Pragmatic markers resulting from language contact.
The case of *sañani* in Aymara

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Abstract

This paper explores the pragmatic functions of a previously unattested *pragmatic marker* (Fraser, 1996, 2006) found in Aymara, i.e. *sañani* 'let's say'. The uses of *sañani* suggest that this marker is the result of the influence of Spanish on Aymara due to sustained language contact. *Sañani* seems to be the "replication" (Heine and Kuteva, 2005) of the Spanish pragmatic marker *digamos* 'let's say'. Like *digamos* (Grande Alija, 2010; Quartararo, 2017a), *sañani* functions as a pragmatic marker by signaling either an inferential process or the semantic relation between two discourse segments. The original data used for this analysis was gathered through the *Family Problems Picture* task (San Roque et al., 2012), the *Pear Story* task (Chafe, 1980) and personal and traditional narratives. All the data transcripts were used to compile a novel corpus of Aymara.

Keywords: language contact; pragmatic marker; Aymara; Spanish.

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1. Introduction

In the Bolivian plateau, genetically and typologically unrelated languages have been coexisting for centuries. According to the Bolivian National Institute of Statistics (INE), 38.9% of the Bolivian population belongs to an indigenous people, Quechua, Uru Chipaya or Aymara; out of this percentage, 40.8% is Aymara (INE, 2015). The Aymara people are the largest ethnic group in the Department of La Paz, constituting 68.4% of its total population, with approximately 1,169,901 native speakers (Molina Barrios & Albó, 2006: 115)[1]; this number includes monolingual speakers, Aymara-Spanish bilingual speakers and Spanish-Quechua-Aymara trilingual speakers.

Data collection was realized in the Department of La Paz, Bolivia, during 2014 and 2015. Eighteen Aymara-Spanish bilingual speakers participated in the study. All participants were born as monolingual Aymara and learned Spanish during childhood. The participants were divided according to three age groups: 18-35 (8 participants), 36-50 (8 participants) and 51-64 (2 participants). Participants' education is closely related to their age: the higher the age, the lower the level of education. Eleven speakers had university level education, five had secondary education and two had primary education[2].

The present study makes two contributions. First, it systematically investigates the uses of the unattested form *sañani* 'let's say' in Aymara. I argue that the form *sañani* is used as a pragmatic marker that has the functions of both an *elaborative discourse marker* and an *evidential commentary pragmatic marker* (Fraser, 1996, 2006). As an elaborative discourse marker, it signals a new elaboration or a continuation of one discourse segment by another, while, as an evidential commentary pragmatic marker, it indicates the speaker's speculation related to her/his message or to a part thereof. Second, it demonstrates that the observed uses of *sañani* are products of contact-induced grammatical change and, specifically, that Aymara speakers have replicated the Spanish form *digamos* through *sañani*. This last observation is illustrated in the examples below, which show that *sañani* and *digamos* are used in Aymara and Spanish, respectively, according to the same function of elaborative discourse markers of repair.

(1)
A: *Mä chiji, mä tragedia **sa-ñani***

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1   The 2012 Bolivian census does not provide specific data regarding the number of indigenous people residing in each department. The data shown has been prepared based on the 2001 census.

2   For social and political reasons, the acquisition of Aymara by participants was limited to familiar contexts. Until 2006 the Bolivian educational system was basically developed in Spanish. For further information, see Cancino (2007).

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mä	chiji	mä	tragedia	**sa-ñani**	
one	tragedy	one	tragedy	say-1INCL>3.FUT	

'A tragedy, let's say, a *tragedia*' ('tragedy' in Spanish) (Quartararo, 2015: 3_AY_FPPT[3])

(2)

A: *Ahora tío uno de ustedes **digamos** jumanaka*

ahora	tío	uno	de	usted-es	**dig-amos**	*juma-naka*
now	uncle	one	of	you-PL	say-1PL.IMP	2PR-PL

'Now uncle one of you, let's say, *jumanaka*' ('you' in Aymara) (Quartararo, 2017a: 186)

Section 2 provides the background for this study, including an outline of the analytical framework on language contact and pragmatic markers (2.1) and a general description of Aymara verb inflection and its evidential system (2.2). Section 3 presents the existing studies on the marker *digamos* in Spanish. Section 4 describes the analysis of *sañani* and shows the results. Finally, section 5 provides a discussion of the results.

2. Background

2.1. Approach to language contact and pragmatic markers

Contact-induced language changes have been discussed under a wide variety of terms and theoretical frameworks. The approach to language contact adopted in this study will follow Heine & Kuteva's (2005) analytic framework and Weinreich's (1979) terminology. In this sense, I will examine language contact between Spanish and Aymara by considering the former as the "Model language" (M) and the latter as the "Replica language" (R). The process of change undergone by Language R will be called "replication" (Heine & Kuteva, 2005: 3):

> Speakers create a new use pattern of category in language R on the model of another language (M), where the outcome of the process is not an exact copy of what exists in M but rather a new structure that is shaped, first, by what is available in R, second, by universal constraints on conceptualization, third, by what speakers of R conceive as being pragmatically most appropriate in the situation in which language contact takes place, and fourth, by the length and intensity of contact and – accordingly – by the relative degree to which replication is grammaticalised (Heine & Kuteva, 2005: 7).

