Hansen and Waltereit (2005) claim that the three-stage model of semantic change represented in the work of Levinson (1995, 2000) and Traugott and Dasher (2002)—i.e. PCI > GCI > coded meaning—is actually a rare exception in language change rather than the norm. Other patterns, such as GCI > PCI > coded meaning or simply PCI > coded meaning, are also attested.

It is generally accepted that one example of a Generalized Conversational Implicature arises with quantifiers like *some*. The implication that arises with *some* is indicated below A's statement following '+>'; namely, *some* implicates, by convention, *not all*. If this is an example of a GCI and GCIs are normally in the background of the communicative content of an utterance, then the oddity of B's statement is accounted for since presumably the statement is lamenting the ideas that were not incorporated (i.e. the implicated *not all* in the background) rather than those that were (i.e. in the foreground).

The utility of this approach for the current issue is that the presuppositions related to the perfect can also be described as occupying either the fore or background of the communicative content of a perfect. Moreover, our assumption about where these two elements fit into the meaning structure of the perfect bears directly on how they interact which context in the process of semantic change. To more precisely explain these ideas, I turn now to a description of the interaction of foregrounded and backgrounded elements in the evolution of the perfect from its original resultative source.

5.2.3.1 Evolution of the Spanish perfect

Detges (2000) argues that the evolution of resultative constructions is a manifestation of the general tendency of speaker's attitudes coming to be encoded as part of the meaning of a form (cf. Traugott 1995 and Carey 1995). The first part of Detges' proposal concerns the evolution of resultative constructions in Spanish, English and Portuguese. He provides the following examples from Latin.

(14) Episcopum … invitatum habes
      bishop:ACC   invite:PP have:2
      a. Relevant State Reading:
          'You have the bishop as your invited guest.'
      b. Past Event Reading:
          'Somebody—maybe you, maybe someone else—invited the bishop to your
          house.'
                                                              (Detges 2000:348-349)

(15) Manum levatam   habeo
      hand   raise:PP have:1
      a. Perfect Reading:
          'I have my hand raised.'
                                          (Roca Pons 1958:108 *apud* Detges 2000:349)

Detges claims that in Latin the development of a resultative construction began in cases
such as (14), later giving rise to perfect interpretations as in example (15). The resultative
construction was licensed by the presence of a result state and used in much the same
way as resultative constructions in Modern English, *I have the thesis finished*, or Modern
Spanish *Tengo la tesis terminada*. It is generally accepted that the perfect in Spanish
evolved from the type of constructions shown in (14) and (15) (Harris 1982). Detges goes
to great lengths to motivate the need for an intermediate step between the resultative >
perfect development. He labels this step as Resultative II and characterizes it as a
construction "symbolising the present result of some past event whose subject is
systematically identical with the AGENT of the PAST EVENT" (2000:350). The Resultative
I construction, on the other hand, as represented in (14), does not necessarily entail
identity between the subject of the present result and the agent of the past event, as in the
interpretation described in (14b). The change from Resultative I to Resultative II
constructions is motivated, according to Detges, by manipulation of rhetorical strategies,
namely the presentation of the speaker as "the author of an achievement relevant to the

moment of speech" (2000:360, all caps in original). So, speakers productively exploit components of the meaning of a form in order to serve some rhetorical function. Detges describes the shift from resultative to perfect thusly:

> Change from resultative to perfect is metonymic. This means that the concept of PAST EVENT, which is already attached to the resultative construction as contiguous background knowledge, is shifted into the foreground while the old foreground concept PRESENT RESULT is not dropped altogether but becomes one of many other background concepts. (2000:361, all caps in original)

Detges follows Koch (1999) in his notion of metonymy as a foreground/background effect. This process is akin to the metonymic process of adopting a word that refers only to a subpart of some object as the name of the entire object—e.g. Modern English *fire* from Latin *focus* meaning 'fireplace'. We might represent the proposal made by Detges schematically as in Figure 5.1 below.

	RESULTATIVE II	**PERFECT**
FOREGROUND	PRESENT RESULT	PAST EVENT
BACKGROUND	PAST EVENT	$\left\{ \begin{array}{c} \text{PRESENT RESULT} \\ \text{CONCEPT}_X \end{array} \right\}$

Figure 5.1. Semantic change in the shift from resultative to perfect

Figure 5.1 represents the change of foreground status of the elements in resultative and perfect constructions. Detges claims that the shift from Resultative to Perfect is a change in the foreground/background status of the present result and the past event so that the most prominent component of meaning of a perfect is the past event.

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Though I would argue that the core meaning of a perfect is not the past event but rather the relationship between the past event and the time of utterance, the current proposal does not hinge on the successful resolution of this point of departure. Regardless, this intuition is not captured under Detges' analysis.

Notice also that if we assume Detges' analysis, we still have to account for the eventual development of the perfect into a perfective, as in Modern French and, to some extent, in Peninsular Spanish. If we are to maintain the assignment of elements to the foreground or background, I argue that in a *pretérito* the past event is a foregrounded part of the meaning structure. So in the change from perfect to perfective the past event retains its status as a foreground element. To be fair, Detges does not claim that a switch in the background/foreground status of meaning components is required in the process of semantic change. Nevertheless, if we are to conserve the spirit of his proposal, we would have to commit ourselves to the assumption that at least one of the meaning components does indeed change and that this component must come from either the list of foregrounded concepts or backgrounded ones.[16]

5.2.3.2 Presuppositions in semantic change

Returning to the notions of relevance, both discourse related and temporal (§5.2.1 and §5.2.2), we can see that, if the presuppositions related with the present tense and the perfect can be treated as GCIs, and thus part of the communicative background of an utterance, then it may also be possible to model them as part of the process of semantic change. Let us focus specifically on the shift between perfects and perfectives.

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[16] Of course, it is possible that what we are observing in the evolution from perfect to perfective is not grammaticalization, *per se*, but rather a type of default setting in which case the interplay between backgrounded and foregrounded meaning elements could be altered (see Footnote 7 in Chapter 3).

To review, the component meanings of a perfect and a *pretérito* can be represented as follows:

(16) Juan ha llegado.
  'Juan has arrived.'
  i. **Foreground**: the event of Juan's having arrived (i.e. the past event)

  ii. **Background**: a. Juan's arrival occurred sometime in the recent past
          (contribution of present tense)
         b. Juan's arrival is relevant to the discourse structure,
          i.e. John is still 'here'
          (contribution of perfect)

(17) Juan llegó.
  'Juan arrived.'
  i. **Foreground:** the event of Juan's having arrived

  ii. **Background:** boundedness of the event (??)

With both the perfect in (16) and the *pretérito* in (17), the foreground of the communicative content is the occurrence of the past event. The perfect additionally presupposes both discourse and temporal relevance, shown as background meaning in (16). With the *pretérito*, discerning the communicative background is not at clear since there are no analogous presuppositions related to a past perfective.[17] We may assume that aspectual features like boundedness occupy this position. Evidence for this assumption can be seen in the interpretation of atelic predicates with the *pretérito*, as in *Clara estuvo enfermo ayer* 'Clara was sick yesterday'. The interpretation that generally arises in this type of example is that Clara is no longer ill at the moment of speech, though this is not part of the truth-conditional content of the *pretérito*—e.g. *Clara estuvo enfermo ayer pero no sé si todavía está* 'Clara was sick yesterday but I don't know if she still is now'.

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[17] It is a commonly held view in semantic theories that tenses presupposed a temporal location (see Partee 1973, 1984, Abusch 1997, and Sauerland 2002). Thus, the proffered content with a past tense is the existence of a reference time and the presupposed content is the past location of that reference time.

For now I will have little to say about the backgrounded content of the *pretérito* and will concentrate primarily on describing how the meaning components of the perfect develop.

The interaction of the presuppositional meanings of the present tense and that of the perfect gives rise to a number of possibilities. As with the shift from resultative to perfect described in Table 5.1, so too can we represent the change from perfect to perfective.

	PERFECT	PERFECTIVE
FOREGROUND	PAST EVENT	PAST EVENT
BACKGROUND	1. TEMPORAL PS (PRESENT TENSE) 2. RELEVANCE PS (PERFECT)	⟹ ??

Figure 5.2. Semantic change in the shift from perfect to perfective

As expected, the foregrounded element in the meaning of the past perfective (*pretérito*) would continue to be the past event. What is lost in this development is the observed connection between the past event and the moment of speech, which is conventionally presupposed by the present tense. Thus, without this restriction, we would expect for increased compatibility with definite past adverbials. In Peninsular and Peruvian Spanish, we have observed greater co-occurrence with adverbials that are generally disallowed with typical perfect constructions. Therefore, one hypothesis for this distribution is that the temporal presupposition of the present tense, as reflected in the Present Perfect, has partially eroded—in the Peninsular case this erosion would result in a the gradual

acceptance of adverbs indicating a definite but recent past situations while in the Peruvian case the erosion would allow for any type of definite past situation. I will evaluate this hypothesis shortly. Before then, let me make the comment that if total erosion of the present tense (and consequently its XN requirement) is required for the evolution from perfect to perfective to be complete then we would expect that other aspects of the meaning of the perfect tied to the present tense (e.g. Continuative uses) would be eroded as well. With the French *passé composé*, we have noted that not only is it used for all past situations (remote or recent) but is further incompatible with a Continuative interpretation. French then appears to represent the endpoint of the attrition of the contribution of the present tense to a present perfect (an idea consonant with the proposals made by Harris 1982 and Fleischman 1983).

Another possibility that arises under the current analysis is that instead of losing (or reorganizing) the components of the meaning of a perfect related to the present tense (i.e. the XN presupposition) it is actually the relevance presupposition that is eroded. Schwenter (1994a) makes a claim along these lines noting that the development of perfective functions in the Peninsular perfect arises via the absorption of the temporal context which generally accompanies the perfect (i.e. temporally recent contexts) (see §3.3.1.2). The explanation for this type of contextual assimilation is that "frequent reporting of recent past events as currently relevant leads to the inference that the Present Perfect refers to the recent past, with the concurrent erosion of the current relevance meaning" (Bybee et al. 1994: 87). Once the notion of relevance is eliminated, then the primary distinction between the perfect and the *pretérito* is no longer visible and the two forms show a greater degree of functional overlap. The hypothesis that emerges from this

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option is that the shift from perfect to perfective is precipitated by an erosion of the relevance requirement. Accompanying the development of perfectivity would, in some cases, be increased co-occurrence of the perfect with definite past denoting adverbials. In explaining the synchronic distribution of the perfect in both Peninsular and Peruvian Spanish, it may be argued that loss of the relevance presupposition allows for increased adverbial compatibility.

5.2.4   Two models of semantic change

Thus far, we have been discussing the variable maintenance or erosion of the presuppositions associated with the perfect as a function of the interaction between these contextual requirements and the discourse context. According to Schwenter (1994a), loss of the relevance requirement is a prerequisite for the development of perfective functions. On the other hand, Escobar (1997) makes the claim that increased perfectivity with a perfect results from the erosion of the requirement of temporal recency associated with the meaning of the perfect. Though she does not discuss it in these terms, the requirement that the event in a perfect be 'recent' can be viewed as an effect of the XN presupposition imposed by the present tense. It would seem that we are at odds in reconciling these two views given that they propose distinct mechanisms related to the development of perfectivity in perfects. I propose, however, that these two claims can be resolved under the assumption that while the processes pertaining to the development of perfectivity in the Peninsular and Peruvian cases may be linked to contextual features (i.e. presuppositions) of the perfect, they need not be linked to the same feature. Under the analysis of the two presuppositional features of the perfect proposed by Portner (2003)

and applied to the Spanish perfect in the previous section, I hypothesize that the semantic change with the Peninsular perfect occurs as the result of the erosion of both the relevance and temporal requirements. With the perfect in Peruvian Spanish, the notion of relevance is actually extended to include other types of epistemic relations (e.g. evidentiality).

Importantly, both of the Peninsular and Peruvian cases discussed here fall within the realm of aspected trajectories described in Bybee at al. (1994) as possible in the grammaticalization of a perfect (or anterior in their terminology). They describe the path of the group of perfects with *be* or *have* auxiliaries, as is the case with Spanish *haber*, as possibly giving rise to either an evidential construction indicating indirect evidence or a simple perfective past. Note Figure 5.3.

'be' / 'have'

⇩

RESULTATIVE

⇙ ⇘

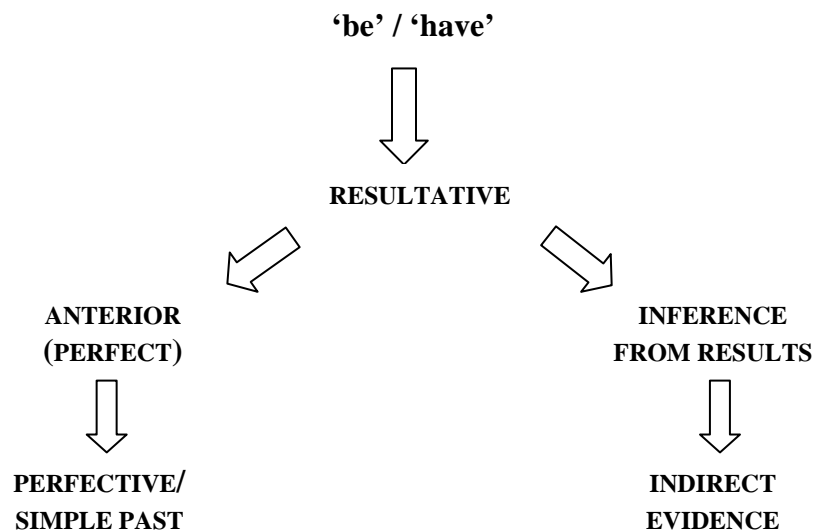|	
ANTERIOR (PERFECT)	**INFERENCE FROM RESULTS**
⇩	⇩
PERFECTIVE/ SIMPLE PAST	**INDIRECT EVIDENCE**

Figure 5.3. Paths of semantic change for 'be' / 'have' constructions
(adapted from Bybee et al. 1994:105)

In the previous chapter, we entertained the notion that increased co-occurrence of definite past adverbials with the Present Perfect in Peruvian Spanish was motivated by the influence of bilingualism or language contact (see Klee & Ocampo 1995, Escobar 1997, and Sánchez 2004). One important concern, however, was the observation that these innovative uses expressed meanings akin to direct evidentials, rather than the indirect evidence implications noted by Bybee et al. in Figure 5.3. In Inuit, for instance, the word *sima* is used to introduce a past event with a continuing result, further indicating that the speaker did not witness the event first hand (Fortescue 1980 *apud* Bybee et al. 1994:96). *Sima* can, however, be used to indicate a past evidence inferred on the basis of present evidence as well as to indicate reliability of a source. In example (18), the speaker refers to a death using the *sima*. Note the compatibility of the definite past 'at three o'clock'.