Thus, replication: (i) corresponds to the transfer of a grammatical meaning from Language M to Language R, (ii) is caused by a combination of factors both internal and external to Lan-

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3   All the examples extracted from Quartararo (2015) will be identified with this type of reference. The reference indicates, in the following order: recording number, language and task type. The abbreviation FPPT refers to transcription of the recordings of the Family Problems Picture Task and the abbreviation MIS refers to the miscellaneous recordings.

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guage R and (iii) happens when Language R retains its own linguistic material by adapting a new construction to its pragmatic needs.

Each replication implies a process of grammaticalization of a new form within Language R. In this regard, Heine & Kuteva (2005: 80) identify two scenarios for grammaticalization. The first concerns all those cases in which "model source-to-target grammaticalization" does not exist. In such cases, only a grammatical concept is replicated. The most obvious outcome of this process is the development in Language R of a new linguistic item that, although not formally, is semantically related to the original form in Language M. The second scenario, on the other hand, concerns those situations in which Language M provides both a grammatical concept and a model of grammaticalization to be followed. In these cases, Language R replicates both the grammatical concept and the grammaticalization process that the original form has already undergone in Language M. The outcome of this second scenario is a new linguistic item that is both formally and semantically related to the original form in Language M.

In the existing scholarship, pragmatic markers have been called different names, such as *discourse particle*, *segmentation marker*, *modal particle* and *pragmatic particle*. In this paper, I will use the more general and inclusive term *pragmatic marker* for referring to the constructions analyzed. I will deploy the classification outlined by Fraser (1996, 2006) for analyzing such markers, looking at two specific types: *commentary pragmatic markers* and *elaborative discourse markers*. The former are used to express the speaker's comment on the message s/he is giving (manner-of-speaking markers, evidential markers, hearsay markers and mitigation markers). The latter are used to express some refinement by the speaker of her/his own speech.

Pragmatic markers are considered a linguistic category that is very sensitive to change (Heine & Kuteva, 2005: 48). An example of this is the use of the marker *weisst du* 'you know' in the variety of German (R) spoken in the United States. Although in European German this marker only indicates shared knowledge and is only marginally used, in the German in the United States, because of the influence of American English, *weisst du* is used frequently and has acquired new functions in accordance with the uses of the English marker "you know".

Previous research on the use of pragmatic markers in indigenous American languages (R) in contact with Spanish (M) has focused mostly on the contact between Spanish and Mesoamerican languages, such as Spanish-Tojolab'al (Brody, 2010), Spanish-Nahuatl (Hill & Hill, 1986) and Spanish-Yucatec Maya (Solomon, 1995; Stolz & Stolz, 2001). However, little attention has been paid to the use of pragmatic markers in indigenous Andean languages (R) in contact with Spanish (M). As far as I know there are no specific studies on this issue. The specialized literature has instead focused on the opposite perspective of analysis by considering Spanish as the language R and the indigenous Andean languages, Quechua and Aimara, as the languages M (Mendoza, 1991; Zavala, 2001).

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2.2. Aymara verb inflection, evidentiality and the verb *sa-*

Aymara exhibits a morphologically complex verb system[4] in which obligatory inflectional suffixes show a high degree of fusion[5] (Müller, 2013: 39). Within inflectional suffixes four distinct persons interact in pairs: the first person exclusive *naya* 'I', the second person *juma* 'you', the third person *jupa* 's/he' and the first person inclusive *jiwasa* 'we'. This interaction determines verb conjugation in terms of nine persons. Table 1 shows the relation between the two persons involved in each obligatory inflectional suffix. The suffix *-ma*, for instance, indicates the exclusive first person as subject and the second person as object.

TABLE 1
The future tense paradigm of the indicative mood

		OBJECT			
		1EXCL	1INCL	2	3 or none
SUBJECT	1EXCL			*-ma*	*-:*[6]
	1INCL				*-ñani*
	2	*-itata*			*-ta*
	3	*-itani*	*-istani*	*-tam*	*-ni*

In addition to person, these suffixes also convey grammatical information about tense and mood. The Aymara verb paradigm has four moods (indicative, potential, imperative and inferential) and four tenses: three for the expression of the non-future, i.e. simple, experienced past and non-experienced past, and only one for the expression of the future. The simple tense provides information about an action that started in a very recent past and that is perceived as not yet completed. The other two pasts specify the conclusion of the action in the past. Between them there does not seem to be a clear temporal distinction (Coler, 2014b: 243), but rather an evidential one. Finally, the future tense indicates any time after the present moment and may also be used as a polite imperative.

Concerning evidentiality, Aymara exhibits a scattered system; in other words, it does not express the evidential domain through a unitary grammatical category (Hardman, 2001; Coler,

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4   The process of verb formation is carried out through both derivational and inflectional verb suffixes.

5   Obligatory inflectional suffixes indicate person, tense and mood, but not number, whose specification is not compulsory and depends on another suffix.

6   The symbol [:] indicates vowel lengthening.

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2014a, 2014b). Evidentiality is expressed through obligatory inflectional suffixes (experienced past, non-experienced past and inferential mood), verbal suffixes (dubitative suffix -*chi*) and two words formed from the root of the verb *sa-* 'to say' (*siwa* and *sasa*). These last two forms are used to indicate that contact with the information is mediated by someone else's report. In line with Aikhenvald's (2004) classification, *siwa* 'one says' indicates hearsay, that the information has been acquired through another person, while *sasa* 'saying' indicates quotative evidentiality, that the information has been acquired through another person and is marked as a literal quote.