(18) nalunaaqutaq pingasut tuqu- sima- vuq
clock   three   die-   apparently   3.s.IND
'He died at three o'clock.' (+> speaker did not witness event)
            (Fortescue 1980:294 *apud* Bybee et al. 1994:97, example 61)

Upon further scrutiny, the example in (18) appears to exhibit some formal resemblance to the cases noted in the previous chapter in which the perfect in Peruvian perfect displays co-occurrence with adverbials denoting a definite past. In fact, it could be argued that, like the Inuit example, the perfects in the innovative cases described in §4.2.1 actually indicate something about the reliability of the speaker's source of information, a function which is commonly attributed to the system of enclitics in Quechua (see Faller 2002 and Sánchez 2004). Hence, my observation that the purported

direct evidential uses of the Peruvian perfect differentiate it from the path described by Bybee et al may not be crucial after all.

5.2.4.1 Relevance and the Peninsular perfect

The resulting meaning of the perfect in Peninsular Spanish arises as a result of the (complex) interaction of the presuppositions associated with the present and the perfect. As argued by Schwenter (1994a), crucial to the development of hodiernal uses of the perfect is the loss of relevance implications due to contextual overuse. This process is motivated by speaker interaction. Recall that present perfects, as opposed to simple pasts, are used to indicate discourse relevance. A speaker considering these two options chooses the perfect in those cases where he/she intends to imply some 'extra' connection between the proposition and the topic of discussion. The assumption made by the speaker is that the hearer will in turn interpret the perfect-marked events as topical. As the perfect becomes more frequent in a specific context (or set of contexts), especially in reference to recent events (e.g. those occurring in the 'today' interval), the hearer tends to downgrade the interpretation of relevance in those situations.

The fact that the Peninsular perfect can be used with sequenced 'today' narratives provides evidence for this trend. Perfective pasts are generally used to report the occurrence of some discrete event, which is what makes them amenable to the construction of sequence in narratives. Bybee et al. claim that perfectives, unlike perfects, describe an event "for its own sake" and thus do not indicate any relation to an additional reference time (1994:54). Narratives represent the typical case in which events are reported as subordinate to some specific time frame but without any added implication of

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topicality (other than the fact that they are part of the ongoing series of events). That perfects can be used in such situations is indicative of the weakening of the relevance constraint. Overt sequence of perfect-marked events as indicated by temporal adverbials such as *después* 'afterwards' (versus a simple list-type interpretation) further supports this claim.

In addition to the weakened relevance implication, the perfect in Peninsular Spanish also undergoes attrition of the presupposition of temporal relevance associated with the present. Evidence of this development can be observed in the increased compatibility of the perfect with definite past adverbials, as in example (19).

(19) Martina ha llegado esta mañana a las tres.
'Martina arrived (*lit.* has arrived) this morning at three.'

To review, Portner's account of these co-occurrence patterns was that adverbials like *esta mañana a las tres* 'this morning at three o'clock', as in (19) below, contradict the requirement imposed by the present tense that the event occur in an interval which includes the moment of speech (i.e. an XN interval). With the Peninsular perfect, however, definite past modification is allowed, but only in certain contexts—namely with reference to a recent past. This trend indicates that the presupposition associated with the present tense, while not lost completely, is undergoing steady attrition. The gradual nature of this trend is further evidenced by the variable acceptance of pre-'today' adverbials noted earlier in this chapter (and in Chapter 3).

In sum, my claim is that the perfectivity noted with the Present Perfect in Peninsular Spanish results from the gradual and parallel attrition of the requirements of topical and temporal relevance. What is innovative about my account is the claim that

this process, as exemplified by the Peninsular situation, arises (i) in the contextual weakening of background components of the meaning of the perfect and (ii) at the interface of presupposed content of the perfect and the discourse context. To model this progression, I provide Figure 5.4 below.

	PERFECT	PERFECTIVE PERFECT
FOREGROUND	PAST EVENT	PAST EVENT
BACKGROUND	**1.** TEMPORAL PS (PRESENT TENSE) ⟹	**1.** TEMPORAL PS (*weakened*)
	2. RELEVANCE PS (PERFECT) ⟹	**2.** RELEVANCE PS (*lost in some contexts*)

Figure 5.4. Semantic change in the shift from perfect to perfective
in Peninsular Spanish

Crucial to the development of the Present Perfect in Spanish is the observation that erosion of the two relevance presuppositions (i.e. discourse and temporal) work in tandem, limiting perfective uses of the perfect to specific contexts. I propose that this type of semantic change is more generally representative of the tendency for Romance perfects to develop into perfectives. Dahl (1985) notes that in the shift from archetypical perfect meaning to perfective, the French *passé composé* passed through the same stages of development, subject to similar temporal restrictions. Thus, the prediction made by this analysis is that the features of hodiernal reference and narrative functions exhibited by the Peninsular perfect are necessarily concomitant with the process of aorist drift in Romance. The corollary to this claim is that cases that appear to be analogously

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perfective, as with the Peruvian perfect, are in fact not undergoing the attested Romance development. In the next section I offer an explanation for the expansion of these perfective-type uses of the perfect in Peruvian Spanish.

5.2.4.1 Relevance and the Peruvian perfect

As observed in §4.2 of the previous chapter, Escobar claims that the notion of present relevance in the perfect has extended along spatio-temporal lines as a result of contact with Quechua. She argues that the extended system of spatial reference in Quechua has influenced the semantic development of the present perfect, the *préterito*, and the pluperfect in bilingual speakers. We have observed that bilingual speakers use the Present Perfect in Peruvian Spanish in ways that seem to indicate a more flexible notion of relevance, one that extends beyond mere discourse topicality. In Figure 5.5, I summarize the set of innovative uses of the Peruvian perfect described in §4.2.
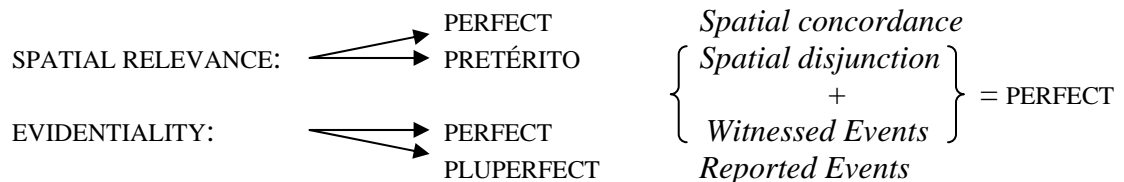

Figure 5.5. Summary of 'innovative' uses of the Present Perfect in Peruvian Spanish

What is common to all of these so-called novel uses is the possibility of co-occurrence of the perfect with definite past adverbials. In both the previous chapter and the current one, I have presented evidence that supports the claim that this option is available to the speakers of Peruvian Spanish. Now, if increased adverbial compatibility

is a function of the erosion of the presupposition associated with the present tense, as claimed with the Peninsular case, then it may be the case that a parallel account will adequately account for the Peruvian data. It turns out, however, that the Peruvian perfect, unlike the Peninsular one, maintains many of the uses commonly linked to the influence of the present tense auxiliary, such as availability with Continuative interpretations. In the data survey in Chapter 4, I argued that Peruvian speakers did not disfavor the perfect for use in indicated a continuing event or state. In Peninsular Spanish, the present tense is the preferred form for this function. It would appear then that the present tense maintains a stronger presence in the meaning structure of the Peruvian perfect than it does in the Peninsular case. This observation is also in line with our claim that the Present Perfect in Peruvian Spanish is representative of the Group I norm.