The verb *sañani* comes from the verbal root *sa-* 'to say'. Unlike *siwa* and *sasa*, the form seems to have lost its original semantics and acquired new functions. When it is used as an evidential commentary pragmatic marker, *sañani* functions as an inferential evidential marker. With respect to inferential evidentiality, Aikhenvald (2004) identifies two categories: inference and assumption. With the term *inferred evidential*, I will refer to any inference made from observable evidence, whereas with the term *assumed evidential* I will refer to all information acquired through a process of reasoning based on something that the speaker already knows. Aikhenvald's explanation can help elucidate the difference between these two categories:

> The difference between the 'assumed' evidential […] and the 'inferred' […] lies in access to visual evidence of something happening and to the degree of 'reasoning' involved. The less obvious the evidence and the more the speaker has to rely on reasoning based on knowledge or on common sense, the more chance there is that the assumed evidential will be used. An inferred evidential refers to something based on obvious evidence which can be easily observed (Aikhenvald, 2004: 2-3).

3. *Digamos* in Spanish

In several languages, verbs of speaking meaning "to say" give rise to pragmatic markers with similar semantics. In Russian, for example, the pragmatic marker *tak skazat'* 'so to say', is used for mitigating statements and comes from the verb *skazat* 'to say' (Khachaturyan, 2010). Romance languages exhibit pragmatic markers with similar functions coming from verbs of speaking and, moreover, they show the same grammaticalization model for the formation of such markers involving the verb "to say" plus the first person plural of the present imperative, e.g. *diciamo* 'let's say' from the verb *dire* in Italian, *disons* 'let's say' from the verb *dire* in French and *digamos* 'let's say' from the verb *decir* in Spanish.

The specialized literature on the use of *digamos* in Spanish is limited to Grande Alija (2010) and Quartararo (2017a, 2017b). Although the two authors work with distinct corpora[7], they

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7   While Grande Alija (2010) develops his analysis starting from the *Corpus de referencia del español actual (CREA)* of the Real Academia de la Lengua Española, Quartararo (2017a, 2017b) provides an analysis starting from a corpus of La Paz Spanish (Quartararo, 2015).

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agree on some ideas regarding the functions of this construction: (i) it is a highly grammaticalized form showing semantic bleaching, decategorialization and grammatical extension; (ii) it is characterized by high syntactic mobility; finally, (iii) it is a multifunctional marker. Quartararo (2017a) further notes that in Spanish spoken by Aymara-Spanish bilinguals in La Paz *digamos* displays the function of an inferred evidential marker.

Digamos can signal repair (3), linguistic approximation (4) or exemplification (5)[8].

(3)

A: *Aquí se mofan / **digamos** / se hacen la burla* […]

aquí	se	mof-an	dig-amos	se	hac-en	la	burla
here	3SG.REFL	make.fun-3PL.PRS	say-1PL.IMP	3SG.REFL	do-3PL.PRS	the	taunt

'Here they make fun, let's say, they mock' (Quartararo, 2017b)

(4)

A: […] *Luego / ha ido donde su familia // luego les ha contado / como estaba **digamos** en ahí adentro / su calvario que ha vivido* […]

luego	ha	ido	donde	su	familia	luego	les	ha
then	have.3SG.PRS	go.PTCP	where	his	family	then	them.DAT	have.3SG.PRS

cont-ado	como	est-aba	dig-amos	en	ahí	adentro	su	calvario
tell-PTCP	how	be-3SG.IMPF	say-1PL.IMP	in	there	inside	his	ordeal

que	ha	viv-ido
that	have.3SG.PRS	live-PTCP

'Then, he has gone to his family, then he has told them how was, let's say, in there, the ordeal that he has lived' (Quartararo, 2017a: 189; gloss and translation added)

(5)

A: […] *Me enseñaba hacer / abecedario me - me ayudaba hacer / **digamos** / la letra a e i o // eso me ayudaba* […]

me	enseñ-aba	hac-er	abecedario	me	me	ayud-aba	hac-er
1SG.DAT	teach-3SG.IMPF	do-INF	alphabet	1SG.DAT	1SG.DAT	help-3SG.IMPF	do-INF

dig-amos	la	letra	a e i o	eso	me	ayud-aba
say-1PL.IMP	the	letter	a e i o	that	1SG.DAT	help-3SG.IMPF

'She taught me to do alphabet, she helped me to do, let's say, the letter a e i o, in that she helped me' (Quartararo, 2017a: 189; gloss and translation added)

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8   All the examples on *digamos* presented in this paper come from Quartararo (2017a, 2017b). This is due to the fact that Grande Alija's analysis (2010) considers the forms *digamos* and *digamos que* jointly and prioritizes the uses of the second form, which is not considered within this study.