Therefore, I propose that the increased co-occurrence with past denoting adverbials in Peruvian Spanish arises as a result of the extension of the presupposition of discourse relevance. Relevance, as described by Portner, is an epistemic notion, based on the speaker's subjective determination of the relationship between a proposition and the discourse topic. Similarly, the uses of the perfect to indicate spatial/temporal relevance or evidentiality are also epistemic in nature. What happens in this process is that speakers adopt a wider concept of relevance, one that is sensitive to notions beyond mere topicality. In discourse terms, relevance arises in reference to events that are topical, which in turn are usually those that are recent. Thus, it is not by chance that the perfect is commonly understood to refer to recent events. If one's notion of relevance extends beyond topicality, a wider range of temporal contexts is also available. In other words, a speaker who wishes to indicate spatial relevance with an event occurring *last year* may

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refer to the event with the present perfect. Moreover, the fact that this type of relevance is available allows for modification with definite past adverbials. The increased co-occurrence with heretofore incompatibility adverbial modifiers is licensed by the widened notion of relevance.

Recall from the previous chapter that Hernández (2004) presented examples of adverbial co-occurrence with the perfect in Salvadoran Spanish similar to those in Peruvian Spanish. Note example (20), repeated from Chapter 4.

(20) no casamos en el noventa y ocho y…nos **hemos separado** <u>en el noventa y nueve</u>.
'we got married in 1982 and…we separated (*lit.* have separated) in 1999.'
(Sal-2000 #1-A RA from Hernández 2004:42, example (27))

Hernández claims that these types of examples often occur in contexts in which the speaker discusses an event that is deemed especially significant. The context in (20) would represent such a case since marriages and divorces are generally viewed as particularly important events in the realm of human experience. The signaling of a significant experience, like discourse relevance or evidentiality, is an epistemic consideration and thus one that, under the current analysis, could be subsumed as part of the relevance presupposition. The point that I am developing here is that the relevance presupposition associated with the perfect is sensitive to a variety of factors that influence a speaker's understanding of the relationship between the event denoted by the perfect and other, perhaps language-external, considerations. This susceptibility to interpretation makes it possible to reanalyze relevance in a number of ways, including those mentioned in relation to the Peruvian and Salvadoran perfects.

In Figure 5.6, I present a model of semantic change in the Peruvian perfect that summarizes the proposed hypothesis.

	PERFECT	**PERFECTIVE PERFECT**
FOREGROUND	PAST EVENT	PAST EVENT
BACKGROUND	**1.** TEMPORAL PS (PRESENT TENSE) ⟹	**1.** TEMPORAL PS (*maintained*)
	2. RELEVANCE PS (PERFECT) ⟹	**2.** RELEVANCE PS (*extended*)

Figure 5.6. Semantic change in the shift from perfect to perfective in Peruvian Spanish

Figure 5.6 represents that claim that the semantic change with Peruvian perfect arises via the expansion of the epistemic domains of the associated relevance presupposition, rather than with through erosion. In Bybee et al.'s proposal, they describe the development of evidentials from perfects, as in the Inuit case, without the added component of language contact. Without entering too deeply into the implications of the situation of bilingualism in Peru and its effects on Spanish grammar, we may expect that the outcome of the perfect to evidential path as observed by Bybee et al. is altered in situations where language external pressures, such as language contact, are ubiquitous. Hence, in a typical perfect-to-evidential path, the resulting meaning of a construction may indeed be limited to indirect evidential uses, as proposed by Bybee et al. If, on the other hand, the process is subject to factors whose influences are widely observable in other parts of the grammar (see Klee & Ocampo 1995), the resulting meaning of the perfect may include variations not predicted or described by the Bybee et al. treatment. So, while my hypothesis does

not contradict that of Bybee et al., it does suggest that more work is needed to account for different language-external factors in the change from perfect to evidential.

5.2.5 Summary and discussion

In this section, I have argued that the mechanisms responsible for the development of perfective functions of the Present Perfect in Peninsular and Peruvian Spanish represent the influence of distinct, context-linked processes related to the speaker's subjective interpretation of the relationship between the denoted event and discourse situation. To summarize these claims I present the following model.

| PENINSULAR SPANISH | PERFECT | PERUVIAN SPANISH |

aorist drift — *subjectification*

| PERFECTIVE/ SIMPLE PAST | | EVIDENTIAL USES |

Associated Features:

1. Limited co-occurrence with definite past adverbials

2. Compatibility with narrative sequence

3. Limited pre-'today' uses

4. Limited Continuative uses

Associated Features:

1. General co-occurrence with definite past adverbials

2. Variability of relevance implications

3. Maintenance of Continuative uses

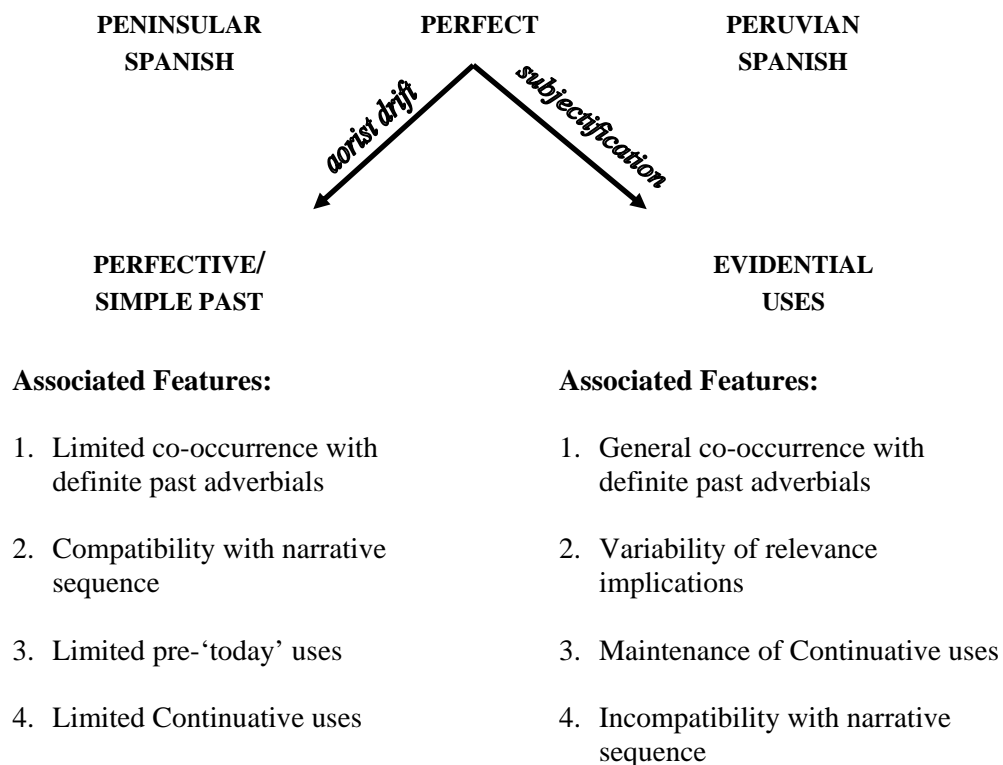4. Incompatibility with narrative sequence

Figure 5.7. Model of variable semantic change in the shift from perfect to perfective across Spanish dialects

As argued in this section, the model given in Figure 5.7 shows (i) that perfects in Peninsular and Peruvian Spanish are following distinct paths of evolution and (ii) that the variable interaction of the features discussed throughout this thesis provides evidence for this distinction. Peninsular Spanish exemplifies the trend of perfect to perfective attested in other Romance languages—i.e. the aorist drift (see Harris 1982). To describe the development of the Peruvian perfect, I have chosen the label 'subjectification', which, according to Traugott (1985), is the process of diachronic change whereby "meanings become increasingly based in the speaker's belief state/attitude toward the proposition" (35). Without entering into the specific details of Traugott's proposal, this notion captures the observation that the increased perfectivity noted in the Peruvian case results from the widening of the relevance requirement to include notions like spatial location and source or information, both of which could be considered characteristic of the increased involvement of the speaker's belief state. Note that the development of the Peninsular perfect described in Figure 5.7 is antithetical to the notion of subjectification since it is primarily exemplified by the loss of the subjective notion of relevance. The aorist drift, then, reflects the increasing attrition of the speaker's attitude toward the event in question. Evidence for this claim can be found in the French periphrastic perfective past, the *passé composé*, which, despite its origin as a perfect construction, carries none of the attendant relevance implications.

Finally, one potential issue arising from this treatment is that it ignores the possibility that the perfect distributions observed in Peninsular and Peruvian Spanish derive not from the same ostensible archetypal perfect source (as depicted in Figure 5.7) but rather from different stages of development. I have argued that the Peruvian perfect

belongs to the set of Group I dialects, along with Mexican and Argentine Spanish, and according to Harris' analysis of the development of the present perfect in Romance (see Table 1.1), these dialects are representative of a stage (i.e. Stage II) in which the perfect has yet to develop the full range of meanings generally associated with an prototypical perfect (see Comrie 1976). Consequently, we might argue that the increasingly perfective perfect in Peninsular Spanish evolves from an already 'fully-developed' perfect (or anterior) construction while the Peruvian perfect actually develops from the Latin American prototype, which unlike its Peninsular counterpart is not a full-fledged perfect. The implications for this alteration are important since some of the observed distributional distinctions could be result of variable input—i.e. a Stage III perfect versus a Stage II one. Nevertheless, I maintain that the observed distinction in perfective uses of the perfects in these two dialects is most accurately modeled as the variable maintenance or weakening of backgrounded meaning components (i.e. presuppositions) and that these processes affect the direction of semantic change regardless of the influences of the points of departure.

5.3   Conclusions

The objectives in this chapter have been two-fold. First, in §5.1, I presented and analyzed the results of the sentence judgment task for the purposes of teasing apart the distribution of the Present Perfect in both Peninsular and Peruvian Spanish. The results of this endeavor indicated that while both dialects demonstrate increased overlap between the perfect and the *pretérito* the contexts which favor the extension of the perfect into perfective uses are distinct between the two dialect groups. This analysis offers empirical

corroboration for Howe and Schwenter's (2003) claim that the development of perfectivity in the perfects of these two dialects does not represent a unified process. That is, it is not the case that the perfective uses of the perfect in Peninsular and Peruvian Spanish are equivalent.

Additionally, I have presented evidence supporting my hypothesis concerning the distinct processes responsible for the development of perfectivity in these two dialects. Namely, I argued that the Peninsular Spanish perfect is undergoing the attested perfect to perfective shift, as indicated by the gradually increasing acceptance of definite past adverbials and the compatibility with narrative sequence. The Peruvian perfect, in contrast, is not following the trend of aorist drift but rather has undergone a reorganization of the notion of relevance, evidenced by the various 'innovative' uses of the perfect. In both cases, the mechanisms involved are motivated by discourse factors sensitive to the speaker/hearer negotiation of relevance. Though the claims in §5.2 are largely exploratory at this point, I feel that they offer a number of fruitful avenues for future exploration, not the least of which is determining the influence of factors such as language contact to the attested development of evidential or perfective meaning from resultative or perfect constructions.

CHAPTER 6

CONCLUSION

Throughout this dissertation, I have presented evidence to support various hypotheses concerning the distribution of the Present Perfect across dialects of Spanish. The major contribution of this work has been the proposal and application of a set of cross-linguistic features characteristic of perfect constructions and its application to the description the perfect in Spanish. As demonstrated in Chapter 2, the Spanish perfect shares a number of formal characteristics with the perfects of English and German, for instance. Yet, there are a number of features that are not shared by these particular examples—e.g. co-occurrence with definite past adverbials. The central contribution of this thesis is the proposal of a typology related to the set of features attested in both perfect and perfective constructions cross-linguistically. The application of this typological characterization has allowed us to describe the behavior of the Spanish perfect both in comparison to other languages as well as among specific dialects.

In these final sections, I summarize the principal claims developed in this thesis, describing their application to the study of the Present Perfect in Spanish. I begin in §6.1

with an overview of the proposed feature typology. The features are categorized as to their respective compatibilities with perfects and perfectives. In §6.2 I discuss the ramifications of this feature-based classification on the description of the Spanish perfect. Both its cross-linguistic and cross-dialectal distributions are summarized. Finally, in §6.3 I offer some final remarks and discussion concerning unresolved issues raised by this analysis.

6.1   Feature Typology

The key component presented in this analysis has been the set of features used to distinguished perfect constructions across languages and dialects. My objective with this approach was to combine the claims made by Comrie (1976) (and others) regarding the meanings of a prototypical perfect with the topics often discussed in relation to the formal semantic and syntactic distribution of the perfect. The various perfect types, as they are called by Comrie, are claimed to be part of the repertoire of perfect constructions that fit the proposed archetype. In this analysis, however, we have observed that the distribution of perfect types is by no means consistent across languages with morphosyntactically similar perfect constructions. For one simple example, recall from Chapter 2 that the perfect constructions in Portuguese (= (1a)), Spanish (= (1b)), and French (= (1c)) show varying capacities in the possibility of expressing either Continuative or Experiential interpretations.

(1) a. Marisa tem estado alegre.   CONTINUATIVE/*EXPERIENTIAL
     b. Marisa ha estado alegre.   CONTINUATIVE/EXPERIENTIAL
     c. Marisa a été heureuse.   *CONTINUATIVE/EXPERIENTIAL
         'Mary has been happy.'

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Of course, as noted in various places throughout this treatment, the French *passé composé*, which can hardly be said to typify an archetypal perfect construction, evolved from a perfect that did exhibit the expected range of meanings. Thus, in keeping with the comparison of forms exhibiting the AUX + PAST PARTICIPLE construction, it would seem that we need not go beyond Romance to find cases which demonstrate variation in perfect types. Nevertheless, additional data were presented that described the situation of these perfects cross-linguistically. In Bulgarian and Modern Greek (as shown in §2.2.1.3) the absence of Continuative and Experiential uses, respectively, is indicative of the type attested cross-linguistic variation.

Related to the issue of perfect types is the so-called Continuative/Experiential (or Universal/Existential) ambiguity commonly discussed in the semantic literature.[1] Though this issue is further important to the cross-linguistic (and cross-dialectal) instantiation of perfect types, I have avoided a detailed semantic proposal for this situation in Spanish, mainly because it is outside the scope of the objectives of my typological approach. I have nonetheless capitalized on the expression of Continuative interpretations as a measure of perfectivity, arguing that perfects in Spanish that show increased overlap with the *pretérito* should disfavor this type of use. Though the implementation of this claim

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[1] In the semantic literature, the labor and machinery that have been devoted to addressing this question is considerable, and what emerges from the cacophony of analyses are two basic theoretical camps. The first group represents the claim that these distinct readings (among others) are derivable via pragmatic interpretations of a basic perfect meaning (among the members of this group are Reichenbach 1947, Comrie 1976, Inoue 1978, McCoard 1978, Richards 1982, Heny 1982, Dowty 1982, Partee 1984, Binnick 1991, Hornstein 1990, Kamp & Reyle 1993, Klein 1994, and Portner 2003). The competing theories maintain that these types of perfects are indeed semantically distinct (see McCawley 1971, 1981, Mittwoch 1988, Michaelis 1994, and (to some degree) Kiparsky 2002). With the exception of Kiparsky (2002), there are relatively few analyses that attempt to argue for separate semantic status for the Perfects of Result and Recent Past. Though I take no particular stance with respect to the Spanish perfect, an analysis of this type is certainly needed.

still requires some refinement, the evidence presented suggests that it can be useful in further describing the distribution of a perfect construction.