As an elaborative discourse marker of repair, *digamos* has a double role: it identifies the preceding words as inadequate by operating as a "manner-of-speaking commentary pragmatic marker" (Fraser, 1996: 181), and, at the same time, it functions as an elaborative discourse marker indicating that the statement will be rephrased in the words that follow (3). In other cases (4 and 5), the two functions previously shown operate separately and *digamos* either introduces a further explanation of the elements that it precedes (5), i.e. as an elaborative discourse marker of exemplification, or it indicates that what follows is a linguistically approximate formulation (4), i.e. as a manner-of-speaking commentary pragmatic marker. In this last function, *digamos* highlights the speaker's uncertainty about the suitability of his/her own linguistic choices.

Moreover, *digamos* can function as a commentary pragmatic marker of mitigation, i.e. it signals "the speaker's desire to reduce the face loss associated with the basic message" (Fraser, 1996: 183).

(6)

A: *Estoy muy macho /* **digamos** */ ya / ¿a ver? / quiero ver así* […]

estoy	muy	macho	**dig-amos**	ya	a ver		quier-o	ver	así
be.1SG.PRS	very	macho	say-1PL.IMP	now	INTERJ.	let's see	want-1SG.PRS	see.INF	that.way

'I am very macho, let's say. Now, let's see, I want to see like this' (Quartararo, 2017a: 191; gloss and translation added)

In (6), the speaker expresses his own opinion but perceives his statement as too assertive with respect to the discursive context and, for that reason, diminishes the illocutionary force of the enunciation through the marker *digamos*.

When *digamos* functions as an evidential commentary pragmatic marker it indicates both inference and assumption (Quartararo, 2017a, 2017b). In the data, as an inferred evidential marker *digamos* always refers to something drawn clearly in the images of the *Family Problems Picture Task*.

(7)

A: *Le está viendo que es lo quee* §

B: § *Que es lo que trae / me imagino /* **digamos** *// un pantalón / una blusa.*

A:	le	está	viendo	que	es	lo que
	3SG.DAT	be.3SG.PRS	see.GER	what	be.3SG.PRS	what

'He is looking at what is the thing'

B:	que	es	lo que	tra-e	me	imagin-o
	what	be.3SG.PRS	what	bring-3SG.PRS	1SG.REFL	imagine-1SG.PRS
	dig-amos	un	pantalón	una	blusa	
	say-1PL.IMP	a	pants	a	t-shirt	

'What is the thing that he is bringing, I imagine, let's say, pants, t-shirt' (Quartararo, 2017b)

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In (7), *digamos* introduces two nominal elements, *pantalón* 'pants' and *blusa* 't-shirt'. The two elements are illustrated inside a thought bubble in image no. 2 (see figure 1). Basing his/her speech on direct visual access, the speaker states that the elements in the thought bubble correspond to the objects being handed by one of the characters to the other and introduces such elements through *digamos*. The idea that an inferential process is in progress is reinforced by the use of the verb *me imagino* 'I imagine' immediately before *digamos*.

FIGURE 1
Image no. 2

When *digamos* has the function of an assumed evidential marker, it introduces elements that the speaker does not have clear evidence for, such as elements completely absent in the image (8).

(8)

A: […] *así nos imaginamos / con su hijo // llevan a la feria / eh luego no sé si la mujer ya se ha ido más antes / el hombre / **digamos** / que se ha quedado / se encuentra / ¿no? con sus amigos y sus amigos quieren servirle* […]

así	nos	imagin-amos	con	su	hijo	llev-an	a
in this way	1PL.REFL	imagine-1PL.PRS	with	their	son	take-3PL.PRS	to

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la	feria	luego	no	sé	si	la	mujer	ya
the	market	then	not	saber.1SG.PRS	whether	the	woman	already

se	ha		ido	más antes	el	hombre	**dig-amos**
3SG.REFL	haber.3SG.PRS.		go.PTCP	before	the	man	say-1PL.IMP

que	se	ha		qued-ado	se	encuentr-a	no	con
that	3SG.REFL	haber.3SG.PRS		stay-PTCP	3SG.REFL	meet-3SG.PRS	no	with

sus	amigo-s	y	sus	amigo-s	quier-en	serv-ir-le
his.PL	friend-PL	and	his.PL	friend-PL	want-3PL.PRS	serve-INF-3SG.DAT

'So we imagine, they take [pumpkin] to the market with their son, then I do not know whether the woman has already gone, the man, let's say, stayed, meets, right? with his friends and his friends want to serve him' (Quartararo, 2017b)

In (8), *digamos* introduces a clause. In the task, there is no trace of the scene described in (8); the speaker needs to find a logical connection between the images and therefore assumes that the man remained with his friends while the woman left.

A final remark regards the syntactic position of *digamos* within the sentence. Quartararo (2017a) observes that the position of *digamos* is clearly related to its function. When *digamos* functions as an evidential marker, the form shows a strong tendency to occur in either medi-al[9] or sentence-final position (Quartararo, 2017a: 195). As a commentary pragmatic marker of mitigation, *digamos* always appears in a sentence-final position (Quartararo, 2017a: 195). As an elaborative discourse marker, the position of *digamos* depends on its specific function: if it indicates exemplification it can occur in either medial or sentence-initial positions, but if it indicates repair it always occurs in a sentence-initial position. Finally, when *digamos* functions as a manner-of-speaking commentary pragmatic marker it always occurs in a medial position.

4. The analysis of *sañani*

The following two subsections describe the analysis of the uses of the form *sañani* within the novel corpus of Aymara. The first subsection describes the materials used and the analytical method, and the second discusses the results of the analysis.