In addition to the Comrie type-based analysis, I surveyed and analyzed a number of other features related to the semantic and syntactic features of the perfect. These included the co-occurrence patterns with definite past adverbials and the distribution of the perfect in sequenced narratives. The latter of these two features also addresses some of the pragmatic issues, namely those related to topicality. In §2.3 I surveyed some the syntactic features of the perfect in Spanish, describing properties such as auxiliary selection, participial agreement, and interpolation of object pronouns. The results of this review corroborate the claim made by Hopper and Traugott (2003) that grammaticalization of a form can be measured in part by features of its syntax. For Spanish, the AUX + PAST PARTICIPLE structure is mostly fixed, suggesting a more advanced stage of development than the Portuguese perfect, for instance, which allows for greater flexibility concerning the interpolation of pronouns and the auxiliary/past participle ordering.

To summarize the feature-based analysis, I present Table 6.1. With Perfect Types, we have observed that Continuative uses, which are by nature imperfective, are available with prototypical perfects but not with past perfectives (e.g. the *pretérito*). The Hot News use, which is similar to the Recent Past or Experiential interpretation of the perfect, is a bit different since it is subject to a distinct a type licensing constraint. More specifically, a prototypical perfect is amenable to this type of use; consequently, languages that have perfects of this type (e.g. English) make extensive use of the perfect in these situations. I have indicated in Table 6.1 that a perfective is disfavored with this use. What I mean by

this claim is that given the availability of a perfect that is predisposed to expressing this sort of interpretation use of a perfective past would be less likely. Nevertheless, it is certainly possible to find such uses of a perfective in the media.

Features	PERFECT	PERFECTIVE
1. *Perfect Types*		
a. Continuative	AVAILABLE	UNAVAILABLE
b. Hot News	FAVORED	DISFAVORED
2. *Adverbial co-occurrence* (Definite Past Adverbials)	DISFAVORED	FAVORED
3. *Use in sequenced narratives*	DISFAVORED	FAVORED

Table 6.1. Feature comparison by form

With the two additional features, adverbial co-occurrence and use in sequenced narratives, the distinctions observed between perfect and perfective forms is more clear-cut. Archetypal perfects tend to disfavor definite past denoting adverbials and sequencing effects. Perfectives on the other hand are readily compatible with these factors. A theoretical account of these distinctions as they relate more generally to the semantics of tense and aspect should be capable of accounting for this observed distribution of features. Moreover, such an analysis would potentially have ramifications regarding the manifestation of properties relating to tense and aspect cross-linguistically, offering some insight into the variation observed in Chapter 2.

6.2   Perfect features across Spanish

The question that arises from the review presented in the previous section is the following: what are the features that are core to meaning of a perfect cross-linguistically and at what point does the exclusion of one (or more) feature(s) prohibit inclusion in this class of structures? In Spanish this question is particularly interesting because of the relationship between the Present Perfect and other forms in the grammar—i.e. the *pretérito* and the Present Tense. In English, for instance, the perfect and the simple past overlap in the expected functions, specifically those related to description of an event located in the recent past. There are no shared functions, however, between the Present Perfect and the Present Tense in English. The semantic overlap between these three forms in English can be represented as in Figure 6.1 below.

The ovals in the figure indicate the semantic space occupied by the particular form. There are two important details to note about the English situation. First, there is no overlap between the perfect and the present tense, whereas there are situations in which either a perfect or a simple past could be used. Such a situation is given in example (2). Crucially, I am not claiming that (2a) and (2b) are equivalent, but rather they can be said to compete for use in some circumstances. No such competition is attested between the Present Perfect and the Present Tense in English.

(2)   Recent Past
    a.   John has just arrived.
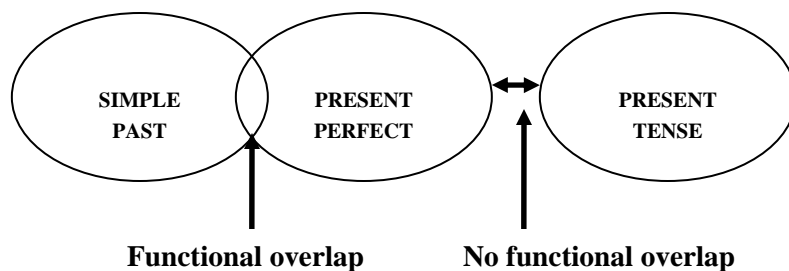   b.   John just arrived.

Figure 6.1. Overlapping semantic spaces with the Present Perfect, Present Tense, and Simple Past in English

With Spanish the picture is different. Figure 6.2 depicts the situation of semantic overlap attested among the Present Perfect, Present Tense, and *pretérito* in Spanish.
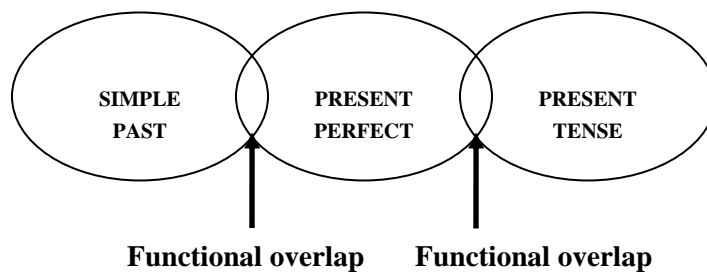

Figure 6.2. Overlapping semantic spaces with the Present Perfect, Present Tense, and the *pretérito* in Spanish

As shown in Figure 6.2, there are two possible areas of overlap, correlating to shared functions between the perfect and the *pretérito* and moreover between the perfect and the present tense. Examples of these domains of overlap are provided in (3) and (4).

(3)   Recent Past[2]

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[2] Observe too that the there is a construction Spanish with the verb *acabar* 'to finish' in the present that indicates a recent past.

a. Juan recién ha llegado.
  'Juan has recently arrived.'
b. Juan recién llegó.
  'Juan arrived recently.'

(4) Continuative
a. María ha estado enferma desde el martes.
  'María has been sick since Tuesday.'
b. María está enferma desde el martes.
  'María is sick since Tuesday.'

Though I not have discussed this issue in detail, it can argued that different degrees of semantic overlap also influence the distribution of the perfect, both cross-linguistically and cross-dialectally. Consider the data presented in Chapter 2 pertaining to the perfect constructions in German and Portuguese. If we were to give the same depiction of semantic overlap to the distribution of the perfects, simple pasts, and present tenses in Portuguese, the result would indicate overlap only between the perfect and the present tense, both of which can be used to indicate a continuing state or event. The perfect in Portuguese cannot be used to indicate a recent past (see Schmitt 2001). For German, however, the perfect can refer to a recent or distant past, as can the simple past, as well as indicate the persistence of a state or event, along with the present tense (see Musan 2002). Thus, in terms of overlapping semantic spaces the situation in German is similar to that of Spanish.

Along with this comparison, it should also be noted that the perfect in German is also compatible with definite past adverbials (see Musan 2001 and von Stechow 2002). Though limited in scope, the perfects in Peninsular and Peruvian Spanish also co-occur with these types of adverbials. The perfect in the former cases is argued to be undergoing

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(i)   Juan acaba   de llegar.
        Juan finish:PP of arrive:INF
        'Juan just arrived / has just arrived.'

the attested change from perfect to perfective functions, with an associated increase in the frequency of use in comparison to the *pretérito* (see Chapter 3; see also Schwenter 1994a and Serrano 1994). For Peruvian Spanish, despite a higher frequency of perfects than in other Latin American dialects, the Present Perfect appears to only be encroaching on semantic domain of the *pretérito* in those past situations that are related via relevance (spatial, temporal, or discourse) or evidentiality (see Chapter 4). Beyond these uses, the perfect and the *pretérito* maintain their own spaces. I argue that the maintenance of the semantic spaces of the perfect and the *pretérito* in Peruvian Spanish (and perhaps other dialects with similar distributions) is what distinguishes it from its Latin American cohort, where the perfect is actually being displaced by the *pretérito*. Thus, the depiction in Figure 6.2 accurately represents the situation of functional overlap in Peruvian Spanish.

Returning to the Peninsular case, in Chapter 3 I proposed a categorization of Spanish perfects based on the feature typology developed in Chapter 2. The Peninsular dialects, at least those described as undergoing grammaticalization (e.g. Madrid, Valencia, and Alicante versus Galicia), made up Group II, while the Latin American dialects, as represented by Mexican (and Argentine) Spanish, represented Group I. What we can now observe is that these two groups represent distinct cases in which there is a reduction in the semantic overlap with another form. For Group I, the perfect has limited functions akin to those of the *pretérito*. With Group II perfects, the same is being observed with the present tense. This claim is portrayed in Figure 6.3.

Group I   PRETÉRITO   PRESENT PERFECT   PRESENT TENSE

Gradual Displacement   *Maintained overlap*

Group II   PRESENT TENSE   PRESENT PERFECT   PRETÉRITO
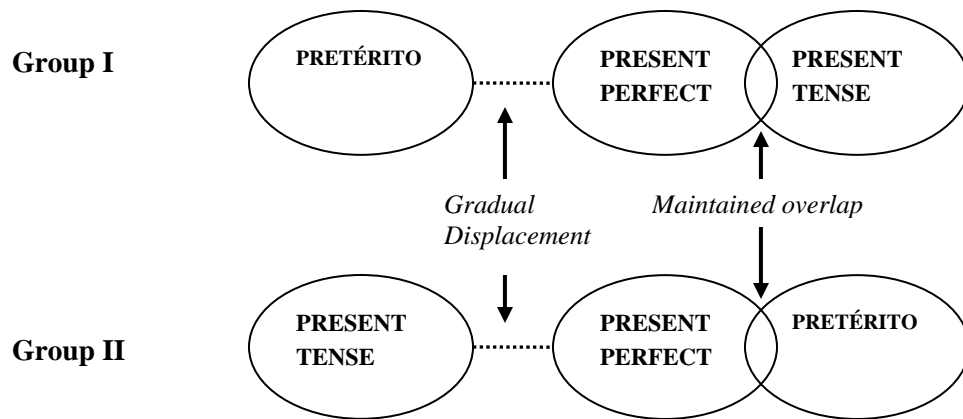
Figure 6.3. Proposed model for cross-dialectal semantic overlap

The situation depicted in Figure 6.3 summarizes the various claims made throughout this thesis. In reference to 'gradual displacement', I do wish to imply that the perfects in either Group I or Group II have completely shed themselves of overlap with the *pretérito* and the present tense, respectively. The model is intended to demonstrate the nature of the observed distribution across these dialects; more precisely, it captures the claim that the meaning of the Spanish Present Perfect is being subject to variable meaning restructuring resulting from the pressures that arise via semantic overlap with the *pretérito* and the Present Tense. Crucially, this type of reorganization of semantic spaces seems to be favored (or is perhaps exclusive to) languages in which the perfect demonstrates multiple points of overlap, as is the case in German and Spanish. The perfect in English (in the American or British cases described in §3.3.4), for instance, does not appear to be undergoing any process of grammaticalization analogous to the Spanish or German cases. This observation follows from the claim that increased functional overlap favors semantic change.

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Finally, at various point in the dissertation I discussed processes of semantic change as related to the distribution of the Spanish perfect across dialects, proposing in Chapter 5 two discourse-related mechanisms related to the development of perfectivity in Peninsular and Peruvian Spanish. Based on Figure 6.3, it might be argued that both Group I dialects and Group II dialects are actively undergoing grammaticalization with the distinction being the expected outcome—i.e. favoring of the *pretérito* with Group I and the perfect in Group II (see Schwenter and Torres Cacoullos 2005). In Chapter 3, I argued that the perfect in Peninsular Spanish is indeed undergoing semantic change, specifically the shift to perfectivity noted across Romance (see Harris 1982, Schwenter 1994a, and Squartini and Bertinetto 2000). Whether or not the Group I dialects can be described as undergoing an analogous but inverse restructuring is still an open question. I have defended the claim that the distribution of the features shown in Table 6.1 can be used to identify languages experiencing the aorist drift. The Peruvian perfect, which lacks the uses indicative of this shift (e.g. use in narratives and in hodiernal cases), was shown to not be following this trend. The question that remains is the following: is there an analogous trend affecting the Group I dialects (to which Peruvian Spanish belongs) and if so what are the features that characterize it? I suspect a negative answer to the first part of the question, though I will leave it to future research to determine the validity of my speculation and its implications for the second part of the question.

6.3   Future research

In my analysis I have raised several important empirical issues pertaining to the categorization of dialects with respect to their organization of meaning. In as much as possible, I have attempted to test my predictions through a variety of means (e.g. corpus

analysis, questionnaires, etc.). There still remain, however, some areas which could use some shoring, specifically concerning the claim made about the variable maintenance of Continuative uses of the Spanish perfect cross-dialectally. Additional evidence is needed to support this proposal, though I believe I have provided sufficient groundwork to at least warrant further investigation.

Furthermore, very little is actually understood about the formal semantic properties of the Spanish perfect, especially in comparison to what has been observed about perfect constructions in other languages, such as English and German. Much work in this area is needed to bring Spanish into the same sphere of rigorous semantic analysis. In light of the current analysis, this task will certainly be complex given range of distribution observed cross-dialectally. Recent work by Pancheva and von Stechow (2004), who compare the perfect in German and English, suggests that variation in the compatibility with definite past adverbials arises via the influence of semantic distinctions in the present tense cross-linguistically. Their proposal is intriguing since it offers a means of determining the contribution of both the present and the perfect to the meaning of a present perfect. Thus far, no such compositional analysis has been offered for the Present Perfect in Spanish.[3] While it is not certain that pursing such an account would be productive (or even desirable) with the Present Perfect in Spanish, the interaction of the different meaning components nonetheless deserves further examination beyond that offered in this thesis.

Lastly, there is a need in the current literature for a discussion of the role of truth-conditional content in the process of semantic change. Eckardt et al. (2003) offer some

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[3] In Howe (2005) I offer a preliminary compositional analysis of the Present Perfect in Spanish, focusing on the contribution of the Present Tense.

insights into this topic, though only cursory mention is made to Spanish and even then only to cases of lexical development. More attention is needed in the literature to address the role of formal aspects of meaning structure in both (i) the distribution of morphosyntactic forms cross-linguistically and cross-dialectally and (ii) the diachronic development of these forms as reflected in the synchronic data. What has emerged in the literature and continues to be substantiated by approaches such as the current one is that studies of morphosyntactic variation, both within and across languages, can help to shed light on various topics of theoretical interest relating to synchronic and diachronic issues of language meaning.

APPENDIX A

SAMPLE INTERVIEW QUESTIONS

SAMPLE INTERVIEW QUESTIONS

I. Basic Introductory Questions

1. ¿Hace cuánto tiempo vives aquí?
   'How long have you lived here?'

2. ¿Has vivido fuera de Madrid/Valencia/Cuzco?
   'Have you ever lived outside of Madrid/Valencia/Cuzco?'

3. ¿Has vivido fuera de España/Perú?
   'Have you ever lived outside of Spain/Peru?'

4. ¿Qué estudiaste en la universidad?
   'What did you study in collage?'

5. ¿Cuánto tiempo tienes en tu trabajo?
   'How long have you been at your job?'