4.1. Data collection and analysis method

The data presented in this paper was elicited to investigate evidentiality in Aymara. Howev-er, the elicitation of evidentials is not easy and only few tasks are specifically designed for it. Indeed, data collected through common methods does not allow for exhaustive analyses

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9   *Digamos* is considered to occupy the medial position when it occurs within a syntactic unit, such as noun, adjectival adverbial or verbal phrases.

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due to the limited number of examples provided in the transcripts. In order to rectify this, the data was mainly elicited through two semi-structured tasks specifically created to stimulate the verbalization of knowledge processes: the *Family Problems Picture Task* (San Roque et al., 2012) and the *Pear Story* (Chafe, 1980). On the one hand, the *Family Problems Picture Task* (hereafter referred to as FPPT) is an interactive task that encourages the activation of inferential processes. It consists of 16 pictures in black and white that follow a defined sequence. The temporal sequence and content of the pictures are not always clear. Inferential processes are required to order the pictures and develop a story based on them[10]. On the other hand, the *Pear Story* (Chafe, 1980) is a dynamic stimulus that consists of a short film (approximately six minutes) with actions and sounds but not verbal material. It was designed in order to elicit narrative texts that reveal how people perceive, elaborate and verbalize experience.

The verbatim transcripts of the recordings have been recompiled in a corpus of 19,154 words. Transcripts were made entirely by native speakers of Aymara. For data transcription the *Alfabeto Unificado* 'unified alphabet' was employed since transcribers were already familiar with it. The corpus was transcribed according to a basic transcription system where only pauses and changes of speaking turn have been indicated. The process of transcription was followed by a review process during which a native speaker ascertained the accuracy of the transcripts and inserted the translations into Spanish of the texts transcribed in Aymara.

In the comparative analysis, the uses of *sañani* and *digamos* were compared starting from the analysis of parallel data, i.e. data elicited through identical tasks. The existence of parallel data in different languages has allowed for the identification and the comparison of forms used by speakers in similar communicative contexts. The comparison between the functions of *digamos* and *sañani* was made starting from the results obtained from data analysis. Concerning *digamos*, I used the results already published in Quartararo (2017b) that elicited original data in Spanish through the tasks *Family Problems Picture Task* and *Pear Story*. Concerning *sañani*, the results of the analysis of its functions are presented in the following section.

4.2. Results

The corpus features 95 tokens of *sañani*. The analysis of *sañani* reveals that in most cases (61%) the form is used as an elaborative discourse marker, signaling either repair or exempli-

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10   The FPPT was developed in five steps: in the first step, speakers were asked to describe five of the sixteen pictures randomly selected by the fieldworker; in the second step, speakers ordered all the pictures according to the story that they believed was represented; in the third step, one of the two participants in the first two steps was asked to describe the story in the first person singular; in the fourth step, the other participant was asked to tell the story in the third person singular to a person who did not participate in the task until then; finally, during the fifth step, the third participant was asked to tell the story s/he had been told.

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fication. Nevertheless, in a significant number of cases (32%) *sañani* functions as an evidential commentary pragmatic marker.

TABLE 1

Functions of *sañani*

FUNCTION		N° OF CASES	
Elaborative discourse marker	Repair	58	17
	Exemplification		41
Evidential commentary pragmatic marker		31	
Verbal		6	
Total		95	

63% of the occurrences of *sañani* (60 cases out of 95) come from the transcriptions of the FPPT, the remaining 37% come from the transcriptions of the third part of the corpus (34 cases out of 95), i.e. recordings of personal narratives and traditional stories, and the transcriptions of the task "The Pear Story" (1 case out of 95). By further narrowing down this analysis to the cases in which *sañani* seems to function as an evidential commentary pragmatic marker (31 cases), it can be observed that all the cases of *sañani* with evidential function occur within the transcriptions of the FPPT.

In the data, *sañani* functions as an elaborative discourse marker in 58 cases[11]. Within this macro-function, the uses of *sañani* fall into two main functions, repair and exemplification.

When *sañani* functions as an elaborative discourse marker of repair (17 cases) it rephrases or translates some part of the sentence. In most of the cases, *sañani* indicates that the preceding words are inadequate and rephrases them through the words that follow (9); however, in few cases *sañani* scopes over the words that it follows (10).

(9)

*Uka kargu katxarusinxa, jilata sañani chachajaxa umarukisa **sañani** jar umakiy umantapxixa*

uka	kargu	kat(u)-xaru-sin(a)-xa	jilata	sa-ñani	chacha-ja-xa
that	role	grab-PRP-SUB-TOP	brother	say-1INCL>3.FUT	man-1POS-TOP

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11 Our informant, Josué Quispe Quispe, considers *sañani* a common expression in the Aymara speech of bilingual speakers, although not present in monolinguals' speech.