6. ¿Qué piensas hacer en el futuro?
   'What would you like to do in the future?'

7. En tú tiempo libre, ¿qué te gusta hacer?
   'What do you like to do in your free time?'

8. ¿Vive tu familia aquí?
   'Does your family still live here?'

9. ¿Cómo es tu grupo de amigos/amigas?
   'What is your group of friends like?'

10. Describe la zona en que vives.
    'Describe the area where you live.'

II. Context-Dependent Questions

11. ¿Qué piensas sobre las personas que vienen aquí para aprender español?
    'What do you think about the people that come here to learn Spanish?'

12. ¿Crees que es importante aprender una lengua extranjera?
    'Do you think it's important to learn a foreign language?'

13. ¿Qué opinas sobre el sistema educativo en España/Peru?
    'What do you think about the educational system in Spain/Peru?'

14. Si pudieras vivir en cualquier país del mundo, ¿dónde viverías?
    'If you could live in any country in the world, where would it be?'

15. Cuéntame tu día hoy.
    'Tell me about your day today.'

16. Cuéntame tu día ayer.
    'Tell me about your day yesterday.'

17. Descríbeme un viaje que hiciste en el pasado.
    'Describe a trip that you took in the past.'

18. Cuéntame tu semana la semana pasada.
    'Tell me about your week last week.'

19. ¿En qué estás trabajando ahora en los estudios/el trabajo? ¿Por cuánto tiempo?
    'What are you currently working in your studies/at work? For how long?'

20. Cuéntame algunas noticias recientes en España/Perú.
    'Tell me about some recent news in Spain/Peru.'

21. ¿Qué tipo de experiencia tienes en tu área de estudio/en tu trabajo?
    'What type of experience do you have in your field/job?'

22. Descríbeme tu última reunión familiar.
    'Describe your last family gathering.'

23. ¿Qué experiencia tienes con los extranjeros?
    'What experience do you have with people from other countries?'

24. ¿Qué experiencia tienes con personas de otros países hispanohablantes?
    'What experience do you have with people from other Spanish-speaking countries?'

APPENDIX B

SENTENCE JUDGMENT TASK

Cuestionario de oraciones

Nombre: _____

INSTRUCCIONES: Por favor, completa las siguientes frases con la forma (o del verbo o de la preposición) entre paréntesis que te suena mejor. En este trabajo, no hay una repuesta «correcta». Si las dos formas te suenan igual (o sea, no tienes ninguna preferencia), subraya las dos formas.

1. Juan (ha leído/leyó) un libro hoy.

2. Esta semana, nosotros (hemos visitado/visitamos) a nuestros abuelos.

3. Yo me (he levantado/levanté) esta mañana a las seis.

4. Esta mañana Susana (ha terminado/terminó) su trabajo.

5. Liliana (ha lavado/lavó) su coche ayer.

6. Ayer (he visto/vi) a Juan en el mercado.

7. Mi familia y yo (hemos visitado/visitamos) Brasil el año pasado.

8. En 1976, Marcos (ha viajado/viajó) a Francia.

9. Isabel (ha corrido/corrió) un maratón.

10. Rodrigo (ha escrito/escribió) unas canciones el verano pasado.

11. Samuel (ha estado/está) en Madrid desde las siete.

12. Diego (ha estado/está) en Londres al menos desde el domingo.

13. Laura ya (ha comido/comió) la rebanada del pastel.

14. Juan ya (ha vivido/vive) en Madrid por tres años.

15. Ya (he estado/estoy) en Barcelona desde las ocho de la mañana.

16. Manuel (ha estado/estuvo) enfermo dos veces desde el verano.

17. Diana (ha tocado/toca) el piano durante dos horas.

18. Silvia (ha corrido/corre) desde las seis de la tarde.

19. María (ha querido/quería) ser médica desde era niña.

20. Marcos (ha vivido/vivió) en Madrid una vez desde era niño.

21. En varias épocas desde su juventud, el Sr. Rodríguez (ha querido/quería) tener su propia casa.

22. Marcos ha estado enfermo (por/en) dos horas.

23. Yo he tocado el piano (por/en) una hora.

24. Daniela ha corrido un maratón (por/en) tres horas.

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25. Los trabajadores han construído una casa (por/en) dos semanas.

26. Marcos y yo no (hemos visitado/visitamos) la costa del sur todavía.

27. Sr. Rogel no (estuvo/ha estado/está) en Barcelona desde el sábado pasado.

28. Yo no (he llegado/llegué) al trabajo esta mañana a tiempo.

29. La profesora no (calificó/ha calificado) los exámenes ayer.

30. El año pasado, los padres de David no (han ido/fueron) a la playa.

31. ¿Dónde (has comprado/compraste) ese libro?

32. ¿(Desayunaste/has desayunado) esta mañana?

33. ¿Qué (has hecho/hiciste) ayer por la tarde?

34. ¿Ya (ha llegado/llegó) Juan?

35. ¿Ya (terminaste/has terminado) el trabajo por hoy?

Ahora, completa los siguientes diálogos con la forma apropiada del verbo en mayúsculas según el contexto.

36.   *Marcos:*   ¿Cómo va todo contigo? Quiero que me hables sobre tu día hoy?

    Cristina: Pues, esta mañana **SALIR** de la casa a las nueve. Después, **PASAR** por la universidad para entregar mi proyecto final. Entonces, **REUNIRME** con Daniela para almorzar. Nosotros **IR** al cine por la tarde para ver la nueva película de *Batman*. No me **GUSTAR** nada. Después, **DEJAR** a Daniela en la biblioteca y **VOLVER** a casa.

    _____, _____, _____, _____, _____, _____, _____

37.   *Padre*:   ¿Qué tal tu visita al zoológico ayer?

    Hija: Nosotros **LLEGAR** al zoológico a las once y nuestra profesora nos **COMPRAR** las entradas. Primero, **VISITAR** la exhibición de osos polares y después **PASAR** por la zona de los reptiles. Después de comer, unas amigas y yo **IR** a la sala de animales acuáticos para ver los peces. Cuando mi amiga Laura **VER** los tiburones, casi **DESMAYARSE**. Nosotras **DIVERTIRNOS** mucho. _____, _____, _____, _____, _____, _____, _____, _____

APPENDIX C

BACKGROUND QUESTIONAIRRE

ENCUESTA

Fecha: _____

1. Nombre: _____   Apellidos: _____

2. Lugar de nacimiento: _____

3. Edad: _____

4. Profesión: _____

5. ¿Qué lenguas habla usted? En una escala de 1 a 7, favor de indicar su nivel de hablar
   cada lengua; donde 1 denota un nivel muy bajo y 7 denota que usted es hablante
   nativo.

	Nivel de hablar						
Lengua	*bajo*						*alto*
_____	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
_____	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
_____	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
_____	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
_____	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
_____	1	2	3	4	5	6	7

6. ¿Qué lengua(s) habla usted con su familia?
   _____

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7. Favor de indicar las ciudades y países en que ha vivido usted, y también su edad cuando vivía en cada lugar.

Cuidad, País   *¿Cuántos años tenía usted?*

Ejemplo: Puebla, México   17-22 años

_____

_____

_____

_____

8. ¿Ha visitado usted a otro país hispanhablante? ¿Cuál y por cuánto tiempo?

País   *Duración*

_____   _____

_____   _____

_____   _____

9. ¿Hace cuánto tiempo que vive usted en Cuzco?

10. En su opinión, ¿qué fue el propósito (o los propósitos) de los deberes del proyecto?

11. Favor de hacer una lista de problemas o preguntas que has tenido durante la sección de entrevista o con el cuestionario de oraciones.

10. ¿Estaban bien claras y comprensibles las instrucciones?

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