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uma-ru-ki-sa	**sa-ñani**	jar(u)	uma-ki-y(a)-Ø	uma-nta-p.x(a)-i-xa[12]
water-ALL-DL-ADD	say-1INCL›3.FUT	bitter	water-DL-POL-ACC	drink-IW-PL-3›3.SPL-TOP

'When grabbing that role, brother, let's say, my husband only to drinking, let's say, only alcohol they drink' (Quartararo, 2015: 4_AY_FPPT)

(10)

*Mä chiji, mä tragedia **sañani**, aka chachax warmiparuw inach nuwji*

mä	chiji	mä	tragedia	**sa-ñani**	aka	chacha-xa
one	tragedy	one	tragedy	say-1INCL›3.FUT	this	man-TOP

warmi-pa-ru-w(a)	inach(a)	nuw(a)-j(a)-i
woman-3POS-ALL-DECL	maybe	hit-ATOP-3›3.SPL

'A *chiji*, let's say a tragedy, this man maybe hit his wife' (Quartararo, 2015: 3_AY_FPPT)

In (9), *sañani* appears between two forms, *umarukisa* "only to drinking" and *jaru umakiy* "only alcohol". The former is a general expression which indicates any liquid substance, whereas in the latter the term is used specifically to indicate alcoholic beverages. By perceiving the generic *umarukisa*, the speaker rephrases it through *jaru umakiy* and marks this reformulation with *sañani*. By contrast, in (10), *sañani* scopes over the word that precedes it, *tragedia* 'tragedy', which is a translation into Spanish of the Aymara word *chiji* 'tragedy'.

When *sañani* functions as an elaborative discourse marker of exemplification (41 cases), it signals and introduces a clarification. I considered two uses of *sañani* in the data within this function: its deployment to introduce either a clarification or a new discursive sequence.

In (11), *sañani* introduces an explanation: it indicates one of the activities carried out by Aymara farmers during the cultivation of potatoes. In (12), however, the marker is used as a formula to initiate a response.

(11)

*Ukampi jupanakax uywapxix, muytapxi ukhamrakisa, **sañani** t'ulanaks phhichhapxi*

uka-mpi	jupa-naka-x(a)	uywa-p.x(a)-i-x(a)	muyta-p.x(a)-i
that-COM	3PR-PL-TOP	breed-PL-3›3.SPL-TOP	go.around-PL-3›3.SPL

uk(a)-jam(a)-raki-sa	**sa-ñani**	t'ula-nak(a)-Ø-s(a)	phichha-p.x(a)-i
that-CP-ADD-ADD	say-1INCL›3.FUT	weed-PL-ACC-ADD	burn-PL-3›3.SPL

'With that they breed, they also go around in this way, for example, they burn weed' (Quartararo, 2015: 4_AY_MIS)

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12 All the suffixes ending in a vowel can lose it. Vowel deletion arises for a variety of reasons, including morphophonemic motivations, avoidance of hiatus, and more (Hardman, 2001). In the remainder of the paper, deleted vowels appear between parentheses.

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(12)

A: *Jichhaxa, kunjamasa aka ayllumana yapunakax qalltatpacha yapuchasix? ukata arst'as-masti kullaka.*

B: *Nayaxa **sañani** qallt'kasin **sañan** ch'uqi yaput parlä*

A:	jichha-xa	kun(a)-jama-sa	aka	ayllu-ma-na		yapu-naka-x(a)	
	now-TOP	what-CP-IR	this	village-2POS-GEN/LOC		parcel-PL-TOP	

	qallta-t(a)-pacha	yapucha-s(i)-i-x(a)		uka-ta	ar-s(u)-t'a-sma-sti	kullaka
	beginning-ABL-INCL	cultivate-REFL-3>3.SPL-TOP		that-ABL	tell-OW-INCE-2>3.POT-IR	sister

B:	naya-xa	**sa-ñani**	qall(a)-t'(a)-ka-sin(a)	**sa-ñan(i)**	ch'uqi
	1PR.EXCL-TOP	say-1INCL>3.FUT	start-INCE-INCOMPL-SUB	say-1INCL>3.FUT	potato

	yapu-t(a)	parla-:
	parcel-ABL	talk-1EXCL>3.FUT

A: 'Now, from the beginning, how are the fields of your village cultivated? Then you can talk sister'

B: 'I, let's say, to start, let's say, I am going to talk about the cultivation of potato' (Quartararo, 2015: 4_AY_MIS)

Between the two discursive functions of *sañani* there is a clear relationship, that is, it is basically used to give an explanation. In the case of the repair function, *sañani* signals the need of the speaker to put into other words something that s/he does not consider clear enough, while in the case of the exemplification function, *sañani* may introduce either (i) an example, as in (11), where the word introduces additional details, or (ii) a full sequence, i.e. the answer to another speaker's question during the interaction.
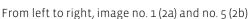
When *sañani* functions as an evidential commentary pragmatic marker, it seems to indicate an assumption; in other words, it signals a speculation that comes from a previous process of reasoning.

(13)

*Trabaxpacha irnaqpachana, **sañani** akat irnaqawipat purxix, janti*

trabax(a)-pacha	ir(a)-naq(a)-pachana	**sa-ñani** aka-t(a)
work-3>3.INFR	work-DF-3>3.INFR.PST	say-1INCL>3.FUT this-ABL

ir(a)-naqa-wi-pa-t(a)	pur(i)-x(a)-i-x(a)	jan(i)-ti
work-DF-NMZ-3POS-ABL	arrive-COMPL-3>3.SPL-TOP	no-IR/NEG

'He must work, he must have worked, let's say, from his work he is arriving, isn't he?' (Quartararo, 2015: 2_AY_FPPT)

Example (13) is an extract from the second step of the FPPT. In (13), the speaker is describing image no. 1 (see figure 2a) in which a man is getting close to a house.

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FIGURE 2 a-b
From left to right, image no. 1 (2a) and no. 5 (2b)

After the first assumption, indicated by *irnaqpachana* 'he must have worked', the second assumption is determined by a reasoning process according to which the man on the lower left corner is returning home after work. The fact that the character is returning from work is clearly the speaker's speculation since in the images there is no element that indicates that the character went to work before returning home. Also, in this case it is possible to see a connection between the functions of *sañani* as an elaborative discourse marker and an evidential commentary pragmatic marker. As an elaborative discourse marker of exemplification, *sañani* is used to provide more detailed information about a topic; the new information is presented as an additional explanation with respect to a specific component of the speech. This is precisely the point of contact between the functions of *sañani* as an elaborative discourse marker and an evidential commentary pragmatic marker. When the form has an evidential function, it introduces the speaker's speculation with respect to something that is happening during the task. This speculation, in fact, besides being the result of a cognitive process, is a necessary clarification in order for the speaker to convey the sense to his/her story. At the same time, it is the most likely interpretation of what appears in the images, although the speaker does not always consider it as absolutely correct. These last statements are supported by example (14).

(14)

    *Ukat inasa mä **sanani** kuna amtaruy mantañ munapxchi*

uka-t(a)	inasa	mä	**sa-ñani**	kuna	amta-ru-y(a)
that-ABL	maybe	one	say-1INCL>3.FUT	what	agreement-ALL-POL

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manta-ñ(a)	muna-p.x(a)-ch(i)-i
enter-ANMZ	want-PL-DUB-3>3.SPL

'Then, maybe, let's say, they must have wanted to enter into some agreement' (Quartara-ro, 2015: 4_AY_FPPT)

In (14), *sañani* scopes over the sentence *kuna amtaruy mantañ munapxchi* 'they must have wanted to enter into some agreement'. The speaker is describing image no. 5 (see figure 2b), in which five people are in a courtroom and a woman is recounting the violence carried out by the man that is sitting in front of her. Also, in this case the fact that the two characters want to enter into an agreement is the speaker's speculation. There is nothing within the images which would indicate that an agreement is being sought.

There are two important points about the syntactic position of *sañani* within the sentence: (i) it is not possible to establish any kind of correlation between the functions of the term and its syntactic position; (ii) *sañani* appears mainly in sentence-initial position (85 of 95 cases) and, in a limited number of cases, in the other two positions: 3 cases in medial position and 7 cases in sentence-final position.

Regarding the participants using *sañani*, the analysis highlighted some interesting results: (i) out of the eighteen bilingual participants, only six used *sañani*; (ii) with the exception of one 39 year-old participant, all the participants using *sañani* belong to the age group, between 18 and 35 years old; (iii) all the participants using *sañani* had university level education.

Finally, the analysis of the functions of *sañani* suggests that the form has undergone a process of grammaticalization. Although *sañani* corresponds to the 1INCL>3 person of both the future and the imperative of the verb *sa-* 'to say', its uses do not appear to be related either to the uses of the verb *sa-* 'to say' (see §2.1) or to the expression of a future or an imperative. In the same way as Spanish, in which an imperative form of the verb "to say" has undergone a process of grammaticalization and is used as a pragmatic marker, Aymara exhibits the grammaticalization of an imperative form of the verb *sa-* 'to say' in a pragmatic marker. In fact, *sañani* shows semantic bleaching, decategorialization and grammatical extension. Such factors, together with (i) the presence of similar formal and semantic markers in many Romance languages and (ii) the long-term language contact between Aymara and Spanish, suggest that *sañani* is the result of a replication process from Spanish (M) to Aymara (R). Spanish provided both the grammatical concept and the model for the grammaticalization process and Aymara replicated them by retaining its own linguistic material and adapting the new construction to its pragmatic needs.

5. Discussion

This paper describes the pragmatic functions of *sañani* in the Aymara speech of eighteen bilingual speakers of Aymara-Spanish and shows that this form is probably the result of a

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replication process from Spanish (M) to Aymara (R). Like *digamos* in Spanish, *sañani* functions as an elaborative discourse marker (exemplification and repair) and as an evidential commentary pragmatic marker (assumption). Examples (15) and (16) show that, in the respective languages, the two forms are used as evidential commentary pragmatic markers, that is, they indicate that the discourse that follows is the result of an assumption. In the FPPT, there are no traces of the scenes described in (15) and (16); both examples reflect the speakers' need to find a logical connection between the images of the task that builds a consistent story.

(15)

*Ukata, **sañani**, awtoridadanakax jawsayxitu*

uka-t(a)	**sa-ñani**	awtoridada-naka-x(a)	jawsa-y(a)-x(a)-itu
that-ABL	say-1INCL.FUT	authority-PL-TOP	call-CAU-COMPL-3>1EXCL.SPL

'Then, let's say, the authorities made me call' (Quartararo, 2015: 4_AY_FPPT)

(16)

A: […] *así nos imaginamos / con su hijo // llevan a la feria / eh luego no sé si la mujer ya se ha ido más antes / el hombre / **digamos** / que se ha quedado / se encuentra / ¿no? con sus amigos y sus amigos quieren servirle* […]

así	nos	imagin-amos	con	su	hijo	llev-an	a
in this way	1PL.REFL	imagine-1PL.PRS	with	their	son	take-3PL.PRS	to

la	feria	luego	no	sé	si	la	mujer	ya
the	market	then	not	saber.1SG.PRS	whether	the	woman	already

se	ha	ido	más antes	el	hombre	dig-amos
3SG.REFL	haber.3SG.PRS.	go.PTCP	before	the	man	say-1PL.IMP

que	se	ha	qued-ado	se	encuentr-a	no	con
that	3SG.REFL	haber.3SG.PRS	stay-PTCP	3SG.REFL	meet-3SG.PRS	no	with

sus	amigo-s	y	sus	amigo-s	quier-en	serv-ir-le
his.PL	friend-PL	and	his.PL	friend-PL	want-3PL.PRS	serve-INF-3SG.DAT

'So we imagine, they take [pumpkin] to the market with their son, then I do not know whether the woman has already gone, the man, let's say, stayed, meets, right? with his friends and his friends want to serve him' (Quartararo, 2017b)

In spite of their formal and functional proximity, *sañani* and *digamos* do not display the same range of functions. The former seems to have a narrower spectrum of pragmatic functions than *digamos*. Unlike *digamos*, *sañani* does not function as a manner-of-speaking commentary pragmatic marker which incorporates lexical approximation. Nor does it function as a commentary pragmatic marker of mitigation since it does not seem to imply any modal extension signaling the distance of the speaker from his/her utterance, or a part thereof. According to this data analysis, the uses of *sañani* seem to be limited to elaborative discourse and an evidential commentary pragmatic markers. Concerning this latter function, it is worth

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mentioning that unlike *digamos*, which can indicate both inference and assumption, *sañani* only signals assumption. Another difference concerns the use of the two markers as elaborative discourse markers of exemplification. In this function, *sañani* seems to have a broader spectrum of uses than *digamos*, introducing examples as well as new discursive sequences.

With respect to syntactic order, the link between the position of *sañani* within the sentence and its function seems to be less stable than that of *digamos* (see §3). As a discourse marker of repair, *digamos* always precedes the reformulation made by the speaker. In contrast, there does not seem to be a link between the position of *sañani* and its repair function. The marker can also follow the part of the discourse that it reformulates (see example 10). Another interesting difference concerns the position of the two forms when they function as evidential commentary pragmatic markers. In this case, the analysis shows two opposite tendencies: while *digamos* usually occurs in either medial or sentence-final positions, *sañani* typically occurs in the sentence-initial position. However, it is important to stress that these differences between the syntactic orders of the two forms may have little to do with the form *sañani* itself; its lower stability could be due to the fact that Aymara is an agglutinative language and consequently has a much more flexible word order than Romance languages.

Other interesting remarks are strictly correlated to sociolinguistic data. *Sañani* does not seem to be a highly frequent item in the data and appears within the speech of only one third of the participants. Furthermore, the use of the form is more widespread in the first age group (which was between 18-35 years old), while, with only one exception, speakers with a more advanced age do not use it. Another finding that is not surprising, but still relevant, concerns the degree of participants' exposure to Spanish. All the participants who use *sañani* claimed to have university level education. This means that for reasons related to the Bolivian society and politics (Cancino, 2007) they carried out all their studies in Spanish and that became their main language of expression outside of their family. In light of these considerations, the replication of *sañani* can likely be attributed to the strong exposure to Spanish of bilingual speakers of Aymara-Spanish and to their need to reproduce in Aymara the linguistic habits that they have developed in Spanish.

To conclude, although the functions of *sañani* present in the data are clear, much remains to be done in this respect. On the one hand, the uses of *sañani* described in this paper may not represent the full spectrum of its functions and, on the other hand, the use of *sañani* as a pragmatic marker may not be a phenomenon confined to the Bolivian bilingual speakers of Aymara-Spanish. In this sense, more original data of Aymara are needed.

6. Symbols and abbreviations

1 – First Person; 3 – Third Person; ABL – Ablative; ACC – Accusative; ADD – Additive; ALL – Allative; ANMZ – Action Nominalizer; ATOP – Movement Above; BEN – Benefactive; CAU – Causative; COM –

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Comitative; COMPL – Completive; CP – Comparative; DAT – Dative; DECL – Declarative; DF – Diffuse Motion; DIST – Distance; DL – Delimitative; DM – Discourse Marker; DUB – Dubitative; EXCL – Exclusive; FPPT – Family Problems Picture Task; FUT – Future; GEN – Genitive; IMP – Imperative; IMPF – Imperfect; INCL – Inclusive; INCE – Inceptive; INCOMPL – Incompletive; INF – Infinitive; INFR – Inferential; INTERJ – Interjection; IR – Interrogative; IW – Inward; LOC – Locative; M – Model Language; NEG – Negative; NMZ – Nominalizer; OW – Outward; PL – Plural; POL – Politeness; POS – Possessive; POT – Potential; PR – Pronoun; PRP – Propagative; PRS – Present; PST – Past; PTCP – Participle; R – Replica Language; REFL – Reflexive; RE – Resultative; SG – Singular; SPL – Simple Tense; SUB – Subordinator; TOP – Topicalizer.

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